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# THE TEACHING OF JESUS ABOUT THE FUTURE

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ACCORDING TO THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

BY  
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IN MEMORIAM

JOHN HOWARD SHARMAN



## A STATEMENT

The results of study here set forth were presented first, in their main features, at a joint meeting of the New Testament and Systematic Theology Clubs of the University of Chicago on February 23, 1904.

The fashioning of the material into a form suitable for the compositor's hands was completed first on September 24, 1904. In that copy there was no committal to any proposed solution of the Synoptic Problem other than the recognition of the Gospel of Mark as one of the main documents used in the production of the First and Third Gospels. On December 15, 1904, there appeared *Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem*, by Ernest DeWitt Burton. After a prolonged and thorough study of this work, it was decided to accept its results, in their larger outlines, as the critical basis for the present work. As a consequence, an almost entire rewriting of the material was made necessary, though the conclusions previously reached, both in general and in particular, were unaffected. This revision was concluded on June 13, 1905, and is herewith presented without any changes from the form given at that time. For various reasons, publication has been deferred until the present.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

February 23, 1909



## A DEFINITION

In definition of the scope of this study, it may be said that the word "Future," as used in the title, covers the time subsequent to the final severance of relations between Jesus and his disciples. There is excluded, therefore, the study of the reputed teaching of Jesus about his rejection, sufferings, death, resurrection, and appearances after the resurrection. There is included, however, a study of such teaching about the future as is reported to have been given in the post-resurrection period of Jesus' life.

It has been the purpose and endeavor to bring under examination every utterance credited to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels which contains teaching about the "Future" as above defined. That the study might comprehensively cover all phases of the outlook of Jesus upon the future, it has been the choice to err on the side of inclusion rather than of exclusion of passages with doubtful time content.



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CHAPTER I  
THE SOURCES AND THEIR HISTORY

§1. SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS

The sources for the proposed study of the teaching of Jesus about the future are the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. These sources seem to bear literary relations to one another. Many attempts have been made to solve the problem presented in these apparent relations. If these sources stand to one another in literary dependence of any degree, a study of their content cannot be made with entire disregard of the implications of such a dependence. Conclusions may not be drawn on the basis of three independent witnesses to the teaching of Jesus, if, as matter of fact, any one of them is dependent upon any other for certain portions of his material. Therefore, it is imperative, as preliminary to any study, that there be a definition of attitude toward the Synoptic Problem.

It is believed that this problem has been solved, in its main features, by Professor Ernest DeWitt Burton in his monograph, *Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem*.<sup>1</sup> The results reached are stated in these terms:

The conclusions to which our whole study has led may then be summarized as follows:

1. Our Mark, or a document in large part identical with it, was employed as a source of both our First and Third Gospels.
2. Matthew and Luke also possessed in common a document which contained substantially the material standing in Luke 3: 7-15, 17, 18; 4: 2b-13 (14, 15), 16-30; 5: 1-11; 6: 20-49; 7: 1-8; 3; herein referred to as the Galilean document (G).
3. Matthew and Luke also had a document in whole or in part identical with Luke 9: 51-18: 14 and 19: 1-28, which, however, they used in very different ways; herein referred to as the Perean document (P).
4. Matthew also had a document not employed by Luke, chiefly or wholly made up of discourse material. This is presumably the Logia of Matthew spoken of by Papias (M).
5. Additional minor sources there must also have been, the first and third evangelists having, in the main, different ones, as is illustrated in the case of the

<sup>1</sup> Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1904.

infancy narratives and the almost wholly independent additions to Mark's account in the passion and resurrection history.

6. Thus the sources of Matthew are the Matthaean Logia, Mark, the Galilean document, and the Perea document, besides certain minor sources. In his employment of these sources the first evangelist gave the chief place to Mark and the Matthaean Logia, employing the Galilean document for illustrative purposes, and the Perea document for the enrichment of the discourses the basis of which was found in the Logia or in Mark.

7. Luke has the same chief sources as Matthew, with the exception of the Matthaean Logia. In his use of them he made Mark the basis, interpolated material from the Galilean document, omitting Mark's similar narratives when they seemed to him less full and vivid; added the Perea document in two solid sections, making the junction with Mark in such way that the arrival at Jericho indicated in this document should synchronize with that recorded by Mark.

Each of the two later evangelists pursued a consistent and easily intelligible method in the use of the sources, but each his own method.

## §2. THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF THE DOCUMENTS

The documents restored by Professor Burton are set forth on separate sheets accompanying this work, except that of the Gospel of Mark only so much is shown as is needed for illustrative purposes, namely, Mark 1:1—6:44. Such departures, mostly minor, as are made there from the precise documentary limits set by Professor Burton will be dealt with in the course of subsequent discussions. In particular, it may be said here that certain sayings assigned to document M by Professor Burton, brief sayings of an isolated character, are not shown in document M, because they are regarded by the present writer as better placed in the minor sources peculiar to Matthew.<sup>1</sup>

The general character of the Gospel of Mark is well known. An examination of the portion shown in the accompanying exhibit will reveal that within that portion the chronological indications are scanty; and that the movements of Jesus, apart from general statements as to tours, are not more precisely defined geographically than by the simple assertion of his presence upon, or on either side of, the Sea of Galilee. The single mention of a place away from the sea is in the vague term, "his own country." Used as a source, this portion of Mark imposed no restrictions upon an editor of a gospel because of its chronological or geographical precision.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of these omitted sayings as a body, see pp. 361-72.

It will be agreed that document G shows "a marked uniformity in general literary character; that the narratives are all vividly told, surpassing in this respect even the vivid narratives of Mark; and that in literary style it reaches the high-water mark of the gospel material." Like Mark in the Galilean period, its chronological data are few and simple; and, as to place, it might appropriately be called the Capernaum document, knowing Nazareth, but no other city by name except Nain. As a source, it also offered freedom for editorial rearrangement, if such were at any point the wish of its user in gospel construction.

Within the document M there are neither chronological nor geographical data, except the assertion that the Sermon was spoken on the Mount. The material is discourse, the narrative element forming no part of this collection. Therefore, an editor might distribute it as he wished, having regard only for the fact that two large bodies of the material stood as formal and well-articulated addresses. But though the several vivid parables which form the second group, M §§15-25, all had a similar theme, the kingdom of heaven, they permitted, by their literary character as separate units, distribution to such various points within narrative material as might be deemed appropriate by an editor.

While the document P is a most notable combination of narrative and discourse, it shows a surprisingly small number of clear references to time and place, especially when its length is considered. From first to last it knows the name of only a single town through which Jesus passed, Jericho, P §63. It does not locate the home of Mary and Martha more definitely than as in "a certain village," P §11. "A certain place," "a certain village," are its repeated phraseology, P §§12, 58. Similar is its use of "a certain lawyer, or man, or woman," P §§2, 10, 16J, 23. Events are placed "as they went in the way," P §§2, 11; and discourses long or short are introduced by the formula, "And he said unto his disciples," P §§24, 47, 54, 60. Now and then the address is directed to the multitudes, P §§33, 44. This paucity of geographical indication Luke seems to have endeavored to relieve by inserting at certain intervals some broad suggestions of a general progress southward toward Jerusalem. Thus in P §1 the opening assertion that "he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem" seems to be an introduction to the whole document, framed by Luke

himself. The same thought appears again in P §§3, 38, 57, 64C. In P §57 the addition of "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee" seems to have been suggested as appropriate at this point by the definite reference in P §58 to one of the lepers as a Samaritan. It may be reasonable to assume that document P as used by Matthew was devoid of even these very vague hints of progress southward, and that the incident in P §63 was the only one related definitely to a place by name. As for time hints, they are infrequent, and not strong enough to control editorial adjustment of document to document.

Another of the marked characteristics of the P document is the very evident looseness of connection between certain of its parts, especially of sayings to sayings. This may be seen by an endeavor to find relationship in thought between P §§17, 21, 22, 34, 37, 45, 50, 52, 56 and the sections which precede or follow each of these. To this general informality of structure there is to be added the presence of indications that, at some points, junction has been effected on the basis of a misunderstanding of content. Such seems to be the case, for example, in the relation established between P §§19, 20, where the thought in the first verse of P §20 has been taken as if opposed to "hypocrisy," a supposition seen to be without support when the thought of P §20 as a whole is grasped.

In view of the general character of document P, as exhibited in these striking particulars, it would seem that it is open to editorial choice, in using it as a source, either to use it as a whole or to distribute its material at various points within another document which has clearer hints of geographical and chronological movement. Especially is this true of the sayings of Jesus contained in this document.

From this cursory examination of the nature of the several documents from which Matthew and Luke wrought their gospels, it may be concluded that, even working as editors with the utmost of reasonable reverence for their sources, our first and third evangelists were free, so far as concerned the inner necessities of the documents, either to use the documents as a whole or to redistribute them in whole or in part.

### §3. THE LITERARY PRINCIPLES OF LUKE AND OF MATTHEW

There may be stated summarily at this point the leading principles actually employed by these authors as determined by a study of the

works they have produced, it being left to subsequent examination of the application of these principles to justify the inference that they were the controlling factors in the editorial task.

The literary principles of Luke seem to have been:

*Principle 1.*—To disturb the form and the order of his several documents only in such degree as was necessary in order to effect a satisfactory individual junction, or the union of them into a consistent whole.

*Principle 2.*—To omit in the use of document MK such narratives or sayings as seemed to be duplicates of narratives or sayings in his other documents, favoring especially the fuller and more vivid narratives of document G.

*Principle 3.*—To supply minor statements of movement from event to event, or of progress within a general period.

The application by Luke of these principles to his documents may now be followed step by step:

Documents MK and G both regarded the gospel history as beginning with the public activity of John the Baptist. Whether in Luke 3:1-6 (G §1A) we have preserved for us exactly the original form of the opening paragraph of document G may not be affirmed with certainty. That document G had some such introductory paragraph is clear<sup>1</sup> from the content of those verses which Matthew and Luke use first in common from G, G §1B.<sup>2</sup> Having introduced thus the ministry of John, Luke used document G §1B-F. Of this material, G §1D stood also in document MK §1H.<sup>3</sup> But MK §1H was not without its influence, for apparently from it there was drawn by Luke (and Matthew) the phrase, "the Holy Ghost," the document MK

<sup>1</sup> The necessity for certain brief arguments about the limits of the documents arises from the differences of opinion between the present writer and Professor Burton as to the precise content of the documents. Perhaps for simplicity of statement, Professor Burton seems to have preferred, for the most part, not to credit two documents with similar material, except when the external evidence compelled it. Conflict of opinion affects only a few, minor passages.

<sup>2</sup> That some G §1A has influenced both Matthew and Luke seems indicated by their phrase, "the region round about Jordan," which is not derivable from document MK.

<sup>3</sup> That it stood in both documents is evidenced by the similar order of its parts in Luke 3:16 = Matt. 3:11, an order called for by the presence of G §1C with its question, toward the end, directed to John.

parallel to the "fire" of document G.<sup>1</sup> Since Luke uses here G §1F, the account of the same fact which appears later in MK §32C-E is omitted (Principle 2), only MK §32AB being used at that point, Luke 9:7-9.<sup>2</sup> It may not be affirmed with assurance that Luke found his 3:21, 22 as §2 of document G rather than as §2 of document MK, but, in view of the presence of document G §4B-E in both Matthew and Luke, some such preceding section as G §2 must be credited to document G.<sup>3</sup>

Luke's respect for the order of his documents, especially for his document G, is nowhere more strikingly shown than in his retention of G §3 at the point where that document seems to have given it to him. It would have been entirely natural for him to have transferred document G §3 to some point in the infancy section, rather than leave it here, where it interrupts the most natural movement from G §2 to G §4. Following this use of document G §3, Luke used G §4, being uninfluenced by document MK §3B, which, however, Matthew used as Matt. 4:11b.<sup>4</sup> Passing from the temptation of Jesus, Luke used successively from document G its next three sections, G §§5-7. Having used here the document G account of the visit of Jesus to Nazareth, he omits later the account in document MK §29 (Principle 2). For document G §5 the document MK equivalent is MK §4. Document MK now presents in §5 an account of the Call of the Four, but the call, as there described, is abrupt and without preparatory conditions. Apparently for that reason, Luke prefers to use the more circumstantial and natural narrative supplied to him by document G §8. But that section of document G presupposes the presence of a great multitude of followers. Document MK §9 supplies the conditions for the gathering of such a multitude. Document G §7 is followed, therefore,<sup>5</sup> in Luke by document MK §§6-9, after which

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 20, 21.

<sup>2</sup> That Luke 3:19, 20 is not the product of the condensation and transference of document MK §32C-E seems assured from the fact that if it be such it is the single instance of such procedure in the whole work of Luke.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps support for this conclusion is found in the use of "the heavens were opened" by Matthew and Luke as against "rent asunder" by Mark.

<sup>4</sup> That Luke 4:1, 2a, or its equivalent, stood as G §4A seems necessitated by G §4B-E, though the thoughts of G §4A may be found as MK §3A.

<sup>5</sup> It is not assumed that the editorial motives of the evangelists may be determined with certainty. But there is not excluded the endeavor to assign a reasonable and sufficient motive.



document G §8 is inserted, to be followed in turn by eight successive sections of document MK, MK §§10-17.

The location of the document G account of the Sermon on the Mount, G §§10-17, within the framework of document MK seems to have been determined by Luke's identification of the situation portrayed in G §9 with that outlined in MK §16. It results in Luke's changing of the order of his document MK §§16, 17, and in the rewriting of MK §16 in such form as to eliminate the local element and to conform it to the general situation portrayed in G §9. Having preceded it, however, by MK §17, he must needs represent Jesus as having come down from the mountain, for the multitude of G §9 and MK §16 cannot be addressed except "on a level place." Having provided a setting for the Sermon under the influence and by the use of G §9 and MK §§16, 17, Luke follows with G §§10-17, his only record of the Sermon. And since document MK subsequent to MK §17 has nothing which demands a different course, he acts on his principle of keeping his documents intact by following the record of the Sermon by the remainder of document G in its order and without interruption, G §§18-22.

Luke is free now to move within the limits of documents MK and P. In document MK his next section, MK §18, deals with the charge against Jesus of league with Beelzebub. But document P contains an account which seems to be a duplicate, P §16. Therefore MK §18 is omitted by Luke (Principle 2). That part of MK §18 which is not paralleled in P §16, namely MK §18E, has its parallel in P §21. Document MK §18A has provided a multitude, and MK §19 requires the presence of a multitude. In order to provide this feature of the setting, a feature lost to Luke by his non-use of MK §18, Luke reserves his use of MK §19 until he has inserted MK §§20, 21, the introduction to MK §20 supplying the multitude. The influence of the change of order is seen in another particular, the thought content of MK §21 resulting in the change of "whosoever shall do the will of God" to "these who hear the word of God and do it," Luke 8:21 compared with document MK §19.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In view of the sequence of events in MK §§18, 19, it is worth considering whether we have in P §16J the document P record of that which stands in MK §19, even as in P §16A-I there is the parallel to MK §18B-F, and whether Luke 8:21, as against the close of MK §19, was influenced by the belief of a parallelism in P §16J.

Why Luke does not take up the parable in MK §23 is explained (Principle 2) by its presence in P §37. That he should omit the parable in MK §22 may be accounted for, perhaps, by the general likeness of the situation it portrays to that in the parable of the Sower, MK §20A, in both cases the casting of seed upon the earth. That MK §24 falls out results apparently from the use of MK §19 after, instead of before, the parables by the sea. These several adjustments of the document MK narrative at this point all seem to have resulted from the parallelism of document P to document MK which begins with MK §18B. Luke now employs consecutively document MK §§25-33, except §§29, 32C-E. The faithfulness of Luke, in the main, to his sources will be recognized if it is recalled now that to document MK §33 he has departed from the order of his document MK, notwithstanding the necessity of adjusting it to the documents G and P, only in the different placing of the Call of the Four, in the reversal of order in MK §§16, 17, and in the setting of MK §19 after instead of before MK §§20, 21. His choice of document G §§1F, 6, as against document MK §§32C-E, 29, results in these events finding a place earlier in the record of Jesus' life than if he had followed document MK. Other than these instances, there are no differences in order between Luke and his document MK which affect a full section, the remaining divergences consisting of the arrangement of paragraphs within the sections on the Last Supper and on the Trial.<sup>1</sup>

The problem of the location of the contents of document P was apparently a most difficult one for Luke, because of the almost entire absence of chronological and geographical indications in that document. It made mention of one place only, and this Luke utilized as a guide for the placing of document P within the document MK framework. In P §63 Jericho was named. In MK 10:46 also it was found. It was decided, it seems, to synchronize these arrivals at Jericho. But MK 10:46 set the event "as they went out from Jericho," while that of P §63 was recorded as happening as "he entered and was passing through Jericho." To adjust the documents (Principle 3), the "as he went out from Jericho" of MK 10:46 was made to read in Luke 18:35 "as he drew nigh unto Jericho."

<sup>1</sup> For a study of the relations of Luke to document MK beyond MK §33, the reader is referred to Professor Burton's monograph.

The document P was regarded by Luke, in the absence of more precise indications, as covering the activity of Jesus beyond Jordan. Its beginning was made therefore to parallel MK 10:1. Hence Luke's documentary material for the Perean period was the tenth chapter of document MK and the whole of document P. Having found one point of contact between them in the common mention of the town of Jericho, he interpolated his document MK chapter as a whole before document P §63. In accordance with Principle 2, document MK 10:2-12 was omitted because of document P §52, likewise MK 10:31 because of P §41; certain of the thoughts of MK 10:35-45 are to be found in P §31, and in Luke 22:25, 26. That document P might not stand destitute of chronological and geographical hints, document MK 10:1 was apparently rewritten as the opening of P §1, and there was added also P §§38, 57, 64C (Principle 3).

The literary principles of Matthew were neither so few nor so simple as were those of Luke. They may be stated as follows:

*Principle 1.*—Within those narrative portions of his documents where chronological or geographical data were absent or were vague, to group those events that were related through having a common geographical center.

*Principle 2.*—To combine the several accounts of his documents when they seemed to record the same event or discourse, especially when the material presented any considerable body of the words of Jesus.

*Principle 3.*—To group the sayings of Jesus on a single theme, even to the extent of taking one phase of the theme from one document and another from another.

*Principle 4.*—To choose document MK as against document G where they possessed material in common—the opposite of the Lukan preference.

*Principle 5.*—To condense the narratives of MK where they were especially full of secondary details.

*Principle 6.*—To change the order of thoughts within a section of one document when necessary to the effecting of a junction with matter from another document.

*Principle 7.*—To make the Pharisees the source or the object of

such unfavorable criticism as the documents leave indefinite in source or object.

*Principle 8.*—To enlarge quotations already made from the Old Testament, and to insert additional ones at other points in the history.

*Principle 9.*—To modify the apparent rigor of hard sayings.

*Principle 10.*—To eliminate all demoniac confessions of Jesus as the Christ.<sup>1</sup>

*Principle 11.*—To eliminate references to anger or other apparently condemnable moods in Jesus.

Matthew could not well begin his use of document MK by the insertion of MK §1A, for his previous recording of the infancy narratives indicates that he had another conception of the beginning of the gospel than that set forth by documents MK and G. But passing over MK §1A he uses MK §1B-G, except C, in the order E, B, D, G, F (Principle 6), the portion F preparing for the message of John taken from G §1B, D, E. The absence of MK §1C from both Luke and Matthew, together with the fact that the quotation is said in MK §1B to come from Isaiah, whereas portion C is from Malachi, makes it reasonably clear that C came into Mark, subsequent to the use of document MK by Luke and Matthew, through the influence of the quotation taken by them from G §20C. In the difference between the beginning of G §1B and Matt. 3:7 there is seen the application of Principle 7. As against G §1F, Matthew chooses the form and place of MK §32C (Principle 4). MK §2 with perhaps some influence from G §2 is next used.<sup>2</sup> In the combination of MK §3 and G §4 Matthew makes use of MK §3B which had been passed over by Luke. Since Matthew had opened his gospel with an impressive genealogy of Jesus drawn from another source he does not make use of G §3. An application of his Principle 8 may be seen by comparing G §4B with Matt. 4:4. Of document G, §§5 and 6 are omitted because of preference for the MK record (Principle 4). Therefore Matthew now uses MK §4, placing between portions A and B his document G §7, to which he attaches a lengthy quotation (Principle 8). There now lay before him the choice between MK §5 and G §8, and

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Matthew acted in this particular under the influence of such a thought as that in I Cor. 12:3, "No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit."

<sup>2</sup> On the source of Matt. 3:14, 15, see pp. 361-72.

he chose the former (Principle 4). But there followed in document MK a section which Matthew could not use as a whole, MK §6, because of the nature of most of the narrative (Principle 10). Turning to document G he found the record of a tour in Galilee and of a widespread fame of Jesus, G §9. The situation there portrayed<sup>1</sup> he apparently identified with MK §§6E, 9, 10B, and used the record of it given him by G §9. This resulted in the Sermon on the Mount, G §§10-17, being given its place by Matthew at this point in his gospel. The same section, document G §9, has been determinative, it seems, for the location of the Sermon by Luke, but he has identified the situation in G §9 with that portrayed in MK §16 rather than that in MK §§6E, 9, 10B, and therefore has placed the Sermon after using MK §§6-17.

Having derived a position for the Sermon from document G in comparison with document MK, Matthew is prepared to bring into use both the account of the Sermon given in document G and that supplied by the discourse document which he alone possessed, the important document M. Moreover, since he has now reached a lengthy body of discourse material, there is occasion for the free and full application of Principle 3. For its application, document P supplies a large number of utterances of Jesus which, by the greater or lesser looseness of their attachment to the contexts in P, invite to redistribution. The actual course of Matthew in the use of his several documents at this first point where he has the basis for a lengthy discourse from Jesus seems to have been as follows: The document M form of the Beatitudes was chosen, M §1, as against G §10A. But the actual experiences of the early Christian community seemed so clearly portrayed in G §10B that this Beatitude was added from G, it not being recognized that the last of the document M Beatitudes was the M parallel for document G §10B. From M

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to assume that document G §9, as we now have it, is in the precise form that came to the hands of Matthew. By a comparison of MK §30 with its parallel in Matt. 9:35, it will be found that Matthew adds "and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness." Similarly, it will be found that to the first statements of MK §31A he adds in Matt. 10:1, "and to heal all manner of disease and all manner of sickness." Within G §9 the words "and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness among the people" may be the editorial addition of Matthew, being his form of summary for the activity of Jesus on his tours.

there was drawn then M §§2-4. The last of these dealt at the close with quarrels between brethren. Finding in P §34 a detached portion which had the same general theme, it was brought into the Sermon (Principle 3), forming the first evident interruption to the structure handed down by document M. Document M §5 on adultery was used next, and document P was searched for what it could contribute to that theme (Principle 3). It was found to have a single detached paragraph, P §52. For this there was provided an introduction in the manner of the formula which document M reported, though shortened to the simple, "It was said also." In connection with his use of P §52 here, there may be seen a striking illustration of the application of Principle 9, in the form of the addition, "saving for the cause of fornication." When later he comes to the use of a similar saying appearing in MK 10:11, he adds the same modification of its apparent rigor, Matt. 19:9. It is, further, to be asked whether the "maketh her an adulteress" is a softening of "committeth adultery." Document M §6 follows this addition to M §5. In M §§7, 8 there was the document M parallel to G §12; document M §§7, 8 shows two themes in an orderly, progressive treatment, document G §12 is a confusion of these two themes. The editorial question was whether document G had anything to contribute to the record. G §12A=M §8A, G §12B=M §7B, G §12E=M §8C, G §12G=M §8A, G §12I=M §8B, G §12J=M §8D, G §12D is reserved by Matthew for use as an appropriate close to the specific injunctions of the Sermon, Matt. 7:12. It will now be seen that of G §12 there remained without parallel in the document M account of the Sermon the portions C, F, H. These have the single theme, Lending. Matthew decides to take up the portion C, but to it he applies his Principle 9, so that the words "of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again" become, under his hands, "from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away." This modification of the apparent rigor of the document G saying excludes the possibility of Matthew's use of the portions F, H of G §12, for they assume the form of the first saying to be that in G §12C. If Matthew had left his G §12C in the form in which it reached him, it would have served better than it now does as the sequel of M §7B and illustration of the principle of conduct enunciated in M §7A.

M §§9-11 are used next. But sayings of Jesus on prayer were reported in documents P and MK also, briefly in the latter. Thus in P §13 there was a form of prayer recorded. But M §11 had not dealt with the content of prayer, its concern being with the manner. Attachment of P §13 to M §11 could be satisfactorily effected only by the supplying of an appropriate introduction to the thought. This is done by Matthew in the words of Matt. 6:7, 8, the latter verse derivable from the closing verses of P §24. The contribution of document MK to the subject lay in MK 11:25, which Matthew makes to follow P §13 in the Sermon, and therefore omits when he comes to use MK 11:20-25 in his parallel, Matt. 21:20-22. To this verse from document MK as used in Matt. 6:14 he adds the normal inference from the verse, that is, Matt. 6:15. Thus enlarged from documents P and MK, the second member, M §11, of the trilogy M §§10-12 is followed by the third, M §12.

Matthew has reached now those sections which form the natural conclusion of the document M record of the Sermon, M §§13, 14. Not intending to use document P as a whole, and being, therefore, under the necessity of distributing within the area of his other documents such of document P as he wished to retain, Matthew determines, it would seem, to find a place for considerable of document P in the Sermon on the Mount. Therefore there follow now in succession P §§26, 17B, 48, 24.<sup>1</sup> From document G its §§13, 14 are now drawn, except that G §14AB, not being germane to the subject, are used by Matthew elsewhere, as will be seen subsequently. Apparently under the desire to include in the Sermon all detachable sayings of Jesus on prayer, Matthew now inserts P §15.<sup>2</sup> Being now at the end of such specific injunctions as precede the concluding paragraphs of the Sermon in both documents G and M, Matthew uses, as a summary, the verse which he had omitted in his use of G §12, namely, G §12D, adding to it the same thought as he added to MK 12:31 in his writing of Matt. 22:34-40 as the parallel to MK 12:28-31. This is followed in turn by M §§13, 14, the latter section being the document M

<sup>1</sup> On the difference in form between the opening of P §26 and Matt. 6:19, and on the non-use of P §25 while the sections on each side of it are used, see pp. 61-63. On the source of Matt. 6:34, see pp. 361-72. Of P §17 the portion A had already appeared as a part of M §2B, and the portion C was perhaps regarded as obscure in meaning.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the source of Matt. 7:6, see pp. 361-72.

parallel to G §§15, 16. The Sermon proper was concluded by the use of G §17.

There is now a return to that section in document MK from which there had been digression for the inclusion of the Sermon, namely, MK §6. By Principle 10 that section as a whole is excluded. But the use of such parts as do not involve the demoniac confession is permitted; therefore MK §6C is taken up as Matt. 7:28, 29, and applied to the Sermon. The "great multitudes" of Matt. 8:1 are those provided by document G §9, with which Matthew had preceded the Sermon; and since G §9 apparently had been identified by Matthew with MK §§6E, 9, 10B, he now gives a place to MK §10A. Matthew had left behind him MK §7 and might now take it up; but portion A of that section implies the synagogue incident, and portion B locates it in Capernaum. However, the next unused section of document G will supply the movement to Capernaum, G §18, and is the document G sequel to the Sermon. It is used next therefore by Matthew, there being inserted between portions B and C a saying of Jesus which Matthew takes to be related, by its theme, to the close of B, namely, P §40. The Matthaean elimination of the "elders of the Jews" as the bearers of the centurion's request may have been made in the conviction that they could hardly be regarded as so favorable to the activity of Jesus (compare Principle 7). This incident of G §18 having brought Jesus to Capernaum, MK §7 could now be used by Matthew, portion A being passed over. But MK §7C recorded the demoniacal acknowledgment of Jesus, therefore it could not be used (Principle 10); in its place there was substituted a quotation from Isaiah, "Himself took our infirmities, and bare our diseases" (Principle 8). Since MK §8 is introductory to the Galilean tour recorded in MK §9, and since that tour already has been identified with G §9 and taken up, MK §8 falls out of the Matthaean record. The next unused document MK account is that in MK §11, but this implies an absence from Capernaum for a time, and Matthew now has Jesus in Capernaum. Not until MK §25 is there a clear indication of the movement of Jesus away from Capernaum. That section is chosen therefore as the next in the Matthaean narrative, the "great multitudes" of Matt. 8:18 being derivable from "And all the city was gathered together at the door" of MK §7B



which Matthew had just used, but with the omission of this sentence; and likewise appearing at the opening of MK §25B, "and leaving the multitude." But it was the concern of Matthew to include also, so far as practicable, the narrative portions of document P. P §1 being in large part the Lukan introduction to the whole document, there was first available to Matthew P §2; this is given a place between portions A and B of MK §25. Naturally MK §§26, 27 are made to follow. But the former narrative, MK §26, was of such a nature (Principle 10) that it demanded adaptation. It must be so rewritten that the men themselves and not the demons within them address Jesus as "Son of God." MK §26B makes it clear that the confession proceeded from the demon as a result of his being commanded to leave the man; MK §26B is therefore dropped by Matthew, for without it the confession is represented as from the man himself. In the Matthaean rewriting of MK §26A there is a striking instance of the application of Principle 5; and the same again in the complete dropping out of MK §26D. Because MK §26B was not usable on account of its content (Principle 10), its explanation of the plurality of demons did not appear. But MK §26C with its plurals was used; therefore Matthew must needs begin his narrative with the assertion that there were two demoniacs, though his source had recorded one only. It may be surmised that the brevity which omits portions D and F of this section is traceable, in part, to the unwillingness to adapt these portions to the plural number. In short, the differences between MK §26 and Matt. 8:28-34 are all naturally explainable as the resultants of the application of Principle 10.

Having brought Jesus to Capernaum by the use of MK §27, Matthew is able to use the group of Capernaum incidents which imply an absence from that city for a season, MK §§11-13. The general introduction to the whole supplied by MK §27 supplants the two special introductions in MK §11A, MK §12A.<sup>1</sup> After having gathered up these sections of Capernaum incidents there is a return to the other group which is located in that city after the return from "the country of the Gerasenes," namely, MK §28 (Principle 1). In the use of this section there is seen again the application of Principle 5, by which MK §28A and E are combined into a single statement,

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the source of Matt. 9:13a, see pp. 361-72.

Matt. 9:18, 19; and portions B and D are abbreviated as Matt. 9:20-22. A motive for the omission of portion C may be found in the limits it sets to the power and knowledge of Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

Document P now suggested, in P §§3, 4, a mission of the disciples. Within document MK also the appointment of a body of men for such a mission was the next highly important event as yet unused, MK §17. But document MK contained at another point a record of the actual sending-out of these men, MK §31; and the latter had many elements in common with the document P §§3, 4 narratives which had suggested the inclusion of a mission record at this point in Matthew. Acting apparently on Principle 2, Matthew decided to combine the accounts in MK §§17, 31 with that in P §4. A careful examination of Matt. 9:37—10:16a will reveal the fact that these verses are composed of P §4+MK §§17, 31, every thought in those sections being taken up by Matthew, and no thought appearing which may not be found in those sections, except the definition of the limits of the mission in Matt. 10:5, 6.<sup>2</sup> The opening words of P §4 imply a situation where many needy and responsive ones are present; this is supplied by Matthew by preceding his use of MK §31 with the use of MK §30 and MK §33C, the latter being omitted when he comes to use MK §33 as Matt. 14:13-21. To MK §30 there is added the Matthaean formula, "and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness;" and to MK §31A the same in the words, "and to heal all manner of disease and all manner of sickness."

Because of the presence of such a large number of sayings of Jesus in these sections which Matthew had combined under the influence of Principle 2, he has approached Principle 3. That Principle he now applies to such sayings of Jesus about the activity of the disciples as passed beyond a specific mission during his own lifetime. If there be made a careful search through Matthew's several documents for all the material which deals with a future mission of the disciples and the sacrifices for it and persecutions attendant upon it, the list will be found to be as follows: Document MK 13:9-13; 9:37, 41; 8:34-38; document P §§22, 20, 32, 44B, 6; document G §14B. An examina-

<sup>1</sup> On the source of Matt. 9:27-34, see the monograph of Professor Burton.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the source of Matt. 10:5, 6, see pp. 88-92.

tion of Matt. 10:17-42 will reveal that it contains all of this material; the order is as follows: Document MK 13:9-13 = P §22 + document G §14B + document P §20 = MK 8:38 + document P §32 + P §44B<sup>1</sup> = MK 8:34, 35 + document MK 9:37 = P §6 + document MK 9:41. It will be observed that in Matt. 10:23 there is a definition of the limits of the mission which corresponds in conception to that in Matt. 10:5, 6.<sup>2</sup> That Matthew did actually draw from the documents after the manner here set forth can be tested in the case of documents G and MK; in the former, by observing how he omitted G §14B in his use of that section in the construction of the Sermon on the Mount, because not germane to the subject, but uses it here; in the case of document MK, by studying the omissions and reconstructions of Matthew when writing parallels to his document MK at MK 13:9-13 = Matt. 24:9-13; MK 9:37-42 = Matt. 18:5,6. Apparently because Matthew had so enlarged the scope of the instructions to the disciples about their mission, the fact of an actual mission at that time in the history, MK §31B, is lost sight of by the evangelist, and in its place there stands a statement of activity on the part of Jesus himself, Matt. 11:1. By this statement, however, a fitting introduction is made to that which is now supplied by document G §20. In the use of G §20, the portion B is dropped as being implied in Matt. 11:1, and D as being narrative interrupting the course of the thought of Jesus. In the place of portion D there is supplied from P §50 the sole reference of document P to John the Baptist, supplemented by the interpretation of John suggested by document MK 9:13.

Document P has been used to the end of §4; P §6 also has been taken up. Since Matthew has not used his material so as to record an actual tour of the disciples, P §7 is not usable in his narrative. The next two sections of unused but usable material in document P are therefore P §§5, 8; these are made by Matthew to follow immediately after G §20, a suitable introduction being supplied by Matt. 11:20.<sup>3</sup>

A review of Matthew's use of document MK to the present will show that there has been taken up from it all but the following sections:

<sup>1</sup> In his use of P §44B, there is an illustration of Matthew's Principle 9.

<sup>2</sup> On the source of Matt. 10:16b, 23, 25b, 41, see pp. 88-92 and 361-72.

<sup>3</sup> On the source of Matt. 11:28-30, see pp. 361-72.

MK §§14-16, 18-24, 29, 32, 33. These sections Matthew now places consecutively in his narrative in the precise order in which they stand in document MK; and, what is quite as striking, he does not depart again from the order of MK to the end of that document, except in making the cursing and the withering of the fig tree to happen on the same morning, Matt. 21:18-22 as against MK 11:12-14; 20-25. That is to say, Matthew under the influence of documents G and P, but especially the narrative document G, removes from his document MK and rearranges certain sections; but when he has passed beyond the limits of the influence of document G, he sets down what remains of document MK in the precise order of that document, thus bringing into direct sequence those parts separated by the gaps caused by his excerpts, for example, MK §§24, 29. But in his further use of document MK, Matthew shows constantly the influence of his remaining documents, P and M. Thus in the midst of MK §15 there may be detected the influence of the narrative in P §43A.<sup>1</sup> His unwillingness to attribute anger to Jesus (Principle 11) accounts for his omission of words to that effect which appear in MK §15. When he undertakes to use MK §16 he is faced again by the assertion of demoniacal confession of Jesus, MK §16C, and in accordance with his fixed Principle 10 he eliminates that part of the record, putting in the place of it a lengthy quotation from the Old Testament (Principle 8) which attributes a quite different motive for the charge that Jesus be not made known.

The next unused section was MK §18, and to this MK narrative Matthew held a parallel in P §16. He therefore applied Principle 2, and formed a union of documents MK and P in the following order: P §16A + MK §18B = P §16B + P §16D = MK §18C + P §16F + MK §18D = P §16G + P §16H + MK §18E + P §21<sup>2</sup> + P §16C + P §16K<sup>3</sup> + P §16N + P §16M + P §16I. Because MK §16 had supplied the multitude required by MK §18A, the latter falls out of Matthew's narrative. The choice of MK §18D as against P §16G is explainable by the obscurity of the latter. The bringing-in of the only other saying

<sup>1</sup> On the source of Matt. 12:5-7, see pp. 361-72.

<sup>2</sup> On the source of Matt. 12:33-37, see pp. 218-21.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 12:40 seems to be the Matthaean substitute for P §16L, written in the light of history.

upon this subject from P §21 is very instructive as to the method of Matthew (Principle 3). Two applications of Principle 7 may be seen by comparing P §16BC with Matt. 12:24, 38. The editorial additions in Matt. 12:23*a*, 45*b* are suggestive of some Matthaean tendencies. If Matthew omitted P §16J because he intended to follow immediately with MK §19, that tends to confirm the suggestion previously made that P §16J is the document P account of the same incident as is related by document MK in MK §19. The discourse which now follows in document MK, MK §§20-24, is supplemented by parables drawn from documents P and M, the order being apparently as follows: MK §20A + MK §21C + MK §20B + O.T. quotation (Principle 8) + P §9 + MK §20E + M §15A + MK §23 = P §37A + P §37B + MK §24A + O.T. quotation (Principle 8) + MK §24B, adapted so as to prepare for M §15B + M §§16-19.<sup>1</sup> The omission of the parable in MK §22 may have been due, as was suggested in the case of the same Lukan omission, to its similarity to that of the Sower, supplemented in Matthew's case by the likeness of the parable taken from M §15.

Document MK §§25-28, 30, 31 having been already used, Matthew next takes MK §29, and follows it immediately by MK §32. In his use of the latter, Principle 5 is applied, to the shortening of the narrative. When Matthew passed from MK §32 to MK §33 it was not possible for him to use MK §33A, because he had not recorded the actual tour of the disciples which MK §33A implies, namely, that in MK §31B. But he uses the rest of MK §33, omitting only portion C which he had employed as a fit setting for the commissioning of the disciples, Matt. 9:36.

Enough of the Gospel of Matthew has been considered for an adequate exhibit of his principles and method in the use of his documents. His method having been set forth, such of his material as is concerned with the teaching of Jesus about the future will be examined subsequently in connection with the special theme of which each part of it treats. It would seem that the conclusion of Professor Burton to the effect that "each of the two later evangelists pursued a

<sup>1</sup> The discourse is discussed as a whole on pp. 315-22, at which point the reasons for the Matthaean procedure are considered, and the few minor verbal departures from documents are reviewed.

consistent and easily intelligible method in the use of the sources, but each his own method" is supported by an examination of the facts.

#### §4. DOCUMENT COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT

It is highly instructive and will yield important results for use in a constructive exhibit of the teaching of Jesus about the future to make a careful study of such material as is common to two or more of the documents from which our gospels have come. Though not all of the common material bears upon the theme of the present work, it is profitable to review it all, its narrow limits making a complete study possible without undue digression. To know what differences in form or in substance are to be observed in reports of sayings of Jesus which have come down to us through different lines of tradition is of the very first order of importance.

#### I. Document G compared with Other Documents

##### A. DOCUMENT G COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT MK

##### 1. THE MESSAGE OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

###### DOCUMENT G §1

Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruit worthy of repentance: and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with [the Holy Ghost and *with*] fire: whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his threshing-floor; and he will gather his wheat into the garner, but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.

###### DOCUMENT MK §1

There cometh after me he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I baptized you with water; but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.

Have we here two different and fundamentally opposed conceptions of the prospective work of the Christ? That document G did not contain "the Holy Ghost and," but that this phrase was taken by Matthew and Luke from document MK, seems probable. It is the only element which document MK could contribute to the enrichment of document G, and is wholly foreign to the fundamental thought of G §1. Document G §1 deals throughout with a baptism of fire. Shall it be said that G reports the real forecast of John while MK sets forth that outcome which history actually gave? Which conception is more in accord with the expectations current in the days of Jesus?

Which conception does subsequent history show to have been that of John the Baptist? If that of document MK, why did John doubt whether Jesus was the Christ when Jesus was actually fulfilling the programme of MK §1? But this doubt of John is recorded by document G only, G §20. Has it failed to find a place in MK because it would be inconsistent with the expectation of John recorded in MK §1? Does document G in its whole representation of the message and attitude toward Jesus of John take us nearer to the facts of the history?

## 2. THE METHOD AND MESSAGE OF JESUS

### DOCUMENT G §§5, 6

And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee: and a fame went out concerning him through all the region round about. And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all.

And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and he entered, as his custom was, into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the book, and found the place where it was written,

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,  
Because he anointed me to preach good tidings  
to the poor:

He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,

And recovering of sight to the blind,  
To set at liberty them that are bruised,

To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

And he closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down: and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them, To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the words of grace which proceeded out of his mouth.

### DOCUMENT MK §4

Now after that John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel.

By which method and with which message did Jesus begin his public activity in Galilee? Is not the message in document G the assertion of a sense of prophetic vocation, while that in document MK is the announcement of an impending crisis? Does the subsequent detailed record of document MK support the belief that Jesus began his ministry with such an announcement as is credited in MK §4? What was the attitude of Jesus toward any approach to a premature messianic interpretation of himself? Or is MK to be regarded not as a report of words actually spoken by Jesus but as a summary of the evangelical conception of the content of his early messages? And if the latter, is it in accord with the development of events as these are reported subsequently, even in document MK? Which of the two courses is more in keeping with the general spirit and method of Jesus? Which form of statement more properly

defines the mission of Jesus as conceived by himself? Is this last question best answered by a record which document G again is the only document to preserve, G §20C?<sup>1</sup>

### 3. METHOD IN THE CALL OF THE FOUR

#### DOCUMENT G §8

Now it came to pass, while the multitude pressed upon him and heard the word of God, that he was standing by the lake of Gennesaret; and he saw two boats standing by the lake: but the fishermen had gone out of them, and were washing their nets. And he entered into one of the boats, which was Simon's and asked him to put out a little from the land. And he sat down and taught the multitudes out of the boat. And when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Put out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught. And Simon answered and said, Master, we toiled all night, and took nothing: but at thy word I will let down the nets. And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes; and their nets were breaking; and they beckoned unto their partners in the other boat, that they should come and help them. And they came, and filled both the boats, so that they began to sink. But Simon Peter, when he saw it, fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord. For he was amazed, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken; and so were also James and John, sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men. And when they had brought their boats to land, they left all, and followed him.

#### DOCUMENT MK §5

And passing along by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting a net in the sea: for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they left the nets, and followed him. And going on a little further, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the boat mending the nets. And straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and went after him.

Which account of the Call is the more intelligible and normal? Which seems to be derived from the period nearest to the occurrences? Without reference to circumstantiality of detail, which reads more like precise history? If document G, what bearing does that have on the relative valuation of G at other points where it has narrative in common with MK?

### 4. A SAYING OF JESUS

#### DOCUMENT G §13

A And judge not, and ye shall not be judged: and condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: release, and ye shall be released: give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over, shall they give unto your bosom.

C For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.

#### DOCUMENT MK §21

B If any man hath ears to hear, let him hear. And he said unto them, Take heed what ye hear: C with what measure ye mete it shall be measured unto you: and more shall be given unto you.

D For he that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken away even that which he hath.

Which document preserves the true context of the similar saying in portion C about "what measure ye mete"? Or is it to be regarded

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of these questions, see pp. 301-6.



as a repeated saying? If the latter, what does it mean in the MK context? Is the MK context more normally continuous and intelligible if portion C be omitted? Why does Luke omit this saying from the MK paragraph though using the rest of MK §21 as Luke 8:18? Is it because he had already used it from document G as Luke 6:38? Then why not omit the rest of the MK paragraph, since it is mostly in document P? Is the absence of portion C from Luke at this point, Luke 8:16-18 = MK 4:21-25, to be accounted for rather by supposing that it was absent from the MK used by Luke, but subsequently was brought into document MK either from one of the gospels which had taken it from G, Luke 6:38 = Matt. 7:2, or from some unknown source?

B. DOCUMENT G COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT M

I. THE BEATITUDES OF JESUS

DOCUMENT G §10

- A Blessed *are* ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.
- B Blessed *are* ye that weep now: for ye shall laugh.
- D Blessed *are* ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled.
- F Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you *from their company*, and reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice in that day, and leap *for joy*: for behold, your reward is great in heaven: for in the same manner did their fathers unto the prophets.

DOCUMENT M §1

- A Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven.
- B Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.
- C Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
- D Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.
- E Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.  
Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.  
Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called sons of God.
- F Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Which form of the Beatitudes is the more authentic? Does the apparent greater originality of document G as compared with document MK, seen in preceding comparisons, hold for document G as compared with document M? Does M §2 help toward an answer, that is, does it suggest that the sayings ran: Blessed are ye poor; Blessed are ye hungry; Blessed are ye mourners; Blessed are ye persecuted ones; Ye are the salt of the earth; Ye are the light of the world? Is it easier to suppose that the G form of report developed into that in M, or the reverse? How account for the exceptional length of the G Beatitude about persecution as compared both with the M report of the same and with the other Beatitudes?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of some of these questions, see p. 51, paragraph 7.

## 2. TWO CONTRASTS FROM JESUS

## DOCUMENT G §12

But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you. To him that smiteth thee on the *one* cheek offer also the other; and from him that taketh away thy cloke withhold not thy coat also. Give to every one that asketh thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again. And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. And if ye love them that love you, what thank have ye? for even sinners love those that love them. And if ye do good to them that do good to you, what thank have ye? for even sinners do the same. And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? even sinners lend to sinners, to receive again as much. But love your enemies, and do *them* good, and lend, never despairing; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be sons of the Most High: for he is kind toward the unthankful and evil. Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful.

## DOCUMENT M §§7, 8

Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain.

Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust. For if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more *than others*? do not even the Gentiles the same? Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.

As to orderliness in the thought, which account is preferable? As to scope of report, which is more complete? What shall be said as to the nature of those thoughts which G alone has preserved? Shall it be said that M has omitted the most rigorous of the apparently hard sayings of Jesus on the subject of resistance to forceful evil?

## 3. THE GOOD TREE AND THE CORRUPT TREE

## DOCUMENT G §§15, 16

A  
B For of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.  
C Compare portion G.  
D For there is no good tree that bringeth forth corrupt fruit; nor again a corrupt tree that bringeth forth good fruit.  
E  
F For each tree is known by its own fruit.  
G The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and the evil *man* out of the evil *treasure* bringeth forth that which is evil: for out of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.  
H And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?

## DOCUMENT M §14

A Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them.  
B Do *men* gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?  
C Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.  
D A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.  
E Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.  
F Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them.  
G Compare portion C.  
H Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.  
I Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

Which is the more authentic report of the words actually spoken by Jesus on this occasion? What shall be said of the document M material which has no parallel in document G, namely, the portions A, E, I? Does that material form another unit, complete in itself, dealing with another theme, the subject of "false prophets"? And is that subject treated in the terms of John the Baptist, portion E compared with G §1B end? Do the two parts of the M account form a single consistent whole, the unity of which would not be called in question were it not for the document G account? Which record forms the more natural and normal conclusion to the Sermon on the Mount? If Jesus thus referred to "false prophets" whom did he mean? Of those sayings which are common to both documents which form seems the more authentic?<sup>1</sup>

C. DOCUMENT G COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT P

Document G has nothing in common with Document P.

D. DOCUMENT G COMPARED WITH UNKNOWN SOURCES

THE GENEALOGY OF JESUS

DOCUMENT G §3

And Jesus himself, when he began to teach, was about thirty years of age, being the son [(as was supposed)] of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Melchi, the son of Jannai, the son of Joseph, the son of Mattathias, the son of Amos, the son of Nahum, the son of Esli, the son of Naggai, the son of Maath, the son of Mattathias, the son of Semein, the son of Josech, the son of Joda, the son of Joanan, the son of Rhesa, the son of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, the son of Neri, the son of Melchi, the son of Aldi, the son of Cosam, the son of Elmadam, the son of Er, the son of Jesus, the son of Eliezer, the son of Jorim, the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Symeon, the son of Judas, the son of Joseph, the son of Jonam, the son of Eliakim, the son of Melea, the son of Menna, the son of Mattathia, the son of Nathan, the son of David, the son of Jesse, the son of Obed, the son of Boaz, the son of Salmon, the son of Nahshon, the son of Amminadab, the son of Arni, the son of Hezron, the son of Perez, the son of Judah, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of Nahor, the son of Serug, the son of Reu, the son of Peleg, the son of Eber, the son of Shelah, the son of Cainan, the son of Arphaxad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son of God.

Since this genealogy of Jesus is not in the Gospel of Matthew, it may not be affirmed with certainty that it was a part of document G.<sup>2</sup> But if not in G why did Luke place it between certain portions of G instead of at some point in the narrative of the birth, infancy, and youth of Jesus? Its introductory words fit it for the place that it holds between certain sections of G. If those words were in some source other than G, must not that source have passed already beyond the narration of the period of private life? If so, does not that fact deter-

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of these and other questions raised by the passage, see pp. 216-18.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 5, n. 1.

mine that this genealogy is from another source than that which gave Luke his infancy narratives since that source contributes nothing subsequent to the youth of Jesus? If those introductory words were not in the source which supplied the genealogy, why should Luke fashion them in order to place the genealogy out of its most normal setting? Is it more reasonable or less to assume rather that the genealogy with its introduction about the beginning of Jesus' work stood in document G, and that Luke adapted it for his use in the light of his infancy narratives by adding as parenthesis the words "as was supposed"? If so, what is the relation of the document G conception of the generation of Jesus to that set forth by the infancy sections of Matthew and Luke?

## II. Document M compared with Other Documents

### A. DOCUMENT M COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT G

Comparisons have been made under I:B above.

### B. DOCUMENT M COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT MK

#### THE RIGHT EYE AND THE RIGHT HAND

##### DOCUMENT M §5

A Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.

C And if thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body be cast into hell. And if thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body go into hell.

##### DOCUMENT MK 9:42-48

B And whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe on me to stumble, it were better for him if a great millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.

C And if thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is good for thee to enter into life maimed, rather than having thy two hands to go into hell, into the unquenchable fire. And if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is good for thee to enter into life halt, rather than having thy two feet to be cast into hell. And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, cast it out: it is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

Which document has the sayings of portion C in their true context? Or is it to be held that the sayings were spoken on two different occasions? Does the MK context, portion B, naturally support this conclusion? Or shall it be said that the connection in MK is dependent wholly upon the common presence in B and C of the single word "stumble"? What relation does hand, foot, or eye bear to causing "one of these little ones that believe on me" to stumble? What rela-

tion does eye or hand have to adultery, as defined by Jesus? Does document M show the true, original context of the sayings, and document MK illustrate how a strong, vivid saying from Jesus, of an easily detachable kind, could find lodgment in a context foreign to it? Does the MK record of the sayings show any accretions? In what direction is the apparent tendency of those words that look like aftergrowths? Does the study of MK 9:33-50 strengthen or weaken the assumption that these sayings are a part of the words of Jesus upon that occasion?<sup>1</sup>

C. DOCUMENT M COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT P

I. THE PARABLE OF THE TALENTS OR POUNDS

DOCUMENT M §25

B For *it is as when* a man, going into another country,

D called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods.

E And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, to another one; to each according to his several ability;

F and he went on his journey. Straightway he that received the five talents went and traded with them, and made other five talents. In like manner he also that *received* the two gained other two. But he that received the one went away and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money.

H Now after a long time the lord of those servants cometh, and maketh a reckoning with them.

I And he that received the five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliverdest unto me five talents; lo, I have gained other five talents.

DOCUMENT P §64

A And as they heard these things, he added and spake a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and *because* they supposed that the kingdom of God was immediately to appear. He said therefore,

B A certain nobleman went into a far country,

C to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return.

D And he called ten servants of his,

E and gave them ten pounds, and said unto them, Trade ye *herewith* till I come.

G But his citizens hated him, and sent an ambassage after him, saying, We will not that this man reign over us.

H And it came to pass when he was come back again, having received the kingdom, that he commanded these servants, unto whom he had given the money, to be called to him, that he might know what they had gained by trading

I And the first came before him, saying, Lord, thy pound hath made ten pounds more.

<sup>1</sup> For a study of these and related questions suggested by the MK form and location of these sayings, see pp. 67-78 and 256-63.

- J His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things:
- K enter  
thou into the joy of thy lord.
- L And he also that received the two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents: lo, I have gained other two talents.
- M His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things:
- N enter  
thou into the joy of thy lord.
- O And he also that had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art a hard man, reaping where thou didst not sow, and gathering where thou didst not scatter: and I was afraid, and went away and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, thou hast thine own.
- P But his lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I did not scatter; thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the bankers, and at my coming I should have received back mine own with interest.
- Q Take ye away therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him that hath the ten talents.
- R For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away.
- T And cast ye out the unprofitable servant into the outer darkness; there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth
- J And he said unto him, Well done, thou good servant: because thou wast found faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities.
- L And the second came, saying, Thy pound, Lord, hath made five pounds.
- M And he said unto him also, Be thou also over five cities.
- O And another came, saying, Lord, behold, *here is* thy pound, which I kept laid up in a napkin: for I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest up that thou layedst not down, and reapest that thou didst not sow.
- P He saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I am an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I did not sow; then wherefore gavest thou not my money into the bank, and I at my coming should have required it with interest.
- Q And he said unto them that stood by, Take away from him the pound, and give it unto him that hath the ten pounds. And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds.
- R I say unto you, that unto every one that hath shall be given; but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away from him.
- S Howbeit these mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me
- U And when he had thus spoken, he went on before, going up to Jerusalem.

Is there any reasonable doubt that these are two accounts of the same parable, the differences being due to the fact that they have come down to us by two different lines of tradition? Are the differences in detail any greater than those in the two records of the Sermon

on the Mount? Or in the two accounts of the Call of the Four? Or in the two statements of John the Baptist's conception of the work of the Christ? Are the portions peculiar to each document, that is, the words set to right and left above, namely, the portions K, N, T and C, H + G, S, due to the different settings which the parable came to have in the two different documents? Does the parable reach its most natural conclusion with the last verse which the two documents have in common, portion R? And are the set-aside verses which follow in each document, portions S and T, nothing more than the expression of the complement to certain inserted (set-aside) thoughts which have a place earlier in the record? Is the statement about "receiving the kingdom" in P, portions C and H, the result of the introduction, portion A, by which the parable is preceded, and is that setting an early or a late editorial interpretation of the parable? At what point in his career and to whom is it most likely that Jesus spoke the parable, those given by document P or those given by Matthew? Do the set-aside portions have any bearing upon what the parable as a whole seems intended to teach? Is the judicial sentence with which the document M account of the parable closes one within the authority of a man such as the parable supposes?<sup>1</sup>

## 2. THE PARABLE OF THE GREAT SUPPER OR MARRIAGE FEAST

### DOCUMENT M §23

A And Jesus answered and spake again in parables unto them, saying,

B The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, which made a marriage feast for his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the marriage feast: and they would not come. Again he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them that are bidden, Behold, I have made ready my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready: come to the marriage feast.

C But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his own farm, another to his merchandise: and the rest laid hold on his servants, and entreated them shamefully, and killed them.

D But the king was wroth; and he sent his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned their city.

### DOCUMENT P §43

A And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God. But he said unto him,

B A certain man made a great supper; and he bade many: and he sent forth his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for *all* things are now ready.

C And they all with one *consent* began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a field, and I must needs go out and see it; I pray thee have me excused. And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them; I pray thee have me excused. And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.

<sup>1</sup> On the problems raised by the two forms of this parable, see pp. 185-205.

E Then saith he to his servants, The wedding is ready, but they that were bidden were not worthy. Go ye therefore unto the partings of the highways, and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage feast. And those servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all as many as they found, both bad and good: and the wedding was filled with guests.

E And the servant came, and told his lord these things. Then the master of the house being angry said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor and maimed, and blind and lame. And the servant said, Lord, what thou didst command is done, and yet there is room. And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and constrain *them* to come in, that my house may be filled. For I say unto you, that none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper

F But when the king came in to behold the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding-garment: and he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding-garment? And he was speechless. Then the king said to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and cast him out into the outer darkness; there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are called, but few chosen.

Which is the more reasonable, to assume that we have here two different parables spoken on two separate occasions, or that these are two recensions of the one parable, differing in details because they have come down through two lines of tradition? Which setting is the more natural? Why did Matthew take this parable out of his group of document M parables of the kingdom of heaven, M §§ 15-25, and set it down after the parable of document MK 12:1-12? Had he any other guide than the internal suggestion of the parable? And if not, shall it be said that the actual setting assigned by document P, portion A, is more probably historical? As to the content of the parable, do the two unparalleled (set-aside) portions of document M call forth questions or create difficulties? May it be said with reason that the portion D reflects the experience of history, being a growth upon the parable resulting from the destruction of Jerusalem? Regarded as an original part of the parable, is it or is it not unwarrantedly drastic treatment? And is the concluding paragraph of the document M report, portion F, in keeping with the apparent purpose of the parable? Is a guest so pressed to take advantage of an invitation then to be driven out on the ground of attire? Has any king the power to commit to a fate like that with which the document M record closes? Since a similar fate closed the M record of the parable of the Pounds or Talents as against the P record, shall it be affirmed that this eschatological feature is a tendency of the M document?



## 3. THE PARABLE OF THE TEN VIRGINS

## DOCUMENT M §24

Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom. And five of them were foolish, and five were wise. For the foolish, when they took their lamps, took no oil with them: but the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps. Now while the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept. But at midnight there is a cry, Behold, the bridegroom! Come ye forth to meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are going out. But the wise answered, saying, Peradventure there will not be enough for us and you: go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves. And while they went away to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast; and the door was shut. Afterward come also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not. Watch therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour.

## DOCUMENT P §27

Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps burning; and be ye yourselves like unto men looking for their lord, when he shall return from the marriage feast; that, when he cometh and knocketh, they may straightway open unto him. Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them sit down to meat, and shall come and serve them. And if he shall come in the second watch, and if the third, and find them so, blessed are those *servants*.

Ought it to be held without hesitation that the differences between the documents in this case demand that these be considered as two different parables? Is the likeness between them reducible to so small an element that they must be thought of as two differentiated treatments of the same theme? Is that in the P document structurally so similar to the majority of Jesus' parables that there is no reason to regard it as having undergone modification? Did the evangelist Matthew regard these as two reports of the same parable? If not, why did he take up two of the three associated parables in P §§27-29, but drop the third in favor of the document M §24 report of it, Matt. 24:43-25:13? Shall we agree or disagree with the judgment of Matthew in this regard? Which of the two reports retains the purest parabolic form? Was a parable dealing with the future of the Christian community more likely or less likely to undergo modification in the course of transmission than those sayings and parables of Jesus which dealt with moral and religious principles apart from prospective history? Apart from P §27, are other traces of the original parable of the Ten Virgins to be found in the somewhat confused §39 of document P? Is P §39 made more intelligible or less intelligible by regarding it as the product of a telescoping of parts of M §§13, 24? Is this tendency to enlarge the use of certain ideas in the parable of the Ten Virgins discoverable elsewhere, say, for instance, in the portions of M §14 not paralleled in G §§15, 16, as exhibited in I: B: 3 above?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These and related questions are considered on pp. 185-205.

## 4. THE DISCOURSE AGAINST THE PHARISEES

## DOCUMENT M §27

A Then spake Jesus to the multitudes and to his disciples, saying,

B The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, *these* do and observe; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not.

C Yea, they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with their finger.

D But all their works they do for to be seen of men: for they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments,

E and love the chief place at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and the salutations in the market-places,

G and to be called of men Rabbi. But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your teacher, and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father on the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is your master, *even* the Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled; and whosoever shall humble himself shall be exalted.

H But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye shut the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye enter not in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering in to enter.

I Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is become so, ye make him twofold more a son of hell than yourselves.

Woe unto you, ye blind guides,

DOCUMENT P §18<sup>1</sup>

A Now as he spake, a Pharisee asketh him to dine with him: and he went in, and sat down to meat. And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner. And the Lord said unto him,

C And one of the lawyers answering saith unto him, Master, in saying this thou reproachest us also. And he said, Woe unto you lawyers also! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers.

E Woe unto you Pharisees! for ye love the chief seats in the synagogues, and the salutations in the market-places.

H Woe unto you lawyers! for ye took away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.

## DOCUMENT MK 12:38-40

A And in his teaching he said,

E Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and to *have* salutations in the market-places, and chief seats in the synagogues, and chief places at feasts:

F they which devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers; these shall receive greater condemnation.

<sup>1</sup> The document M order of sayings is followed; therefore P here is not set down in its own order.

which say, Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor. Ye fools and blind: for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that hath sanctified the gold? And, Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gift that is upon it, he is a debtor. Ye blind: for whether is greater, the gift, or the altar that sanctifieth the gift? He therefore that sweareth by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon. And he that sweareth by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein. And he that sweareth by the heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon.

J Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, judgement, and mercy, and faith: but these ye ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain out the gnat, and swallow the camel.

K Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full from extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first the inside of the cup and of the platter, that the outside thereof may become clean also.

L Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but inwardly ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

M Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and garnish the tombs of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye witness to yourselves, that ye are sons of them that slew the prophets.

N Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape the judgement of hell?

J But woe unto you Pharisees! For ye tithe the mint and rue and every herb, and pass over judgement and the love of God: but these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.

K Now do ye Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness. Ye foolish ones, did not he that made the outside make the inside also? Howbeit give for alms those things which are within; and behold, all things are clean unto you.

L Woe unto you! for ye are as the tombs which appear not, and the men that walk over *them* know it not.

M Woe unto you! for ye build the tombs of the prophets, and your fathers killed them. So ye are witnesses and consent unto the works of your fathers: for they killed them, and ye build *their tombs*.

N Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send unto them prophets and apostles; and *some* of them they shall kill and persecute; that the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zachariah, who perished between the altar and the sanctuary; yea, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation

So large a part of the discourse against the Pharisees as reported by the Gospel of Matthew is without parallels in the other gospels as to make it apparent that he drew in large measure from another source, document M. But it may not be asserted that what he has in common with documents P or MK he received from P or MK. To decide that problem requires, on the one hand, a study of all the passages in the Gospel of Matthew which are derivable from document P, for the determination of how closely Matthew is accustomed to follow his document in verbal details; and it requires, on the other hand, an examination of those sayings which in the above discourse are common to P and Matthew, for the determination of the question whether they show a wider divergence from P than is the case in any other sayings derivable from P. Such a comparative study seems to put it beyond reasonable doubt that document M contained substantially every saying in both P and MK on this subject.<sup>1</sup> The very notable superiority of the report as above credited to document M, both in the clearness and forcefulness of individual sayings and in the orderliness of the thought as a whole, is evident on a superficial examination. And it recalls the superiority, in similar features, of the document M account of the Sermon on the Mount as compared with document G. That Matthew made use of the P report before completing his record of the discourse is discoverable, however, by observing that he added to the document M report that saying which stands above as the close to the P report, Matt. 23:34-36. And to this he added yet another document P paragraph, P §42B.

As to the chronological setting of the discourse, neither document M nor document MK gives it so precise an introduction as to require its location in connection with some event, though MK puts it in a suitable general period and in relation to preceding events which are fitting. Document P, however, sets it in very definite relation with specific occurrences, portion A. Did Jesus speak twice on the theme, or must it be held that such outspoken denunciation of the religious leaders was probably reserved by Jesus until the closing days, as the MK record suggests? And are the document P introductions an endeavor, probably preceding the Lukan use of the document, to give narrative setting to sayings? Does the document P reference to Jesus as "the Lord" in this introduction, and in other introductions to

<sup>1</sup> See p. 5, n. 1.

sayings in P, imply that these introductions took form late in the history of the tradition?<sup>1</sup>

It will be observed that the document M report of the discourse ends in portion N with a statement of fate for the scathed Pharisees and scribes very different from that which is assigned to them by document P, portion N. In the latter there is a prediction of the coming upon that generation of some calamitous retribution for their headstrong and violent opposition to a messenger who might have proved the national savior from messianic fanaticism. This found its adequate fulfilment in the destruction of Jerusalem and the national life by the Romans in A. D. 70. But in document M the fate of the Pharisees seems to be carried over into another world, "how shall ye escape the judgement of hell?" Does the evidence which has been accumulating stamp document M as having a strong eschatological tendency? There is the eschatological close to the Sermon on the Mount, I:B:3 above, unsupported by document G. There is the eschatological close to the parable of the Talents or Pounds together with certain eschatological phrases in the body of it, II:C:1 above, unsupported by document P. There is the eschatological close to the parable of the Great Supper or Marriage Feast, II:C:2 above, apparently foreign to the thought of the parable and unsupported by document P. And now the discourse against the Pharisees is marked by the same type of conclusion, not only unsupported by P, but against the testimony of P to a very different conclusion. In the face of these phenomena, shall it be affirmed that document M seems to exhibit a marked movement toward the emphasis of the eschatological element? It is worth observing also that the strongest statements attributed to Jesus in the support of the Old Testament law are derived from document M, M §3 and the first non-paralleled portion (B) of M §27 above.

##### 5. CERTAIN MINOR SAYINGS

###### DOCUMENT M §2

Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men.

###### DOCUMENT P §45

Salt therefore is good: but if even the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill: *men* cast it out. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

###### DOCUMENT MK 9:50

Salt is good: but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another.

<sup>1</sup> Of the thirteen instances in the Synoptics, ten are in document P and all of them in the Gospel of Luke. The single instance of a disciple speaking of Jesus as "the Lord" also is peculiar to Luke (Luke 24:34).

## DOCUMENT M §2

Ye are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do *men* light a lamp, and put it under the bushel, but on the stand; and it shineth unto all that are in the house. Even so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

## DOCUMENT P §17

No man, when he hath lighted a lamp, putteth it in a cellar, neither under the bushel, but on the stand, that they which enter in may see the light.

## DOCUMENT MK 4:21

And he said unto them, Is the lamp brought to be put under the bushel, or under the bed, *and not* to be put on the stand?

## DOCUMENT M §3

Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished.

## DOCUMENT P §51

But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fall.

Of these three sayings which follow consecutively in the Gospel of Matthew it may not be affirmed that those portions which are found in document P did appear also in document M, for obviously Matthew may have taken them from P, or, indeed, two of them from document MK. It is largely a question for personal decision as to the degree in which they seem an integral and essential part of their present context in Matthew. They are all sayings of a kind that permits their transmission in completely detached form; at the same time they seem, on the whole, natural parts of the paragraphs in which they now stand in Matthew. No one of the three bears close relation to its context in document P; therefore, on the testimony of document P, they would not very reasonably be regarded as sayings repeated on different occasions. Of the two which are also in document MK it is to be said that each of them is there found in an appropriate context. The first forms an impressive close to Jesus' rebuke of the disciples for their contention about place, MK 9:33-50; the second is an integral part of a unified paragraph, MK 4:21-25, which is regarded by Luke as so essential a part of the discourse that he takes it up there despite its reappearance in document P. Perhaps the saying about "salt" was twice spoken, once as M §2 and again as MK 9:50=P §45. It may have been the same with that about "light," once as M §2=P §17 and again as MK 4:21. A decision is not essential for the purposes of the present study.

### III. Document MK compared with Other Documents

#### A. DOCUMENT MK COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT G

Comparisons have been made under I:A above.

## B. DOCUMENT MK COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT M

Comparisons have been made under II:B above.

## C. DOCUMENT MK COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT P

## I. COMPARISONS WHERE SAYINGS OCCUR NOT ONLY IN MK AND P BUT IN M ALSO ARE MADE UNDER 11:C:4, 5 ABOVE, AND UNDER 21 BELOW

## 2. THE MISSION OF THE DISCIPLES

## DOCUMENT MK §31

A And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two; and he gave them authority over the unclean spirits;

C and he charged them that they should take nothing for *their* journey, save a staff only; no bread, no wallet, no money in their purse; but *to go* shod with sandals: and, *said he*, put not on two coats.

D And he said unto them, Whosoever ye enter into a house, there abide till ye depart thence.

F And whatsoever place shall not receive you, and they hear you not, as ye go forth thence, shake off the dust that is under your feet for a testimony unto them.

## DOCUMENT P §§3, 4

A Now after these things the Lord appointed seventy others, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself was about to come.

B And he said unto them, The harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth labourers into his harvest. Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves.

C Carry no purse, no wallet, no shoes: and salute no man on the way.

D And into whatsoever house ye shall enter, first say, Peace be to this house. And if a son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon him; but if not, it shall turn to you again. And in that same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give; for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house.

E And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you: and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.

F But into whatsoever city ye shall enter, and they receive you not, go out into the streets thereof and say, Even the dust from your city, that cleaveth to our feet, we do wipe off against you: howbeit know this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh. I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city.

It is perhaps impossible with the evidence at hand in these days to determine whether the disciples made one or more than one tour in the lifetime of Jesus. Does the fact that no single document knows of more than one tour suggest that there was one only? Apart from the numbers that are said to have been sent out, do the other details of the narrative require that it be held that there were two distinct tours? As has been seen, Matthew solved the problem by combining documents MK and P on this subject, Matt. 9:37—10:16. The number sent out he did not have to record since he did not represent the instructions as applying to a mission within the lifetime of Jesus. Because Luke was faithful to his documents as units he included both

tours, apparently recognizing that an omission from either MK or P, in this case, would destroy the contextual relations.

### 3. RECEPTION IN THE MISSION

#### DOCUMENT MK 9:37

Whoever shall receive one of such little children in my name, receiveth me; and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me.

#### DOCUMENT P §6

He that heareth you heareth me; and he that rejected you rejecteth me; and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me.

In document P the saying is a part of that discourse which was spoken in connection with the mission; in document MK it is a part of the rebuke of the Twelve because of their ambitions for place. Do both the form and the setting require it to be regarded as a repeated saying? If so, what does it mean in its MK context? How can it be normally interpreted and yet held to bear a definite relation to the problem with which Jesus was dealing at that time, unworthy ambition in the disciples? Precisely stated, what does it mean to "receive one of such little children in my name"? And how is such receiving a receiving of Jesus? Would the MK verse be freed from the difficulties now inherent if "one of such little children" were regarded as an equivalent for "a disciple of mine"? Would its thought then be substantially different from that of the P parallel? But even with such an understanding of the content of "one of such little children" is the verse appropriate to the occasion to which MK assigns it? Does its sole fitness for its present context depend upon the phrase "one of such little children"? How interpret the MK verse so that the act for which it calls is both intelligible and practicable, and at the same time calculated to be a rebuke to ambitious disciples?<sup>1</sup>

### 4. THE CHARGE OF LEAGUE WITH BEEZEBUB

#### DOCUMENT MK §18

B And the scribes which came down from Jerusalem said, He hath Beelzebub, and, By the prince of the devils casteth he out the devils.

D And he called them unto him, and said unto them in parables, How can Satan cast out Satan? And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house be divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand. And if Satan hath risen up against himself, and is divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end.

#### DOCUMENT P §16

A And he was casting out a devil *which was dumb*. And it came to pass, when the devil was gone out, the dumb man spake; and the multitudes marvelled.

B But some of them said, By Beelzebub the prince of the devils casteth he out devils.

C And others, tempting *him*, sought of him a sign from heaven.

D But he, knowing their thoughts, said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and a house *divided* against a house falleth. And if Satan also is divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? because ye say that I cast out devils by Beelzebub.

<sup>1</sup> The difficulties which seem to confront one who would find a satisfying interpretation for the saying in MK are considered on pp. 67-78.





cannot be demonstrated, but its possibility suggests the setting of the two records in parallelism.

#### 6. A SIGN FROM HEAVEN

##### DOCUMENT MK 8:11, 12

A And the Pharisees came forth, and began to question with him, seeking of him a sign from heaven, tempting him.

B And he sighed deeply in his spirit, and saith, Why doth this generation seek a sign? verily I say unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation.

##### DOCUMENT P §16

A And others, tempting *him*, sought of him a sign from heaven.

B And when the multitudes were gathering together unto him, he began to say, This generation is an evil generation: it seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it

C but the sign of Jonah. For even as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation.

Does the documentary evidence require that this request and reply be considered as repeated on two different occasions? Certainly the influence of the document P record is to be seen in the case of Matthew, who in taking over the narrative at the document MK point, MK 8: 11-13 = Matt. 16: 1-4, added "but the sign of Jonah."

#### 7. THE LEAVEN OF THE PHARISEES

##### DOCUMENT MK 8:14-17

And they forgot to take bread; and they had not in the boat with them more than one loaf. And he charged them, saying, Take heed, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod. And they reasoned one with another, saying, We have no bread. And Jesus perceiving it saith unto them, Why reason ye, because ye have no bread? do ye not yet perceive, neither understand? have ye your heart hardened?

##### DOCUMENT P §10

And when he was come out from thence, the scribes and the Pharisees began to press upon *him* vehemently, and to provoke him to speak of many things; laying wait for him, to catch something out of his mouth

In the mean time, when the many thousands of the multitude were gathered together, inasmuch that they trode one upon another, he began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

Is the circumstantiality of setting such as demands the belief that this saying was spoken twice? What bearing on the question has the fact that the following section in document P forms only an apparent and artificial junction with this saying? And if the discourse against the Pharisees which forms the preceding section in P was spoken in the last days of Jesus' public activity rather than here, as is suggested by document MK, what remains of the P setting of this saying? If P §18 belongs elsewhere and P §17 is related in thought neither to P §18 nor to P §16, this saying in P §19 may once have stood in immediate conjunction with the reply of Jesus to a request for a sign, P §16K-N, as it does also in the MK document, MK 8: 11-17. It is a saying which would easily be remembered and handed down apart from any original context; but also, it may be said, one which may have come more than once from the lips of Jesus.

## 8. THE MYSTERY OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

## DOCUMENT MK §21

And he said unto them, Is the lamp brought to be put under the bushel, or under the bed, *and* not to be put on the stand? For there is nothing hid, save that it should be manifested; neither was *anything* made secret, but that it should come to light. If any man hath ears to hear, let him hear. And he said unto them, Take heed what ye hear:

## DOCUMENT P §20

But there is nothing covered up, that shall not be revealed: and hid, that shall not be known. Wherefore, whatsoever ye have said in the darkness shall be heard in the light; and what ye have spoken in the ear in the inner chambers shall be proclaimed upon the housetops

Each setting of this saying about the hid and secret or covered which is to be manifested or revealed in the future is appropriate, yet the two settings are very different. That of MK belongs to the period when "the mystery of the kingdom" was being revealed to the disciples themselves; that of document P to the time when the disciples were being instructed to speak freely of that "mystery" to others, in the prosecution of the mission about which Jesus was instructing them. Each appearance of the saying sheds light upon its meaning in its other context. Both illuminate the thought of Jesus in his phrase "the mystery of the kingdom of God."

## 9. CONFESSION OR DENIAL UNDER PERSECUTION

## DOCUMENT MK 8:38

B For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels

## DOCUMENT P §20

A And I say unto you, Every one who shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God:

B *but he that denieth me in the presence of men shall be denied in the presence of the angels of God.*

As the conclusion of a considerable body of sayings on the mission of the disciples and the attendant persecutions, P §20, these words of Jesus have a highly appropriate, historical setting. May the same be said about their place in document MK? Apart from the saying in MK 9:1, by which these words are followed, do they bear a close relation in thought to their context, MK 8:34—9:1? Is the mission of the disciples the theme of the conversation of Jesus on this occasion? When he speaks of losing the life, MK 8:35, does he refer solely or primarily to the destruction of the life of the body by persecutors? Yet, under drastic persecution might not the early community take the words to refer practically altogether to violence to the body? If so, would this saying about denial tend to steady the faltering, and because of this value become attached to these words which were taken to refer to persecution? And was further comfort found in the

attached promise, MK 9:1? Is it unreasonable to regard both MK 8:38 and 9:1 as genuine sayings of Jesus which have found a place at this point in document MK not because they were spoken in connection with what precedes but because what precedes was taken to refer primarily to the treatment of the disciples by their persecutors? And does the difference in form between the above MK and P reports of the saying result from the fact that the MK record is contiguous to the saying in MK 9:1?<sup>1</sup>

#### 10. THE BLASPHEMY AGAINST THE HOLY SPIRIT

##### DOCUMENT MK §18

Verily I say unto you, All their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and their blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme: but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin:

##### DOCUMENT P §21

And every one who shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven.

It has been observed that this saying seems to have its true context in MK §18. Its lack of thought relation to P §§20, 22 seems evident. As to the verbal form of the saying, it may be a question which report more accurately expresses the probable thought of Jesus.

#### 11. ATTITUDE OF DISCIPLES UNDER PROSECUTION

##### DOCUMENT MK 13: 11

And when they lead you to judgment, and deliver you up, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.

##### DOCUMENT P §22

And when they bring you before the synagogues, and the rulers, and the authorities, be not anxious how or what ye shall answer, or what ye shall say: for the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.

Though it seems difficult to hold that P §21 is related in thought to either P §20 or P §22, there seems to be very close affinity between P §§22 and P §20, that is, a single consistent topic results from the assignment of P §21 to the document MK context, and the bringing together of the two sections of document P which are separated by it. This theme is the mission of the disciples and the attendant persecutions. But this is precisely the theme of the paragraph in document MK to which the above saying belongs, MK 13:9-13. Shall it be held then that Jesus spoke twice on this subject? Theoretically there is nothing against this general supposition. The evangelist Matthew decided to represent Jesus as treating the theme once fully, and again by mere brief reference. To this end he combined docu-

<sup>1</sup> The problems raised by the context of this saying in document MK are considered on pp. 79-81.

ment MK 13:9-13 with document P §§20, 22 and with such other sayings on the subject as he could find in his sources from first to last, Matt. 9:35-10:42. Ought we to concur in his judgment on this problem? Are the portions P §§20, 22 so bound up with their context that it must be supposed that they were spoken at the indefinite time indicated by the P document? At what period in the life of Jesus is it most likely that he would deal with the future of his disciples, in the last days or at a period when they did not believe that he was about to be taken away from them? Matthew believed that P §§28, 29 belonged in the final discourse of Jesus on the future, MK 13=Matt. 24, 25, and placed them there, Matt. 24:43-51. Shall we agree with his judgment, and take a step farther by suggesting that he would better have left MK 13:9-13 in its place there and have brought to it P §§20, 22, than have placed both in connection with the MK account of the sending-out of the disciples as he does? Does document MK record only a part of the final discourse of Jesus on the future, and are other sections of that address in the last hours to be found at different points in the unarticulated but highly valuable document P? Does the comparison of the two above reports of a saying about attitude under prosecution require that such a possibility be considered?<sup>1</sup>

## 12. THE BAPTISM OF JESUS

### DOCUMENT MK 10:38, 39

But Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask. Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink? or to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? And they said unto him, We are able. And Jesus said unto them, The cup that I drink ye shall drink; and with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized:

### DOCUMENT P §31

I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I, if it is already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!

Both form and context necessitate the conclusion that a thought of Jesus is expressed here to which he gave utterance on more than one occasion. But since the occasion of the document P saying is not made clear, it may not now be learned with certainty. What follows in P, Matthew placed with other sayings that seemed to deal with the period of the mission, Matt., chap. 10; what precedes, Matthew believed to have a better place in the final discourse on the future, Matt., chaps. 24, 25. Since Matthew's treatment of the mission in Matt., chap. 10, was future, and not present as in document MK at that point,

<sup>1</sup> The whole subject is reviewed on pp. 140-49, 202-5.

he involved himself in no serious inconsistency by thus separating allied material in P. But in the process P §§30, 31 were dropped out by Matthew, the latter probably for the same reason as led him to omit the references to baptism when taking over the document MK report as Matt. 20:22, 23. To what period of the life of Jesus shall it be said that P §§30, 31 belong? Document P neither says nor suggests anything decisive in answer.

### 13. THE PARABLE OF THE MUSTARD SEED

#### DOCUMENT MK §23

And he said, How shall we liken the kingdom of God? or in what parable shall we set it forth? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown upon the earth, though it be less than all the seeds that are upon the earth, yet when it is sown, groweth up, and becometh greater than all the herbs, and putteth out great branches; so that the birds of the heaven can lodge under the shadow thereof.

#### DOCUMENT P §37

He said therefore, Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I liken it? It is like unto a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and cast into his own garden; and it grew, and became a tree; and the birds of the heaven lodged in the branches thereof.

Document MK and document M each contain a group of parables of the kingdom of God, MK §§20-24, M §§15-25. There are none in document G. Although document P contains a large number of parables, there are two only which are designated as parables of the kingdom, those in P §37. Of these, that of the mustard seed is in the MK group also. This relates both parables of P §37 fundamentally to that MK group. And since the setting of this body of parables in document MK is so circumstantial and clear, while the two in P have apparently no attachment whatever to their context, our judgment may well follow that of Matthew in regarding them as parables of the same occasion, spoken in exposition of "the mystery of the kingdom."

### 14. THE FIRST LAST AND THE LAST FIRST

#### DOCUMENT MK 10:31

But many *that are* first shall be last; and the last first.

#### DOCUMENT P §41

And behold, there are last which shall be first, and there are first which shall be last.

The two contexts are very different. Luke seems to have decided that having used the saying in its document P position he ought not to take it up when he found it in the MK document, MK 10:30, 31 = Luke 18:30.

### 15. THE SABBATH QUESTION

#### DOCUMENT MK §15

And he saith unto them, Is it lawful on the sabbath day to do good, or to do harm? to save a life, or to kill? But they held their peace.

#### DOCUMENT P §43

And Jesus answering spake unto the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath, or not? But they held their peace.

This is a question said to have been raised by Jesus in connection with the healing of a man with a withered hand, document MK, and again, document P, a man with the dropsy.

#### 16. THE COST OF DISCIPLESHIP

##### DOCUMENT MK 8:34

A And he called unto him the multitude with his disciples, and said unto them,

C If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

##### DOCUMENT P §44

A Now there went with him great multitudes and he turned, and said unto them,

B If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.

C Whosoever doth not bear his own cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple.

It would seem clear from a study of the whole of P §44 that Jesus is endeavoring there to define the conditions of discipleship in a broad way, and without special reference to the future mission of those who were to be propagandists. There is no hint that the requirements outlined are those special ones imposed by a state of persecution. They are regarded rather as normal and constant demands upon all of those who would be true followers of Jesus. The words are addressed to "great multitudes" who are attaching themselves to him without a sense of what is involved in discipleship. Similarly in MK 8:34-37 Jesus seems engaged in defining his conception of discipleship, or, in impersonal terms, "life." The above paralleled saying is therefore a repeated saying, forming in each case a part of a unified paragraph on discipleship or "life." To this interpretation there is perhaps one objection only, the presence of MK 8:38, which seems to narrow the thought in what precedes so that its application is primarily to the state of persecution. May it reasonably be said that, since MK 8:38 forms an obstacle to so normal an interpretation of both MK 8:34-37 and P §44, it must be regarded, as suggested under 9 above, as a saying which has its true context not here but in P §20?<sup>1</sup>

#### 17. DIVORCE WITH REMARRIAGE DEFINED AS ADULTERY

##### DOCUMENT MK 10:11, 12

And he saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her: and if she herself shall put away her husband, and marry another, she committeth adultery.

##### DOCUMENT P §52

Every one that putteth away his wife, and marieth another, committeth adultery: and he that marieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery.

<sup>1</sup> It is not thought worth while to exhibit the appearances of "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear" in P §45; MK §§20, 21; M §15.

It seems difficult to find the slightest connection between this saying and its P context; indeed, it seems to have found about as unfortunate conjunction as possible, since it comes as close as any utterance of Jesus to abrogating the law, P §51. Its setting in MK, however, is convincingly historical. But having used P as a whole, Luke did not take up what he regarded as the MK equivalent, MK 10:2-12. As to the form of the saying, it may not be assumed that because the P record is without suitable setting it is therefore inferior in content. It will be observed that the MK words, "against her," materially alter the sense of the saying, reducing, perhaps, the rigor of the utterance. Shall it be said that this is in the line of the movement which is seen at its strongest in Matthew, where in the use of this saying he each time modifies its apparent rigor by adding "saving for the cause of fornication," Matt. 5:32=P §52; Matt. 19:9=MK 10:11, 12?

#### 18. OCCASIONS OF STUMBLING

##### DOCUMENT MK 9:42

B And whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe on me to stumble, it were better for him if a great millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.

##### DOCUMENT P §54

A And he said unto his disciples, It is impossible but that occasions of stumbling should come: but woe unto him, through whom they come.

B It were well for him if a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were thrown into the sea, rather than that he should cause one of these little ones to stumble.

To whom did Jesus refer by the phrase, "these little ones"? The answer is not made clear by the P context; the MK narrative as a whole suggests that they are none other than little children, MK 9:36, 37. Could it be said of a child, of such an age that it might be taken in the arms, that it is capable of belief on Jesus—"these little ones that believe on me"? And how cause so young a child "to stumble"? By what use of hand, foot, or eye, MK 9:43-48?<sup>1</sup>

#### 19. THE POWER OF FAITH

##### DOCUMENT MK 11:20-23

A And as they passed by in the morning, they saw the fig tree withered away from the roots. And Peter calling to remembrance saith unto him, Rabbi, behold, the fig tree which thou cursedst is withered away.

B And Jesus answering saith unto them, I have faith in God.

C Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou taken up and cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that what he saith cometh to pass; he shall have it.

##### DOCUMENT P §55

B And the apostles said unto the Lord, Increase our faith.

C And the Lord said, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye would say unto this sycamine tree, Be thou rooted up, and be thou planted in the sea; and it would have obeyed you.

<sup>1</sup> The problems presented by MK 9:36-50 are considered on pp. 67-78.



The saying is definitely related to an event in document MK; can the same be said of document P? Is faith asked for in P in order to be able to forgive an offender seven times, P §54? If so, does the kind of power in faith which Jesus describes meet that moral need? Does the designation of the disciples as "apostles" suggest that this introduction, portion B, is of late origin? Does "the Lord," portion C, suggest the same? In connection with the withering of a tree (portion A), would it be more natural for Jesus to define greater power by reference to a greater act on a like object (portion C of document P), rather than by reference to the removal of a mountain (portion C of document MK)? What relation does what follows in P §56 bear to this saying? Luke seems to have believed that P and MK refer to one event, for, having used P §55, he omitted MK 11:20-25. Matthew, on the other hand, finds a place for P by substituting it, modified by MK, at Matt. 17:20 for MK 9:29.

## 20. THE WAY OF LIFE

### DOCUMENT MK 8:35-37

For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it. For what doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life? For what should a man give in exchange for his life?

### DOCUMENT P §60

Whosoever shall seek to gain his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose *his life* shall preserve it.

This is a pregnant saying which, from its very nature, one would expect to find repeated in the discourses of Jesus. In document MK it is part of a strong and searching definition of the conditions of discipleship. But is it intelligible in its P context? There it cannot possibly mean more than the life of the body, it would seem. And even restricted to that, what meaning has it in the light of that context? Have its two parts any real relation to the conditions which that paragraph is describing? Does this appearance of the saying in a context so foreign indicate that, at the most, it received in the early apostolic age an application to the body alone? And does this account for the addition to this saying in document MK of other sayings of Jesus which really were intended by Jesus to have reference to persecution, namely, MK 8:38=P §20 end?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These and related questions are considered on p. 130, n. 1. In that connection there is brought under review the words of document P §60, "But first must he suffer many things and be rejected of this generation," words which deal with a subject treated by Jesus in document MK 8:31; 9:31; 10:33.

## 21. THE LAW OF INCREASE AND DECREASE

DOCUMENT MK 4:25

For he that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken away even that which he hath.

DOCUMENT P §64

I say unto you, that unto every one that hath shall be given; but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away from him.

DOCUMENT M §25

For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away.

This saying appears in documents M and P as an integral part of the parable of the Pounds or Talents. It is quite as intimately bound up with the paragraph in which it appears in document MK. In all documents it has reference to the use by the disciples of their powers.

## 22. THE RISE OF MESSIANIC CLAIMANTS

DOCUMENT MK 13:21

And then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ; or, Lo, there; believe *it* not:

DOCUMENT P §60

And they shall say to you, Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away, nor follow after *them*:

As the records now stand, this saying has a place in two widely separated and very different contexts. In document MK it is a part of the final discourse on the future; in document P it occurs in a paragraph which is connected with the answer of Jesus to the question of the Pharisees about the coming of the kingdom of God. Evidently the saying refers in both settings to the same future condition, a historical situation seen and forecast by Jesus. Is it to be regarded as a repeated saying, spoken under different circumstances and as a part of different prophetic utterances? Or is it possible that between P §60 and the thirteenth chapter of document MK there is some historical relationship which has been obscured by the settings of document P? Was P §60 so certainly spoken as the outcome and continuation of the situation in P §59 that it would be an act of historical violence to separate them and assign them to different occasions? Is it true that the bond between P §59 and P §60 goes deeper than the presence in both of the phrase "Lo, there! Lo, here!"? Are the document P settings of the sayings of Jesus as a whole so historically convincing that a time relationship must be conceded to exist between the saying to the Pharisees in P §59 and that to the disciples in P §60?

## 23. THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

DOCUMENT MK 13:15, 16

And let him that is on the housetop not go down, nor enter in, to take anything out of his house: and let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloke.

DOCUMENT P §60

In that day, he which shall be on the housetop, and his goods in the house, let him not go down to take them away: and let him that is in the field likewise not return back.

In document MK this saying is applied to the destruction of Jerusalem; in document P it forms a part of the vivid description of the day of the Son of man. To which of these is it more appropriate? Can any reasonable meaning be found for it in its document MK setting? Does the siege of a city come upon men so suddenly, and at once so shut off all opportunity for provision in behalf of flight that men must simply stand fixed in the spot where they are when the dread hour falls upon them? Does an army arise as by magic and surround a city even while the farmer is absent from the city upon his farm, so that he may not return from the field except at the risk of his life? As an integral part of the intended portrayal of the day of the Son of man, primarily characterized by suddenness and instantaneity, this saying is intelligible and most impressive. It seems difficult to affirm the same of it when made a portion of definite instructions as to a mode of procedure in the time of the siege of Jerusalem. The evangelist Luke seems to have felt the incongruity of the saying in its document MK context, for he rewrites it at that point in such manner as to frame really practicable injunctions for a state of siege, Luke 21:21. Ought the presence of this saying in document MK to be regarded as another indication that there is some historical relation between the discourse in P §60 and that in the thirteenth chapter of document MK? The fact that the saying is preserved in this discourse of MK, despite its lack of relation to the immediate context given it there, suggests strongly that the saying does belong to that discourse, and needs only some shift of location within the discourse in order to be fitting and intelligible. But where in that discourse as it now stands in the thirteenth chapter of document MK can the saying be placed with satisfying results? That document P §60 and the thirteenth chapter of document MK should have two sayings in common, and that one of these is appropriate to P but out of place in MK, seem hardly to be without some real significance as to a historical relationship between these now separated portions. The evangelist Matthew certainly thought that they ought to be regarded as parts of one discourse, for he distributed P §60 through his report of this final discourse, Matt., chap. 24.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an exhibit of the distribution, see pp. 64-67.

## §5. RESULTS OF COMPARISON OF DOCUMENT WITH DOCUMENT

At the opening of the section on the comparison of document with document, it was proposed to bring under review all passages which occur in more than one document. This has now been fully done. It was said that such a comparison would yield results bearing directly upon the teaching of Jesus about the future. That this is the case will become more apparent in subsequent discussions. At this point, however, there may be summarized certain constructive suggestions which have resulted from the comparative study.

1. Wherever documents G and MK have material in common, and thus a basis for comparison, document G makes the impression of being nearer to the facts than document MK. The document G record of the message of John, of the opening method and message of Jesus, of the manner in which Jesus attached followers to himself, of the location of the saying about "what measure ye mete," all seem to be more intelligible and historical than those of document MK.

2. At such points as it is possible to compare documents G and M, the superiority seems to be on the side of document G. The Beatitudes of M have a form which it is more natural to regard as derivative than that of G; M presents a larger number. In the contrasts with the Old Testament law, G seems the more faithful in preserving the hard sayings, but is less orderly than M. To the contrast of the good and the corrupt tree M appears to have given an eschatological addition.

3. All indications tend in the direction of lessening the worth which is to be attached to the order of events and the setting of sayings as they appear in document P. The introductions which that document supplies to both narrative and discourse have elements which suggest a late rather than an early period in the history of the tradition.

4. Certain sayings which are hardly intelligible in one document have such a setting in another that they are easy of understanding. It seems fair to assume, therefore, that these are not repeated sayings, but sayings which in the context where they are difficult of interpretation are not in their true setting.

5. Certain parables seem to have found a place in two different documents, but in each document contain elements not appearing in the other. These extra elements seem to be additions adapting the

parable to the setting given it by the document, or additions adapting the parable to the seeming tendency of the document, for example, the eschatological trend of document M.

6. That there is an eschatological tendency in document M finds support not only in these apparent additions to parables, but also in the eschatological conclusion to the Sermon on the Mount, and in the same type of close to the discourse against the Pharisees. If, further, there be made an examination of such parts of document M as have not yet been brought under review, it will be observed that it is this document which supplies the most extended eschatological statement found in the Synoptic Gospels, M §26, and that it reports two parables from Jesus, the reputed interpretations of which by Jesus are wholly eschatological in content, M §§15, 18.

7. There are evidences within several documents of the tendency to be affected by history as it actually developed. Thus document MK represents John the Baptist as promising that the Christ would baptize with the Holy Ghost; it credits to Jesus as his opening message a statement as to impending crisis which is not derivable from the definitely placed sayings of Jesus previous to the latest period in his ministry. Certain non-paralleled portions of the reports of the parables seem to be the outgrowth of the desolation wrought by the Roman war. The persecutions suffered by the early Christian community seem to be reflected in the tendency to interpret the sayings of Jesus about the loss of "life" as referring solely to the death of the body, and in the consequent addition to these sayings of other sayings of Jesus, spoken on a different occasion, which have power to steady the believer under persecution, for example, the attachment of MK 8:38—9:1 to MK 8:34-37. Shall it be said that the great length of the last Beatitude in document G, its future tense while the other Beatitudes are of the present, its use by the evangelist Matthew, although he already had its equivalent in the last Beatitude of document M, all are the results of the actual history of the early community? Did the desire to find, in the words of Jesus, comfort under drastic persecution lead to the repetition of those words under forms closely adapted to the experiences actually being undergone? And when the words came to take literary form, did they retain these adaptations?

8. Document P contains a considerable body of sayings of Jesus about the future which the evangelist Matthew has distributed between two discourses, that on the mission of the disciples, Matt., chap. 10, and that on the future in general, Matt., chaps. 24, 25. Since the former discourse receives from Matthew a wholly forward cast, there is no resultant modification of the thought of Jesus in Matthew's taking-over of the P paragraphs. But it is a question, to be decided by subsequent study, what was the actual occasion of the speaking of these portions of document P by Jesus, P §§6, 20, 22, 27-32, 44B. The absence of contextual relations in many parts of P, and the apparently artificial junctions at some other places, suggest, if they do not demand, some attempt at a redistribution of these sayings.

9. The convergence of several independent results of documentary comparison upon document MK at MK 9:36-50 suggests that the difficulties to interpretation which that portion of document MK presents are the outcome of a certain confusion there of material which properly belongs to other periods in the career of Jesus.

#### §6. GOSPEL COMPARED WITH DOCUMENT

Document M was used by Matthew only; our knowledge of its limits and form are derivable only from a study of that gospel. It is not possible, therefore, to determine the degree of Matthew's faithfulness in transcription from document M by comparative study. Document G was used by both Matthew and Luke, the former omitting some parts of it. A close study of what both have drawn from document G will satisfy one that the paralleled material is substantially the same in content, that is, both were faithful to their source. Luke used document P as a whole; Matthew used it in part and by distribution. How determine which, if either, was more faithful to his P source? If they differ, there is no external standard to which appeal may be made. Judgment as to which is the more authentic form of any saying taken by both from document P must rest, it would seem, largely on internal evidence, except as such evidence may be corrigible by some discoverable tendency in one or the other evangelist. It may not be asserted in advance which evangelist will have the saying in its more nearly original form. Thus:

## MATTHAEAN P

But if I by the SPIRIT of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you.

## MATTHAEAN P

If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give GOOD THINGS to them that ask him?

## LUKAN P

But if I by the FINGER of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you.

## LUKAN P

If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give THE HOLY SPIRIT to them that ask him?

Here the same tendency has been at work, now in the one gospel, now in the other. It is the like tendency which in document MK represents John the Baptist as defining the work of the Christ in terms of a baptism "with the Holy Spirit."

In the case of the use of document MK by the two later evangelists, there is an entirely different situation, for we have the document itself as well as the derivative gospels. It is possible to test the faithfulness of Matthew and Luke here with more thoroughness, and almost wholly by an objective standard.

In the comparison of document with document in the preceding §5 there was brought under review every passage which the documents have in common. Obviously it is neither practicable nor desirable to attempt the same in a comparison of gospel with document. It is proposed to study those passages only which contain teaching of Jesus on the future, the theme of the present work. The object of this comparison of gospel with document is the determination of the most authentic attainable form of the sayings of Jesus about the future, if it should prove that gospel departs from document in any particulars.

The common faithfulness, in all substantial details, of Matthew and Luke to document G has been affirmed. Though passages have been cited to show differences in the two reports of the document P sayings, it will be evident to one who will make the examination that, for the most part, the divergences of Matthew and Luke in their document P portions are of a minor character, except, of course, in the entirely different setting given them by Matthew. Similarly, if one will go carefully through all portions of the gospels derived from document MK, the dominant impression brought away from such a study will be, it seems safe to predict, a conviction of the essential faithfulness of the evangelists to their document MK. Of the two, it will be found that Matthew stands closer in verbal likeness, on the whole, to our present MK than does Luke. This suggests that

either Luke transcribed from his document MK with greater freedom than did Matthew, or Matthew used a copy of document MK more nearly like the copy which has come down to us than that to which Luke had access. No critical assumption would be less warranted than that document MK remained static through the period of gospel formation. Much more probable is it that document MK was in a more or less fluid state in the years within which the production of the gospels of Matthew and Luke belongs. The preface of Luke testifies to the state of gospel tradition at the time when he undertook his editorial task. We do not know where either Matthew or Luke were produced, nor the length of time that separated the work of the first and third evangelists. Neither can we say with assurance which of the two was brought forth first. Certain internal bases of judgment there are, but these are hardly of a nature to constitute a convincing and final argument.

There is need, therefore, constantly to hold in mind that in handling our present Gospel of Mark we are not dealing with a document which is in every verbal detail precisely the document MK used by Matthew and Luke, or by either one of them. That would be to presuppose an attitude toward gospel material in the age of Matthew and Luke which is not only unsupported by available testimony but is in opposition to all ascertainable facts for a period decades after Matthew and Luke.<sup>1</sup> That which has been said about the document MK in its relation to the present Gospel of Mark and to the gospels of Matthew and Luke holds, with certain modifications, in the case of document P. We know nothing of the history of document P from external sources, and can be sure only that it was current in an age when the gospel tradition was in the process of growth and adaptation. It would be highly arbitrary to assume that every divergence between the Matthaean and the Lukan report on the form of the sayings taken from document P is the result of editorial work by one or the other of the evangelists. Quite as likely is it that document P underwent changes during its history, and that it came to each evangelist with different divergences from the common document which formed the original of the two copies used by the evangelists.

<sup>1</sup> See Hobson, *The Diatessaron of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem*, Chicago, 1904.



In the determination of the original form of a saying from document P which is differently reported by the evangelists, while the appeal must be mainly to internal evidence, the judgment so based ought to have grounds other than in the single passage under examination.

If one were to raise the question theoretically, in advance of any examination of the facts, as to what class in the sayings of Jesus was most likely to undergo change and modification in the course of transmission, it can hardly be doubted what the answer would be. Those sayings of Jesus which dealt with the future, especially the future bounded by the lifetime of his hearers, would be less likely to retain the form given them by Jesus than sayings which had to do with other general or particular moral or religious problems. This may be stated another way by affirming that, where Jesus formulated prophetic forecasts dealing with the near future, his words in transmission would be subjected to two strongly modifying influences, the active hopes and longings of his disciples, and the course of history as it actually did develop. That these influences did modify may not be asserted in advance; that they would be likely to modify must be recognized. To suppose modification is not to assume that it must be foredetermined and conscious. Changes in the form of sayings, even very considerable changes, are not always the product of intentional, purposeful modification.

### I. *The Matthaean P<sub>c</sub>' compared with the Lukan P*

#### I. THE FAITHFUL AND WISE STEWARD<sub>2</sub> OR<sub>2</sub> SERVANT

##### LUKAN P §20

A Who, then is the faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall set over his household, to give them their portion of food in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Of a truth I say unto you, that he will set him over all that he hath. But if that servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the menservants and the maidservants, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken; the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint his portion with the unfaithful.

##### MATTHAEAN P

A Who then is the faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath set over his household, to give them their food in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he will set him over all that he hath. But if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord tarrieth; and shall begin to beat his fellow-servants, and shall eat and drink with the drunken; the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint his portion with the

B  
crites: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. hypo-

Whence the addition found in the Matthaean version, portion B, of the parable? Is it a natural part of the parable? Was the servant hypocritical, or merely unfaithful? Could any man consign another

to the fate implied in the Matthaean addition, portion B? Does that addition arise from the fact that for "the lord" of the parable there had been substituted the Lord of heaven in the mind of the transcriber, and that his thought was fixed upon the return of that Lord rather than upon an accurate transcription of the parable? By this Matthaean addition the parable becomes strictly eschatological in application. It will be recalled that already two parables have been found in the Gospel of Matthew which show eschatological additions when compared with the same parables as reported in document P. These parables, the Talents and the Marriage Feast, II:C:1, 2 of §4 above, are from document M. The Gospel of Matthew seems, therefore, to have eschatological additions to parables both when those parables come from M and when from P.

## 2. THE ANTITHESIS TO THE KINGDOM OF GOD

### LUKAN P §40

There shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves cast forth without. And they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.

### MATTHAEAN P

And I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

What human feeling is expressed by "the weeping and gnashing of teeth" in the Lukan P? Envious anger, is it not? What feeling by the Matthaean P? Physical anguish, is it not? Does not this difference change the thought essentially? The antithesis to "the kingdom of God" in the Lukan P is simply "without;" in the Matthaean version it is "the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth." In other words, the phrase "the weeping and gnashing of teeth" is brought by Matthew into an eschatological service. In the Lukan P it seems to mean no more than it does in Acts 7:54.

Outside of the Lukan P §40, this phrase occurs only in the Gospel of Matthew, where it appears six times. One of these is the above; another is that in the parable of the Faithful and Wise Steward just considered, I:1 above; two more are in the additions to the parables of the Talents and Marriage Feast, § 4:II:C:1, 2; the remaining two are in the conclusions to the expositions of the parables in document M §§16, 18. Stated by documents, it occurs four times in M, M §§15, 18, 23, 25, and twice in the Matthaean version of document

P, always in an eschatological sense. Its only use as a non-eschatological term is in its single appearance outside of the Gospel of Matthew, Lukan P §40. How account for these phenomena? By assuming that the four were in document M as it came to Matthew, and that he changed P under the influence of M? By the theory that all were derived by Matthew from the single non-eschatological instance in P? By assuming that they were neither in M nor were added by the evangelist Matthew, but were added by subsequent editors of the Gospel of Matthew? A decision is inadvisable without a wider basis for deduction. That which is certain is that the Gospel of Matthew presents at these points eschatological features which are not supported by the other witnesses to the sayings of Jesus.

### 3. THE BLASPHEMY AGAINST THE HOLY SPIRIT

#### LUKAN P §21

A And every one who shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven.

#### MATTHAEAN P

A And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him,

B neither in this world, nor in that which is to come.

Is the Matthaean addition in this case one more instance of the tendency in the Gospel of Matthew to give sayings of Jesus an eschatological cast? Why this reference in portion B to the two aeons, unless the writer is moved by certain preconceptions about life in two time periods? What place did this idea have in that Jewish thought contemporary with the production of the Gospel of Matthew? Is its presence here to be accounted for by its currency in certain circles of Christian thought which were under the dominance of Jewish expectations? Whatever the decision as to its origin, certain it is that it adds something to the thought of Jesus as originally expressed.<sup>1</sup>

### 4. THE NATURE OF THE SIGN OF JONAH

#### LUKAN P §10

A And when the multitudes were gathering together unto him, he began to say, This generation is an evil generation: it seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah.

B For even as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation.

#### MATTHAEAN P

A But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah the prophet:

B for as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

<sup>1</sup> Since Matthew made at this point in his gospel a junction of this saying from P §21 with document MK §18E (Matt. 12:31, 32), it may be suggested that this addition is the bringing-down of the closing words of MK §18E. In that case the simple, *οὐκ ἔχει ἀφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ ἔνοχος ἔσται αἰωνίου ἀμαρτημάτων*, of document MK becomes, under the hands of Matthew, *οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι*.

In document P §16N it is made clear that the sign of Jonah to which Jesus referred was his prophetic activity in the form of a proclaimed message. Such a sign from himself is the only sign which Jesus will vouchsafe to those who make the request. Even as Jonah became a sign by his message, Jesus became a sign to his generation, P §16L. But in the place of this simple idea there is substituted by Matthew, in taking over this passage, a prophecy by Jesus of his own resurrection. This is a striking instance of the effect of history, as actually experienced, upon the form of a saying of Jesus which in its original wording did not have a reference to the future.

#### 5. THE RETURN OF THE UNCLEAN SPIRIT

##### LUKAN P §16

A The unclean spirit when he is gone out of the man, passeth through waterless places, seeking rest; and finding none, he saith, I will turn back unto my house whence I came out. And when he is come, he findeth it swept and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh to *him* seven other spirits more evil than himself; and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man becometh worse than the first.

##### MATTHAEAN P

A But the unclean spirit, when he is gone out of the man, passeth through waterless places, seeking rest, and findeth it not. Then he saith, I will return into my house whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more evil than himself, and they enter in and dwell there; and the last state of that man becometh worse than the first.

B Even so shall it be also unto this evil generation.

The Matthaean addition in the last paragraph was seen to be the result of the resurrection experience. May that in portion B here be regarded as the outcome of the sad history through which the Jewish people were passing between the death of Jesus and the destruction of Jerusalem? or perhaps, indeed, of the destruction of Jerusalem itself? In any event, it is a forecast of the future of the nation which was not made, it would seem, by Jesus himself in this connection.

#### 6. PUNISHMENT IN GEHENNA

##### LUKAN P §20

And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them which kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will warn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.

##### MATTHAEAN P

And be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.

Do these two versions of this saying mean precisely the same thing? Is there anything said about the "soul" in the Lukan version? Is the reference in that version to anything more than two fates for the body, the one its mere death, the other its desecration after death by being consigned to the valley of Hinnom outside Jerusalem? If this desecration of the body by casting it with the offal of the city and the carcasses of dead animals was a fate reserved for heinous crimes, and

the committal to that fate was the prerogative of the highest official of the state, the Lukan form of the saying is simply an exhortation against regarding death as the worst possible fate. To this Jesus opposes the thought that death is a lesser evil than certain forms of sin. Persecution unto death is less to be dreaded than sin unto death, sin so loathsome and vile as to carry with it the committal by the civil authority to the pest spot of the city. That which is to be feared is a course of conduct morally so abnormal that the state takes cognizance of it, and has attached to it the penalty not only of execution, but also of consignment after execution to the depository of municipal refuse. Such seems to be the probable meaning of the saying as it appears in its Lukan form.<sup>1</sup> But such an interpretation of the recension which is given by Matthew is impossible. There can be no mistaking the intended application of the saying in its Matthaean wording; it is purely eschatological in outlook. It looks toward the fate of both body and soul, not toward two possible fates for the body. Its interest centers in the future as a time of destiny. Persecution is to be endured in the present because the persecutors are not capable of killing the soul. Therefore they are not to be feared, as is the evil one who can destroy both body and soul in hell. It would seem that there has been at work on this saying, in its Matthaean form, the same tendency which has already been found so frequently in the Gospel of Matthew, the tendency toward an eschatological recasting of the words of Jesus, by which a meaning is given to them which is foreign to the original thought of Jesus.

#### 7. THAT DAY AS THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

##### LUKAN P §4

I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city.

##### MATTHAEAN P

Verily I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgement, than for that city.

For the phrase "that day" of the Lukan P, Matthew has substituted the words, "the day of judgement." Is it certain that the two phrases are equivalent? May the term "that day" have meant for Jesus "the day of Jehovah," or, perhaps, "the day of the Son of man"? And if so, were the latter conceived of by Jesus as a time of judgment? This ought not to be assumed, one would say, without

<sup>1</sup> For a complete study of the use of "Gehenna" in the Synoptics, see pp. 256-63, where reasons are given for believing that this interpretation is the most probable among the possible meanings for this passage.

a study of the precise thought of Jesus about "that day" as elsewhere recorded. In any case, Matthew has made over a passage, about the meaning of which there may be some doubt, into a form the eschatological cast of which is unmistakable.

### 8. THE JUDGMENT AS THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

#### LUKAN P §5

A Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which were done in you, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. Howbeit it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the judgement, than for you.

B And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt be brought down unto Hades.

#### MATTHAEAN P

A Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. Howbeit I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgement, than for you.

B And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt go down unto Hades:

C for if the mighty works had been done in Sodom which were done in thee, it would have remained until this day. Howbeit I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgement, than for thee.

For the phrase "the judgement" in portion A of the Lukan P, Matthew has substituted the words "the day of judgement." Are these terms precise equivalents? Is there a suggestion of time-defined and catastrophic method for the judgment in the Matthaean phrase which does not inhere with the Lukan? And what shall be said of the Matthaean addition in portion C to the saying about Capernaum? Is not that saying naturally concluded as it stands in the Lukan P? It does not seem to be intended to duplicate the Chorazin-Bethsaida form in referring to Capernaum; the contrast here is "unto heaven . . . unto Hades." But Matthew carries down the previous form as an addition to portion B, though, since the city of Sodom already has perished, it is necessary to apply the fate to "the land of Sodom." Is this enlargement the result of a strong tendency to view all punishment from the eschatological standpoint?

### 9. THE CONDITIONS OF DISCIPLESHIP TO JESUS

#### LUKAN P §44

If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.

#### MATTHAEAN P

He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.

Matthew regarded this document P saying as referring to the future, and hence gave it a place in the collection of sayings of Jesus about the mission of the disciples, which he has gathered as his tenth chapter. It is to be observed that in his transfer of it from a place where it is a part of a more complete definition of discipleship,

P §44, he applies to it his literary Principle 9, which has led him to modify the apparent rigor of more than one saying.

#### 10. THE VALIDITY OF THE LAW IN THE FUTURE

##### LUKAN P §51

But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one titlle of the law to fall.

##### MATTHAEAN P

Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one titlle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished.

Whether this saying was drawn by Matthew from document P, or was found by him also in the document M report of the Sermon on the Mount, does not affect the present purpose, which is to call attention to the Gospel of Matthew addition to the saying in the words "till all things be accomplished." This gives to the Matthaean form two bases of time computation, "till heaven and earth pass away," and "till all things be accomplished." The former alone is in the Lukan thought; the addition of the latter leads to a confusion of the comparison. Do not these words "till all things be accomplished" lead the reader again to that mode of outlook upon the future which is being seen to be so pervasive an element in the Matthaean report of Jesus' words?

#### 11. SUBSTANCE AND TREASURE AS OBJECTS OF CONCERN AND AMBITION

##### LUKAN P §§24, 26

A Therefore I say unto you, Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. For the life is more than the food, and the body than the raiment. Consider the ravens, that they sow not, neither reap; which have no store-chamber nor barn; and God feedeth them: of how much more value are ye than the birds! And which of you by being anxious can add a cubit unto his stature? If then ye are not able to do even that which is least, why are ye anxious concerning the rest? Consider the lilies, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; yet I say unto you, Even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But if God doth so clothe the grass in the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven; how much more shall he clothe you, O ye of little faith? And seek not ye what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind. For all these things do the nations of the world seek after: but your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. Howbeit seek ye his kingdom, and these things shall be added unto you.

B Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.

C Sell that ye have, and give alms;

D make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief draweth near, neither moth destroyeth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

##### MATTHAEAN P

A Therefore I say unto you, Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than the food, and the body than the raiment? Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not ye of much more value than they? And which of you by being anxious can add one cubit unto his stature? And why are ye anxious concerning raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But if God doth so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Be not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.

B Be not therefore anxious for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

C Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break through and steal:

D but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal; for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.

It would be strange, indeed, if that eschatological tendency which has been found to be so marked a characteristic of the Gospel of Matthew should fail to show itself in any other document or gospel. To have gained so considerable a place in one of the gospels, that mode of thought must have had a lodgment in many minds in the early apostolic age. It is likely to have had some effect upon more than one line of tradition, not so much perhaps as is seen in Matthew, but some discoverable influence. It would seem that the above passage from document P shows that even in the copy that came to Luke's hands there had been changes from the original form, unless, indeed, it be assumed that these changes were wrought after the gospel left the hands of Luke, and that those changes had not similarly affected the recension used by Matthew. Of the above paragraph, A and D are substantially identical in content in both gospels. But B and C are very different in form, though there is an evident basal relationship in thought. How account for the differences? Notwithstanding the very apparent ultimate literary relation of the Lukan portion C to the Matthaean portion C, the two injunctions would work out very differently in their practical application. Of both of the portions B it is to be said that they are endeavors to quiet anxious concern by assurances. But how different they are in their conception of how anxiety can best be allayed! Nothing short of an assurance of a place in "the kingdom" is regarded as meeting the need by the Lukan P; in the Matthaean, concern about the future is otherwise resolved. The impression made by the Lukan P is that its portion C takes its changed form from the different assurance which precedes it in B. The speedy possession of "the kingdom" makes all gathering of substance unnecessary. Let those who possess distribute to those who have not, for the time is close when all need of treasure will have passed. This sense of an impending crisis, which should determine those who have possessions to distribute them to those who have not, seems to appear in the practical injunctions of John the Baptist as those are recorded in document G §1C, where he tells the multitudes, "He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath food, let him do likewise." In the form in which these sayings about substance and treasure from document P stand in the Gospel of Matthew, there is about them not a trace of reference to a



mode of action determined by an eschatological hope; as they stand in Luke, they are first an assurance of participation in "the kingdom," and then an exhortation to an abnormal mode of life based upon the belief that the promise is speedily to be realized. This seems to be a case where eschatological influence has affected not, as is most usual, the Matthaean P, but the Lukan, whether before or during or after Luke's use of it being uncertain. It seems probable that the modifications in the Lukan P are the result of the proximity of the eschatological parables in P §§27-30. These parables are considered in §§10, 11 of chap. iv.

## 12. CONFESSION OR DENIAL UNDER PERSECUTION

### LUKAN P §20

Every one who shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God: but he that denieth me in the presence of men shall be denied in the presence of the angels of God

### MATTHAEAN P

Every one therefore who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

Where the Matthaean form has "before my Father which is in heaven" the Lukan form has "before the angels of God." Which are the words actually used by Jesus? Is it unimportant, because the two phrases mean the same thing? Is there no significance in the conjunction of "Son of man" with "before the angels of God," as against the Matthaean "I" with "before my Father which is in heaven"? Is the Lukan form a departure from the precise language of Jesus, and a stage in the movement toward that form of the saying which has found a record in document MK: "For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels," MK 8:38? Certain it is that when we reach the document MK form we have a saying very different in meaning from that in the Matthaean P, the MK form having an unmistakable scheme of eschatology. It is very important, therefore, to determine whether Jesus used the words in the Lukan or those in the Matthaean P; for if the Matthaean, there are not the implications which are inherent to the Lukan, and which have their full expression in the MK document. From the evidences as to Matthaean eschatological tendency already gathered, it seems impossible to hold that the Matthaean form of this saying was obtained by modification from the Lukan. All tendency discovered to the present, both with Matthew and with

Luke, has been in the other direction, that is, away from the Matthaean form of this particular saying and toward the Lukan. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that in this instance, as in that under 11 above, the eschatological influence has affected the Lukan recension of P. These two passages constitute, however, the only places in the Lukan P where this influence can be detected by comparison with the Matthaean P. Whether there are others, discoverable by some different method, is a matter for subsequent determination.

### 13. THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

It has been shown already that in his construction of two long discourses of Jesus on the future, namely, that on the Mission of the Disciples, Matt. 9:35—10:42, and that on the Last Things, Matt., chaps. 24, 25, the evangelist Matthew used from document P the following sections, P §§4, 6, 20, 22, 28, 29, 32, 44B; and in addition used from document M the apparent equivalents of P §§27, 64, namely, M §§24, 25. But in addition to these several portions of P which Matthew regarded as having a bearing upon the future, there is the highly important and significant forecast of the future by Jesus which is recorded in document P §60. This Matthew used also, placing it as a part of the discourse on the Last Things, Matt., chaps. 24, 25. The method of Matthew in his distribution of this section of document P may now be profitably studied.

#### LUKAN P §60

A. And he said unto the disciples, The days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it.

B Compare portion D.

D And they shall say to you, Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away, nor follow after them:

#### MATTHAEAN P + MATTHAEAN MK

B Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ, or, Here; believe *it* not.

C For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; so as to lead astray, if possible, even the elect. Behold, I have told you beforehand.

D If therefore they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the wilderness; go not forth: Behold, he is in the inner chambers; believe *it* not.

#### DOCUMENT MK

B Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ; or, Lo, there; believe *it* not:

C for there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew signs and wonders, that they may lead astray, if possible, the elect. But take ye heed: behold, I have told you all things beforehand.

- E for  
as the lightning, when it  
lighteneth out of the one  
part under the heaven,  
shineth unto the other  
part under heaven; so  
shall the Son of man be  
in his day.
- F But first must  
he suffer many things and  
be rejected of this genera-  
tion.
- G And as it came to  
pass in the days of Noah,  
even so shall it be also in  
the days of the Son of man.  
They ate, they drank, they  
married, they were given in  
marriage, until the day  
that Noah entered into the  
ark, and the flood came,  
and destroyed them all.
- H Likewise even as it came  
to pass in the days of Lot;  
they ate, they drank, they  
bought, they sold, they  
planted, they builded; but  
in the day that Lot went  
out from Sodom it rained  
fire and brimstone from  
heaven, and destroyed  
them all:
- I after the same  
manner shall it be in the  
day that the Son of man is  
revealed.
- J In that day, he  
which shall be on the  
housetop, and his goods  
in the house, let him not  
go down to take them  
away: and let him that is  
in the field likewise not  
return back.
- K Remember Lot's wife.
- L Whosoever shall seek  
to gain his life shall lose it,  
but whosoever shall lose  
*his life* shall preserve it.
- M I say unto  
you, In that night there  
shall be two men on one  
bed; the one shall be taken,  
and the other shall be left.  
There shall be two women  
grinding together; the one  
shall be taken, and the  
other shall be left.
- N And  
they answering say unto  
him, Where, Lord? And  
he said unto them,
- O Where  
the body *is*, thither will the  
eagles also be gathered to-  
gether.
- E For as the lightning  
cometh forth from the east,  
and is seen even unto the  
west; so shall be the com-  
ing of the Son of man.
- G And as *were* the days  
of Noah, so shall be the  
coming of the Son of man.  
For as in those days which  
were before the flood they  
were eating and drinking,  
marrying and giving in  
marriage, until the day  
that Noah entered into  
the ark, and they knew not  
until the flood came, and  
took them all away;
- I so shall  
be the coming of the Son  
of man.
- J Let him that is on the  
housetop not go down to  
take out the things that  
are in his house: and let  
him that is in the field not  
return back to take his  
cloke.
- J Let him that is on the  
housetop not go down, nor  
enter in, to take anything  
out of his house: and let  
him that is in the field not  
return back to take his  
cloke.

In the above exhibit of the Lukan P, the portions F and L are set to one side as being genuine sayings of Jesus which are given here their wrong context. The foreign nature of the portion L is felt

immediately when there is an endeavor to interpret it as a part of the scene here depicted. To its first half a meaning is given with difficulty; for its second there seems no possible intelligible sense. The whole saying is luminous in its setting in document MK 8:35. That portion F found a place here is not unnatural, for the truth contained in it is one which Jesus found it necessary to repeat often before it found lodgment in the mind of his disciples, document MK 8:31; 9:31; 10:33. But in this place in document P it is another interruption to the very evident and most striking unity of the scene depicted in portions E to M. Moreover, in document MK the saying is represented as always spoken by Jesus with a strong sense of its revelatory character; here that is secondary to a chronological service.

It has been thought best to exhibit the relation of Matthew in parts to document MK, since the task of the evangelist included an adjustment of this section of document P to his document MK. As has been shown at a previous point, §4:III:C: 22, 23,<sup>1</sup> the portions B (D) and J of the above Lukan P §60 appear in the thirteenth chapter of document MK. As Matthew had already used those portions of MK in his construction of the discourse on the Last Things, he had to adjust his use of P §60 to that fact. The first stage in this adjustment is seen when, instead of omitting portion D (B), he rewrites it because it has already appeared in his gospel as the parallel to document MK's portion B. Why the rewriting took the form which Matthew's portion D now shows is explained by the actual developments of history previous to the destruction of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The portion J of document P had found a place in document MK in quite another context, that is, as referring to the destruction of Jerusalem rather than to "the day of the Son of man." Matthew uses it in its MK position, and hence does not insert it again when distributing the present section of document P.

In document P there are given two historical illustrations of the sudden coming of unexpected fate, the case of Noah in G and that of Lot in H. One only of these similar events is utilized by Matthew, and with the omission of H there falls out also the portion K, dependent upon the presence of H. As Matthew is representing this as part of a lengthy discourse spoken consecutively, there is no place for the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 48, 49.

<sup>2</sup> On this point, see pp. 154-65.

question of the disciples in N. If the document P of Matthew had the portions F and L, his decision as to their availability for a place in such a body of sayings, judged by his omission of them, corresponds to that of a present-day reader. Certain minor verbal divergences from the Lukan P will be found explainable in an entirely reasonable way if the new context of Matthew for each saying is examined in the large and in detail. The most significant of these divergences through transcription to another context will be found in the uniform rewriting of the document P phrase, "the day of the Son of man," in the form, "the coming (*παρουσία*) of the Son of man," as may be observed by comparing portions E, G, I. As this word *παρουσία* is credited to Jesus four times only in the gospels, the above three and Matt. 24:3, and as the instance in Matt. 24:3 is an addition by Matthew to his document MK at that point, MK 13:4, it would seem that the word was not a part of the vocabulary of Jesus, but is, like other eschatological emphases that have been found, something peculiar to the Gospel of Matthew and corrigible by reference to the documents.

Most significant of all the differences between the Lukan P and the Matthaean P, however, is the entire omission by Matthew of the Lukan portion A. But how could Matthew make use of such a saying as that, when it apparently gives the denial to what constituted the very center of the document MK discourse to which Matthew was adjusting this section of document P? For the thirteenth chapter of document MK promises that the great crisis will certainly come within the lifetime of that generation. What place in that discourse can be found for a saying which smites ardent desire and longing with the unmistakable words, "Days will come when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it"? At what point in the long discourse which has been so admirably wrought together in Matt., chaps. 24, 25 could these words be inserted if there were to be retained at the same time the words of document MK: "This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished"? The editorial problem was solved by Matthew through the entire omission of the highly significant saying in P §60A.

#### 14. A CHAPTER OF PROBLEMS

There is no portion of document MK more difficult to interpret in a way that satisfies the mind than MK 9:33-50. One needs only to

recall the volumes that have been written to elucidate a single verse of that paragraph, 9:49. In a document which, for the most part, is clear and easily intelligible to any attentive reader, such a condition of a portion of it suggests obviously that there may be a confusion of sayings here. This supposition has strong support in some findings in the comparative study of document P with document. In that study it was observed that the sayings in vss. 43-48 have a more normal form and a more appropriate setting in document M §5; that the words in vs. 42 have a larger and more intelligible context in P §54; that the saying about reception in the mission, vs. 37, is hard to understand when applied to a little child in arms, but luminous when contiguous to instructions for a mission in P §6; that the saying in vs. 50, though appearing in P §45, has a better setting here, if only it be brought into closer contact with that to which it evidently refers, the dispute between the disciples as to place. To which there is to be added that vss. 38-40 are a very evident interruption to the movement of the thought; and that vs. 41 can be brought into relation with what precedes or what follows only by heroic interpretative expedients.

These statements about a portion of document MK would have no place in the consideration of the variations between the Lukan and the Matthaean forms of document P were it not that what is true of this portion of document MK is true, in even larger measure, of the Matthaean parallel to this section of document MK, Matt., chap. 18. Matthew introduces at this point a number of additional sayings from document P, and closes his chapter with a parable from document M §20. It is the presence of these sayings from P in this chapter which calls for some comparative study of the Lukan and Matthaean forms. But as document MK is involved in many of the problems of the Matthaean chapter, and as both the Markan and the Matthaean records at this point have sayings of Jesus about the future, it is best, perhaps, to depart enough from the plan now being followed to include a study of the relation of document MK to Matthew's eighteenth chapter. This consideration of the structure of Matthew's eighteenth chapter in the light of documents MK, P, and M will involve a more lengthy discussion than has been occasioned by any previous comparison, but is justified at this place by the exceptional importance of the material in MK 9:33-50 = Matt., chap. 18, in its bearing upon

the teaching of Jesus about the future, and by the difficulty of considering this varied gospel material in isolated portions. No chapter in the gospels has sayings bearing upon so many phases of the outlook of Jesus upon the future as has Matthew's eighteenth chapter.

GOSPEL MT 18:1-22 DOCUMENT MK 9:33-50 GOSPEL LK 9:46-50

A In that hour came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who then is greatest in the kingdom of heaven?

A And they came to Capernaum; and when he was in the house he asked them, What were ye reasoning in the way? But they held their peace; for they had disputed one with another in the way, who *was* the greatest.

A And there arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be greatest.

B Compare portion E.

B And he sat down, and called the twelve; and he saith unto them, If any man would be first, he shall be last of all, and minister of all.

B Compare portion H.

C And he called to him a little child, and set him in the midst of them, and said,

C And he took a little child, and set him in the midst of them; and taking him in his arms, he said unto them,

C But when Jesus saw the reasoning of their heart, he took a little child, and set him by his side, and said unto them,

DOCUMENT MK 10:15

D Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein.

D Verily I say unto you, Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.

E Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

E Compare portion B.

E Compare portion H.

F And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me:

F Whosoever shall receive one of such little children in my name, receiveth me:

F Whosoever shall receive this little child in my name receiveth me:

G and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me.

G and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me:

H Compare portion E.

H Compare portion B.

H for he that is least among you all, the same is great.

I John said unto him, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbade him, because he followed not us. But Jesus said, Forbid him not; for there is no man which shall do a mighty work in my name, and be able quickly to speak evil of me. For he that is not against us is for us.

I And John answered and said, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us. But Jesus said unto him, Forbid *him* not; for he that is not against you is for you.

J For whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink, because ye are Christ's, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.





when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and his neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost.

R I say unto you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, *more* than over ninety and nine righteous persons, which need no repentance.

joiceth over it more than over the ninety and nine which have not gone astray.

S Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish.

## DOCUMENT P §54B

T Take heed to yourselves: if thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him

T And if thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.

U But if he hear *thee* not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church: and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican. Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

V And if he sin against thee seven times in the day, and seven times turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.

V Then came Peter, and said to him, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? until seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but, Until seventy times seven.

In the above exhibit there is shown, in addition to document MK 9:33-50, the portions of the gospels of Luke and Matthew which were derived from that Markan paragraph,<sup>1</sup> and in the column on the

<sup>1</sup> Except that Matt. 10:40, derived from portion G, and Matt. 10:42, derived from portion J, are not set in parallelism here.

left hand certain portions of documents P and MK which supplied parts of the additions in Matthew. The various relations of these documents and gospels must first be discussed.

In reading the document MK, the first difficulty that presents itself lies in the words used about little children in portions F, G. There is no inherent difficulty in thinking of Jesus as using a little child to point a rebuke to selfish and proud ambition; such difficulty as there is here resides in the words said to have been used in connection with the act. What possible relation do the words in portions F, G bear to the problem with which Jesus was dealing at this time? How do they rebuke self-seeking? Are we creating an imaginary difficulty which insight might solve? Matthew and Luke apparently did not think so, for from their handling of this Markan passage it is evident that each attempted in his own way to resolve precisely the problem raised in our study. Luke's endeavor is the simpler. Feeling that Jesus' reported use of the child after he had spoken the words in portion B was lacking in a relation to the discussion in hand, he transferred the thought in B to a place (H) after the taking of the child, and rewrote the wording of B so that in its form as H it reads like a natural inference from the use of the child, "he that is least," that is, minor or childlike, "the same is great." But the Lukan change still left the difficult words in portion G. Matthew's effort to solve the problem is more thoroughgoing and striking. He finds the words used in connection with the child so distant from the subject, while the possible lesson from a child is so obvious and forceful, that he draws a verse from another portion of document MK where children are under discussion, MK 10:15, and having taken it, omits that verse when writing his parallel to MK 10:13-16=Matt. 19:13-15. To this portion D, drawn from MK, he adds his editorial equivalent for portion B in the words of portion E. It must be admitted that Matthew has treated the problem with skill, for his portions A to E are a strong unit. The differences between the wording of B, H, and E are the result of the varying method of Matthew and Luke in meeting an interpretative task of some difficulty.

Matthew goes farther yet in ridding the MK paragraph of its difficulty by transferring to a wholly different context that portion which is least intelligible while a little child is in mind, namely, por-

tion G. This he makes a part of the long discourse on the mission of the disciples by placing before it, instead of F which he retains here, the natural words, "He that receiveth you receiveth me," Matt. 10:40, doubtless under the influence of document P §6. By his addition, transposition, change, and removal Matthew has secured in portions A to F a strong and intelligible paragraph, save for the irreducible element in portion F. That there was necessity for such editorial effort by the later evangelists makes evident that in the portions F, G of document MK there has been either some serious dislodgment or internal modification of the saying, or both. The problem as to meaning, though not as to position, would be solved if "one of such little ones" could be regarded as the equivalent of "one of the disciples," for then the passage would be only another way of reporting the saying in P §6.

Why is it that of the remaining portions of document MK above the evangelist Luke used only the portion I? Most of the omissions of Luke in using document MK can be explained by the fact that he has the same material from another of his documents. And it is to be observed that he has the portion K in P §54, and the portion O in P §45. But why does Luke omit the sayings in J, M, N, especially the striking saying in M, unlike anything to be found in any portion of the other Lukan documents? The most natural explanation would seem to be that all of document MK from J to N was absent from the copy of document MK which Luke possessed. There are other very strong and convincing evidences that the document MK used by Luke did not contain certain passages which were present in the MK used by Matthew. It has been pointed out that in threefold material Matthew is closer in verbal likeness to our present MK than is Luke on the whole; and it was suggested that this was attributable either to the freer transcription of Luke, or to the fact that he used a MK less like our present MK than was that of Matthew. From the evidence through omissions it would seem that the latter conjecture is more nearly the correct one; that is, all evidence converges toward the conclusion that Luke used a copy of document MK which was more primitive than that which was used by Matthew. This does not exclude the possible truth of the supposition that Luke also transcribed with greater freedom in verbal details. There seems to be

slight evidence that the portions of document MK common to the copies used by Luke and Matthew differed substantially from those portions in the copy of document MK that has come down to us. In support of the conjecture that the above MK portions J to N were not in the MK used by Luke, there is the additional, substantial body of facts as to the lack of internal relationship of these portions one to another, and the appearance of K, M, and O in other documents, facts already set forth at length elsewhere. Of these portions the last, O, is the only one related to the theme with which the paragraph started, the dispute among the disciples; and it may well be that this saying stood in the Lukan copy of MK after portion I, but was omitted by Luke because of its appearance in document P §45.

In short, this place in document MK has become the depository, in the sense in which no other part of that document has, for several sayings of Jesus which are not related to the theme under treatment, the dispute between the disciples, and which are related to one another only by superficial verbal likenesses in certain of their phrases. It became a depository of sayings which belong to other occasions in the ministry of Jesus. Thus the portion M has its true and illuminating context as a part of document M §5; the saying in portion K belongs with the rest of document P §54. It can hardly be maintained that the difficult saying in the portion N is anything other than an endeavor to form a junction between M and O, made at the time the former was given a place in the document. It is not assumed that portions M and K were actually drawn from documents P and M by those who placed them in MK; they are apparently additional sayings that have come to the later makers of MK by another line, as is suggested, indeed, by their differences in form from the same sayings in documents P and M. Even the portion I, which was apparently in Luke's copy of document MK, is an unnatural interruption to the discourse of Jesus, and probably as such was dropped by Matthew when he used MK. It would seem, therefore, that at one time in the history of the tradition the portion O followed immediately after portion B, and has gradually been separated farther and farther from its context, as new sayings were inserted at this point in document MK. That reputed sayings of Jesus, not pre-

vously appearing in a document, should be inserted as they became known to the transmitters of a document, and that the context given them should often be unnatural and based on some slight verbal relation, is an entirely reasonable supposition from the historical standpoint, and one which, if recognized, will reduce the need for strained interpretative expedients in dealing with sayings which are luminous in one context but perplexing in another.

Attention may now be directed to the method of Matthew in his parallel chapter. His treatment of the portions A to G has been examined; and it has been suggested that portion I was omitted because it formed an interruption to the movement of the discourse. What he did with the portion G, he did also with the portion J, that is, interpreted it as bearing upon the future mission of the disciples, and transferred it to a place in the discourse on that subject which he has brought together, Matt. 10:42. The minor modification which document MK underwent, after the time it was used by Matthew, is nowhere better illustrated than in this verse, where it can be checked by a comparison of gospel with document. For the Markan "you," the Matthaean report has "one of these little ones;" for the Markan "because ye are Christ's (*ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ*)," Matthew records "in the name of a disciple (*εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ*)." Since the phrase "one of these little ones" in its Matthaean context is unintelligible except as Matthew and his early readers thoroughly understood it to be the equivalent of "a disciple," it must be supposed that it had this meaning in the early apostolic age. But the appearance of the phrase in this form in Matthew, taken with the fact that it occurs in our MK both before and after this verse, portions F and K above, seems to put it beyond doubt that the MK used by Matthew had the portion J in its present Matthaean form, and not as in our copy of document MK. This is equivalent to saying that if the portion J of document MK were in the Matthaean form, namely, had "one of these little ones" instead of "you," it would be easier to understand how there came to be attached to it the saying which now follows in MK, the portion K. These indications that the phrase "one of these little ones" was understood in the early apostolic age to be the same in content as "a disciple" throw light upon the difficulty created by the portions F, G. To interpret F, G the words "one

of such little children" need only to be taken to mean "a disciple," and F, G are clear and strong. But such a substitution robs F, G of all applicability to the dispute about place between the disciples. The substance of the case seems to be this: The saying in portion F originally read "one of these little ones," and meant, as it does in the original J and in K, "a disciple." But it was understood by the person who gave it place in the document MK at F, G to refer to a veritable little child, and was therefore attached to the record of this act of Jesus, portion C, as the most suitable place in the history for it. After the Markan adaptation, later users of document MK as editors found it as obscure as do the readers of today. Its original meaning, therefore, was the equivalent of document P §6. Which of the two forms of the report, MK or P, is more nearly in the words actually used by Jesus may not now be determined.

Having transferred portions G and J to the discourse on the mission, Matthew enriched portion K by the addition to it of the opening saying in document P §54, the portion L, which had not found a place in document MK although the following half of P §54 had, an indication that the Markan portion K did not come in under the influence of document P. The portion M was used now, the separate references to hand and foot being combined into a single statement by Matthew. The portion O was omitted, perhaps because it had appeared already in the Sermon on the Mount, perhaps because its relation to the subject in hand was not discernible by Matthew.

Matthew had now reached the end of that material supplied to him on this subject, or these subjects, by his document MK. What follows in his eighteenth chapter is to be attributed to other sources. In his portions P to S he has more sayings about "these little ones;" of these sayings, the parable Q is derivable from document P §46. But what shall be said of the words in portions P and S? In which of the two senses is "these little ones" being used here, that of "disciples" or that of "little children"? Since Matthew has eliminated the two sayings which require the interpretation "disciples," namely G and J, it is most natural to suppose the reference in P-S to be to "little children." But if this inference is correct, what shall be said about the use of the parable Q in such a context? Are little children the one as against the ninety and nine? And are little children to be

thought of as those that "be gone astray"? As applied in the context of document P to "the publicans and sinners who were drawing near unto him for to hear him," it is a parable of beauty and grace, strong in literary form and in religious truth. It seems impossible to say the same of its use in this chapter of Matthew. Any application of it to the subject of "little children" seems strained. It fits the outcasts of a nation, who form the minority, but not the children of a people, who are the majority. It applies to the perverse and straying adults, but not to the innocent and home-abiding children. The considerable differences in form between the parable as in the Lukan P and in this chapter of Matthew, differences not to be accounted for by any endeavor to adapt the parable to another use, strongly suggest that this parable was not taken up by Matthew from document P, but came into Matthew's Gospel along with the portions P and S at a time subsequent to the evangelist's work in forming the gospel, that is, from another source and by other hands. The very different use made of the parable will be strongly felt by comparing the thought of portions R and S.

The conjecture that the portions P-S are from another hand than that of Matthew is strongly supported by the fact that, if these are eliminated, Matthew will be found to be continuing in portions T-V that use of document P §54 which he had begun in supplementing the K of MK by the L of P §54. The only interruption to his continuous use of P §54 was caused by the taking-up of the portion M of document MK. Why T and V differ from the T and V of document P, and whence came the portion U are questions of such importance that their consideration must be taken up elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> There may now be summarized the results which seem to have been derived from this study: The document MK used by Luke contained only the portions A-I and O. Within those limits there had been taken up by document MK a saying which was given a place here through a misunderstanding of the phrase "one of these little ones," it being supposed to refer to little children, whereas its real application was to the disciples. The confusion of thought caused by this initial misinterpretation led the later evangelists to modify the report so as to add to its intelligibility. In this endeavor, Matthew was more

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 334-39.

thoroughgoing and successful than Luke. Because of this saying about "these little ones" in portions F, G of document MK, there came to be attached to the report two other isolated and unrelated sayings about "these little ones," the portions J, K. In the latter of these there is the phrase "to stumble," and its occurrence there led to the addition, at the same or at some other time, of the sayings in portion M, which begin with "to stumble." The saying in portion O being now so far removed from its original context and subject, junction was made between it and the preceding saying by the portion N. In this form the document MK passed into the hands of Matthew.

As a part of Matthew's process in adapting the difficult saying in portions F, G, he brought in D from another part of document MK, and removed the puzzling portions G and J to his discourse on the mission of the disciples. Finding the portion K both in his document MK and in P §54A, he determined to use the whole of P §54, interrupting it only by the insertion, between its two parts A and B, of the portion M from document MK. Subsequently some editorial worker upon the Gospel of Matthew inserted the sayings in the portions P-S, including the parable, which is unsuitable for use here and has its intention made clear by reference to its use in document P. The source and content of the portion U is a subject for subsequent discussions. Any endeavor to know the thought of Jesus as intended in the portions F, G must take account of the context of its equivalent in document P §6, and must give consideration to the judgment of the first evangelist as shown in his placing of the saying, Matt. 10:40. In passing upon the content of portion J, account must be taken of its non-appearance elsewhere in documents, and of its isolation in this single context where it has found a place. For another and better placed report of the impressive sayings in portion M one will turn to document M §5. In an attempt to estimate the significance of the sayings in portions P-S, one will have in mind their apparent absence from our gospels until subsequent to the period of the editorial work of Matthew.

## *II. The Gospels MT and LK compared with the Document MK*

The border line between the simple comparison of the Matthaean P with the Lukan P and the study of the relation between document



MK and the first and third evangelists has been crossed, of necessity, in the consideration of the last passage examined, that under I:14 above. Henceforth attention may be directed solely to the influence of document MK where it alone is the source of a Matthaean or Lukan paragraph. The object of the study which is to follow is the determination of the degree of faithfulness of Matthew and Luke to their document MK, where that document had recorded teaching of Jesus about the future. No passages will be brought under comparison except those that clearly contain teaching on the future. It has been suggested previously that, viewed theoretically, no portion of the teaching of Jesus might be expected to be more subject to the modifying influence of time and actual experience than those portions which dealt with the future, and especially that future which lay within the lifetime of his hearers. Whether what one might hypothetically expect actually took place can be determined only by a close scrutiny of the facts. That both Matthew and Luke show in general striking fidelity to their sources has already been affirmed; what they do where there is teaching on the future may now be subjected to examination.

#### I. DENIAL OF JESUS UNDER PERSECUTION

GOSPEL MT 16:27

For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds.

DOCUMENT MK 8:38

For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

GOSPEL LK 9:26

For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in his own glory, and *the glory* of the Father, and of the holy angels.

Luke took over the saying at this point without very serious modification, his most significant addition being that in which he gives to Jesus "his own glory" in which to come, as well as that of "the Father, and of the holy angels"—an indication of growth in the dignity assigned to Jesus. The omission of the words "in this adulterous and sinful generation" suggests the conjecture that they had their rise subsequently, springing from the same interpretation of contemporary Jewish perversity as the added words of Matthew in 12:45, "Even so shall it be also unto this evil generation," and in 12:39, "and adulterous generation," and in 16:4, "evil and adulterous generation." They are to be attributed, probably, to the fate of the nation as it was actually being realized in the decades of gospel formation. Of much greater significance are the departures of Matthew from his

document. He makes the accompanying angels to be "his angels," and goes quite beyond the warrant of his document when he changes the simple assertion, that the denier will be denied, into the broad announcement that "then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds." Such a change implies a conception of the function of the Son of man which is neither stated nor involved in the words of document MK. It portrays a judgment scene and judicial activities, and carries with it a body of ideas which are not sustained by his source at this point. This addition by Matthew is in line with additions previously found when Matthew's document M was compared with other documents, and again when the Matthaean P was compared with the Lukan P; that is, it is an evidence of a strong eschatological tendency in the Gospel of Matthew.

The above Matthaean form of this saying seems to be the last stage in a process of evolution through which certain words spoken by Jesus passed, several of the successive steps in which are before us in the gospels as they stand. The forms are as follows:

MATTHAEAN P

But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

LUKAN P

But he that denieth me in the presence of men shall be denied in the presence of the angels of God.

DOCUMENT MK

For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

GOSPEL MT

For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds.

An examination made at a previous point seemed to result in the conclusion that this is not a repeated saying, but a single one which has its true context in document P §20 which Matthew placed as a part of the discourse on the mission of the disciples. Its setting in document MK is explained on the basis of the interpretation given to the preceding sayings, MK 8:34-37, as applying to the death of the body under persecution, an interpretation which, it is believed, does not do justice to the thought of Jesus. The motive for this junction was the need of something to strengthen converts under persecution, a need thought to be met by placing this saying in connection with sayings supposed to refer to death under persecution. But before the saying was taken up thus into the document MK, or as it was being incorporated, it underwent those modifications which may be seen

by comparing it with the Matthaean P. It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of the gulf which separates the thought of the form in Matthaean P from that in gospel MT.

## 2. THE FUTURE OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

GOSPEL MT 16:28

Verily I say unto you, There be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

DOCUMENT MK 9:1

Verily I say unto you, There be some here of them that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power.

GOSPEL LK 9:27

But I tell you of a truth, There be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God.

It is not possible to say with assurance what inference may be drawn from the absence of the words "come with power" in the Lukan report. It may be due to an editorial impulse of Luke working on a document MK which contained the words, or to the fact that his copy of MK did not contain this close to the saying. But there can be no mistaking the Matthaean treatment. "Kingdom of God come with power" gives place to "Son of man coming in his kingdom." Shall it be affirmed that the change does not materially affect the sense, that the one phrase is the substantial equivalent of the other? That would not be a sound conclusion unless based upon a thorough examination of the teaching of Jesus about the future of the kingdom as elsewhere recorded. Such an examination is impracticable at this point. It must suffice for the present to maintain that the phrase of Matthew can have only one reasonable meaning, whereas that of document MK is open to any one of several interpretations. Unless one assumes in advance that Jesus did not and could not think and speak of the future of the kingdom of God in any other than an eschatological sense, this document MK passage does not in itself commit Jesus to that view of the kingdom's future. But the phrase of Matthew can be interpreted in other than an eschatological meaning, it would seem, only by a resort to the most strained use of language. It seems difficult, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that in this passage we have yet another instance of the powerful working of the eschatological influence upon the Gospel of Matthew.

An additional question of importance is raised by the presence of this particular saying at this point in the narrative. What relation does this saying bear to what precedes in document MK? If temporarily one will eliminate MK 8:38, it will be found difficult to establish any inner relationship between MK 9:1 and the sayings, in

whole or in part, which precede or follow. One seems shut up to the belief that justification for placing the saying here rests solely in its apparent relation to MK 8:38. It seems to have been the belief of the framers of the tradition that MK 8:38 held in itself a warning against defection under persecution, while MK 9:1 was calculated, by its apparent promise of speedy deliverance, to encourage the believer to patient endurance of the ills of persecution. That is to say, the document MK form of the saying was itself taken by the early community to mean precisely what Matthew has made it mean by his rewriting of it. It was regarded as a promise of the speedy return of Jesus in power and glory, at which time all persecution would come to an end, and those who had not denied him under persecution would be acknowledged by the Son of man. But before a reader of today can undertake the support of such a placing and interpretation of this saying, it must first be proven that such was the future of the kingdom as elsewhere portrayed by Jesus, that in MK 8:34-37 Jesus is referring primarily, if not solely, to the life of the body, that his thought here is of the persecutions which are to come upon his disciples, that the saying in MK 8:38 belongs here not elsewhere, and that the appeal of Jesus for faithfulness to him was based upon the promise of relief at his speedy return. This seems more formidable than one need attempt, when it is possible to resolve all difficulties simply by regarding the two sayings as ultimately based on two separate, genuine utterances of Jesus, which were early misinterpreted and hence wrongly placed in the record of his words. This passage may not be left without the observation that, though the document MK form of the sayings stands closer to the original words of Jesus, their interpretation by the Markan line of tradition was similar to that of Matthew. Evidently it is true that, even when we are as far back in the history of the tradition as we may be taken by document MK, we are not always close enough to the words as they came from Jesus to be assured that they have not already undergone some modification under that eschatological tendency which is seen so markedly in the Gospel of Matthew.

### 3. IN THE KINGDOM OF GOD

GOSPEL MT 26:29

But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.

DOCUMENT MK 14:25

Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

GOSPEL LK 22:18

For I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.

The Matthaean substitution of "my Father" for the "God" of his source is not an isolated instance of this tendency in the first evangelist. Except for this, and the addition of "with you," Matthew keeps more faithfully to his document in this instance than does Luke. Shall it be held that the thought of Jesus is as accurately transmitted by the Lukan words? Back of the words "until the kingdom of God shall come" does there not lie a conception of the mode of the kingdom which is not inherent to the Markan phrase "until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God"? There is lost from the Lukan report the significant suggestion of the precise thought of Jesus which is conveyed by his words "drink it new." These lead the imagination to dwell upon the changed state of existence had in mind by Jesus when he conceived of the fruit of the vine as "new." Certainly they hint at something other than life in a kingdom which is a prolongation of blissful life upon the earth. The document MK report suggests a change of state which Jesus believed himself to be nearing; the Lukan recension seems to imply one fixed event for the consummation of which Jesus would wait in expectation. There is no definition of the nature of the kingdom in document MK, except the implication that in it all things, including even the fruit of the vine, are "new." But in the Lukan form of the saying there is the expectation that at some definite time in the future the kingdom of God will "come." In short, in the saying as reported by Luke there is a distinct movement toward that eschatological interpretation of sayings about the future of the kingdom which is most strikingly exhibited, in most passages, by the Gospel of Matthew.

#### 4. AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE POWER OF GOD

GOSPEL MT 26:64

Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.

DOCUMENT MK 14:62

And ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.

GOSPEL LK 22:69

But from henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God.

In this passage Matthew agrees very closely with his document. Both document and gospel name two states, "sitting at the right hand of power" and "coming with the clouds of heaven." Of these two states, one only is recorded by Luke, "seated at the right hand of the power of God." Document MK and gospel MT report Jesus as saying that his hearers at his trial will themselves see him in both of these states, "ye shall see." It is exceedingly difficult to conceive

how it could ever be true that the members of the Sanhedrin would be able to see Jesus at the time when he would be sitting at the right hand of power. How could their vision penetrate to the seat of God? It is recorded, indeed, of the martyr Stephen that he, "being full of the Holy Ghost," had a vision in which he "saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God," but such a state and such an experience are hardly to be credited to those who brought Jesus to his death. They are conceived of rather as exceptional. What the members of the Jewish court could see, without doubt, would be the scene described in the second state, "coming with the clouds of heaven." Such an event would not be shut out from the vision of any normal eye. Luke does not report Jesus as affirming that the members of the Sanhedrin would see him sitting at the right hand of the power of God, but simply as stating his own confidence that he would attain to such a dignity. The two assertions are very different in content. It is the presence of that which Luke does not have in his record, "coming with the clouds of heaven," which necessitates the reading "ye shall see" in document MK.

Judged by every internal test, therefore, the Lukan form seems to be the more original; that is, it is more reasonable to regard the document MK form as derivative than to think of that of Luke as having grown from document MK. But such a conclusion seems a reversal of the theory as to the relation of document MK to gospel LK, unless it be assumed that Luke used a more primitive MK than that which was used by Matthew and has come down to us. It has been seen that there are not a few evidences that Luke transcribed from a document MK which was nearer the original than that of Matthew. With reference to the present passage, it is of importance to observe that in Luke it is a part of one of the only two narratives where the Lukan order does not agree with the Markan in the events from MK 4:34 to the end of that document. May it not be that this departure from document MK is apparent only, Luke really presenting faithfully the order of the MK which came to him, and not only the order but also the more original form of the sayings of Jesus at his trial? Either this must be supposed, or it must be held that Luke here came under the influence of another document, or under an influence of some other kind. Whatever the nature of the factor,

it wrought effects opposite to those which would have come simply from some editorial impulse toward modification of sayings in the direction of cherished opinion. For it is clearly recognizable that the document MK form of the saying above exhibited attributes to Jesus a promise as to his return on the clouds of heaven which is not even vaguely suggested by the Lukan report. The order of descent in these variant reports of this saying seems beyond doubt when the hopes and beliefs of the early apostolic age are held in mind; in the midst of such expectations, it is hardly possible to believe that document MK would be reduced in content to that of gospel LK, but rather the reverse. In the "henceforth" of Matthew there is to be seen perhaps a trace of the original MK which was still retained by the MK which came to Matthew, but has wholly disappeared from our MK. "Henceforth (*ἀπ' ἄρτι*)" has no ordinary sense when it is applied to "coming on the clouds of heaven;" it is intelligible and impressive when applied to the single thought as reported in gospel LK.

##### 5. SUMMARY OF THE WORK OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

GOSPEL MT 3:1, 2

And in those days cometh John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judæa, saying, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

DOCUMENT MK 1:4

John came, who baptized in the wilderness and preached the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins.

GOSPEL LK 3:2, 3

The word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness. And he came into all the region round about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins.

The Lukan summary follows document MK very closely; the phrase "all the region round about Jordan," it has been observed, was probably derived from document G, Matthew having taken it up at another point, Matt. 3:5. The idea of "repentance" Matthew gives in the form of an exhortation, "Repent ye." To what his source gives him he adds, however, his own conception of the basis of John's appeal, "for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." That John used these words is nowhere recorded by either document MK or G. Both documents make it clear that John announced the coming of another after him; and though document MK, as has been seen, credits John with a very different expectation as to the work of the Coming One from that reported in document G, it is evident that both documents intend to represent John as asserting that his successor is to be the Messiah himself. It is clear from document G that John announced an impending crisis of the most transforming kind, G §1B-E, a crisis

to be wrought by the Messiah. The single question is whether John ever spoke of that crisis in the terms of Matthew, "the kingdom of heaven is at hand." From the known expressions used to designate the messianic era in the time of John, is it to be affirmed that this one of Matthew was probably one of those used by John? Can it be proven that the messianic age was known to the contemporaries of John under the phrase, "the kingdom of God"? Or was it Jesus who gave currency and content to that pregnant term? The answers to these fundamental questions may not be assumed; they must rest on evidence of a convincing kind. With reference to the particular passage now under examination, its absence from his source at this point suggests that Matthew drew his summary from another place in document MK (1:15), where the words are attributed to Jesus. In rewriting that portion of his document MK, Matthew presented it in the precise words which he here attributes to John, Matt. 4:17 = Matt. 3:2. It seems difficult to doubt that Matthew acted under the conviction that both Jesus and John alike made prediction of a "kingdom of heaven" which was imminent, "at hand," and also under the conviction that in crediting this phrase to John he was not going beyond a general fact established for him by his documents. It was beyond the power of any man in the days of Matthew to discriminate accurately between phrases which had attained general currency only after John, and those that were popular modes of conveying a certain body of ideas in the time of John. But for those who would know the mind of Jesus, it is of the utmost importance to make the distinction with sharpness.

It may not be concluded when the saying "the kingdom of heaven is at hand," as here attributed to John, has been traced to the similar saying in document MK 1:15, where it is credited to Jesus, that we have certainly reached the point of origin for the saying. Considerations elsewhere advanced<sup>1</sup> seem strongly to favor the conclusion that the document G representation of the opening method and message of Jesus is more accurate; and that these words in document MK 1:15 are an evangelistic summary of the total message of Jesus in his ministry, a summary not derivable from anything said by Jesus in the earlier periods of his activity, even on the testimony of document MK itself.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 301-6.



Therefore the saying, "the kingdom of heaven is at hand," if it is to be credited even to Jesus himself, must be assigned to some period in his life other than that in which he was introducing himself and his mission to his people. This much seems demanded by the documentary evidence, not to mention the indications everywhere in the gospels of the care of Jesus about any premature interpretations of himself and his vocation. Such interpretations of Jesus would have been the immediate consequence of such a saying as that in document MK 1:15, if that saying were taken in the sense intended by document MK and by Matthew when he attributes it to John. It seems very difficult to avoid the conclusion that the placing of the saying in document MK at 1:15 and its double use by Matthew when he took up that document, Matt. 3:2 and 4:17, are both the result of an expectation and a hope, by the authors of the document and the gospel, that the kingdom of God was speedily to come in the form of an eschatological blessing. Whether Jesus, by some other portions of his teaching, gave to his disciples the firm grounds for such far-reaching expectations, and thus the justification for so summarizing his teaching and for so characterizing the message of John, is a subject for subsequent investigation. It suffices at present to draw attention to the fact that a saying attributed to John by Matthew was not found by him at that point in his document, and that at the place from which he drew it the document MK itself comes into conflict with the valuable document G, and with the most probable course of the history as discoverable from a study of the whole method of Jesus in establishing in his contemporaries the conviction of his vocation as the Messiah. In brief, an eschatological tendency seems to have been active both in gospel MT and in document MK.

#### 6. THE AGE OF TORMENT

GOSPEL MT 8:20

And behold, they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time?

DOCUMENT MK 5:6, 7

And when he saw Jesus from afar, he ran and worshipped him; and crying out with a loud voice, he saith, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God? I adjure thee by God, torment me not.

GOSPEL LK 8:28

And when he saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God? I beseech thee, torment me not.

In the above passage we are not dealing with words of Jesus, but with those attributed to a demon. The object of bringing them under review is to exhibit the fact that not alone the words of Jesus and of

John were subjected to an eschatological influence in the hands of Matthew, but also those of other speakers in the gospels. To the report of his document MK, faithfully followed by Luke, Matthew adds the significant words, "before the time," thus introducing the conception of an aeon in which torment is to be the portion of the evil. This conception has already been seen actively at work in many places in Matthew, especially in the conclusion to certain parables, the close to the Sermon on the Mount as in document M, and in the same document at the last words of the discourse against the scribes and Pharisees. Did these strong eschatological features in document M influence the evangelist Matthew so powerfully that the effect is to be found wherever there is an opportunity to give an eschatological turn to any part of the record? Or does the editor Matthew himself belong to a circle in which these ideas are so thoroughly commonplace that the modifications he makes are largely done unconsciously? And if the latter, did he modify document M even as he has the other documents. Or did he derive document M from that circle to which he himself belonged, and had that circle modified the works of Jesus in transmission before they took documentary form? Does the fact that Matthew alone among the evangelists had document M indicate that it circulated in a narrower circle than other documents about Jesus, and did this circle give it its peculiar characteristics, its emphasis upon eschatology, and its treasuring of words from Jesus about the eternal validity of the law, M §§3, 27?

#### 7. THE EXTENT OF THE MISSION

GOSPEL MT 15:24

But he answered and said, I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

DOCUMENT MK 7:27

And he said unto her, Let the children first be filled.

In the words of document MK, Jesus neither explicitly affirms nor denies that there is to be a mission to others than "the children." But there is apparently implicit in his use of "first" the suggestion that after "the children" others may have consideration. When the others are to receive attention, whether from himself or from his disciples, is not stated nor hinted by him in this saying as recorded in document MK. But in the Matthaean rewriting of these words, that which Jesus has conveyed only by suggestion and indirectly is subjected to explicit interpretation. The thought is limited to the

activity of Jesus himself; the modifying element in "first" is lost from sight; there is one worker and one field and one time, "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." The saying of Jesus in document MK may be correctly restated in gospel MT; but that there is no other possible meaning to the MK words will hardly be maintained. Even in the light of the actual limits of the public activity of Jesus, it is far from evident, it would seem, that he intended to define those limits by this particular saying. That seems to have been too simply assumed by Matthew in taking over this portion of his document.

This easy conclusion by Matthew raises the question whether, like many modifications of the sayings of Jesus, it flowed naturally from some fixed and deep preconception which was held and was active almost, if not wholly, without the consciousness of the evangelist. What was Matthew's thought as to the extent of the mission of Jesus, on the one hand, and of the disciples after him, on the other? Did Matthew conceive of one or of both as limited to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel"? Was it the Matthaean thought that Jesus himself made a personal decision to confine his activity to Israel, but that he defined the mission of his disciples in larger terms, assigned to them the task which followed upon that "first" to which he mainly devoted his energies? The answers to these important questions may be had by a study of that discourse on the mission of the disciples which Matthew has brought together in his section, Matt. 9:35—10:42.

It has been seen that, under the influence of the large body of material for that discourse which Matthew drew from documents P and MK, he gave to the whole discourse a future outlook, even to the point of omitting the assertions that the Twelve went out at the time, MK 6:12, 13, and returned later, MK 6:30, 31. Notwithstanding this influence, reasonable conformity to his documents gave to the first part of the discourse the impression of a mission carried out in the lifetime of Jesus, Matt. 9:35—10:16. That portion of the discourse may be constructed in its Matthaean order by the editorial use of documentary material as follows: MK §30+MK §33C+P §4+MK §31A+MK §17. It will be found on examination that every thought in these several sections is taken up and wrought into an organized and consistent unit in the Matthaean paragraph. The editorial

task of combination has been done with fidelity and skill. But in the midst of this conflated section there stand two verses not accounted for by the documents P and MK, Matt. 10:5, 6. Whence were they derived by the evangelist? They are a definition of the extent of the mission not derivable from any saying of Jesus at any point in documents G, P, or MK. Shall the problem be solved by assigning them to the document M?<sup>1</sup> Then that document must have contained a discourse on the mission which could contribute to this portion of Matthew's discourse this saying only. Which is the more reasonable, to assign this isolated saying to document M, or to regard it as the editorial addition of Matthew, an addition wrought under the same conception as that which is seen at work in the above rewriting of MK 7:27 as Matt. 15:24? If the latter, then Matthew regarded the mission of the disciples, in the lifetime of Jesus at the least, as limited to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," even as was the mission of Jesus himself according to the Matthaean interpretation of document MK 7:27.

When Matthew moves forward in the construction of this discourse to the use of those portions of his documents MK and P which clearly deal with a mission after the departure of Jesus, Matt. 10:17-42, he begins by employing successively MK 13:9-13 + G §14B + P §20. But in the midst of this material there occurs a verse which is not derivable from any of these documents either at these or at any other points, Matt. 10:23, "But when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come." Here again is a definition of the limits of the mission, in this case clearly applicable only to that mission which should be prosecuted after the death of Jesus. From whence did Matthew derive this saying? Shall the resort be made to document M?<sup>1</sup> Then it must be affirmed that document M is peculiarly supplementary, namely, only in definitions of the scope of the mission. Is it more reasonable to believe that this verse is from Matthew himself, the chronological element in it being based upon such a saying as that in document MK 9:1? It has been seen that, in taking over MK 9:1 from his document, Matthew rewrote it,

<sup>1</sup> Such is the assignment made by Professor Burton in his monograph on the Synoptic Problem.

Matt. 16:28, in terms precisely corresponding to those which he employs in the verse now under consideration, Matt. 10:23. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the chronological phase of the present verse is none other than what Matthew regarded as a reasonable and, indeed, inevitable use of a promise of Jesus calculated to sustain his disciples under persecution. This corresponds precisely to the use made of it by document MK at 9:1, where the reference to persecution in preceding sayings is much less certain than it is in the paragraph from document MK with which Matthew here precedes this promise. The actual experiences brought by developing history seem to have determined the setting given by the framers of document MK, and to have led Matthew to use again the same thought at the present point in his construction of the discourse on the mission. At both points the saying strongly serves the contemporary purpose of encouraging under persecution. Whether the original form of the saying as in document MK, in its original setting, which is not now known, was intended to serve this purpose is a question answerable only after a more complete knowledge of the thought of Jesus about the future of the kingdom of God than is obtainable from this saying interpreted by itself.

From the evidence of these passages in Matthew, it seems that the Matthaean conception of the mission was that, for Jesus himself, for his disciples during his lifetime, for those disciples after his death, there was one field and one field only—"the lost of sheep of the house of Israel," "distressed and scattered as sheep not having a shepherd," "through the cities of Israel." If the mind is better satisfied by tracing these sayings to the document M,<sup>1</sup> then it is to be affirmed that the document M, besides showing a strong eschatological tendency, and a fondness for those sayings of Jesus which asserted the eternal validity of the Law, held a conception of the extent of the mission of Jesus and his disciples that is not supported at any point by any of the other documents, a conception likely to belong to those who were dominated by an eschatological hope and a high estimate of the Law. Against the supposition that the sayings are from the evangelist, and not from his document M, there may not be urged such passages as Matt. 21:43, which looks beyond "the house of Israel." For this

<sup>1</sup>See note on preceding page.

was not in document MK to influence the thought of Matthew, and as an editorial addition is quite as likely to be subsequent to Matthew as from him. Indeed, the evidence of the passages just examined seems to necessitate the conclusion that Matt. 21:43 is from a later hand, unless it also be attributed to document M, and that document be supposed to have held wholly isolated sayings of a contradictory content, sayings which Matthew in turn incorporated without editorial insight. Against the supposition of such a procedure, there is the strong testimony to the possession of penetration and skill which appears abundantly elsewhere in the editorial product of the evangelist.<sup>1</sup>

#### 8. REASONS FOR THE LOSS OF LIFE

##### GOSPEL MT 16:25

For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it.

##### DOCUMENT MK 8:35

For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it.

##### GOSPEL LK 9:24

For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it.

Document MK contains the phrase "and the gospel's" which is not present in either Matthew or Luke. There seems to be no reason why they should have omitted it, if it were present in the copies used by them; there are many very strong reasons why in that case it should have been retained by them. This whole paragraph in document MK, MK 8:34—9:1, was apparently interpreted as referring to the persecutions under the mission, and the phrase "and the gospel's" was intended as applicable to that mission. Why did Matthew and Luke omit it, if present? The obvious inference is that it was not in the original MK, but is an addition by a later hand. As such, it is another indication that "life" in this paragraph of document MK was interpreted as referring solely to the body, and that the loss of life was taken to mean its death under persecution in the prosecution of the mission. To this interpretation there has been attributed already the attachment of the two sayings of Jesus in MK 8:38; 9:1. The evidences seem to accumulate that the mission as actually wrought out had a reflex influence upon those sayings of Jesus which lent themselves, in a lesser or greater degree, to being interpreted as though intended by him to refer to the mission.

<sup>1</sup> Other sayings in the documents, in definition of the extent of the mission, are examined on pp. 342-52.

## 9. THE REWARDS OF DISCIPLESHIP

GOSPEL MT 10:27-20	DOCUMENT MK 10:28-30	GOSPEL LK 18:28-30
A Then answered Peter and said unto him, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee;	A Peter began to say unto him, Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee.	A And Peter said, Lo, we have left our own, and followed thee.
B what then shall we have?		
C And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you,	C Jesus said, Verily I say unto you,	C And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you,
D that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.		
E And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold,	E There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands, for my sake, and for the gospel's sake, but he shall receive a hundredfold now in this time,	E There is no man that hath left house, or wife, or brethren, or parents, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this time,
	F houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands,	
G and shall inherit eternal life.	G with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life.	G and in the world to come eternal life.

In the portion E, document MK has "for my sake and for the gospel's sake;" gospel LK has "for the kingdom of God's sake;" gospel MT has "for my name's sake." The simplest explanation of these differences seems so be the supposition that the original document MK read here, as in MK 8:35, "for my sake." This Matthew rewrote as "for my name's sake," and Luke as "for the kingdom of God's sake." Subsequently there was added to document MK the phrase "and for the gospel's sake," as also, on less doubtful evidence, in MK 8:35. The tendency to interpret these sayings about renunciation as stating conditions of participation in the mission seems to be exhibited again in this paragraph by the addition in portion G of the words "with persecutions." Neither Matthew nor Luke give any evidence that these words stood in their document MK; they seem to be the product of the experiences of the early community. This supposition does not assume that Jesus did not both foresee and forecast persecutions for his followers, for there is abundant documentary evidence that he did, for example, document P §20 and document MK 13:9-13. The surmise is simply that what Jesus predicted led, when it was realized, to the unconscious modification of portions of other sayings of Jesus which were not intended by him to refer to this particular subject. The dropping of the repetitious portion F by

both Matthew and Luke is in accordance with their literary treatment of the graphic but non-essential elements in their document MK. The Matthaean addition in portion B is natural as a definite introductory question to precede the specific reply of Jesus which Matthew alone records in portion D.

The differences already noted are significant in themselves, but trivial compared with that which is established between Matthew and his source MK by the presence of portion D. From whence has that saying come? The words of Jesus as recorded in document MK define the rewards of discipleship in terms which are applicable to all disciples in all ages. The rewards in portion D are limited to twelve men. Had the rich young ruler, who occasioned these sayings, renounced his wealth, as suggested by Jesus, he would have had no part in certain special privileges which could not extend beyond a circle equal in number to the tribes of Israel. Prerogatives of the first order belong to the first Twelve, but not to later apostles like Paul, it would seem. For all others who fulfil these conditions of discipleship there is the reward of "a hundredfold now" and "eternal life." The twelve are exalted to the very highest plane of recognition and notable privilege. Is this what Jesus told the Twelve at other points in his career when they were disputing as to place in the future kingdom which they confidently expected was not far from realization? Did Jesus regard the assignment of place as within his power, or did he assert that these things were determined by Another? Whenever self-seeking or self-advancement was manifest in his disciples, on whatever basis, what was the attitude of Jesus toward it, apart from the present passage D? Did Jesus take the occasions of the ambitious questions of his disciples as opportunities to depict their future glory, or is the testimony of the documents to the effect that he turned these occasions into times for defining most clearly and searchingly his own conception of the true road to greatness?

This portion D, which is unsupported by document MK, is vividly and unhesitatingly eschatological. And it belongs to the Gospel of Matthew. What has been found true of such portions in preceding examinations? Shall it be held that Matthew drew this saying from document M? Then that document had eschatology everywhere



in its structure, and wherever it can be tested by comparison with another document it is peculiar to M. If the saying was preserved in M, the circle which handed down M apparently gave an eschatological trend to the words of Jesus at very many places, treasured his sayings on the eternal validity of the Law, defined the mission of Jesus and of his disciples after him as for Israel only, and had the conviction that in the day of Last Things the tribes of Israel would be judged by those who were the first disciples of the Messiah. This is a consistent and unified body of ideas; but can it be affirmed with confidence whether they are those of Jesus, or those of document M, or those of the evangelist Matthew, or those of editorial workers upon the Gospel of Matthew? That these ideas, at least in the passages already examined, are not from Jesus, except that on the Law in part, seems to be established by the comparative study of documents. That not all of them are to be attributed to document M is supported by the appearance of some of them as isolated sayings in narratives which could hardly be transmitted in parts only. That Matthew did himself rewrite certain sayings, of which we have a threefold record, in a form much more certainly eschatological than that given him by his document, has been put beyond doubt by examination. In view of these facts, perhaps one may hesitate to assert confidently, on the basis of portion D above,<sup>1</sup> that Jesus depicted the Son of man as sitting on a throne of glory in the regeneration, surrounded by the Twelve exercising judicial functions over the tribes of Israel.

#### 10. THE TWO AEONS

GOSPEL MT 22:30

For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

DOCUMENT MK 12:25

For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

GOSPEL LK 20:34, 35

The sons of this world marry, and are given in marriage: but they that are accounted worthy to attain to that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

By the Lukan modification of this document MK saying there is brought distinctly into view one of the contemporary conceptions, namely, that of the two aeons, the aeon of the present and the aeon that was to come. Associated with this contrast of the two aeons there was a body of ideas quite distinctly defined, which covered a theory of the future in its various aspects. It is of importance to

<sup>1</sup> For an examination of a somewhat similar saying in gospel LK, see pp. 221-25.

determine whether, either by choice of phraseology or by explicit statement, Jesus showed himself in sympathy with this world-view and its important implications. It has certainly taken a very firm hold in this portion of the Gospel of Luke. That it was not derivable from document MK at this point is evidenced by the document itself and by its Matthaean use. Whether, however, the idea of the two aeons is so truly a part of the mode of thought of Jesus that there is here nothing more than a transfer of it to one additional place must be the subject of subsequent investigation. That the evangelist Luke believed that Jesus thought and spoke in terms of the two aeons seems clear from his treatment of this saying. In that particular, his judgment may or may not have accorded with the facts.<sup>1</sup>

#### §7. RESULTS OF COMPARISON OF GOSPEL WITH DOCUMENT

Not all of those passages in which gospel shows departure from document, in reporting teaching of Jesus on the future, have been brought under review on the preceding pages. But there have been considered enough instances to exhibit certain apparent tendencies in gospels and documents. Those passages not yet considered will appear, at one point or another, in the subsequent topical treatment of the several themes which make up the teaching of Jesus on the future. Before passing to these themes, there may profitably be brought together, in a summary way, some conclusions which seem to follow from the comparison of gospels with documents.

1. In general, the comparison of the Matthaean P with the Lukan P results in the establishment of the fact that the Matthaean P has been frequently modified; and that this modification takes the direction, either of conforming sayings to history as wrought out before the tradition took literary fixedness, or of giving to sayings an eschatological cast. This eschatological tendency can be detected in the Lukan P occasionally, but much less often than in the Matthaean.

2. Additional study tends to confirm the conclusion stated under paragraph 3 in the summary of §5, namely, that no final and determinative worth may be attached to the order of narratives and setting of sayings in the document P.

3. The eschatological trend which was found, in the compari-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 250-56.

son of document with document, as a marked characteristic of the document M, is seen further not only, as stated above, in the Matthaean P as compared with the Lukan, but also in gospel MT when placed beside document MK. An exhibit of those instances in which eschatological emphases find a place in the Gospel of Matthew, but are unsupported by the test of comparative study, stands thus:

- A. Eschatological conclusions to parables—§4:II:C:1, 2; §6:I:1.
- B. Eschatological close to discourses—§4:I:B:3; II:C:4.
- C. The Two Aeons—§6:I:3, 10.
- D. The "soul" in Gehenna—§6:I:6.
- E. The Day of Judgment—§6:I:7, 8; II:1, 2, 9; §4:I:B:3.
- F. The Coming (*παρουσία*) of the Son of man—§6:I:13, 9.
- G. The Son of Man as Judge of Men—§6:II:1.
- H. The Kingdom of the Son of Man—§6:II:2, 5.
- I. The Age of Torment—§6:II:6; I:2.
- J. Judicial Functions of the Twelve—§6:II:9.

By an examination of these various phases of the eschatological idea as it comes into evidence in the Gospel of Matthew, in all cases at places where the documentary parallel is against the Matthaean reading, it will be made clear that substantially every phase of the eschatological notion has found representation at one point or another, some phases having repeated appearances. Taken in their entirety, these passages form perhaps the most striking and peculiar characteristic of the Gospel of Matthew.

4. Of passages in the Gospel of Matthew modified by the developments of history after the words were spoken by Jesus there may be mentioned those affected by:

- A. The Influence of the Resurrection—§6:I:4.
- B. The Effects of the Roman War—§4:II:C:2; §6:I:5.
- C. The Mission of the Disciples—§6:I:9.
- D. The Rise of False Prophets—§4:I:B:3.

5. From passages brought under examination in several of the above comparative studies, it seems to be established that the Gospel of Matthew, in these passages, defines the mission of Jesus himself, the mission of his disciples in his lifetime, and their mission after the death of Jesus as limited, by the choice and instructions of Jesus, to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel"—§6:II:7.

6. Within the Gospel of Matthew, and in large measure peculiar

to it, in passages examined to the present, there stand several cognate ideas, namely, the emphasis upon eschatology in all its phases, the high valuation of the Law, the limitation of the mission to the Jews, the exaltation of the Twelve as judges of the tribes of Israel "in the regeneration," ideas which seem to indicate that the Matthaean tradition had a special relation to a certain class in the early Christian community.

7. The study of all the instances of its appearance in the Synoptic Gospels seems to put beyond doubt the assertion that "coming (*παρουσία*)" is not one of the terms employed by Jesus himself in any connection—§6:I:13.

8. The notion of the Two Aeons appears, unsupported by document MK, not only in gospel MT but also in gospel LK—§6:II:10.

9. There are a few marked instances of eschatological trend in the passages examined in the Gospel of Luke by comparison. These occur both in document P and where Luke is using document MK—§6:I:11, 12; II:3, 10.

10. Certain sayings reported in document MK are shown, by their setting and the interpretation evidently given them by the makers of the document MK tradition, to have been regarded as eschatological in content, and dependent for their contextual value upon that content, MK 8:38—9:1. One of these, MK 8:38, in its most original form, §6:I:1, seems to be lacking in any eschatological element. Another, MK 9:1, cannot be taken as referring to the Last Things until it is established that this is what Jesus means when he speaks of the future of the kingdom, §6:II:2. One of the most significant sayings on the future in document MK, MK 14:62, seems to carry an accretion, "and coming with the clouds of heaven," which is unsupported by comparative study, §6:II:4. The document MK summary of the Galilean message of Jesus, MK 1:15, bears an eschatological hint which has no warrant in the detailed records of his words in the early period of his ministry, and is opposed to his opening method and message as recorded in the G document—§4:I:A:2.

11. Not only did the mission of the disciples as wrought out after the death of Jesus affect the structure of parts of Matthew; the influence of their experiences and needs are traceable in document MK—§6:I:14; II:8, 9. No phase of the mission's life left its

impress so indelibly in the form of modified sayings as did the persecutions. This is notable both in the Lukan P and in document MK—§6:I:12; II:I, 2, 9. Apparently there must be credited to these persecutions the exceptional length and the use by Matthew of the last Beatitude in the document G account of the Sermon on the Mount.

12. It was pointed out under paragraph 9 in the summary of the comparison of document with document in §5 that several independent results of the study of documentary parallelism converged to establish the belief that document MK 9:33-50 had become the depository of several unrelated sayings. By comparison of gospels with documents the same conclusion has been attained—§6:I:14. These sayings, it would therefore seem, must be interpreted, as to both original form and meaning, in other contexts than that given them by MK 9:33-50.

13. The above-mentioned close study of MK 9:33-50, in its relation to the Matthaean parallel, seems to evidence the fact that Matthew's eighteenth chapter is marked by additional indications of the same character, that is, consists of other sayings which have only a superficial relation to the subject in hand, to one another, and to their documentary originals.

14. In addition to the sayings of Jesus about the future which are named in paragraph 8 of §5 as distributed from document P by Matthew in his two discourses on the future, Matt., chaps. 10 and 24, 25, there must now be set down P §60, one of the most important. But unlike most other sections of document P on the future, P §60 seems to bear some original relation to the discourse on the future in the thirteenth chapter of document MK, other than that suggested merely by the Matthaean distribution of P §60 in his record of that discourse—§4:III:C:22, 23; §6:I:13.

15. To summarize by documents: It must be said that document M, document MK, and document P in both its Matthaean and Lukan forms, all, in greater or in lesser degree, show modification of sayings of Jesus about the future, and traces of the influence of history as it developed, which may be detected and corrected by the comparison of document with document or of gospel with document. If the form and extent of the final Beatitude in document G §10B be regarded as calling for explanation when it is compared with others in

G and with its own parallel in document M §1 end, document G also must be added.

16. That which was advanced at the opening of §6 as theoretically probable, namely, that sayings of Jesus about the future have been modified in transmission, as the result of preconceptions and of the actual experience of events after the departure of Jesus, seems to be established by investigation. It was suggested that no other class of sayings from Jesus was so likely to be affected as that which dealt, really or apparently, with what was to happen within the lifetime of his hearers. It is not within the province of the present work to exhibit the facts in detail about other sayings dealing with other themes; but the general assertion may be ventured that on few other themes in the teaching of Jesus will there be found, by the methods here employed, such numerous and notable modifications of the words of Jesus as are detectable in those which deal with the various aspects of the Future.



## CHAPTER II

### THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

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## CHAPTER II

### THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

#### §1. ABSENCE OF POLITICAL BACKGROUND FROM THE GOSPELS

To the men who produced the Synoptic Gospels apparently it did not seem important to sketch the political background. They were not influenced by a purpose to make the acts and words of Jesus more vivid and vital by a portrayal of the events and movements of his day. Luke, it is true, avows his purpose to trace "the course of all things accurately from the first;"<sup>1</sup> but we soon discover that he meant not much more than that he would do this for the events themselves, not for their origins, the external determinative influences, or their place in the larger movements of the contemporary life. This historical sense of Luke does, indeed, lead him now and then to supply for his narrative certain brief settings which have a larger outlook; but these are chronological and have scant interpretative value.<sup>2</sup> So long as we are dependent upon Luke and his fellow Synoptists these are mere names and dates; only when outside sources yield the substance do they become suggestive of throbbing and tumultuous life. For the authors of our three gospels it was enough that Jesus stand in contrast with Pharisees and scribes when he, by his acts or words, places himself there; they are satisfied with such an exhibit of the influence of these powerful leaders in Jewish life as is called forth by the simple record of Jesus' relations with them. When a Roman tetrarch or procurator is brought into direct relations with Jesus, he forms a part of the history; but it did not become a concern of the evangelist to set forth in an adequate way the trend of Roman rule in Palestine, and its far-reaching effect upon Jewish political and religious life, its effect upon the policy of Jesus himself, and upon many phases of the attitude of the leaders among his people toward Jesus. It satisfies the evangelist that he has recorded what Jesus has to say of his people's present position and of their future; he assumes a knowledge of those forces of the past which have made them what they are; he does not have an interest in sketching those political and religious

<sup>1</sup> Luke 1:3.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 1:5; 2:1, 2; 3:1, 2.

tendencies of the present which, to the mind of Jesus, contain a sure prophecy of the near future.

## §2. POLITICAL REFERENCES AND THE POVERTY OF THEIR CONTENT

By Luke the promise of the birth of John the Baptist, by Matthew the time of the birth of Jesus the Christ, are set within the reign of Herod the king,<sup>1</sup> and Matthew tells of an act of Herod, growing out of the report of that birth, which gives such a shock to the sensibilities<sup>2</sup> as to make the act seem incredible. But we are not told of that fierce lust for power and that consuming jealousy to which members of Herod's own family, and even his most passionately loved wife, fell a prey, of dark deeds beside which the slaying of the infants seems to become, as it really is, a comparatively trivial incident in a mad career of crime. Luke tells of an "enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria"<sup>3</sup> with the simple purpose to show why a Nazarene went to Bethlehem; he does not record that the enrolment actually made under Quirinius was the occasion of a revolt by the Jews of a nature so serious that its effects lasted till Jerusalem was destroyed. Matthew records that at the visit of the Magi not only was Herod stirred to activity, but "all Jerusalem with him" was "troubled;"<sup>4</sup> he does not indicate that this "trouble" was based in the concern of the Jerusalem leaders to check indications of popular movements—a concern which later played a considerable part in determining the history of Jesus. Following this, Matthew shows the relation between the movements of the husband of Mary and the rule of Archelaus, and hints at an unfavorable attitude of this son of Herod;<sup>5</sup> but one would not therefrom infer for Archelaus a short ten years of high-handed and barbarous rule ending in banishment to Gaul, and leading to that radical change of form in the Roman administration of Judea which was to persist, with one brief intermission, till Titus took Jerusalem, and which had in it the seeds of fatal discord. Luke exhibits with fulness the distribution of power in Palestine at the time of the appearance of John the Baptist,<sup>6</sup> but in such a way as suggests order and peace, and is not calculated to give knowledge of the frequently

<sup>1</sup> Luke 1:5; Matt. 2:1.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 2:3.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 2:16.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. 2:22.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 2:1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Luke 3:1, 2.

changed testaments of Herod the Great, the family quarrels, and the deputations to the Emperor which preceded this settlement. Mark knows of the imprisonment of John, and gives a reason for it;<sup>1</sup> but the reason is grounded in morals, not politics; it fails to take account of the larger outlook that determines the policy of rulers:

Now, when many others came to crowd about him, for they were greatly moved by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do anything he should advise), thought it best by putting him to death to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Machaerus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death.<sup>2</sup>

We are given a hint of a party called "the Herodians;"<sup>3</sup> but are left to construct from facts gained outside the gospels some satisfactory theory of their probable views and influence. It is recorded that among the Twelve there was one "Simon, which was called the Zealot;"<sup>4</sup> there is no suggestion of those tenets of his sect which proved the most powerful factors in leading the people to that political attitude which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem. Decapolis is mentioned;<sup>5</sup> but not so as to distinguish it from the rest of Palestine in such a way as to make a war between the Jews of Perea and the people of Philadelphia natural and intelligible.<sup>6</sup> Luke makes record of "Galilaeans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices;"<sup>7</sup> the reason for this act, and the political and historical significance of it, and consequently even its relation to the policy of Jesus, we are left to conjecture. Herod the tetrarch's reported attitude toward Jesus comes to us through the lips of Pharisees;<sup>8</sup> here, because we have the reply of Jesus and are not dependent upon the historical sense of the evangelist, illumination is shed. The record of one of the snare questions put to Jesus makes it evident that the issue of relations to Rome is a living one, a debatable one, at Jerusalem;<sup>9</sup> but the vast chasm between opinions there, and the intensity of conviction that

<sup>1</sup> Mark 6:17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, xviii, 5, §2.

<sup>3</sup> Mark 3:6; 12:13.

<sup>4</sup> Luke 6:15.

<sup>5</sup> Mark 5:20.

<sup>6</sup> *Antiquities*, xx, 1, §1.

<sup>7</sup> Luke 13:1.

<sup>8</sup> Luke 13:31, 32.

<sup>9</sup> Mark 12:13-17.

marked the adherents of the anti-Roman party is not even dimly suggested here or elsewhere. We are told of a Roman centurion at the cross of Jesus;<sup>1</sup> we have no hint of the Roman soldiers, so odious to the true Jews, who at that very hour were standing guard, fully armed and alert, in the temple porticoes, to suppress any riot which might occur, and whose presence there, at a later time, led to a tumult in which no fewer than twenty thousand perished.<sup>2</sup> We can understand how any hint of sedition will awaken a ruler to action, and so are able to appreciate the policy of the Jerusalem leaders in giving to their charge against Jesus before Pilate the form they did;<sup>3</sup> but neither from the report of the trial nor elsewhere in the Synoptics do we get any adequate conception of the plague which the messianic hope of the Jews proved to be to their Roman rulers. And even when direct and individual reference is made to "a notable prisoner," "lying bound with them that had made insurrection, men who in the insurrection had committed murder,"<sup>4</sup> it does not call before the mind, as it ought for any true perspective, a long series of revolts, of lesser or greater magnitude, lying within the bounds of the life of Jesus.

### §3. EVIDENCES OF THE INTEREST OF JESUS IN THE NATIONAL LIFE

Any review of the political references in the Synoptic Gospels, and any just emphasis, by contrast, upon the poverty of their social, political, or historical content, will serve to make clear not only the indifference of the evangelists to any large framework or setting of a vital kind, but also their unconcern for those general religious and political tendencies which surrounded Jesus. And in so far as their record of Jesus' words is regarded as fairly complete, or at least representative, this impression of unconcern for these tendencies passes over from the reporters to him who is reported. But against any such sweeping inference of indifference on Jesus' part to the trend of the movements of his day there stands the notable and highly significant fact that he gave expression, on several distinct occasions, to a definite religious and political forecast, which apparently he grounded in the conditions prevalent in his own time. He saw that,

<sup>1</sup> Mark 15:39.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquities*, xx, 5, §3.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 23:2, 5, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Mark 15:7.

for his people, history was tending with slow but steady and sure movement toward the destruction of their capital city, and with it their corporate life; and this he announced with unmistakable clearness and great boldness.

#### §4. OCCASIONS AND FORMS OF THE POLITICAL FORECAST MADE BY JESUS

From the nature of the case, any reference by Jesus to a coming national catastrophe was calculated to awaken or intensify dislike for him, and hence to hasten the hour when the climax of hatred should be reached. For this reason, Jesus acted in this case as he did in several others of a like nature; he withheld full and explicit statement till the last days of his public activity, when the boldest and baldest utterance could add nothing to the activity of his opponents. Once only before his final entrance into Jerusalem was there drawn from him an expression of his conviction as to the national future. When it became evident to those who were watching his every movement that he had definitely set his face toward Jerusalem, and when, in addition, the ever-increasing multitude that was attaching itself to him seemed to indicate unmistakably an early, triumphant, and spectacular entrance into the city, the effort was made to dissuade him from that effort which they assumed he was making for the awakening of the popular messianic expectation. This was done by reminding him of the tragic fate of a recent uprising of like kind.<sup>1</sup> Jesus used this politic warning, thrown out by the self-appointed guardians of the national peace, as the occasion for announcing that, short of a national regeneration, which should give another direction to the national ambitions and tendencies, it was certain that the nation as a whole would perish, and perish after the same drastic manner that marked the treatment of the Galilean insurgents by Pilate.<sup>2</sup> We are not helped by other sources to a precise knowledge of the event in connection with the tower of Siloam,<sup>3</sup> but it may be conjectured that the eighteen men were in detention there for participation in some political uprising. Not having himself introduced the subject of the national future as affected by present-day popular tendencies, Jesus does not follow it beyond the instance cited to him,

<sup>1</sup> Luke 13:1.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 13:2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 13:4, 5.

and another closely related to it. When he passes to a general statement,<sup>1</sup> he gives to his thought that form of expression which, because of its indefiniteness, will not immediately offend, but, because of its pictorial form, will remain in the memory to reveal its content at some future, more appropriate time. But to those among his hearers who were open-minded and far-visioned, the meaning of Jesus' parable was doubtless as clear as to those who now read it, after its prophecy has become history.

When once Jesus had reached the last week of his life, he substituted direct statement for parable, and vivid, detailed portrayal for general assertions. Thus, in connection with his approach to Jerusalem, it is recorded of him that he said of the future of that city,

If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another.<sup>2</sup>

A period of national upheaval and redistribution, if not destruction, seems involved in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen which Jesus addressed to the religious leaders.<sup>3</sup> And this conjectural interpretation of the parable is justified further when one meets elsewhere, in the record of these last days, forms of statement the meaning of which is beyond doubt. For Jesus had on this subject, as on others of prime importance, dealings with his disciples alone, as well as with the people at large. He closed the last day of his public ministry by an impressive reference, in the presence of his disciples, to the future of the temple, the beauty and grandeur of which made an appeal even to the untrained aesthetic sense of his Galilean followers:

And as he went forth out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, behold, what manner of stones and what manner of buildings! And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down.<sup>4</sup>

This explicitness of statement was the occasion for a question from the disciples which led Jesus to his longest, most vivid and dramatic portrayal of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> And even after

<sup>1</sup> Luke 13:6-9.

<sup>3</sup> Mark 12:9.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 19:42-44.

<sup>4</sup> Mark 13:1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Mark 13:14-20. For a critical examination of this paragraph, refer to chap. iv, §5.

his public labors were ended, on the way to the cross when words from him were few, he spoke a message dictated by that phase of his people's future which loomed up with largeness of horror:

Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?<sup>1</sup>

#### §5. ABSENCE FROM THE RECORDS OF AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR JESUS' FORECAST

Over against these clear, specific, and reiterated utterances of Jesus, by which his confident and steady conviction as to the future of Jerusalem is made evident, there stands, by contrast, the almost entire absence from the synoptic account of such historical indications of Jesus' time as must have formed the basis for such positive declarations. Not that the gospel records are wanting in reasons, morally and religiously grounded, why the sentence of condemnation must be the verdict upon the life of the nation; they make it abundantly evident that the Jewish people, by virtue of their present attitude toward the life and light in Jesus—not to go back into their past history or forward into their future—pass judgment upon themselves. The condemnation, then, is certain and is sufficiently justified. But what is the basis for the conjecture by Jesus, nay, the confident prophecy, that in these latter days condemnation, unlike that in many other generations, will find expression as retribution? And in what tendencies of the day lay the certainty that retribution would take the extreme form of the destruction of the capital city, even of the center of national religious life? For an answer to these questions, the appeal must be made to sources other than the gospels, to writers whose interest lay in the broader historical movements and outlook.

#### §6. AN EXHIBIT OF THE CRITICAL EVENTS WITHIN THE LIFETIME OF JESUS

It will suffice if the view be confined to those years within which Jesus himself lived. The critical events of those years by themselves, without the tracing of their roots in preceding time or their fruits in

<sup>1</sup> Luke 23:28-31.

after years, will serve to base the general religious and political outlook of Jesus. Mere enumeration, without enlargement or extended comment, answers the present purpose:

1. Jesus was born into the midst of political ferment. The rumor that the sickness of Herod the Great had taken a fatal turn was the signal for an outburst of long-subdued protest and revolt. Incited by two rabbis of high repute, Judas and Matthias, a large body of the more ardently patriotic and religious among the younger men of the nation tore down the golden eagle erected by Herod, contrary to Jewish law, over the great gate of the temple. This was part of a general plan "to defend the cause of God." As a result, Herod deprived the high-priest, Matthias, of his office because of his supposed sympathy with the movement; and burnt alive with his companions the other Matthias, who had raised the insurrection. Others who had been arrested he delivered to the proper officers to be put to death.<sup>1</sup>

2. Herod the Great got together the most illustrious men out of every village in all Judea into the hippodrome at Jericho. He left orders that they be slain immediately upon his death, that there might be mourning for him—a mourning to take the place of that spontaneous sorrow which hatred for him would prevent. Though the design was frustrated by Salome and her husband, it indicates the political situation.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it is recorded that Herod even went so far as to command, for this same purpose, "that one out of every family should be slain."<sup>3</sup>

3. Upon the death of Herod, the demand was made of Archelaus, his successor in Judea, that Herod's punishment of the revolt under Judas and Matthias be recognized as wrong, especially by the deposition of the high-priest whom Herod had appointed in the place of that Matthias whom he had suspected. The demand proceeded from a great multitude which had assembled at the time of the Passover. Archelaus sent his general with soldiers to exhort the crowd to quiet and order. The soldiers were assaulted and most of them stoned to death. Thereupon Archelaus dispatched his whole army against the

<sup>1</sup> *War*, i, 33, §§2-4; *Antiquities*, xvii, 6, §§1-4.

<sup>2</sup> *War*, i, 33, §§6, 8; *Antiquities*, xvii, 6, §5 and 8, §2.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquities*, xvii, 6, §6.



Passover multitudes inside and outside of the city. The cavalry of Archelaus slew three thousand men.<sup>1</sup>

4. Plots and counter-plots, arguments and answers to arguments were set forth before the Emperor at Rome as to the succession to the throne of Herod. Large emphasis was laid upon the ruthless conduct of Archelaus in slaying the thousands of Jews at the Passover.<sup>2</sup>

5. Upon the departure of Archelaus for Rome, and while Varus, governor of Syria, was at Jerusalem, a serious revolt broke out. This Varus quieted. Sabinus, a procurator sent to Palestine after Herod's death, pending the settlement of the question of succession, pursued a policy which fanned the flames of revolt. At the Feast of Pentecost, myriads of the Jews besieged Sabinus and his soldiers. A terrible battle was fought, to the disadvantage of the Jews. The Romans set fire to the porticoes of the temple which were being used by the Jews as vantage-points; and in the conflagration many Jews were burnt.<sup>3</sup>

6. The rebellion spread from the city throughout the country, some indications of its extent and form being given by the mention of: (a) The banding together of two thousand of Herod's veterans for purposes of rebellion and gain in Idumea and Judea; (b) The assault under Judas, son of Ezekias, upon the royal armories at Sepphoris in Galilee, and his subsequent use of weapons there obtained for purposes of plunder. He had "a thirst for power, and an ambitious desire for royal rank;" (c) In Perea, Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, "was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, and a certain number of the people stood by him, and by their madness he was hailed as king;" (d) "The royal palace at Amatha, near the river Jordan, was also burnt down by a party of men that mustered together, like those belonging to Simon;" (e) "At this time also Athronges, a person eminent neither for the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great virtue or wealth of his own, as he was only a shepherd, and obscure in all respects, because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, was so bold as to set up for king." Having given these specific cases, Josephus contents himself, for the rest,

<sup>1</sup> *War*, ii, 1, §§1-3; *Antiquities*, xvii, 9, §§1-3.

<sup>2</sup> *War*, ii, 2, §3; *Antiquities*, xvii, 9, §4.

<sup>3</sup> *War*, ii, 3, §§1-4; *Antiquities*, xvii, 10, §§1-3.

with a summary statement of the situation: "And now Judea was full of bands of robbers, and as the several companies of the seditious lit upon anyone to lead them, he was created a king immediately."<sup>1</sup>

7. The expedition of Varus, governor of Syria, for the relief of Sabinus, temporary procurator of Judea, who was besieged by the Jews in the royal fortresses in Jerusalem, resulted in: (a) the complete reduction of Galilee, including the burning of Sepphoris, and the sale of its inhabitants as slaves, together with fire and slaughter along the line of march; (b) the surrender of Jerusalem; (c) the traversing of the whole country for the apprehension of the rebels; (d) the crucifixion of two thousand of the leading participants in the revolt.<sup>2</sup>

8. An embassy of Jews went to Augustus "to petition for the liberty of living according to their own laws," "to plead for the autonomy of their nation." "The main thing they desired was that they might be delivered from kingly and similar governments, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such chief magistrates as should be sent to them."<sup>3</sup>

9. A deputation of the Jewish and Samaritan aristocracy appeared before Augustus to accuse Archelaus, after about nine years of his rule, because of "his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them." That the complaints were serious is evidenced by the summoning of Archelaus to Rome, and his immediate banishment to Gaul.<sup>4</sup>

10. A serious revolt of the Jews took place upon the attempt by Quirinius to make a census of Judea for the purposes of taxation according to the Roman method. This was "the enrolment" ordered by Augustus under Quirinius of Syria, with Coponius as procurator of Judea. Only by the persuasion of the high-priest, Joazar, was the census carried through without bloodshed.<sup>5</sup>

11. The sect of the Zealots was formed under Judas the Galilean and Sadduc, a Pharisee.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *War*, ii, 4, §§ 1-3; *Antiquities*, xvii, 10, §§ 4-8.

<sup>2</sup> *War*, ii, 5, §§ 1-3; *Antiquities*, xvii, 10, §§ 9, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *War*, ii, 6, §§ 1, 2; *Antiquities*, xvii, 11, §§ 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *War*, ii, 7, § 3; *Antiquities*, xvii, 13, § 2.

<sup>5</sup> *War*, ii, 8, § 1; *Antiquities*, xviii, 1, § 1.

<sup>6</sup> *War*, ii, 8, § 1; *Antiquities*, xviii, 1, §§ 1, 6.

12. A complaint was made by Judea in A. D. 17 against the burdensome and oppressive taxation to which the province was subjected.<sup>1</sup>

13. Out of respect to Jewish conviction it had been the custom of Roman rulers to bring into Jerusalem only such standards as bore no image of eagle or emperor. Pilate determined to set this concession aside. Under cover of night he introduced standards bearing the emperor's bust. The act resulted in a vigorous revolt, which was quieted only by the removal of the offensive emblems.<sup>2</sup>

14. "After this Pilate raised another disturbance by expending the sacred treasure, which is called Corban, on an aqueduct, whereby he brought water from a distance of four hundred furlongs." He distributed his soldiers among the clamorous crowds in private dress, and at a signal they fell upon the Jews with staves. Many perished by beatings, and many more were trodden to death in the precipitous flight which followed this unexpected charge.<sup>3</sup>

15. The popular uprisings in the time of Pilate of which the Synoptic Gospels give some hint are: (a) "Now there were some present at that very season which told him of the Galilaeans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices;"<sup>4</sup> (b) "them that had made insurrection, men who in the insurrection had committed murder."<sup>5</sup>

16. The imprisonment and execution of John the Baptist by Herod Antipas happened, Josephus says, because he "feared lest the great

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, ii, 42. For the period from about A. D. 9 to about A. D. 26, Josephus seems to have been without sources in the writing of his works. These seventeen years he covers in about as many lines, the larger part of the content of which is general Roman history. For Palestine, he knows little more than the succession of high-priests (*Antiquities*, xviii, 2, §2). Unfortunately, this is the important period in the life of Jesus, that is, from his thirteenth to his thirtieth years. We should like to know of the active external, social, and political factors that had the most potent part in the formation of his judgments about the future of his people. Happily we are favored with a fairly adequate recital of the trend of events, even in detail, during those highly impressionable years which preceded his visit to the capital as a youth of twelve (Luke 2:41-50). How events in Palestine moved during the later fifteen obscure years we are able to infer with some certainty from the subsequent history. The first record of Josephus, when he is again enabled by his sources to take up the narrative, is of "a very great tumult among the Jews" under the procurator, Pontius Pilate (see 13 above).

<sup>2</sup> *War*, ii, 9, §2, 3; *Antiquities*, xviii, 3, §1.

<sup>3</sup> *War*, ii, 9, §4; *Antiquities*, xviii, 3, §2.

<sup>4</sup> Luke 13:1.

<sup>5</sup> Mark 15:7.

influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion."<sup>1</sup>

17. The hostile intentions of Herod Antipas toward Jesus were doubtless wholly based upon his fear of the possible political influence of Jesus in a direction like to that suspected of John the Baptist.<sup>2</sup>

#### §7. GENERAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE EVENTS FOR JESUS

When it is had in mind that this survey of some of the principal events, falling within the lifetime of Jesus, that had social, religious, or political significance, covers less than one half of his life,<sup>3</sup> and that we may assume with confidence a similar series for the unrecorded portion, it becomes apparent at once that he had a mass of contemporary history of such a kind that it was safe to base upon it large deductions for the future. Viewed from the standpoint of Roman policy, these events make evident an attitude of growing intolerance and severity on the part of the direct rulers of Palestine. Considered from the Jewish position, they exhibit a constantly deepening sense of national oppression, and a determination that was leading to more effectively organized protestation and open revolt, in the hope for a betterment of conditions.

#### §8. SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RISE OF THE ZEALOT MOVEMENT

Far and away the most significant among those events which fell within the lifetime of Jesus, the event having within it most potency for the future of the Jewish people, was one that happened in the most impressionable years of Jesus, close to the period of his visit to Jerusalem as a youth. This event was the formation of the sect of the Zealots, under Judas the Galilean, in the year of the census, A. D. 6 or A. D. 7. To this sect Josephus attributes again and again in the course of his narrative all the disturbances, uprisings, revolts, rebellions, and consequent distresses and miseries which came upon his people from the time of its organization to the end of the great war of A. D. 66-73. For any adequate understanding of the course of Jewish history, from the youth of Jesus till the last outpost was taken by the Romans in A. D. 73, there is necessary as full knowledge as is

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities*, xviii, 5, §2.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 13:31.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 113, n. 1.

possible of the Zealots. The information which Josephus gives of the inner life and motives of the sect is scanty; he has utter disdain for the movement. We may use fully his account given in connection with its origin. Having told of the revolt at the time of the census, and its quieting by the high-priest who urged submission, he continues:

But one Judas, a Gaulanite, of a city whose name was Gamala, joining himself to Sadduc a Pharisee, was eager to draw them to a revolt. Both said that this taxation was nothing but a direct introduction of slavery, and exhorted the nation to arrest their liberty, as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and if they failed in the happiness that would result from this, they would acquire honor and glory for magnanimity. They also said that God would not assist them unless they joined with one another energetically for success, and still further set about great exploits, and did not grow weary in executing the same. And the men heard what they said with pleasure, and so this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected by them to an incredible degree: one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends who used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies, and murders of our principal men, under pretext indeed of the public welfare, but in reality from the hopes of private gain. Hence arose seditions, and owing to them political murders, which sometimes fell on their own people (from the madness of these men toward one another, and their desire that none of their rivals should be left), and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also came upon us, and reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities, nay, faction at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by the enemies' fire. So greatly did the alteration and change from the custom of our fathers tend to bring all to destruction who thus banded together, for Judas and Sadduc, who introduced a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our state with tumults at the time, and laid the foundations of future miseries by their system of philosophy which we were before unacquainted with, concerning which I shall discourse a little, and that the rather, because the infection which spread thence among our younger men, who were zealous for it, brought our nation to destruction.<sup>1</sup>

Josephus has made clear here the ultimate results of Zealotism to the nation. To indicate, even in outline form, the activities of the sect would be to sketch Jewish history from A. D. 7 to A. D. 73. No stronger general testimony could be borne to their influence than the fact that Josephus looks upon them as one of the sects of his people, and places them, in description, with Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. Hav-

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities*, xviii, 1, §1.

ing described these other sects he passes to the Zealots, and here seems inclined to a more judicial statement of their characteristics:

But Judas the Galilean was the author of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy. Its pupils agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions, but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is their only ruler, and lord. They also do not mind dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the tortures of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immovable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no further about that matter; for I am not afraid that anything I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear that what I have said comes short of the resolution they show when they undergo pain.<sup>1</sup>

It is abundantly evident, then, that the movement was a theocratic revival of a vigorous and persistent type. But in the light of the knowledge, otherwise possessed, as to the place held in this age by that personalized theocratic expectation which centered about a Messiah, the inquiry forces itself to the front whether Josephus has not drawn his sketch in too broad outlines, and whether for the Zealots a simple, theocratic ideal or, on the other hand, the hope for a definite messianic person was the impelling motive of their movement. If the latter, we can expect no adequate indication of it from our historian, for he writes for the Roman world and to justify and glorify his people. Athwart his path to this goal, if the history be written to the truth, there lies always a great stumbling-block—the *fact* of the part played by the messianic hope; for in attachment to it, conceived under Zealot forms, lay true treason. So throughout his history of definite events he designates the Zealots as “robbers,” against whom the men of repute among the Jews are themselves standing. Josephus assumes toward the messianic ideal an all but absolute silence throughout both the *War* and the *Antiquities*. Yet the mask cannot be forever worn, and once, toward the end, it falls away long enough to permit a sight of the reality behind it. After having described the terrors of the siege of Jerusalem and of the burning of the temple, he pauses in his narrative for some general observations, among which is this:

But what most stirred them up to the war was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred writings, that about that time one from their country should become ruler of the world. The Jews took this prediction to belong to

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities*, xviii, 1, §6.

themselves, and many wise men were thereby deceived in their judgment. Now, this oracle certainly denoted the rule of Vespasian, who was declared emperor in Judea.<sup>1</sup>

We have only to bring together the two statements, that the war was brought on by the Zealots, and that incitement to it came from the messianic hope, to have before us the explanation, luminous and convincing, of the intensity of the Jews in the war, and the understanding, full and satisfying, of the inner life of the Zealot movement. The central tenet and inspiring motive of the Zealot movement was the bringing-in of the messianic era by an appeal to the sword.

#### §9. ATTITUDE OF JESUS TOWARD THE ZEALOT MOVEMENT

With the fundamental feature of the conception of the Messiah which underlay the Zealot purpose, and with the drastic method by which the Zealots hoped to establish the Messiah's kingdom, Jesus expressed no degree of sympathy. At the opening of his ministry he had cast aside forever that conception.<sup>2</sup> But his attitude went beyond that of negation; he saw and announced that the movement would mean, ultimately, the nation's ruin. Such a form of national hope, tenaciously held, could have only one end under any ordinary circumstances; held and avowed and aggressively expressed under such an opposing power as that of the Romans, its outcome was doubly evident to the clear religious and political vision of Jesus.

The obvious outcome of Zealotism could be averted only by one or the other or both of two factors: (1) Some counter political movement of genuine vitality and power of appeal to the nation as now constituted, or (2) the introduction of some new religious force through which the fundamental position of the Zealot party should be corrected.

#### §10. PHARISAISM AND SADDUCEEISM IN RELATION TO THE ZEALOT MOVEMENT

Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes stood over against Zealots as factors in the national life. As a political and religious party, the Essenes may be disregarded; they were rather a monastic order.

<sup>1</sup> *War*, vi, 5, §4.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 4:1-11 = Mark 1:12, 13 = Luke 4:1-13.

From them nothing could be hoped that would offset the propaganda of the Zealots. For the Pharisees, the sad disappointment of their messianic hopes as centered upon successive Asmoneans had led to such a modification in the forms of that hope that now the kingdom of the Messiah was viewed as a product of the direct activity of God, to come in his own time and then only, and without their intervention or aid. This Pharisaic attitude was modified only by the force of events, that is, by the success, among the people, of the Zealot appeal. Pharisees gave themselves reluctantly at last to the attempt to direct the popular movement which they could not suppress. Josephus was a Pharisee;<sup>1</sup> at the siege of Jerusalem he acted as mediator between Titus and the besieged; his address counseling cessation of hostility may be taken as an exposition of the Pharisaic position as to the method of advance toward the messianic kingdom, expressed in forms agreeable to his prospective readers, that is, with direct messianic reference omitted. The whole address is illuminating; its summary suffices to exhibit its central contention:

And, to speak generally, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success without war, when they committed themselves to God. When they stayed at home they conquered, as it pleased their judge, but when they went out to fight, they always met with reverses. . . . Thus it appears that warfare is never allowed our nation; but that capture always follows our fighting. For I suppose that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and to disregard the hand of men, when they plead to the judge above.<sup>2</sup>

Such was the theory of Pharisaism—a policy of inaction in all that touched the messianic hope as related to Roman dominance. It was obvious to Jesus that in this policy of negation there lay no effective offset to the policy of aggression and action which characterized the Zealots, for “they said that God would not assist them unless they joined with one another energetically for success, and still further set about great exploits, and did not grow weary in executing the same.”<sup>3</sup> As for the Sadducean party, they were wealthy, priestly aristocrats, the security of whose possessions and the perpetuity of whose place and power was better assured under the continuance of Roman rule than under any state of society which revolution was likely to bring.

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, §2.

<sup>2</sup> *War*, v, 9, §4.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquities*, xviii, 1, §1.



They had not the religious conviction in any sphere which could make them national religious forces against the current of a popular movement toward Zealotism; they had no inclination to take a formative place in molding popular opinion; they were ready to act only when action was futile. Within the nation itself, as constituted in Jesus' day, there was no movement, counter to that of the Zealots, which compared with it in power of popular appeal, or which had in it any promise of ability to check the onward rush of that new sect which had arisen during the youth of Jesus.

#### § II. THE MESSIANIC IDEALS OF JESUS IN RELATION TO THOSE OF ZEALOTISM

Jesus himself stood for the introduction into the Jewish national life of a conception of the Messiah and his kingdom which should strike at the fundamental tenets of the Zealots. It was destined, if accepted, to conquer by completely supplanting, by radical reconstruction. Within it lay the power to neutralize those elements of the Zealot position which threatened to be the most deadly to the national life. The messianic ideals of Jesus once accepted in a broad way by his people, Zealotism must die out for want of a motive. The rule of God conceived in the terms of Jesus excludes the conflict of Caesar and God. It is from a mind keenly alive to both political and religious tendencies, and to the presence of their solution, that there springs the words: "If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes . . . thou knowest not the time of thy visitation."<sup>1</sup> The nation sorely needed in those days of factional fanaticism set against factional quiescence or indifference the voice of a prophet who should break the trend toward messianic literalism or scholasticism. The prophet had come and had spoken; for his message he is now brought to the eve of death. He alone has grasped the import of his message and its possible relation to the future political and religious life of his people, its power as a corrective to fatal tendencies. Out of the situation of the hour there arises within the mind of Jesus the conviction that present movements will run to their bitter end. To this conviction

<sup>1</sup> Luke 19:42, 44c.

he gives expression.<sup>1</sup> That the national disaster had its ultimate basis in the rejection of the prophetic word in which lay the power of national regeneration through the elimination of political messianism was a constant element of the thought of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> The rejection of the messenger of the true messianism received an added significance, as prophetic of the national future, from the fact that the aggressively vigorous and rigorous form of this rejection was itself dictated, in large measure, by political considerations. It was a move originating in the results of previous uprisings incited by Zealots, and now carried out on the basis of political expediency by Sadducees,<sup>3</sup> and acquiesced in and aggravated by Pharisees,<sup>4</sup> doubtless even with them more largely on political than on moral or religious grounds. Well may Jesus ask: "If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"<sup>5</sup> If they ruthlessly dispose of such a life for the supposed preservation of national existence in these days of comparative political quiet, to what lengths may they be expected to go for expediency's sake when the political situation becomes acute? In those days the last shreds of a moral element in the messianic hope will have vanished.

There is hope left in one word only, "repent," and it is a word of both religious and political content; probably, indeed, for the hour, it has more of political than of religious content.<sup>6</sup> But the mad decision has already been made; militant messianism will stalk on to the doom of the nation.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 23:34-39 = Luke 11:49-51 (P §18B) and 13:34, 35 (P §42B). It is believed that document MK, not document P, gives the historical setting of the discourse to which these sayings probably belong, namely, MK 12:38-40 = Matt., chap. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, Mark 12:1-11; and that of the Marriage Feast, Matt. 22:1-10 = Luke 14:15-24.

<sup>3</sup> John 11:47-50.

<sup>5</sup> Luke 23:31.

<sup>4</sup> Luke 23:2, 5, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Luke 13:3, 5.



## CHAPTER III

### THE RISE OF MESSIANIC CLAIMANTS AND THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

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## CHAPTER III

### THE RISE OF MESSIANIC CLAIMANTS AND THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

#### §1. THE TIME AND METHOD OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

In the outlook of Jesus, the destruction of Jerusalem was not an event of the far distant future, an event lying indefinitely within the times yet to come. For him, it fell inside the limits of the lifetime of that generation to which his message had been addressed. Even those men who were the hearers of his forecast would themselves be participants, in part, in the great struggle which should end with the casting-down of the city—"All these things shall come upon this generation."<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed, moreover, that the terms by which Jesus depicts that dire event are those of a natural process, wrought by human forces.<sup>2</sup> There is an entire absence of the play of supramundane powers, of that which is dramatic or castastrophic in the apocalyptic sense. The destruction of the city is to be effected by the contention of vast human forces, working gradually to a climax. These two considerations—(1) that the event falls within the present generation, (2) that it is effected through the clash of human agencies—imply that the years near at hand and more distant will be, for the Jewish people, a time of constant ferment, will be made up of days of debate, of inner conflict, of suffering and sacrifice, of exaltation and despair, of hopes and disillusionments—all these spreading over years and culminating in the great disaster.

#### §2. JESUS' TWOFOLD CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE

For that period of years of national distraction and desperation the outlook of Jesus had a double aspect; for him there lay within that period a twofold concern—that for his people and that for his disciples. As to the effects and outcome for his people as a whole,

<sup>1</sup> Luke 13:3, 5; Luke 11: 49-51 = Matt. 23:34-36.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 19:43, 44; Luke 23:28-31; Mark 13:14-20.

Jesus saw them with clearness and expressed them with vigor.<sup>1</sup> But what of that group of people who had attached themselves to him? To them, what would these days of national distress mean—these years through which that people of which they were a part should painfully move toward the final great agony?

### §3. THE DISCIPLES IN THE NATIONAL UPHEAVAL—THEIR PROSPECTIVE LONGINGS TREATED BY JESUS

How real a problem, how distinct a problem, those coming years held for the fraternity of Jesus will be felt with force when it is recognized that they faced those years with an attitude toward the national hope, toward messianism, unlike that of their contemporaries. For their fellow-countrymen, the nerve of that Zealot movement which, through these years, should hasten them on to their destruction would be the hope of the Messiah yet to be, yet to rule a free people. For the disciples of Jesus, that problem of the Messiah was already a settled one; they interpreted Jesus to be the Messiah. Viewed from the standpoint of the days when Jesus was present with his disciples, viewed thence by Jesus himself, those future years, therefore, loomed up as fraught with the very gravest dangers to his group of disciples, with dangers not included in those which would result inevitably from their propaganda, not covered by the forms of persecution to which they would be subjected—namely, with dangers touching this central idea in their interpretation of him, his work as the Messiah. Jesus recognized that certain serious perils, inactive while he was present, would threaten his movement when he was gone. So long as Jesus was with his body of followers, it was always open to them to locate in the future of his life and work that which was lacking in the present in the fulfilment of messianic expectation. This they constantly did, finding in his prospective arrival at Jerusalem the time of worthy messianic activities. But how would it be after he was gone—and gone without expected and normal messianic vindication? This was a serious question whatever the form of future circumstances, even with those most favorable to the nurturing of the new faith of the disciples. But with what gravity that future must have been viewed by Jesus when his vision presented to him his disciples as moving in

<sup>1</sup> Chap. ii, "The Destruction of Jerusalem."

the midst of persecutions of the most drastic kind, in the midst of national distresses calculated to prove a test to the most steadfast and heroic souls among the Jews. What a time for the propagation by his disciples of a movement which should profess to give answer to precisely those theocratic problems about which all this national desperation centered! Adherence to an inactive Messiah of the past during days in which the sorest persecutions are being suffered, during days in which the national life is in the balance! Then, if ever, the disciples of Jesus will revert to the old form of their messianic hope. Then, if ever, they will long for some display of messianic presence and power more in accord with that popular contemporary hope to which they were once attached. Then, if ever, they will feel the weakness of their apologetic for Jesus as the Messiah. Then, if ever, their hearts will cry out, with a touch of deep despair and disappointment, for one day of the rule of a Messiah such as they once dreamed of, such as many of their contemporaries are expecting, such as seems called for by the national crisis, but such as Jesus of Nazareth has not proved himself to be. It is to this prospective peril, clearly foreseen and strongly felt by Jesus, that he makes reference in his words to his disciples: "Days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it."<sup>1</sup>

By these plain words, spoken while he was yet with them, Jesus does all that may be done in advance to fortify his disciples against that peril to the movement which future persecutions and the events leading to the destruction of Jerusalem are certain to beget. And this forecast serves in a double way as a guard. It fortifies by its recognition and mention beforehand of the danger, and again by the explicitness, even bluntness, of the assertion that all such desire in those days is vain—"ye shall not see it." By these words the disciples were made ready, so far as possible, to hold fast in the days of severest persecution, in the days of most extreme national peril, to the messianic ideals imparted to them by Jesus; to hold out against the tendency, natural and inevitable, toward the longing and the hope for messianic intervention of a supramundane kind.

<sup>1</sup> Luke 17:22.

§4. A GRAVE PERIL TO THE DISCIPLES IN THE FUTURE—  
THE RISE OF MESSIANIC CLAIMANTS

For the mind of Jesus, then, the near future was viewed in a double aspect. He saw it as holding for his nation *certain* disaster; he saw it as holding for his disciples *possible* disaster. And, similarly, the most active and vital factor in the near future of his people's life in Palestine, as he saw it, namely, Zealotism, had for his vision a double significance. As to the nation as a whole, it was Zealotism that was to lead it to its ruin.<sup>1</sup> But what was the thought of Jesus as to the effect of the Zealot movement upon his own movement in the years during which both would move side by side? It could not be supposed by Jesus that a national messianic movement of such intensity and power as could suffice to carry the nation to a bitterly contested end would be without appreciable *inner* effect upon the movement represented by his disciples. Outwardly, the results of Zealotism, as felt by the disciples in the form of a distracted social environment, would lead to a yearning after a Messiah of present activity and of social power. But what effect would the inner ideals and motive forces of Zealotism produce upon the disciples? In the degree in which the Zealot propaganda at any given period might place emphasis upon the more material or political elements in its programme, it would move away from the distinctive message which was to be heralded by the disciples of Jesus. At such periods, therefore, it would prove no serious peril to the inner life of the society of Jesus, especially so long as its activities were being crowned with success and the days of defeat and distress still lay in the future. But it would be very different at times when the religious emphasis in Zealotism was uppermost, at times when the sole or the dominating power in the movement would reside in the appeal to the messianic hope. And this latter emphasis was certain to be most closely associated with those periods when success was wanting, when failure threatened, periods when the Zealots turned away from prowess to a more transcendent form of aid to their ends. At such times, Zealotism would draw nearer, in its central appeal, to the contemporary movement represented in the disciples, and so would bear in itself a peril to the community of Jesus. So long as Zealotism, in its pushing forward

<sup>1</sup> Chap. ii, "The Destruction of Jerusalem," §§8-11.



of the messianic expectation, kept the minds of its adherents upon some unknown Messiah of the future, its influence could not be large upon that body of men who had the conviction that the Messiah had already come in Jesus. But Zealotism did not win its adherents and make its great advances by an indefinitely deferred hope. The emergence of powerful and commanding persons, especially at crises in the history of Zealotism, was the occasion for the transmutation of hope into supposed realization. In days when the breath of the nation's life was the messianic hope, it needed only that the individual rise perceptibly above the level of the multitude to occasion the centralization in him of that national hope. That this inevitable trend of Zealotism had manifested itself more than once during the life of Jesus cannot be doubted. Aside from those popular messianic interpretations which centered in Jesus, and of which the gospels give clear indication, the period of his lifetime was notable as that of the rise and rapid growth of Zealotism. It may be concluded with confidence, in the light of the experiences of Jesus and of the subsequent history of the Zealot movement, that messianic values were more than once attached to Zealot leaders between the time of the birth and of the death of Jesus. Had Josephus not been a pensioner of Roman emperors, his account of Judas of Galilee, the founder of Zealotism (A. D. 6 or 7) would show more truthfully and adequately the relation of his sect to messianism, and the messianic claims and values attached to the founder himself. As to this phase of the significance of Judas and his movement, the author of Acts has transmitted the more illuminating account. By recording Gamaliel as placing the agitation under Judas of Galilee in the same category with that caused by Jesus of Galilee, he has apparently stamped it as a messianic movement.<sup>1</sup> Were we in possession of the history of Zealotism during those seventeen years within Jesus' lifetime of which Josephus tells us practically nothing (A. D. 9-26), we should, doubtless, have the record of more than one other personalizing of the messianic hope in a dominant character.<sup>2</sup>

That which Jesus observed of Zealot messianic tendencies while he

<sup>1</sup> Acts 5:33-39.

<sup>2</sup> For a history of the growth of this tendency from the death of Jesus to the destruction of Jerusalem, see chap. iv, §6.

was with his disciples, he was well assured would continue and be aggravated in the years to come. As the contest with Rome became closer and fiercer, the religious element would receive heavier emphasis; as the despair of defeat deepened, the necessity and opportunity for messianic claims would be enlarged. It is from a mind which has taken recognition of current messianic tendencies, which has read the future in the present, which, above all, is concerned for the life of his society in that future of messianic uprisings that the prophecy and exhortation is expressed: "And they shall say to you, Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away, nor follow after them."<sup>1</sup>

#### §5. RESULTANT STATE OF THE DISCIPLES, AND CONSEQUENT DEMAND FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE STATEMENT BY JESUS

Some serious and sustained effort of the historical imagination is demanded, some sympathetic attempt at the adjustment of historical perspective is imperative, if one would attain to an adequate apprehension of the messianic content of the disciples' minds after Jesus had thus brought before them so much that had a future reference. Not that for them, in the present at least, the prohibition of attachment to future messianic claimants presented itself as a prospective deprivation. Jesus sufficed in that hour, and they had believed that he had a future. Of more significance to them was it, that he had said that all desire of theirs, in certain trying days that were to come, for a day of the Messiah, was unwarranted and futile—" *Ye shall not see it.*"

Whatever the limitations of vision which had marked the disciples previous to Jesus' final arrival at Jerusalem, it may be believed that they had come to some degree of realization that Jesus was soon to be separated from them. With the dawn of that consciousness would come a flood of questions touching the future. Present with them, and regarded as about to attain, Jesus was intelligible as Messiah—a Messiah with a future. But, when once place is given to the belief that he is about to leave, then problems of magnitude and gravity rise and clamor for solution. The whole ground on which rests the messianic interpretation of him by his disciples quakes. The main supports,

<sup>1</sup> Luke 17:23.

the only stable supports, for their faith in him were grounded in what they believed lay in the very near future; these were being undermined by the closer-pressing evidences of the proximity of his death. Faith grounded thus must either die in his death, or it must be transferred beyond his death and there find basis for its activity. Outside these alternatives for their present faith, there is another solution of the problem, namely, so to correct their ideas that the objects of hope are found to be fully realized in the present. In the case of Jesus, dealing with the body of men to whom he was addressing himself, men dominated by rigid preconceptions as to the work of the Messiah, the last-suggested solution would impose a Herculean task, a task which must be pronounced practically impossible. The limit of the capacity of men for new and unwelcome truth, and the necessity which this places upon the bearer of that truth for some approximation to the standpoint of his hearers, for some attempt to throw into old forms a new concept even at the expense of precision and finality, must be had in mind in any examination of what Jesus had to say when he was in the presence of the most stubborn of contemporary expectations. Of quite as much importance is it to recognize, that by the very vigor of his negation of views held by his disciples he was obligated to fashion some positive statement. He had warned them against the attachment of themselves to any messianic claimants of the future, against the false step of seeking to find in any new messianic movement a more concrete realization of their expectations. He had forecast their ardent desire for a day of the Son of man, but had asserted that the desire would remain unsatisfied in its ardency by any fulfilment—“*Ye shall not see it.*”

#### §6. A POSITIVE STATEMENT FROM JESUS AS TO THE FUTURE

Has Jesus no outline of the future? Can he offer no substitute for the persistent form of the national hope? Will he make no concessions to the natural and normal demand of the Jewish mind for some “Day”? Is there absent from his consciousness all sense of the universal human demand for consummation and climax in the order of the universe? The situation is critical, the demand scarcely short of imperative. He will make concession:

## THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

- 1:1 As the lightning,  
     when it lighteneth out of the one part under the heaven,  
     shineth unto the other part under heaven;  
 so shall the Son of man be in his day.
- 1:2 As it came to pass in the days of Noah,  
 even so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man.  
     They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until  
     the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came, and  
     destroyed them all.
- 1:3 Likewise even as it came to pass in the days of Lot;  
     they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded;  
     but in the day that Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire and brim-  
     stone from heaven, and destroyed them all:  
 After the same manner shall it be in the day that the Son of man is revealed.
- 2:1 In that day,  
     he which shall be on the housetop,  
     and his goods in the house, let him not go down to take them away:  
     and let  
     him that is in the field  
     likewise not return back.  
     Remember Lot's wife.
- 2:2 In that night  
     there shall be two men on one bed;  
     the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left:  
     there shall be two women grinding together;  
     the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.  
 And they answering say unto him,  
     Where, Lord?  
 And he said unto them,  
     Where the body *is*, thither will the vultures also be gathered together.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luke 17:24-37. It will be observed that, in the above citation of this paragraph, vs. 25 and 33 have been omitted. Certain reasons for eliminating them were suggested on pp. 65, 66. These may now be recalled and supplemented by others. It may be said in general, that these verses form obvious interruptions to the movement of the clearly unified thought of the paragraph, and therefore are called in question as original parts of this portrayal. Both are found in other, more appropriate contexts. In particular, as to vs. 33: (1) The introduction of the verse at this point seems to be due to its reference to the saving and the losing of life, a subject that is treated in vs. 31, 32. (2) The connection in thought between vs. 31 and 32, and vs. 33 is apparently superficial only, for the saying of Jesus in vs. 33 surely strikes far deeper than loss of the life of the body such as is referred to in a vague way by vs. 31, 32. (3) The profound saying of Jesus in vs. 33 was so easily remembered and so quotable in isolation

§7. THE SINGLE THEME AND ITS RELATION TO "THE DAY OF JEHOVAH"

There is no confusion of theme here, no departure from a direct and exclusive treatment of one subject. The mind is led into a vast, obscure region; but the mystery of it is not intensified by variety of terms. Jesus here gives expression to his thought about "The Day of the Son of man"—nothing else. There is no introduction of any other phrases from the range of eschatological vocabulary. By this steadfast explication of the content of one term, and one term only, he rebukes blurred thought in a region where, at the best, clear vision is difficult. He does not concern himself with some offshoot from the original idea of "the day;" he goes back to a primal term. He does not give his thought to some subsidiary phase of the day, some necessary complement of it, but delineates the day itself. The term was old. "The day of Jehovah" had been central in his people's thought for centuries. "The day of the Son of man" was "the day of Jehovah" rephrased to fit the later increase of emphasis, in the national thought, upon the place of an anointed representative of Jehovah. Wherever the figure of the Messiah loomed into significance

that it was likely to find points of attachment which cannot be historically justified. (4) The reporters of the words of Jesus, influenced doubtless by the early persecution experiences of the disciples, tended to a physical interpretation of this saying wherever it appeared. Aside from its insertion in the present passage, there is a notable instance of such interpretation in Mark 8:34—9:1, on which see pp. 79-82. But this physical interpretation is a serious reduction of the content of Jesus' words in both passages. As to the omission above of Luke 17:25, in particular: (1) It stands between similar members in the description of the "day" in a way so obvious as to mark it as highly inappropriate to this place. (2) Its verbal form is such as relates it in origin to a similar form used on more fitting occasions (Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:33). (3) It attaches the features of the "day" to Jesus in a way not justified by the impersonal attitude of Jesus throughout this sketch. (4) Its content is such that its being placed here as the result of actual history is natural. (5) It assumes on the part of Jesus a definite messianic interpretation of himself to his disciples—something exceedingly rare in his career. (6) The words are inappropriate if this discourse was spoken in the last hours, as is hinted by certain evidence already noted (chap. i), for rejection had already taken place, and the prospective suffering was in some measure apprehended by the disciples. These two verses do not appear in Matthew at the place where he uses the body of this paragraph, that is, in the farewell discourse (Matt. 24:26-27, 37-41). (7) It is apparently an endeavor to bring "his day" into close sequence with his rejection and suffering. But this Jesus has negatived, it seems, within this discourse by his words, "Ye shall not see it."

in the thought upon the future, there "the day of Jehovah" would tend to recede in favor of "the day of Messiah" or "the day of the Son of man." Hence the sketch given by Jesus here might be correctly designated as an exposition of his conception of "the day of Jehovah." There is no personal actor standing in the foreground, the center of the movement. The substitution of "Son of man" for "Jehovah" simply meets the fact that in his time, and especially for the group of men he was now addressing, the religious hope had shifted from the direct action of Jehovah to that of his human representative. Sharply to recognize that Jesus here deals with a single theme, and with that theme by a title which places him in line with his people's ancient thought as currently expressed, is the first step toward an adequate explication and correct appreciation of his own thought.

#### §8. THE SIMPLICITY OF JESUS' THOUGHT ABOUT "THE DAY"— THE THOUGHT EXAMINED

The dominant impression made by Jesus' exposition of his thought about "the day" is that of the extreme simplicity of the ideas expressed. These may all be compassed by a few words:

1:1 The day will be characterized by suddenness of appearance and brevity of duration, that is, by instantaneousness. It will come without preceding indications; and will be realized not as a process, but as an event.

1:2 The day will come in the midst of the normal movements of human life. It will come suddenly and completely within the limits of a brief space of time. It will come preceded by no advance suggestions of its arrival, except such as are exhibited in the words and activities of those who believe in its coming.

1:3 Repetition of the ideas in 1:2.

2:1 All of destiny that the day holds for men is determined and allotted so quickly that no human movement may take place between its dawn and its setting, its coming and its going. It is not so much a "day" as a flash of time within a day.

2:2 The meaning and significance of the day, its occasion and purpose, consist in the fact that it is the period of the apportionment

to men of their destiny. From this point their ways diverge, for "the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left."

So simple and so few are the ideas about "the day" to which Jesus gives expression here, that any restatement of them seems like an elaboration or enlargement. Certainly the attempted restatement tends to err on the side of unwarranted expansion rather than exclusion. By Suddenness, Unexpectedness, Brevity of Duration, Largeness of Significance to Mankind—by these few words "the day," as Jesus viewed it, may be described.

#### §9. THE FOREMOST QUESTION RAISED BY THE SKETCH FROM JESUS

The mind of the disciples fastened at once upon that phase of Jesus' description which was most impressively foreign to their own ideas. "The one shall be *taken*"—by this there was opened to them a new vista into the future. The day of the Messiah was not, then, to usher in the new and more glorious era of Israel's history in Palestine. It was not, then, to begin the period of the dominance of a new Jerusalem. "The one shall be *taken*"—not, then, left to enjoy the supposed felicities of the expected age of the Messiah on the earth. This is an apparent reversal of beliefs, a denial of hopes. This seems to bring the day without the fruits of the day. "The one shall be *taken*"—well then, if taken, taken where? This is the natural and immediate question: "And they answering say unto him, Where, Lord?" But for Jesus to have gone one step farther in dramatization would have meant to enter the forbidden, if not, indeed, the unknown or, at least, unsketchable region. "And he said unto them, Where the body *is*, thither will the vultures also be gathered together"—that is to say, They will be taken to a region appropriate to their essential nature.

#### §10. NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF JESUS' PORTRAYAL OF "THE DAY"

This portrayal by Jesus of "the day of the Son of man" is quite as remarkable in its negative as in its positive side. The vast area of thought centering about that day, as developed by the speculation of men, into which Jesus does not enter at all, exhibits by contrast in an impressive way the restraint of Jesus. The absence of all that is

spectacular is notable; it is not even dramatic in the sense of making an appeal to the eye, and as having in it shifting scenes. If it is a drama, it is begun and completed in a single momentary act with no scenes. Yet it alone occupies the stage, and it is not preceded by minor, monitory plays. Again, if it is a drama, it is without a conspicuous central figure in action; the day centers about a person in that it is his day, but it is the fates of the day for men, not that person, which emerge in the movement. The dispensation of destiny in that day is not the arrival at justice, but the administration of it. There is no exhortation to men to have a sharp lookout for the day; that is vain—"ye shall not see it." There is an entire absence of time indication, except this negation of all desiring and looking for it on the part of the generation to whom Jesus addresses his words. By his omissions Jesus has contributed quite as much to a true knowledge of the day as by his assertions.

§II. STANDPOINT FROM WHICH THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF JESUS' SKETCH MUST BE VIEWED—AN EFFORT AT CONTRASTS

It must be held steadily in mind that the assertions about "the day" are drawn from Jesus by the needs of a critical hour, and are formulated as the direct offset to a definite body of convictions entertained by his hearers of the hour. Jesus does not sketch "the day" that the disciples' knowledge of the future may be larger and more precise. He is concerned at this time to solve the practical problem of opposing to a rigidly entertained conception of "the day" some other conception which will make the near future of his society more secure. The members of that society believe in a "day" which shall have both its realization and the resting-place of its results upon earth. They look to a "day" which will bring social regeneration and political freedom. When Jesus has gone, the Zealot movement will intervene to promise these. The security of the society of Jesus lies, therefore, in the present uprooting of this false expectation, and the implanting of a new idea of the nature of "the day." This can be accomplished only by heroic measures, and it is to these that Jesus gives himself in his sketch of "the day." The demands of the hour upon Jesus must be held in mind by the interpreter of Jesus. His sketch, then, is not so much one of precision as of corrective power. To the idea of a



“day” brought in by a long process of social upheaval and political struggle, he opposes a “day” which is “as the lightning.” In the place of a “day” which comes as a relief to a disturbed society, he puts a “day” which falls upon men while life is moving in a normal way. He does not view the “day” as one given over to regenerative adjustment, but as one in which no change of state will be possible. For him it is not a day of separation followed by the destruction of the unrighteous, but of separation effected by the transportation of the righteous. From its nature, as defined by him, it is seen to be not a product of human activity on earth, but one having its initiative in the heaven. To the idea of a social, political, localized result of the “day,” he opposes that which is supramundane and without defined locality. He would have the disciples think of the “day” not as a panacea for their future distresses, but as an occasion of determinative significance in the drama of the universe. In place of the attitude which is ever on the lookout for indications of the “day,” and ever receptive to those who are claimants of the power to bring it in, he would substitute that large conception of the “day” which begets incredulity toward any time-defined programme. By these and other phases of his contrast, Jesus makes his sketch of the “day” to be one of corrective power for the disciples to whom he addresses it. At the same time, it stands as one of suggestion, though, by the nature of its origin, not one of absolute precision or ultimate definition for all men.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These reflections upon Luke 17:22-37 might be correctly given as their title simply the phrase, “The Rise of Messianic Claimants,” though in large part the study has centered about “The Day of the Son of Man.” For had Jesus not felt it necessary to fortify his disciples against Zealotism in its future sure developments, and especially in regard to the effects upon the disciples of the unbearable social and political environment it would create, it may be conjectured that he would never have depicted “the day of the Son of man”—a portrayal taking its features from the demand upon Jesus for vivid and powerful contrast to the Zealot form of messianic hope.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE FINAL DISCOURSE OF JESUS ON THE FUTURE

- § 1. The Occasion, Time, and Report of the Discourse
- § 2. Influences Affecting the Sayings of Jesus about the Future
- § 3. The Opening Forecast and the Resultant Question
- § 4. The Persecution of the Disciples
- § 5. The Destruction of Jerusalem
- § 6. The Rise of Messianic Claimants
- § 7. Events before the Siege of Jerusalem
- § 8. The Day of the Son of Man
- § 9. The Time of the Events
- § 10. Exhortation in the Final Discourse
- § 11. The Mission of the Disciples
- § 12. Reconstruction of the Final Discourse

## CHAPTER IV

### THE FINAL DISCOURSE OF JESUS ON THE FUTURE

#### §1. THE OCCASION, TIME, AND REPORT OF THE DISCOURSE

There is no more striking phenomenon in document MK than the fact that within that document the one discourse of Jesus which is reported at great length is that which deals with the future, MK chap. 13. On the evidence of document MK there seems to be necessary either the conclusion that Jesus spoke with fulness on no other theme, or that this theme had an interest, for those who framed the document MK, so much more intense than any other subject in the teaching of Jesus that everything else became secondary in their memory and in their oral and written report of that teaching. It is not unnatural that the words of Jesus which formed a forecast of events, especially those events falling within the lifetime of his hearers, should be treasured from the first, should be most often repeated, and should finally constitute one of the fullest reports in a document which, on the whole, is devoted primarily to the narration of events. In the period in which the gospel tradition was taking fixed form, no part of it would have so lively an interest for the members of the early community as that which dealt with the very experiences through which they were passing. And these experiences of persecution, tumult, national upheaval, war, and impending crisis are precisely those portrayed by the discourse in the thirteenth chapter of document MK.

The discourse is reported in document MK as spoken by Jesus during the Passion Week, at the close of his last day of active public ministry. The occasion of the discourse was some questions raised by the disciples because of a reference by Jesus to the future complete destruction of the Temple. The remark by Jesus was entirely appropriate to the time. The resulting question of the disciples was a natural one. That Jesus should have answered at some length is what might have been expected in view of his prospective separation from his disciples within a few hours. At no previous period in his

relations with them had his disciples been as ready as now to give a receptive hearing to any word from him about the future. Indeed, as to the graver sides of the future, it may be affirmed that, judging from their inability to take Jesus' sayings about his death seriously, they would have given no heed to anything Jesus might have said previous to the present—in which the shadow of the tragedy hung over them. The occasion to which the discourse of Jesus on the future is assigned by document MK is, therefore, the most fitting in his ministry.

## §2. INFLUENCES AFFECTING THE SAYINGS OF JESUS ABOUT THE FUTURE

In any study of the reported sayings of Jesus about the future, the interpreter cannot too often remind himself that he is dealing with that body of material which is more likely to have suffered modification in the course of transmission than anything else which finds a place in the record of the life of Jesus. That this likelihood is a matter of fact in certain parts of the documents seems to be a conclusion suggested by studies made in chap. i. But ought such a conclusion to be expected in connection with a study of the thirteenth chapter of document MK? Because of the fact that it deals with the future, independent of any other consideration, it was open to the effects of time and varied opinion in transmission. But when to this general consideration there is added the all-important recognition that this discourse deals, for the most part, with future events which were to fall within the lifetime of the generation of Jesus, it is clear that there is some probability of more or less modification in the sayings. For they were "sayings," not written prophecies. Even had Jesus given them literary form, the history of interpolation in documents exhibits the danger to which they would have been subjected. Had they immediately taken written form, some check might have been given to modifications. But the transmission of sayings as to the future, and the actual unfolding of that future, went on side by side. It seems inevitable that the latter should affect the former. It seems unavoidable that the sayings should take on the precision afforded by the actual experiences. Further, it was to be expected that, during the fluid period of the sayings of Jesus about the future,

they would take on phases suited to the solution of new problems arising during that period. Whether, as a matter of fact, these natural and inevitable tendencies affected the report of this discourse of Jesus, as they certainly would have affected the forecast of any other person, may, perhaps, be determined by a close examination of the discourse. Such is the purpose of the present study.

### §3. THE OPENING FORECAST AND THE RESULTANT QUESTION

GOSPEL MT 24:1-3

A And Jesus went out from the temple, and was going on his way; and his disciples came to him to shew him the buildings of the temple.

B But he answered and said unto them, See ye not all these things? verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.

C And as he sat on the mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what *shall be* the sign

E of thy coming, and of the end of the world?

DOCUMENT MK 13:1-4

A And as he went forth out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, behold, what manner of stones and what manner of buildings!

B And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down.

C And as he sat on the mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what *shall be* the sign

D when these things are all about to be accomplished?

GOSPEL LK 21:5-7

A And as some spake of the temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones and offerings,

B he said, As for these things which ye behold, the days will come, in which there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.

C And they asked him, saying, Master, when therefore shall these things be? and what *shall be* the sign

D when these things are about to come to pass?

The opening statement from Jesus, in portion B, does not go beyond the destruction of Jerusalem; indeed, only by implication does it include the city as a whole, for the words prophesy only the ruin of the Temple. The question of the disciples, as reported by document MK, confines itself to that event of which Jesus had spoken, and asks simply when and how the ruin of the Temple is to be effected. In this the evangelist Luke closely follows his document. But Matthew substitutes for "these things," of portion D, the phrases, "of thy coming (*παρουσία*), and of the consummation of the aeon," in portion E. He is concerned to represent the disciples as inquiring of Jesus for a complete eschatological programme. It may not be affirmed that Jesus did not give such a programme simply because it was not asked for by his hearers. But it is to be recalled that "coming (*παρουσία*)" is credited to Jesus in this discourse only, and that its three appearances here, Matt. 24:27, 37, 39, are in portions drawn by Matthew from document P §60, where the phrase of Jesus

is not "coming (*παρουσία*) of the Son of man," but "day of the Son of man." The former is a Matthaean term.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the phrase "consummation of the aeon" is peculiar to Matthew, in which gospel it occurs four other times, Matt. 13:39, 40, 49; 28:20, three of which instances are in the exposition of two parables drawn from document M §§15B, 18. These expositions are among the striking eschatological features which so singularly characterize that document.<sup>2</sup> Even were it certain that "coming (*παρουσία*)" is an authentic term from Jesus, given at some point in this discourse, it would have to be considered whether the disciples could have asked about its time before they were taught to expect it as an event of the future. It will hardly be held that the idea of some "coming (*παρουσία*)" formed a part of their present conception of the future of Jesus. Every indication that the gospels give of their hopes seems against such a supposition. In the light of these facts, it would seem that portion E must be regarded as another evidence of the strong eschatological interest of the Gospel of Matthew. The notion of the Two Aeons has been seen elsewhere as an accretion to the words of Jesus.<sup>3</sup>

#### §4. THE PERSECUTION OF THE DISCIPLES

In the examination of the discourse, it seems best to give consideration at the first to that section of it which has the most extensive gospel testimony, though this leads to a departure from the order of the discourse as now recorded in document MK. That section is the portion dealing with the persecution of the disciples, MK 13:9-13, which Matthew used from document MK in his construction of the discourse on the mission of the disciples, Matt. 10:17-23, and again, in part, in the final discourse, Matt. 24:9-14. Luke used it once only (Luke 21:12-19), but had in his document P a section which is closely related to a part of this Markan paragraph, P §22 = MK 13: 11. Thus there is provided for this body of sayings about persecution a synoptic testimony unsurpassed in volume by that on any other subject in the recorded teaching of Jesus.

<sup>1</sup> For Matthew and document P in parallelism, see pp. 64-67.

<sup>2</sup> An examination of these expositions is made on pp. 226-35.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 57, paragraph 3, and p. 95, paragraph 10.

GOSPEL MT 24:9-14

GOSPEL MT 10:17-23

DOCUMENT MK 13:9-13

GOSPEL LK 21:12-19

A But beware of men:

A But take ye heed to yourselves:

B Then shall they deliver you up unto tribulation, and shall kill you:

B for they will deliver you up to councils, and in their synagogues they will scourge you; yea and before governors and kings shall ye be brought for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles.

B for they shall deliver you up to councils; and in synagogues shall ye be beaten; and before governors and kings shall ye stand for my sake, for a testimony unto them.

B they shall lay their hands on you, and shall persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and prisons, bringing you before kings and governors for my name's sake. It shall turn unto you for a testimony.

C And the gospel must first be preached unto all the nations.

DOCUMENT P §22

D And when they bring you before the synagogues, and the rulers, and the authorities, be not anxious how or what ye shall answer, or what ye shall say: for the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.

D But when they deliver you up, be not anxious how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.

D And when they lead you to judgement, and deliver you up, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak; but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.

D Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate beforehand how to answer: for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to withstand or to gainsay.

E And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death.

E And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death.

E But ye shall be delivered up even by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends; and some of you shall they cause to be put to death.

F and ye shall be hated of all the nations for my name's sake.

F And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake:

F And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake:

F And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake.

G And then shall many stumble, and shall deliver up one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall lead many astray. And because iniquity shall be multiplied, the love of the many shall wax cold.

H but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

H but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

H And not a hair of your head shall perish. In your patience ye shall win your souls.

H But he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

H but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

H but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

H And not a hair of your head shall perish. In your patience ye shall win your souls.

I And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come.

I But when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come.

Not only do document MK, gospel LK, and gospel MT (tenth chapter) record a succession of ideas in the same order, idea for idea, and in closely similar, often precisely the same, language, but these ideas form a unit; they have a single theme; they are closely knit

together. To the accuracy of this statement there is a single exception, the portion C. This verse interrupts very seriously the course of the thought. "And the gospel must first be preached unto all the nations"—what relation does that bear to what precedes or to what follows? "First"—does that mean before they have been delivered up to councils and have had the other experiences of portion B? Hardly possible. Does it mean before they have the anxiety spoken of in portion D? Equally difficult to understand. Apparently the thought of the verse is out of place here. Can it be given a place elsewhere in the discourse? In the chronology of the discourse, persecutions are followed by the destruction of Jerusalem, and that destruction immediately precedes the coming of the Son of man. The whole series of events falls within "this generation." This is a complete and consistent order, to which portion C is an interruption and intrusion. It introduces an entirely new element into the time relations of the future, namely, the completeness or incompleteness of the mission—a factor given no recognition elsewhere in the discourse, and out of keeping with those factors that are regarded as determinative.

Moreover, the portion C introduces in a casual way a statement of immeasurable significance as to the extent of the mission. Jesus had not indicated previous to this time, except, perhaps, in a veiled, parabolic way, that the mission was to extend beyond Israel. That his first intimation of so important an intention should be so incidental, so secondary to a chronological interest, is difficult to believe. The verse assumes a knowledge and full recognition of a world-wide scope for the mission. This the disciples surely did not hold. Their sense of any mission, however limited, was vague if not entirely wanting at this time. Such words as these at this time and in this context would be wholly unintelligible. It may not be assumed, for that reason alone, that Jesus would not speak of the limits of the mission at this time. Often what he said was beyond the present grasp of his hearers. It is urged only that, even with its intelligibility assumed, there is here a method of introducing new and far-reaching truth which departs from the skill of Jesus as elsewhere exhibited. It would hardly be possible to overemphasize the historical improbability of such a procedure. Its incongruity fails of its full impression only because the mind is accustomed to think of the disciples as always



understanding that they were destined for that kind and that extent of mission which, at the earliest, was a revelation to them from Jesus.

It is important to observe that the central word of the verse is "first;" by this the portion C, as it stands, is altogether a chronological indicator. And as such, it assumes for its hearer or reader a knowledge of the mission's aim, which it uses as an index. The total impression of portion C, when examined from the internal standpoint, is that it is not an original part of this paragraph or of this discourse.

To this conclusion there is external support. The portion C seems to have been absent from the document MK used by Luke, for he gives it no place. Similarly Matthew fails to give evidence of its presence when he is using this document MK paragraph in his construction of the discourse on the mission in his tenth chapter. Not only does Matthew omit it; he inserts a reputed saying of Jesus on chronology which directly contradicts it, the portion I, Matt. 10:23. His omission of portion C, in itself, might be explained as intentional, as the result of his use of this paragraph out of its original, document MK connection. But is it to be believed that Matthew, possessed of a document MK containing the portion C, would deliberately drop that definition of the mission's scope, and, instead, represent Jesus as limiting the mission to the cities of Israel, and as coming again even before that restricted field should be covered? On the other hand, if it be supposed that portion C was not present in either the Lukan or Matthaean document MK, the procedure of Matthew is intelligible, and involves no tampering with his sources on this theme. Document MK at 7:27 gave him a definition by Jesus himself of the scope of the mission, which he interpreted as expressed in Matt. 15:24. This he embodied twice in the discourse on the mission, Matt. 10:5, 6, 23, attaching to it, in the latter instance, that promise of the speedy coming which document MK supplies once in the discourse from which the paragraph Matt. 10:17-22 was taken, namely, in MK 13:30, and again, as it seems, in MK 9:1.<sup>1</sup> The evangelist Matthew may be regarded as having made a union of statements from Jesus supplied by his document MK, after interpreting them as best he could, Matt. 10:23, but he may not reasonably and justly be charged

<sup>1</sup> For a more complete statement of Matthew's method and view-point in this regard, see the examination of MK 7:27 = Matt. 15:24 on pp. 88-92.

either with omitting a fundamental assertion like that in portion C, or with deliberately substituting for it its direct contradiction as expressed in the portion I of the tenth chapter. With the portion C, Matthew seems not to have been confronted when, by the portion I, he was endeavoring to give chronological content to the discourse which he was constructing on the mission. Therefore it must be said that Luke, and Matthew also in his framing of the tenth chapter, worked with a document MK from which portion C was absent.

But how explain the portion I of Matthew's twenty-fourth chapter, which is the complete contradiction of the portion I of his tenth chapter, but a parallel in thought to portion C of the present document MK? As a stage in the solution, it ought to be observed that certain of the difficulties created by portion C, where it stands, do not hold against portion I in Matthew's twenty-fourth chapter. The order of origin seems to be, first Matthew's portion I of chap. 24, then the portion C of document MK. In that order, the obscurities of portion C as related to its context are explained by regarding it as being a scribal rewriting of portion I, at first by one upon the margin of the manuscript MK, but subsequently by another in the body of the paragraph, the latter insertion made with a scribal disregard of immediate context. Thus regarded, the saying was first attributed to Jesus by Matthew's twenty-fourth chapter. But from whence did it come into that chapter? Surely not from the evangelist Matthew, who had already several times defined the mission as restricted to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Apart from previous definitions, for him to have inserted it, even as the portion I with its advantages in position over the portion C, would have been to introduce a chronological datum that stands opposed to all the other chronology of the discourse. The editorial work of Matthew, as elsewhere exhibited, forbids the assumption of such blindness to open inconsistencies. An examination of the portions B-H in Matthew's twenty-fourth chapter seems to indicate beyond mistake that this constituted the sole original paragraph. He would hardly have left the exhortation in portion H as it there stands if he had added portion I, for it would then involve the endurance of the individual until the gospel had covered "the whole world."

It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the portion I of

Matthew's twenty-fourth chapter was added after that gospel had left Matthew's hands. For the appearance of the verse at that point, there is an adequate explanation: The apparent forecast of the discourse as a whole was not fulfilled; the Son of man did not come in that generation; the outlook of the society of Jesus as to its mission was broadened; another terminus was sought and found. The gospel of the kingdom must first be given to the whole inhabited earth. Thus this Matthaean verse, subsequently taken up as portion C of Mark, had an origin similar to that of another Matthaean verse of equivalent content, Matt. 21:43, also unsupported by document MK and the Lukan use of document MK.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem, from the evidence, that the gospel tradition, as examined to the present, contains three strata of thought as to the extent of the mission. There is the hint by Jesus, through parable and saying, that others than those of Israel may have a place in the kingdom of God. This outlook may be adequately exhibited summarily by the saying, "Let the children first be filled," document MK 7:27. There is the conception of the evangelist Matthew, as representative, it may be supposed, of a section of the early community, to the effect that the mission of Jesus and his followers was for Israel only, gospel MT 15:24; 10:5, 6, 23. There is the view of the later Christian brotherhood that the mission was for the whole world, as expressed impliedly in Matt. 21:43, and explicitly in Matt. 24:14. Whether the latter, that is, an explicit statement that the mission is defined by the limits of the inhabited earth, is derivable from words of Jesus is a problem for subsequent investigation.<sup>2</sup>

Within the above paragraph on the persecution of the disciples there are two portions which take their form from the fact that the content, in whole or in part, of the Markan paragraph had already appeared at previous points in the gospels of Luke and Matthew. These portions are the D of gospel LK and the G of gospel MT. Because portion D of document MK had already been inserted by Luke from document P §22 as Luke 12:11, 12, he recasts this portion of document MK when he is taking over this paragraph, as is at once evident by a comparison. Because the whole paragraph had once

<sup>1</sup> On which, see pp. 88-92.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 342-52.

been used by Matthew in his tenth chapter, when he is embodying the thirteenth chapter of document MK he uses only, from this paragraph, the opening and closing verses, portions B, F, H. In the place of the rest of the paragraph he substitutes the non-paralleled portion G. As the Lukan D and the Matthaean G are editorial products,<sup>1</sup> originating from causes which we are able clearly to trace, they have a very high critical value. For within them, it is reasonable to expect, there may be found the expression of tendencies which belong to the age from which they come. If so, these may be used as a standard by which to test certain other sayings of like kind which are elsewhere credited to Jesus.

An examination of portion G of Matthew reveals these situations as characterizing the time of that evangelist:

- A. Defection of disciples under persecution.
- B. The rise of false prophets.
- C. The waning of faith in Jesus as Christ.

From a comparison of the Lukan portion D with documents MK and P, it will be seen that, instead of regarding the wisdom of disciples under trial as the work of "the Holy Spirit," it is attributed to the supramundane and post-ascension activity of Jesus himself, "I will give you a mouth and wisdom." It represents Jesus, therefore, as placing a large emphasis upon the personal element, upon himself as the center and power, in the future mission. From these two

<sup>1</sup> It is a striking fact that Matthew transposes sayings of Jesus, found by him in his document MK, from the discourse in which they stand in that document, in only five cases; and that, of these five, four are the result of his construction of a single discourse, namely, that on the mission in his tenth chapter. Thus document MK 9:37b becomes Matt. 10:40; document MK 9:41 becomes Matt. 10:42; the transposition of the former results in the use of document MK 10:15 as Matt. 18:3. The paragraph in document MK 13:9-13 becomes Matt. 10:17-22. The only other instance is the use of a document MK saying in the construction of another discourse, the Sermon on the Mount, where MK 11:25 becomes Matt. 6:14, in order that Matthew may group in this place the whole body of sayings in his documents about prayer.

Of these five instances, there is one only that is of such length and so intimately bound up with the discourse in which it stands that the unity and completeness of the discourse is destroyed by its removal, namely, MK 13:9-13. Therefore this is the only case in which Matthew, having used a portion once from document MK, feels obligated to repeat enough of it to keep the connection, namely, the beginning and the close of the paragraph. For the rest of it he substitutes related facts from the actual history of the mission.

editorial portions we derive four important phases of the life and thought of the early apostolic age, those mentioned above, and:

*D.* The post-ascension activity of Jesus.

*A.* The influence of the fact of defection under persecution as a feature of the apostolic age has already been traced in its effects upon many passages in the reported teaching of Jesus, perhaps most notably in document MK 8:34—9:1.<sup>1</sup>

*B.* Is the document M addition to the Sermon on the Mount, that is, the assignment of false prophets to a drastic eschatological fate,<sup>2</sup> to be attributed to the havoc they wrought in the early community? Did some member of that community seek to offset their pernicious influence by condemnatory words credited to Jesus? And were these words wrought into the texture of the close of the Sermon without precise regard to context, so that they may now be excised and leave a conclusion of normal content, and parallel to the document G conclusion? Such seem to be the facts; their explanation appears to be suggested by the history of the apostolic age as reflected in the present Matthaean portion G. A final decision may be deferred till there has been made a complete study of all references to false prophets in the gospels.<sup>3</sup>

*C.* An examination of the only other passage in which there is the mention of a waning faith in the apostolic age will be made subsequently.<sup>4</sup>

*D.* The assertion of post-ascension activity by Jesus is credited to him, on behalf of the mission, nowhere in our four great documents G, MK, P, and M. It does appear in a part of Matthew which comes from some other source, Matt. 28:20b, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the consummation of the aeon."<sup>5</sup>

Another problem of the paragraph on persecution is raised by the difference between the Lukan and the other forms of the portion H. The document MK used by Matthew was evidently, in this portion, precisely the same verbally as the document MK which has come down to us. How explain the Lukan portion H? Can it be sum-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 79-82.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 24, 25.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 154-65 and 216-18.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 198, 199.

<sup>5</sup> This passage is considered on pp. 342-52.

marily dismissed as a rewriting of his document? Not when there are had in mind the evidences already gathered that the Lukan copy of the document MK differed in some passages from that used by Matthew and that possessed by us, and that the indications, to the present, are that it was a more primitive form of document MK. With this possibility in mind for this passage also, appeal may be made tentatively to the internal evidence. The meaning of the document MK portion H seems clear. Read in the light of the preceding saying in MK 13:7, and the following in MK 13:30, it may be paraphrased interpretatively: "But he that endureth persecutions without defec-tion until after the destruction of Jerusalem, the same shall be saved." Is this the conception of Jesus as to what constitutes the condition and the content of salvation? Assuredly we may not deny that it is, solely because it differs from present-day definitions of salvation. The salvation here promised is that ushered in by the coming of the Son of man on the clouds while the disciples are still alive.

When one turns elsewhere to compare this definition of salvation with those given by Jesus on other occasions, it is found that the present instance stands in isolation. Jesus is reported to have used the word "save ( $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\omega$ )" three times of healings for the body.<sup>1</sup> In another instance it is not clear that there was healing,<sup>2</sup> but what was given was a present possession, and the "saving" a completed fact. The insertion of the word by Luke alone in the exposition of the parable of the Sower<sup>3</sup> exhibits its early currency as a theological term, but separates it from the usage of Jesus in this connection. It is attributed to Jesus once with a very general sense, but indefinite religious content.<sup>4</sup> This context supplies the only instance of Jesus' use of the cognate, "salvation ( $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ )."<sup>5</sup> Once only in the Synoptic Gospels does it appear with a meaning somewhat similar to that in the case primarily under consideration, namely, in the unauthentic Mark 16:16, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved."

<sup>1</sup> MK 5:34; 10:52; Luke 17:19. A similar instance in Luke 8:50 is unsupported by document MK 5:36.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 7:50.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 8:12 = MK 4:15.

<sup>4</sup> Luke 19:10.

<sup>5</sup> Luke 19:9.

The thoughts in the Lukan report of the saying in portion H are simple, and appropriate to the occasion. "Not a hair of your head shall perish": that is, in accord with the thought elsewhere expressed,<sup>1</sup> nothing shall carry you beyond the bounds of the care and concern of your Father; his solicitude and sympathy will be constant in your future. "In your patience ye shall win your souls": that is, by endurance and steadfastness under persecution you will gain in real life; by the discipline of hard experiences, even unto bodily death, you will win life itself. If it be asked which form seems secondary and derivative, account must be taken of the probability that, given the words from Jesus as expressed in the Lukan portion H, given, with that, the belief in the coming of the Son of man while the disciples were yet alive, as founded in the rest of the discourse, the tradition would likely take on the form in the document MK portion H sooner or later. Therefore it may, perhaps, be concluded here as elsewhere that Luke's copy of document MK was more primitive than that of Matthew. How far the apparently derivative and secondary record in the present MK portion H is yet the expression of the essential thought of Jesus about salvation can be ultimately determined only by the study of those other sections of this discourse in which the idea of some consummating event emerges more clearly than in the words "In your patience ye shall win your souls."

Of minor significance, but worthy of note, is the modification in the portion F, by which gospel MT (chap. 24) was conformed to the later accretion in portion I through the change of "all men" to "all the nations." By a somewhat similar expedient, the addition of "and to the Gentiles," the Matthaean portion B (chap. 10) was used, without serious modification, by a later editor, as a corrective to the evangelist's thought as expressed in portion I (chap. 10).

For an exhibit of the paragraph on persecution, so far as derivable by an appeal to the oldest form of the tradition, there may be used, it would seem, document MK with the omission of portion C and the substitution of the Lukan testimony, as from a more primitive MK, for the present MK form of the portion H.

<sup>1</sup> Luke 12:7 = Matt. 10:30.

## §5. THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

	GOSPEL MT 24:15-22	DOCUMENT MK 13:14-20	GOSPEL LK 21:20-24	DOCUMENT P §60
A	When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place (let him that readeth understand),	But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (let him that readeth understand),	But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies,	
			B then know that her desolation is at hand.	
C	then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains:	C then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains:	C Then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains;	
D	let him that is on the housetop not go down to take out the things that are in his house:	D and let him that is on the housetop not go down, nor enter in, to take anything out of his house:	D and let them that are in the midst of her depart out;	D In that day, he which shall be on the housetop, and his goods in the house, let him not go down to take them away:
E	and let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloke.	E and let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloke.	E and let not them that are in the country enter therein.	E and let him that is in the field likewise not return back.
			F For these are days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled.	
G	But woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days!	G But woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days!	G Woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days!	
H	And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on a sabbath:	H And pray ye that it be not in the winter.		
I	for then shall be great tribulation, such as hath not been from the beginning of the world until now, no, nor ever shall be.	I For those days shall be tribulation, such as there hath not been the like from the beginning of the creation which God created until now, and never shall be.	I for there shall be great distress upon the land, and wrath unto this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all the nations:	
J	And except those days had been shortened, no flesh would have been saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.	J And except the Lord had shortened the days, no flesh would have been saved: but for the elect's sake, whom he chose, he shortened the days.		
			K and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.	

If an examination be made of gospel LK, in all those portions that are derived by Luke from the document MK, it will be found that there is no paragraph which Luke has transcribed with so great a modification of the wording of his source as these verses on the destruction of Jerusalem. This most significant fact has its probable explanation in the chronological relation between the event here portrayed and the production of the gospel by Luke. To the general fact that



he was dealing in this discourse with prophetic material, there is, perhaps, to be added the specific recognition that the event here treated had already become history. Under the influence of the known course of events in connection with the Roman siege and capture of the city, Luke recasts the sayings in plain and definite terms. The differences between the evangelist and his source are, with the single exception of the portion J, attributable with reasonable confidence to the fact that he did his work after Jerusalem had fallen.

Indications that Luke framed his gospel after the fall of the city may be detected in the rewriting of portion A in plain terms, in the addition of the portion B statement about "her desolation," in the sense that the days of conflict and ruthless aggression by the Romans were "days of vengeance" (F), in the interpretation of the great calamity as after all only the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy (F), in the omission of the suggestion that prayer be made against its coming "in the winter" (H)—without significance now that the event was past. Of even more striking testimony to the late date of the Lukan form, there is the sketch of developments as actually experienced, in the portion I, where Luke has substituted much that is specific for the very general portion I of document MK. And the view of Luke's time as to the period during which the holy city is to be dominated by the Gentiles is set forth in the addition which he makes in the portion K. With Paul, Luke perceives that these times are "the times of the Gentiles," but he shares Paul's faith that there is a future for the Israel now temporarily cast off.

Matthew was faithful to his source even in verbal form, his departure consisting in so common a phenomenon as the indication that events are the fulfilment of prophetic scripture (A). In that connection he gives the definite "holy place" for the general "where he ought not" of his source. It may not be argued from Matthew's faithfulness here that he therefore constructed his gospel before the fall of Jerusalem. Whether from Matthew or from another, there is one clear echo from the experiences of the Roman war in the addition to portion H of the words, "neither on a sabbath." Familiarity with Josephus' record of the fatal effects of the sabbath law in the conflict with Rome, through the enforced suspension of all defensive activities on that day, makes this phrase at this place luminous with meaning.

Within document MK itself, as we have it and as it was used by Matthew, there is one indication only that the history as it developed affected the document, namely, that in the portion J. The impression made by this portion in all its parts is that it was added after the events. By its absence from Luke it is made probable that his recension of document MK did not contain this portion, for Luke uses all of the Markan paragraph except H, and makes some additions. Here, as so frequently elsewhere, the testimony points to a more primitive MK in the hands of Luke. Apparently Luke's document MK had felt no influence from the actual experiences of the siege; but the document that passed into the hands of Matthew had, it seems, already taken up an accretion in J. It is obvious that the relative dates of the gospels of Matthew and Luke are not determinable by a knowledge as to which of them used the more primitive document MK. The evangelists may have belonged to different regions.

To the external testimony offered by the absence of portion J from the gospel LK, there are to be added certain specific internal evidences, not covered by the general fact that the time standpoint of the portion J is *post eventum*. Document MK credits Jesus with referring to God as "the Lord"—"except the Lord had shortened the days." This seems not to be after the manner of Jesus, for except in passages from the Old Testament, where the exigency of quotation demanded it, Jesus is nowhere else reported to have used "the Lord" as a designation of God. It is one of his notable contributions that he gave eternal currency to another mode of referring to God. By the time of the destruction of Jerusalem it had become customary to denominate the Christian community, actual and prospective, as "the elect." The presence of this phrase in a verse originating after that event is, therefore, natural, if not inevitable, where a collective, designative term is needed. Does that account for its presence in this portion J? Or is the term to be attributed to Jesus? It ought to be observed that this idea of election forms the staple of the thought in the document M accretion to the parable of the Great Supper or Marriage Feast, and is expressly formulated in the closing words, "For many are called, but few elected."<sup>1</sup> It seems that the external evidence, the time standpoint of the verse as a whole, and the minor but significant

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 29, 30.

internal evidences point to the portion J as absent from the more primitive MK.

Attention may now be directed to a part of document MK which, though bearing no indication of having originated subsequent to the events, creates interpretative difficulties as it stands, the portions D and E. In a previous study these portions were under consideration, because paralleled in document P.<sup>1</sup> Some questions were raised there as illustrative of the very real problems presented to the mind which would deal justly with the thought of D and E in this Markan context. Further study on this paragraph, it will be agreed, tends only to increase the sense of the incongruity of these portions to the scene here depicted. On the other hand, their close verbal relation to the same sayings in the parallel, document P §60, where they are entirely intelligible, certifies to their genuineness as sayings from Jesus. It ought to be observed that in the preceding portion C flight to the mountains is bidden. Flight is named as the one practicable move on the part of the disciples in the presence of impending disaster. But how can one flee who is bidden to remain fixed upon the housetop, or to hold his present place in the field, as against all attempts, by descent or return, to avert the immediate disaster? And why such extraordinary haste to recognize flight as useless? A siege is not the work of a moment. It does not come as a flash of lightning while a man is away from his house in the field, while he strolls or reclines, all unwitting of war, upon the housetop. Flight, as precautionary, permits, by virtue of its motive, action less precipitate than that sketched here. May not a man at least gather clothing and sustenance for support in the mountain fastnesses? If to these questions there be offered the general objection that they fail to take account of oriental hyperbole of expression, and seek to press a literalism which is little to the point, it is to be answered that the evangelist Luke did not think so, for he found the sayings so incongruous to the situation depicted here that he rephrased them as practicable injunctions in his portions D and E.

The evidence seems to point to the conclusion that there is here another instance of genuine sayings of Jesus which have found their true context in document P but are misplaced in document MK.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 48, 49.

Since, however, the theme of document P §60 is closely related to the theme of other portions of this Markan discourse, the question naturally emerges again whether P §60 may be regarded as originally spoken as a part of the final discourse on the future. If so, the presence of a part of P §60 as portions D and E of document MK is simply a displacement of sayings within a discourse, to another part of which they properly belong.

For an exhibit of the sayings of Jesus, in the final discourse, as to the destruction of Jerusalem, so far as these are attainable by reference to the document in its more original form, there must be dropped, it appears, from our present document MK the portions D, E, and J, the last because it was added, perhaps, after the event, D and E because they belong elsewhere among the genuine utterances of Jesus.

#### §6. THE RISE OF MESSIANIC CLAIMANTS

GOSPEL MT 24:23	DOCUMENT MK 13:21	DOCUMENT P §60
Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ, or, Here; believe <i>it</i> not.	And then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ; or, Lo, there; believe <i>it</i> not.	And he said unto the disciples, The days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it. And they shall say to you, Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away, nor follow after <i>them</i> :

Because the evangelist Luke had already taken up this saying, by his use of the document P, he omitted it when he came upon it in his document MK, in accordance with his most consistently heeded literary principle (Principle 2).

By these words with reference to those days of the future when persecution and the distresses of the war with the Romans should press hard upon his disciples, Jesus made it clear to his company that he foresaw the direction in which their hopes would turn, and felt strongly the necessity for vigorous words of warning against the pretensions to the fulfilment of those hopes which would come from the Zealot ranks.<sup>1</sup> His disciples would long to see one of the days of the Son of man that thereby there might be made an end of their discomforts; messianic movements initiated in those days would profess that the time was at hand for the realization of such hopes; to all such seductive appeals the disciples must turn a deaf ear—"ye shall not see it."

<sup>1</sup> See chap. iii.

Interest in the interrogation of history as to how far these forecasts of Jesus were fulfilled is much weakened by the knowledge that he did not speak of phenomena which had no basis in the past and present, and which were consequently to emerge new and startling in the future. Jesus did no more than predicate the prolongation of influences and tendencies vigorously at work in his own day. Their interest for him, so far as they would fashion the future, lay in their probable effect upon his own followers in the years immediately succeeding his personal departure. Such forecasts as Jesus made about the future rise of messianic claimants were well within the province of any acute observer of his time.<sup>1</sup> Some brief review of the actual developments has, however, a very genuine interest. We have learned to expect from our source, Josephus, little that will give recognition to the part played by the messianic hope in the great struggle with Rome. But even his fixed purpose to keep this phase of the history in the background fails to suppress clear indications, here and there, of the inner life of the rebellion. It is to the point frequently to recall Josephus' summary statement of the cause of the great war:

But what most stirred them up to the war, was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred writings, that about that time one from their country should become ruler of the world. The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves, and many wise men were thereby deceived in their judgment.<sup>2</sup>

In the course of his narrative he is unable completely to eliminate specific references. These may profitably be followed in chronological order. That Josephus will not refer to the movements as messianic, nor to the leaders as pretended Messiahs is certain in advance. To do that would be to lay open to his Roman readers the inner religious secret of the revolt from Rome. That he is determined to avoid. Terms of opprobrium, judgments of disfavor and contempt, are necessarily the forms under which our historian will make record of these phenomena.

A. D. 45 OR 46. UNDER CUSPIUS FADUS

Now when Fadus was administrator of Judea, a certain impostor, whose name was Theudas, urged a great part of the people to take their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them that he was a prophet, and

<sup>1</sup> Document P §33.

<sup>2</sup> *War*, vi, 5, §4.

that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it: and many were deluded by his words.<sup>1</sup>

This is doubtless the Theudas referred to in Acts 5:36 in the speech of Gamaliel. Notwithstanding the apparent historical confusion of Acts at this point, it does establish one fact clearly, namely, that, for the writer of this speech by Gamaliel, the movement under Theudas was regarded as a messianic uprising. Herein it is confirmatory of the obvious inference from Josephus.

A. D. 47 OR 48. UNDER TIBERIUS ALEXANDER

Moreover the sons of that Judas of Galilee were now slain, who caused the people to revolt from the Romans, when Quirinius came to assess the estates of the Jews, as I have shown in a previous book. The names of these sons were James and Simon, and Alexander commanded them to be crucified.<sup>2</sup>

This is, indeed, a scant notice, and inference must supply what is wanting. It may be assumed with some assurance that they were crucified because of activities and professions similar to those of their father. Judas of Galilee was the founder of the sect of the Zealots, and, as has been pointed out,<sup>3</sup> is classified in Acts with Theudas as one of the claimants to messianic honors. His sons inherited his ambitions and aims. In this they were regarded as enemies to Roman supremacy, hence were crucified by the procurator.

A. D. 52-60. UNDER FELIX

Now the affairs of the Jews grew worse and worse continually. For the country was again full of impostors who deluded the multitude. They were deceivers and deluders of the people, and under pretense of divine illumination were for innovations and changes, and prevailed on the multitude to act like madmen, and urged the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and went before them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God.<sup>4</sup>

This presents a vivid suggestion of the degree in which the messianic element had grown into direct personal claims under extreme apocalyptic forms by the time of Felix. That these uprisings do not represent simply a handful of rabid fanatics, who bore little relation to the main movements of the history is made abundantly manifest by the evidences in the following single instance, chosen from many,

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities*, xx, 5, §1.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquities*, xx, 5, §2.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquities*, xx, 8, §§5, 6; *War*, ii, 13, §4.

and recorded by Josephus as occurring under the procuratorship of Felix:

There also came out of Egypt about this time to Jerusalem one that said he was a prophet. He was a cheat and impostor, and yet got credited as a prophet, and came into Judea, and got together thirty thousand deluded men, whom he led round from the wilderness to the Mount which was called the Mount of Olives, which lay opposite the city at five furlongs distance: for he said he wished to show them from thence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down.<sup>1</sup> Felix attacked and dispersed the multitude. The Egyptian escaped and disappeared. His followers believed his deliverance and escape to have been miraculous, and hoped for his return. This hope is reflected in the question directed to Paul by the chief captain at the time of Paul's arrest in the temple.<sup>2</sup>

A. D. 60-62. UNDER PORCIUS FESTUS

And Festus sent forces both of horse and foot to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they suffered from, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness.<sup>3</sup>

Here, again, we could wish that Josephus had given fuller information. His interest is more in the act of Festus than in the significance of the occasion of the act. But even by his few words the scene and its meaning rise before the mind. It fulfils the forecast of Jesus. "Days will come, when ye shall desire to see" may be compared with "promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they suffered from."

A. D. 64-66. UNDER GESSIUS FLORUS

In the meantime one Manahem, the son of Judas who was called the Galilean, (who was a very cunning sophist, and had formerly reproached the Jews in the days of Quirinius, because after God they were subject to the Romans) took some influential persons with him, and went to Masada, . . . and returned with the state of a king to Jerusalem, and became the leader of the sedition, and directed the siege.<sup>4</sup>

It is the purely regal rather than prophetic phase that Josephus reports in connection with Manahem. It may be that in his case the religious motive receded in favor of a larger emphasis upon the political. But it must be believed that Manahem was a true son of his father, and

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities*, xx, 8, §6; *War*, ii, 13, §5.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 21:38; compare Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, ii, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquities*, xx, 8, §10.

<sup>4</sup> *War*, ii, 17, §8.

that he gained his large following by an appeal to the religious hope. Certain it is that other Jewish leaders, keen for political freedom only, found the movement under Manahem intolerable. Hence the rank and file, persistently faithful to Manahem, may be regarded as having placed a special emphasis upon the personal messianic worth of the leader. This is reflected in Josephus' characterization of Manahem as a "sophist," and in the expected effect of his death upon his body of followers:

And when Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, so did also the rest of the people, and taking up stones to attack him with they threw them at the sophist, for they thought if he were once killed that the entire sedition would fall to the ground.<sup>1</sup>

"Innovation" and "sedition" are favorite words with Josephus in his description of the war against Rome, words calculated to please his Roman readers by the judgment they passed upon the Jewish uprising. His choice of the title "sophist" for Manahem separates him from the average leader in the rebellion, and places him, we may conclude, in the class of those who won their following by an appeal to a special theory and motive, the messianic claim.

#### A. D. 66-70. PERIOD OF THE JEWISH WAR

Having described the death by fire of six thousand people who had taken to the portico of the outer temple upon the entrance of Titus into Jerusalem, Josephus adds:

A false prophet was the cause of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, that God commanded them to ascend up to the temple, and that they should there receive miraculous signs of their deliverance.<sup>2</sup>

The promise of "miraculous signs" was a steady accompaniment of prophetic and messianic claims in this troubled period. This individual instance of the prophet, who was the cause of the death of such a large number in the last days of the attack, was chosen from many of like kind which Josephus might have cited had he cared to enumerate. This he makes clear from a summary statement concerning this period:

Now many prophets were suborned by the tyrants at this time to impose on the people, who announced to them that they should wait for deliverance from

<sup>1</sup> *War*, ii, 17, §§8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *War*, vi, 5, §2.



God, and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man in adversity quickly listens to such comfort; and whenever a deceiver makes him believe that he shall be delivered from the miseries which oppress him, then the sufferer is full of hope. Thus were the miserable people led astray by these deceivers, who falsely said they were sent by God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident and so plainly foretold their future desolation, but like men stupefied, without either eyes to see or mind to consider, did not regard the public intimations that God gave them.<sup>1</sup>

A. D. 73. MONTH OF APRIL

The last stronghold of the rebellion to be taken by the Romans was the fortress of Masada. This held out for three years after the fall of Jerusalem, and yielded only after long and persistent attack. It is significant that the commander of Masada was

Eleazar, an able man, and a descendant of that Judas who had persuaded no few of the Jews, as I before stated, not to submit to the census, when Quirinius was sent into Judea to take it.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the Zealot movement, which sprang up in the youth of Jesus, gave the first and the last resistance to Rome. Eleazar proudly refers to this in the address made to his associates before their voluntary death:

We, long ago, my brave friends, resolved never to be slaves to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just lord of mankind. We were the very first of all that revolted from them, and we are the last that fight against them.<sup>3</sup>

Josephus does not record prophetic or messianic claims as made by Eleazar. If we infer such, it will be on the basis of his inheritance from his kinsmen. Perhaps this is a reasonable inference. Or again, it may be that by the time of the close of this fierce and bitter struggle the religious motive was wholly lost from sight, at least in so far as it took personal forms of expression.

SUBSEQUENT TO THE JEWISH WAR

The tendency toward the rise of false claimants, which had held with such vigor during the years between the death of Jesus and the destruction of Jerusalem, did not exhaust itself in Palestine. Josephus makes record of an uprising of like nature in Cyrene:

<sup>1</sup> *War*, vi, 5, §§2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *War*, vii, 8, §1.

<sup>3</sup> *War*, vii, 8, §6.

For one Jonathan, a very vile person, and by trade a weaver, escaped there, and prevailed upon no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him, and led them into the desert, promising them that he would show them signs and apparitions.<sup>1</sup>

This uprising in Cyrene, coming after the destruction of Jerusalem, has bearing upon our present problem only as a testimony to a tendency, and as showing the forms of promise which the leaders of that tendency held out to the multitudes.

From this survey of the testimony of Josephus for the period from the death of Jesus to the destruction of Jerusalem, we are able to conclude:

1. That these years were marked by the rise of numerous men who claimed to be the representatives of God with a special mission to solve contemporary problems.

2. That these men did not hesitate to designate themselves as the prophets of God. We cannot affirm from the words of Josephus, in connection with any one of them, that the specific messianic claim was put forward. But knowing his fixed purpose, formed apparently because he wrote for Roman readers, to avoid mention of this phase of his people's hope, and having in mind his summary statement that this particular hope was the sole cause of the war, we may find definite messianic claims in those cases where the details are suitable to such a claim.

3. That these false prophets and false Messiahs obtained large influence over the masses of the people, sometimes numbering personal adherents by the thousands.

4. That their strength lay in their ready promises to alleviate the distressing social, political, or economic conditions which held during the period of the conflict with Rome.

5. That the wilderness was the favorite place of resort for these men when they had gathered a following. In the last months, when flight from the city was impossible because of siege, these false prophets and false Messiahs were most aggressively active within that faction of the besieged which held the inner temple under control.

6. That the methods of alleviation promised by these false prophets and false Messiahs were not normal, and did not have their

<sup>1</sup> *War*, vii, 11, §1.

basis in the ordinary processes of nature and of men. They made promise of "manifest wonders and signs," "miraculous signs of deliverance," "signs and apparitions," "signs of freedom." By their word they would divide rivers, and cause massive walls to fall to the ground.

7. That those of these men who were active at the acute crisis of the siege found their strength with the people in the assurance they gave that deliverance from the hands of the Romans would come by the direct intervention of God—"they should wait for deliverance from God."

With these results of a study of the forecast by Jesus as to the rise of messianic claimants, and of the records of Josephus as to the historical facts about these movements, we may pass to a consideration of certain other words of Jesus on this subject as these stand in this discourse on the future.

GOSPEL MT 24:4, 5, 24-28

A And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man lead you astray. For many shall come in my name, saying, I am the Christ; and shall lead many astray.

C For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; so as to lead astray, if possible, even the elect.

D Behold, I have told you beforehand.

E If therefore they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the wilderness; go not forth: Behold, he is in the inner chambers; believe *it* not.

F For as the lightning cometh forth from the east, and is seen even unto the west; so shall be the coming of the Son of man. Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together.

DOCUMENT MK 13:5, 6, 22, 23

A And Jesus began to say unto them, Take heed that no man lead you astray. Many shall come in my name, saying, I am *he*; and shall lead many astray.

C For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew signs and wonders, that they may lead astray, if possible, the elect.

D But take ye heed: behold, I have told you all things beforehand.

GOSPEL LK 21:8

A And he said, Take heed that ye be not led astray: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am *he*;

B and, The time is at hand: go ye not after them.

Of the above exhibit, the portion A is the opening statement of the discourse; the portions C and D are the continuation of that reference to messianic claimants which has already been examined in part. It is important to observe such changes or additions as were made by the evangelists in taking over the portion A from document MK. Luke adds in portion B a saying of the claimants which may probably be

regarded as the watchword of these messianic movements, by which they stirred the people and gained their many adherents—"The time is at hand." So thoroughly had it become associated with these messianic movements of the Jewish war, so deeply had it made its impress upon the mind of that generation, that Luke feels no hesitancy, it seems, in supplementing his document by the assertion that Jesus himself did forecast this watchword, and gave it to his disciples as a part of his warning against these uprisings. For the very general "I am *he*" of his document, Matthew substitutes the explicit "I am the Christ." In view of the notable reticence of Jesus, throughout his ministry, as to any announcement or recognition of himself in explicit terms as the Messiah, it is to be believed that it is not without significance that document MK here represents him as avoiding the term even where it is most difficult for him to do it and make himself understood. The Matthaean substitution has failed to take account of the striking method of Jesus. When it is recalled that in the whole history of his ministry Jesus never takes the initiative in designating himself as the Christ, and that on one or two supreme occasions only does he permit the appellation to be connected with himself,<sup>1</sup> it will be felt that even this apparently slight interpretative expansion of his document by Matthew gives an unwonted cast to the thought of Jesus. It is significant that a study of the synoptic passages, in which "in my name" (portion A) and like phrases occur, reveals the fact that this terminology is generally unsupported either by a comparison of document with document or of gospel with document. To exhibit all the facts here would involve considerable digression, but the appearance of the phrase in the document M conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount is a part of that apparent accretion; the tendency may be seen further by comparing Luke 21:12 with document MK 13:9, and Matt. 19:29 with document MK 10:29. It appears again in the unauthentic Mark 16:17, a testimony to its currency in the apostolic age. May it be that its presence above in portion A is to be attributed to the same tendency, the words of Jesus being simply, "Many shall come, saying, I am *he*; and shall lead many astray"?

Of the other portions above, it is to be observed that the portion E is the Matthaean rewriting of document P §60 (Luke 17:23), a

<sup>1</sup> MK 8:29; 14:61, 62a.

section which Matthew here begins to distribute in this discourse, as is testified by portion F and beyond, elsewhere exhibited in full.<sup>1</sup> This rephrasing of Luke 17:23 (portion E) is of very great interest and critical importance as showing how the actual development of events affected the terminology of the evangelists in places where, for one reason or another, they were called upon to rewrite their source. In place of the indefinite "Lo, there! Lo, here!" of Jesus, Matthew substitutes the two places which history showed to be the centers of the activity of the messianic claimants.<sup>2</sup>

When one comes to the portion C directly from an examination of Josephus, its reading produces one dominant impression, namely, that what is here credited to Jesus as prophecy was actually fulfilled in every particular during the years before A. D. 70. The words of portion C would serve as a compact summary of the references in Josephus that are scattered over many pages. Another impression, almost as notable, is that this portion, by its particularity in prophetic details, stands in marked contrast to the comprehensive but simple forecast in portion A and again in document P §60 (Luke 17:23)=document MK 13:21=gospel MT 24:23. This contrast at once suggests the inquiry whether the portion C is the product of the experience of the disciples working upon and elaborating the more simple and suggestive forecast of Jesus. Given that comprehensive but very general forecast, given the actual experience of the years before the destruction of Jerusalem, it would seem difficult for the tradition of this forecast to retain its original, general form. The tendency would be toward precisely such additions as the present portion C contains. The probability of certain additions seems to outweigh the likelihood of accurate and unelaborated transmission. The phenomena of portion E, which we are able to test objectively, witness to the reasonableness of this contention.

To these considerations, prompted by the comparison of the accounts, there is to be added the entire absence of the portions C, D, from the Gospel of Luke. It is possible, indeed, to hold that, since Luke omitted document MK 13:21 because he had used it from document P §60, he considered portions C and D so evidently an elaboration of the thought that he dropped them also. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 64-67.

<sup>2</sup> See point 5 in summary on p. 160.

it is worth while to take into account, in view of evidence previously accumulated, the consideration that here again Luke's document MK may have been wanting in elaborations which found a place in document MK before it reached Matthew. To the general thought of other portions there is added by portion C the "false prophets." How large a part these played in the early apostolic age is witnessed not only by Josephus but also by certain other passages in the gospels which are traceable to the editorial work of the evangelists. "False prophets" are one of those factors in the apostolic age which are recognized and recorded by Matthew in his editorial portion on the persecution of the disciples.<sup>1</sup> It is the "false prophets" who are the subject of the eschatological addition to the Sermon on the Mount supplied by document M. In brief, wherever they are mentioned in the gospels the passage is under question for other, weightier reasons.

Against the appearance of the plain term of contrast, "false Christs," in this portion C, it is not necessary to do more than recall the objections raised to the Matthaean change in portion A, objections which hold with much greater force against the unmistakable intent of the antithesis in C. The reference to the use of "signs and wonders" by the false claimants seems to suggest the experiences of the actual history. It is not known that the claimants in the lifetime of Jesus resorted to these expedients, though they may have done so. It will be held in mind that this portion C designation of the early community as "the elect" has already been seen in the document M accretion to the parable of the Great Supper or Marriage Feast, and again in the apparently late addition to the sayings about the destruction of Jerusalem, document MK 13:20. It does seem that both the minor and major evidences, internal and external, converge to make it difficult to regard the portion C as a part of the original utterance of Jesus on the rise of messianic claimants.

Whether one shall hold that the portion D also is an accretion depends upon one's conception of the prophetic vocation, so far as the test is internal only. The saying seems to make Jesus assume the attitude of a confident prognosticator. The disciples are given a "before-hand" intimation of "all things;" they have but to "take heed" at the danger points, and "the end" will be reached in safety. Such

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 145-47.

an attitude in Jesus seems like a movement to the lower levels of prophetic activity.

The total demand of the evidence brought forward to the present seems to be that within the final discourse there be recognized two references to the rise of messianic claimants. The first appears at the opening of the discourse as document MK 13:5, 6, within which the phrase "in my name" has, perhaps, an origin other than with Jesus. After the forecast of the destruction of Jerusalem these claimants are mentioned again, in the terms of document MK 13:21 = document P §60. To the latter there came to be added, at some later time it would seem, the precise and specific terms of the present document MK 13:22, 23. These were taken up by Matthew, and to them he added from document P §60 that which was really the parallel to document MK 13:21. Recognizing this parallelism, he rewrote P §60 (Luke 17:23) as the above portion E. Luke's only editorial work lay in the addition of the portion B, and in the omission of document MK 13:21 because it had already appeared in his gospel from P §60.

#### §7. EVENTS BEFORE THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

As the study of the rise of messianic claimants has involved examination of the opening declaration of the discourse, document MK 13:5, 6, there may now be considered those sayings which follow this messianic reference and precede the sketch of the persecutions, namely, document MK 13:7, 8 and parallels, which deal with certain external situations that are to develop before the crisis, in the form of the siege of the city of Jerusalem, is itself reached.

##### GOSPEL MT 24:6-8

A And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for *these things* must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet.

C For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines and earthquakes in divers places.

D But all these things are the beginning of travail.

##### DOCUMENT MK 13:7, 8

A And when ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, be not troubled: *these things* must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet.

C For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: there shall be earthquakes in divers places; there shall be famines:

D these things are the beginning of travail.

##### GOSPEL LK 21:9-12

A And when ye shall hear of wars and tumults, be not terrified: for these things must needs come to pass first; but the end is not immediately.

B Then said he unto them,

C Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be great earthquakes, and in divers places famines

E and pestilences; and there shall be terrors and great signs from heaven. But before all these things,

Of the several events which are set down as preceding the siege of the city, no one is so strikingly dramatic, extraordinary, and supernatural as that which is reported in the portion E, in the words "there shall be terrors and great signs from heaven." But it seems evident beyond doubt that the portion E was not present in the document MK; it is an obvious addition to what was obtained from that source. From whence did Luke derive the portion E? Were one to make answer conjecturally, on the basis of the results reached in the examination of previous paragraphs of this discourse, it would be affirmed that this is an addition originating in the course the history actually took; that is, a reflection from experience. But has such a conjecture any basis in the known facts of that period?

Among the facts of primary importance, those having significance enough to be given mention in the prefatory outline of his history, Josephus names "the signs and wonders that preceded the destruction of Jerusalem."<sup>1</sup> He makes general mention of them again in the course of his narrative:

There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evil by such as loved peace, but were interpreted by those that kindled the war so as to suit their inclinations.<sup>2</sup>

In connection with the arrival of the Idumaeans as allies of the Zealots he reports:

A prodigious storm broke out in the night, and violent winds with very heavy showers of rain, and continuous lightning, and terrible thunderings, and extraordinary noises as of the earth shaken by an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was thus put out of joint, and any one would guess that these prodigies portended some great calamities.<sup>3</sup>

But it is when Josephus draws nearer to the close of his history that he brings together, in one showing, that series of events, scattered over some years, to which he referred in his preface. That which prompts him to their enumeration at this point is his desire to set them over against the "signs" which were offered by the false prophets and false Messiahs:

Thus were the miserable people led astray by these deceivers, who falsely said that they were sent by God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to

<sup>1</sup> *War*, Preface, §11.

<sup>2</sup> *War*, ii, 22, §1.

<sup>3</sup> *War*, iv, 4, §5.



the signs that were so evident and so plainly foretold their future desolation, but like men stupefied, without either eyes to see or mind to consider, did not regard the public intimations that God gave them. Thus there was (1) a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and (2) a comet that continued a whole year. And (3) before the Jews' rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of Unleavened Bread, on the eighth day of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and sanctuary, that it appeared to be bright daylight, and this light lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskilful, but was interpreted by the sacred scribes to portend those events that immediately followed. . . . Moreover, (4) the eastern gate of the inner temple, which was of brass and exceedingly heavy, and was with difficulty shut every evening by twenty men, and rested upon bars covered with iron, and had posts let down very deep into the firm floor, which consisted of one entire stone, was seen to open of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. . . . This also appeared to the ignorant to be a very happy omen, as if God did thereby open to them the gate of happiness; but the men of learning understood by it that the security of their temple was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate opened for the advantage of their enemies, and they declared that the sign foreshadowed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, (5) a few days after the feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius, a certain marvelous and incredible phenomenon appeared. I suppose what I am going to tell would seem a fable, were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the sad events that followed it deserving of such signs. Before sunset chariots were seen in the air, and troops of soldiers in their armor running about among the clouds and besieging cities. Moreover, (6) at the feast which is called Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner temple, as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said that first they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a multitude saying, "let us remove hence." But, (7) what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a rustic and one of the people, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast wherein it is our custom to make tabernacles to God in the temple, and began on a sudden to cry aloud, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem, and the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, and a voice against the whole people!" This he cried, as he went about by day and by night, in all the streets of the city. . . . This cry of his was loudest at the feasts, and he continued repeating it for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his presage fulfilled in earnest. . . . Now, if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and in all ways foreshows our race what is for their safety.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *War*, vi, 5, §§3, 4.

It would seem from the testimony of Josephus that there is abundant support for the conjecture that the portion E is based for Luke in the reputed facts of the period preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. To the statement of his document MK, "there shall be famines," Luke adds in portion E "and pestilences." Famines are usually accompanied by pestilences. Descriptions by Josephus of the famine at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem imply the accompaniment of pestilence;<sup>1</sup> for example:

Now while they were slaying him, Niger prayed that the Romans might be his avengers, and that the Jews might undergo both famine and pestilence in the war, and, besides all that, that they might come to mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God satisfied.<sup>2</sup>

Because the addition of these events in portion E brought Luke historically to the period of the crisis itself, the portion D of his source is not now appropriate as a conclusion. Moreover, the persecutions preceded the destruction of the city; and those "terrors and great signs from heaven" which were associated with the time of the siege followed upon the persecutions. Apparently in order to adjust his paragraph to these facts, now that it has the addition in E, Luke omits the portion D and adds the words necessary for a transition to the statement of persecution, "But before all these things." By them he obtains the true sequence of persecution and the events in portion E. To this addition of E there is probably to be traced the necessity felt for some division in the thought, supplied by Luke through the addition of portion B.

For "rumours of wars" in the portion A, Luke substitutes the more definite "tumults," a natural change by one who knows the history of that troubled period. Among the "tumults" of those years may be mentioned that at Alexandria, A. D. 38, which gave rise to the complaint against, and deposition of, Flaccus and Philo's work against him, in which the Jews as a nation were the especial objects of persecution; that at Seleucia about the same time, in which more than 50,000 Jews were killed; that at Jamnia, a city on the coast of Judea near Joppa; that at Samaria, A. D. 39 or 40; the disturbance at the Passover, A. D. 49, in which 20,000 Jews perished; the tumult at Caesarea,

<sup>1</sup> *War*, v, 12, §§3, 4; vi, 1, §1; vi, 9, §3.

<sup>2</sup> *War*, iv, 6, §1.

probably A. D. 59; that at Caesarea again in A. D. 66, in which above 20,000 Jews perished. Many other national "tumults" are recorded by Josephus. In the presence of this turbulent history it is not strange that the injunction "be not troubled" of document MK becomes "be not terrified" with Luke.

When it is seen in how large measure within this brief paragraph the actual developments of the history have affected one of the narratives, it may not unreasonably be asked whether any of the events named by document MK itself have found a place in that document not because a part of the forecast of Jesus but because experienced by the transmitters of the tradition. The external test fails here, except in one particular. Luke in taking up the portion C reports not simply "earthquakes" as in his document, but "great earthquakes." This makes it fairly evident that Palestine, at all times subject to these natural phenomena, suffered especially at some time between the death of Jesus and the destruction of Jerusalem. This seems, indeed, to be supported by the statement of Seneca, who records, writing in A. D. 58,

How often the cities of Asia, how often the cities of Achaia, have fallen with a quaking! How many towns in Syria, how many in Macedonia, have been swallowed down! How often has this destruction desolated Cyprus! How often has Paphos fallen upon itself! Frequently there is reported to us the ruin of whole cities.<sup>1</sup>

By a body of men holding those hopes for the speedy consummation of the aeon that are known to have dominated the early Christian community, these experiences of earthquakes in Syria, and the reports of their frequency in the adjacent countries, could hardly be interpreted otherwise than as additional portents of the impending crisis, and as such would very probably come to be added to those events actually portrayed by Jesus as preceding the siege of Jerusalem. To this fact is to be attributed, perhaps, the appearance of the words "there shall be earthquakes in divers places" in the document MK.

To no other particular of this forecast does the objective testimony call attention. That which document MK otherwise records may be taken, therefore, as the statement of Jesus, heightened perhaps in particulars of phraseology, but yet substantially the thought of

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.*, 91, §9.

Jesus. That thought is very simple, and of the most general character. It asserts that there will be a period of fierce conflict, with all the terrible accompaniments of warfare between resolute and powerful peoples, before the disciples will see that event about which the conversation opened, the destruction of the capital city. Jesus would correct the natural inference from his first remark to his hearers, namely, that the temple was speedily to be razed. Before that there would be years of severest "travail," which, however, would be only as a "beginning" to the terrors and tortures of the "tribulation" which would be ushered in by the siege. The history of the years A. D. 30 to A. D. 70 more than fulfilled the forecast.

### §8. THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

There may be a return now to that point in document MK considered prior to the preceding section, namely, the close of the sayings about the rise of messianic claimants, MK 13:23. To the present, there have been brought under review all parts of the thirteenth chapter of document MK that precede MK 13:24. With the twenty-fourth verse another theme of the discourse begins.

GOSPEL MT 24:29-31	DOCUMENT MK 13:24-27	GOSPEL LK 21:25-28
A But immediately, after the tribulation of those days,	A But in those days, after that tribulation,	B And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars;
B the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven,	B the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall be falling from heaven,	C and upon the earth distress of nations, in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows; men fainting for fear, and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world:
D and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken:	D and the powers that are in the heavens shall be shaken.	D for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.
E and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn,	F And then shall they see the Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory.	F And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.
G And he shall send forth his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.	G And then shall he send forth the angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.	H But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads: because your redemption draweth nigh.

To the total impression made by the scene portrayed in this paragraph, no one portion contributes so much as the portion C. That portion gives the most strikingly dramatic and tragic aspects of the effect of that day upon mankind. By it there is heightened to the point of terrible tension the sense of destiny for man in that impending crisis. It is a picture of a distracted, fear-haunted, terror-driven mankind. It is vivid with realistic feeling. From whence was it drawn by Luke? It seems clear that it was not in his document MK. It can hardly be doubted that it is a natural and easy editorial inference from the situation sketched in portion B of his document. That tells of those things which will happen in the heavens. But if the celestial drama is to be so stupendous and awe-inspiring, surely there will be "upon the earth" among mankind some such distress, perplexity, and fainting for fear and expectation as Luke infers and sets down. The evangelist does not invent a scene; he apparently deduces it from the statements of his document MK.

Among the most striking of the several elements which together make so profound an impression, no one which deals with the heavenly phenomena is of more dramatic suggestiveness than that which Matthew supplies in the portion E, "then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven." But like the Lukan contribution in portion C, this particular appears to have been absent from the document MK. From whence, then, did Matthew derive it? The latter statement, "then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn," may be traced, perhaps, to the description of the day of Jehovah in Zech. 12: 11, 12, "In that day there shall be a great mourning . . . and the land shall mourn, every tribe apart." The evangelist may have come to regard the sight of the Son of man on the clouds, described in his document portion F, as "the sign" which should be seen of all men before the actual descent. Or if, as seems clear from the synoptic testimony elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> some "sign" had come to be conceived as a necessary forerunner of the Messiah, Matthew probably felt himself on secure ground in giving it as a part of the messianic programme, of which he had the other features in his document MK.

A second Lukan addition to his document MK is found in the hortatory portion H. It seems designed to give support and courage

<sup>1</sup> Document MK 8: 11, 12; document P §16C, K.

to those who are patiently looking, with oft-deferred hope, for the coming of their redemption, the appearance of the Son of man. Apparently Luke is not concerned to define that redemption in the terms of the portion G, for this he omits. That portion may have been intelligible with difficulty to him, if he conceived of the messianic rule as destined to be established upon the regenerated earth. He leaves the method and form of the "redemption" to be inferred by his readers; he seems solicitous to assure only that its coming is certain, and that it will be for the joy of the disciple (H), though for the woe of the world (C). In the rewriting of portion B, he gives recognition to the contemporary hope for "signs." That he does not, in taking over portion B, retain the explicit assertions that the sun will be darkened, and the moon fail, and the stars fall, may, perhaps, be taken as additional evidence that he conceives of the new aeon as spent upon the earth under normal physical conditions, thoroughly regenerated, indeed, but yet so truly normal that there is need of the service of the celestial bodies. The complete omission of the chronological indication in portion A is probably to be attributed to the greater distance in time of Luke from the destruction of Jerusalem. Had any considerable number of years passed since that event, Luke could hardly use effectively the portion A, which implicitly appears to make a close sequence of that catastrophe and the appearance of the Son of man. Indeed, Luke goes farther than mere omission of that which seems to have failed of fulfilment; for in the latter part of the verse by which he immediately precedes this paragraph, Luke 21:24, he introduces an entirely new chronological factor, "the times of the Gentiles," which he asserts must "be fulfilled" before Jerusalem is again occupied by its own people. It is obvious, therefore, that he separates the destruction of Jerusalem, "that tribulation" of document MK (A), from the appearance of the Son of man by at least the period of "the times of the Gentiles." The experiences of history have led him, it seems, to modify his document in more than one particular.

In addition to the portion E, which Matthew derived otherwise than from his document MK, he enlarges upon the statements of portion G by the words, "with a great sound of a trumpet." This accretion seems to have come into the record of Matthew from that

passage in Isaiah where he is describing the assembling of the scattered tribes of Israel in the day of Jehovah, in terms similar, in general, to those used in portion G, among which is this: "And it shall come to pass in that day that a great trumpet shall be blown."<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere than in these additions, Matthew is faithful to his source, the document MK.

In the presence of such extensive and dramatic additions by the evangelists to their document MK as are shown in the portion C added by Luke, and in the portion E added by Matthew, it seems reasonable, if not imperative, to raise the question whether the document MK itself is an accurate report of the words on this subject spoken by Jesus. To a decision on that problem, the gospel parallels can give no further help, for they both witness to a document MK substantially such as we have in this paragraph. Since the comparison of gospel with document yields no more than a possibility or probability of primal modification in the document MK, and that especially with respect to dramatic details, there is suggested the endeavor to gain further knowledge by the comparison of document with document, a method which has elsewhere yielded important results.

## DOCUMENT MK

B And then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ; or, Lo, there; believe *it* not.

C But in those days, after that tribulation,

D the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall be falling from heaven, and the powers that are in the heavens shall be shaken.

E And then shall they see the Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory.

## DOCUMENT P §60

A The days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it.

B And they shall say to you, Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away, nor follow after *them*:

E for as the lightning, when it lighteneth out of the one part under the heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; so shall the Son of man be in his day.

F And as it came to pass in the days of Noah, even so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all. Likewise even as it came to pass in the days of Lot; they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; but in the day that Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all: after the same manner shall it be in the day that the Son of man is revealed.

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 27: 12, 13.

G And let him that is on the housetop not go down, nor enter in, to take anything out of his house: and let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloke

H And then shall he send forth the angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

G In that day, he which shall be on the housetop, and his goods in the house, let him not go down to take them away; and let him that is in the field likewise not return back. Remember Lot's wife.

H I say unto you, In that night there shall be two men on one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. There shall be two women grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.

I And they answering say unto him, Where, Lord? And he said unto them, Where the body is, thither will the eagles also be gathered together.

That the content of document P §60 bears some original relation to the final discourse of Jesus on the future has been suggested by the evidence, more than once, in preceding studies. It is significant that the portion G does actually appear in the document MK report of the discourse; the fact that it has retained a place there, despite its lack of relation to the immediate context, testifies, it would seem, to its right to be located elsewhere in the same discourse. To this evidence is to be added the closeness of verbal likeness between the portions B of the two documents. Of special significance is the similar sequence of subjects, the rise of messianic claimants being followed by a description of the day of the Son of man in both documents. This agreement in sequence would be notable in any case, but it takes on increased evidential value when it is observed that in document MK the statement about messianic claimants holds a relation to what precedes and to what follows which is intelligible with difficulty. Thus the rise of messianic claimants is set in intimate connection with the destruction of Jerusalem by the opening words, "And then if any man, etc." It is followed by the promise of the day as to come "in those days, after that tribulation." Thus the activity of the messianic claimants is set in comparative isolation and within narrow limits of time. Indeed, to the chronological outline of document MK in this discourse, the sayings about the claimants form more or less of an interruption. Their retention here seems to indicate clearly that in the discourse of Jesus they did actually follow upon the words about the destruction of Jerusalem, the difficulty of their interpretation as in document MK being created solely by the "And then" of that document and the absence of such a transition forecast as is supplied by the portion A of document P.

Against the general suggestion that document P §60 is the report



of a part of the original final discourse, there may not be urged its present position in document P, for it seems to have been established in preceding studies that the document P settings of sayings and order of narratives are not either in intention or in fact strictly historical. To this important general result there is to be added the significant specific fact that an important section of the sayings about persecution in this discourse is actually found at a point in document P much further removed from the period in which they were spoken, document MK 13:11=document P §22, their isolated character in document P making it practically certain that they are not repeated sayings. That other portions of the same discourse should find retention in other parts of document P is therefore highly probable, especially such vivid and clearly unified sections of the discourse as the present P §60, a portion which might very easily have an independent history of transmission.

There must not be an overemphasis upon the judgment of the evangelist Matthew, but it is worth noting that he believed that not only P §60,<sup>1</sup> but also other sections of that document might rightly be distributed in this final discourse. He places there the portions P §§60, 28, 29, and the document M equivalents for P §§27, 64. If one does not follow him in his judgments, one is under the exacting and most difficult obligation to show, for instance, what relation the portions P §§27-29 bear to the context or occasion assigned them by document P.

While both documents in the above paragraph deal with the same two themes, namely, the rise of messianic claimants and the day of the Son of man, their verbal resemblances are close only in the first of these themes, the portion B, except again in the portion G retained by document MK as part of another paragraph. But while this is true of the wording, there is a substantial agreement in thought in all parts that are parallel. The lengthy portion F, which is omitted by document MK, has, despite its length, only a single, simple thought, namely, that the day is of such a nature that its coming has no premonitory signs; it finds men in the midst of their normal occupations and modes of feeling and life. The portion H of document MK is a fair equivalent for its parallel in document P; and the same may be

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 64-67.

said for the two reports of portion E. The whole of the document MK record of the sayings may be regarded as the report from a mind which has retained the substance of the thought but has lost the precise original phrasing of it. If one presses the inquiry as to how the document MK report assumed the form of wording which it exhibits, it may be answered that this wording sprang from a reporter whose mind was saturated with the Old Testament descriptions of the Day of Jehovah, descriptions which he has unwittingly assigned to Jesus in the place of the precise phrasing chosen by Jesus for the Day of the Son of man.

Thus there may be traced in portion E of document MK the influence of Dan. 7:13, "I saw in a vision of the night, and lo, there came upon the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man."<sup>1</sup> The phraseology of the document MK portion H appears more than once in the prophetic descriptions of the Day of Jehovah. It occurs in passages where the assembling of the scattered tribes of Israel is in the prophet's view. Zechariah represents Jehovah as giving to his people the assurance: "I will gather you together out of the four winds of heaven."<sup>2</sup> Moses attaches promises for Israel to his exhortation in behalf of the Law, among which stands this: "If thy dispersed be from one end of heaven to the other end of heaven, from thence will Jehovah gather thee together."<sup>3</sup> To the vision of Isaiah the gathering of the chosen in the day of Jehovah appears in this form of activity by Jehovah: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that Jehovah shall beat off his fruit, from the flood of the River unto the brook of Egypt, and ye shall be garnered one by one, O ye children of Israel. And it shall come to pass in that day, that a great trumpet shall be blown; and they shall come which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and they that were outcasts in the land of Egypt; and they shall worship Jehovah in the holy mountain at Jerusalem."<sup>4</sup> It will be agreed that the portions E and H of document MK are much

<sup>1</sup> LXX = "ἐθεώρων ἐν ὄραματι τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ἶδού ἐπὶ (μετά, Th.) τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἦρχετο (ἐρχόμενος, Th.)."

<sup>2</sup> Zech. 2:6, LXX = "ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ συναξω ὑμᾶς."

<sup>3</sup> Deut. 30:4, LXX = "ἐὰν ᾗ ἡ διασπορά σου ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐκείθεν συναξεί σε κύριος."

<sup>4</sup> Isa. 27:12, 13.

closer, in their details of phrasology, to the similar thoughts as expressed by the Old Testament prophets than to these thoughts as expressed by Jesus in the portions E and H of document P.

Of the scene portrayed by document MK, no aspect is so impressively vivid and intensely dramatic as that outlined in the portion D. But it is this portion, and it only, that has no counterpart in the document P report of these sayings. This is surely significant, for, in the comparison of gospels with document in this paragraph, it was found that the evangelist's additions to the document MK were, in the case of both Luke and Matthew, the most dramatic portions of their paragraphs, namely, the portion C of Luke and E of Matthew.<sup>1</sup> From the testimony of document P §60, it seems that it must be concluded that the document MK is itself not free from additions of the same character. From whence came this most cataclysmic feature of the document MK account? The evidence seems to indicate that it is derived from the same source as is the phraseology in which MK clothes those parts of the paragraph which are paralleled in document P, that is, from the Old Testament prophets. Of no phase of the Day of Jehovah is there more frequent mention than of the celestial disturbances which should usher in that day.

Thus the opening terms of the portion D may be traced to Isa. 13:9, 10:

Lo, the day of the Lord cometh. . . . For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light: the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine.

The closing forecast of portion D is derivable from Isa. 34:4:

And all the powers of the heavens shall be melted . . . and all the stars [constellations] shall fall.<sup>2</sup>

Other prophets than Isaiah had borne testimony to the spectacular nature of that Day. The terms of Amos are:

And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord God, that I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day.<sup>3</sup>

To the vision of Zephaniah it presented itself under similar forms:

<sup>1</sup> See p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> LXX = "τακῆσονται πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν . . . καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀστρα πεσεῖται."

<sup>3</sup> Amos 8:9.

The great day of the Lord is near, it is near and hasteth greatly . . . . That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of the trumpet and alarm.<sup>1</sup>

More vivid in detail and dramatic in general impression are the scenes which the prophetic spirit of Joel grasped and delineated:

The day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand: a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness . . . . the heavens tremble; the sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars withdraw their shining . . . . for the day of the Lord is great and very terrible; and who can abide it?<sup>2</sup>

Most striking among the portrayals is that of Joel 2:30, 31:

And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come.

In a community that believed itself to be experiencing the fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel 2:28, 29, it was inevitable that vigorous hope should be taken from that experience, and that it should frame for itself, as a central belief, the faith that the remainder of the prophecy, Joel 2:30, 31, was on the verge of realization. That the former was the case with the early Christians is testified by Acts 2:1-36; that the latter was the resultant is evident from the large place given this hope in the early apostolic age. With the authentic words from Jesus of document P §60 concerning "the day" as a starting-point, with the experience of finding large areas of prophecy about "the last days"<sup>3</sup> richly fulfilled in the present, with that interpretation of Joel which regarded the events of Joel 2:28, 29 as immediately preceding those of Joel 2:30, 31, is it not both natural and, in some measure, justifiable that they freely embody Old Testament forecasts in their growing tradition of the words of Jesus about the future? These are probably not regarded by them as conveying a different body of ideas; they are likely not even thought of as introducing minor essential modifications; they are believed rather to report the ideas of Jesus, which they naturally consider as grounded in, and originating from, Old Testament prophecy. Moreover, this accretion of Old Testament phrasing must be regarded as a gradual and prolonged process, wrought out in an oral tradition; it is surely not the outcome of a single sitting at manuscript reproduction of Jesus' words.

<sup>1</sup> Zeph. 1:14-16.

<sup>2</sup> Joel 2:1, 2, 10, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Acts 2:17.

It has been pointed out that the statement about the rise of messianic claimants in portion B of document MK is given such a chronological setting in that document that there are narrow limits of time for their activity. This is effected by the "And then" of portion B, which means after the destruction of Jerusalem, and by the "But in those days, after that tribulation" of portion C. But it is to be observed that the portion C, which brings the day of the Son of man into close sequence with the destruction of Jerusalem, is entirely absent from the document P record of these sayings. In the document P account there is no statement of any kind as to the sequence of the rise of messianic claimants and the day of the Son of man, or, indeed, of the time relation of "the day" to any other event or events. The single chronological note of P §60 is that in the portion A in the words, "And ye shall not see it." Instead of supplying, as does document MK, an assurance to the disciples that they may look for "the day" to follow speedily upon "that tribulation," the document P warns them that all desire to see "the day" is vain and destined to disappointment—"ye shall not see it." Does the acceptance of the document P §60 report of the sayings of Jesus about the day of the Son of man, because of the weighty external and internal evidences of its greater originality as compared with document MK, leave the discourse without any indication as to the time of the two great events named in the discourse, the destruction of Jerusalem and the day of the Son of man? The paragraph that follows in document MK makes a clear answer to that important question.

### §9. THE TIME OF THE EVENTS

GOSPEL MT 24:32-36

A Now from the fig tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh; even so ye also, when ye see all these things, know ye that it is nigh, *even* at the doors. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

B But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only.

DOCUMENT MK 13:28-32

A Now from the fig tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh; even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that it is nigh, *even* at the doors. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away.

B But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.

GOSPEL LK 21:20-33

A And he spake to them a parable: Behold the fig tree, and all the trees: when they now shoot forth, ye see it and know of your own selves that the summer is now nigh. Even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

In no other paragraph of this discourse does Matthew follow his document MK so closely in verbal details as in that above. No significant divergence is observable in the portion A. For his document MK phrase "that day or that hour" in portion B, Matthew substitutes "that day and hour." By this apparently unimportant modification, the evangelist obscures more completely that application of portion B to the day of the Son of man which already had suffered partial obscuration in document MK by the probable addition of the words "or that hour." The original utterance of Jesus seems to have been, "But of that day knoweth no one, etc.," the reference being to the day of the Son of man of which he had just been speaking. Had the original intention of the speaker been to say that the events referred to in portion A were to fall within the present generation, but that the precise day of their coming could not be forecast by himself or even by angels, his language more naturally would have been, "But of the day or the hour knoweth no one." On the other hand, had the wish been to distinguish in time between all the other events he had forecast and the day of the Son of man itself, the language could hardly have been other than that suggested—"But of that day knoweth no one." For the phrase of Jesus from first to last in the preceding paragraph, P §60, is "the day of the Son of man," not "the coming (*παρουσία*) of the Son of man," or "the end," or "the consummation of the aeon," or "the kingdom of God." It seems evident that in this paragraph on the time of the events Jesus distinguished between the destruction of Jerusalem and the day of the Son of man by affirming that the former would be realized within the generation, but that the time of the latter was unknown to any but the Father himself. That Jesus had some confidence, however, that "the day" would not fall within that near future in which his disciples would ardently desire it seems asserted by him in his saying of the previous paragraph—"ye shall not see it."

That the obscuration of the distinction apparently intended here by Jesus between the time of the two events became more and more complete as the tradition of his words was handled and interpreted is evidenced not only by the change of phrasing made by Matthew in the portion B, but more strikingly in the editorial work of the evangelist Luke in portion A. There Luke substituted for the simple

“it is nigh” the specific “the kingdom of God is nigh,” by which he made it impossible to interpret the portion A in any other sense than as applying to the whole body of events previously mentioned by Jesus, including the day of the Son of man. This substitution by Luke makes clear also that in his time the phrase “the kingdom of God” had come to be regarded as meaning for Jesus the same as “the day of the Son of man.” But since Jesus nowhere either in the document MK report of this discourse or in those portions of it which are now believed to be found in document P uses the term “kingdom of God” or in any way indicates that he is defining his conception of the kingdom, we may not rightly follow Luke in his insertion of this most important phrase of Jesus in the present discourse. Because Jesus does not use here the term “kingdom of God,” we may not argue therefrom that he certainly is not defining here the future of the kingdom, for he may define the kingdom without naming it. But, on the other hand, it would be quite as arbitrary to assume from this discourse that “day of the Son of man” is with Jesus the synonym for “kingdom of God.” For a sound deduction, account must be taken of a larger area of the teaching of Jesus about the future, especially that which deals explicitly and unmistakably with the future of “the kingdom of God.”<sup>1</sup>

The motive of Luke in wholly omitting the portion B of his document MK may reasonably be found in his judgment that this saying set limits to the knowledge possessed by Jesus which did not accord with that estimate of the person and dignity of Jesus which the Christian community cherished in the time or in the circle of Luke.

On the basis of the critical results reached to the present in the examination of the final discourse on the future, there may now be reconstructed tentatively those paragraphs which have come under consideration.

#### §1. OCCASION OF THE DISCOURSE

And as he went forth out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, behold, what manner of stones and what manner of buildings! And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 301-27. The appearance of the phrase “kingdom of God” in a parable which Matthew inserts in this discourse from his document M §24 is considered fully on pp. 200-2.

## §2. QUESTION OF THE DISCIPLES

And as he sat on the mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what *shall be* the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished?

## §3. RISE OF MESSIANIC CLAIMANTS

And Jesus began to say unto them, Take heed that no man lead you astray. Many shall come *[[in my name]],* saying, I am *he*; and shall lead many astray.

## §4. EVENTS BEFORE THE SIEGE

And when ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, be not troubled: *these things* must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: *[[there shall be earthquakes in divers places;]]* there shall be famines: these things are the beginning of travail.

## §5. PERSECUTION OF THE DISCIPLES

But take ye heed to yourselves: for they shall deliver you up to councils; and in synagogues shall ye be beaten; and before governors and kings shall ye stand for my sake, for a testimony unto them.

And the A  
gospel must first be preached unto all the nations.

And when they lead you *to judgement,* and deliver you up, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost. And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: And not a hair of your head shall perish. In your patience ye shall win your souls.

B but he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

## §6. DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains:

C and let him that is on the housetop not go down, nor enter in, to take anything out of his house: and let him that is in the field not return back to take his cloke.

But woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days! And pray ye that it be not in the winter. For those days shall be tribulation, such as there hath not been the like from the beginning of the creation which God created until now, and never shall be.

And except the Lord had short- D  
ened the days, no flesh would have been saved: but for the elect's sake, whom he chose, he shortened the days.

## §7. RISE OF MESSIANIC CLAIMANTS

The days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it. And they shall say to you, Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away, nor follow after *them*.

E And then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is the Christ; or, Lo, there; believe *it* not:

for there F  
shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew signs and wonders, that they may lead astray, if possible, the elect. But take ye heed: behold, I have told you all things beforehand.



## §8. THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

G. But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall be falling from heaven, and the powers that are in the heavens shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory. And then shall he send forth the angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

For as the lightning, when it lighteneth out of the one part under the heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; so shall the Son of man be in his day. And as it came to pass in the days of Noah, even so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all. Likewise even as it came to pass in the days of Lot; they ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; but in the day that Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all: after the same manner shall it be in the day that the Son of man is revealed. In that day, he which shall be on the housetop, and his goods in the house, let him not go down to take them away: and let him that is in the field likewise not return back. Remember Lot's wife. I say unto you, In that night there shall be two men on one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. There shall be two women grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.

## §9. AN INTERRUPTION BY THE DISCIPLES

And they answering say unto him, Where, Lord? And he said unto them, Where the body is, thither will the eagles also be gathered together.

## §10. TIME OF DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

Now from the fig tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh; even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that it is nigh, *even* at the doors. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

## §11. TIME OF THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

But of that day [or that hour] knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.

In the above exhibit there is shown consecutively all of the material in our present document MK 13:1-32, both that which is accepted and that which is not accepted as original. The accepted portions occupy the central of the three columns. To the left there are set those portions of document MK in the place of which other documentary testimony is substituted; to the right there are set those portions which are believed to be additions to the discourse as uttered by Jesus. Within brackets in §§3, 4, 11 there are placed certain phrases, not conveniently detachable, which also are regarded as accretions. In the central column of §§7-9 the material is drawn from document P §60. In §5 the equivalent of the portion B, which is set aside, is drawn from the Lukan record at that point, Luke 21:18, 19.

Of the portions of document MK set to the left, the portion C appears later as a part of the document P account of the day of the Son of man in §8; the portion E has substantially a verbal parallel in the document P record of §7. Of the portions of document MK set to the right, the portion F statements are substantially covered by the preceding forecast of document P, itself paralleled by the portion E of document MK, the latter set to the left only because of the purer and better introduced parallel of document P in §7. By this review it will be seen at a glance that the amount of the proposed disturbance in the document MK record is not considerable.

Additional justification for the proposed reconstruction may be had by bringing into view certain considerations which could not emerge so clearly earlier in the examination. Thus it is possible now to raise the question as to the relative intelligibility and appropriateness of the portion B and the proposed Lukan substitute. If Jesus did not promise that the day of the Son of man would certainly follow upon the destruction of Jerusalem at no great distance, what meaning can there be in the Markan portion B? "The end" which is referred to there is either the destruction of Jerusalem or the day of the Son of man, probably the latter, though the same phrase from Jesus in §4 does not necessarily mean more than the destruction of Jerusalem. But to whichever event it was applied by the disciples in portion B, that event brought salvation to him who endured persecution until it came. It will hardly be held that Jesus thought the destruction of Jerusalem the time of salvation; and he would surely not exhort to endurance and define salvation in terms of endurance until the time of an event of which he did not know the time, but which he impliedly, if not explicitly, set beyond that generation. On the other hand, the present Markan portion B is normally explainable, in the light of the hopes of the apostolic age, as a modification of the earlier document MK saying still preserved in Luke.

An additional argument for the exclusion of the portion F and the bracketed portion in §3, on the ground of the implicit claim of Jesus to be the true Christ, may now be seen by a comparison of the Markan portion E with its document P parallel, the former bearing the phrase, "the Christ." It is not without considerable confirmatory significance that in three of the portions which, on wholly independent grounds,

have been set aside there occurs that striking designation for the community, "the elect," portions D, F, and G, a designation that occurs nowhere else in the discourse. It will be recalled that it is the idea of election which constitutes the eschatological addition to the document M report of the parable of the Great Supper or Marriage Feast, closing with "for many are called, but few elected."

From the evidence of this discourse it seems that there are in the Synoptic Gospels three strata of thought about the time of the day of the Son of man. There is the thought of Jesus that no one but the Father knows the time of that day. There is the thought of the early apostolic age that the day is to follow closely upon the destruction of Jerusalem, recorded in the above portion G of document MK and elsewhere. There is the thought of the later apostolic age that before that day the gospel must be preached in the whole inhabited earth, recorded in the above portion A of document MK and elsewhere. At a previous point it was seen that there are apparently three similar strata concerning the extent of the mission of the disciples, an idea itself determined in large part by chronological considerations.

§10. EXHORTATION IN THE FINAL DISCOURSE

GOSPEL MT 24:42

DOCUMENT MK 13:33-37

GOSPEL LK 21:34-36

A Take ye heed, watch: for ye know not when the time is.

A But take heed to yourselves,

B lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come on you suddenly as a snare: for so shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of all the earth.

C *It is* as *when* a man, sojourning in another country, having left his house, and given authority to his servants, to each one his work, commanded also the porter to watch.

D Watch therefore: for ye know not on what day your Lord cometh.

D Watch therefore:

D But watch ye at every season,

E for ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at cockcrowing, or in the morning; lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping.

F making supplication, that ye may prevail to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.

G And what I say unto you I say unto all, Watch.

Nowhere else in the Synoptic Gospels can there be found, in the details of the relation of gospels MT and LK to document MK, such phenomena as are seen in the above important paragraph with which the document MK account of the final discourse closes. Nowhere else, from first to last, do the later evangelists treat their source with such striking freedom. Nowhere else is there a twofold paragraph of material, derived from document MK, which clearly holds to the theme of the document yet re-expresses it with so little regard to the verbal content of the document. This impression of singularity in the treatment of this hortatory paragraph by Matthew and Luke is deepened when it is observed with what faithfulness the evangelists, especially Matthew, have taken over the immediately preceding paragraph on the time of the events. The altogether isolated character of the evangelists' action at this point in the handling of their document indicates the need for an especially close scrutiny of their work, with the object of determining, if possible, the active factors in this unusual procedure.

The verbal indebtedness of Luke to document MK does not extend much beyond the hortatory words of portions A and D, "Take ye heed," "Watch ye."<sup>1</sup> In portion B there is the thought that "that day" will come "suddenly (*αἰφνίδιος*)," which is allied to the figure of "the lord of the house," in portion E, who may come "suddenly (*ἐξαίφνης*)."<sup>2</sup> That in portion D the evangelist Luke is returning to the "Watch ye" of portion A of his document, after having expanded the "Take ye heed" of A by portion B, seems indicated by his use of *ἀγρυπνεῖτε* in D against the *γρηγορεῖτε* of his document in D. The portion F apparently constitutes the corresponding expansion of the "Watch ye" of his document. In brief, the evangelist Luke has taken, it seems, the double exhortation of his document MK, "Take ye heed: Watch ye," together with the reason for the exhortation, "For ye know not when the time is," and has reasonably and impressively elaborated these most weighty thoughts in his portions B and F.

But why did not Luke accept the elaborations of those thoughts in the form in which they were presented to him by his document MK in the portions C and E? Omissions by Luke from his document MK can be explained generally by his literary principle not to repeat

<sup>1</sup> Even here Luke has *προσέχετε* for the *βλέπετε* of his document MK.

from document MK that which is already supplied to him by his other documents, especially by document P. Does document P contain anything which may have been taken by Luke as the parallel to the portions C and E? Those portions, it will be observed, read like fragments of two parables. That the portions C-E as they now stand do not convey as a whole one single continuous thought seems indicated by the fact that in C one only is set to the special duty of watching, while in E the supposition is that the whole body of servants are watching. In view of the method of Luke in the use of his documents observed elsewhere, it seems reasonable to conclude that Luke omitted the portion C because he had reported the parable more fully from document P §64B; and that he omitted the portion E because he had been able to supply that parable in more complete form from his document P §27. In the case of this hortatory paragraph Luke was confronted by a more difficult problem of adjustment between documents MK and P than at previous points in this discourse. Thus he could omit MK 13:21-23 entirely because in document P §60 he had precisely the wording of document MK, and had already taken from document MK 13:5, 6 one statement of the thought. Since MK 13:11 had appeared from document P §22, Luke would not again use it, but being an integral part of the paragraph in MK he gave it place in rewritten form as Luke 21:14, 15. Something like the latter he does in the present paragraph; but because that which he must rewrite is parabolic in form, portions C and E, his substitutionary portions B and F are exceptionally unlike the original in his document, in other words, he has retained substance only, not form.

Does this suggested explanation of the procedure of Luke find any support in the method of Matthew at this point? After using the paragraph on the time of the events from document MK, Matt. 24:32-36, Matthew inserted those portions of document P §60 which he had not already employed as Matt. 24:26-28, namely, what makes up our present Matt. 24:37-41. Then he inserted his equivalent for the Markan hortatory paragraph, Matt. 24:42. Turning again to document P, he inserted the parables P §§28, 29B; and followed them at once by two parables from document M §§24, 25, the latter being the equivalent of document P §64B, the former apparently the equivalent of P §27. It would seem, therefore, that not only Luke but Matthew

also regarded the portions C and E of their document MK as parables equivalent to those of document P §64B=M §25 and document P §27=M §24. Like the evangelist Luke, Matthew considers it important to give a place (in portion D) to the hortatory "Watch ye" of his document MK; unlike Luke, he does not feel under obligation to rewrite the portions C and E,<sup>1</sup> perhaps because he is able, on the one hand, to draw so many parables on the theme from his documents P and M, and, on the other, again unlike Luke, is able to use the document P parables in this immediate context. By both of his other documents Matthew was supplied with more complete reports of the two parables in portions C and E of his document MK.

The presence of two parables on the theme in close conjunction in each of the documents MK and M, taken with the apparent appearance of one of them as document P §27, naturally suggests the inquiry whether the other one of the two does now appear in document P in conjunction with the first, that is, whether it may be found in P §§28-30. In taking over his document P parables, Matthew omitted P §27, as has been seen, apparently because he considered that document M §24 gave him a better report of that parable. He then took up P §§28, 29 entire, except the introductory words in A of §29; but disregarded P §30 which is a continuation of the theme of the preceding parables. It seems to have been his judgment that P §§29, 30 could be separated without doing violence to the inner thought of either section. Perhaps it would be a more correct interpretation of the action of Matthew at this point in his document P to believe that, in his eschatological addition to the parable of P §29 by the words "there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth," Matt. 24:51, he considered that he was giving the equivalent of the saying about being "beaten with *stripes*" in P §30. Whatever the motive of Matthew, for the reader of today P §30 is the close of the parable in P §29, and clearly seems so intended by document P.

But that uncertainty of relationship between P §29 and P §30 which resulted in the freedom of treatment given here by Matthew does itself serve to emphasize the lack of unity and the departures from customary parabolic form within the whole parable as reported

<sup>1</sup> Except as the second half of portion D may be regarded as containing the substance of portion E personally applied.

by P §§29, 30. The parable proper opens by the unusual method of a question. This question is not answered, either explicitly or implicitly, anywhere in the parable. While the early part of the parable assumes faithfulness in the steward, its second half treats of one who cannot be designated "the faithful and wise steward." The office of "steward" as here defined is one the activities of which are carried on both in the presence and in the absence of the "lord." Yet the parable assumes without any statement that the lord has gone on a journey. Toward the end of the parable there is the recognition of different degrees of knowledge as to what is required of the servant by the lord; more than one responsible servant has place in the conception. Last of all, account is taken of the fact that not only are many involved but each is assigned responsibility according to his powers, and that each is accountable for that which has been assigned to him.

From what this parable contains, from what there is lacking to give it independent intelligibility, from its unusual and non-unified form, it seems necessary to regard it as a shattered and very imperfect report of some parable. There can hardly be much doubt that it is another report of the parable of the Pounds or Talents, the companion parable to that of the Ten Virgins of which a similarly imperfect record appears as P §27. If this interpretation is correct, document P has really two reports of the parable of the Pounds or Talents, that in P §§29, 30 and that in P §64B. It will be observed that the latter of these reports forms the last section of document P; and it will be recalled that reasons have been advanced for regarding the setting of that record, P §64AC, as the editorial work of Luke. These phenomena taken together seem to indicate that the report in P §64B may have been gathered as a part of document P subsequent to the earliest history of that document, though previous to Luke's use of it. A parable would have independent currency more easily than other forms of sayings. The contents of document P seem to testify to the mode of its growth.

When the context of these parables in document P §§27-30 is examined, it is found that they begin abruptly and without discoverable relation to the sayings that precede them. The only words that seem to bear even remotely upon the theme of these parables are those

of P §25 taken with the opening ones of P §26; and these words have been shown to be apparently the product of the proximity of these parables, the original report of document P at this point being preserved in the Matthaean P.<sup>1</sup> If one goes as far back in the context as P §22 one will find there what is clearly a portion of the final discourse on the future, itself affording some degree of evidence that these parables also may properly belong in the final discourse. What follows the parables in P §§31, 32 impresses the reader as belonging to the last days of Jesus, and as being, perhaps, a part of the final discourse which the makers of document MK failed to report. Both internal and external evidence of all kinds seems to point to the conclusion that these parables of document P §§27-30 belong to the final discourse, and are simply variant reports of the parables of the Ten Virgins and Pounds or Talents. The latter seems to be more correctly reported at the later point P §64B and in document M §25, partly also in document MK 13:34; the former appears to be more originally recorded in document M §24, but in part in document MK 13:35.

MATTHAEAN P 24:45-51	LUKAN P §§29, 30	DOCUMENT M §25	DOCUMENT P §64B	DOCUMENT MK 13:34
		A For <i>it is</i> as <i>when</i> a man, go- ing into another country,	A A certain noble- man went into a far country,	A <i>It is</i> as <i>when</i> a man, sojourning in another coun- try,
			B to re- ceive for himself a kingdom, and to return.	
C Who then is the faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath set over his household, to give them their food in due season?	C Who then is the faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall set over his household, to give them their portion of food in due season?	C called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods. And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, to another one;	C And he called ten servants of his, and gave them ten pounds, and said unto them, Trade ye <i>herewith</i> till I come.	C having left his house, and given authority to his servants,
		D to each according to his several ability;		D to each one his work,
		E and he went on his journey. Straightway he that received the five talents went and traded with them, and made other five talents. In like manner he also that <i>received</i> the two gained other two. But he that received the one went away and dugged in the earth, and hid his lord's money.		

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 61-63.



G Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.

G Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.

G Now after a long time the lord of those servants cometh, and maketh a reckoning with them.

H And he that received the five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents: lo, I have gained other five talents.

I Verily I say unto you, that he will set him over all that he hath.

I Of a truth I say unto you, that he will set him over all that he hath.

I His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things:

J enter thou into the joy of thy lord.

K And he also that received the two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents: lo, I have gained other two talents.

L His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things:

M enter thou into the joy of thy lord.

N And he also that had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art a hard man, reaping where thou didst not sow, and gathering where thou didst not scatter: and I

F But his citizens hated him, and sent an ambassador after him, saying, We will not that this man reign over us.

G And it came to pass, when he was come back again, having received the kingdom, that he commanded these servants, unto whom he had given the money, to be called to him, that he might know what they had gained by trading.

H And the first came before him, saying, Lord, thy pound hath made ten pounds more.

I And he said unto him, Well done, thou good servant: because thou wast found faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities.

K And the second came, saying, Thy pound, Lord, hath made five pounds.

L And he said unto him also, Be thou also over five cities.

N And another came, saying, Lord, behold, *here is* thy pound, which I kept laid up in a napkin: for I feared thee, because thou art an austere man: thou takest up that thou laydest not down, and

O But if that evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord tarryeth; and shall begin to beat his fellow-servants, and shall eat and drink with the drunken; the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not,

O But if that servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the menservants and the maidservants, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken; the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not,

was afraid, and went away and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, thou hast thine own.

reapest that thou didst not sow.

P But his lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I did not scatter; thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the bankers, and at my coming I should have received back mine own with interest.

P He saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest that I am an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I did not sow; then wherefore gavest thou not my money in to the bank, and I at my coming should have required it with interest?

Q Take ye away therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him that hath the ten talents.

Q And he said unto them that stood by, Take away from him the pound, and give it unto him that hath the ten pounds. And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds.

R And to whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required: and to whom they commit much, of him will they ask the more.

R For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away.

R I say unto you, that unto every one that hath shall be given; but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away from him.

S and shall cut him asunder, and appoint his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

S and shall cut him asunder, and appoint his portion with the unfaithful. And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and made not ready, nor did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes; but he that knew not

S And cast ye out the unprofitable servant into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

and did things  
worthy of stripes,  
shall be beaten  
with few *stripes*.

T           Howbeit  
these mine ene-  
mies, which would  
not that I should  
reign over them,  
bring hither, and  
slay them before  
me.

U                       com-  
manded also the  
porter to watch.

In the extended exhibit given above there are shown the five recensions possessed by us of what seems to be a single parable. Naturally in the case where the two later evangelists use one document for their report, that is, P §§29, 30, the accounts are most closely parallel. Indeed, Matthew transcribes his document P with verbal faithfulness until he reaches the portion S, where his strong eschatological tendency asserts itself to the very considerable modification of that portion. It is probably this almost entire change of form in S that leads to his complete omission of the important thought in portion R. The report in document M §25=document P §64B has already been examined;<sup>1</sup> it suffices at this time to indicate again that the non-paralleled portions J, M, and S of document M §25 are three expressions of that eschatological tendency which has been found to characterize document M. In document P §64B the non-paralleled portion B and the bracketed phrase in portion G show, it seems, the influence of the setting given the parable by document P §64AC. The complement of portion F is portion T, but in addition to being without parallels in the other accounts these portions introduce an idea which seems extraneous to the form and movement of the parable as a whole. They seem to reflect the reception given Jesus by his people, but do not read like his own interpretation of that reception, but rather that of a later time. When there are removed from document M §25=document P §64B those portions which are explainable as due to documentary tendency, or as the resultants of documentary setting or later reflection, the two accounts will be seen to be very similar, document M supplying in portion E a summary of activities in advance of the personal reports of the several servants.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 27-29.

The most singular portion of the several recensions is the portion U which appears in document MK only. The thought of that portion is not found in any part of the other accounts of this parable. The unfaithful steward or servant is condemned to punishment not on account of unfaithfulness in watching but because of neglect in stewardship. It is not assumed that watchfulness constitutes an element of the assigned task, but rather, as in portion D of document MK itself, "to each one his work." If the testimony of the four other recensions is to be given the weight which seems to be its due, the portion U of document MK cannot be regarded as an original part of this parable. Indeed, it seems to be excluded by the subsequent testimony of document MK itself, for in the verses which immediately follow, MK 13:35-37, it is considered that all and not one only are required to "Watch."

In the document P §§29, 30 recension the only portion that is without some degree of parallel in the other accounts is the portion O, which, it has been observed, turns away from "the faithful and wise servant" with whom the parable opens to "that evil servant," the ground of his defection being the delay in the return of his lord. The other accounts recognize unfaithfulness in certain of the servants, but here only is this hypothetical unfaithfulness made the genesis of an appeal for faithfulness grounded in an unexpected and unannounced return of "the lord." In view of the oft-deferred hopes of the apostolic age as to the return of Jesus, and the consequent tendency toward laxity in the Christian community, it seems reasonable to regard the portion O as the resultant of the endeavor to adapt a parable of Jesus so that its threatening content might stay defection and unfaithfulness. This is effected by representing the evil servant as saying "in his heart" precisely that which the members of the Christian community were saying, namely, "The lord delayeth his coming."

The total result of the comparative study of these several recensions seems to be the conclusion that in any reconstruction of the final discourse the form of this parable to be given a place ought to be that which is preserved in document M §25, with the omission of the portions J, M, and S only. The different reports of the other parable of the pair belonging to the final discourse may now be exhibited in parallelism.

## DOCUMENT M §24

B Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom.

D And five of them were foolish, and five were wise. For the foolish, when they took their lamps, took no oil with them: but the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps.

F Now while the bridegroom tarried they all slumbered and slept. But at midnight there is a cry, Behold, the bridegroom! Come ye forth to meet him.

G Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are going out. But the wise answered, saying, peradventure there will not be enough for us and you: go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves.

H And while they went away to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast; and the door was shut. Afterward come also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not.

## DOCUMENT P §27

A Let your loins be girded about, and your lamps burning;

B and be ye yourselves like unto men looking for their lord, when he shall return from the marriage feast;

C that, when he cometh and knocketh, they may straightway open unto him. Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them sit down to meat, and shall come and serve them.

E And if he shall come in the second watch, and if in the third, and find *them* so, blessed are those *servants*.

## DOCUMENT MK 13:35, 36

A Watch therefore:

B for ye know not when the lord of the house cometh,

E whether at even, or at midnight, or at cockcrowing, or in the morning;

F lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping.

The fundamental distinction between the "wise" virgins and those who were "foolish" is that the "wise" provided themselves with a supply of oil sufficient for use in a long wait for the bridegroom, while the "foolish," expecting to greet him presently, could not meet the contingency of deferred arrival. The "wise" are not commended because they "watch" while the "foolish" sleep, for portion F makes it clear that "they all slumbered and slept." Similarly, they all "arose and trimmed their lamps;" differentiation begins only when that which has been exhausted by the lapse of much time completely fails. The folly of the "foolish" does not consist in the fact that they

are caught by a sudden and unexpected return of their lord while they sleep, but in the fact that they are confident that his return will be presently. The emphasis of the parable is apparently neither "Watch therefore" nor "Let your loins be girded about and your lamps burning," but rather "Slumber and sleep as may be needed in the long vigil, but above all be provided for the prolongation of that vigil through such a period of time as shall exhaust the supplies of all but those who from the first expect that the bridegroom will not come presently."

The influence of the document MK account of this parable upon the evangelist Matthew, even after Matthew's choice of the fuller document M report of it, may be seen in the application of the parable made by him in Matt. 25:13, "Watch therefore, for ye know not the day nor the hour," the equivalent of the above portions A and B of document MK. But this exhortation, as has been seen, misses the apparent teaching of the parable, for the "foolish" were prepared for a "coming suddenly," and neither "wise" nor "foolish" commended themselves by being on watch. The Markan exhortation is against being caught off guard, and is based in the probable suddenness of the return; neither of these thoughts has any place in the document M report of the parable.

It would seem, therefore, that these two parables of the final discourse, as originally spoken by Jesus, convey messages considerably different from the general impression made by the fragmentary and somewhat modified reports preserved to us by document MK 13:33-37 and document P §§27-30. These reports seem to have suffered by the endeavor of their transmitters to bring these two parables into a hortatory service for the early Christian community. In addition to the effects of this practical use of them, there are discoverable decided indications that their form was detrimentally affected by the memory of two aspects of the day of the Son of man as that day was described by Jesus, namely, the suddenness of the day—"as the lightning," and the total ignorance as to its time—"of that day knoweth no one." The latter thought is preserved in document MK 13:32; but it is significant that the idea of suddenness is not present in the document MK report of the day, MK 13:24-27. It is, however, not only present but the dominant characteristic in that descrip-

tion of the day preserved in document P §60—another minor indication, it may be, that P §60 ought to be regarded as belonging to the final discourse.

Interpreted independently, the parable of the Pounds or Talents seems to have been intended by Jesus as one form of inculcating faithfulness in the use of the powers possessed by his disciples, especially faithfulness in the period when he should no longer be with them, and is eminently appropriate as such to the last days of his life. By means of the parable of the Ten Virgins Jesus sought, it seems, to guard his disciples against the possible error of interpreting his references to the day of the Son of man as implying that he would soon return to their midst again; they would prove themselves "wise" who were prepared for the indefinite prolongation of the period to elapse before "that day."

The influences at work in effecting the observed modifications in the reports of these two parables as now found in document MK 13:33-37 and in document P §§27-30 are probably to be credited with the peculiarly isolated fragment in document P §28 which Matthew has inserted from that document as Matt. 24:43, 44. The conception of the day of the Lord as a thief had currency very early as a part of the apostolic thought, as is witnessed by the appearance of the figure in Paul's earliest letter, I Thess. 5:1-6:

But concerning the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that aught be written unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. When they are saying, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall in no wise escape. But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief. . . . So then let us not sleep, as do the rest, but let us watch and be sober.

The form in which the fragment in P §28 is reported assumes that the day has already been described as like a thief, and takes that as its starting-point. It is, therefore, apparently the outgrowth of a current idea rather than the origin of it. No stronger testimony to the confused state of the reports in document P §§27-30 can be cited than that which forces itself upon one when there is an earnest endeavor to give some intelligibility in this context to the words in P §29A.

That the early apostolic age felt great freedom in the application of the parables of Jesus to specific conditions which confronted the Christian community is evidenced not only by the treatment accorded to these two parables of the final discourse, but also in the use made of another parable which has been brought by document P into immediate contact with the portrayal of the day of the Son of man, P §61. Taken apart from the editorial introduction to it, and the reputed application of it by Jesus, this parable would probably be interpreted by the reader of today as the other member of a pair, the first of which is reported in P §14. It would be thought that the two parables taught a common truth and urged a common attitude, that of impurity in prayer as effective for whatever object is sought by the suppliant. That some specific longing of the disciple is not in the mind of Jesus is made evident by the very general scope of petition as defined by what follows the first parable in P §15, where the terms used cover the whole ground of the disciples' need and desire. But even by the reportorial introduction to the parable in P §61 it is shown that this parable had come to be regarded as intended by Jesus to apply to a specific situation, namely, to the period in which faith would wane and the spirit grow faint because of deferred hope. When one passes from the parable proper to its application there is met at once the apparent evidence of the lateness of the origin of this application. Jesus is referred to as "the Lord," a mode of designation practically peculiar in the gospels to document P, and already seen to be one of the marks of the comparatively late date at which the settings of P were framed. The Christian community is described as "his elect," a form of designation found elsewhere in the gospels only in the eschatological addition to the document M report of the parable of the Marriage Feast or Great Supper, M §23, and in three verses of the final discourse, which, on wholly independent grounds, are regarded as later accretions, document MK 13:20, 22, 27. The situation of "his elect" is clearly portrayed; they are in the midst of drastic persecution from which they long for relief. It has elsewhere been seen how the persecution experiences affected the report of many sayings of Jesus, the tendency being to adapt them more explicitly to the needs of actual history. The relief which is prayed for and hoped for is plainly indicated; it is that which is to come through the bringing-in



of "redemption" by the Son of man. That which is "redemption" for the disciples will be "distress" for their persecutors; by that "distress" God will "avenge them speedily."<sup>1</sup> The object of this specific application of the parable is to arrest defection and strengthen waning faith under persecution that goes on while the dominant hope of the community, the expectation of the return, is being indefinitely postponed. This sketch of a waning faith under persecution is similar to that which is provided by the Matthaean summary of the early apostolic age in the editorial portion Matt. 24:10-12, "the love of the many shall wax cold."<sup>2</sup> An effective appeal for loyalty is made by the suggestive question with which the reputed exposition closes, "Howbeit when the Son of man cometh, shall he find the faith on the earth?" Within this question, the appearance of the designation "the faith," as a summary of that which is vital, may be taken as another indication of the comparatively late date of the exposition as a whole.

In any final judgment as to the source of this application of the parable, account must be taken of the fact that its intended result is to give the assurance to those who are longing and praying for relief that this relief will not be long deferred—"he will avenge them speedily;" their desire for the day of the Son of man will soon be realized. But in the exposition of the day of the Son of man by Jesus as recorded in the preceding section, P §60, he had expressly told his disciples that it was vain for them to desire the day of the Son of man in the period of the distresses which were coming upon them after his death, "Days will come when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see it." It can hardly be credited that Jesus followed this assertion by the promise of speedy intervention on their behalf through the coming of the Son of man.

The apparently inevitable conclusion from the study of the hortatory element in the final discourse on the future, both as recorded in document MK and as recorded in that section of document P (P §61) which follows upon the portion of document P (P §60) which probably belongs to the final discourse, is that the parable in P §61 has been brought into a service not intended by Jesus, and that the two parables in the document MK report of the discourse (MK 13:33-37)

<sup>1</sup> Compare Luke 21:25-28.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 145-47.

are fragmentarily recorded and confusedly interpreted, the more complete reports being made by document M §§24, 25, these more complete reports bearing on their surface the truths intended to be conveyed by Jesus. In document P §§27-30 these two parables of the final discourse are more fully reported than in document MK 13:33-37; but, when that of document P is compared with the document M record, the conclusion seems necessary and reasonable that in document P there has found final documentary embodiment that one of the lines of tradition as to the parables of Jesus about the future in which those parables had suffered most in form from the dominant ideas which swayed the early Christian community.

It remains to be asked whether these parables from document M §§24, 25 have taken on any features by virtue of the fact that they come from that particular document, a document marked by striking individual characteristics. It has been observed that document M as restored is made up of the report of a lengthy discourse, M §§1-14, a large group of parables on the kingdom of God, M §§15-25, a portrayal of the judgment day, M §26, and another long discourse, M §27. An impressive feature of the parables of document M is the formula by which they, almost without exception, are introduced, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto." This suggests the inquiry whether this formula is peculiar to the document M report of Jesus' parables. Document G contains no parables. Document MK has three complete parables in 4:1-34, another complete one in 12:1-12, and the fragments of two long ones in 13:33-37. Of these only the first three are designated as parables of the kingdom, one implicitly and two explicitly. Document P contains, at the least, twenty-one parables; of these two only are defined as explicative of the kingdom of God, P §37AB. Of these two, one is the parallel to one of the only two of document MK which are introduced by the formula, "The kingdom of God is like unto," P §37A = MK 4:30-32. Document M reports ten parables, eight of which have the formula; another has practically a blank for this mode of introduction, M §25, "For (the kingdom of heaven is) as *when* a man;" the other, M §22, shows in the explicative portion B that it is regarded as giving teaching of the kingdom. Of those which bear the formula, four are placed by Matthew in that discourse of parables on the kingdom (Matt. 13:1-

53) which contains the two so designated by document MK, MK 4:26-32, and one of the two so designated by document P, P §37A=MK 4:30-32. It seems clear from document M §19 that document M had knowledge of a distinct discourse made up of parables of the kingdom; even as has document MK in 4:1-34; and, in part, document P §37AB—for it seems evident that where the parable of the Mustard Seed belongs there also should go the companion parable of the Leaven. The testimony of all three documents is that there was one discourse by Jesus on “the mystery of the kingdom” in the form of parables introduced by the formula, “The kingdom of God is like unto” or its equivalent. From the evidence of documents MK and P alone it would be decided that only on one occasion did Jesus speak parables which he himself designated as intended to be direct and positive explications of the nature of the kingdom of God, namely, the parables spoken in exposition of what he at that time termed “the mystery of the kingdom of God,” MK 4:1-34=Matt. 13:1-53=Luke 8:4-18+13:18-21.

What then shall be said of this introductory formula when it appears in the document M parables outside of this group, namely, in M §§20-24? Shall it be said that this formula in these cases results from contiguity in grouping in document M, by which all of the parables in the group were ultimately given the opening phrase originally peculiar to those of “the mystery of the kingdom”? Or shall it be believed that the document M itself did not explicitly so begin any other parables than those in M §§15-19, but reported them as that one in M §25, “For (it is) as,” the evangelist supplying the initial formula when he separated each parable from the group where its content seemed designated by the first members. In favor of the latter supposition is the fact that in the only instance where Matthew carried over two of the later document M parables together, M §§24, 25, the second of the two is not supplied with the formula.

Whatever the origin of the formula in the later parables of the document M group, whether from Matthew or before him, there is some external evidence, additional to that already advanced, that in these parables the formula is not from Jesus. Not much significance may be attached to the fact that the document P account of the parable of the Ten Virgins is without this formula, for that report has

largely lost its original form. But the parable of the Great Supper or Marriage Feast is reported with fulness and unity in both documents P and M, P §43E=M §23, and only in document M is defined by formula as a parable of the kingdom of God.

It seems reasonable, if not necessary, to conclude that Jesus did not designate the parable of the Ten Virgins as a parable of the kingdom of God, but that the opening formula of that parable is to be explained as is the same formula in others of the parables of document M outside those which belong to the discourse in parables, M §§15-19. It has been seen that the phrase "kingdom of God" in the only other place, where it occurs in the report of the final discourse, Luke 21:31, is an editorial interpretation. If we confine ourselves to terms as used and defined by Jesus himself, it apparently must be asserted that the final discourse on the future is not a portrayal of the future of "the kingdom of God." For a knowledge of the future of the kingdom one must go to that discourse which is expressly and at great length devoted to the exposition of the thought of Jesus on that important subject.

#### §11. THE MISSION OF THE DISCIPLES

It has been observed that the evangelist Matthew, by the transfer of a paragraph from the document MK report of the final discourse, and the assembling of other sections from document P bearing on the future of the disciples, constructed a long discourse on the mission, the latter part of which had reference to the period after the death of Jesus, Matt. 10:17-42. Thus the Gospel of Matthew has two accounts of the future of the mission, that in the tenth chapter, constructed by the union of documents, and that in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters, mostly from the document MK discourse on that subject. It was evidently the judgment of the evangelist that certain material in document P, dealing with the future, would be found most intelligible if brought into contextual relation with the final discourse on the future. But since that discourse, as reported by document MK, formed a unit of such length and so bound together by chronological indications, it did not form a favorable depository for all of the additional material from document P. Apparently for this reason, among others, Matthew adopted the plan of removing the paragraph bearing directly on the mission, MK 13:9-13, to another

point, Matt. 10:17-22, and there adding to it the document P contributions to that subject. By this means he virtually gave this material from document P a setting in the final discourse.

Because Matthew had that judgment about this document P teaching, it is not therefore established that these sections, P §§20, 32, 44B, 6, really belong to the final discourse of Jesus on the future; but the decision of the evangelist does raise the question whether there is any objective evidence that his conclusion was in accord with the facts. He used P §20 as Matt. 10:26-33. Evidently the connection between that section and the one which precedes it in document P is based upon a misinterpretation of the thought with which P §20 opens. The saying in P §21 belongs to another occasion, as is testified by document MK as well as by the internal evidence in the form of its lack of relationship to the present context. But P §22 may very well be a continuation of the theme in P §20, and these two sections may once have stood together. As P §22 is by the evidence of document MK a part of the final discourse, it is not unreasonable to hold the same for P §20. To this external testimony there is to be added the striking appropriateness of P §20 to the occasion of the final discourse as against the probability of its words having come from Jesus earlier than his last days with his disciples.

Matthew used P §32 as Matt. 10:34-36. In the study of P §§27-30 it was observed that the following sections, P §§31, 32, both contained sayings likely to have been spoken in the final week of Jesus' ministry. Such must be the decision on internal evidence. But if the judgment is correct that P §§27-30 are the document P report of the two parables of the final discourse, there is external evidence for assigning P §§31, 32 there also, that of contiguity in the document. The reasons for Matthew's omission of P §31 can only be surmised; that the omission results from a purpose seems supported by observing that the references to "baptism" in document MK 10:38-40 are eliminated by Matthew in Matt. 20:22, 23.

Matthew used P §44B as Matt. 10:37-39. There is no external evidence in support of the belief that this was a part of the final discourse. It is rather a part of a larger paragraph which defines the conditions in general for discipleship to Jesus, P §44. But it will be agreed that its adaptation by Matthew for use in the discourse he was

constructing is natural when it is observed how normal and easy is the transition from Matt. 10:35, 36 to Matt. 10:37. Further justification for placing document P §44B at this point could be found by Matthew in his document MK, for similar sayings in document MK (MK 8:34-37) had been taken to refer primarily to the persecution of the disciples, and so had come to have attached to them certain sayings about denial and promises of relief (MK 8:38-9:1), and the more original report of the former of these sayings (MK 8:38) he had inserted already from document P §20 as Matt. 10:32, 33. Further evidence that Matthew was influenced here by document MK 8:34-9:1 is seen, perhaps, in Matt. 10:39, which is not derivable from P §44B except as an expansion of "yea, and his own life also." If Matt. 10:39 is not that phrase rewritten under the influence of document MK 8:35, its source is probably Luke 17:33 (P §60). In any case the presence of Matt. 10:37-39 in this discourse is evidence of the interpretation placed upon these words of Jesus in the time of Matthew, and forms yet another explanation of the apostolic conjunction of MK 8:38-9:1 with MK 8:34-37. But it gives no reason for regarding document P §44B as a part of the final discourse.

Probably under the influence of P §6, Matthew adapts document MK 9:37 so that it may be given a place in his discourse on the mission as Matt. 10:40. But the external evidence seems to indicate that document P §6 was a part of the instructions for the mission during the lifetime of Jesus, P §§3-6. Into the document MK that saying came at 9:37 through a later misunderstanding of the opening phrase "one of such little children." Neither document MK nor document P gives external evidence that the saying belongs to the final discourse, though its content is such as does not exclude it from that occasion.

The influence of document P on that part of the Matthaean discourse on the mission of the disciples which deals with the future extends from Matt. 10:26 to 10:40, and includes P §§20, 32, 44B and 6. Of these portions of document P, there can be assigned to the final discourse on the basis of external evidence P §§20 and 32. Neither internal nor external evidence justifies the placing of P §44 there; and only internal evidence suggests the right of P §6=MK 9:37 to be regarded as belonging to that occasion. Since for the

latter passage there is assigned by the document P a definite occasion of origin, there is no justification for placing in the final discourse other of this material than P §§20 and 32. The total contribution of document P to a knowledge of the content of the original final discourse on the future is made up therefore of P §§20, 22, 27-32, 60 and 64B.

On the basis of the results which seem to have been reached in the foregoing studies, there may be attempted now a reconstruction of the complete final discourse of Jesus on the future.

§12. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FINAL DISCOURSE

§1. OCCASION OF THE DISCOURSE

And as he went forth out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, behold, what manner of stones and what manner of buildings! And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down.

§2. QUESTION BY THE DISCIPLES

And as he sat on the mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when these things are about to be accomplished?

§3. EVENTS BEFORE THE SIEGE

And Jesus began to say unto them, When ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, be not troubled: these things must needs come to pass; but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom:

there shall be earthquakes in A  
divers places;

there shall be famines:  
these things are the beginning of  
travail.

§4. DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

But when ye see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains:

(let him that B  
readeth understand),

C and let him that is  
on the housetop not go down,  
nor enter in, to take anything out  
of his house: and let him that is  
in the field not return back to  
take his cloke.

But woe unto them  
that are with child and to them  
that give suck in those days! And  
pray ye that it be not in the win-  
ter. For those days shall be  
tribulation, such as there hath not  
been the like from the beginning

of the creation which God created  
until now, and never shall be.

And D  
except the Lord had shortened  
the days, no flesh would have  
been saved: but for the elect's  
sake, whom he chose, he  
shortened the days.

#### §5. RISE OF MESSIANIC CLAIMANTS

E And then if any man shall  
say unto you, Lo, here is the  
Christ; or, Lo, there; believe  
it not: for there shall arise false  
Christs and false prophets, and  
shall shew signs and wonders,  
that they may lead astray, if  
possible, the elect. But take  
ye heed: behold I have told you  
all things beforehand

The days will come, when ye  
shall desire to see one of the days  
of the Son of man, and ye shall not  
see it. And they shall say to you,  
Lo, there! Lo, here! go not away,  
nor follow after *them*: Take  
heed that no man lead you astray.  
Many shall come  
saying, I am *he*; and shall lead  
many astray.

in my name, F

#### §6. THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

G But in those days, after that  
tribulation, the sun shall be  
darkened, and the moon shall not  
give her light, and the stars shall  
be falling from heaven, and the  
powers that are in the heavens  
shall be shaken. And then shall  
they see the Son of man coming  
in clouds with great power  
and glory. And then shall he  
send forth the angels, and shall  
gather together his elect from  
the four winds, from the utter-  
most part of the earth to the ut-  
termost part of heaven.

For as the lightning, when it  
lighteneth out of the one part  
under the heaven, shineth unto  
the other part under heaven; so  
shall the Son of man be in  
his day.

And  
as it came to pass in the days of  
Noah, even so shall it be also in  
the days of the Son of man. They  
ate, they drank, they married,  
they were given in marriage, until  
the day that Noah entered into the  
ark, and the flood came, and de-  
stroyed them all. Likewise even  
as it came to pass in the days of  
Lot; they ate, they drank, they  
bought, they sold, they planted,  
they builded; but in the day that  
Lot went out from Sodom it rained  
fire and brimstone from heaven,  
and destroyed them all; after the  
same manner shall it be in the day  
that the Son of man is revealed.  
In that day, he which shall be on  
the housetop, and his goods in the  
house, let him not go down to take  
them away; and let him that is  
in the field likewise not re-  
turn back. Remember Lot's wife.

But first must he suffer H  
many things and be rejected of  
this generation.

Whosoever shall seek to gain I  
his life shall lose it; but who-  
soever shall lose *his life* shall  
preserve it.

I say unto you,  
In that night there shall be two  
men on one bed; the one shall be  
taken, and the other shall be left.  
There shall be two women grind-  
ing together; the one shall be  
taken, and the other shall be  
left.

#### §7 AN INTERRUPTION BY THE DISCIPLES

And they answering say unto  
him, Where, Lord? And he said  
unto them, Where the body is,  
thither will the eagles also be  
gathered together.



## §8. TIME OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

Now from the fig tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh; even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that it is nigh, *even* at the doors. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished. Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

## §9. TIME OF THE DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

But of that day knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.

or that hour J

## §10. A PARABLE ON THE TIME OF DAY OF THE SON OF MAN

L. Watch therefore: for ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at cockcrowing, or in the morning; lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping. And what I say unto you I say unto all, Watch.

*It is as* ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom. And five of them were foolish, and five were wise. For the foolish, when they took their lamps, took no oil with them; but the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps. Now while the bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept. But at midnight there is a cry, Behold, the bridegroom! Come ye forth to meet him. Then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps. And the foolish said unto the wise, Give us of your oil; for our lamps are going out. But the wise answered, saying, Peradventure there will not be enough for us and you: go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves. And while they went away to buy, the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast: and the door was shut. Afterward come also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not.

Then shall the kingdom of K heaven be likened unto

Watch therefore, for M ye know not the day nor the hour.

## § 11. MISSION OF THE DISCIPLES AND ATTENDANT PERSECUTION

But take ye heed to yourselves: for they shall deliver you up to councils; and in synagogues shall ye be beaten; and before governors and kings shall ye stand for my sake, for a testimony unto them.

And the gospel must first N be preached unto all the nations

And when they lead you *to judgement*, and deliver you up, be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour,

O but he that endureth to the end the same shall be saved.

that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost. And brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child; and children shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; And not a hair of your head shall perish. In your patience ye shall win your souls.

I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I, if it is already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished! Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division; for there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. They shall be divided, father against son, and son against father; mother against daughter, and daughter against her mother; mother in law against her daughter in law, and daughter in law against her mother in law.

There is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known. What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the light: and what ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetops. And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them which kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will warn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father: but the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore; ye are of more value than many sparrows. Every one therefore who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

#### §12. A PARABLE ON FAITHFULNESS IN THE MISSION

P Take ye heed, watch and pray; for ye know not when the time is. *It is as when* man sojourning in another country, having left his house, and given authority to his servants, to each one his work, commanded also the porter to watch.

For *it is as when* a man, going into another country, called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods. And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, to another one; to each according to his several ability; and he went on his journey. Straightway he that received the five talents went and traded with them, and made other five talents. In like manner he also that received the two gained other two. But he that received the one went away and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money. Now after a long time the lord of those servants

cometh, and maketh a reckoning with them. And he that received the five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents: lo, I have gained other five talents. His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things:

enter thou into Q  
the joy of thy lord.

And he also that received the two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents: lo, I have gained other two talents. His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things:

enter thou into the joy R  
of thy lord.

And he also that had received the one talent came and said, Lord, I knew thee that thou art a hard man, reaping where thou didst not sow, and gathering where thou didst not scatter: and I was afraid, and went away and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, thou hast thine own. But his lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I did not scatter; thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the bankers, and at my coming I should have received back mine own with interest. Take ye away therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him that hath the ten talents. For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away.

And cast ye out S  
the unprofitable servant into  
the outer darkness: there shall  
be the weeping and gnashing  
of teeth.

In the above reconstruction there is shown, in one or other of the three columns, all portions of the report of the discourse as transmitted by the thirteenth chapter of document MK. In addition to the document MK report, there is used, in the reconstruction, document P §§20, 31, 32, 60, and document M §§24, 25. In a single instance, the above portion O, gospel LK is regarded as supplying a more original form of the document MK record. The central of the three columns represents the material that is accepted for the reconstruction of the discourse. The sources of that material are as follows:

§§1-4. Document MK.

§§5-7. Document P §60, except that the second half of §5 is document MK 13:5, 6.

§§8, 9. Document MK.

§10. Document M §24.

§11. Document MK + (gospel LK 21:18, 19) + Document P §§31, 32, 20.

§12. Document M §25.

To the left hand there are set those portions of the document MK account which are regarded as reporting themes original to the discourse, but of which we possess reports in other documents which have more faithfully preserved either the setting or the verbal form of these sayings of Jesus. These other reports are more consistent, more vivid, suggestive, and striking, and more complete. To the right hand there are set those minor portions of the documents which seem to be editorial comments (B), or sayings out of their original setting (H, I), or sayings influenced by another document (M the result of L), or a formula resulting from the original documentary setting (K), or portions which reflect the experiences of history (A, D). In addition, there is evidenced in these portions the eschatological tendency of document or editor (Q-S), the effect upon a document of the loss of a defining term in a preceding paragraph (J), the interpretation of the person of Jesus (F), and the endeavor to set a chronological limit for the return of Jesus (H, N).

In the proposed reconstruction there are some minor departures from the order of the present document MK. Thus the two references to the Rise of Messianic Claimants, MK 13:5, 6 and 21-23, are brought together under §5; and the sayings of Jesus about the Mission, MK 13:9-13, are grouped with those from document P as §11. The second reference to Messianic Claimants, MK 13:21-23, testifies to the original order of Jesus as witnessed further by document P, which, like document MK, has the Rise of Messianic Claimants and the Day of the Son of Man in sequence. The present document MK placing of the first reference to Messianic Claimants, MK 13:5, 6, is due, it may be, to the early, large, and continued disintegrating effect of these claimants upon the Christian community, an effect evidenced by many other indications in the records as already observed. With the chronological outline of the present thirteenth chapter of document MK, it would be difficult to place sayings of Jesus about persecution at any later point in the discourse than that

given them in that chapter, for the coming of the Son of man is to follow closely upon the destruction of Jerusalem. This may account for the particular place given these sayings in the discourse by that document. That even this document MK placing of these sayings did not wholly meet the problem raised by the fixed chronology of events proposed by that document seems evidenced by the judgment of Luke, who made adjustment by preceding this group of sayings with the editorial introduction, "But before all these things," Luke 21:12a. There seems to be every reason for the conviction that Jesus did not pass to other subjects before he first had answered the question which occasioned the discourse. If so, the sayings about the Mission and Persecution belong later in the order of the discourse. Indeed, if the evidence has been correctly interpreted as to the extent of these sayings upon this occasion, they would be seriously misplaced if inserted before Jesus' answer to the question of his disciples.

The disciples had asked as to the advance indications and the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. Between his statement about the advance indications of that event (§§3, 4) and that about the time within which it might be expected (§8), Jesus introduced some thoughts on subjects (§§5, 6) which superficially make the impression of digression. But a closer examination of the movement within the discourse reveals that these subjects are the natural outgrowth of his forecast in outline of the history of the coming years (§§3, 4). Jesus foresaw that for his society the most threatening danger of those years of national distress lay in Zealot messianic uprisings which would promise relief from the direful situation (§5). Against the seduction of their specious arguments and bold assurances of a new era, the aeon of the Messiah, he urgently warned his disciples (§5). To this apparent digression he was led, it seems, by the conviction that for his disciples it was of more importance to be forewarned against Zealotism in its relation to their own faith than to be precisely informed as to the method and time of the ultimate outcome of Zealotism for the nation. But it may be believed that Jesus felt the weakness of the simple hortatory injunction, "Go not away, nor follow after *them*." That would hardly stay his disciples in the fearful days of national distress that were coming. Nothing less than a new definition of the nature of the day of Jehovah, a definition which should eliminate

from it every vestige of the political element, a definition which should so portray it as to put its realization wholly outside the pale of Zealot activity, would avail to keep his community from being disintegrated by the ardent Zealot appeal of the years after his death. It is to such a sketch that Jesus gives himself in §6 of this discourse. Viewed from this standpoint, §§5 and 6 are less a digression from the question of the disciples and more an elaboration of the most important element in a wise and far-seeing reply to the personal element in their inquiry.

If this statement is a correct interpretation of the mind and purpose of Jesus in his treatment of the day of the Son of man, it seems clear that it would not be justifiable to go to this discourse for precise outlines as to the form and nature of the Last Things. For by the very demand of the hour Jesus was led to deal with the problem by the method of contrast rather than by that of definitive and descriptive precision. Yet even were one to fall into the easy error of accepting the strong colors of contrast as intended for scientific statement, that one would be at a loss to derive more than one or two large and richly suggestive thoughts from the sketch which Jesus has drawn with such marvelous skill (§6 = P §60).

If it is true that the reference by Jesus to the day of the Son of man is wholly secondary to the interest of Jesus in the future welfare of his disciples in the midst of Zealot messianic fanaticism, it seems even more true that this aspect of their future was one phase only in the outlook of Jesus upon their future. For after making answer to the inquiry of the disciples, Jesus seems to have talked with them about many important problems of their mission and its implications (§§11, 12). Indeed, if the evidence has been rightly judged as to the content of this discourse, it ought to be characterized as a discourse on the Future of the Disciples rather than as a discourse on the Last Things. Apparently that which is said about the Last Things is said solely as a contribution to the disciples' knowledge of what would best be avoided in the near future. A careful study of the Synoptic Gospels will reveal to one that previous to this discourse Jesus had not dealt with his disciples about their future mission—that is, provided the external evidence adduced for placing document P §§20, 31, 32 in this discourse rather than earlier is favorably regarded. Indeed, it is reasonable to raise the question as to the probable wisdom

of dealing with that subject at any time before those days in which his disciples had come to some degree of realization that he was actually to be taken away from them. If, then, Jesus had not spoken of their future, as he viewed it, previous to this discourse, except, perhaps, very incidentally on their own initiative, there is additional reason why this discourse should be designated the Discourse on the Destruction of Jerusalem and the Future of the Disciples.

CHAPTER V  
THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

- §1. The Son of Man as Judge of Men
- §2. False Prophets in the Day of Judgment
- §3. Words as the Basis of Judgment
- §4. Judicial Functions of the Twelve
- §5. The Fate of Pharisees in the Judgment
- §6. The Separation of Bad from Good in the Judgment
- §7. The Basis of Separation in the Judgment
- §8. The Fate of Certain Cities in the Judgment



## CHAPTER V

### THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

#### §1. THE SON OF MAN AS JUDGE OF MEN

GOSPEL MT 16:27, 28

A For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds.

DOCUMENT MK 8:38—9:1

A For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

GOSPEL LK 9:26, 27

A For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in his own glory, and *the glory* of the Father, and of the holy angels.

B Verily I say unto you, There be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

B And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There be some here of them that stand *by*, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power.

B But I tell you of a truth, There be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God.

In a study of the sayings of Jesus about the day of judgment, the above passage is brought under consideration solely because of the form of statement reported by the portion A of the Matthaean record—"then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds." But the statement is a result of departure from his document MK by the evangelist. Under the influence of the same impulse, he transforms the saying in portion B by substituting "see the Son of man coming in his kingdom" for the words "see the kingdom of God come with power." Both modifications are apparently the outcome of certain marked eschatological tendencies in Matthew. Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> these sayings have been subjected to closer scrutiny, and it has been concluded that they have their true historical setting at other points in the ministry of Jesus than that indicated here by document MK. The saying in portion A seems to have its more original form in the Matthaean report of document P §20, Matt. 10:32, 33. And if the evidence has been correctly interpreted, its occasion was that of the final discourse of Jesus on the future. An interpretation of the saying in portion B forms a part of the study of Jesus' thought about the future of the kingdom of God.<sup>2</sup> For present purposes, it suffices to make it clear that the notion of the Son of Man as Judge of Men as reported by Matthew is unsupported by his document MK.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 41, 42, 79-82.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 301-27.

## §2. FALSE PROPHETS IN THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

## DOCUMENT M §14

A Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.

B Compare portion E.

C By their fruits ye shall know them.

D Do *men* gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

E Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

G Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

H Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

I Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

## DOCUMENT G §§15, 16

B For there is no good tree that bringeth forth corrupt fruit; nor again a corrupt tree that bringeth forth good fruit.

C For each tree is known by its own fruit.

D For of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.

E Compare portion B.

F The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and the evil *man* out of the evil *treasure* bringeth forth that which is evil: for out of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.

H And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?

In the comparison of document with document, it was seen that the above conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount, as reported by document M, is one of the several striking instances in which that document has eschatological additions which are wholly without support in the other document. That with which the peculiar portions, A, G, and I, deal is the work and future fate of "false prophets." It will be observed that the document M portion E is a true parallel for the document G portion B. The portion G is identical in terms with the drastic announcement made by John the Baptist as reported in document G §1B end. The intended application of the figurative sayings

in B = E + C + D seems to be found in its original form in the portion F, rather than in the peculiarly Matthaean portions A, G, I. The portion H is properly, as is shown by an examination of document G, the beginning of another paragraph in the Sermon, namely, that which most appropriately closes it, an exhortation to "do" in accordance with hearing and profession, document G §17. In document M, the portion H has become wedged between two sayings to which it is unrelated, as will be recognized by an endeavor to interpret G, H, I, as consecutive parts of a unified paragraph. No doubt there is some slight bond of union; to find none would be to charge editorial incapacity to the framers of the document M tradition; but such bond as may be affirmed removes portion H wholly from the historical genesis borne by it as a part of document G.

In addition to the general fact that document M is marked by eschatological additions like those in the above accretions A, G, I, it has been found that the actual experience of the early community with Zealot messianic claimants has led to the crediting of Jesus with forecasts about them which are not to be traced to him. In fact, in the only places where the specific term "false prophets" appears, the verses are apparently accretions. Thus it occurs in the Matthaean editorial portion, Matt. 24:10-12;<sup>1</sup> again in the expansion of the thought of Jesus in document MK 13:22, 23;<sup>2</sup> and finally, in the above document M conclusion to the Sermon on the Mount. It has been seen that Jesus spoke definitely of the rise of messianic claimants in his final discourse on the future, document MK 13:5, 6 and 13:21 = document P §60; and further, that the period between his forecast and the destruction of Jerusalem was characterized by many of these messianic uprisings. But all the evidence seems to indicate that the historical realization of the forecast was the occasion of the expansion of document MK 13:5, 6, 21 into the more precise MK 13:22, 23, is the reason why the forecast now appears in the Matthaean summary of the apostolic age in Matt. 24:10-12, and is the explanation of the adaptation of certain sayings in the Sermon on the Mount so that they became serviceable as an exhortation to use with disciples who showed a tendency to defection under the seduction of these claimants.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 145-47.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 154-65.

If the evidence has been rightly interpreted, it may not be held that the above portion I is from Jesus, and the notion of "that day" of judgment, as there expressed, may not be used in the reconstruction of the real thought of Jesus about the future. Here the notion belongs to document M as used by Matthew, even as the notion of the Son of Man as Judge of Men (§1) is the product of the Matthaean eschatological tendency working upon the document MK. That the evidence has been taken correctly seems sustained further by the examination of another eschatological use, by the Matthaean circle, of the same sayings of Jesus about the good and the corrupt tree, as set forth in the following §3 on Words as the Basis of Judgment.

### §3. WORDS AS THE BASIS OF JUDGMENT

GOSPEL MT 12:33-37	DOCUMENT G §§15, 16	DOCUMENT M §14
A Either make the tree good, and its fruit good; or make the tree corrupt, and its fruit corrupt:	A For there is no good tree that bringeth forth corrupt fruit; nor again a corrupt tree that bringeth forth good fruit.	A Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.
B for the tree is known by its fruit.	B For each tree is known by its own fruit.	B By their fruits ye shall know them.
C Ye offspring of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things?	C For of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.	C Do <i>men</i> gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?
	D Compare portion A.	D Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.
E for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. The good man out of his good treasure bringeth forth good things: and the evil man out of his evil treasure bringeth forth evil things.	E The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and the evil <i>man</i> out of the evil <i>treasure</i> bringeth forth that which is evil: for out of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.	F Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

G And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?

G Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

H And I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.

H Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

The above paragraph from gospel MT 12:33-37 is brought under consideration at this time because of the reference in the portion H to the basis of destiny "in the day of judgement." This Matthaean paragraph has no parallel in the other gospels at the point where it occurs. Its nearest equivalent in content of thought is found in the two differing documentary reports of a paragraph of the Sermon on the Mount as above shown. A close examination will make it evident that the three records are apparently variant reports of one body of sayings. What seems like the original paragraph is made up of the portions A, B, C, E of the document G account. As already seen, the portion G is the opening of a new section in document G. In the document M report, the "false prophet" portion A has displaced the original A, the latter being found now as the portion D. Similarly, the original portion E has fallen out in favor of the eschatological portion F; and the portion H continues the thought of A, F. In the case of gospel MT, the parallelism with document G is closer, there being one displacement only, that in which another form of expression supplants the original C. The specific application of these sayings, begun by this new portion C, is developed further by the eschatological addition in portion H. This addition H is wholly unlike the portion H of document M, except that both are altogether eschatological. In brief, it seems that the original sayings of Jesus about the good and the corrupt tree are discoverable in the portions common to two or more reports, namely, AAD+BBB+—CC+EE—. As a genuine part of another body of sayings there is the portion —GG. For the pur-

pose of using these sayings as a polemic against "false prophets" apparently there was wrought into their texture the portions A, F, H of document M.

Shall it be affirmed of the gospel MT 12:33-37 report that the portions C, H are a similar endeavor to use these sayings as a searching condemnation of the Pharisees, that is, an application of them that does not historically go back to Jesus himself? Judging by the results of the comparison of document G with document M this seems highly probable. From whence was the paragraph Matt. 12:33-37 derived? This is an important question in a gospel whose construction from documents can be followed with reasonable assurance almost throughout. Shall it be said that Matthew, finding these sayings in document G §15 and again in document M §14, decided to retain the latter report in its assigned place as part of the Sermon on the Mount, but to give the former a place as our present paragraph? Then the portions C, H are editorial, and need not be taken into account in framing the teaching of Jesus. The portions C, H are not derivable from document M §14, the only common thought being a general eschatological one. Or, as another possible explanation, shall it be said that the paragraph Matt. 12:33-37 was supplied to Matthew by document M as an independent complete paragraph? Then document M had two paragraphs of substantially the same general content, one of which was a part of a long discourse, the Sermon on the Mount, and the other of which stood in complete isolation. The assumption that it stood in complete isolation is based on the fact that it is possible to trace with impressive clearness the method and course of Matthew in the framing of the whole discourse reported by him in 12:22-45 from documents MK and P, except the paragraph 12:33-37. Indeed, there is no considerable section of the Gospel of Matthew that better exhibits in convincing detail the use of his documents by the evangelist than 12:22-45.<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible that document M twice reported these sayings, once as part of a discourse, and once in isolation, but it seems highly improbable. And if it were true, it would impose yet another eschatological burden upon the document M, as exhibited in the peculiar portions C, H. But it seems unreasonable to think of these as part of document M, for they have their utility only as portions of

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 18, 19 for a statement of the combination of documents in 12:22-45.

the complete paragraph 12:33-37 where the thought is directed against the charge of the Pharisees that Jesus was in league with Beelzebub. In other words, the paragraph 12:33-37, as it stands, could hardly come down except as part of a larger narrative. Without such larger context, what intelligibility would portions C, H have? On the other hand, the sayings in the portions A, B, C, E of document G §15 could live and be transmitted independently; and in such form were likely to be given definite applications like those in document M §14 and gospel MT 12:33-37.

In view of all the evidence, internal and external, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the portions C, H of Matt. 12:33-37 there is a specific application of certain genuine sayings of Jesus, which application is not the work of Jesus himself, but is a natural and not wholly unjustifiable effort by some interpreter to employ these sayings against the Pharisees. That interpreter seems to belong to the Matthaean circle, as is shown by his eschatological thought in the portion H. To the Matthaean document M, or to the evangelist Matthew himself, or to some subsequent worker upon the Gospel of Matthew there must be attributed, therefore, the sayings about the Son of Man as Judge of Men (§1), those about False Prophets in the Day of Judgment (§2), and those concerning Words as the Basis of Judgment (§3).

§4. JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TWELVE

	GOSPEL MT 10:27-29	DOCUMENT MK 10:28-30	GOSPEL LK 18:28-30
∧	A Then answered Peter and said unto him, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee;	A Peter began to say unto him, Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee.	A And Peter said, Lo, we have left our own, and followed thee.
	B what then shall we have?		
	C And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you,	C Jesus said, Verily I say unto you,	C And he said unto him, Verily I say unto you,
	D that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.		
M	E And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold,	E There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands, for my sake, and for the gospel's sake, but he shall receive a hundred-fold now in this time,	E There is no man that hath left house, or wife, or brethren, or parents, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this time,
		F houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions;	
	G and shall inherit eternal life.	G and in the world to come eternal life.	G and in the world to come eternal life.

The above passage on the rewards of discipleship has been examined in connection with another phase of our study.<sup>1</sup> It has a place here solely on account of the portion D, which deals with the Day of Judgment. But the conclusion reached, in the comparison of gospel MT with document MK, was that the portion D cannot rightly be credited to Jesus, but is to be regarded as one of the expressions of a tendency which is the most marked characteristic of the Gospel of Matthew. Not only is the portion D absent from document MK at this point in the history; neither it nor thoughts like it can be found anywhere in document MK. However, in the case of this particular outgrowth of the Matthaean tendency, the Gospel of Luke seems to give its support to one sentence of the reputed promise of Jesus to the Twelve, "And ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Luke 22:30). This fact requires that the Lukan passage in which it occurs, Luke 22:24-30, be brought under examination. By a study of the relations of the Synoptic Gospels, it will be found that this Lukan paragraph is one of the few narratives in the Passion Week which is peculiar to the Gospel of Luke. On the other hand, substantially the whole section, except the words dealing with the exaltation of the Twelve (Luke 22:28-30), is to be found in document MK at another point in the history, MK 10:42-45.

## DOCUMENT MK 10:41-45

A And when the ten heard it, they began to be moved with indignation concerning James and John.

B And Jesus called them to him, and saith unto them, Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them.

C But it is not so among you: but whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister: and whosoever would be first among you, shall be servant of all.

D For verily the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

## GOSPEL MT 19:28

E And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

## GOSPEL LK 22:24-30

A And there arose also a contention among them, which of them is accounted to be greatest.

B And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles have lordship over them; and they that have authority over them are called Benefactors.

C But ye *shall* not be so: but he that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.

D For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am in the midst of you as he that serveth.

E But ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribe of Israel.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 93-95.



In accordance with a literary principle which Luke follows consistently in the construction of his gospel from his documents, he omits the document MK paragraph from its MK context, since he accepted its insertion in the narrative of the Last Supper. It seems, therefore, that Luke judged these sayings of Jesus to have been spoken on one occasion only. If Luke's decision accords with the history, the reader of today must make choice between the setting of document MK and that given by the Gospel of Luke. The Lukan setting has no support in the other Synoptics; that of document MK is circumstantial, and has been followed by the evangelist Matthew. The evidence seems to indicate clearly that the sayings of portions A, B, C, D were spoken once only, and that the occasion is that recorded by document MK 10:35-40. If this conclusion is correct, it is to be said further that document MK 10:35-45 affords no support for the supposition that the portion E was spoken by Jesus. It is not necessary to hold that the portion E is traceable to the evangelist Luke; it may have been added subsequently by some other hand. In that case, Luke used only that which was supplied to him by his document.

It ought to be observed, as of some significance, that the exaltation of the Twelve through the portion E is followed in the Gospel of Luke by certain modifications of document MK through which one among the Twelve is singled out for supreme recognition. This will be seen by comparing Luke 22:31-34 with document MK 14:27-31, especially in the phrase, "Do thou, when once thou [Peter] hast turned again, stablish thy brethren." The portion E seems to represent a tendency to enhance the estimate of the Twelve, a tendency which finds its ultimate expression in placing Peter as the stable factor in the early apostolic circle—"stablish thy brethren." Further, it ought to be had in mind that the evangelist Luke did not use gospel MT, nor did the evangelist Matthew use gospel LK;<sup>1</sup> therefore, the portion E, if from the evangelist in either or both cases, is independently inserted. Indeed, the variations in the wording of the two reports in E indicate the absence of documentary interdependence. In the case of both gospels, the saying in E may have come in subsequent to the construction of the gospels by the first and third evangelists.

In addition to these external considerations, the saying in portion E by its thought raises the question whether it is probable that it

<sup>1</sup> See the monograph of Professor Burton for the evidences in support of this statement.

proceeded from the same mind that defined rank in the terms of the portions A, B, C, D. The ambition for place in the future kingdom expected by them was the most marked and unmistakable phase of the disciples' relations with Jesus from the time they believed him about to go to Jerusalem. This ambition frequently found the most open expression, both within the circle of the Twelve and before Jesus himself. It was uniformly met and opposed by Jesus in one way, namely, by the definition of greatness in terms which excluded all seeking for place, power, and recognition.<sup>1</sup> By this attitude toward the ambitious self-seeking of the Twelve, Jesus did not exclude the conviction that discipleship had its compensations; but these he defined in such manner as to make them comprehend equally all disciples whether within or without the circle of the Twelve.<sup>2</sup> To these most explicit and direct statements of his thought upon the subject of rank and recognition among the Twelve, Jesus added two parables at some point or points in his ministry, parables the specific and searching purpose of which can hardly be mistaken in the light of the contentions among the Twelve.<sup>3</sup> To the attitude of Jesus as set forth in these passages and parables, and in others of like content, there stands opposed the single instance of the thought in the above portion E. If one considers only the above Lukan paragraph A-E, it will appear that within it there are two opposed points of view, that represented by portions A-D as against that maintained by E. When to these weighty internal indications there are added the arguments adduced from external considerations, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the portion E, whether as placed in gospel MT or in gospel LK, there is recorded a forecast of the future of the Twelve which cannot be credited to Jesus.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See document MK 9:33-35; 10:35-45; document M §27 (Matt. 23:8-12).

<sup>2</sup> See document MK 10:28-31.

<sup>3</sup> See document P §56; document M §21.

<sup>4</sup> It is not without significance that, elsewhere than in the above portion E, Jesus is credited with referring to the kingdom of God as "my kingdom" only in the Matthaean modification of document MK, Matt. 16:28=MK 9:1 (on which see pp. 81-82), and in the Matthaean document, M §15B=Matt. 13:41, where the exposition of a parable is reported (on which see pp. 226-35). The form of promise in portion E, "I appoint unto you a kingdom," is found elsewhere only in the modification of the Lukan P §25 (on the comparison of which with the Matthaean P, see pp. 61-63).

To what ultimate source the portion E on the Judicial Functions of the Twelve, which in the end was given a place in both gospel MT and gospel LK, is to be traced may not be affirmed with any certainty. What seems clear is that it is a product of that same eschatological impulse which, applied now unconsciously and again with a definite aim, has given us the sayings about the Son of Man as Judge of Men (§1), about False Prophets in the Day of Judgment (§2), and those with reference to Words as the Basis of Judgment (§3).

### §5. THE FATE OF PHARISEES IN THE JUDGMENT

#### DOCUMENT M §27

A Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and garnish the tombs of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.

B Wherefore ye witness to yourselves, that ye are sons of them that slew the prophets.

C Fill ye then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape the judgement of hell?

#### DOCUMENT P §18

A Woe unto you! for ye build the tombs of the prophets, and your fathers killed them.

B So ye are witnesses and consent unto the works of your fathers: for they killed them, and ye build *their* tombs.

C Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send unto them prophets and apostles; and *some* of them they shall kill and persecute; that the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zachariah, who perished between the altar and the sanctuary: yea, I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation.

In a comparative study of the differing reports by two documents on the discourse against the scribes and Pharisees,<sup>1</sup> it was observed that the penalty for the course pursued by scribes and Pharisees was recorded in divergent terms by the documents M and P, as represented in the above portion C. Because document M here refers to "the judgement of Gehenna," the passage must have a place in the study of the theme now under consideration. According to document P, that which Jesus forecast, at the conclusion of the discourse, as the outcome of those tendencies represented in scribes and Pharisees, was the ruin of the nation within the time limits of those to whom he spoke, "I say unto you, it shall be required of this generation." As has been seen, this is not an isolated prophecy by Jesus on the future as he saw it, but one of several clear references to the doom toward which the nation was moving under fanatical leadership.

Instead of this most natural conclusion to words of denunciation and warning, document M represents that Jesus had his mind rather

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 32-35.

upon an eschatological fate for the Pharisees, "How shall ye escape the judgement of Gehenna?" That document represents the indignation of Jesus to have found expression in the most penetratingly exasperating personal terms, "Ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers." This sounds more like the spirit and method of John the Baptist, indeed, is the repetition of his condemnatory words. It ought to be recalled that similar terms against the Pharisees by Jesus are a part of one of the adapted uses of the parable on the good and the corrupt tree, Matt. 12:34, "Ye offspring of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things?" It would seem to be one of the document M or Matthean purposes to represent Jesus as so warmly opposed to the Pharisees that he hesitated at no extreme of designation, and pursued them in thought even into the eschatological region. But the conviction that such actually was the method of Jesus fails to be supported at any point by the external evidence derivable through a comparison of document with document.

Except for the appearance of the Judicial Functions of the Twelve (§4) in gospel LK as well as in gospel MT, all references to judgment examined to the present, namely, the Son of Man as Judge of Men (§1), False Prophets in the Day of Judgment (§2), Words as the Basis of Judgment (§3), the Fate of Pharisees in the Judgment (§5), are found by comparative study to be apparently the product of Matthean tendency. By Matthean as here used is meant that total of factors which has fashioned the features peculiar to the present Gospel of Matthew. It is not intended to distinguish sharply between document M, the evangelist Matthew, and subsequent workers upon the Gospel of Matthew. In no case has the Matthean reference to judgment come as a part of a supplementary report, but always as additional to sayings of Jesus otherwise reported by documents.

#### §6. THE SEPARATION OF BAD FROM GOOD IN THE JUDGMENT

In addition to the several foregoing contributions from the Matthean circle to the conception of the day of judgment, there is found in the Gospel of Matthew the exposition of two parables from Jesus, which are assigned to document M §§15, 18. In these expositions there is sketched with vividness the scene of the ultimate separation of bad from good in the judgment.

## DOCUMENT M §15

He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world; and the good seed, these are the sons of the kingdom; and the tares are the sons of the evil *one*; and the enemy that sowed them is the devil: and the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are angels. As therefore the tares are gathered up and burned with fire; so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

## DOCUMENT M §18

So shall it be in the end of the world: the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Are these expositions from Jesus, or are they the expression of the legitimate endeavor by the early community to interpret the parables to which they are now attached, that is, are they explications wrought out by the earliest users of the parables, which in process of transmission, before taking documentary form, came to be considered as from Jesus? Regarded in the light of the history of the tradition of Jesus' words, so far as we know it, the latter supposition is not excluded by any inherent improbability. Extended interpretation would become attached more easily to the parables than to any other form of the teaching of Jesus. But that it did become so attached may not be affirmed except on the basis of something more substantial than reasonable conjecture.

To surmise that certain expositions may not be from Jesus is not to assume that none of those credited to him are from him; neither is it equivalent to advancing the hypothesis that Jesus spoke parables without any subsequent explication. The problem of the parabolic method of Jesus is not involved in either the scope or the necessities of the present study. Our inquiry is whether certain expositions of two parables are sustained by external and internal considerations as originating with Jesus. Obviously the initial investigation must take account of them as they lay in the document used by the evangelist Matthew.

The procedure of Matthew in the construction from his documents of that discourse in parables recorded in his thirteenth chapter has been traced already in sufficient detail. For convenience of reference, the documentary elements of the discourses may be repeated here: "Document MK §§20-24 is supplemented by parables drawn from documents P and M, the order being apparently as follows: MK §20A + MK §21C + MK §20B + O.T. quotation (Principle 8)

+ P §9 + MK §20E + M §15A + MK §23 = P §37A + P §37B + MK §24A + O.T. quotation (Principle 8) + MK §24B adapted so as to prepare for M §15B + M §§16-19. The omission of the parable in MK §22 may have been due, as was suggested in the case of the Lukan omission, to its similarity to that of the Sower, supplemented in Matthew's case by the likeness of the parable taken from M §15."<sup>1</sup>

Apparently, in the document M as it came to the hands of Matthew, exposition followed immediately upon parable in the case of the Wheat and Tares even as it does in gospel MT in that of the Drag-net. The separation of parable from exposition in that of the Wheat and Tares, as at present in gospel MT, is probably due to the exigencies of documentary combination, the decisive factor being the apparent identification by Matthew of the parable in document MK §22 with that in document M §15A. That there are good reasons for this identification will be felt by one who will observe both the similarity of the beginning of the parables and the lack of obvious point in that of MK §22 after it diverges from M §15A—obvious, that is, to one with the Matthaean outlook. Having inserted what he regarded as the document M equivalent to document MK §22, the evangelist employed the remainder of the document MK report of the discourse, conflating in the parable of the Mustard Seed with document P §37A, and continuing with the parable in P §37B. For purposes of junction with further contributions from document M, the closing assertion of document MK, which was in general terms, "but privately to his own disciples he expounded all things," has been adapted in Matt. 13:36 so as to form a natural transition to the exposition of one particular parable, namely, that exposition which in the document M stood in direct contact with the parable itself. The Matthaean adaptation has a documentary justification in document MK 4:10. But for the discourse as a whole it has created an impossible order, for Matthew's thirteenth chapter represents Jesus as speaking one parable in public and expounding it to disciples in private; then as uttering three parables to the multitudes and retiring to expound one to his followers; then as speaking three, presumably in public, and expounding one, presumably in private. Evidently, therefore, in document M, parable and exposition stood together in both the Wheat and Tares and the

<sup>1</sup> From p. 19.

Drag-net. And while such a conjunction in the original document may be taken to imply that exposition as well as parable is from Jesus, there is no explicit documentary statement to that effect. In fact, these two parables from document M are members of a large group in that document, M §§15-25, and the expositions attached to them may be historically assignable to the circle by which document M was framed and transmitted. So far, therefore, as the initial surmise that these expositions are from disciples may be tested by the external documentary evidence, there is nothing against it and, in view of the observed eschatological tendency of document M, very much in its favor.

It is legitimate and ought to be fruitful in results to put forward the question whether the modern historical interpreter of Jesus' parables would expound these two parables after this manner if they stood in the records without any reputed explication by Jesus. By the modern interpreter is not meant one who approaches the teaching of Jesus with modern preconceptions, but one who has acquired the religious and philosophic view-point of the land and age of Jesus. It is a legitimate question because, as a matter of fact, with these two exceptions and one other the understanding of the whole body of Jesus' parables is dependent upon the results of the study of such an interpreter. Evidently, for the most part, Jesus trusted his parabolic teaching to the penetration and capacity of his disciples of the present and future. Those so trusted are hardly excluded from the independent endeavor to explicate a certain few parables which carry with them expositions that are reputed to come from Jesus, but may be from his earlier followers.

No individual parable in the group of this discourse ought to be interpreted without the clear recognition of the purpose held by Jesus and expressed by him as that which determined the method and content of his message on this significant occasion. For purpose, method, and content are apparently peculiar to this discourse by the sea. If the evidence has been correctly interpreted,<sup>1</sup> Jesus spoke parables in definition of the kingdom of God on one occasion only, all other parables in our gospels introduced by the formula of that occasion having taken it by virtue of their contiguity in document M

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 200-202.

with those of that discourse. That fact alone imposes upon the interpreter of the teaching of Jesus an especially close scrutiny of this group of parables. Very evidently, here is a single theme, and one of the first rank in importance. The theme of these parables has been defined by Jesus himself as "the mystery of the kingdom of God," document MK §20A. That phrase suggests that he is here setting forth thoughts about the nature of the kingdom of God which are not the common property of his hearers. He gives as his reason for clothing these thoughts in parabolic form the intention that the content of his definition of the kingdom of God should be apparent to those only who have already learned something of his general mode of view and are sympathetic with it. For all others, it is his purpose and expectation that by the parabolic method at this point his real meaning with its implications should fail to be disclosed, document MK §20B. Evidently Jesus would have no reason for this reserve if his parabolic truth about the kingdom of God were none other than current opinion on that subject cast into the parabolic form. That it is beyond doubt that Jesus purposed to convey personally framed and fresh truth about the kingdom by these parables seems clear not only from these considerations but also from every other portion of the framework within which these parables stand in the documents. It is apparently from the consciousness of the original nature of his present message on this theme that there spring the statements and exhortations of document MK §21A, C.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the question and comment of Jesus in document M §19 are intelligible only as it is understood that Jesus was conscious of having dealt in these parables with "things new" about the kingdom of God. It is to this sense of the revelatory yet hidden nature of his message on this occasion that one may trace the refrain of the discourse, "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear," a parenetic form substantially peculiar to this discourse.

The choice by Jesus of the parabolic method to convey "the mystery of the kingdom of God" he explains to his disciples as based in his desire to conceal from some while revealing to others, document MK §20A, B. Why he wished to conceal his "things new" about the

<sup>1</sup>As to the true historical setting for the interruptive saying in document MK §21B, see the considerations advanced on pp. 22, 23.



kingdom, Jesus does not state.<sup>1</sup> But one who has observed the notable and consistent method of Jesus with reference to the revelation of his consciousness of vocation will understand that there is need of skill and reserve equally great in the unfolding of his conception of the kingdom of God—unless, indeed, Jesus has no other conception than that of his contemporaries, in which case teaching about the nature of the kingdom is wholly gratuitous. Only on the assumption that Jesus intended to define the kingdom in the terms of his times can it be held that he could wisely speak of the nature of the kingdom without precisely that attitude and those safeguards which the documents represent him as employing in this discourse. Evidently it is especially to the content of this discourse that Jesus refers when, in his final discourse on the future, he outlines the policy of his disciples in their mission.<sup>2</sup> If Jesus had other ideas of the nature of the kingdom of God than those of his contemporaries, to state these conceptions in plain terms would have resulted in the rejection of his message as swiftly and surely as the explicit claim to the messianic dignity would have hastened his end. It seems to have been his purpose, on both issues, not only to avoid a precipitate outcome but also surely though slowly to establish in other minds the convictions held by himself.

<sup>1</sup> That the portion MK §20C is an addition to the more original document MK seems clearly evidenced by a comparison of both gospel LK and gospel MT with the present document MK. The evangelist Matthew used document MK to the close of Matt. 13:13, inserting of MK §21 only the portion C (as Matt. 13:12), having already used the equivalents of portions A, B from other documents as Matt. 5:15; 10:26; 7:2. The portion MK §20B (=Matt. 13:13) recalls for him the prophecy of Isaiah, and in accordance with his Principle 8 he inserts it with his formula introduction. The portion MK §20C seems to have been added to document MK later, either under the influence of the Matthaean quotation or unconsciously as the continuation of the Old Testament passage from which Jesus had drawn as much as suited his purpose. If despite these considerations the conviction be held that the original document MK contained the portion MK §20C, it ought to be recalled that much testimony has been gathered in previous studies to the effect that Luke used a more original document MK than did Matthew, and from his copy this portion seems to have been absent. To these external considerations there is to be added the very real interpretative difficulties raised by the portion MK §20C as a part of this discourse. Only if "the mystery of the kingdom" is so clear and so attractive as immediately and strongly to attach the superficial and undesirable to the following of Jesus could the portion MK §20C be given a turn of thought suitable to the occasion. That the "things new" of this discourse had these qualities will hardly be affirmed.

<sup>2</sup> See the opening instructions of the third paragraph in §11 of the reconstruction of the discourse as exhibited on p. 208.

If one will turn, in the light of these considerations as to the nature and purpose of the discourse as a whole, to the two expositions now under examination, it will be recognized at once that these expositions convey no "mystery of the kingdom of God," in the sense of new truth about the kingdom. They are the equivalent of contemporary apocalyptic outlook upon the future of the messianic kingdom. If they are what Jesus meant by these parables, he brought no new message about the nature of the kingdom of God. By which statement it is not intended to suggest, in any degree, that a priori one should look for the departure of Jesus from the thought of his contemporaries. It is a question of the uniform, consistent, and unmistakable external evidence, as supplied in the documentary setting of this discourse, in the documentary testimony about the consciousness and method of Jesus as to vocation throughout his ministry, and in his final instructions to his disciples about the content of their message. All of these unite in demanding that any adequate exposition of these parables must bring to light truth about the kingdom of God less absolutely parallel to current apocalyptic-eschatological conceptions than that future portrayed by the assigned explications of document M. The problem seems to narrow itself down to a choice, which it is apparently impossible to avoid, between the ambiguous witness and known tendency of document M on the one hand, and the clear and reiterated testimony, here as elsewhere, of documents MK, P, and, in certain particulars, document M itself.

If Jesus held personal convictions about the nature of the kingdom of God, and if those convictions were of such a kind that he did not consider it wise to state them in plain terms, the natural inference is that his thought in these parables may be most certainly reached by expecting from them ideas about the kingdom in antithesis to current opinion, especially that held by persons most prominent in the public view during those days. If one will read the programme for the messianic kingdom as announced by John the Baptist in document G §1B,D,E, and will follow it by a study of the parable in document M §15A, it will be seen that the outlook of John and that of "the servants of the householder" are precisely the same; both stand for an immediate separation of bad from good. Over against such a drastic and ineffectual plan there is set the view-point of "the householder,"

who would allow bad and good to remain together until the end of the lifetime of both of them—"Let both grow together until the harvest." It seems, therefore, that both this parable and that of the Drag-net, for the latter is apparently nothing other than the complementary member of the pair on this theme, were intended by Jesus to correct the current notion, so vigorously reaffirmed by the preaching of John, that the establishment of the kingdom of God would be accomplished by the elimination of the bad from the new community. With this conception of the mode of the coming of the kingdom Jesus apparently finds himself out of sympathy. Distinctions between bad and good there are; ultimate separation of bad from good there certainly will be; but the interpenetration of good by bad must abide—"until the harvest."

The central and only essential point of the parable of the Wheat and Tares seems to reside in the opposition of judgments as to the present disposal of the Tares, the evil of the situation. Every detail of the parable is subsidiary to setting in bold relief the differences of opinion on this single problem. Eliminate the view-point and proposal of "the servants," and the parable seems shorn of its fundamental content. Yet this is precisely what is done by the exposition handed down by document M. Highly articulated though that explication is, and fertile in the use of the minor suggestions of the parable, it fails to give any recognition to that opposition of opinion which is the foremost factor in the original. By missing, after this manner, the vital element in the parable, the exposition spends itself in the endeavor after counterparts, and thus does not advance upon current notions. Its single contribution is that it attaches these notions to a definite actor held in the background of the mind—the historical Jesus as "the Son of man."

With these larger considerations, external and internal, in mind, there seems to be excluded any necessity for, or value in, a closer study of the terminology and view-point of the expositions. Yet it may be worth while to recall the fact that Jesus is reported to have referred to the kingdom of God in personal terms on three occasions only; and that one of these is the result of the Matthaean modification of the document MK record, MK 9:1 = Matt. 16:28, where the phrase "kingdom of God come with power" becomes "the Son of man com-

ing in his kingdom;" that another is a part of the promise of judicial functions to the Twelve, "that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom," Luke 22:30; and that the only other one is that in the present exposition, "the Son of man shall send forth his angels and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling." The assignment of the kingdom to Jesus, to the Son of man, is a characteristic of the literature of the apostolic age as preserved in the New Testament.

It ought to be observed, further, that the eschatological fate to which "they that do iniquity" are assigned is stated in terms which, wherever else they occur in the records, have been found by comparative study to be the product of Matthaean tendency. Both expositions define this fate in the same words, "and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth," Matt. 13:42, 50.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it is not without significance that the five appearances of the phrase "the consummation of the aeon" all occur in the Gospel of Matthew; that three of the instances are in these two expositions, Matt. 13:39, 40, 49; and that the only occurrence to which the external test may be applied, Matt. 24:3, is not supported by document MK 13:4 which Matthew is using there as his source. That ideal politico-theocratic state which the exposition regards as brought in when "they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling and them that do iniquity" was the sustaining hope of John the Baptist, and apparently the precise expectation against which the parable of the Wheat and Tares was directed by Jesus—unless, indeed, it be true that the documents are wrong in representing Jesus as having a "mystery of the kingdom," as setting forth "things new" upon this occasion, as saying to the multitude, "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear," as bidding his disciples at this time as in no other recorded discourse, "Take heed what ye hear," and as subsequently referring to some such revelatory period by the injunction, "What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the light: and what ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetops."

Using the term Matthaean in the comprehensive sense, that is, as including the Matthaean document M, the evangelist Matthew, and

<sup>1</sup> On the occurrence of these terms in Matt. 8:12 = Luke 13:28, see pp. 56, 57; in Matt. 22:13, see pp. 29, 30; in Matt. 24:51, see pp. 55, 56; in Matt. 25:30, see pp. 27-29.

subsequent workers upon the Gospel of Matthew, it seems necessary to affirm, on the basis of external and internal evidence of all kinds and degrees, that it is to the Matthaean tendency that there must be credited, rather than to Jesus, the notions about Judgment which are expressed in the passages dealing with the Son of Man as Judge of Men (§1), False Prophets in the Day of Judgment (§2), Words as the Basis of Judgment (§3), the Judicial Functions of the Twelve (§4), the Fate of Pharisees in the Judgment (§5), and the Separation of Bad from Good in the Judgment (§6). To this general statement, the single exception, grounded in the present content of the gospels, is that suggested by the appearance in gospel LK also of the Judicial Functions of the Twelve (§4).

#### §7. THE BASIS OF SEPARATION IN THE JUDGMENT

In addition to the several Matthaean contributions to the notion of judgment which have been brought under review in the preceding sections of the present chapter, there must be considered that statement about the basis of separation in the judgment which forms the conclusion to the gospel MT report of the final discourse of Jesus on the future, Matt. 25:31-46, and which is assigned in documentary analysis to document M §26. That paragraph presents the most vivid sketch of the judgment scene to be found in the gospels.

##### DOCUMENT M §26

But when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or athirst, and gave thee drink? And when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? And when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me. Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these least, ye did it not unto me. And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life.

Is this portrayal of the day of judgment, and statement of the grounds upon which eternal destiny is determined in that day, the product of the mind of Jesus? Or is it another one of the products on that subject which apparently issued from the Matthaean circle of thought? That one should raise the latter question at all seems to

be forced upon one by the pervasive evidences that substantially every other reference to the day of judgment in the Synoptic Gospels must be referred to the Matthaean tendency working upon the original sayings of Jesus. Is it possible that, in the case of the above paragraph, we have finally reached the authentic words of Jesus on this momentous theme, words from which all the preceding Matthaean accretions have been drawn by inference? It is hardly so fruitful as is implied in this suggestion, for many of the notions in those accretions cannot be deduced, even by the most liberal interpretation, from the above paragraph. There is no need to suppose that they were so deduced, for they are apparently nothing other than the current notions of the coming judgment, the common property of the disciples of Jesus.

Since none of the other documents contains a parallel, in whole or in part, to the above paragraph from document M, it is not possible to apply the test of comparison of document with document, a mode of correcting the tendencies of document M at so many other points where that document has proved itself a serious modifier or enlarger of the sayings of Jesus. It ought to be observed, however, that this section of document M stands in isolation in that document, that is, it does not find any natural place in the several larger divisions of that document. These larger groups of document M are: the Sermon on the Mount, M §§1-14; the Parables of the Kingdom of Heaven, M §§15-25; the Discourse against the Scribes and Pharisees, M §27. Between the two last, and related to none of the groups, is the section on the Judgment, M §26. Of course, we do not now know the order of the document M as it came to Matthew's hand; it suffices to note that no change of its order as reconstructed establishes the relation of M §26 to any other part of the document. Of course, it may be that Matthew did not use every part of document M, in which case M §26 may have had some natural context in the original documentary content and order. That M §26 formed part of a lengthy discourse on the future, reported by document M, seems excluded by the fact that in his construction of the discourse on that subject in his twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters Matthew has no contributions from document M except two members of the parable group, Matt. 25:1-30, and the Judgment Scene, Matt. 25:31-46. This points to the

surmise that the latter always has existed rather as an independent factor, a conjecture sustained by the unity and separate completeness of the thought in the paragraph, completeness except in that it assumes a previous reference to the coming of the Son of man. It reads like a sustained homiletic deduction from certain authentic sayings of Jesus.

In the absence of satisfactory external tests of a documentary kind, the attention may be directed to the principal thoughts of the paragraph, in the endeavor to relate them to similar or dissimilar ideas as recorded elsewhere in the gospels. It is held in advance as possible (1) that this paragraph may be the genuine utterance of Jesus, and, as such, the apostolic source of similar ideas elsewhere when those ideas are not supported in their context by comparative study; (2) that it may be from Jesus, but may not be the source of similar ideas elsewhere, those other expressions being also directly from Jesus, the evidence having been wrongly interpreted in preceding studies; (3) that it may not be from Jesus, but may be the product of the same tendency which added similar ideas elsewhere. The thought of the paragraph falls naturally into two general divisions:

A. Features of the Judgment Scene.

B. The Basis of Destiny in the Judgment.

#### A. FEATURES OF THE JUDGMENT SCENE

1. "*The Son of man shall come in his glory and all the angels with him.*"

This initial feature of the judgment is portrayed at three other points in the Synoptic Gospels, namely: (1) MK 13:26, 27; (2) MK 14:62 = Matt. 26:64 = Luke 22:69; (3) MK 8:38. But as to (1), the original words of Jesus on this occasion seem to be preserved in document P § 60, and as there recorded are without this feature.<sup>1</sup> As for (2), the evidence seems to indicate that the original document MK is preserved by Luke 22:69, which does not contain this feature.<sup>2</sup> Concerning (3), the saying of Jesus on the subject of denial appears to be found in more primitive form in document P § 20 end.<sup>3</sup> Ought it to be held that the present paragraph is the source of all these accretions? Or is the saying at this point to be attributed to the same

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 170-70.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 83-85.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 79-81.

tendency which apparently produced those accretions, the eschatological impulse of the apostolic age?

2. "*He shall sit on the throne of his glory.*"

In addition to its appearance at this point, this phase of the Judgment Scene occurs as a part of the Matthaean record of the promise of judicial functions to the Twelve, but not elsewhere. Thus Matthew reports, "when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones" (Matt. 19:28). Though the Lukan enlargement carries in it the latter phrase, "ye shall sit on thrones" (Luke 22:30), it does not so represent the Son of man as judge of men. Since that portion of the Matthaean record is not supported by document MK 10:28-30,<sup>1</sup> one naturally raises the question whether it may have been drawn from our present paragraph. Or are the phenomena better explained by tracing both of these Matthaean statements to some body of ideas held in common by the apostolic community, but assignable to Jesus only through misinterpretation of the much less personal and much more general portrayal in document P §60?

3. "*Before him shall be gathered all the nations.*"

Of the references to judgment in the gospels, this is the only one which indicates that the day takes account of other peoples than Israel. By implication, the judicial activities of that dread occasion are fully covered in the assignment by gospel MT and gospel LK, "ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Does the larger outlook indicate a later origin for this paragraph?

4. "*He shall separate them one from another . . . he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.*"

Apart from any difference of opinion as to the relation between figure and reality in these words, and regarding them simply as a mode of conveying some significant fact as to ultimate destiny, whether is the idea of divergent destiny through a separation better brought to the human consciousness by these words or by those of the same intent credited to Jesus in the second half of document P §60? Is it probable that both modes of portrayal originated in the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 221-25.



same mind? And does the present sketch show a development beyond even that Old Testament idea of the method of separation which has found a place in MK 13:27 and in Matt. 13:41, 49—separation through the office of the angels? If so, is this higher articulation another evidence of the later date of this paragraph?

5. "*Then shall the King say unto them . . . . And the King shall answer and say.*"

By these words Jesus is represented as designating himself as "the King." Shall it be held that it is from the self-definition here recorded that there have grown those references to the kingdom of the Son of man which previous studies have shown to be found only in passages under question on wholly other grounds, namely, Matt. 16:28; Luke 22:29, 30; Matt. 13:41?<sup>2</sup> Nowhere else than in the present paragraph does Jesus refer to himself as "the King." Such self-estimate, expressed by word, is opposed to the otherwise consistent and intelligible policy of Jesus throughout his ministry. Is the evidence strong enough to convince one that he departed from his method in the present case? Or is the term here, like the assignment of the kingdom to him in the above passages, to be referred to his interpreters of a later day?

6. "*Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*"

When there is made a study of the references of Jesus to the kingdom of God, from the standpoint of the phraseology used in defining the mode of its acquisition by the individual, it is found that three passages fall into a group which is sharply differentiated from all others. These sayings are: (1) "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom" (Luke 12:32); (2) "I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me" (Luke 22:29); (3) "Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world" (Matt. 25:34). As to (1), the comparison of the Matthaean P with the Lukan P has shown that the Lukan form of report, P §§25, 26, is due to a modification of the original cast of the document, probably under the influence of the contiguity of the eschatological parables in P §§27-30.<sup>3</sup> In the case

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 176, 177.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 233, 234.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 61-63.

of (2), the words are a part of the promise of judicial functions to the Twelve.<sup>1</sup> In the face of these facts, ought it to be held with conviction that the instance belonging to this paragraph, despite its departure from the customary terminology of Jesus, is nevertheless to be credited to Jesus?

7. "*Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels.*"

The notion of an eschatological fate of the type portrayed in these words has been found in six passages in the Gospel of Matthew which, in one connection or another, have been under examination in preceding studies, namely, Matt. 8:12; 13:42; 13:50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30. For wholly independent reasons in each case, the conclusion was reached that no one of these passages can justifiably be regarded as spoken by Jesus.<sup>2</sup> Ought it to be held that, though not directly assignable to him, they are indirectly the product of his thought, being the outgrowth of the passage now under consideration? If so, this single statement in the portrayal has wielded an immense influence upon the sayings of Jesus about the future, as may be seen even more strikingly by a comparison of document MK 9:43-49 with document M §5. To bring under review all the traces in the Synoptic Gospels of that mode of thought about the eschatological fate of the wicked which finds its most vivid expression in the present paragraph would be too large a digression at this point. The results of subsequent investigation<sup>3</sup> may be anticipated, however, to the extent of affirming that the application of external tests to the reputed sayings brings the conviction that, if Jesus taught the fate here described, this is the only passage by which he did so teach.

8. "*And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life.*"

For an impressive and significant exhibit of the accretion of this conception of "eternal punishment" upon the original words of

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 221-25.

<sup>2</sup> On Matt. 8:12 = Luke 13:28, see pp. 56, 57; on Matt. 13:42, 50, see pp. 226-35; on Matt. 22:13, see pp. 29, 30; on Matt. 24:51, see p. 55, 56; on Matt. 25:30, see pp. 27-29.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 256-67.

Jesus, there should be set in detailed parallelism with the report handed down by document M §5 that transmitted by document MK 9:43-49.<sup>1</sup> Shall it be said that the additions in the latter are the resultant of these words in our present section? Or are those accretions and this section to be traced to the same influence, namely, to beliefs not expressed by Jesus? The study of Jesus' use of the phrase "eternal life" is made subsequently.<sup>2</sup>

*B. THE BASIS OF DESTINY IN THE JUDGMENT*

It seems a reasonable statement to affirm that all these features of the Judgment Scene are subsidiary to the purpose of defining the basis of destiny in the judgment so vividly as definitely to affect conduct, as effectively to fashion it according to that basis. To this eminently practical end there is brought into service that framework of future outlook which has engaged our attention to the present. It is of equal if not of greater importance to determine whether the ultimate basis of differentiation between men as here outlined is the product of the mind of Jesus. For, if it is, we have here in small compass the thought of Jesus as to what constitutes true discipleship to himself. No word of his can have higher importance than his definition of the conditions of fellowship with him. Do the demands made here accord with those elsewhere attributed to Jesus?

It will probably be agreed by those who have made an independent study of the teaching of Jesus, a study not swayed by preconceptions, that the way to discipleship and ultimate destiny outlined by this paragraph falls, in scope of requirement, far short of the conditions of discipleship as uniformly laid down elsewhere by Jesus. It may not be replied that we have here nothing more than partial illustrations of certain phases of the fruit of discipleship, for these actions are made the sole basis of destiny; the representation is that nothing else is taken into account. To set forth the requirements for discipleship as defined by Jesus in other connections is outside the limits of this work. When it is contended that this paragraph does not adequately cover them, it is not meant that the conduct here sketched is of trivial significance, or so wholly secondary for Jesus as to be unworthy of high recognition. What is advanced is that, while the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 259-63.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 270-72.

activities here named fall within the expressions of true discipleship, they entirely miss that which constitutes the essence of discipleship. They are the body without the soul; at the most they represent the lesser half of the way of life. It will be recalled that when Jesus spoke the parable of the Good Samaritan he was not expounding his whole definition of the way "to inherit eternal life," but only its other half—"and thy neighbour as thyself." But in the paragraph under consideration the love of neighbor is not the other half but the whole of the basis of destiny.

If this mode of view is not elsewhere traceable to Jesus, and is here in a paragraph otherwise doubtful, from whence does it come? In answer, may it not correctly be said that we possess in this paragraph a summary sketch of the community ethics in the early Christian society as those ethics are known to us from the other literature of the period? Do not these activities constitute the principal forms in which the new moral life of the early church found its first corporate expressions? Reference is made not to the first years of the apostolic age, but to later decades, which preceded, however, the cessation of growth in the gospel tradition.

Back of the question as to the time of origin there lies the inquiry after the motive of origin. Suppose it be true that the paragraph is the product of the later decades of the early age of the church, why then was it fashioned? Is not the answer to be found by observing closely the limits of the circle within which these commendable activities are supposed to be practiced, namely, "unto one of these my brethren, these least ones . . . unto one of these least ones"? Directly stated, the whole paragraph seems to be a form of appeal for the favorable reception and the benevolent treatment of the itinerant propagandists of the faith in the early age of the church. Regarded as such, it makes luminous the gravest interpretative difficulties in that chapter of document MK which holds more critical problems than any other portion of that document, namely, MK 9:33-50.<sup>1</sup> One of the most serious of those problems is created by the repeated phrase, "one of these little ones . . . one of such little ones." Confusion is caused by applying this phrase to a little child, whereas elsewhere in the context an actual child cannot be meant.

<sup>1</sup> On the problems of MK 9:33-50, see pp. 67-78.

Moreover, when applied to the real child, the one saying unmistakably so applied is without intelligibility. It was found that if in all cases where the phrase appears it was taken as the equivalent of "one of my disciples" every saying containing the phrase would be wholly intelligible. That it should be so taken is confirmed not only by the internal and external evidences of the Markan occurrences, but also by the present paragraph, where "one of these least<sup>1</sup> ones" evidently means "one of my disciples," or, as expressly and more personally stated, "one of my brethren."

This brings together on a common plane two very closely related, but now widely separated, reputed sayings of Jesus, namely, those about the benevolent treatment of the itinerant propagandists in the present Matthaean paragraph and that one of like intent in the problem chapter of document MK, "And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward," Matt. 10:42=MK 9:41. Beneath the document MK saying there is evidently the same fundamental ethical conception as underlies this Matthaean paragraph. They are at one both in ultimate ground and in purpose. They exalt the benevolent disposition in order to assure a favorable treatment of the propagandists of the faith. Are both or either of them from Jesus?

For the Matthaean paragraph, we are without any ordinary external test; but not so in the case of the document MK saying. In the study of the most confused section of document MK, it was concluded that the more primitive MK used by the evangelist Luke consisted only of the portions A-I with O,<sup>2</sup> and that the portions J, K, M, N were added to the document subsequently, but before it came to the hands of the evangelist Matthew. The true historical setting and the more original form of the sayings in portion M were believed to be found in document M §5. Similarly, the portion K is apparently a fragment of sayings that are more adequately transmitted by document P §54. The portion N impresses one as an editorial endeavor to

<sup>1</sup> The difference between this and the Markan phrase is only the difference between the positive (*μικρῶν*, little) and the superlative (*ἐλαχίστων*, least) of the one word.

<sup>2</sup> As exhibited on p. 69-71.

fashion a form of transit between M and O, necessitated by the introduction of M. The portion J has undergone verbal changes, it seems, since document MK was used by Matthew, its more original wording being found in Matt. 10:42. But what shall be said as to the origin of the portion J? Unlike portions K and M, variant reports of it cannot be found in other documents; nor may it be explained, like portion N, as a transition. Indeed, one of its most marked characteristics is that it has no reasonably assignable relation to what precedes or to what follows; the common element in it and its context is no more than the phrase "one of these little ones."

In view of these externally derived facts, it seems necessary to consider whether it may not be true that this saying in portion J of document MK has some source other than Jesus, let us say the early church, which by this saying and by its equivalent in the present Matthaean paragraph on the Judgment sought to assure for the itinerant propagandists of the faith a favorable reception and charitable treatment. That neither one is derived from the other seems evident from the total absence of verbal likeness; that both spring from the same view-point seems beyond any doubt. And the indications multiply that this view-point was that of the early church,<sup>1</sup> rather than that of Jesus himself.

It was said at the outset that the present Matthaean portrayal of Judgment and Basis of Destiny might be, (1) the genuine utterance of Jesus and the source of similar ideas elsewhere which are unsupported by comparative study. But those unsupported ideas are found in greater or lesser measure in documents MK and P, and in gospel LK as well as gospel MT. On the other hand, documents MK and P and gospel LK report no portions which can be set in verbal parallelism with this Matthaean paragraph. Stated otherwise, if the content of this Matthaean paragraph is their source for these ideas, they have failed to embody the source but have retained the products of the source. This is not inconceivable, but it seems highly improbable. Add to this consideration the fact that all the time indications within and without the paragraph point to a late date, and the supposition of it as a source for these portions of documents MK and P

<sup>1</sup> The Third Epistle of John is devoted to the securing of a favorable attitude toward and benevolent treatment of, the propagandists of the faith.

requires chronological reversions which give denial to the assumption. Much the more normal order is to regard the sayings in document MK 13:26, 27 as the starting-point from which there was adduced the whole of this Matthaean paragraph as a homiletic appeal. A homily based upon some impressive text and framed with some specific purpose seems as natural a product of the early years as is an exposition of a parable. In some way the homily ultimately found a place in gospel MT as a part of that discourse on which it seems to be based.

It was suggested, (2) that the Matthaean paragraph is from Jesus, but is not the source of similar ideas elsewhere, those other expressions being also directly from Jesus, the evidence having been wrongly interpreted in previous studies. But the recapitulation of all the evidence found in those previous studies has brought to light the fact that, almost without exception, it is externally based in a documentary way, and hence cannot be called in question, unless one disputes the testimony of the comparative method, that is, denies documentary bases for the First and Third Gospels.

As the other possibility for the origin of the paragraph there was advanced the hypothesis that, (3) it may not be from Jesus, but the product of the same tendency which added similar ideas elsewhere. This seems to be the conclusion demanded by the evidence. But that evidence indicates also that this Matthaean paragraph belongs to another period of the history of the tradition than that which originated similar ideas elsewhere in the gospels. The latter were formative; this is derivative. Early framers of tradition, probably without conscious purpose, supplanted, it seems, the original sayings of Jesus, as reported by document P §60, by the phraseology of document MK 13:24-27; later interpreters and enforcers of tradition apparently deduced from the latter and like passages the framework for such an ethical appeal on behalf of the brethren as is handed down in the present Matthaean paragraph.

If these conclusions are correct, then it is to be affirmed, finally, that it is not to Jesus himself but to the Matthaean factors in gospel tradition that there is to be assigned every reference to the Day of Judgment examined in the present chapter, except, it may be, the gospel LK promise of Judicial Functions to the Twelve (§4), a promise recorded in both gospel LK and gospel MT.

## §8. THE FATE OF CERTAIN CITIES IN THE JUDGMENT

LUKAN P §5		MATTHAEAN P	
A	Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida!	A	Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida!
B	for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which were done in you, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.	B	for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes.
C	Howbeit it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the judgement, than for you.	C	Howbeit I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgement, than for you.
D	And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt be brought down unto Hades.	D	And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt go down unto Hades:
		E	for if the mighty works had been done in Sodom which were done in thee, it would have remained until this day.
		F	Howbeit I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgement, than for thee.

Evidently the portions E, F are Matthaean editorial expansions upon his document, being the equivalents respectively of portions B, C. The latter having been applied by his document to Chorazin and Bethsaida, it seemed apparently nothing more than a legitimate and necessary rounding-out and balancing of the sayings to adapt them to Capernaum also. But a close observer will note that the portion D is not the equivalent of portion A; the latter requires something additional, such as is supplied by portions B, C, whereas the portion D is complete in itself. For the present purpose, it is not of much significance what may be one's decision about the source of portions E, F. The whole paragraph has a place here solely because there appears in portions C, F of the Matthaean P the phrase "the day of judgement." But a comparison with the Lukan P shows that this is the Matthaean expansion of the phrase "the judgement." No doubt Jesus could speak in general terms about "the judgement" without thereby recording himself as possessed by current eschatological conceptions and expectations of "the day of judgement." It will not be denied that he had convictions about differences of destiny for men, and that he spoke of a time when separation would be effected on the basis of judgment as to the ultimate worth of individuals, as in document P §60. Not even so much as that is conveyed by the simple phrase he used here—"the judgement." The interpreter of Jesus must be on his guard against giving to a general term used by Jesus that specific content with which certain circles of thought subsequent to his day used its expansion—"the day of judgement." That the pro-



posed distinction is not a modern over-refinement seems evidenced by the fact that the eschatological mind of Matthew did not find its satisfying expression in the simple phrase supplied by his document, "the judgement," but only through its elaboration into the unmistakably eschatological term, "the day of judgement."

That which is said in this paragraph concerning those cities which had been the centers of Jesus' ministry is affirmed of unreceptive cities about to be visited by the disciples of Jesus on their mission:

## DOCUMENT MK 6:11

A And whatsoever place shall not receive you, and they hear you not, as ye go forth thence,

B shake off the dust that is under your feet for a testimony unto them.

## DOCUMENT P §4

A But into whatsoever city ye shall enter, and they receive you not, go out into the streets thereof

B and say, Even the dust from your city, that cleaveth to our feet, we do wipe off against you: howbeit know this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh.

C I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city.

It may be doubted with good reason whether the portion C is from Jesus. Its entire absence from document MK stands against it, though not as a conclusive argument. But to this external evidence there is to be added the consideration that such severe condemnation as is implied in the words of C seems to be wanting in warrant when it is recalled that the messengers remained no long time at each city in their rapid itinerary of the provinces. That which might be spoken in criticism of cities in the midst of which Jesus had labored and taught for days, as Capernaum, could hardly be directed with justice against places touched superficially by his disciples. It seems more normal and more reasonable to regard the portion C as an extension by the disciples to the unfavorable places visited by them of words specifically used by Jesus, but not intended by him as a generalization for later propagandism. That the specific should become the general in this case was furthered no doubt by the documentary contiguity of the specific sayings, as both stand in document P §§4, 5.

When the evangelist Matthew made a combination of all the documentary references to the mission of the disciples in his tenth chapter, he inserted the portion C above as Matt. 10:15. But again his eschatological impulse led him to change "that day" of his document into his customary phrase, "the day of judgement." In one instance only did Matthew take over his document without giving to the reference to "judgement" found in it the eschatological cast, namely, the following passage about Nineveh and Sheba:

## MATTHAEAN P

A The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah is here.

B The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here.

## LUKAN P §16

A The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah is here.

B The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgement with the men of this generation, and shall condemn them: for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here.

There have been brought under review all references to the Day of Judgment, of whatever form or content, that are recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. Stated summarily, the results that seem to have been reached show that none of these statements of judgment are from Jesus, except the sayings about Chorazin and Bethsaida and about the men of Nineveh and the queen of Sheba "in the judgement." Even when taking these over from document P, the evangelist Matthew changed the phrase to "the day of judgement" in the case of Chorazin and Bethsaida. It is apparently to that same Matthaean tendency—using Matthaean in the comprehensive sense of document M, evangelist Matthew, and later workers upon the Gospel of Matthew—that there is to be assigned the origin of every other saying or body of sayings about the Judgment, except, perhaps, the promise of Judicial Functions to the Twelve as in gospel LK (§4).



CHAPTER VI  
LIFE AFTER DEATH

- § 1. The Resurrection
- § 2. The Two Aeons
- § 3. Hell or Gehenna (*γέεννα*)
- § 4. Torment and Fire
- § 5. Hades (*ᾗδης*)
- § 6. Destruction
- § 7. The Soul (*ψυχή*) and the Spirit (*πνεῦμα*)
- § 8. Life and Eternal Life (*ζωή*)
- § 9. The Eternal Tabernacles
- § 10. Paradise and Glory
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- § 12. The Future in Vague Figures
- § 13. The Narrow and the Shut Door
- § 14. The Passing Away of Heaven and Earth
- § 15. The Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man

## CHAPTER VI

### LIFE AFTER DEATH

#### §1. THE RESURRECTION

Jesus is reported by the Synoptic Gospels to have referred to the Resurrection on two occasions only in the course of his teaching. Of these, one is a brief assertion in the form of a promise at the close of some admonitions addressed to a Pharisee, document P §43C; the other is a more fully developed, argumentative statement of the belief and the grounds of the belief of Jesus on this theme, document MK 12:18-27. The latter was called forth by the Sadducean position on the Pharisaic hope of resurrection:

GOSPEL MT 22:23-32	DOCUMENT MK 12:18-27	GOSPEL LK 20:27-38
A On that day there came to him Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection: and they asked him, saying,	A And there come unto him Sadducees, which say that there is no resurrection; and they asked him, saying,	A And there came to him certain of the Sadducees, they which say that there is no resurrection; and they asked him, saying,
B Master, Moses said, If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.	B Master, Moses wrote unto us, If a man's brother die, and leave a wife behind him, and leave no child, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.	B Master, Moses wrote unto us, that if a man's brother die, having a wife, and he be childless, his brother should take the wife, and raise up seed unto his brother.
C Now there were with us seven brethren: and the first married and deceased, and having no seed left his wife unto his brother: in like manner the second also, and the third, unto the seventh.	C There were seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and dying left no seed; and the second took her, and died, leaving no seed behind him; and the third likewise: and the seven left no seed.	C There were therefore seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died childless; and the second; and the third took her; and likewise the seven also left no children, and died.
D And after them all the woman died. In the resurrection therefore whose wife shall she be of the seven? for they all had her.	D Last of all the woman also died. In the resurrection whose wife shall she be of them? for the seven had her to wife.	D Afterward the woman also died. In the resurrection therefore whose wife of them shall she be? for the seven had her to wife.
E But Jesus answered and said unto them,	E Jesus said unto them,	E And Jesus said unto them,
F Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God.	F Is it not for this cause that ye err, that ye know not the scriptures, nor the power of God?	G The sons of this world marry, and are given in marriage: but they that are accounted worthy to attain to that world,

H	For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.	H	For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage;	H	and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage
J	but are as angels in heaven.	J	but are as angels in heaven.	I	for neither can they die any more:
L	But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not <i>the God</i> of the dead, but of the living.	L	But as touching the dead, that they are raised; have ye not read in the book of Moses, in <i>the place concerning</i> the Bush, how God spake unto him, saying, I <i>am</i> the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but of the living: ye do greatly err.	J	for they are equal unto the angels;
				K	and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection.
				L	But that the dead are raised, even Moses shewed, in <i>the place concerning</i> the Bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Now he is not the God of the dead, but of the living:
				M	for all live unto him.

The evangelist Matthew follows his document MK with notable faithfulness in the above paragraph. The evangelist Luke substitutes the portion G for the portion F of his document, and adds the portions I, K, M. That which Luke did not derive from his document MK is set to the right in the exhibit. The most important of his additions is the thought contained in portion G. By it participation in the resurrection seems limited to "them that are accounted worthy to attain to that aeon and the resurrection from the dead." The portion I is a natural inference from the nature of the resurrection life as defined elsewhere in the paragraph; it is a spirit life, that is, "as angels in heaven." If so, it seems reasonable to conclude that "neither can they die any more." Both of the portions K and G, added by Luke, contain related phraseology, "sons of this aeon . . . sons of God . . . sons of the resurrection." In previous studies it has been learned that one of the discoverable tendencies in the gospels is that of adding to the documentary words of Jesus the notion of the Two Aeons, as Luke has done in the portion G.

The apparent limitation of the resurrection to "them that are accounted worthy to attain" seems set aside in favor of a larger view by the portion M, "for all live unto him." But the "all" may be intended by the evangelist to refer only to all to whom the God of the patriarchs is truly God. However, both portions G and M lie outside the document used by Luke, and have an interest only as

setting forth certain tendencies in the handling of the original words of Jesus on this subject, as recorded in document MK. From the document MK record, it seems difficult to deduce with certainty the thought of Jesus as to the extent of the resurrection, as to whether it is to include all men or those only "that are accounted worthy to attain." Of the fact of the resurrection, he was certain; of the nature of the resurrection life, he spoke with sufficient clearness; of its extent, he leaves the inference to be made from the content of his argument for the fact.

In the document P reference to the resurrection, the positive declaration of its extent does not include more than "the just":

## DOCUMENT P §43C

And he said to him also that had bidden him, When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor rich neighbours, lest haply they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, bid the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; because they have not *wherewith* to recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed in the resurrection of the just.

There is no explicit exclusion from the resurrection of others than those meant by "the just," though the use of the narrower phrase, "the resurrection of the just," does suggest that the outlook has definite limitations. For if the mind customarily thought in broader terms, it might be expected to use qualifying words only under the pressure of special conditions; these do not seem to be present in the circumstances of this occasion. No more can be said with assurance than that here there is assumed a resurrection of at least "the just."

It ought to be observed that the paragraph is complete in sense, and adequate, it seems, to the purpose of the hour, without the closing words, "for thou shalt be recompensed in the resurrection of the just." The necessary balance for the contrast can be fully found in the promise, "and thou shalt be blessed." It does not seem improbable that the second "for thou shalt be" is the endeavor of an interpreter to give specific content to the blessedness promised by Jesus. However, there is no external critical test that may be applied to this case. In the structure of the paragraph, "because they have not *wherewith* to recompense thee" seems to be the parallelism to "and a recompense be made thee," and as such the natural conclusion of the saying. In any case, the teaching of Jesus on the resurrection, as given in the two passages in which he touches upon that theme, shows that he

had profound conviction of the fact of resurrection; that he conceived of the resurrection life as a spirit life—"they are as angels;" and that the resurrection state is attained by at least "the just."

## §2. THE TWO AEONS

That mode of world-view to which there is to be attributed the addition of the notion of the Two Aeons as set forth in the Lukan addition G in the first paragraph above on the resurrection has been apparently the cause of other modifications and additions to the original words of Jesus. In a previous study there was brought under review briefly a striking instance in the Gospel of Matthew:

DOCUMENT MK 3:28, 29

A Verily I say unto you, All their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and their blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme: but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness,

B but is guilty of an eternal sin.

DOCUMENT P §21

C And every one who shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven.

GOSPEL MT 12:31, 32

A Therefore I say unto you, Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven.

C And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him,

D neither in this aeon, nor in that which is to come.

The portion D is not derivable, except by inference, from document P §21 which Matthew used in portion C. But as the evangelist was making one of the most skilful and carefully wrought of his many wise combinations of documents in the narrative of which these sayings are a part, and as at this point he has effected a conflation of closely similar sayings from documents MK and P, it is reasonable to regard the portion D as his rewriting of the Markan portion B. It is in precisely such recastings that there emerges in his work as editor now this and now that phase of his eschatological outlook. How his world-view affected his work in details may be seen more clearly in this case if the portion D be interpreted as his equivalent for the portion B, and the comparison be made on the basis of the Greek text.<sup>1</sup>

But the most marked evidence of the Matthaean world-view appears in the repeated use of the technical phrase "the consummation of the aeon." Five times this occurs in the Synoptic Gospels,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 57, n. 1.



and always in gospel MT. It has been found in the final discourse on the future as the Matthaean addition to the document MK report of the question of the disciples, Matt. 24:3=MK 13:4. In the expositions of the parables of the Wheat and Tares and the Drag-net this phrase, "the consummation of the aeon," appears three times, Matt. 13:39, 40, 49. But for the rejection of those expositions as from Jesus there were found many external reasons.<sup>1</sup> Its only other occurrence is as the closing words of the Great Commission, Matt. 28:20; subsequently some reasons will be advanced for the view that there it is additional to the original utterance of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> If previous and subsequent reasoning on these passages is sound, all these gospel MT uses of the word "aeon," whether alone or as part of the phrase "the consummation of the aeon," are Matthaean in their origin, and hence not representative of the mode of view of Jesus.

In all of the Matthaean instances there is betrayed the technical, eschatological emphasis in the term, that special use of it by which a body of related ideas is suggested. These notions are not essentially inherent to the word "aeon," and it may be so employed as to carry no more than its customary meaning. It is with this general sense that one has to deal in interpreting the single occurrence of the word in document P, and the two instances of its appearance in document MK. Thus in document P it emerges as a part of the parable of the Unrighteous Steward:

## DOCUMENT P §47

And his lord commended the unrighteous steward because he had done wisely: for the sons of this world (αἰῶν) are for their own generation wiser than the sons of the light.

There is here no contrast of two aeons, but an opposition of "sons of this aeon" against "sons of the light." In an even less degree has the word the technical cast of thought in the document MK exposition of a parable:

## DOCUMENT MK 4:18, 19

And others are they that are sown among the thorns; these are they that have heard the word, and the cares of the world (αἰῶν), and the deceitfulness of riches, and the lusts of other things entering in, choke the word, and it becometh unfruitful.

There is not the setting of aeon over against aeon, as in the Matthaean passages, but simply the recognition of large time divisions, a present and a future, in the reported promise of Jesus when asked about the rewards of discipleship:

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 226-35.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 342-52.

## DOCUMENT MK 10:29, 30

There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands, for my sake, and for the gospel's sake, but he shall receive a hundredfold now in this time (*καίρως*) . . . and in the age (*αἰών*) to come eternal life.

To summarize: The word occurs in one passage in gospel LK as an editorial addition to document MK material, Luke 20:34, 35 = MK 12:24, 25. It appears once in document P, P §47, and twice in document MK, MK 4:19; 10:30, in no case with any evident technical sense. Six times it is present in Matthaean material, Matt. 12:32; 13:39, 40, 49; 24:3; 28:20, always with a distinctly eschatological cast; five of the six instances are in the phrase "the consummation of the aeon." It seems evidenced that only the passages in documents P and MK are from Jesus.

§3. HELL OR GEHENNA (*γέεννα*)

The word Hell or Gehenna (*γέεννα*) does not occur in document G. It appears once in document P, P §20. In document MK it is found three times, all within a single paragraph (MK 9:43-47). Five instances of its use are recorded in document M, distributed in four paragraphs which are parts of M §§4, 5, 27. The document MK paragraph is another report of the same sayings as are found in document M §5, and the latter report seems to preserve the true historical setting of these words. If it is correct to regard P §20 as part of the final discourse on the future, then the sayings about Gehenna belong to three of the longest groups of words from Jesus: The Sermon on the Mount, M §4 + M §5 = MK 9:43-47; the Discourse against the Pharisees, M §27; and the Final Discourse on the Future, P §20.

As is well known, the word Gehenna (*γέεννα*) is derived ultimately from the Hebrew expression *גֵּהֶנְנִים*, that is, valley of Hinnom. This valley lay to the south and southwest of Jerusalem; and is reputed to have been the depository for the dead bodies of criminals and carcasses of animals and the refuse of the city. In the light of the history of the word and of the place, the sayings of Jesus on the subject may be examined.

## DOCUMENT M §4.

Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgement: but I say unto you, that every one who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgement: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council; and whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of the hell of fire.

The forms of penalty attached to the several expressions of what Jesus regards as in essence the same as murder seem to be in an

ascending scale—"the judgement . . . the council . . . the Gehenna of fire." By "the judgement" is meant the local Jewish court established in every important town, of which mention is made in Deut. 16:18. Josephus says that it consisted of seven persons.<sup>1</sup> "The council" signifies here the great senate and supreme court of the nation, which was called the Sanhedrin. The offenses mentioned by Jesus do not seem to form a scale with a climax, for the difference between calling a man "Raca" (an expression of contempt) and "Fool" seems not very great; nor is the utterance of either much more criminal than the harboring of inarticulate anger. The movement upward in phases of jurisdiction is, therefore, a literary advance, it appears, rather than a necessity of the thought.

But there is such a movement, and since the prerogative of "the judgement" was death by the sword, and that of "the council" death by stoning, further degradation than the form of death imposed by the latter must involve additional desecration of the body. Nothing more despicable in this regard can well be imagined than the assignment of the body to a place with the carcasses of dead animals in the depository of the city offal, the valley of Hinnom. The right to pronounce this dread sentence was reserved, it may be, as the special prerogative of the president of the Sanhedrin, who, according to the testimony of Josephus and the New Testament, was the high-priest of the nation. No doubt consignment to Gehenna was confined to those guilty of the most serious offenses. And under the division of jurisdiction between the Romans and the Jews in Palestine in the time of Jesus, the Sanhedrin naturally gave itself more and more to moral and religious prosecution.

Apparently it is against religio-social acts of criminality in connection with their propaganda that Jesus warns his disciples in the final discourse on the future:

## DOCUMENT P §20

And I say unto you my friends, Be not afraid of them which kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will warn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath authority to cast into Gehenna; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.

By reference to what precedes these words in the instructions, it will be seen that Jesus had just enjoined the disciples to speak subsequently with unreserved freedom of those truths which he had bidden

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquities*, iv, 8, §15; *War*, ii, 20, §5.

them to keep during his lifetime as their private possession. The content of those truths was, it seems from previous studies, the statement of the messianic vocation of Jesus and "the mystery of the kingdom." Henceforth there is to be "nothing covered up that shall not be revealed, and hid that shall not be known." But this does not involve the entire absence of discretion. While they are not to fear the death of the body at the hands of persecutors, they ought to pursue a course, even in their freedom of speech, which will avoid all unnecessary precipitation of action by the courts, especially to shun conduct in deed and speech which will make them liable to the most opprobrious treatment during and after death. The prerogative of assignment to the valley of Hinnom is regarded as lodged in the hands of one man—"him which hath authority to cast into Gehenna." They are to act in the mission with a wisdom which will keep them out of the hands of the high-priest, though violent death in the normal course of the prosecution of their propaganda is not to be feared or shunned.

No doubt the above saying of Jesus about Gehenna would become much clearer to the reader of today did we know more precisely the nature of those breaches of Jewish law which were referred to "the council," the Sanhedrin, especially of those to which there was attached the extreme penalty of consignment of the body to Gehenna. In the absence of external testimony there can be conjecture only. It seems probable also that certain phrasing in the report of the saying as above preserved, by which it may have been more or less changed from the form given it by Jesus, are the outcome of that same tendency which is seen at the full in the Matthaean P report of the same saying:

MATTHAEAN P §20

And be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.

Here the words "but are not able to kill the soul" have taken the place of the original "and after that have no more that they can do." Instead of the natural words "Fear him which after he hath killed hath authority to cast into Gehenna," the Matthaean hand has inserted "Fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna." These changes give an entirely different content to the thought of the saying. The Matthaean contrast is between "body"

and "soul;" in the Lukan P the opposition is that of the mere death of the body to its death followed by desecration. There is, it seems, no mention or thought of "the soul" in the Lukan P report. With the Lukan P, the body is to be "cast into Gehenna"—a natural description of the carrying-out of the judicial sentence. But by the Matthaean changes this procedure is supplanted by something of another nature, "to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna." In brief, the Matthaean terms, as usual, have carried the whole thought over into the eschatological region. The illuminative phrase of the original, "which after he hath killed hath authority to cast into Gehenna," is lost in the assignment to the evil one of the power to destroy "the soul." In order to reach the thought of Jesus in this saying, there is need that it be clearly perceived that the original antithesis is apparently not that of "body" and "soul," but of two differing fates for the body.

It seems to be again the body, and the body only, that is in the mind of Jesus when he sets one member of the body over against the whole body in his notable saying about the act of adultery through one member, the eye or the hand:

## DOCUMENT M §5

Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body be cast into Gehenna. And if thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body go into Gehenna.

The issue that Jesus places before his hearer is the choice between the total loss of that member of the body which leads into the sin of adultery with the resultant freedom from adultery on the one hand, and, on the other, the retention of the offending member with consequent indulgence in adultery and the inevitable ultimate degeneracy and ruin of the body through indulgence. This ultimate debilitation and practical dissolution of the body he likens to that process of corruptive decay which was most loathingly brought to the mind by the putrefaction of bodies of criminals and carcasses of animals in the valley of Hinnom. It is better, he urges, to pluck out the eye or cut off the hand than to retain them at the cost of the wreck of the body—a wreck comparable only to that wrought in connection with the casting of the body into the valley of Hinnom. It is not improbable that adultery under certain circumstances, or the social evil in certain

forms, was punishable in the time of Jesus by judicial committment of the criminal to the opprobrium of desecration through assignment of the body after death to the valley of Hinnom.

Whatever the choice of the individual, it is here the body only that is involved by the words of Jesus; he raises the question as to the wisdom of the sacrifice of "the whole body" when ruthless and immediate dealing with "one of the members" will save the whole from desecration. But there is a strong movement away from this forceful, clear, simple, and searching thought in that report of these sayings which has found a place in document MK as below, a movement like that seen in the Matthaean account of the document P §20 saying previously examined, that is, an eschatological recasting of the sayings so that the original sense is wholly obscured:

DOCUMENT M §5  
A Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.

B And if thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body be cast into hell.

C And if thy right hand causeth thee to stumble, cut it off, and cast it from thee for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not thy whole body go into hell.

DOCUMENT MK 0:42-48  
A And whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe on me to stumble, it were better for him if a great millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.

B And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, cast it out: it is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell;

C And if thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is good for thee to enter into life maimed, rather than having thy two hands to go into hell, into the unquenchable fire. And if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is good for thee to enter into life halt, rather than having thy two feet to be cast into hell.

D where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

GOSPEL MT 18:8, 9

B And if thine eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is good for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into the hell of fire.

C And if thy hand or thy foot causeth thee to stumble, cut it off, and cast it from thee: it is good for thee to enter into life maimed or halt, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into the eternal fire.

The portion A under document MK will recall the setting given these sayings in that document; and when compared with portion A under document M will give weighty reasons for the conviction that document M, not document MK, has reported these words about eye and hand in their historical context. The evangelist Matthew had both documents, and therefore had the sayings before him in two very different connections. He retained them in both, reducing the statement in portion C of document MK by combining "thy hand"

with "thy foot." No doubt the attentive reader will be able to trace some possible minor influences of the document M report in the gospel MT transcription of document MK. It ought to be observed that, for purposes of comparison, the document MK and gospel MT order has been conformed above to that of document M, their actual sequence of sayings being A, C, B, D.

Except for a single instance, the uniform phrase of document MK and gospel MT is "enter into life;" no doubt the "enter into the kingdom of God" of portion B in document MK was originally "enter into life;" that seems established by the testimony of the Matthaean copy of it in portion B of gospel MT. The document MK contrast, followed by gospel MT, is set forth in the opposed fates, "to enter into life" and "to be cast into Gehenna." Gehenna is defined further as "the unquenchable fire" or "the eternal fire," and is described as a place "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." That is to say, it is an eschatological fate of endless duration; against it there stands by contrast the blessedness of the righteous, to "enter into life."

Thus the contrast as set forth in document M has been lost; it is no longer an alternative between "thy right eye" and "thy whole body," but between "enter into life" and "be cast into Gehenna." Instead of two possible fates for the part or the whole of the body in the present life, there has been substituted two possible states of the body, mutilated or uncut, in the future life. By some simple and probably unconscious changes in transmission, the saying as preserved in document MK has departed widely from the original thought of Jesus as recorded in document M. And it is not alone by the transfer of the whole to the future life that the mind of Jesus as expressed in these sayings has been obscured. There is given to the term Gehenna a new content; it becomes "the Gehenna of fire," "the unquenchable fire," "the eternal fire," the place "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." None of these things are said of it in the document M report; there it is simply Gehenna, that is, the valley of Hinnom. It is important to recall at this point the fact that Gehenna is nowhere used in the Old Testament except either in the topographical sense strictly speaking, or in reference to the valley of Hinnom as the region of idolatrous

practices and inhuman sacrifices. Nor does it occur in the biblical apocryphal literature. It emerges first, in the above document MK sense, in apocalyptic literature, the date of which must be conjectured. The portion D of document MK seems to be a transcription from Isa. 66:24, which reads in full: "And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh." Since these additions about "fire" have been so freely placed here, Matthew having gone beyond even document MK in the portion B by the change of "into Gehenna" so that his phrase reads "into the Gehenna of fire," the question naturally arises whether in document M §4, previously considered, the saying of Jesus has received an addition in the words, "of fire."

There remain for consideration the two appearances of the word Gehenna in document M §27, the report of the discourse against the Pharisees. Of the second of these, that at the close of the discourse, a study has already been made at other points. It has been seen that this eschatological close to the discourse is unsupported by the document P report of the final words of Jesus on this occasion. Instead of consigning the Pharisees to a drastic eschatological fate, as here represented, Jesus seems to have forecast their downfall with the ruin of the nation, document P §18B.<sup>1</sup> In the former of the instances in this discourse, Matt. 23:15, the phrase, "a son of Gehenna," in the saying, "Ye make him twofold more a son of Gehenna than yourselves," seems to be a term of opprobrium, which takes its content of contempt from the fact that one condemned to the valley of Hinnom was a social outcast, made one by the nature of the crimes punished by such disposal of the body. In view of the uses to which the valley of Hinnom was put, especially because it was the depository of the bodies of criminals, it is natural to believe that scathing condemnation found one of its most penetrating thrusts in the application to the Pharisees of the opprobrious title, "son of Gehenna," a term probably current in Jesus' day for precisely such a personal rebuke.

Unless the evidence has been wrongly interpreted, the necessary conclusion from the foregoing results is that Jesus never used Gehenna

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 32-35, 225, 226.



in any other sense than the valley of Hinnom, that is, the valley of Hinnom as the depository of the offal of Jerusalem, the carcasses of animals, and the bodies of criminals who by the special nature of their crimes were refused the rites of burial so sacred to the Jews. Wherever Gehenna appears in any other sense in the gospels, most especially where it is conceived of as the place of future and eternal punishment, the comparative study of documents seems to show with clearness that this sense is derived by subsequent modification of the original words of Jesus.

#### §4. TORMENT AND FIRE

All passages in the Synoptic Gospels in which there appears the notion of Torment and Fire as the portion of the wicked, in the future aeon, have come under examination at one point or another in previous studies. For review, they may be set down together, with references to the places where the full discussions of their original source are to be found.

GOSPEL MT 8:20

- I. What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time?

GOSPEL MT 18:8, 9

- II. It is good for thee to enter into life maimed or halt, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into the eternal fire. . . . It is good for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into the hell of fire.

DOCUMENT M §4

- III. Whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of the hell of fire.

DOCUMENT M §14

- IV. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

DOCUMENT M §15

- V. As therefore the tares are gathered up and burned with fire; so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace

DOCUMENT MK 5:7

What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God? I adjure thee by God, torment me not.

DOCUMENT MK 9:43-49

It is good for thee to enter into life maimed, rather than having thy two hands to go into hell, into the unquenchable fire. . . . It is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. For every one shall be salted with fire.

GOSPEL LK 8:28

What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God? I beseech thee, torment me not.

of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

DOCUMENT M §18

So shall it be in the end of the world: the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from  
VI. among the righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

DOCUMENT M §26

Depart from me, ye cursed,  
VII. into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels.

It will be observed that all references to "fire" in the Synoptic Gospels are derived from the single document M, except passage II above. The one mention of "Torment," passage I, in which torment is treated as future, through the phrase "before the time," is likewise Matthaean. It is significant that the only passage outside of document M in which the future is treated in terms of "fire" is shown, by the external evidence, to have been added to document MK after the exemplar used by Luke had been copied.<sup>1</sup> Thus the document MK form of these sayings stands with the various sayings above from document M as the product of times subsequent to Jesus. Fortunately, in this single instance where the tendency manifests itself in document MK, we are able to correct it by the use of another document, M §5, which apparently has not suffered modification in this body of sayings.

I. We are not dealing here with words attributed to Jesus, but with those reputed to have come from a demon. Their significance for the present study, therefore, lies in the fact that they exhibit the Matthaean eschatological conception by the addition "before the time." He believes in a future for demons, in which they will suffer torment, and reports the demon as asking for release from torment until that aeon of torment has come.<sup>2</sup>

II. The method of Matthew in his use of this passage from document MK, and the departures of the MK report from the original form in document M §5, by which the element "fire" has been given so large a place, have been considered.<sup>3</sup> The origin of the last sentence under document MK, "For every one shall be salted with fire," was suggested in the study of this problem chapter of document MK.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 67-78.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 87, 88.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 259-63.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 67-78.

III. It was not possible to apply any external test to this passage, as it is recorded in no other document. In the light of the whole paragraph of which it is a part, it seems notably clear that the valley of Hinnom is meant. The conjecture was made that "of fire" originated as did the same words in the passage under II.<sup>1</sup>

IV. This saying is one part of the addition in document M to the report of the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>2</sup> The words here are probably traceable to the influence of the phraseology of John the Baptist, document G §1B end.

V. It will be recalled that the presence of the word "fire" was not brought forward among the considerations advanced against regarding this exposition of the parable of the Wheat and Tares as being from Jesus.<sup>3</sup>

VI. That this exposition was traced in a previous study to some source other than Jesus was not determined in any degree by the fact that it speaks of an eschatological fate in terms of "fire."<sup>3</sup>

VII. It ought to be observed that the conception in this passage from the Judgment Scene of document M §26<sup>4</sup> is precisely that set forth by the Matthaean addition to his document MK in passage I above, namely, that there is for the demons, "the devil and his angels," a "torment" in the form of "the eternal fire."

Apparently the evidence requires that it be held that Jesus himself never referred to "torment" or "fire" as the form of future fate for the unrighteous.<sup>5</sup> It seems worth while to consider whether the fact that when all passages using the word "fire" are brought together they are found to have been called in question previously on grounds wholly apart from the presence of this word ought to be taken as one more attested portion of a cumulative evidence that the judgments already formed on each one of these passages are correct.

#### § 5. HADES (*ᾗδης*)

The word "Hades" is credited to Jesus three times in the Synoptic Gospels. It occurs twice in document P, P §§5, 53; the other instance is in gospel MT 16:18, where it is unsupported by document

<sup>1</sup> See p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 226-35.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 216-18.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 235-45.

<sup>5</sup> There is yet to be considered, however, the parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man, on which see pp. 294-98.

MK which Matthew is using for this paragraph of his gospel. It is not important to determine, in this connection,<sup>1</sup> the source of the additions to document MK made by Matthew in 16:17-19, for the phrase he there uses, "the gates of Hades," does not refer to Hades as the future abode of the righteous or unrighteous, but is part of a mode of conveying the idea of violent and malignant opposition:

GOSPEL MT 16:18

And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it.

Similarly, in document P §5 the word Hades does not convey teaching of Jesus about the future state of mankind; it is simply a phrase of contrast:

DOCUMENT P §5

And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt be brought down unto Hades. Here the word "heaven" is an equivalent for the uppermost position; "Hades" is that which is nethermost. Capernaum will not proudly exalt herself or be exalted; she will be laid low, will be brought to the dust.

One only of the three instances of Jesus' use of "Hades" exhibits the term with a meaning which demands attention in a study of Jesus' thought as to the future of mankind, that in

DOCUMENT P §53

And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and that he was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom; and the rich man also died, and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.

This is part of a parable which is so important as to demand independent complete study. It contains many other phases of thought about the future.<sup>2</sup>

## §6. DESTRUCTION

DOCUMENT M §13

Enter ye in by the narrow gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many be they that enter in thereby. For narrow is the gate, and straitened the way, that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it.

By this saying Jesus sets in contrast two fates in the future, fates determined by the way chosen by the individual. As the antithesis to "life (*ζωή*)," he puts forward "destruction (*ἀπόλεια*)." The latter word is recorded nowhere else.

In one or two passages where the verb form (*ἀπόλλυμι*) is attributed to Jesus, the content of the thought conveyed is such that there is in it an outlook toward the future. Such is the case in

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 329-32.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 294-98.

## MATTHAEAN P §20

And be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy (ἀπολεῖσαι) both soul and body in Gehenna.

But, as has been seen, the more original form of the saying, as in Lukan P §20, is without the word "destroy," and seems to have reference not to the fate of the "soul" in the future, but to that of the body in the present.<sup>1</sup>

In one other passage it may be held that the intended reference is to the future when ἀπόλλυμι is used. This is in

## GOSPEL MT 18:14

Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish (ἀπόληται).

But this is an application of the parable of the Lost Sheep which differs much from that found in document P, where this parable is placed in what is apparently its more original historical context. Both parable and inference from parable are part of the complex problem presented by Matthew's eighteenth chapter.<sup>2</sup> Both seem to have been added by another hand subsequent to the framing of the gospel by the evangelist Matthew. No assured inference bearing upon the future may be drawn, therefore, from the two passages containing ἀπόλλυμι; but the thought of Jesus in the "ἀπόλεια" of document M §13 seems clear and strong.

## §7. THE SOUL (ψυχή) AND THE SPIRIT (πνεῦμα)

Among the several passages in the Synoptic Gospels in which Jesus is credited with the word "soul" or "life," that is, ψυχή, there is one only in which the word is so used that it has undoubtedly a future reference. This, therefore, is the only passage which properly belongs to the present study:

## MATTHAEAN P §20

And be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna.

Even this single use of "soul (ψυχή)" with a future content is excluded, however, by the evidence that its appearance here is the result of Matthaean tendency, the original thought not extending into the region of eschatological fate. What Jesus said seems more accurately set forth by

## LUKAN P §20

Be not afraid of them which kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will warn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath authority to cast into Gehenna.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 257-59.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 67-78.

It seems fair to suggest that, since no other passage is found with the word “soul ( $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ )” in a future sense, this fact ought to be retroactive, that is, to be added to the evidences previously advanced that in this passage the Lukan P is the more original, and that the Lukan P refers to two fates for the body in the present.<sup>1</sup>

Though this is the only passage where “soul ( $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ )” is given a definite outlook toward the future, it is instructive to consider briefly certain passages which set forth with clearness the essential content of the word for Jesus.

This appears in

DOCUMENT P §24

Therefore I say unto you, Be not anxious for your life ( $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ ), what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life ( $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ ) more than the food, and the body than the raiment?

Body is set over against  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ . Necessary to the body's preservation is something to put on, raiment. Necessary to the continuance of the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  is something to eat and to drink, food. One ought not to be anxious for one's  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ , that is, for what one shall eat and what one shall drink to support the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ , nor for the body, whose requirement, as distinguished from the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ , is raiment. The  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  is greater than the food which keeps it alive, even as the body is greater than the raiment which serves to protect it. But to say this much is not to affirm that the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  persists when food and drink cease, any more than does the body when exposed to the rigors of climate without covering.

In the estimate of Jesus,<sup>2</sup> far more valuable than any other possession which a man may call his own is his  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ , “for what doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ ? For what should a man give in exchange for his  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ ?” It is the center of selfhood, the stronghold of personality, the very will of the man. There is a certain sense in which it is a something not yet attained; and to its complete finding, saving, preserving there is a way of success and a way of failure. To hold the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  as one's own inalienable possession, devoted to one's own selfish ends, is to fail to attain to any complete realization of the possibilities of the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ . It is to “lose” the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ , to “forfeit” the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ , and this loss or forfeiting of the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  is for any man nothing other than to “lose” or “forfeit” his own self. It is only as the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  is abandoned, and is devoted to

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 257-59.

<sup>2</sup> Document MK 8:34-37; document P §44.

a goal outside selfish interests, that it attains to the full measure of its potentialities. So soon as it ceases to be cherished as a right, and is freely spent as another's possession held in trust for service, it passes into the actual possession of the trustee, developed and fixed by the transforming process of a shift of center. The *ψυχή*, viewed from the standpoint of its potentiality, is something to be "won."<sup>1</sup>

In these notable sayings of Jesus there is developed that suggestion which is conveyed in its simplest form by the saying: "For the *ψυχή* is more than the food." In the *ψυχή* Jesus believed there was resident a possibility of self-realization which could be made actual by a certain conduct of life outlined by him. He did not himself indicate, in the course of his reference to the *ψυχή*, that it had a life other than that of the present. If to the word *ψυχή* there is to be given a content by which it has a reference to the future, that must be on the basis of other teachings of Jesus. It cannot be definitely deduced from any of his sayings about the *ψυχή*. The contribution of Jesus to the conception of the *ψυχή* lies in his refusal to think and speak of man's *ψυχή* as something static. For him it was vitally potent, waiting only the touch of a supreme purpose in order to be set free, yet fearfully liable to self-destruction by becoming self-centered.

The only instance of the use of "spirit (*πνεῦμα*)" by Jesus in a way to indicate that the *πνεῦμα* has a future is recorded by Luke in his account of the words on the cross:

GOSPEL I.K. 23:46

And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit (*πνεῦμα*): and having said this he gave up the ghost (*ἔξπνευσεν*).

Jesus repeats here the words of the Psalmist in Ps. 31:5, using as the title of address "Father," instead of the "O Jehovah" of the psalm writer. For the author of Ps. 31, the words "into thine hand I commend my spirit" meant, as the context shows, the committal to Jehovah of the safeguarding of the suppliant during his lifetime. It had no reference to anything beyond death. If the words were actually repeated by Jesus on the cross, their application for his mind cannot be so limited, for his lifetime was now at its close. He therefore commends himself as to future destiny to the hands of his Father. It probably cannot ever be known whether Jesus cried out loudly but inarticulately and died without further utterance, as reported

<sup>1</sup> Luke 21:18, 19.

by document MK—"And Jesus uttered a loud voice and gave up the ghost," or finished his earthly career as John records—"When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head and gave up his spirit," or died with the commendation of his spirit to God as Luke represents in the above passage.

### §8. LIFE AND ETERNAL LIFE (ζωή)

Among the many pregnant sayings of Jesus there is none of greater directness, clearness, force, and essential accord with the body of his most fundamental teaching than that one which forms a part of the Sermon on the Mount in

#### DOCUMENT M §13

Enter ye in by the narrow gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many be they that enter in thereby. For narrow is the gate, and straitened the way, that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it.

And if one presses the inquiry as to what is meant, in the terms of Jesus, by "life (ζωή)," the answer in its larger aspects is already suggested by the antithesis which Jesus chose to employ here, namely, "destruction (ἀπώλεια)."

It would seem that Jesus did not conceive of "life (ζωή)" solely as something to be attained and entered upon in an age separated from the present and experienced under different conditions, for it is recorded of him that on one occasion he used this term as reported in

#### DOCUMENT P §23

Take heed, and keep yourselves from all covetousness: for a man's life (ζωή) consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.

Though upon another occasion the questioner of Jesus, by the form of his interrogation—"Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?"—showed that his mind was wholly upon the future, it is by no means certain that Jesus gave no present content to the idea of the desired "life (ζωή)" when he replied, having first drawn out the law of love to God and neighbor, "Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live (ζήσῃ)."<sup>1</sup>

The phrase "to enter into life" occurs in two passages attributed to Jesus, namely, one in gospel MT, and one in document MK. That in gospel MT is not supported by document MK which Matthew is using in that paragraph, thus:

#### GOSPEL MT 10:17

And he said unto him, Why askest thou me concerning that which is good? One there is who is good: but if thou wouldst enter into life, keep the commandments.

#### DOCUMENT MK 10:18, 19

And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? none is good save one, *even* God. Thou knowest the commandments.

#### GOSPEL LK 18:19, 20

And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, *even* God. Thou knowest the commandments.

<sup>1</sup> Document P §10.



The use of "enter into life," aside from the above Matthaean addition, is found in document MK 9:43-47. But, as has been determined by a preceding comparative study,<sup>1</sup> the original form of these sayings about the right eye and the right hand is found in document M §5, from which the phrase "enter into life" is entirely absent. That the phrase occurs nowhere else, except in the above Matthaean addition to document MK, may fairly be taken as one additional minor factor in the cumulative evidence that the document M §5 report of the sayings about eye and hand is the more original.

Another phrase bearing the word "life (ζωή)" was used on several occasions by the interrogators of Jesus, namely, "eternal life." To Jesus himself the phrase is attributed in two passages only, one in document MK, one in document M. That in document M appears in the Judgment Scene portrayal in M §26: "And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life." That in document MK stands as the conclusion to the conversation begun by the question of the rich young ruler: "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? The words of Jesus are: "There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or father, or children, or lands . . . but he shall receive a hundred-fold now in this time . . . and in the age to come eternal life." That the choice of the phrase "eternal life" in this statement by Jesus results from the form of question put to him at the beginning of the conversation seems suggested by the fact that in the main course of the discussion Jesus employs only his customary designation of present and absolute blessedness, that is, "to enter into the kingdom of God."<sup>2</sup> Since the above document M instance of "eternal life" is part of a paragraph against which there are many evidences,<sup>3</sup> and since Jesus apparently takes the phrase in document MK from his questioner, it can hardly be held that this form of phraseology is revelatory of the mode of view of Jesus.

To summarize the above results: The phrase "to enter into life" occurs only in passages which are shown, by the comparison of document with gospel or document with document, to be modifications of the words of Jesus. The phrase "eternal life" appears in one passage where its use by Jesus was probably prompted by the form of question

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 250-63.

<sup>2</sup> Document MK 10:17-31.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 235-45.

addressed to him.<sup>1</sup> The verb "to live ( $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ )" appears in one saying which also was the result of a similar question about "eternal life."<sup>2</sup> The single, unmodified word "life ( $\zeta\omega\eta$ )" occurs in two passages, once with a reference solely to the present,<sup>3</sup> once with a clear future, and possibly also present, meaning.<sup>4</sup> It will be realized, therefore, that, as a term to cover the conception of future destiny, the word had, at the most, an inconsiderable place in the mode of expression of Jesus.

### §9. THE ETERNAL TABERNACLES

Within one of the parables there is imbedded a reference of the most general kind to the future. It is a part of the parable of the Unrighteous Steward recorded in

#### DOCUMENT P §47

And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles.

The particular phrase here chosen by Jesus to cover the general conception of something lying beyond the present was suggested apparently by the necessities of the case. For, having started with the idea of a steward seeking some procedure by which he might retain the favor of his lord's debtors, especially so "that they might receive him into their houses," Jesus naturally set forth the eternal reality which corresponds to this human hospitality in an expression of similar form. This he did by setting over against "their houses" the phrase "the eternal tabernacles," his parallelism standing thus:

"that they may receive me into their houses"

"that they may receive me into the eternal tabernacles."

There is derivable from this particular phrase, therefore, nothing other than the general conception, involved in many other sayings of Jesus, that there is possible a future of indefinite duration for man. Neither its place nor its form is defined in this passage.

### §10. PARADISE AND GLORY

Among the sundry references to the future credited to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, there are two brief sayings which deal with the future of Jesus himself. Each of them brings into view a new mode

<sup>1</sup> Document MK 10:30.

<sup>3</sup> Document P §23.

<sup>2</sup> Document P §10.

<sup>4</sup> Document M §13.

of conceiving his life beyond his earthly career. One of them is said to have been spoken on the cross:

Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise (gospel LK 23:43).

The other belongs to the post-resurrection period:

Behoved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory (gospel LK 24:26)?

It will be observed that both sayings are in passages peculiar to the Lukan passion and post-resurrection history.

GOSPEL MT 27:44

A And the robbers also that were crucified with him cast upon him the same reproach.

DOCUMENT MK 15:32

A And they that were crucified with him reproached him.

GOSPEL LK 23:30-43

A And of one the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, Art not thou the Christ? save thyself and us.

B But the other answered, and rebuking him said, Dost thou not even fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said, Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

To that attitude of both malefactors reported by document MK, an attitude consistent with the trend of popular feeling at that hour, the Lukan report takes exception, by recording that it was quite otherwise with one of them. He credits one of them with expressing an estimate of Jesus which surely was held by very few men, and these few were among those of finer moral and religious discernment. In the portion B, Luke makes record of more than one particular which creates difficulty to the historical interpreter.

Perhaps most prominent among these is the request of the malefactor: "Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom." Such a request presupposes several beliefs of a most fundamental nature: (1) It involves the faith that Jesus is the Christ. (2) By its utterance under these circumstances, it eliminates the supposition of any temporary shadowing of that faith by the apparent denial of messiahship involved in death on the cross. (3) In it there is bound up the belief that Jesus was to come again, at which time, and then alone, he could be truly said to come "in his kingdom" or "into his kingdom." Stated otherwise, within this short sentence there is involved a complete messianic programme (1) of a kind unknown

before Jesus, (2) not outlined in public by him even though the records be taken as they stand, but spoken, if at all, only to his own circle of disciples, (3) not apprehended, even if spoken, by those disciples during his lifetime with any such clearness as is credited to this man who during the days in which Jesus is reputed to have revealed his coming again had languished in prison beyond the reach of Jesus' voice, (4) not spoken even to them if the evidence has been correctly interpreted in preceding studies.

Though it be assumed that Jesus taught his second coming, it is to be held that none of his disciples saw in his death anything other than the absolute denial of his messianic worth, and that, therefore, this malefactor stood alone among men in regarding, in this dread hour, the death of Jesus as a stage in the movement toward his kingdom. In other words, one of the robbers (1) thoroughly knew the supreme moral blamelessness of Jesus—"this man hath done nothing amiss," (2) had a full knowledge of reputed words (thirteenth chapter of document MK) spoken to the Twelve or perhaps to four only of the disciples (MK 13:3), and (3) had so estimated the significance of Jesus' life, so interpreted the bearings of his words, so harmonized new and stubborn facts with inherited expectations, so unified the past, present, and future of the career of Jesus, and so overreached the most intimate disciples in outlook and insight, that to him the crucifixion of the Christ was a mere incident in his progress toward the sure goal of his imminent kingdom, participation in which he desired and requested in that hour when all others saw naught but the inglorious close to either an infamous or a disappointing career. Surely it is not arbitrary to conclude that such a request from such a one in such an hour addressed to a Christ apparently so inglorious is historically and psychologically highly improbable, is from every standpoint anachronistic in the last degree.

In support of the contention that such a request would place the malefactor in a class by himself, as the single individual who retained faith in Jesus as the Christ and clearly foresaw and looked forward to the kingdom of power which should emerge from the present obscurity, no better evidence can be adduced than that body of tradition as to the apologetic activity of Jesus in the post-resurrection period of which the second saying, "Behoved it not the Christ to suffer

these things, and to enter into his glory?," forms the central idea. It is the synoptic representation that hope and faith in Jesus went out for his disciples with his death. That dire event shook the foundations of the faith that he was the Christ; it dissipated the hope that he was the one set for the redemption of Israel. The remnant of valuation lay in a backward look—"we hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel." It ought to be added that the apologetic vindication of Jesus' death by the Twelve from Old Testament Scripture followed upon the fundamental conviction that he had risen from the dead; while for the malefactor there was no such removal of the sting of Jesus' death, by which removal alone he could estimate rightly the apparent stigma of crucifixion.

If these considerations seem valid, it will be concluded that the single instance of reference by Jesus to "Paradise" as a place of abode for the righteous dead ought not to be regarded as other than a later addition to the record taken by Luke from document MK. The second passage, "Behoved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory?," is an integral part of the Lukan record of the post-resurrection apologetic activity of Jesus. It cannot be considered adequately without the complete study of the nature of that activity as a whole, and the examination of the attitude of Jesus throughout his ministry toward the forecasts of the Old Testament. These studies require and receive independent attention at a subsequent point in the present work.<sup>1</sup>

### §11. HEAVEN

In the usage of Jesus, one of the senses in which he employed "heaven" was as the counterpart of the earth, heaven and earth constituting the natural universe. Such is the apparent meaning in the following sayings:

DOCUMENT P §51

But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fall.

DOCUMENT M §3

Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished.

DOCUMENT MK 13:31

Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

Heaven stood for Jesus as the upper position in the whole, while earth was the nether. Hence, when a vivid antithesis was desired for the nethermost regions, the word "heaven" was chosen:

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 342-52.

## DOCUMENT P §5

And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt be brought down unto Hades.

Over both parts of this twofold universe of nature, Jesus conceived God to dominate:

## DOCUMENT P §8

I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth.

Jesus teaches that God is lord of heaven and earth, that is, rules as master of all the universe, not only by direct assertion as above, but by his figurative conception of both parts as under his service:

## DOCUMENT M §6

Swear not at all; neither by the heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of his feet.

## DOCUMENT M §27

And he that sweareth by the heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon

As opposed to the earth, which is the home of man, Jesus talks of the heaven as the natural sphere of the birds:

## DOCUMENT P §2

The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven *have* nests.

## MATTHAEAN P §24

Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns.

## DOCUMENT MK §23

When it is sown, *it* groweth up, and becometh greater than all the herbs and putteth out great branches; so that the birds of the heaven can lodge under the shadow thereof.

## DOCUMENT P §37

And it grew, and became a tree; and the birds of the heaven lodged in the branches thereof.

Upon the face of the heaven men look for the forecasts of the weather:

## MATTHAEAN P §33

When it is evening, ye say, *It will be* fair weather; for the heaven is red. And in the morning, *It will be* foul weather to-day: for the heaven is red and lowring. Ye know how to discern the face of the heaven; but ye cannot *discern* the signs of the times.

## LUKAN P §33

When ye see a cloud rising in the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it cometh to pass. And when ye see a south wind blowing, ye say, There will be a scorching heat; and it cometh to pass. Ye hypocrites, ye know how to interpret the face of the earth and the heaven; but how is it that ye know not how to interpret this time?

But the heaven is more than an indicator of the meteorological conditions which may be expected. From it lightning shoots forth, and rain pours down. Across its face the flash travels; when it is shut up there is drought:

## DOCUMENT P §60

As the lightning, when it lighteneth out of the one part under the heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven; so shall the Son of man be in his day.

## DOCUMENT P §7

I beheld Satan fallen, as lightning from heaven.

## DOCUMENT G §6B

There were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when there came a great famine over all the land.

Following the tradition of the sacred Scriptures, Jesus cites the story of the occasion upon which the heaven gave forth the very opposite of beneficent water:

DOCUMENT P §60

In the day that Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all.

Following that usage of his people which originated in the desire to avoid the pronunciation of the divine name, Jesus now and then places "heaven" where Jehovah or God would be more precise. Thus he represents the prodigal son as resolving to say, and later as saying:

DOCUMENT P §46D

Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight.

Similarly, the exact meaning and the more direct antithesis would be secured were "God" substituted for "heaven" in the following:

DOCUMENT MK 11:30

The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men? answer me.

No doubt the choice of "heaven" as the substitute for the sacred name by the Jews had its basis in some conception by which God was given a localization in the upper regions. Probably out of this conception grew the custom of prayer with the face turned upward, an established attitude to which Jesus gives passing recognition when he says of the publican:

DOCUMENT P §62

But the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote his breast.

When there is set over against these numerous and varied uses of "heaven," as the complement to the earth in a universal whole, those passages which employ the term in another sense, the sense of supra-mundane with a meaning other than simply above the earth, the sparseness of the latter references is made manifest and striking. Among them are one or two which represent heaven as the abiding-place of angels:

DOCUMENT MK 12:25

For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as angels in heaven.

DOCUMENT MK 13:32

But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.

Of an altogether exceptional content is the suggestion conveyed by the word in one of the phrases which Matthew records as a part of the prayer which Jesus taught his disciples:

MATTHEWAN P §13

Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.

Such a request is based on the conception that within heaven there are resident volitional beings living under the dominance of the will of God as Lord. The sayings which speak of "angels in heaven" provide the mind with a certain definite body of willing subjects of God in the supramundane world. But it may hardly be held that, even with the union of ideas thus effected by the conjunction of these three passages of exceptional content, there emerges any committal of Jesus to an elaborate and articulated other-world view.<sup>1</sup>

When, however, one passes from the mention of subjects or servants in that "heaven" where the will of God is done to those references which relate to him whose will is there supreme, these are so frequent that there can be apparently no mistaking the intention of Jesus to make "heaven" the essential center of God's influence. The mode of designation for God most frequently upon the lips of Jesus is "Father," and this is united with the phrase "which is in heaven" in the combinations "your Father which is in heaven," "my Father which is in heaven," "our Father which is in heaven." The Synoptic Gospels contain fifteen instances of such locating of God in "heaven" by Jesus. Moreover, the related word "heavenly (*οὐράνιος*)" is employed by Jesus seven times, always in the phrase "heavenly Father." To the support of the view that Jesus thought of God as the Father in "heaven," twenty-two passages may, therefore, be brought forward.

Upon an examination of these twenty-two passages, one is immediately impressed by the fact that with two exceptions they are recorded only in the Matthaean gospel.<sup>2</sup> This suggests the inquiry whether this form of phrasing may not be another of those characteristic modes of thought which have been stamped upon the Gospel of Matthew by that circle which formed the medium of transmission for this particular line of tradition. Obviously, such an inquiry must make, as its first stage of investigation, an exhibit of these Matthaean sayings in parallelism with those of like general content from the other Synoptists.

<sup>1</sup> Consideration ought to be given also to the fact that the petition, "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth," is not reported by the Lukan P §13 as an original part of the prayer.

<sup>2</sup> Passages which use "Father in heaven" are Matt. 5:16, 45; 6:1, 9; 7:11, 21; 10:32, 33; 12:50; 16:17; 18:10, 14, 19; MK 11:25; Luke 11:13. Those which contain "heavenly Father" are Matt. 5:48; 6:14, 26, 32; 15:13; 18:35; 23:9.



## DOCUMENT M §8

Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust.

## DOCUMENT M §8

Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.

## MATTHAEAN P §13

After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven.

## MATTHAEAN P §24

Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; and your heavenly Father feedeth them.

## MATTHAEAN P §24

For all these things do the Gentiles seek; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.

## DOCUMENT M §14

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

## GOSPEL MT 12:50

For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother.

## GOSPEL MT 6:14, 15

For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

## MATTHAEAN P §20

Every one therefore who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven.

But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

## MATTHAEAN P §15

Or what man is there of you, who, if his son shall ask him for a loaf, will give him a stone; or if he shall ask for a fish, will give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?

## DOCUMENT G §12

But love your enemies, and do *them* good, and lend, never despairing; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be sons of the Most High: for he is kind toward the unthankful and evil.

## DOCUMENT G §12

Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful.

## LUKAN P §13

When ye pray, say, Father.

## LUKAN P §24

Consider the ravens, that they sow not, neither reap; which have no storechamber nor barn; and God feedeth them.

## LUKAN P §24

For all these things do the nations of the world seek after: but your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.

## DOCUMENT G §16

And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?

## DOCUMENT MK 3:35

For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.

## DOCUMENT MK 11:25

And whensoever ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses.

## LUKAN P §20

Every one who shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God.

But he that denieth me in the presence of men, shall be denied in the presence of the angels of God.

## LUKAN P §15

And of which of you that is a father shall his son ask a loaf, and he give him a stone? or a fish, and he for a fish give him a serpent? Or if he shall ask an egg, will he give him a scorpion? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall *your* heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?

By the above eleven<sup>1</sup> passages from Matthew, there are cited all instances of the occurrence of "heaven" or "heavenly" used with Father, in that gospel, for which there are any parallels in the other Synoptics, that is, any possibility of test by comparison. It may be seen, also, that the only two instances of such usage outside of Matthew, namely, document MK 11:25 and Lukan P §15, are brought under view above because they form parallels to Matthaean passages.

<sup>1</sup> Two instances under Matthaean P §20.

Thus by a study of the above citations, the usage of the Synoptists will be covered, except for those instances where there is no other record than that of Matthew. Of the latter there are nine cases,<sup>1</sup> which will be considered subsequently. For the present, attention may be directed to those where the check may be made directly by another account.

It will be observed that, in the first seven of the above citations from Matthew, the reading with "heaven" or "heavenly" has no support in the synoptic parallel, the other gospel having instead simply "Father," or "God," or "Most High." It would involve too considerable a digression to determine the relative worth of these parallels in each case on other grounds than simply the inclusion or omission of the phrase under study. Judgment may be formed without extended discussion; it must suffice to record the significant fact of the difference in this respect. The first instance where the parallel to Matthew agrees in recording "which is in heaven" is that of gospel MT 6:14, 15=document MK 11:25, the only case of the occurrence of the phrase in Mark. And examination of the verse in its document MK context seems to indicate that it is largely inappropriate at that point, for the natural aim of Jesus on that occasion was simply to answer the interrogation of his disciples by emphasis upon faith and prayer as effective forces. Had Jesus then added the thought in document MK 11:25, he would thereby have passed from his subject; the remark about forgiveness would have proved a somewhat confusing conclusion to his inspiring teaching of that hour. The explanation of the inclusion here of MK 11:25 at some time in the history of document MK seems suggested naturally; the reference to prayer in MK 11:24 formed the one attracting point in document MK for any isolated, subsequently known sayings on that subject. In the absence of testimony from the evangelist Luke as to the content of the document MK at this point in the copy used by him, it cannot be known whether this verse had come into document MK before the time of the production of the Lukan exemplar. If one will regard MK 11:25 as a saying of Jesus which had an independent currency for a time, and was taken into document MK only after much oral transmission, it seems reasonable to explain its phrase

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 5:16; 6:1; 15:13; 16:17; 18:10, 14, 19, 35; 23:9.

“which is in heaven” as the product of its repetition in circles which brought about the like addition to so many sayings in gospel MT.

There is some evidence in support of the conjecture that the appearance of this phrase “which is in heaven” in this single instance in document MK may be due to textual assimilation to the Gospel of Matthew. There is a mass of manuscript evidence which favors the inclusion in the Greek text of Mark 11:26, the parallel of gospel MT 6:15. This means that document MK 11:25 was taken by its early interpreters to be the parallel of gospel MT 6:14. In the addition of gospel MT 6:15 to document MK 11:25 there may have been further assimilation of the two gospels by the addition from gospel MT 6:14 to document MK 11:25 of the Matthaean phrase “which is in heaven.” In that case, document MK 11:25, as received by the evangelist Matthew and transferred by him to his collection of sayings on prayer, from all documents, in the Sermon on the Mount, did not contain the words, “which is in heaven,” these being added at some time under Matthaean influence, that is, either by the evangelist or subsequently.

When one passes to a comparison of Matthaean P §20 above with Lukan P §20, it is found that the Lukan form records the conclusion of the sayings in phraseology different from that of the Matthaean. Elsewhere it has been suggested that of the two forms the Matthaean is the more original, the Lukan being one stage of an evolution by which the saying later took the cast now exhibited in document MK 8:38, and yet later the form shown in gospel MT 16:27.<sup>1</sup> Among the forms in which the saying has come down, the Matthaean P §20 is, therefore, the oldest and most nearly original. On the basis of results reached above in other passages, shall the critical process be advanced yet another stage, and the conjecture made that, as spoken by Jesus, these sayings closed with the word “Father” of Matthaean P §20?

In the teaching recorded in the final passage above, document P §15, there is brought under review the only instance of the attachment of “heaven” or “heavenly” to “Father” in the gospel by Luke. This single Lukan case has likewise the distinctive feature of standing in a form in the Greek unlike any other in the Synoptics. The phrases elsewhere than here are quite uniform in construction:

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 79-81.

ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς:	Matt. 7:11; MK 11:25.
τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς:	Matt. 5:45.
τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς:	Matt. 6:1.
τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς:	Matt. 5:16.
ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς:	Matt. 16:17.
τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς:	Matt. 7:21; 10:32, 33.
τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς:	Matt. 12:50; 18:14, 19; 18:10.
πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς:	Matt. 6:9.
ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος:	Matt. 5:48; 6:14, 26, 32.
ὑμῶν ὁ πατήρ ὁ οὐράνιος:	Matt. 23:9.
ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος:	Matt. 15:13; 18:35.

But in the Lukan passage it reads thus:

ὁ πατήρ [ὁ]<sup>1</sup> ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δώσει πνεῦμα ἄγιον.

It ought therefore to be translated: "How much more shall the heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him." If the second article be omitted, as in Sinaiticus, it should be read: "How much more shall the Father give the Holy Spirit out of heaven to them that ask him." But as the omission is an easy oversight, it may be concluded, perhaps, that the intended phrase is "the heavenly Father." The qualification of "Father" by ἐξ οὐρανοῦ in this passage apparently has its basis in the desire to use phrasing which should distinguish the "Father" meant in the latter part of the saying from the natural father. It seems to be the purpose of Jesus to find in the conduct of a natural father toward his son the guarantee of the kindly disposition of his Father, the Father of mankind, toward all men. Since it is a setting of father beside Father, it may be that, in referring to God as Father at this time, Jesus intended the distinction suggested by the phrase, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. If so, this forms the single case in the above thirteen passages where "heaven" or "heavenly" is assuredly attributable to Jesus as a part of his designation of God. And here he does it not in the fixed formulae of the Matthaean tradition, but by ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. But, at the best, it will be felt that ἐξ οὐρανοῦ is an exceedingly difficult phrase to interpret as meaning that the Father resides *in* heaven.

Attention may now be directed to the nine passages where Matthew cannot be checked by a parallel. Naturally in these passages, be-

<sup>1</sup> This ὁ is omitted by Codex Sinaiticus and some other MSS.

cause of the absence of parallels, there can be no conclusive evidence adduced as to the source of the phrase. At the most, one must rest satisfied with reasonable conjecture as to probabilities in these passages. Prominent among these is

## DOCUMENT M §27

But be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your teacher, and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father on the earth: for one is your Father, the heavenly (ὁ οὐράνιος). Neither be ye called masters: for one is your master, the Christ.

It will probably be concluded from any careful study of the reputed references of Jesus to himself as the Christ that it is unlikely that Jesus here said "the Christ." It is believed, on the basis of such study, that he went no farther than the assertion, "for one is your master." Similarly, it may be urged, on the ground of results already attained, that he did not here add "the heavenly," but said simply, "for one is your Father." His three successive assertions probably were:

"one is your teacher"

"one is your Father"

"one is your master"

and it is seemingly not his intention that any of them be applied to himself. He is directing the mind of his disciples to the fact that they and he are the associated servants of the one God in a ministry of service to men, and that for them as for himself there is one law of attainment to the dignity involved in the religious titles, "teacher," "father," "master":

But be not ye called Rabbi . . . but he that is greatest among you shall be your servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled; and whosoever shall humble himself shall be exalted.

The concluding verse in the parable of the Unforgiving Servant belongs to those reputed portions of the parables which have to do with their more or less extended exposition:

## DOCUMENT M §26

So shall also my heavenly Father do unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother from your hearts.

The study of these explicative conclusions for the determining as to whether they are a part of the parabolic method of Jesus would be an extended investigation in itself, and will not be entered upon here, except to suggest the need for closely examining each of them independently as to its probabilities. That done with reference to the present verse, there results the conviction that it is an unsatisfying

application of so notable a parable. It apparently represents God in the attitude of a wrathful overlord delivering men to the tormentors because they have not been forgiving. It was enough, it seems, to accept the obvious meaning of the parable standing alone, and to leave the deduction of Jesus' thought to the individual hearer or reader in his turn. It ought to be observed, further, that both in source and sense this expository verse apparently belongs with Matt. 6:14, 15, derived by Matthew from document MK 11:25; and that the considerations advanced in the above discussion of MK 11:25 have validity as explanatory of the appearance of the phrase in the present verse.

Yet another passage is involved in the decision whether the "even so" was a part of that which Jesus felt to be necessary to the effectiveness of his figurative teaching:

## DOCUMENT M §2B

Ye are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do *men* light a lamp, and put it under the bushel, but on the stand; and it shineth unto all that are in the house. Even so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

Of course, it will be had in mind constantly that, should the decision be favorable to the verse as a whole in any case, this does not necessarily carry with it the originality of "which is in heaven," for the passages are all quite complete without passing beyond "Father."

No more striking exhibit of the satisfying completeness of the simple term "Father" may be found than is to be seen in document M §§10-12, where it occurs five times. Yet within the general exhortation by which those sections are introduced there has come to be added to "Father" the customary "which is in heaven," thus:

## DOCUMENT M §0

Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them: else ye have no reward with your Father which is in heaven.

It is precisely this contrast between "men" and "Father" which is carried out in detail in the succeeding verses; yet "which is in heaven" is not again added to the oft-recurring "Father."

It is not a question as to the original nature of the verse as a whole,<sup>1</sup> but only of the special phrase, in such a passage as

## GOSPEL MT 15:13

Every plant which my heavenly Father planted not, shall be rooted up.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the source of this verse, see pp. 359-72.

<sup>2</sup> On the occurrence of the phrase in Matt. 18:10, see pp. 359-72; in Matt. 18:14, see pp. 266, 267; in Matt. 18:19, see pp. 334-39.

This study of the occurrences of "heaven" and "heavenly" in connection with "Father" as the designation of God has been made because of the very large number of times it is credited to Jesus by Matthew, and because of the tendency of that trend in usage to give a definite localization to God in heaven, as at least the center and primary scene of his presence and activity. For such a conception has its bearing upon the idea of "heaven" as a future abode of the blessed.

It should be observed at this point, however, that as yet there has not come under review any passage in which "heaven" has appeared with any future signification. By going back of the inquiry just concluded, it will be noted that the first considerable body of passages referred to "heaven" simply as the counterpart of earth in the universal whole, Nature. Following these are several uses which have a more or less supramundane meaning, in the sense that they give recognition to "heaven" as something more than that which complements the earth. But the most that could be inferred from them was that in "heaven" there are beings capable of doing the will of God and devoted to that activity. If it is to be surmised that God also is there, that must be a deduction from the fact that his will is there supreme, or must be a conclusion from the passages containing "Father which is in heaven" or "heavenly Father." But it is of importance to hold clearly in mind that, whatever be one's judgment as to the worth of the preceding critical suggestions in this study of "heaven" as used by Jesus, this judgment is being exercised upon passages no one of which has any direct reference to the future. The justification for this extended study of passages which lie outside the precise scope of the present investigation is to be found in the implications of these passages as supporting or as giving denial to the present-day popular thought as to the mode of Jesus' use of "heaven." It is the negative aspect of an inquiry which, it may be supposed, has also its positive side.

Among those passages which are taken to indicate with greatest clearness the positive meaning of "heaven" as a future place of abode for the righteous are the several which speak of "treasure in heaven."

MATTHEWAN P. §26

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.

In this exhortation that antithesis of earth and heaven is basal, as the complementary parts of the universe, which is seen in so many of the instances of Jesus' use of "heaven":

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth"  
 but  
 "lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven."

This nature reference is, however, only the substratum of the saying, the original contrast. As superior in position, the heaven came to stand for the superior in quality, as found especially in moral and religious valuations. Presently "heaven" stood as the symbol of good and God. It is from this stage in the development of the signification of "heaven" that the saying of Jesus comes. To lay up for oneself treasures in heaven is to devote oneself to the good and to God so completely that one's powers will not be spent upon the accumulation of treasures upon earth, to devote oneself so completely that growth in treasure attackable by moth and rust will always be subsidiary to growth in character which neither moth nor rust can consume nor any thief break through and steal. This treasure in heaven is not meant by Jesus, it seems, as a future inheritance, but as a present possession. Even in the days as they pass, it becomes the actually realized substitutionary possession for the treasures upon the earth to the laying-up of which one might have devoted oneself.

If this is the correct interpretation of the thought of Jesus here, then the saying gives no support to a future content for "heaven," no support to the position that "heaven" is a place of future abode, toward the assuring of which contribution is made by turning aside, in the present, from the pursuit of riches to the pursuit of that which will yield a different type of riches at a more distant period and location. Happily, the meaning of Jesus here is made independent of present-day judgment upon these words by another saying in which one member of the antithesis is the same as here, that is, "treasures upon the earth." The other member corresponds, therefore, to that idea which he here covers by the phrase "treasures in heaven." This illuminative saying stands as the conclusion to the parable of the Foolish Rich Man:

DOCUMENT P §23

So is he that layeth up treasure for himself and is not rich toward God.



That thought which Jesus expresses in this Lukan passage by "rich toward God" is the thought which is covered in the saying under consideration by the phrase "treasures in heaven." Both phrases designate a present reality, not merely a promise of the future. The latter is not excluded; but, if thought of as resident in the saying, it must be taken as implicit not explicit, and as secondary not primary; it must be regarded as an outcome, not as an incentive.

That Jesus should make an appeal for some other ambition as central rather than that of amassing treasures upon earth, that is, that he should choose "treasures upon earth" as the object of his attack, seeing in them a real menace to that being "rich toward God" which he considered the highest good, grew out of those conditions of his times which favored the religious leaders as financial masters. In the dominant sect, he saw the tendency strongly at work. From this came his outspoken warning, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."<sup>1</sup> "And the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all these things; and they scoffed at him."<sup>2</sup> It was apparently the clear perception by Jesus of the cankering effect of this form of ambition among the ruling classes that led him to make the unconditioned and relentlessly searching demand of the rich young ruler:

## DOCUMENT MK 10:21

One thing thou lackest yet: if thou wouldest be perfect, go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and distribute unto the poor.

Then, as at other times when Jesus spoke thus strongly against a prevailing tendency toward excessive love of wealth, he set over against these treasures upon earth that which he would substitute for them, namely, "treasure in heaven":

And thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.

In this individual appeal, as in the more general exhortation recorded in the above Matthaean P §26, this "treasure in heaven" may be otherwise expressed as a being "rich toward God," even as it is in document P §23.

This review of the sayings in which "treasure in heaven" occurs concludes the treatment of the original<sup>3</sup> sayings of Jesus which con-

<sup>1</sup> Document P §48.

<sup>2</sup> Document P §40.

<sup>3</sup> On the appearance of the word in document MK 14:62, see pp. 83-85; on document MK 13:24-27, see pp. 170-79. Concerning the instance in document G §10B, see p. 23 and the hints under the paragraph numbered 7 on p. 51. On the occurrence

tain the word "heaven."<sup>1</sup> If it has been contended justly that "treasure in heaven" is another form of conveying the thought in "rich toward God," these sayings contribute nothing of future content to the term "heaven." And since none of the other sayings of Jesus about "heaven" have any outlook toward the future, it must be held that it would be a mistake to suppose any such connotation to be a part of Jesus' use of the word.

#### §12. THE FUTURE IN VAGUE FIGURES

The Sermon on the Mount opens, in both document M and document G, with several Beatitudes, which in document G are followed by their counterparts in Woes. The basis of the pronounced blessing or curse resides in certain outcomes of the present state, all of which seem to lie in the future, near or distant. Because of the future outlook in these sayings, they must be taken into account in any study of the teaching of Jesus about the future. It cannot be affirmed with certainty that in no case is the reference in any degree to the present. And the future in one saying may be a very different area of time from that covered by another.

No attempt is made here to determine which of the two documentary reports is the more original, for such is not necessary to the purpose in hand. Nor will an explication of the thought that lies under the figurative language be entered upon. That is neither hidden nor obscure, in either document M or document G. Those Beatitudes which refer to the kingdom of God are reserved for consideration under that theme in chap. vii. One of these, that on persecution—"Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven"—has its document G parallel in G §10B; and the latter does not contain the phrase, "kingdom of heaven" or "kingdom of God," but substitutes "great

in gospel Matt. 16:19=18:18, see pp. 329-39; in 28:18, see pp. 342-52; in 18:10, see pp. 359-72. The emergence of the word in document P §7 is considered on pp. 340-42; in P §46B, on pp. 67-78.

<sup>1</sup> Of course, no account has been taken of the thirty-two cases of the appearance of the word in the phrase "kingdom of heaven," which, like other phrases containing the word, is peculiar to the Gospel of Matthew. That is the Matthaean substitute for the term of Jesus, "kingdom of God," as is conclusively established by comparative study.

reward in heaven.” On the basis of previous studies,<sup>1</sup> it was concluded that the highly elaborated document G form of this saying is the result of the drastic persecutions of the early community. Therefore it need not be given study additional to that directed toward its parallel in document M. The remaining references are these:

## DOCUMENT M §1

Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called sons of God.

## DOCUMENT G §§10, 11

Blessed *are* ye that weep now: for ye shall laugh.

Blessed *are* ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled.

But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation.

Woe unto you, ye that are full now! for ye shall hunger.

Woe *unto you*, ye that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.

Woe *unto you*, when all men shall speak well of you! for in the same manner did their fathers to the false prophets.

## §13. THE NARROW AND THE SHUT DOOR

In the study of the final discourse on the future, when the parable of the Ten Virgins was under consideration, it was concluded that the document P report of that parable is contained in P §27. Because this document P report of the parable places so much emphasis upon the attitude of looking and watching, the servants are represented as within the house, at the door of which the lord himself knocks on his return from the marriage feast. There is no place, therefore, in the document P report, for that inclusion of some and exclusion of others of the servants which forms the impressive conclusion to the document M report of the parable.

This portion of the parable document P has apparently preserved in a slightly modified form in another location in the document:

## DOCUMENT M §24

They that were ready went in with him to the marriage feast: and the door was shut. Afterward came also the other virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not.

## DOCUMENT P §39

Ye *shall* begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, open to us; and he shall answer and say to you, I know you not whence ye are . . . depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.

There was found in document P an attachment for this portion of

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23 and the hints under the paragraph numbered 7, p. 51.

the parable in that reference to the "door" by which the above document P verses are preceded:

And one said unto him, Lord, are they few that be saved?  
 And he said unto them, Strive to enter in by the narrow door: for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able when once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door.

This "hath shut to the door" provided a situation similar to that portrayed in the document M report of the marriage feast in the Ten Virgins parable, where, after the prepared or "wise" ones had entered, "the door was shut." Doubtless it was this likeness in the conditions sketched which led to the attachment at this point in document P of those sayings which once had formed a part of the parable now present in document P §27.

Indeed, there was in this portion of the parable so dramatic an element, an element so vivid and so suitable for easy retention, that it is not surprising that it held a place in the tradition even though the parable to which it originally belonged had become so modified that this portion had no longer a place in the parable itself. It was of a form and content such as made an appeal to that dramatic imagination which was so formative of religious conceptions in the time of Jesus. That this is more than conjecture is made evident by the place given to this notion in one of the most striking of those eschatological additions by which document M is characterized:

DOCUMENT M §14

Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

The bringing together of sayings which at one time had quite different places in the tradition of Jesus' words is a marked characteristic of document P, as has been concluded from many phenomena examined in preceding studies. There is seen the combination of sayings which had no original, essential relation, as in the junction of P §20 with P §19. It is much more frequently seen in cases like the present, where the junction does not bring together unrelated thoughts through misinterpretation, but thoughts which flow so naturally into one whole that the existing combination is not without some superficially satisfying unity.

It will be observed that it is only in the document M addition to the Sermon on the Mount, M §14 above, that the words are thrown

into the personal form, and thus given an application to Jesus himself as the Judge:

Many will say to ME in that day. . . . And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from ME, ye that work iniquity.

On the contrary, in both document M §24 and document P §39 as above, the third person is retained: "But HE answered and said," "and HE shall answer and say." But this tendency to personalize as in document M §14 has found expression even in the document P section now under consideration, for the whole scene is given a direct relation to Jesus himself by the added words in P §39:

Then shall ye begin to say, We did eat and drink in thy presence, and thou didst teach in our streets.

This apparently illustrates vividly how tradition takes form. Jesus had spoken the very simple, suggestive, but wholly impersonal words: "Many shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able when once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door." To this there came to be attached other sayings about the shut door, which had originally been spoken in quite another connection. The use of the word "Lord" in these other sayings came to be taken, now that Jesus was recognized as Christ and Lord, as referring to Jesus himself. When, therefore, the saying represented one who is interpreted to be Jesus as professing no acquaintance with the hearers of his message, it was only natural to frame and include an expostulation from the condemned, grounded in the fact that he could not be ignorant of those with whom he ate and drank, and to whom he spoke his teaching.

As for other sayings which go to make up the present, externally related group that constitutes document P §§39-41, a group introduced by the editorial P §38, it ought to be observed that, while undoubtedly the Lukan P, as against the Matthaean P, preserves the more original form of the words in document P §40, the evangelist Matthew has hardly found in Matt. 8:11, 12 a setting any more historically probable than that given him by his document. From the peculiarly exasperating nature of these sayings, it may be believed with some conviction that they are rightly placed neither in their Matthaean context nor in the Lukan P. They belong rather, it would seem, to the outspoken and searching utterances of the final week of the life of Jesus. In document P §41 there is reported what

may be more reasonably held to have its true historical connection in document MK 10:31.

#### §14. THE PASSING AWAY OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

##### DOCUMENT P §51

It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fall.

This saying seems to be the assertion, in the strongest terms, of the abiding validity of those moral and religious demands which are given expression in the Old Testament law. As a figure for those things which are stable beyond all tremor or removal, heaven and earth, the whole visible universe, is chosen. Men and their works may come and go, but heaven and earth remain unchanged and unchangeable. So is it with the law. Not one tittle of it shall fall. To think that it will fall is to conceive of an event less credible even than the suggestion that heaven and earth may pass away.

The same saying is preserved in another form by

##### DOCUMENT M §3

Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished.

The repeated "Till . . . till" in this report gives rise to a question. Apparently both are not needed for the sense. Indeed, the use of both obscures the sense, obtainable if either alone is used. Thus the meaning is complete and intelligible if the saying be supposed to have been delivered in this form:

Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law.

The same is true if the form as it came from Jesus was:

One jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law till all things be accomplished.

There are two distinct ideas united in the verse as it stands. The one sets the time limit for restraint through law as reached when "all things be accomplished." The other sets no time limit, but simply affirms that it is easier to conceive of the stable universe as going into dissolution than to believe that the law will become abrogated. Which of these is the more precise report of the thought of Jesus seems already unquestionably indicated by the document P report of the same saying. Placed in parallelism after the proposed reduction of the Matthaean record, they stand:

##### DOCUMENT M §3

Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law.

##### DOCUMENT P §51

But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fall.

The accretion "till all things be accomplished" seems to be the expression of an expectation of some consummation to be reached ere long, a thought elsewhere summed up in the Matthaean phrase "the consummation of the aeon." It supposes that the present is a critical time, an era of transition, a time of the ripening of events, of the fruition of all history.

The placing of the phrase "till all things be accomplished" in conjunction with the more nearly original phrase "Till heaven and earth pass away" shows that the accomplishment of all things was taken to include the phenomena of the passing away of heaven and earth. Indeed, the turn given to the Matthaean report, by which Jesus' original words "But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away" lost their character of incredulity toward such an event, and took on an almost prophetic cast in the form, "Till heaven and earth pass away," shows that the passing away of heaven and earth stood for the Matthaean circle as a part of the programme in the accomplishment of "all things." The original meaning of Jesus is too obvious, however, to be obscured even by the Matthaean modification and addition. The purpose of Jesus was clearly to show the inviolability of the law by pronouncing its demands to be even less liable to annulment than is the universe to ultimate dissolution.

The tendency which has been at work for the remolding and enlarging of the Matthaean report of this saying is seen apparently with greater influence in a saying credited to Jesus, by which he is made to affirm the passing away of heaven and earth, and to pronounce one thing as more stable than even that universe to the permanency of which he formerly made appeal in grounding the eternal validity of the law:

## DOCUMENT MK 13:31

Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

Here Jesus is represented as asserting that his words are more permanent than the universe of nature, which universe he is elsewhere reported to have chosen as the symbol of that which is abiding beyond all else. That which he treats in document P §51 as so improbable that its suggestion forms the foundation for the firmer basing of Old Testament moral law he is here reported as asserting to be one of the commonplaces of expectation—"Heaven and earth shall pass away."

It is to be asked how far the particular form of words here attributed to Jesus about the future of the heaven and the earth is the product rather of that mode of thought about the future which gave origin to the programme in

II PETER 3:10-13

But the day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Seeing that these things are thus all to be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in *all* holy living and godliness, looking for and earnestly desiring the coming of the day of God, by reason of which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat? But, according to his promise, we look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

In the light of the above facts, it seems reasonable to raise the question whether the saying of Jesus in document MK ought not to be conformed to that mode of view which similar thoughts in documents P and M show. If so, it would stand thus:

It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for my words to pass away.

§15. THE PARABLE OF LAZARUS AND THE RICH MAN

There have been brought under review in preceding studies all of the references, in the Synoptic Gospels, credited to Jesus concerning the state of men after death, except those contained in one parable. Before considering the thoughts on that subject which are presented by the parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man, there may profitably be called to mind the results of study in all other passages: If the gospel LK additions to the document MK record of the crucifixion are regarded as trustworthy, Jesus spoke once in his career of the "spirit (*πνεῦμα*)" as something persistent after the death of the body, that is, at least his own "spirit (*πνεῦμα*)."<sup>1</sup> He did not explicitly so speak of the "soul (*ψυχή*)," but did use terms about the "soul (*ψυχή*)" which indicate that he did not think of it as static but as potential, as capable both of self-destruction and of self-realization.<sup>2</sup> The word "life (*ζωή*)" with future content appears seldom in Jesus' sayings, either alone or in the phrase "eternal life," the most certain and notable instance being in document M §13—"For narrow is the gate, and straitened the way, that leadeth unto life (*ζωή*), and few be they that find it."<sup>3</sup> If document MK 10:29, 30 reports the precise phraseology of Jesus, he distinguished on one occasion, in a large untechnical way, between "now in this time (*καιρός*)" and "the age

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 269, 270.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 267-69.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 270-72.



(*αἰών*) to come."<sup>1</sup> Though other passages in which appears the notion of the Two Aeons and of "the consummation of the aeon" seem not to be from him, he did speak of the resurrection in terms which put beyond doubt that he believed that death does not necessarily end the career of a man, that men may persist beyond "now in this time," that in "the age to come" they will be "as angels in heaven."<sup>2</sup> Certainty about his thought as to the extent of the resurrection, that is, whether it is inclusive of all men, may not be attained from his words.

Perhaps his conception of the fate of the unrighteous is suggested by the single passage where he employs antithesis—"Wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many be they that enter in thereby."<sup>3</sup> It appears that he is not portraying the future life of the wicked in his references to Gehenna, but is talking of the present and near future of the body; he would have men avoid those courses of conduct that lead to a fate like condemnation to the valley of Hinnom.<sup>4</sup> It seems that it is to others, not to Jesus, that we must trace those apparent accretions in the gospels where the future is conceived under the form of Fire and Torment.<sup>5</sup> Hades (*ᾗδης*) is used by Jesus as a synonym for nethermost; and "the gates of Hades" appears in one passage as a mode of conveying the idea of persistent and malignant opposition. It is not spoken of as an abode for the departed spirits.<sup>6</sup> If one presses the inquiry as to the abode or mode of life of those who "when they shall rise from the dead . . . are as angels in heaven," it has to be answered that Jesus did not impart information with precision on that theme. He spoke in general of "the eternal tabernacles,"<sup>7</sup> and in the opening of the Sermon on the Mount used other vague but suggestive figures about the future.<sup>8</sup> Apparently he did not speak, even in a vague and figurative way, of "Heaven" as the abode of the blessed.<sup>9</sup> The references to his own future in "Paradise" or in "glory" seem exceedingly difficult historically to sustain as from him.<sup>10</sup> Apparently we must rest content with the clear and strong conviction and assertion

<sup>1</sup> See p. 256.<sup>5</sup> See p. 265.<sup>9</sup> See p. 275.<sup>2</sup> See p. 253.<sup>6</sup> See p. 266.<sup>10</sup> See p. 272.<sup>3</sup> See p. 266.<sup>7</sup> See p. 272.<sup>4</sup> See p. 262.<sup>8</sup> See p. 288.

of Jesus that there is a resurrection, and that those who deny that fact "know not the scriptures nor the power of God."

Our search for precision and definition in statement about the future condition of the righteous as conceived by Jesus probably deserves the rebuke given by him to the men of his day and circle when he was endeavoring to sketch in the large a conception of the Day of the Son of man which should neutralize the future influence upon his disciples of current Zealot fanaticism:

In that night there shall be two men on one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. There shall be two women grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. And they answering say, Where, Lord? And he said unto them, Where the body *is*, thither will the vultures also be gathered together.

That which is lacking of definiteness in the whole body of other utterances from Jesus on the future state of wicked and righteous seems fully supplied by the content of the parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man:

DOCUMENT P §53

Now there was a certain rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day; and a certain beggar named Lazarus was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the *crumbs* that fell from the rich man's table; yea, even the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and that he was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom; and the rich man also died, and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivest thy good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things; but now here he is comforted, and thou art in anguish. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, that they which would pass from hence to you may not be able, and that none may cross over from thence to us. And he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house; for I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. But Abraham saith, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one go to them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, if one rise from the dead.

This parable presents a complete outline of life beyond death. Its elements seem to be the following:

1. At death the unrighteous simply are buried. But the righteous are carried away by the angels into the place of bliss.
2. The place of abode after death for both sinner and righteous one is Hades. But Hades has positions separated widely and differing vastly from one another. To the blissful portion, the righteous are assigned; elsewhere abide the unrighteous.
3. Righteous and unrighteous are within sight of one another; may converse with one another; but it is beyond possibility for the one to cross over to the other from either location.
4. To the one, the state of Hades is comfort; to the other, it is anguish. For the sinner it is a place of torment, made such by a consuming thirst awakened by a perpetual torture in flame. The

one unceasing but unmet longing of the sinner in torment is that he may have ever so little portion of water with which to slake his feverish thirst.

5. The felicity of the righteous consists in his abiding fellowship with the great fathers of his people.

It may reasonably be felt that such a formal exhibit of the thought of the parable shows a fatal lack of sense for the figurative. Jesus spoke the parable, it may be believed, but did not intend that in any of its phases it should be taken as in any degree other than purely imaginative and symbolic. If this be the correct view, it ought to be recalled that, despite the intention of Jesus, this parable probably has been more formative of sharply defined Christian thought about the future than all other utterances on the subject credited to Jesus.

If the parable was spoken by Jesus, and if its mission was not to portray the state of life beyond death, it ought probably to be regarded as intended to teach the ethical basis of judgment and separation between men. But viewed even from that standpoint, it seems to fail to articulate with the standards of Jesus as elsewhere made known. The sole reason assigned for the differing fates of Lazarus and the Rich Man is the fact that in his lifetime one was miserably poor and had no comforts, while the other was wealthy and lived luxuriously. It is apparently conceived by the framer of the parable that justice demands the reversal of these conditions in the future life. It seems difficult to find the moral standards of Jesus in this mode of view. He did, indeed, warn against allowing wealth to become the master in the life, document P §48. He expressed his conviction when he said, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God," document MK 10:23. But these do not seem equivalents for the thought that because a man is rich now he does not deserve felicity in the future, because he is poor now he deserves bliss in the age to come.

The philosophy of life underlying the saying, "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things: but now here he is comforted, and thou in anguish," was that of the Jewish people for centuries, as is testified by large areas of the Old Testament. But here only has it found expression in the reputed teaching of Jesus. His moral and reli-

gious outlook seems to have excluded this form of reasoning; it could hardly be held by a man conscious of his own essential moral worth and destiny apart from that which was external to him. This phase of the parable is one of many which give it a Jewish cast in a sense not assignable to the Jewish coloring of the body of Jesus' teaching. By this cast is not meant solely its view of the future, but likewise the area within which it moves exclusively—that is, "Father Abraham" and "Moses and the prophets."

May it be that this is an old Jewish parable which has found a place in the document P tradition of the parables of Jesus? Nothing in its location in document P demands that it be considered as always having had a place there. Its historical occasion is not suggested, except as it is made to follow, after the intervention of P §§50-52, upon a parable and some sayings about money, P §§47-49. Little weight ought to be given, however, to document P relationships; any conclusion must be otherwise based. Certainty is not attainable; probability must suffice. If the parable is regarded as not from Jesus, that summary of his teaching on Life after Death which precedes this study of the parable contains the results attainable from his own words. If one thinks of the parable as from him there will be added the thoughts deduced from the parable.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE KINGDOM OF GOD

- §1. Opening Announcements about the Kingdom
- §2. The Kingdom as Actual in the Present
- §3. Antitheses to the Kingdom of God
- §4. The Future in General of the Kingdom
- §5. The Mystery of the Kingdom of God
- §6. The Coming of the Kingdom of God

## CHAPTER VII

### THE KINGDOM OF GOD

#### §1. OPENING ANNOUNCEMENTS ABOUT THE KINGDOM

##### A. BY JOHN

GOSPEL MT 3:1, 2

And in those days cometh John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judaea, saying, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

DOCUMENT MK 1:4

John came, who baptized in the wilderness and preached the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins.

GOSPEL LK 3:2, 3

The word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness. And he came into all the region round about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins.

##### B. BY JESUS

GOSPEL MT 4:12, 17

Now when he heard that John was delivered up, he withdrew into Galilee. . . .

From that time began Jesus to preach, and to say, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

DOCUMENT MK §4

Now after that John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel.

DOCUMENT G §§5, 6

And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee; and a fame went out concerning him through all the region round about. And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all.

And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and he entered, as his custom was, into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Isaiah. And he opened the book, and found the place where it was written,

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,

Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor:

He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives,

And recovering of sight to the blind,

To set at liberty them that are bruised,

To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

And he closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down: and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them, To-day hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the words of grace which proceeded out of his mouth.

It was observed in a preceding study<sup>1</sup> (1) that gospel MT is alone in crediting John the Baptist at the opening of the report with the phrase "the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" (2) that the use of the term "kingdom of heaven (or God)" is nowhere attributed to John

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 85-87.

in the documents MK and G which report his ministry; (3) that the gospel MT record of that ministry is constructed from documents MK and G;<sup>1</sup> (4) that what Matthew credits above to John the Baptist is verbally the same as the opening message said to have been spoken by Jesus, Matt. 4:17; (5) that the latter is drawn by Matthew from document MK §4; (6) that, therefore, the former may be regarded as likewise traceable to MK §4; (7) that this editorial inference by Matthew is one expression of a tendency manifest in many places in his gospel. His document G made it clear to him that John had announced an impending crisis, G §1B, D, E; for the evangelist that crisis seems to have been adequately and precisely covered by the words of summary, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." Evidently he was not conscious of modifying the thought of his documents by placing this assertion as a summary of John's message at the opening of his report of the work of John. But for him who would know the precise phraseology of John, the summary of the evangelist must be passed over in favor of the documentary records in MK §1 and G §1.

In crediting Jesus with the phrase, Matthew is following, with slight verbal modifications, the record of his document MK §4. That which document MK reports here is not used by Luke; he prefers the account of the opening message and method of Jesus presented to him in his document G §§5, 6. The document G does not portray Jesus as beginning his ministry with the announcement, "The kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel." It represents him rather as giving expression, through the use of Old Testament Scripture, to his sense of prophetic vocation—"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me." By which, it seems, he does not mean explicitly to say either, "I am the Messiah," or "The kingdom of the Messiah (or heaven or God) is at hand." Since the document MK does not report the announcement, "The kingdom of God is at hand," as spoken on any definite occasion, but places it at the opening of its record of Jesus' public activity, before the statement of work at any specific place in Galilee, it ought probably to be regarded as the summary, for the framer of document MK, of the message delivered by Jesus in the course of his public ministry.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 10.



It would do injustice, perhaps, to the historical accuracy of the fashioner of document MK to hold that he intends by these words to represent Jesus as stepping forth from private life with the bare, startling assertion, "The kingdom of God is at hand;" it is probably more just to think of him as intending by these words to state briefly and impressively what he conceived to be the central thought in the message of Jesus during his activity in Galilee.

The statement, "The kingdom of God is at hand," may be interpreted either as an assertion that the kingdom is imminent with the implication that it will soon be realized, or as an affirmation that the kingdom has drawn near to men, is now in the midst of men, whether or no they recognize the fact of its present realization. We cannot say with certainty what content the statement held for the person who attributed it to Jesus in document MK §4; but it seems most probable that he used it in the former of these senses, that is, that he intended to represent Jesus as promising that the complete realization of the kingdom of God would not be long deferred. That he did so intend seems clear from that by which this promise is preceded and that which follows it: "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel." Read in the light of the expectations of the age in which document MK was fashioned, these words of summary from the framer of the document would seem to bear one interpretation only. And it must surely be held that the thought involved in that interpretation is not conveyed by the opening message of Jesus as reported by document G §§5, 6. The document G does not represent Jesus as beginning his public activity by promising that within the lifetime of his hearers the kingdom of God would be fully realized.

Of course, it is to be said that neither does document MK do so by these words which it attributes to Jesus, since these words are capable of another interpretation, an interpretation which places them as, at the least, not out of harmony with document G. If that other interpretation be assigned to document MK, it becomes a question of determining whether Jesus did, at later periods in his ministry, state the thoughts of document G §6 in the phraseology of document MK §4, and thus give justification for summarizing his message in the terms of document MK §4. For it is taken as probable, in the

highest degree, that document MK §4 is intended as editorial summary, not as reportorial transcript. However, it is already clear that document MK §4 may be regarded in any one of four ways:

*A.* As a summary by the framer of document MK, intended to represent that Jesus promised, as the staple of his message, the speedy realization of the kingdom of God.

*B.* As a report of the substance of Jesus' public preaching from the person who fashioned document MK, intended by him to represent Jesus as stating that the kingdom of God had already drawn near to men, that is, was even now in their midst.

*C.* As a precise record of the words used by Jesus as his opening message in Galilee, intended by Jesus as an assertion that within the lifetime of his hearers the kingdom of God would be fully realized.

*D.* As an accurate report of the words by which Jesus began his public work in Galilee, intended by him to convey the thought that there was already present in the midst of men that for which they were hoping and looking, the kingdom of God.

If it be thought likely that document MK §4 is editorial summary, the study of what Jesus subsequently said as reported in the documents must determine whether A or B or neither correctly summarizes the teaching of Jesus. If C be regarded as the correct view of the passage, it is to be said: (1) that it stands opposed to the representation of document G §§5, 6, which reports Jesus to have begun his ministry in a manner fundamentally different; (2) that document MK itself, by subsequent reports, does not support the conviction that Jesus began his ministry by assertions about the kingdom of God, for it is not until the discourse on the kingdom in parables by the sea that document MK again attributes the phrase "kingdom of God" to Jesus, MK §§20-24—a discourse apparently intended by Jesus to oppose current conceptions of the kingdom;<sup>1</sup> (3) that among the sayings of Jesus about the kingdom in document MK<sup>2</sup> there is one only that may be cited in support of the idea of the kingdom expressed in C above, namely MK 9:1, and this saying is open to

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 229-35, 315-22.

<sup>2</sup> The occurrences of "kingdom of God" in document MK are in 1:15; 4:11, 26, 30; 9:1; 10:14, 15, 23-25; 12:34; 14:25. In MK 9:47, it is a later substitute for "enter into life," as seen on pp. 260, 261.

another interpretation, and, in any event, probably belongs to the last days of Jesus' life; (4) that document G, which records the early ministry of Jesus in Galilee, credits Jesus with two references only to the kingdom of God, namely, "Blessed *are* ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God," G §10, and "Among them that are born of women there is none greater than John: yet he that is but little in the kingdom of God is greater than he," G §20C, both of which seem to indicate a present rather than an impending or future kingdom.

If, however, it be held that D above is the truth about document MK §4, it ought to be observed that the evidence already brought forward from documents MK and G requires that one believe that, having once made the announcement in isolation from all other statements, Jesus did not again expressly revert to the theme for a long time. At the earliest, document MK 9:1 was not spoken until the close of active work in Galilee, and is probably later; the statement in document G §20C is only secondarily, if at all, an indicator of the time of the kingdom of God. By interpreting MK §4 in the sense of D above, the thought is brought more nearly into accord with that of document G §§5, 6, but still remains removed some distance from it, and there is the great difference in phraseology to account for in any case. That difference ultimately involves an essential difference in the method of Jesus, as will be understood if one considers the sure effect of direct statements at that time about the kingdom of God. The attitude of Jesus toward direct assertions about messiahship ought also to be had in mind. It seems difficult to hold that Jesus opened his ministry with the words of document MK §4, in whatever sense those words may be taken. If it be contended that he did, it is still to be conceded that the documents represent him as not again treating the theme of the time of the kingdom until a considerably later period in his ministry. This is not historically impossible, but in view of all the considerations involved seems improbable.

More probable is it that MK §4 is an editorial summary by the framer of document MK. As such it is open to test as to accuracy; certain evidences brought forward above as to the subsequent contents of the documents seem to show that it is not an accurate summary for, at least, the period of the Galilean ministry of Jesus.

Whether it is for the ministry as a whole, subsequent study must determine. Except for the single case of document MK §4, there is documentary agreement and consistency throughout the entire records of the Galilean ministry of Jesus as to the method and message of Jesus.

## §2. THE KINGDOM AS ACTUAL IN THE PRESENT

### DOCUMENT G §20C

I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there is none greater than John: yet he that is but little in the kingdom of God is greater than he.

If the kingdom of God is conceived to be some future place or state, and that alone, by this saying Jesus excludes John the Baptist from participation in it. If here the kingdom of God means the future form of life for the righteous, John, than whom Jesus declares there has arisen none greater in his field as preacher of righteousness, has no share in the future life of the righteous. But it seems evident that Jesus does not intend to teach the exclusion of John from the *future* kingdom, which was to be a possession even of men who, though great, were not regarded by Jesus as John's superiors—"Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets" (document P §40). Hence the phrase, "kingdom of God," in this passage seems not to have a future reference, but relates to the present and the present only. Therefore the "kingdom of God" is something that has come subsequent to John. And it is so fundamentally different in nature from that for which John stood, it represents so great an advance upon the whole outlook and expectation of John, that it may be affirmed of one who has in the least degree entered into it that he is greater than John. Thus Jesus makes John the Baptist to stand as the final and noble representative of an old order. The new order he comprehensively covers by his phrase "the kingdom of God." John belongs altogether within the days before the kingdom of God. On the other hand, the kingdom of God, as here used, belongs altogether within the days now being spent by Jesus and his disciples.

The same conception is involved in another passage, this time in document P:

### DOCUMENT P §50

The law and the prophets were until John: from that time the gospel of the kingdom of God is preached, and every man entereth violently into it.

It is hardly possible to overemphasize this sense in Jesus of an era introduced by himself through his own message and deeds, the era of the kingdom of God. Despite his high valuation of the law and the prophets, he conceives of their sway as forming a period culminating in John the Baptist, but distinct from that which began after the days of John.

Yet more sharply does this consciousness of the immediate presence of the kingdom of God in the present receive expression by Jesus in connection with certain of his public acts:

## DOCUMENT P §16F

But if I by the finger of God cast out demons, then is the kingdom of God come upon you.

Not only does Jesus give evidence here of his belief in the kingdom as having a present realization, but the present bringing-in of the kingdom he grounds upon the activity of God manifested through his own ministry. The kingdom of God has come upon his hearers in the form of deeds wrought by "the finger of God." Through himself the kingdom of God has drawn near to the men of his day.

It is from the depths of this self-consciousness, this conviction of the complete control and potent expression of the mind of God through his own personality and the mediative influence of that personality upon others, that there came forth yet another assertion of the present realization of the kingdom of God:

## DOCUMENT P §50

And being asked by the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God cometh, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, There! for lo, the kingdom of God is in the midst of you.

That which Jesus felt thus deeply and expressed so clearly as to the *present* appearance of the kingdom of God among men, as to this *present* coming of the kingdom of God upon his hearers, he is reported by document P to have given to his disciples as their summary message in their brief mission during his lifetime:

## DOCUMENT P §4

And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you: and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. But into whatsoever city ye shall enter, and they receive you not, go out into the streets thereof and say, Even the dust from your city, that cleaveth to our feet, we do wipe off against you: howbeit know this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh.

We cannot be sure, indeed, that Jesus did so instruct his disciples as to the content of their message, for the document MK record of the injunctions of Jesus in connection with their public activity does not represent Jesus as assigning to them any specific formula of announce-

ment, MK §31A. It seems not improbable that this heralded message has found a place in the document P report because it was the watchword of the early Christian propagandists after the death of Jesus. Such an announcement was suitable to that method of these propagandists which is outlined by gospel MT 10:23, outlined doubtless on the basis of the method actually being pursued when Matthew did his work of discourse construction.<sup>1</sup> The Lukan addition to the document MK report of the saying about the Rise of Messianic Claimants, MK 13:5, 6=Luke 21:8, indicates by the words, "The time is at hand," that some such formula was the watchword of each successive messianic movement, and probably was adopted by the adherents of Jesus in their propaganda. This seems sustained further by document M §4. In that case, the above summary message by the disciples to their hearers may not be included among those rightly assigned to Jesus. No doubt, if it has found a place here solely because of its use by the disciples in the mission subsequent to Jesus, its meaning is not that suggested by the preceding sayings from Jesus, but is rather a confident assertion that the kingdom of God is to be realized in the near future. In that case, it belongs in origin and sense with the similar saying in document MK §4, if the latter be regarded as an editorial summary intended to represent Jesus as promising the speedy coming of the kingdom in the future. With this saying of document P §4, as with that of document MK §4, there are four possibilities as to source and meaning. No one of them may be arbitrarily adopted; that one which is right must be determined not from these sayings alone, for which there are two sources and two senses possible, each with something in its favor, but from the content of the other sayings of Jesus about the time of the kingdom, if such are consistent and unmistakable in time indications.

That which is attained as to the time of the kingdom of God from such of the above sayings as are surely assignable to Jesus himself, and of which the meaning seems clear, is that the kingdom of God actually has some realization in the present, has drawn near to men, has come upon men, is in the midst of men. About these sayings there is no future outlook; they are of the present. Their message is not a prophecy; it is an assertion. It is not a promise of some-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 88-92.

thing to come; it is an affirmation of something already come. The words do not awaken expectation; they stir inquiry which results in either a slothful incredulity or a fierce antagonism. Whether Jesus did utter sayings about the kingdom of God which have a future outlook, which are in the form of prophecy, which do make promise of something to come, which are calculated to awaken high expectations—that is a problem to be solved by subsequent study.

### §3. ANTITHESES TO THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Some definite knowledge as to the nature of the future of the kingdom of God would be derivable, it may be supposed, did one possess sayings of Jesus in which he had indicated what he regarded as the antithesis or antitheses of the future kingdom. But the evidence seems to show that when one has gathered all the cases of antithesis to the kingdom in the Synoptic Gospels one has brought together, except for a single instance, only sayings which for weighty reasons, apart from the antithesis or the presence of the term “kingdom of God,” must be considered as coming from some source other than Jesus. It seems advisable, however, for recapitulatory purposes, to group these sayings at this point, to call attention briefly to their content, and to indicate where they are more fully discussed as parts of a larger study.

#### DOCUMENT M §26

Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you

I. from the foundation of the world. . . .

Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels.

#### GOSPEL MT 18:9

And if thine eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is good

II. for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into the hell of fire.

#### DOCUMENT M §14

A Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

B Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

III.

C Every one therefore which heareth these words of mine, and doeth them

#### DOCUMENT MK 9:47, 48

And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, cast it out: it is good for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.

#### DOCUMENT G §16

A And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?

C Every one that cometh unto me, and heareth my words, and doeth them,

## MATTHAEAN P

IV. And I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the sons of the kingdom shall be cast forth into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

## LUKAN §40

There shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves cast forth without. And they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.

I. There can be no mistaking the intended antithesis in M §26. Sharp and clear there stands over against "the kingdom" its opposite, "the eternal fire." Therefore it is as a place of bliss that "the kingdom" of the future is conceived in this passage. This notion is one part of that complete portrayal of the Judgment Scene which is set forth in document M §26, but which, it has been determined, belongs to a period later than Jesus. The full consideration of the paragraph, by which this conclusion was reached, is set forth in §7 of chap. v.

II. The antithesis of document MK is "the kingdom of God" against "Gehenna where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched." This is essentially the same contrast as that in document M §26. But it has been seen in a preceding study that: (1) The original document MK apparently had not "enter into the kingdom of God" but "enter into life," here as elsewhere in the paragraph; and, (2) more original than the original MK is document M §5, in which there seems not to be any contrast of two future states, but rather of two states of the body in this life. It is significant that, though the phrase "to enter into the kingdom of God" is one used frequently by Jesus, the above apparently late insertion of it in document MK is the only passage in which the phrase necessarily means something in the future. This saying about the eye is fully examined in §3 of chap. vi.

III. Against the destiny, "shall enter into the kingdom of God," there is set the very general fate, "Depart from me, ye that work iniquity." Absence from the presence of the Christ in glory, in his kingdom, is regarded as specific and severe enough in condemnation. But even this opposition of fates is a result of the eschatological addition in portion B of document M, an addition which is part of a larger passage inwrought here for the disapproving of "false prophets." The paragraph as a whole is more closely studied in §2 of chap. v.

IV. In the Matthaean P there is that distinctness in contrast of



fates which is so characteristic of the Matthaean gospel. On the one hand, the righteous "shall recline in the kingdom of heaven;" on the other, the wicked "shall be cast forth into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth." It is again felicity against anguish. The kingdom of God in its future is a blessing, the abiding-place of the elect. Of this the Lukan P, however, knows only "in the kingdom of God" and "without;" the weeping and gnashing of teeth is the expression of jealous anger, not anguish.<sup>1</sup> This Lukan P is apparently the only passage in the original teaching of Jesus which contains a contrast to the kingdom of God; and that, it will be observed, does not go beyond saying that in the future there will be those "in" and those "without" the kingdom of God. By how great a distance such a saying is separated from those reported in I and II above! This saying of Lukan P §40 is significant, further, in its assertion about the future limits of the kingdom of God—"they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south." In that affirmation there is a suggestion of the outlook of Jesus upon the future of which more particular account must be taken at a subsequent point in the study of his thought about the kingdom of God.

#### §4. THE FUTURE IN GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM

By the defined scope of the present work, there is included of necessity the study of only those references to the kingdom of God which deal with the future of the kingdom. But it is the intention to bring under review every passage in the Synoptic Gospels which contributes in any degree to a knowledge of the expected future of the kingdom, whether the future portrayed was originally sketched by Jesus or is an accretion to his actual utterances and therefore from some later source. As it happens, every passage except one which treats of the future of the kingdom, but seems to be from some source other than Jesus, has come under review in one or another preceding study. Before passing to that teaching on the future of the kingdom which seems assuredly to have come from Jesus himself, there may be grouped for survey those passages, additional to those in §3, which are attributable to others than Jesus.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 56, 57.

## DOCUMENT MK 13:28, 29

I Now from the fig tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh; even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that it is nigh, *even* at the doors.

## GOSPEL MT 24:32, 33 †

Now from the fig tree learn her parable: when her branch is now become tender, and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh; even so ye also, when ye see all these things, know ye that it is nigh, *even* at the doors.

## GOSPEL LK 21:29-31

Behold the fig tree, and all the trees: when they now shoot forth, ye see it and know of your own selves that the summer is now nigh. Even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh

## MATTHAEAN P

A Be not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.

II. B Be not therefore anxious for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

C Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break through and steal:

D but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.

## GOSPEL MT 24:14

III. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come.

## DOCUMENT M §15

IV. He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world; and the good seed, these are the sons of the kingdom. . . . The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

## DOCUMENT M §24

V. Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom. And five of them were foolish, and five were wise.

## LUKAN P §§24-26

A And seek not ye what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind. For all these things do the nations of the world seek after: but your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. Howbeit seek ye his kingdom, and these things shall be added unto you.

B Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.

C Sell that ye have, and give alms;

D make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief draweth near, neither moth destroyeth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

## GOSPEL LK 22:28-30

VI. But ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

## GOSPEL MT 16:19

- I will give unto thee the keys  
of the kingdom of heaven: and  
whatsoever thou shalt bind on  
earth shall be bound in heaven:  
and whatsoever thou shalt loose on  
earth shall be loosed in heaven.
- VII.

I. Matthew has followed his document MK closely in this paragraph, including the phrase "it is nigh," which seems to mean "the destruction of Jerusalem is nigh." But for this general term Luke has substituted the interpretative words "the kingdom of God is nigh." By so doing he made the preceding paragraph in the discourse appear to treat of the coming of the kingdom of God, something neither stated nor implied, either by the thirteenth chapter of document MK or by document P §60. The actual theme of the preceding paragraph in the final discourse and its relation to the above saying are considered in §§8, 9 of chap. iv.

II. By the substitution in the Lukan P of the present portions B, C for the more original form as preserved in portions B, C of the Matthaean P, there is formulated the expectation that "the kingdom" is imminent. So near is it that to accumulate possessions in any form is folly; the time for their use by men will soon be past; therefore, "Sell that ye have, and give alms," assured that "it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." These changes in the Lukan P seem to have been wrought under the influence of the contiguous document P version of the parables of the final discourse, P §§27-30. This recension of these parables shows so notable an eschatological cast that it is natural that sayings in the document near these parables should undergo the modifications which are observable by comparing the two reports of the portions B, C. The whole paragraph of which these sayings are a part is set forth on pp. 61-63; the parables which seem to have affected them are examined in §10 of chap. iv.

III. By this saying "the kingdom" is made the subject of public proclamation in the future "unto all the nations;" this as a forecast by Jesus about "the kingdom" would be of the utmost significance. But the evidence seems to compel the conclusion that this saying is later than the time of Jesus. The problem of its source is considered at length in §4 of chap. iv.

IV. In this exposition of the parable of the Wheat and Tares there are two kingdoms distinguished clearly, namely, "the kingdom of the Son of man" and "the kingdom of their Father." It is by a process of elimination from the former that the latter is finally constituted. This is the most elaborate conception of "the kingdom" in the Synoptic Gospels. But it has been observed that it was apparently against precisely this notion of a kingdom through separation of bad from good that the parable was directed by Jesus. In other words, what Jesus seeks to cast out of the mind of his hearers by this parable is made by his early expositors to be the central truth intended to be taught by the parable. The meaning of the parable and the content of its reputed explication are examined in §6 of chap. v.

V. The source of the formula, "Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto," in this and certain other parables from the parable group of document M §§15-25 has been considered on pp. 200-2. It was determined that the formula in the Ten Virgins and some others of the group resulted from documentary contiguity to those which belong properly to the discourse in parables on "the mystery of the kingdom of God."

VI. Of the two reports of sayings which promise judicial functions to the Twelve, the Lukan alone gives the promise in the form of participation "in my kingdom." Both forms of the saying are studied as to content and origin in §4 of chap. v.

VII. The promise, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," is considered in its contextual relations in §1, chap. viii.

The opposition in the notions of the future of the kingdom of God conveyed by this body of sayings ought to be observed: By passage I, in its Lukan form, taken with its context, the kingdom is promised within the generation; by passage III the end is deferred until the gospel has been preached "unto all the nations." By passage IV there is first on earth a kingdom of the Son of man; afterward, by a process of selection in "the consummation of the aeon," the kingdom becomes "the kingdom of their Father": yet the Son of man must continue to have a kingdom; for, after the day of judgment, he still holds the kingdom appointed unto him by his Father, passage VI, and the Twelve are to share its honors with him. By the Lukan portions B, C in passage II there is evidenced the convic-

tion that the coming of the kingdom will not be long deferred; yet in passage VII there is involved the establishment of institutions which imply a considerable period of future ecclesiastical activity. Out of this confusion of thought, found by this grouping and contrasting of these earlier and later additions to the original sayings of Jesus, one naturally wishes to pass to such clearness and certainty, if not precision, as may be had from the utterances of Jesus himself on the future of the kingdom.

#### §5. THE MYSTERY OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Substantially the whole body of teaching from Jesus about the future of the kingdom of God is contained within a single discourse in the form of a number of parables. These parables deal with what Jesus terms "the mystery of the kingdom of God." Outside of this discourse (Matt. 13:1-53=MK 4:1-34=Luke 8:4-18), there are certain brief sayings in which Jesus touches upon the future of the kingdom; these will be considered in the final section of the present chapter; their contribution is minor, distinctly secondary to that given in the parable discourse.

That Jesus should speak seldom of the future of the kingdom is natural, in the light of his policy toward the revelation of his sense of messianic vocation, that is, if it be supposed that he had as fresh a message about the nature of the kingdom of the Messiah as about the nature of the Messiah himself. On the other hand, if Jesus conceived of the kingdom as did his contemporaries, there was no need that he treat the theme at length or, indeed, at all. Whether Jesus spoke practically once only on the future of the kingdom because he had nothing to add or to take away from current notions, or, on the contrary, because he had so revolutionary a conception that he must needs reveal it with utmost care, ought to be determined not by any preconceptions as to what is likely in the case, but by the evidence presented in the report of the discourse as handed down in the documents. However, on the one hand, it is fair to urge in advance that Jesus would most likely think and speak wholly according to the mode of view of his times; on the other hand, it is reasonable to raise the question whether one should expect, from him who had so freely redefined by act and attitude the vocation of Messiah, such an out-

look upon the future of that Messiah as would fulfil current expectations as to the kingdom.

If Jesus believed in any future for the kingdom of God fundamentally different from the future of the messianic reign expected by his fellow-religionists including his own disciples, there must needs be on his part the utmost care and skill in the utterance of his convictions, in order to avoid giving a kind and degree of offense which would be permanently fatal to his mission. To sketch the future of the kingdom of God in colors other than those to which his contemporaries were accustomed would be to invite the rejection not only of this portrayal but of himself and the whole body of his original ethical and religious teaching. For no man could openly and unambiguously utter himself in opposition to current views about so fundamental a theme as the nature of the future of the kingdom and expect to retain longer the sympathetic hearing, not to say the favorable attitude, of the contemporaries of Jesus.

It was necessary in a preceding study to consider the exposition recorded in document M of two of the parables in the discourse on the future of the kingdom. In order to an adequate estimate of those explanations, the setting, purpose, method, and content of the discourse as a whole were considered at that time. The arguments advanced need not be repeated here.<sup>1</sup> For convenience, a summary statement may be made:

1. That Jesus, through the discourse in parables by the sea, intended to make a revelation of what he regarded as new conceptions about the nature of the kingdom of God is evidenced by the fact that he refers to the content of these parables as "the mystery of the kingdom of God," document MK §20A end. There could be no "mystery" in that which was the common knowledge or expectation of his contemporaries; therefore, these parables apparently do not express current ideas of the kingdom.

2. Jesus chose the parabolic method on this occasion because he had something to say that he did not wish to utter in plain terms, document MK §20B. He did not state why he wished his truth to be hidden from all except those who were able to grasp it under figurative forms.<sup>2</sup> But the natural inference is that his reason was the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 229-35.

<sup>2</sup> On document MK §20C, see p. 231, n. 1.

same as that which led him to observe caution about premature announcements of his consciousness of vocation, namely, that he had a new conception of the kingdom, as he had of the Messiah, and wished to avoid the precipitation of a crisis before he had completed his work.

3. That Jesus was conscious of announcing new truth in these parables, but that he nevertheless would have all who were able share it, are both evidenced, further, by the refrain of the discourse, "Who hath ears to hear, let him hear," a form of exhortation substantially peculiar to this notable revelatory discourse.

4. The sense in Jesus of the revelatory content of these parables is shown, further, in the sayings in document MK §21AC, by which he urges especially his disciples to give most intent heed to the message, since they must some day set forth in turn what now is for them alone. Apparently it is to this discourse that Jesus refers in his final discourse on the future, when he bids his disciples speak freely in the future what they had withheld from public announcement while he was alive. The parallelism is impressive:

## DOCUMENT MK §21

For there is nothing hid, save that it should be manifested; neither was *anything* made secret, but that it should come to light.

If any man hath ears to hear, let him hear. Take heed what ye hear.

## DOCUMENT P §20

For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known.

What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the light; and what ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetops.

In the earlier sayings, the exhortation is to heedful hearing, presumably of new truth; in the later, the injunction is to widespread proclamation of hidden truth that had been heard.

5. Solicitude about intelligent understanding of the message of the parables and intention that what is understood shall ultimately be made known by the disciples are both present in

## DOCUMENT M §10

Have ye understood all these things? They say unto him, Yea. And he said unto them, Therefore every scribe who hath been made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.

This saying, by its reference to "things new" emphasizes still further the fact that in this discourse Jesus was conscious of giving forth new truth about the kingdom of God.

6. It is a significant fact that the witness of all the documents seems to converge toward the conclusion that on this occasion only did Jesus use the opening formula, "The kingdom of heaven is like

unto," in his parables.<sup>†</sup> If the evidence has been correctly interpreted, this striking fact adds yet another to the many indications that by this discourse Jesus intended once for all to define his conceptions of the kingdom of God.

7. That these parables have an unusual content, and that on this occasion the parabolic method was employed with a purpose different from that in the mind of Jesus elsewhere in his employment of parables, are both indicated by the fact that nowhere else does Jesus speak of the parabolic method as intended as a safeguard for his cause. Elsewhere the parables do not deal with such fundamental concepts as the Messiah and the kingdom of God.

8. That the truth in these parables is of a very different nature from that contained in the other parables of Jesus seems evidenced further by the fact that these are the only ones of which the interpretation is so far from obvious to the disciples that they make the special request that Jesus tell them what he intended to teach by these parables.

In view of all these considerations, it seems necessary to conclude that these parables from Jesus: (1) contain substantially the whole of his revelatory message about the future of the kingdom of God; and, (2) may not be so interpreted as to find in them nothing other than current notions of the kingdom of God, but must be expected to yield thoughts about the kingdom in opposition to those held by the contemporaries of Jesus. It would surely have been gratuitous to devote a definitive discourse to a subject on which one had nothing to say other than what was commonly known and generally held.

When the personal estimate of Jesus as to the place and significance of these parables in his teaching about the kingdom of God is seen with clearness and conviction, their exposition remains no longer in doubt and demands neither interpretative skill and ingenuity nor extended statement. In the course of an examination of that explanation of two of them which is reputed to have been given by Jesus himself, it was necessary, as a part of the argument, to state what is believed to be the truth intended to be conveyed by the parable of the Wheat and Tares and that of the Drag-net. This may be found fully stated, therefore, in chap. v, §6. In brief, these

<sup>†</sup> See pp. 200-2.



parables seem to teach that, contrary to the expectation and teaching of John the Baptist, the kingdom is not to be constituted in the near future by the separation of the unrighteous from the righteous and the forming of the latter into a holy community. There is to be no catastrophic interference with the normal relationships of good and bad men. Both must remain together "until the harvest." And "the time of the harvest" is in no degree defined by these parables, except that the thought of it as lying in the near future is excluded by their very purpose, namely, to be corrective to the conceptions of John the Baptist and his contemporaries.

No doubt "the harvest" will come "when the fruit is ripe." That is a natural inference, and it is this inference which is expressed after the parable of the slowly growing grain: "But when the fruit is ripe, straightway he putteth forth the sickle, because the harvest is come."<sup>1</sup> But who will venture to predict when the fruit of the history of mankind is to be fully ripe? Jesus himself apparently does not endeavor to be precise about it. He seems satisfied to sketch the future in broad lines, to assert his belief that history has a long course yet to run, to oppose in the most general yet most positive way the belief that the kingdom of God is to be an affair of the near future. These things he does very clearly and effectively in

## DOCUMENT MK §22

So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed upon the earth; and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring up and grow, he knoweth not how. The earth beareth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.

That it was the primary and dominant concern of Jesus in this parable discourse to correct what he deemed mistaken notions about the future of the kingdom is made more convincingly evident by his return to this single theme in each new parable. There is expressed no truth essentially different from that in the parable of the Growing Grain when Jesus passes to that of the Mustard Seed:

## DOCUMENT MK §23 = DOCUMENT P §37 A

How shall we liken the kingdom of God? or in what parable shall we set it forth? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown upon the earth, though it be less than all the seeds that are upon the earth, yet when it is sown, groweth up, and becometh greater than all the herbs, and putteth out great branches; so that the birds of the heaven can lodge under the shadow thereof.

The thought of growth, development, enlargement, extension, the working-out of a process as opposed to the sudden realization of an event, is prominent here as in that of the Growing Grain. To this

<sup>1</sup> Document MK §22.

thought there is added here more clearly the consciousness that the kingdom is destined to have a future suggested in no adequate degree by its mean and unpromising condition in its initial form as represented in the present small and despised society of Jesus. The revelatory truth consists primarily in the veiled declaration that the kingdom has an unimpressive rather than a glorious inauguration—"less than all the seeds."

Not fundamentally different, though with another emphasis, is the central thought in the parable of the Leaven, which follows upon that of the Mustard Seed in

DOCUMENT P §37B

Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God? It is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened.

There is here the thought of a slow, unfolding, enlarging process, which must be allowed to take its own normal course, and cannot be hastened by desire or expectation. The kingdom of God is not an imposed social condition effected by the powerful interposition of God or his Christ, but is an interposed force with potent permeative energy, which must work slowly but surely in the structure of society, good and bad together, "till it is all leavened."

Not all of the contemporaries of John the Baptist, even of those who looked most longingly for "the consolation of Israel," "the redemption of Jerusalem," had sympathy with the drastic form of programme announced by John. There were those who hoped that the rise of some prophet like unto the prophets of old, who should speak a powerful message of righteousness to the nation, would result in such a turning of the nation to righteousness that it would be fitly prepared for the coming of the Messiah. It was their hope and expectation that there would be a national repentance and a national remission of sins and a doing of that which was pleasing to Jehovah. It was the aim of the more earnest to usher in such a state, if it were only for a day. This they thought could be accomplished by some powerful prophetic message. Jesus was not misled by such dreams of a national repentance and a national turning about as initial to the coming of the kingdom. He recognized that no teaching, however perfect and powerful, would establish the kingdom of God in Israel as a whole, would move mankind in the mass. His own thought as to the best that could be affirmed of any prophetic message seems to be

expressed in the parable of the Sower. To the prophetic method employed for the propagation of the kingdom by Jesus then, and by his disciples in the future, response must not be expected at any time, much less at once, from the whole body of the hearers. Such a form of the coming of the kingdom is not less mistaken, in the view of Jesus, than that held by John the Baptist.

In several of these parables of the future of the kingdom of God, Jesus uses the figure of seed sown upon the earth. In no one of them does he state under figure explicitly the limits of the sowing of the seed, that is, the bounds of the kingdom of God in the future. At one point in his dealing with his opponents, the chief priests and scribes and Pharisees, during Passion Week, Jesus spoke several parables which apparently were intended to modify their conceptions of the limits of the kingdom of God. By the first of these,<sup>1</sup> he included the publicans and the harlots as eligible. According to the report of gospel MT, the second<sup>2</sup> was intended to teach that the kingdom was to pass into the hands of another nation: "Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."<sup>3</sup> But document MK does not report this saying. The verse forms an interruption to the natural course of even the Matthaean record. Document MK 12:12 represents the scribes and the chief priests and the Pharisees as recognizing that the parable was spoken against them, that is, as teaching that henceforth others than themselves were to be privileged with the message of the kingdom, namely, the disciples of Jesus, rather than another nation.<sup>4</sup> In the third parable,<sup>5</sup> which, unlike the others, is opened by the phrase,<sup>6</sup> "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto," the broadcast invitation to the marriage feast might be interpreted to forecast the opening of the kingdom to

<sup>1</sup> Document M §22.

<sup>2</sup> Document MK 12:1-11.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 21:43.

<sup>4</sup> On the source of the verse, gospel MT 21:43, see pp. 88-92.

<sup>5</sup> Document M §23 = document P §13E.

<sup>6</sup> But this phrase is wholly absent from the document P report of this parable, and in the document M record is probably to be explained on grounds set forth in a study of this parable formula on pp. 200-2, that is, because of the contiguity in document M of the original parables of the kingdom.

others than the Jews; but this is not an inevitable inference, for the reference may be simply to the extension of privilege to the out-cast classes of Jewish society. To hold that no one of these three parables has any outlook beyond the Jewish people is certainly to keep their meaning well within the very narrowest of possible interpretations.

That it may have been the intention of Jesus to suggest through one or more of these parables the extension of the kingdom of God beyond his own people has the indirect support of one apparently very explicit statement of a positive kind which is recorded by

## DOCUMENT P §40

And they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.

While it is to be held with conviction that none of the parables of "the mystery of the kingdom of God" explicitly defines the limits of that kingdom, it is at the same time to be recognized that the future of the kingdom portrayed by them, especially by the parable of the Mustard Seed and by that of the Leaven, implies perhaps that the limits of the kingdom were to be set somewhat beyond that people to whom the message of the kingdom was brought by Jesus.

It is not surprising that in this hour of outlook, this hour of inspiration and sweep of vision beyond the present, there should be borne in upon Jesus the sense of the immeasurable importance to the individual of his own participation in the privileges of the kingdom. It is to this feeling apparently that Jesus gives free and strong expression in the other parables spoken, as it seems, on this occasion, and reported by

## DOCUMENT M §§16, 17

The kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hidden in the field; which a man found, and hid; and in his joy he goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field.

Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a merchant seeking goodly pearls; and having found one pearl of great price, he went and sold all that he had, and bought it.

## §6. THE COMING OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

There has been brought under review in one or another of the preceding sections of the present chapter every reference in the Synoptic Gospels to the future of the kingdom of God, except three brief sayings on the coming of the kingdom. These constitute the material for examination in this concluding section on the kingdom of God.

GOSPEL MT 26:26-29

DOCUMENT MK 14:22-25

GOSPEL LK 22:14-19

B And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body.

C And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it:

D for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins.

E But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.

B And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body.

C And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it.

D And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many.

E Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

A And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.

B Compare portion F.

C And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves:

E for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.

F And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body.

This paragraph comes under consideration in the present study because of the appearance in portion A of the phrase, "until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God," and in the Lukan portion E of the phrase "until the kingdom of God shall come," especially on account of the latter, because of its suggestion of some single, decisive event, some appearance, some emergence of phenomena, some observable and definable crisis. The words "the kingdom of God shall come" suggest not so much a process as a result, not so much a gradual unfolding as a climax; they suggest less an evolution than a catastrophe. None of these apocalyptic notions, however, are conveyed by the document MK parallel in portion E through the words "until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God."<sup>1</sup> The intended thought in "new" is probably attained when this saying is read with a knowledge of the belief of Jesus as to the form of the resurrection life, that is, "when they shall rise from the dead, they . . . are as angels in heaven."

It is not necessary to determine whether in this portion of gospel LK we are dealing with what Luke drew from document MK, or with what came from some minor source, or with what is the product of his editorial activity. Were one to surmise that all of the above

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 82, 83.

Lukan paragraph was taken by Luke from some other document than MK, it would then be a case of document against document in the portion E instead of gospel against document. The originality of document MK here will hardly be called in question, and therefore the phrases, "until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God" and "until the kingdom of God shall come," must apparently be given the sense of the phrase, "until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God." From this document MK phrase there is nothing to be learned, either explicitly or implicitly considered, as to the form of the time of the coming of the kingdom of God. By the saying Jesus does no more, it seems, than announce in a new and most impressive way to his disciples that dread event, his death in the immediate future, belief in the certainty of which he found it so difficult to lodge in the minds of his followers. What the phrase does reveal about the future of the kingdom is that the life of the righteous after death is thought of as "in the kingdom of God," and that this life is of such form that in it all things are "new." This accords with the teaching of Jesus about the nature of the resurrection life as recorded in document MK 12:18-27.<sup>1</sup>

## GOSPEL MT 16:24-28

A Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it. For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his life? or what shall a man give in exchange for his life?

B For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds.

C Verily I say unto you, There be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.

## DOCUMENT MK 8:34-9:1

A And he called unto him the multitude with his disciples, and said unto them, If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it. For what doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life? For what should a man give in exchange for his life?

B For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

C And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There be some here of them that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power.

## GOSPEL LK 9:23-27

A And he said unto all, If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it. For what is a man profited, if he gain the whole world, and lose or forfeit his own self?

B For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in his own glory, and the glory of the Father, and of the holy angels.

C But I tell you of a truth, There be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God.

In the comparison of document with document in chap. i, §4, the saying in portion B above was set in parallelism with the similar say-

<sup>1</sup> See chap. vi, §1.

ing in document P §20, and the endeavor made to determine the historical probabilities as to the original occasion of the saying.<sup>1</sup> It was concluded that the appropriate setting is found in document P rather than in document MK. In the comparison of gospel with document in chap. i, §6, the divergences of gospels MT and LK from document MK in portion B, and the evidences of minor accretions in document MK itself, were considered.<sup>2</sup> The saying was ultimately traced back to the more original form in the Matthaean P §20. There was made also a similar study of the above portion C, the marked modifications of gospel MT being especially observed and their significance estimated.<sup>3</sup> The ground covered in those preceding studies need not be retraversed at this point, except in summary. The conclusions were: (1) That the sayings in portions A, B, C of document MK must be regarded as more or less accurate records of words uttered by Jesus himself; (2) That since there is no documentary evidence to the contrary, the sayings in portions A, C of document MK must be regarded as substantially the original words of Jesus; (3) That the more original form of the saying in portion B is found in the Matthaean P §20;<sup>4</sup> (4) That the true context of the saying in portion B is had when it is placed as a part of a body of sayings about the future mission and its attendant persecutions as combined in document P §20; (5) That the historical occasion of the saying in portion B, in common with the rest of document P §20, was the final discourse on the future;<sup>5</sup> (6) That the saying in portion B became attached in document MK to those of portion A through the placing of a wrong emphasis in the interpretation of portion A, by which the sayings of portion A were regarded as referring solely to the death of the body in persecution; (7) That this combination of the sayings in A with that in B was effected under the stress of the persecutions of the early community, experiences which have left their mark at many points in the records;<sup>6</sup> (8) That the saying in portion C found lodgment in this document MK paragraph because it was interpreted as a promise of speedy relief from persecution by divine intervention, hence was forceful in staying the defection and

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 41, 42.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 79-81.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 202-5.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 81, 82.

<sup>6</sup> See summary 11 on p. 98.

denial of which portion B treats; (9) That, though we are able to determine from another document what is the true context and occasion of the saying in portion B, it is not now possible to do the same for the saying in portion C; (10) That the meaning of the saying in portion C of document MK is not necessarily revealed correctly by its Matthaean rewriting in gospel MT, the latter phraseology being one of many expressions of the Matthaean eschatological tendency; (11) That the meaning of Jesus in the saying in portion C must be determined in the light of other sayings of Jesus about the essential nature of the future of the kingdom of God.

Since every saying of Jesus on the future of the kingdom of God as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, except one, has been examined, and since the testimony of all those that can be supported as original with Jesus converge on one conception of the future of the kingdom, the meaning of the saying in the portion C of the above document MK paragraph seems beyond doubt. By it Jesus apparently asserted that before all of the hearers of his message had passed away that kingdom which he regarded as already present among men, in some measure, would become actual to an extent not at all suggested by its present unimpressive, obscure, and, for his contemporaries, mean beginnings. It is seemingly the statement of the confidence of Jesus not only in the ultimate, but also in the early, triumph of the ideals as to the messianic vocation and the kingdom of God for which he constantly and resolutely stood during his ministry and in his death.

Though Jesus spoke with confidence as to the development of the kingdom of God in the near future, he would not have his disciples regard that unhesitating forecast as certain of realization independent of the fulfilment of conditions by them as the future representatives of the kingdom. It is to one phase of their responsibility for the actual future of the kingdom that Jesus seems to refer in his only other reference to the future coming of the kingdom:

DOCUMENT P §13

When ye pray, say, Father, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come.

To summarize the evidence as to Jesus' thought of the kingdom of God: (1) He regarded it as already present in some degree, initiated and exemplified by himself; (2) He forecast its extensive spread



within the lifetime of his disciples; (3) He conceived of its beginnings, compared with its ultimate extent, as like the smallest seed relative to the greatest herb, as like the leaven to the lump; (4) He gave no precise definitions as to the bounds of the kingdom, save as these are suggested by "from the east and west, and from the north and south;" (5) He opposed clearly and strongly the eschatological and catastrophic conceptions of the kingdom held by John the Baptist and his contemporaries; (6) He treated as wholly chimerical the other current conception, namely, that the kingdom would be ushered in through a universal repentance resulting from some prophetic message and activity; (7) Jesus forecast two most significant historical developments as destined to have their realization within the generation, (*a*) the destruction of Jerusalem, (*b*) the widespread growth of the kingdom; (8) Incidental to his treatment of the former, he endeavored to forewarn his disciples against messianic claimants in the time of the war by a sketch of the day of the Son of man which gave denial to all future specious promises by these claimants, but professed complete ignorance of the time of that "day;" (9) His disciples neglected to observe his distinction, and held and reported that the day of the Son of man, following immediately upon the destruction of Jerusalem, was that which he promised within the generation; (10) They seem also to have identified "the day of the Son of man" and "the kingdom of God," consequently the forecast of the growth of the kingdom was interpreted as the promise of "the Son of man coming in his kingdom;" (11) It is apparently to this double confusion by the early disciples that there are to be traced the modifications in, and additions to, and shifting of documentary location for, the original sayings of Jesus which have been found at so many points in the records, and have been brought, in part, under summary review here and there in the present chapter.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE CHURCH AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

- §1. The Foundation Rock of the Church
- §2. The Stablisher of the Brethren
- §3. Judicial Activities of the Church
- §4. The Institution of the Supper
- §5. Physical Immunity in the Mission
- §6. The Extent of the Mission

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE CHURCH AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

#### § I. THE FOUNDATION ROCK OF THE CHURCH

GOSPEL MT 16:13-20

A Now when Jesus came into the parts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Who do men say that the Son of man is? And they said, Some say John the Baptist; some, Elijah; and others, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But who say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.

B And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

C Then charged he the disciples that they should tell no man that he was the Christ.

DOCUMENT MK 8:27-30

A And Jesus went forth, and his disciples, into the villages of Caesarea Philippi: and in the way he asked his disciples, saying unto them, Who do men say that I am? And they told him, saying, John the Baptist: and others, Elijah; but others, One of the prophets. And he asked them, But who say ye that I am? Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ.

C And he charged them that they should tell no man of him.

GOSPEL LK 9:18-21

A And it came to pass, as he was praying alone, the disciples were with him: and he asked them, saying, Who do the multitudes say that I am? And they answering said, John the Baptist; but others say, Elijah; and others, that one of the old prophets is risen again. And he said unto them, But who say ye that I am? And Peter answering said, The Christ of God.

C But he charged them, and commanded *them* to tell this to no man.

The evangelist Matthew did not derive the portion B from document MK, it seems. From whence does that portion come? Since it stands as an integral part of the narrative, unintelligible apart from the occasion to which it is assigned, it can hardly be supposed to have had an independent transmission as a part of some other document. There is no evidence that some other document contained the whole of the above paragraph, for portion B is the sole contribution from sources other than document MK. Both preceding and following the above paragraph, for some distance in both directions, Matthew is debtor to document MK alone. Therefore, if portion B was inserted by the evangelist from a document, it seems necessary to hold that this portion had transmission as an independent integer. That inference seems excluded, however,

by the fact, already observed, that only as a part of a larger whole, that is, in conjunction with a narrative of its occasion, can it be supposed that portion B would be handed down. Document M as a document of the sayings of Jesus might, indeed, be regarded as the possible source for portion B,<sup>1</sup> were B intelligible in isolation, on the one hand; or, on the other, were there in other portions of the paragraph or contiguous to it in gospel MT some evidences that Matthew was debtor to some source other than document MK. In the entire absence of support for such a supposition, one might surmise that Matthew, or some subsequent editor, drew from some extraordinary source outside his four documents G, MK, P, and M. The value of such outside source may be determined by a study of the content of portion B.

Against accepting the above portion B as from Jesus himself there stand the following considerations:

1. The weighty fact that its thought is apparently in direct opposition to the teaching of Jesus about recognition, and rank, and power—a phase of his thought concerning which he has given a wealth of teaching probably exceeding in volume his instructions on any other single feature of his mode of view.<sup>2</sup>

2. It is in line with the known historical development of the Christian community, a development grounded in human ambition, and assured without any commendatory word from Jesus, even, indeed, in spite of many condemnatory words.

3. It introduces a designation of the Christian community (*ἐκκλησία*, church), and a mode of viewing it as an organization, which appears only once elsewhere in the gospels, and that in a passage which itself, on other grounds, must be submitted to closest scrutiny, gospel MT 18:17.<sup>3</sup>

4. It announces a definite assignment of rank among the disciples, a problem which the later developments during the life of Jesus show to have been an open question to the end, one which Jesus refused to settle.

<sup>1</sup> Such is the assignment made by Professor Burton in his monograph on the Synoptic Problem.

<sup>2</sup> Document MK 9:33-35; 10:35-45; document M §27 (Matt. 23:8-12); document M §21; document P §56.

<sup>3</sup> See §3 of the present chapter.

5. It passes beyond assignment of rank, even to endowment with prerogative (Matt. 16:19), by which it so centralizes the most fundamental function of the messengers of a *gospel* that either *evangelical* activity is confined to an individual, or an elaborately articulated organization is assumed, throughout the ranks of which there is only delegated authority. Either assumption is extremely difficult in view of the body of Jesus' teaching.

6. Jesus is represented here as assuming an authority in the disposal of place—"I will give unto thee"—which elsewhere and later he disclaims for himself, and asserts to be lodged in the Father. Its exercise, even with the Father, belongs to the era of the consummated kingdom, document MK 10:39, 40.

7. It assumes a well-defined religious organization, against which, as such, there is directed a powerful and threatening opposition of a violent and virulent type. Jesus himself spoke of the persecutions which his followers would surely suffer; but nowhere in these references is there the sense of an attack upon a unified body. They exhibit rather the solicitude of a shepherd for his flock.

8. There is a confusion of certain terms by their being treated in the passage as synonymous. It introduces a new term, "church," which it identifies with "kingdom of heaven," and that in turn with "heaven." The first is apparently foreign to Jesus; the second and third are of his usage, but are kept distinct in his teaching, his favorite phrase, "kingdom of heaven (God)," never becoming an equivalent of the broad term "heaven." This blurring of distinctions arises usually when terms pass from an original spirit who has vitalized them to a body of followers who repeat them.

9. The crystallization at Caesarea Philippi of the convictions of the disciples, through expression, marked an epoch in their relations to Jesus, as is testified by the immediate turn the history took, document MK 8:31-37. That under such circumstances, and as an introduction to an assignment of transcendent importance, Jesus should have played upon words (*πέτρος . . . πέτρα*) seems credible only if all else in the context forces the conclusion of its truth.

10. There is an exchange of estimates between Jesus and Peter ("Thou art the Christ. . . . And I in turn (*καὶ γώ*) say unto thee that,

Thou art Peter") unsuited apparently to this significant occasion, and unworthy, it seems, of the uniform dignity of Jesus.

11. "I will build my church": apart from the appearance here of the rare term *ἐκκλησία*, there is a concreteness of conception about the future, and an obtrusion of the personal element, which stand opposed to the body of Jesus' utterances about the society of his followers and his part in its future.<sup>1</sup> The sense in which Jesus could have intended that the movement initiated by himself should be grounded upon another is difficult to apprehend; that there should grow up an effort, after Jesus, to locate primacy among men within the circle of his earliest followers is natural, if not inevitable.

12. The whole passage has limited intelligibility, and makes large demands for interpretative expedients, when taken as from Jesus; it is transparent in the light of human ambition, exhibited in the historical development of a new community.

## § 2. THE STABLSHER OF THE BRETHREN

GOSPEL MT 26:31-35	DOCUMENT MK 14:27-31	GOSPEL LK 22:31-34
A Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended in me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.	A And Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad.	A Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you, that he might sift you as wheat:
B But after I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee.	B Howbeit, after I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee.	C but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not: and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren.
D But Peter answered and said unto him, If all shall be offended in thee, I will never be offended.	D But Peter said unto him, Although all shall be offended, yet will not I.	
E Compare portion G.	E Compare portion G.	E And he said unto him, Lord, with thee I am ready to go both to prison and to death.
F Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, that this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.	F And Jesus saith unto him, Verily I say unto thee, that thou to-day, <i>even</i> this night, before the cock crow twice, shalt deny me thrice.	F And he said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, until thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.
G Peter saith unto him, Even if I must die with thee, yet will I not deny thee.	G But he spake exceeding vehemently, If I must die with thee, I will not deny thee.	G Compare portion E.
H Likewise also said all the disciples.	H And in like manner also said they all.	

<sup>1</sup> Compare the tendency toward personalizing sayings of Jesus as exhibited in gospel LK 21:14, 15, the rewriting of document MK 13:11.

The above paragraph is brought under examination in the present study solely because of the content of the portion C, which contains the words of future outlook, "when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren." These words, it will be observed, are peculiar to the Lukan account.

The evangelist Matthew has used his document MK in this paragraph with notable fidelity in the details; the departures of the Lukan account are of an unusually marked character. From the evidences here and contiguous to this paragraph in Luke, it may be surmised that Luke is using some minor source on the history of Passion Week. It is not important to determine, were that possible, whether it is a case of gospel against document or document against document in the comparison of the Lukan and Markan records in the above paragraph. That they are two records of one event seems clear; the internal evidence may be examined to determine which of the two is more consistent and original.

Except for the opening assertion to Peter in the portion A, "asked to have you (*ὕμᾱς*) that he might sift you," the Lukan narrative has to do wholly with one person, the man Peter. And even that statement about the Twelve is addressed to Peter alone. In document MK, on the contrary, Jesus speaks to the whole company, "All ye shall be offended," and, though Peter is the most outspoken of them, it is recorded that all assured Jesus of their faithfulness—"And in like manner also said they all." The remark of Peter in portion D presupposes that Jesus had spoken as portion A of document MK represents; probably for this reason it has dropped out of the Lukan narrative, that narrative retaining only the more general words of Peter in portion G as portion E.

It is not easy to hold at the same time the impression of the occasion derived from the Lukan account and that made by the Markan record. The former has most vividly the marks of a private conversation with Peter; the latter as clearly the indications of a dealing with the Twelve. And if the words were addressed to the Twelve as a whole, and those in portion C personally to Peter, the latter would surely tend to awaken mixed feelings, if not discord, among men who were deeply solicitous and ambitious as to relations to one another within their company. It seems necessary to conclude def-

initely that one or other of the representations, and not both, reflects the actual history of the occasion.

When one views the two records, each as a whole, it seems difficult to make choice of the Lukan as more historical than that of document MK; the latter impresses one as much the more normal and probable. Looked at more closely as to particulars of phraseology, the portions A, C of the Lukan record seem unusual. The reference to the activity of Satan in this form, the idea of the securing of Peter by request, the representing of Jesus as praying personally for Peter, the use of "faith" in that sense which alone is here suitable to it, the formal, ecclesiastical-laden content in "turned again" as here used—all these are strangely unfamiliar and discordant notes, it seems, when regarded as from Jesus. But beyond all that these suggest is the distinctive atmosphere of another age and mode of view and estimate of function expressed in the phrase, "stablish thy brethren." By it the signal centering of the Lukan narrative about Peter is understood; the whole Lukan paragraph apparently takes its place by the side of the similarly affected and directed words of gospel MT 16:18: "And I also say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church."

### §3. JUDICIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH

#### DOCUMENT P §54B

A Take heed to yourselves: if thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him.

E if he sin against thee seven times in the day, and seven times turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him.

And

#### GOSPEL MT 18:15-22

A And if thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church: and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican.

B Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

C Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.

D For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

E Then came Peter, and said to him, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? until seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but, until seventy times seven.

The above Matthaean paragraph on "the church" is part of that chapter in gospel MT which presents more problems of various kinds



than any other chapter in that gospel. The eighteenth chapter of Matthew is the parallel to document MK 9:33-50, the most difficult and most confused portion of that document, though its problems are only in part those presented by the greatly enlarged Matthaean parallel. Because of the questions involved in these portions of document MK and gospel MT, it was thought advisable to submit the whole to a thorough comparative study when the sources and their history were being considered. It is not possible to estimate aright any part of Matthew's eighteenth chapter without a knowledge of the mode of structure of the whole chapter. So far as seems now practicable, the endeavor has been made on pp. 67-78 to determine the sources and editorial method of Matthew in this chapter. To the results reached on those pages the attention ought first to be directed.

It will be observed that in that preceding study it was suggested that the importance of the portions T-V there exhibited in the reputed teaching of Jesus about the future was so considerable that those portions required separate treatment. As dealing with "the church" of the future they belong in the present study, and are set forth in the above paragraph A-E. The document P parallel to these sayings is found in P §54B. It will be recalled that the decision was reached that Matthew, finding in document MK the portion K (p. 70), added to it the other half of document P §54A, and continued with P §54B, the intervening portions M-S (pp. 70, 71) being derived, perhaps, as suggested on pp. 76-78. But whence came the additional sayings in portion U (p. 71), and how account for the differences between the Matthaean and the document P forms of the portions T,V? These are the problems of the present study.

As a result of the close comparison of portions P-S (pp. 70, 71) with the parallels in document P as preserved in P §46, it was determined that the portions P,Q,S were not inserted by Matthew's drawing them from document P, but came from some subsequent hand, to whom the parable of the Lost Sheep had come independently of document P. Shall it be affirmed that likewise the extensive enlargement of document P §54B as found in the portions A-E (above) is to be attributed to some subsequent editor, the evangelist not having gone farther than to insert the second half of P §54A and P §54B, being led to this natural addition by the fact that he found the one-

half of P §54A at this point in his document MK (portion K on p. 70)? Such seems to be the witness of the external evidence. Is it confirmed by the content of the added portions in A-E above, that is, do these portions bear within themselves any evidences that they belong to the later periods of gospel formation?

Obviously the beginning should be made by a comparison of the above Matthaean portions A, E with their parallels in document P. If within these Matthaean portions there be found accretions which indicate a late origin, it may be reasonably concluded that the other portions came into gospel MT in the later periods of its formation. Conclusions based on comparative study may rightly be taken as indicating the direction in which one should look for the solution of problems presented by portions where the absence of parallels makes such comparative study impracticable.

It seems beyond doubt that the above Matthaean portion A is the elaborate expansion of the simple thought in portion A of document P §54B. The document P record suggests correction and forgiveness as between brethren; that of gospel MT carries forward the thought two stages, the final being formally judicial. If Jesus spoke the sayings as in gospel MT, it is improbable that they would be reduced in any report to the proportions shown in document P. On the other hand, growth from the form in document P to that in gospel MT, under the influence of the organizing impulse of a new community, seems entirely normal, if not necessary. The Matthaean portion A seems to reflect the beginnings of the endeavor to settle all disputes between the brethren within the limits of the Christian community, rather than by an appeal to the civil authorities. It is this mode of procedure that Paul urged upon his converts, though he does not affirm that his exhortation is based in any injunction from Jesus.<sup>1</sup> One naturally raises the question whether Jesus would likely be concerned thus to work out a method of judicial procedure for the future of his society, while leaving the life of that society, in all of its larger and more significant phases, to be wrought out by his followers as the result of experience. And it is further to be asked whether it accords with the spirit of Jesus as elsewhere manifested to regard and treat a fellow-man, under any circumstances, as suggested

<sup>1</sup> I Cor. 6:1-8.

by the injunction "let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican."

As for the second half of the saying in document P §54B, the portion E, its parallelism with the Matthaean E seems reduced by the circumstantial introduction to the Matthaean E, "Then came Peter and said to him." But this introduction must surely be regarded as the editorial endeavor appropriately to resume the theme so that the second half of document P §54B may now be utilized. For it seems difficult in the extreme to suppose that the mind of the Twelve was so unaffected by the stupendous promises in portions B-D that the thought of Peter was held during this time not by the sayings of B-D but by that of A, so that he returned to A through the secondary question in E about times of forgiveness. Moreover, the rewriting in the Matthaean E takes as its starting-point the saying of Jesus in the document P portion E, and represents Peter as leading Jesus beyond the standard of "seven times," as in document P, to the "seventy times seven" of the Matthaean form. This expansion to the "seventy times seven" seems like an endeavor by some subsequent disciple to meet the tendency to take the original saying of Jesus about "seven times" in a literal sense. Both in portion A and in portion E, therefore, the evidence seems to indicate that the more original form and extent of the sayings are found in the document P record; the Matthaean is to be regarded, apparently, as the expansion and adaptation of the sayings.

Judged by its content, the Matthaean portion A was intended to be represented as addressed to a large body of disciples, for the injunctions are hardly fitted to cover only disputes in the circle of the Twelve. Moreover, if regarded as referring primarily to disputes among the Twelve, then the larger community, "the church," that is, those bodies constituted by the Twelve, would in turn pass judicially upon the conduct of those who had constituted them. But obviously, on the contrary, it is not thought that the assignment of function set forth in portion B is intended for every member of the new community, but rather for the Twelve alone. By the portion B, therefore, there passes to the whole body of the Twelve that which in gospel MT 16:19 was reserved for Peter alone. Notwithstanding the fact that there is a shift from the whole company of the disciples,

as in portion A, to the Twelve and to them alone, as in portion B, there is a slight basis for junction of the two sayings in that each deals with judicial procedure. But the element of judicial activity in the Matthaean portion A seems to be an accretion to the original saying of Jesus as recorded in portion A of document P §54B. Shall it be said that the portion B is an additional and still later development due to the same tendency? Is it an expression of the tendency of "the church" to assume the right to pass final judgments upon the conduct of men, especially concerning the movements of the religious life?

It is difficult to find any relation between the sayings in the portions C and D and those that precede them in A, B, or a definite connection in thought between that in portion C and that in portion D. Certainly no sayings of Jesus exceed in scope of promise those in C, D. It seems necessary to raise the question whether the sense of community life involved in "if two of you shall agree" ought to be considered as a development from experience, and the saying in portion C treated as a modification of some such original as is attested by document MK 11:24, "All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them, and ye shall have them." If one may draw an inference from the results of tendency which are ascertainable where parallels are present, one would conclude from the comparison of gospel LK 21:14, 15 with document MK 13:11 that the assignment of post-ascension activity to Jesus, as is done in portion D above, is the outcome of the actual spiritual experiences of the early community, rather than the promise of Jesus himself to his disciples beforehand.

Apparently it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that what was begun in document MK 9:33-50, namely, the making of that section of the document the depository for several distinct sayings added to document MK subsequent to the time that the exemplar used by Luke was produced,<sup>1</sup> was carried forward yet farther in the parallel portion of gospel MT after the time when Matthew had produced the eighteenth chapter of his gospel from document MK in combination with portions of document P and the parable from document M §20. From an examination of all the evidence in Matthew's eighteenth

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 67-78.

chapter, it seems necessary to hold, (1) that, of the exhibit on pp. 69 and 70, Matthew derived from his document MK, after the manner previously outlined,<sup>1</sup> the portions A-M except L; (2) that, having added the portion L from document P §54A, he continued with P §54B; (3) that to these sayings from P §54 he added the appropriate parable from document M §20, thus closing that section of his gospel; (4) that the parable in portion Q with its introduction in portion P and its application in portion S are from a later hand, not being drawn from document P, but preserved by some other line of tradition; (5) that the modification and enlargement of portions T and V and the insertion of the portion U are the work of some one subsequent to Matthew; (6) that in all these sayings inserted subsequent to the framing of the gospel by Matthew there are most evident marks of the late origin of the thought expressed in them.

§4. THE INSTITUTION OF THE SUPPER

GOSPEL MT 20:20, 26-20	DOCUMENT MK 14:17, 22-25	GOSPEL LK 22:14-20
A Now when even was come, he was sitting at meat with the twelve disciples.	A And when it was evening he cometh with the twelve.	A And when the hour was come he sat down, and the apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.
* * * * *	* * * * *	
B And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body.	B And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said, Take ye: this is my body.	B Compare portion F.
C And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it;	C And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them: and they all drank of it.	C And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves:
D for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins.	D And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many.	
E I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.	E Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.	E for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.
F Compare portion B.	F Compare portion B.	F And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body
		G which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, even that which is poured out for you.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 67-78.

There is no reason why the above paragraph should be considered in any study of the teaching of Jesus about the future of the Christian community, except for the fact that in the portion G of the Lukan account there appear the words "this do in remembrance of me." Neither these words nor any other slight suggestion that the institution of an ordinance for the future is intended are recorded by the document MK. However, the whole of the portion G is omitted by Bezae Cantabrigiensis, and by the Old Latin (Itala) manuscripts a, b, c, ff<sup>2</sup>, i, l. Naturally it is treated, therefore, by Westcott-Hort as one of "a few very early interpolations in the gospels." It has apparently been derived by some later editor from I Cor. 11:23b-25. That portion of the letter of Paul is traceable, in turn, to some such report as that in the above portions B, C, D of document MK. It is notable and significant that the only words in the Pauline paragraph which cannot be derived from the Markan portions B, C, D are "which is for you: this do in remembrance of me" and "this do, as oft as ye drink *it*, in remembrance of me," that is to say, the words quoted in Paul by which an ordinance is definitely established are absent from both document MK and the document used, if other than document MK, by Luke in the above paragraph. From whence Paul received these additional words we do not know; it suffices for present purposes that it be clearly seen that they are not derivable from the reports of Jesus' words as these are transmitted by document MK and gospels MT and LK.

#### §5. PHYSICAL IMMUNITY IN THE MISSION

In that section of the Gospel of Mark which is proved, by MSS evidence, not to be a genuine part of document MK, there are large powers and startling immunities promised to the promoters of the mission:

GOSPEL MK 16:17, 18

And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

These words probably had their origin and vindication in the reputed history of the early days of the new community; in that history it is possible to find incidents in support of substantially all of these "signs." The tremendous outburst of new and vital religious conviction, enthusiasm, and consequent power, which marked the

first movements in the history, manifested itself in activities of an extraordinary nature. The outlook of those who moved in the midst of these striking phenomena did not extend to the distant future of the society, to that slow process of normal growth, by the very customariness of which all the exuberant vitality of new-found truth and conviction would be worn into the commonplace. For them, there was no future for the society different from the present. Thus it was that present experience could fashion itself into expectation for the future; could regard itself as promised in the past; and, as both promise and expectation, could take form as the completion of the document MK which, ending at 16:8, was without a forward look.

But certain of these phenomena had a significance other than that of forwarding the mission. They testified to the victory of the forces of good over those of evil; they were open evidences that in the clash of the two great world-powers, God and Satan, the latter was being cast down; this casting-out of devils, this taking-up of serpents, prophesied the entire overthrow of "the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world."<sup>1</sup> And beyond that overthrow, but to be accomplished only through it, there lay, in the hope of the early community, "the salvation, and the power, and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ."<sup>1</sup>

Apparently out of this world-view and these experiences, it came about that there was attached to a fresh, vivid, suggestive phrase from Jesus, spoken at a moment of high feeling and in a form which lent itself to misunderstanding ("I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven"), a body of ideas similar to those which found expression in the unauthentic conclusion to the Gospel of Mark:

## DOCUMENT P §7

And the seventy returned with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us in thy name. And he said unto them, I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven.

Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall in any wise hurt you.

The rapid recession of these phenomena, and the consequent imperiling of the validity of the promises of immunity, led later, it may be surmised, to the repudiation of significance in them, and to emphasis upon another, surer possession:

Howbeit in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. 12:9, 10.

This accretion also is expressed in that phraseology peculiar to the circle which most strongly cherished the type of world-view fostered by the preceding added saying, that is, the circle in the early community from which there came forth the Book of Revelation.<sup>1</sup> It may be that it is to this later recession of these phenomena that there is to be ascribed the omission by Matthew of document P §7, though he inserts in his gospel both what precedes, P §§2-6, and what follows, P §§8, 9.

Jesus himself, under such circumstances, it may reasonably be assumed, would hardly make a contrast between a phase of the mission's activity ("Behold, I have given you authority," etc.) and an assurance of the future ("Howbeit in this rejoice not," etc.), but, if at all, between this passing phase and the more significant fact of the message delivered and its ultimate effects.

#### §6. THE EXTENT OF THE MISSION

There have been brought under consideration at one point or another in preceding studies all references in the Synoptic Gospels to the extent of the mission, except one in gospel MT and one in gospel LK, namely,

GOSPEL MT 28:18-20

All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the consummation of the acon.

GOSPEL LK 24:46, 47

And he said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem.

Before entering upon the study of these final passages, there may be summarized the results of the examination of all other sayings on this theme in the Synoptic Gospels. It will be observed that the above sayings belong to the post-resurrection life of Jesus; the following summary deals with those sayings which belong to the period before the death of Jesus.

1. *The thought of Jesus.*—It seems that Jesus at no time before his death defined with precision the limits of the mission. What his conception was must apparently be deduced mainly from the parables of "the mystery of the kingdom of God." By no one of these parables does Jesus explicitly set the bounds of the mission beyond

<sup>1</sup> See Rev. 3:5; 5:1; 12:9, 10.



the Jewish people, though there seems to be clearly implicit in more than one of them such a conception of the form, method, and extent of the kingdom of God as compels the conviction that through his vision into the future Jesus foresaw and forecast the growth of the kingdom among the nations. The most explicit utterance is in an isolated saying, "And they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God."<sup>1</sup> But this does not necessarily include more than the Dispersion. Of similar suggestion to that in the parables of the kingdom, yet, like them, hinting at a larger outlook rather than aiming to define, is the saying, "Let the children first be filled."<sup>2</sup>

2. *The thought of the evangelist Matthew.*—The thought of him who framed the Gospel of Matthew is made clear in his rewriting of the above saying of Jesus from document MK. He found it as "Let the children first be filled;" he rewrote it as "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." By so doing he limited the saying to the mission of Jesus himself, and, further, he limited that mission to the Jews. But his thought of the mission of the disciples is not of larger scope, as is evidenced by the sayings which he constructed for his discourse on the mission, Matt. 10:5, 6, "Go not into *any* way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and Matt. 10:23, "Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel till the Son of man be come." These sayings from the evangelist seem to be the product of the union of his interpretations of document MK 7:27, document MK 13:30, and document MK 9:1—the first as interpreted by him in Matt. 15:24, the last as interpreted by him in Matt. 16:28.<sup>3</sup>

3. *The thought of later editors of gospel MT.*—The most complete expression of what was held at some time subsequent to the work of Matthew is found in that verse which, in any exhibit of the gospel sayings in parallelism, stands as the equivalent of Matt. 10:23, that is, Matt. 24:14,<sup>4</sup> "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come." Apparently subsequent to the addi-

<sup>1</sup> Document P § 40.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 88-92.

<sup>2</sup> Document MK 7:27.

<sup>4</sup> See the parallelism on p. 141.

tion of this saying to gospel MT, it was inserted in document MK as MK 13:10.<sup>1</sup> Minor indications of the same editorial activity in gospel MT may be detected by comparing Matt. 24:9, "all the nations," with document MK 13:13, gospel LK 21:17, and gospel MT 10:22, "all men;" also by comparing gospel MT 10:18, "and to the Gentiles," with document MK 13:9 and gospel LK 21:13. It is seen, further, in the interpretation or application of one of the parables, "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof," Matt. 21:43. The original application of the parable had been perceived without explication by those to whom it was directed, document MK 12:12; and this interpretation had already been taken over by the evangelist Matthew, Matt. 21:45.<sup>2</sup>

4. *The thought of the evangelist Luke.*—There is one indication only in the gospel LK record of the words of Jesus previous to his death as to the extent of the mission, and that wholly incidental and vague, namely, in the saying, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," Luke 21:24. By the phrase, "until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," Luke probably means what Paul expresses in chaps. 9-11 of his letter to the Romans. But it is not important for present purposes to determine the thought, for it is a part of Luke's rewriting of the forecast of the destruction of Jerusalem recorded by document MK 13:14-20, and there is no equivalent for the phrase in the document.

5. *The thought of the four documents.*—It is a most noteworthy and significant fact that the four great documents, G, MK, P, and M, do not have within them, if the evidence has been correctly interpreted, any indications of the extent of the mission, except, of course, such implicit statements as were made by Jesus in parable or saying, as set forth in paragraph 1 above. That is to say, the explicit and definitive sayings on this subject, whether those that unmistakably limit the mission to Israel, or those that as clearly make it world-wide, are apparently all traceable to editorial activity, some of it early, some of it late, in the history of the gospel tradition.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 140-45.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 88-92.

<sup>3</sup> To this general assertion about the content of the documents on this theme, there may be opposed the appearance of an incidental reference to the scope of the

What is true of these four documents in the period previous to the death of Jesus holds also for their record of his post-resurrection sayings; that is to say, the two independent sayings about the mission credited to Jesus in his post-resurrection life seem to have come from sources outside these documents. But from whence do they come? By whom were they inserted in their present place in the gospels MT and LK? It seems very difficult, if not quite impossible, to believe that the Matthaean report of the Great Commission, Matt. 28:18-20, was placed in the gospel MT by the evangelist who framed gospel MT from the documents G, MK, P, and M. For that person makes it clear from his interpretation of document MK 7:27 in gospel MT 15:24 that he regarded the mission of Jesus as limited to the house of Israel; and, by his construction of the saying in gospel MT 10:23 from document MK 13:30+document MK 9:1 as interpreted in gospel MT 16:28, he testifies to his conviction as to the limits of the mission of the disciples after the death of Jesus. One having and so clearly expressing on his own account these views can hardly be held to have been in possession of the definition of Jesus as given in the Great Commission; he would not, it may reasonably be contended, set himself in so direct opposition to the plain words of Jesus.

It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that gospel MT, as it left the hands of Matthew, did not contain the Great Commission of Matt. 28:18-20. How the gospel MT did close when completed by Matthew may not be asserted with confidence. Perhaps it closed with Matt. 28:8, that is, when the end of document MK had been reached. If, however, the non-Markan narrative in Matt. 27:62-66

mission in document MK 14:9, "Wheresoever the gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, that also which this woman hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her." But one ought probably to regard this saying as the product of that same tendency highly to exalt the benevolent attitude which apparently gave origin to the saying in document MK 9:41, and to the basis of judgment in the paragraph Matt. 25:31-46. These most notable estimates of the worth of simple acts of kindness and good-will toward the Christ and his representatives are examined at some length on pp. 235-45. Taken as a saying of Jesus, it is most difficult to understand what there is in this act of the woman that should call forth so extraordinary a measure of praise from Jesus. Further, one must take account of the fact that, if the saying is from Jesus, it is the sole definition of the extent of the mission previous to his death. To announce so significant a future in terms so incidental to another purpose seems hardly to accord with the customary wisdom, insight, and balance of Jesus.

was inserted by the original editor of gospel MT,<sup>1</sup> then its complement in Matt. 28:11-15 probably formed the conclusion to the gospel. It will be observed that it closes in a way to make it a suitable conclusion for the gospel. In that event, the narrative in Matt. 28:9, 10 was probably added by the same hand that supplemented the gospel by the addition of Matt. 28:16-20.<sup>2</sup> For this conjecture there is more reason than simply the fact that Matt. 28:9, 10 is not derivable from document MK; for, it will be observed, this brief narrative has as its apparently central purpose the preparation of the mind to expect some event of unusual significance as about to take place in Galilee—"Go, tell my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me." The significant event is recorded by Matt. 28:16-20.

It seems true, indeed, that the key to the whole Matthaean conception of the resurrection and post-resurrection history is had when it is recognized that the act of resurrection and the activity after resurrection have one end and one end only, namely, the assuring that the disciples reach a certain point in Galilee, and there receive at the hands of Jesus a fitting commission for their future activity as the representatives of Jesus among men. This representation begins with the resurrection, at the scene of which the angelic being is stated to have been as solicitous that the disciples hasten at once to Galilee as he was to assure them of the primal fact of resurrection itself, Matt. 28:7. It continues in the following narrative, Matt. 28:9, 10, the difference being that here it is Jesus who turns the whole thought upon the desirability of immediate departure to Galilee. His appearance to the women seems secondary to the purpose of making certain that there be no failure to meet him in Galilee. These repeated exhortations of the angel and of Jesus are represented as effectual, for it is now said, Matt. 28:16, that "the eleven disciples went into Galilee, unto the mountain where Jesus

<sup>1</sup> That it was inserted at that time seems suggested by the reference to "the watchers" in the rewriting of document MK 16:1-8 as gospel MT 28:1-8. It seems less likely that, if 27:62-66 and its complement 28:11-15 were added subsequently, the later editor would think it necessary to adapt the intervening narrative in 28:1-10 by the words of 28:4.

<sup>2</sup> The opening words of the paragraph Matt. 28:11-15, "Now while they were going," follow quite as naturally upon Matt. 28:8 as upon Matt. 28:10.

had appointed them." By this statement it is made to appear that not only Galilee,<sup>1</sup> but a definite spot in Galilee, had been decided upon in advance of the death of Jesus. Not to the disciples as a whole, but only to "the eleven disciples," did Jesus reveal himself on this occasion, it is reported. Every detail of the narrative from first to last seems purposely fitted to prepare the mind for what is recorded in Matt. 28:18-20, the announcement of the Great Commission.

Of an equally positive nature, but fundamentally different in content, is the gospel LK conception of the purpose of the resurrection and post-resurrection activity of Jesus. That gospel represents it as the one aim, at the empty tomb and afterward, to prove beyond any doubt that the ignominious sufferings and violent death were nothing other than the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament Scriptures. The beginning is made by the two men at the tomb, who assure the disciples that all that has happened has been in accordance with the prophecy of Jesus himself: "Why seek ye the living among the dead? Remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying that the Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be some significance in the fact that gospel Matt. 28:7 has "Io, I have told you (*ἰδοὺ εἶπον ὑμῖν*)" while document MK 16:7 has "as he said unto you (*καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν*)."<sup>1</sup> One does not easily find a reason why Matthew should depart from his document MK, if it read as does our document MK, especially if, in addition, his document MK contained the present MK 14:28, and he had taken it over as Matt. 26:32. For there he had, in that case, recorded the definite promise as from Jesus. If now one will add to the fact that gospel MT represents the appointment to Galilee as made by the angel the evidence to be had by a study of the paragraph Matt. 26:31-35 = MK 14:27-31 = Luke 22:31-34 as set forth in parallelism on p. 332, it will appear that the promise in portion B on p. 332 is with difficulty credible as from Jesus. There is the inference to be drawn from its entire absence from gospel LK, an inference equally strong whether it be held that Luke is here using document MK or some other, minor document. The saying is by nature wholly foreign to the context in which it is here set; portions A, D read consecutively, while B interrupts the thought. The obvious conjecture is that some scribe wrongly copied document MK 16:7 end; that, since the promise was thus attributed to Jesus, it was necessary later to insert such a promise at a suitable point in the history, the place chosen being that at which Jesus had referred to the dispersion of the Twelve; that gospel MT 26:32 is a later assimilation to the Gospel of Mark. If this is a correct interpretation of the evidence, Jesus was not originally reported to have made an appointment to meet his disciples in Galilee; much less do the documents support the belief that he had chosen some specific mountain as a place of meeting, as is credited to him in Matt. 28:16.

again." This representation is carried forward in the following narrative, LK 24:13-35, where the central place is apparently prepared for, and certainly given to, the announcement of Jesus about the fulfilment of prophecy in his career: "And he said unto them, O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Behoved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself." It is this apologetic vindication of his career from Scripture that is regarded as giving supreme satisfaction to the disciples, rather than the stupendous fact of his resurrection: "And they said one to another, Was not our heart burning within us, while he spake to us in the way, while he opened to us the scriptures?"

Similarly, it is reported in the final narrative of gospel LK that the last hours of Jesus with his disciples were spent in the endeavor to convince them that his sufferings and death did not give denial to his right to be estimated as the Messiah, but rather were in fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies of the messianic career:

And he said unto them, These are my words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, how that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me. Then opened he their mind, that they might understand the scriptures; and he said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem.

A study of the recorded words of Jesus previous to his death does not support the assumption of the opening words of this report, for the results of comparative study show substantially no appeal by Jesus to Old Testament prophecy in reference to his actual or prospective ministry, either by life or by death.<sup>1</sup> So intent is the narrative upon the Scripture apologetic that even the mission itself is treated as a part of the prophetic outlook of Moses and the prophets and the psalms—"Thus it is written . . . that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the nations."

Thus it appears that both gospel MT and gospel LK fashion the narrative of the post-resurrection life and words of Jesus so as to give

<sup>1</sup> To present here a complete study of the reputed references by Jesus to Scripture previous to his death in vindication of the unwelcome facts of his ministry would involve too considerable a digression. One interested may compare, for instance, gospel LK 18:31-33 with document MK 10:32-34, or gospel LK 22:52, 53 with document MK 14:48, 49, or gospel LK 22:22 with document MK 14:21, or gospel MT 17:10-12 with document MK 9:11-13.

support of the most impressive kind to certain fundamental needs of the apostolic age, namely, in gospel LK the proof by appeal to Scripture that suffering and death are not to be reckoned as evidences of the non-messianic character of Jesus, and in gospel MT the proof that the assignment of a world-wide mission to the disciples was the single purpose of Jesus after his resurrection. Of the two, it will probably be felt that what is supplied in the Lukan narrative was needed earlier than the contribution made by the Matthaean; and this may be taken as another minor indication that this portion of the Gospel of Matthew is subsequent to the time of the original framer of that gospel.

It will be observed also that the Lukan form of the commission is much less elaborated than the Matthaean, its comparative simplicity testifying probably to its earlier origin. Yet even within it there emerges some phraseology, "repentance unto remission of sins" and "in his name,"<sup>1</sup> which is not customary with Jesus, if we may trust the witness of the documents. The former does appear, indeed, in gospel MT 26:28, "unto remission of sins," but is unsupported by document MK 14:24. Of the phrasing in the Great Commission of gospel MT, one ought to observe the following among other particulars that classify it with, or distinguish it from, other sayings in the Synoptic Gospels:

1. "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth." The sense in which the word "heaven" is used here seems to correspond with that in the delegation of all authority to Peter in the first instance, and later to the Twelve, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," gospel MT 16:19; 18:18. But this meaning for the word "heaven" stands outside of the usage of Jesus as elsewhere recorded in original sayings.<sup>2</sup>

2. "Baptizing them into the name of the Father." There is no evidence anywhere in the Synoptic Gospels that either Jesus or his disciples practiced the rite of baptism during the ministry of Jesus. Therefore, on the basis of the synoptic testimony as to the ministry and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 162 on the phrase, "in his name."

<sup>2</sup> See chap. vi, §11.

teaching of Jesus, when Matthew represents Jesus as saying "baptizing into the name of" he makes Jesus introduce abruptly an institution hitherto unpracticed as an initiatory rite within the circle of Jesus. And yet it is commanded in a way which assumes that the injunction will have in it nothing of strangeness and newness to those who are to be henceforth its administrators. In any judgment as to the origin of baptism as a Christian rite, account must be taken of the rise, from a scanty basis in the words of Jesus, of the companion rite of the Lord's Supper.<sup>1</sup> May the rite of baptism be regarded as having grown up independent of any injunction from Jesus, the reputed injunction being the product of a historical development rather than the producer of that development? Apparently an endeavor was made elsewhere in the same gospel to bring to the support of the rite the authority of Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

3. "Into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." Jesus speaks often of God as Father. Now and then he refers to himself as Son of man or Son of God. Not frequently does he make mention of the Holy Spirit. But there seems to be absent from all of these terms, as elsewhere used, that implication of content which is at once established upon their conjunction as here effected.

4. "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you." In these words there is the solid and authoritative basis for a new legalism. Is this what Jesus came to establish, judging his purpose from that which he taught previous to his death? Or are these words to be taken as indicating the tendency of his religion of life and liberty to harden, under the hands of his disciples, into a rigidity of demand different only in content, not in ultimate nature, from the legalism which the free spirit of Jesus during his ministry had overridden and set at naught, and in the place of which he seemed then to have had no intention of setting up a new code?

5. "And lo, I am with you alway." In these words there resides essentially the same promise as is elsewhere expressed in the terms, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I

<sup>1</sup> See §4 of the present chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Compare gospel MT 3:13-17 with document MK 1:9-11, and on gospel MT 3:14, 15 see p. 364.



in the midst of them" (gospel MT 18:20). These two sayings are the only intimations in the Synoptic Gospels that Jesus made promise of his personal presence with his disciples after he had left the earth. It has been concluded, as seemed to be demanded by the evidence, that out of the actual experiences of the apostolic age, rather than from Jesus himself, there came the latter saying.<sup>1</sup> May the former be regarded as the product of the same high and holy experiences? That this mode of expression resulted from the tendency to attribute to the risen Jesus those vital inspirations which in times past had been interpreted as the activity of the Spirit of Jehovah seems attested, further, in the Lukan rewriting of document MK 13:11 as gospel LK 21:14, 15.

6. "Even unto the consummation of the aeon." The phrase "the consummation of the aeon" is peculiar to the Gospel of Matthew. Within that gospel it occurs five times (Matt. 13:39, 40, 49; 24:3; 28:20). The four instances previous to the present one are found in passages which, wholly apart from the presence of this phrase, seem to compel the conclusion that they are not from Jesus.<sup>2</sup> Shall it be considered that here as elsewhere this Matthaean form of expression is derived not from Jesus, but from a certain circle of the early Christians, and that it covers the conclusion of a thought—"I am with you always"—which was less truly a promise of Jesus than an abounding and confident hope of the early community, based on their vital experiences with their risen Lord?

In view of all the evidence, external and internal, bearing upon these reports of gospel LK and gospel MT as to the post-resurrection commissioning of his eleven disciples by Jesus for a world-wide propaganda under specific conditions and with fixed formula and rite, it seems reasonable to urge the question whether one can hold with conviction that such a commission was given by Jesus. Or does it seem more likely that Jesus did not become more definite after his resurrection than he had been before his death, that is, that he was satisfied to leave the extent of the mission as he had left it by the parables of the kingdom, suggested but not defined with precision? Did Jesus think it wiser simply to cast forth the seed thoughts in the parables of the kingdom, and leave it to the unfolding of history to

<sup>1</sup> See §3 of the present chapter.

<sup>2</sup> See chap. v, §6.

reveal their intended message as to the limits of the kingdom? Such seems to have been the actual course of events, for the records and letters of the apostolic age make it clear beyond doubt that it was not through such an injunction from Jesus but by the onward pressure of new experiences that the eleven, or such portion of them as ever came to the view, widened their horizon so as to include "all the nations." Their course of action seems inexplicable if they had received from Jesus in the post-resurrection period the clear and impressive commission recorded by gospels LK and MT.

The endeavor may now be made to summarize briefly the Teaching of Jesus about the Future according to the Synoptic Gospels:

I. *The Destruction of Jerusalem.*—Jesus foresaw and forecast the destruction of Jerusalem. On more than one occasion in his ministry, particularly toward its close, he spoke in most explicit and specific terms of the impending national disaster. He told his disciples that the Jewish state would fall within their own generation. That event would not come about without the most vigorous opposition by Jews to Romans; and of the terrors which would precede and accompany the fall of Jerusalem, Jesus spoke in strong terms. His confidence that the ultimate, deadly clash was not far distant seems to have been based in his interpretation of events as they were happening in his lifetime, especially in his observation of the uncompromising attitude and hopeless ideals of the leaders of the Zealot movement. He conceived of the ruin to be wrought by the Romans as complete and final; even the Temple itself would be utterly demolished. Fanatical zeal would be met by drastic measures.

II. *The Rise of Messianic Claimants.*—From the standpoint of his own society, Jesus regarded the most serious peril of the period of the coming war to be the rise of claimants to messianic dignity and power, who, by specious promises of relief from the frightful distresses of the conflict with Rome, would lead his disciples to abandon their faith in Jesus and his messianic ideals, and to attach themselves to these Zealot movements. Recognizing the discomforts and terrors sure to attend a combat to the death by the Romans with his people, Jesus took full account of the power of appeal which would be present in the pretensions by messianic claimants to the ability to bring in the

glorious day of Jehovah, through resort to arms and by professed deeds of supernatural power. To all such appeals Jesus bade his disciples give not the slightest heed, asserting that in the days of their desire they would not see that Day so ushered in by Zealot claimants. As a powerful corrective to the conception that the day of Jehovah or his anointed was to be made actual by force of arms or by the powerful intervention of Jehovah through deeds of drastic destruction to the enemies of his people, Jesus sketched in simple and broad terms an outline of the day of the Son of man from which there were entirely absent all political interests, and to the bringing-in of which no man or men, whatever their claims, could contribute anything. Neither by martial activity nor by prolonged resistance of any form would the Day be deferred or hastened, for that Day when it came would be "as the lightning when it lighteneth out of the one part under the heaven *and* shineth unto the other part under heaven." And as to the time when that Day would come—"of that Day knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father."

III. *The Mission of the Disciples.*—Apparently it was not until the final week of his life that Jesus dealt with his disciples about their mission among men after his removal from their midst. He seems to have spoken first of their mission on the occasion when he dealt at greatest length with the national future, that is, on the Tuesday of Passion Week. As to their message, he gave them to understand that truths about the interpretation of himself, and about the nature and future of the kingdom of God, concerning which he had bidden reserve and silence during his lifetime, were to be spoken openly and boldly after his death. Nothing that he had said was intended permanently for limited circles; everything must come to the light and be made fully manifest. As to the effect of their message, they must expect that it would arouse the most violent antagonism and opposition. Upon this phase of the future, their persecutions, Jesus dwelt at some length, in the endeavor to prepare them for the worst that was to come. For them he defined his own mission as not a mission to give peace, but rather division. By precept and by parable, he urged faithfulness in their profession of him and in the prosecution of their future mission. The limits of the mission Jesus seems not to have defined precisely for his disciples. Apparently he thought

it best to suggest in broad outline his conception of a future, slow, gradual development into ultimate largeness and greatness, leaving it to the unfolding of history to give more precise content to the forms under which he had clothed his outlook.

IV. *The Kingdom of God.*—Jesus spoke seldom of the future of the kingdom of God. But his messages on that theme are among the clearest recorded in the gospels. Apparently he stood opposed to the conceptions of the kingdom current in his day; and his discourse in parables on the nature and future of the kingdom is intended in substantially all its parts, it seems, to set over against the thought of John the Baptist, and other modes of view as to the kingdom, his own convictions on that subject. Jesus believed the kingdom of God to be the ultimate product of certain forces which require favorable conditions and long time for their complete outworking. But he had the conviction that the conditions prevalent within the generation after his death would be favorable to the rapid and extensive spread of the truths which he had taught and for which he died. In this conviction, he assured his disciples that some of them would live to see developments of the kingdom not now expected by them.

V. *The Time of the Events.*—Jesus made statements about the time of three different events, namely, the destruction of Jerusalem, the day of the Son of man, and the kingdom of God. Of the first, he asserted that it would happen within the generation; of the second, he said that no one but the Father knew the time; of the third, he forecast that before the last of his disciples had passed away they would see the kingdom attain to great power. Of the destruction of Jerusalem and the day of the Son of man, Jesus spoke in the one discourse and in closest conjunction. The reason for this conjunction lay in the fact that the necessity for any statement at all from Jesus on the day of the Son of man arose from the circumstance that the messianic claimants, against whose notions the statement was directed, were the accompaniment of the war with the Romans. Jesus had forecast the war and the siege; he had said that those days of conflict would result in longing for some relief; that relief he asserted would be proffered by men who would promise to bring in the new era; against such claimants he forewarned his disciples; as the most effective means to assure heed to the warning, he set forth the transi-

tion to the new era in terms which excluded its realization under Zealot forms. The result of this conjunction of two different events by Jesus was that his prediction as to the time of the one was applied later by his disciples to the time of the other. In this way, it came about that the day of the Son of man was expected within the generation, and the tradition of Jesus' words so represents Jesus. In addition to this initial confusion, there was given to certain sayings of Jesus about the kingdom of God a meaning different from that originally intended by Jesus, because the early disciples made the day of the Son of man synonymous with the kingdom of God. This identification of the two terms was made more reasonable because Jesus had forecast that the disciples would see the powerful spread of the kingdom within their lifetime. This promise seemed like the equivalent of the assertion that the day of the Son of man would be realized within the generation. This double confusion of events kept separate by Jesus resulted not only in the faulty transmission of the discourse in which Jesus had dealt with two of them in conjunction, but also in most serious modifications and additions in many other sayings, changes which can, for the most part, be detected by the comparison of document with document or of gospel with document.

VI. *The Church and its Institutions.*—Because the document MK, which furnished the historical framework for gospels LK and MT, contained the final discourse on the future in a form which attributed to Jesus the coming of the Son of man within the generation, this expectation controls the outlook on the future which dominates in gospels LK and MT, especially the latter in the form in which apparently it came from its original framer. But the failure in the realization of the return of Jesus within the allotted time led later to the conviction that some other limit must be set. That chosen as the later terminus was the time when the gospel should be preached throughout the whole world; this seemed in keeping with the course events had taken during the first generation. A saying to this effect (Matt. 24:14), and slight modifications and additions to other sayings of Jesus, found a place in gospel MT; and the former was subsequently taken up by document MK itself. Thus within gospel MT there now stood sayings attributed to Jesus which were

in contradiction as to the limits of the mission, the one a natural inference by the framer of gospel MT (Matt. 10:23), the other an addition by a later editor (Matt. 24:14), both more precise than any utterance originally from Jesus. Yet later perhaps, surely subsequent to the time of the framer of gospel MT, there was added the introductory setting and the statement of the Great Commission. Within that commission there is the establishment of the rite of Baptism for those who become disciples in response to the propaganda. For this institution as from Jesus there is no other support in the Synoptic Gospels; it seems to have come from within the early community. Similarly, the institution of the Supper is supported in the records by a single passage only, which apparently has come into gospel LK from a letter of Paul. Certain physical immunities in the mission are promised, and there is the delegation of immeasurable authority to Peter, and later to the Twelve as the leaders in the new society, "the church." But the passages which convey these sayings are found to belong apparently to the latest strata of material in the gospel tradition. There is the assignment of judicial activities to "the church," and the promise of the post-ascension presence of Jesus, but the evidence seems to compel the conclusion that these sayings are the product of notably rich and enlarging experience. Jesus seems to have dealt with the future of his society under the term, "the kingdom of God," not under the term, "the church."

VII. *The Day of Judgment.*—The notion of a day of judgment, under the forms in which it appears in the Synoptic Gospels, seems clearly to be traceable to sources other than Jesus. The expectation of such a day is confined, with a single secondary exception, to the Gospel of Matthew, where it appears under one form or another several times. There it is a product apparently either of modification which can be detected by comparison with the document, or of additions to the original sayings, some of which can be traced by the comparison of gospel with document, others of which can be determined with reasonable certainty by other valid methods.

VIII. *Life after Death.*—Jesus stated with clearness and positiveness his belief in the resurrection and the resurrection life. He did not define with precision the scope of the resurrection, though the implications of his basis of belief in its certainty, taken with other

sayings about the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\etá$  of man, seem not to warrant the confidence that he regarded resurrection as coextensive with mankind. The nature of the resurrection life he asserted to be "as angels in heaven." Not only do the statements of Jesus about the resurrection take no account apparently of others than the righteous, but the fate of unrighteous in the life after death seems nowhere depicted by Jesus. Such passages as sketch the future destiny of the wicked seem clearly assignable to others than Jesus, seem to be the product of certain eschatological notions of the age of Jesus. Even the future of the righteous is stated only in the most general terms, and without localization. That which Jesus affirmed with confidence was that those who deny the fact of resurrection "know not the scriptures nor the power of God."





EXCURSUS  
THE CONTENT OF DOCUMENT M



## EXCURSUS

### THE CONTENT OF DOCUMENT M

Within the four major sources of gospels MT and LK, that is, the documents MK, G, P, and M, as restored by Professor Burton in his monograph on *Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem*, there are contained all of the synoptic sayings of Jesus, except certain of them that belong either to the post-resurrection report of gospel MT, or to the passion and post-resurrection record of gospel LK. In the reconstruction of these documents Professor Burton has assigned to document M all those sayings in gospel MT which are not accounted for by the documents which Matthew and Luke had in common, that is, by documents MK, G, and P. This results in the crediting to document M of a number of brief, isolated utterances which are peculiar to gospel MT. In the restoration of document M set forth on the sheets accompanying the present work, these detached sayings were not included, it being the conviction of the present writer that they belong, at least for the most part, to certain other sources of gospel MT. The document M as there restored is made up of a discourse, M §§ 1-14, a group of parables, M §§ 15-25, the judgment scene, M § 26, and a second discourse, M § 27.

In the course of preceding studies, there has been brought under consideration a large number of these minor sayings assigned to document M. Their nature has been examined, and their probable source suggested. They may be profitably reviewed in connection with those of document M which, because they do not contain teaching on the future, have not been studied previously. The judgment on those that have been considered may be either confirmed or corrected, in part, by the outcome of the examination of these isolated sayings as a whole. The problem to be solved is whether document M did actually contain these detached sayings. Or did they come from some sources other than documents? They may be set down in the order in which they occur in gospel MT.

## THE BAPTISM OF JESUS

- I. But John would have hindered him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me? But Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer *it* now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffereth him. Matt. 3:14, 15

## THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

- II. It was said also, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement. Matt. 5:31  
 III. And in praying use not vain repetitions, as the Gentiles do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Matt. 6:7  
 IV. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Matt. 6:10b  
 V. but deliver us from the evil *onc*. Matt. 6:13b  
 VI. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses. Matt. 6:15  
 VII. Be not therefore anxious for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Matt. 6:34  
 VIII. Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine, lest haply they trample them under their feet, and turn and rend you. Matt. 7:6  
 IX. for this is the law and the prophets. Matt. 7:12b

## THE CALL OF LEVI

- X. But go ye and learn what *this* meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice. Matt. 9:13a

## THE MISSION OF THE DISCIPLES

- XI. Go not *any* way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Matt. 10:5, 6  
 XII. freely ye received, freely give. Matt. 10:8b  
 XIII. be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. Matt. 10:16b  
 XIV. But when they persecute you in this city, flee into the next: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come. Matt. 10:23  
 XV. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more *shall they call* them of his household! Matt. 10:25b  
 XVI. and a man's foes *shall be* they of his own household. Matt. 10:36  
 XVII. He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward. Matt. 10:41

## MESSAGE FROM JOHN THE BAPTIST

- XVIII. Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light. Matt. 11:28-30

## THE DISCIPLES PLUCKING GRAIN

- XIX. Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the sabbath day the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are guiltless? But I say unto you, that one greater than the temple is here. But if ye had known what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. Matt. 12:5-7

## THE MAN WITH THE WITHERED HAND

- XX. And he said unto them, What man shall there be of you, that shall have one sheep, and if this fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out? How much then is a man of more value than a sheep! Matt. 12:11, 12a

## THE CHARGE OF LEAGUE WITH BEELZEBUB

- XXI. Ye offspring of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? Matt. 12:34a  
 XXII. And I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned. Matt. 12:36, 37

## DISCOURSE ON EATING WITH UNWASHEN HANDS

- XXIII. Then came the disciples, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended, when they heard this saying? But he answered and said, Every plant which my heavenly Father planted not, shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they are blind guides. And if the blind guide the blind, both shall fall into a pit. Matt. 15:12-14

## THE SYROPHOENICIAN WOMAN

- XXIV. But he answered her not a word. And his disciples came and besought him, saying, Send her away; for she crieth after us. But he answered and said, I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Matt. 15:23, 24

## THE CONFESSION OF PETER

- XXV. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Matt. 16:17-19

## THE SHEKEL IN THE FISH'S MOUTH

- XXVI. And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the half-shekel came to Peter, and said, Doth not your master pay the half-shekel? He saith, Yea. And when he came into the house, Jesus spake first to him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings on the earth, from whom do they receive toll or tribute? from their sons, or from strangers? And when he said, From strangers, Jesus said unto him, Therefore the sons are free. But, lest we cause them to stumble, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a shekel: that take, and give unto them for me and thee. Matt. 17:24-27

## DISCOURSE ON HUMILITY AND FORGIVENESS

- XXVII. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. Matt. 18:4
- XXVIII. See that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven. Matt. 18:10
- XXIX. Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish. Matt. 18:14
- XXX. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church; and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican. Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. Matt. 18:16-20

## DISCOURSE CONCERNING DIVORCE

- XXXI. The disciples say unto him, If the case of the man is so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry. But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are eunuchs, which were made eunuchs by men: and there are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it. Matt. 19:10-12

## THE RICH YOUNG RULER

- XXXII. And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Matt. 19:28

## THE CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE

- XXXIII. And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple: and he healed them. But when the chief priests and the scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children that were crying in the temple and saying, Hosanna to the son of David: they were moved with indignation, and said unto him, Hearest thou what these are saying? And Jesus saith unto them, Yea: did ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise? Matt. 21:14-16

## THREE PARABLES OF WARNING

- XXXIV. Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. Matt. 21:43

## FINAL DISCOURSE ON THE FUTURE

- XXXV. And then shall many stumble, and shall deliver up one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall lead many astray. And because iniquity shall be multiplied, the love of the many shall wax cold. Matt. 24:10-12
- XXXVI. and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes on the earth mourn. Matt. 24:30a

## THE BETRAYAL AND ARREST

- XXXVII. Then saith Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Or thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels? How then should the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be? Matt. 26:52-54

I. These words are inserted in the midst of a narrative drawn from document MK. If they are from document M, it must be supposed that document M was both narrative and discourse in form, for evidently this saying would not be reported without narrative context. Only within some setting is it intelligible. But document M contributes to gospel MT nothing previous to this passage, nor subsequent, till the Sermon on the Mount is reached. Hence this saying must be supposed to have stood in isolation in document M. Is it not more reasonable, therefore, to regard this saying as introduced into gospel MT for the purpose of giving the support of Jesus to baptism as an institution? In that case, it is the product of that tendency which manifests itself again in the Great Commission, where Jesus is formally credited with commanding baptism. In determining the source of the saying, account ought to be taken of the difficulty in satisfactorily interpreting it as a word of Jesus on this occasion. On the other hand, "for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness" would be regarded in later times, when baptism was thoroughly established as a Christian rite, as a saying natural to Jesus. The later date is suggested also by the estimate of Jesus credited to John.

II-IX. The apparent method of construction by Matthew of the Sermon on the Mount from his documents is set forth on pp. 11-14. It was suggested there (1) that portion II is the editorial introduction to the saying in 5:32 which is drawn from document P §52, this introduction being a shortened form of that supplied by document M in other parts of the Sermon, in each case made up of "Ye have heard that it was said" and an Old Testament quotation; (2) that portion III is to be interpreted as the editorial endeavor to frame a transition from what precedes to the sayings that follow from document P §§24, 13; (3) that portion VI is the reverse side of the truth in 6:14, a natural inference from the saying derived from document MK 11:25; (4) that portion IX is the Matthaean conclusion about the Golden Rule to which it is attached, a conclusion similar to that which the same editor adds to his document MK in Matt. 22:40, where the law of love is the form of summary. On pp. 61-63 it is shown that the portion VII is probably the more original form of P §25, the document P in its present Lukan form having been affected in §§25, 26, probably by the proximity of the parables in P §§27-30. The portions IV and V are parts of the Lord's Prayer which are not in the Lukan P §13, that being Matthew's document for Matt. 6:8-13. The words preceding portion V in the prayer, "bring us not into temptation," suggest that it is God who controls the "temptation" of man; the latter half of the saying, portion V, seems to imply that another force determines the movement toward evil. This apparent opposition of thought has weight, perhaps, as supporting the conjecture that the portion V is from some source other than Jesus. The portion IV accords with the mind of Jesus as elsewhere expressed; its presence here is difficult to explain in view of its absence from the Lukan P §13. In the portion VIII there is a saying which seems absolutely without relation to its context in gospel MT; it is also of such a nature that it may have had independent transmission in some document. But it is not easy to say what it means, if from Jesus. It hardly expresses his spirit and method. It seems more like the saying of some exclusive sect, such as the Pharisees or the Sadducees.

X. This appeal to the Old Testament is inserted between the two halves of a saying from document MK, and is the only fraction of a large section at this point in gospel MT which is not accounted for

by document MK. It seems to have been a favorite Scripture of some editor of gospel MT, for it is inserted again as a part of portion XIX.

XI-XVII. The apparent procedure of Matthew in the fashioning of the discourse on the mission of the disciples from his documents MK and P has been followed on pp. 16, 17. Of the portions unaccounted for by the words of documents MK and P, it may be held reasonably that portion XVI results from the freedom with which document P §32 is transcribed as gospel MT 10:34-36, the words of portion XVI being the Matthaean equivalent for "there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided three against two, and two against three." The portions XI and XIV, which define the limits of the mission both during and after the lifetime of Jesus, have been fully examined on pp. 88-92, and the decision reached that they are the products of the evangelist rather than transcripts from document M; their basis for the evangelist lay, it seems, in document MK. In the construction of the discourse, Matt. 10:24, 25 was drawn from document G §14B; the saying in portion XV seems to be a specific deduction from that of G §14B, made in the light of the known experiences of Jesus, document MK §18 and document P §16, and, perhaps, also the actual experiences of the disciples after him. "As wise as a serpent, as harmless as a dove" of portion XIII may have been a common proverb, which came to be attributed to Jesus because of its fitness to the known spirit and method of his early representatives. Similarly, the portion XVII reads like a current saying in proverbial form, which perhaps has been given a place in gospel MT because of its likeness in thought to what precedes and to what follows it in gospel MT, the former from document MK 9:37=document P §6, the latter from document MK 9:41. It is not necessary to think of the portion XII as other than a free expansion of the thought of those portions of documents MK and P which Matthew was using in the production of Matt. 9:36-10:16.

XVIII. In this portion there is a saying which could have naturally an independent transmission, that is, could come down in a collection of the shorter sayings of Jesus without historical context, in other words, as a part of document M. It will be observed, however, that it is a saying of that intensely personal cast which is present in no part of documents G or MK, in one saying only of document P, P §8



end, and in portion XXV and the end of XXX above, as also in the Great Commission in its Matthaean form.

XIX. To the reasons advanced in document MK in justification for the apparent breach of the Sabbath law by the disciples in plucking grain, reasons which are taken over by both gospels MT and LK, there is added yet another vindication in gospel MT by portion XIX. It is an appeal to Scripture based on the practice of the priests. This appeal is supported, in turn, by the fact that "one greater than the temple is here;" and the whole is sealed by the quotation of an Old Testament saying. This saying has been seen before as an addition to the document MK account of the call of Levi, portion X, and was apparently a favorite Scripture of some worker upon gospel MT. In each case of its use it is an appeal for charitable judgment upon an infringement of customary standards; its appropriateness as such seems not notable. No doubt such an additional endeavor at the vindication of the attitude of Jesus toward Sabbath observance as is found in portion XIX, especially vindication by an appeal to Scripture, would naturally be made by those who were set for the defense of Jesus. It is not easy to see how the words "one greater than the temple is here" bear upon the argument in a valid way. But the estimate of Jesus conveyed by these words is probably more normally interpreted as the expression of the apostolic age than as the utterance of Jesus about himself in the vindication of the conduct of his disciples in plucking grain on the Sabbath. The whole saying is introduced in gospel MT after the manner of the preceding one taken from document MK—"Have ye not read."

XX. It seems clear that portion XX was inserted in the midst of the document MK narrative by Matthew under the influence of the account of a similar event as recorded in document P §43A, where this saying occurs in substantially the Matthaean form.

XXI-XXII. The portions XXI and XXII are the parts of the Matthaean paragraph (Matt. 12:33-37) which adapt the saying about the good and the corrupt tree to the case of the Pharisees who have charged Jesus as in league with Beelzebub, after the manner that other added portions adapt the same saying to false prophets in Matt. 7:15-23. On the whole subject of these two Matthaean adaptations of document G §15, see chap. v, §§2, 3.

XXIII. In the document G account of the Sermon on the Mount, there were found by Matthew in G §14 two unrelated sayings, the portions G §14AB, which he removed to other discourses of Jesus, the latter to the discourse on the mission (Matt. 10:24, 25), the former to that on eating with unwashed hands, as the closing words of portion XXIII. But from whence came the other part of portion XXIII, the opening saying, "Every plant which my heavenly Father planted not shall be rooted up"? Is this answered by a knowledge of that tendency of Matthew which is expressed in his Principle 7,<sup>1</sup> the active outworking of which is traced here and there in that portion of his gospel covered by the analysis<sup>2</sup> of his literary procedure?

XXIV. This saying, as the Matthaean rewriting of document MK 7:27, "Let the children first be filled," has been examined at length on pp. 88-92.

XXV. The thought in this first of the two synoptic references to the "church" and the judicial functions of the leaders in the "church" is considered, as a part of the narrative in which it occurs, in chap. viii, §1.

XXVI. There will surely be general agreement with the judgment of Professor Burton that "on purely internal grounds one would perhaps refer Matt. 17:24-27 to the minor source which supplied the narratives peculiar to Matthew;" even though "for such reference there is no objective ground."

XXVII-XXX. The structure of the eighteenth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew in its relation to document MK 9:33-50 and other sources is considered on pp. 67-78. There it was seen that portion XXVII is probably the Matthaean rewriting of document MK 9:35, the changes in form being the result of the effort to solve the difficulty created by the presence in document MK of the disturbing saying in 9:37. It was found that portion XXVIII resulted in that application of the parable of the Lost Sheep which is made by portion XXIX, the parable itself having come from some other line of tradition than document P §46B—introduction, parable, and application probably having been inserted in gospel MT subsequent to the work of him who framed that gospel from the documents. The portion XXX, the second reference to "the church" and to the judicial functions of the leaders in "the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 10-19.

church," begins, it has been seen, by the elaboration of a saying found in its original form in document P §54B. The portion XXX as a whole is examined at length in chap. viii, §3.

XXXI. To that which was drawn from document MK 10:2-12 on the subject of divorce, Matthew or some subsequent editor of gospel MT added the portion XXXI on celibacy. The transition from divorce to celibacy is effected through the reputed comment of the disciples, "If the case of the man is so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry." There is an immediate seizure of the phrase "it is not expedient to marry," as though the abstention were a religious act instead of a prudential choice, and the saying a solemn injunction of Jesus instead of the petulant objection of the disciples. It is taken as a text to develop in commendation of celibacy for "him that is able to receive it." One naturally wonders whether this Matthaean addition ought to be regarded as the producer of that tendency in the early community which is rebuked in I Tim. 4:3, or as the product of that tendency, an endeavor to ground its justification in the words of Jesus himself.

XXXII. The discussion of portion XXXII on the judicial functions of the Twelve may be found in chap. v, §4.

XXXIII. Since this portion is all narrative, except a verse which is quoted from Ps. 8:2, it seems improbable that it formed a part of a document made up of the sayings of Jesus. In any event, it contributes substantially nothing to a knowledge of the thought of Jesus.

XXXIV. It is not likely that a parable would be contained in one document and the application of that parable in another document. The parable to which portion XXXIV is attached is very evidently drawn from document MK 12:1-12. It seems to be a normal conclusion that the application is the inference of an interpreter of the parable. But that interpreter is hardly the original framer of gospel MT, for his thought is expressed through portions XXIV, XI, and XIV, which contain a view opposed to that in XXXIV. The subject is considered more fully on pp. 88-92 and in chap. viii, §6.

XXXV-XXXVI. It seems beyond doubt that portion XXXV is an editorial product, made necessary at the point where it is inserted by the fact that document MK 13:9-13 had been used by Matthew

as Matt. 10:17-22 in the construction of his discourse on the mission of the disciples in Matt. 9:36—10:42. The problem is dealt with at length in chap. iv, §4. The portion XXXVI contains, it seems, the contribution of Matthew, from prophetic sources, to the dramatic element in the description of the coming of the Son of man drawn from document MK 13:24-27; the thought seems supplied by Dan. 7:13 and Zech. 12:12, as is more fully developed in chap. iv, §8.

XXXVII. The reference to the "twelve legions of angels," the resolve to face death rather than shrink from it in order that Scripture might be fulfilled, the accepting as a fixed principle of conduct for the disciples of that which the failures of Zealot appeal to the sword had taught, all suggest the inquiry whether portion XXXVII is more correctly interpreted as an accretion to the sayings of Jesus than as the contribution of document M to the narrative of the betrayal and arrest.

There may now be set down those portions of document M, as elsewhere restored, which the results of preceding studies seem to indicate as from some source other than Jesus himself:

## DOCUMENT M §25

- XXXVIII. enter thou into the joy of thy lord.  
enter thou into the joy of thy lord.  
And cast ye out the unprofitable servant into the outer darkness: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

## DOCUMENT M §23

- XXXIX. But when the king came in to behold the guests, he saw there a man which had not on a wedding-garment: and he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding-garment? And he was speechless. Then the king said to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and cast him out into the outer darkness; there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are called, but few chosen.

## DOCUMENT M §14

- XL. Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. . . . Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. . . . Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

## DOCUMENT M §27

- XLI. Ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape the judgement of hell?

## DOCUMENT M §15B

- XLII. He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world; and the good seed, these are the sons of the kingdom; and the tares are the sons of the evil one; and the enemy that sowed them is the devil; and the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are angels. As therefore the tares are gathered up and burned with fire; so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

## DOCUMENT M §18

- XLIII. So shall it be in the end of the world: the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth.

## DOCUMENT M §26

XLIV. But when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or athirst, and gave thee drink? And when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? And when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, *even* these least, ye did it unto me. Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer, saying, Lord, when saw we thee anhungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these least, ye did it not unto me. And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life.

The sayings under portion XXXVIII are detected as accretions by the comparison of document M §25 with document P §64;<sup>1</sup> those of portion XXXIX, by the comparison of document M §23 with document P §43.<sup>2</sup> The portions XXXVIII and XXXIX are additions to two parables. By the comparison of document M §14 with document G §§15, 16, it is found that the portions in XL are accretions.<sup>3</sup> That portion XLI is not to be regarded as the fate originally forecast by Jesus for the scribes and Pharisees, is determined by the comparison of document M §27 with document P §18.<sup>4</sup> The portions XL and XLI are additions to two discourses. The study of the purpose of the discourse in parables on "the mystery of the kingdom of God," as revealed by documents P, MK, and M, results in the conclusion that the intended purpose is not only not attained but is frustrated if the expositions in portions XLII and XLIII are accepted as explicative of the thought of the parables to which they are attached.<sup>5</sup> That portion XLIV, that is, document M §26, was framed with a definite and ascertainable aim by the early community seems to be the outcome of the study of the paragraph as a whole.<sup>6</sup>

It will have been observed that the above Matthaean portions I–XLIV fall into certain natural groups, of which the scope and content may be stated somewhat as follows:

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 27–29.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 24, 25 and chap. v, §2.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 32–35.

<sup>5</sup> See chap. v, §6.

<sup>6</sup> See chap. v, §7.

1. Editorial introductions or transitions: II, III.
2. Editorial expansions: V, VI, IX, XII, XV, XXXVI.
3. Editorial rewriting with freedom: XVI, XX, XXIV, XXVII, XXXV.
4. Editorial appeal to Scripture: X, XIX.
5. Sayings showing the more original form of the document employed: VII, and perhaps also IV.
6. Definitions of the limits of the mission by the framer of gospel MT: XI, XIV, XXIV.
7. Definition of the limits of the mission by a later editor:<sup>1</sup> XXXIV.
8. Application of parables different from that in the documents: XXIX, XXXIV.
9. Proverbs inserted because of their applicability: XIII, XVII.
10. Strong condemnation of the Pharisees: XXI, XLI, XXIII.
11. Exalted estimates of Jesus: I, XIX, XXXVII.
12. The day of judgment: XXII, XXXII, XL, XLII, XLIII, XLIV.
13. The notion of angels: XXVIII, XXXVII.
14. The belief in a dread eschatological fate: XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL, XLI, XLII, XLIII, XLIV.
15. Sayings to the discredit of the Gentiles: III, XXX.
16. Warnings against false prophets: XXXV, XL.
17. Sayings in exaltation of Peter or the Twelve: XXV, XXX.
18. The church: its activities, prerogatives, functions, standards, and institutions: (a) its foundation rock, XXV; (b) its judicial functions, XXV, XXX; (c) its prerogatives, XXX; (d) its standards or basis of election, XXXIX; (e) the treatment of its representatives, XLIV; (f) celibacy, for those "able to receive it," XXXI; (g) baptism, for those who would "fulfil all righteousness," I; (h) its limits, XXXIV.
19. Sayings or narratives of such a character that they could form independent units in documentary or oral transmission: VIII, XVIII, XXVI, XXXIII.

<sup>1</sup> As to the origin of another saying of similar content (Matt. 24:14), see chap. iv, §4.

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## §1. THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

Passages in the Synoptic Gospels are referred to on the pages in the body of this work under one or other of three forms, namely: (1) by chapter and verse, as Luke 17:22-37; (2) by document and section, as P §60; (3) by exhibit and portion, as portion A, B, and the like, of some preceding exhibit of synoptic material—for example, on p. 67 “portion A” refers to that part of the exhibit on p. 64 lettered A, which is Luke 17:22, a part of document P §60. Hence Luke 17:22 is indexed here as appearing on p. 67, though one will not find, on turning to p. 67, a chapter and verse reference to Luke 17:22.

Where the second form is used in the body of the work, the fact is recorded in the following index by inserting the documentary reference after that of chapter and verse. When a whole section of a document is intended, it is preceded by the equality sign (=P §60); absence of this sign indicates that the verse or verses indexed cover only a part of that section (P §60).

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