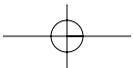
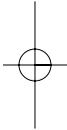
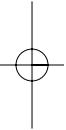
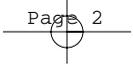


TYNDALE NEW TESTAMENT COMMENTARIES

VOLUME 3

TNTC

LUKE



TYNDALE NEW TESTAMENT COMMENTARIES

VOLUME 3

GENERAL EDITOR: LEON MORRIS

LUKE

AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

LEON MORRIS



Inter-Varsity Press

 **IVP Academic**
Evangelically Rooted. Critically Engaged.

InterVarsity Press, USA
P.O. Box 1400
Downers Grove, IL 60515-1426, USA
World Wide Web: www.ivpress.com
Email: email@ivpress.com

Inter-Varsity Press, England
Norton Street
Nottingham NG7 3HR, England
Website: www.ivpbooks.com
Email: ivp@ivpbooks.com

©Leon Morris 1974, 1988

Leon Morris has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as Author of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of InterVarsity Press.

InterVarsity Press®, USA, is the book-publishing division of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/USA® <www.intervarsity.org> and a member movement of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students.

Inter-Varsity Press, England, is closely linked with the Universities and Colleges Christian Fellowship, a student movement connecting Christian Unions in universities and colleges throughout Great Britain, and a member movement of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students. Website: www.uccf.org.uk.

The Scripture quotations quoted herein are from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, copyright 1946, 1952 © 1971, 1973 by the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

First published 1974

Second edition 1988

Reprinted in this format 2008

USA ISBN 978-0-8308-4233-9

UK ISBN 978-1-84474-269-1

Set in Garamond 11/13pt

Typeset in Great Britain by Avocet Typeset, Chilton, Aylesbury, Bucks

Printed in the United States of America ∞



InterVarsity Press is committed to protecting the environment and to the responsible use of natural resources. As a member of Green Press Initiative we use recycled paper whenever possible. To learn more about the Green Press Initiative, visit <www.greenpressinitiative.org>.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Morris, Leon, 1914-2006.

Luke / Leon L. Morris.

p. cm.—(Tyndale New Testament commentaries; v. 3)

Originally published: 2nd ed. 1988.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8308-4233-9 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Bible. N.T. Luke—Commentaries. I. Title.

BS2595.53.M67 2008

226.4'07—dc22

2008031506

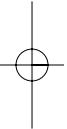
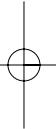
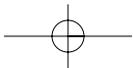
British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

P	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2
Y	27	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12		

CONTENTS

General preface	7
Author's preface	9
Chief abbreviations	11
Introduction	17
Authorship	19
Date	28
Language	33
Luke the theologian	35
The relationship of Luke to the other Gospels	57
a. the Synoptic Problem	57
b. Luke and John	71
Analysis	73
Commentary	81
A table of parallel passages	365



GENERAL PREFACE

The original Tyndale Commentaries aimed at providing help for the general reader of the Bible. They concentrated on the meaning of the text without going into scholarly technicalities. They sought to avoid ‘the extremes of being unduly technical or unhelpfully brief’. Most who have used the books agree that there has been a fair measure of success in reaching that aim.

Times, however, change. A series that has served so well for so long is perhaps not quite as relevant as it was when it was first launched. New knowledge has come to light. The discussion of critical questions has moved on. Bible-reading habits have changed. When the original series was commenced it could be presumed that most readers used the Authorized Version and one’s comments were made accordingly, but this situation no longer obtains.

The decision to revise and up-date the whole series was not reached lightly, but in the end it was thought that this is what is required in the present situation. There are new needs, and they will be better served by new books or by a thorough up-dating of the old books. The aims of the original series remain. The new commentaries are neither minuscule nor unduly long. They are exegetical rather than homiletic. They do not discuss all the critical questions, but none is written without an awareness of the problems that engage the attention of New Testament scholars. Where it is felt that formal consideration should be given to such questions, they are discussed in the Introduction and sometimes in Additional Notes.

But the main thrust of these commentaries is not critical. These books are written to help the non-technical reader understand his Bible better. They do not presume a knowledge of Greek, and all Greek

words discussed are transliterated; but the authors have the Greek text before them and their comments are made on the basis of what the originals say. The authors are free to choose their own modern translation, but are asked to bear in mind the variety of translations in current use.

The new series of Tyndale Commentaries goes forth, as the former series did, in the hope that God will graciously use these books to help the general reader to understand as fully and clearly as possible the meaning of the New Testament.

Leon Morris

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In revising this commentary I have gone through the text, updating it where that seemed advisable. Since the first edition discussion on Luke has not stood still; some fine books have appeared, notably the commentaries by Marshall and Fitzmyer. I have profited greatly from these works and am glad of the opportunity of making use of them in the preparation of this revision. There are no major alterations, but I have made many small changes in wording, some of which, I think, make the meaning clearer, while others embody additional information.

Perhaps I ought to make it clear that this commentary is intended simply to help non-technical readers understand what Luke has written. When it first appeared, some reviewers complained that I had not dealt sufficiently with form criticism, or with the changes Luke made as he handled his sources, or with questions of historicity. I should make it clear that this commentary was never intended to deal with such questions. Those who were kind enough to invite me to write it did, it is true, ask me to deal in the Introduction with some critical questions which had not been dealt with in the commentaries on the other Synoptic Gospels, notably the Synoptic Problem. The Introduction accordingly was perhaps a mite involved. But apart from that I was simply to bring out the meaning for non-technical readers and this I tried to do. Detailed discussions of form criticism, redaction criticism, historicity, and other delights were not in my brief. This is not a long book and it is not possible to handle everything. I have tried consistently to answer the question: "What do these

words mean?’ I have been concerned with the meaning of what is before us, not how it came to be written as it is. I know that the questions I have left unanswered are important. But to deal with them would have meant a different kind of commentary (and a much longer one).

Leon Morris

CHIEF ABBREVIATIONS

- ANF* *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (American reprint of the Edinburgh edition), n. d.
- Arndt William F. Arndt, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, Bible Commentary (Concordia, 1956).
- AV Authorized (King James) Version, 1611.
- BAGD *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (trans. of W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsch Wörterbuch*), translated and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich; second edition revised and augmented by F. Wilbur Gingrich and F. W. Danker (University of Chicago Press, 1979).
- Barclay William Barclay, *The Gospel of Luke*, The Daily Study Bible (Saint Andrew Press, 1967).
- Bengel John Albert Bengel, *The Gnomon of the New Testament*, translated, revised and edited by Andrew R. Fausset (T. and T. Clark, 1873).
- BJRL* *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*.
- Blaiklock E. M. Blaiklock, *St. Luke*, Bible Study Books (Scripture Union, 1967).
- Browning W. R. F. Browning, *The Gospel According to Saint Luke*, Torch Bible Commentaries (SCM Press, 1965).
- BS* *Bible Studies* by Adolf Deissmann (T. and T. Clark, 1901).

- Caird G. B. Caird, *Saint Luke*, Pelican Gospel Commentaries (Pelican, 1963).
- CBQ* *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*.
- Creed John Martin Creed, *The Gospel According to St Luke* (Macmillan, 1950).
- Ellis E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, The Century Bible, new series (Nelson, 1966).
- ET* *The Expository Times*.
- Farrar F. W. Farrar, *The Gospel According to St Luke*, The Cambridge Greek Testament (Cambridge University Press, 1893).
- Fitzmyer Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, The Anchor Bible, 2 vols. (Doubleday, 1981).
- Ford D. W. Cleverley Ford, *A Reading of Saint Luke's Gospel* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1967).
- Geldenhuis Norval Geldenhuis, *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*, New International Commentary on the New Testament (Eerdmans, 1951).
- GNB Good News Bible: Old Testament, 1976; New Testament, 41976.
- Godet *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke* by F. Godet, 2 vols. (T. and T. Clark, 1889).
- GT *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, being Grimm's Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, translated, revised and enlarged by Joseph Henry Thayer (T. and T. Clark, 1888).
- Harrington Wilfrid J. Harrington, *The Gospel According to St Luke* (Geoffrey Chapman, 1968).
- HDAC* *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, edited by James Hastings, 2 vols. (1915-18).
- JB The Jerusalem Bible, 1966.
- JBL* *The Journal of Biblical Literature*.
- JTS* *The Journal of Theological Studies*.
- Leaney A. R. C. Leaney, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*, Black's New Testament Commentaries (A. and C. Black, 1966).
- Lenski R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St Luke's Gospel* (Augsburg, 1961).

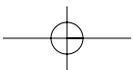
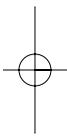
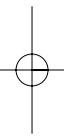
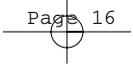
- LSJ *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, new edition revised by H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1940).
- LT *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* by Alfred Edersheim, 2 vols. (1890: Pickering and Inglis, 1959).
- LXX The Septuagint (pre-Christian Greek version of the Old Testament).
- Maddox Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts* (T. and T. Clark, 1982).
- Manson William Manson, *The Gospel of Luke*, Moffatt New Testament Commentary (Hodder and Stoughton, 1937).
- Marshall I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Paternoster, 1978).
- Melinsky Hugh Melinsky, *Luke*, Modern Reader's Guide to the Gospels (Darton, Longman and Todd, 1966).
- mg. margin.
- Miller D. G. Miller, *Saint Luke*, Layman's Bible Commentaries (SCM Press, 1966).
- MM James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1914–29).
- Moorman John R. H. Moorman, *The Path to Glory* (SPCK, 1963).
- Morgan G. Campbell Morgan, *The Gospel According to Luke* (Fleming H. Revell, n.d.).
- MS(S) manuscript(s).
- NBD *The New Bible Dictionary*, edited by J. D. Douglas et al. (Inter-Varsity Press, 1982).
- NEB The New English Bible: Old Testament, 1970; New Testament, 1970.
- NIV The New International Version: Old Testament, 1978; New Testament, 1978.
- NTS *New Testament Studies*.
- Plummer Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Luke*, International Critical Commentary (T. and T. Clark, 1928).

- Richardson Neil Richardson, *The Panorama of Luke* (Epworth Press, 1982).
- RSV Revised Standard Version: Old Testament, 1952; New Testament, ²1971.
- RV Revised Version, 1884.
- Ryle John Charles Ryle, *Expository Thoughts on the Gospels; St. Luke*, 2 vols. (1856: James Clark and Co., 1969).
- SE1 *Studia Evangelica*, vol. i, edited by K. Aland et al. (Akademie-Verlag, 1959).
- SE4 *Studia Evangelica*, vol. iv, edited by F. L. Cross (Akademie-Verlag, 1968).
- SB Herman L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 vols. (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922–56).
- Schweizer Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Luke* (SPCK, 1984).
- SJ *The Sayings of Jesus*, by T. W. Manson, 1949.
- SLA *Studies in Luke-Acts*, edited by Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (SPCK, 1966).
- Talbert Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Luke* (Crossroad, 1984).
- TDNT *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, a translation by Geoffrey W. Bromiley of *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament*, vols. 1–4 edited by G. Kittel, vols. 5–10 edited by G. Friedrich (Eerdmans, 1964–1976).
- THB *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Luke* by J. Reiling and J. L. Swellengrebel (E. J. Brill, 1971).
- Thompson G. H. P. Thompson, *The Gospel According to Luke*, New Clarendon Bible (Oxford University Press, 1972).
- Tinsley E. J. Tinsley, *The Gospel According to Luke*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge University Press, 1965).
- TNTC Tyndale New Testament Commentary.
- Wilcock Michael Wilcock, *The Message of Luke* (Inter-Varsity Press, 1979).
- ZNW *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

CHIEF ABBREVIATIONS

15

The following translations are cited by the translator's surname: Goodspeed, Knox, Moffatt, Phillips, Rieu. Philo and Josephus are cited from the Loeb edition, the Mishnah from Danby's translation and the Talmud and Midrash from the Soncino translation.



INTRODUCTION

Until comparatively recently very little attention seems to have been paid to the remarkable fact that Luke is the only one of the four Evangelists to write a sequel to his Gospel.¹ Why did he do it? The other three wrote books which concentrated on the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. Evidently they felt that this story could

-
1. In the last three decades (especially in Germany) the importance of linking Luke with Acts has been increasingly emphasized. W. D. Davies points out that 'The recognition that Luke and Acts belong together is the decisive factor in recent interpretation of Luke' (*Invitation to the New Testament*, SPCK, 1967, p. 219). W. Ward Gasque sees it as 'the primary gain' of recent criticism of Luke-Acts that the two 'must be considered together' (*A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles*, Grand Rapids, 1975, p. 309). This is part of a flurry of activity in recent Lucan studies which, however, has produced very little agreement, so that W. C. van Unnik could write an essay with the title, 'Luke-Acts, a Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship' (*SLA*, pp. 15ff.).

stand by itself. It needed no supplement. But Luke wrote Acts. Why?

His second volume, of course, takes us on into the history of the early church. It tells us of those first days in Jerusalem and of the way the preachers went abroad with the gospel, Peter and John, Stephen the martyr, Philip and others, but especially Paul and his helpers.

The great thought Luke is expressing is surely that God is working out his purpose.² This purpose is seen clearly in the life and work of Jesus, but it did not finish with the earthly ministry of Jesus. It carried right on into the life and witness of the church. The church does not represent a new, completely unrelated act of God. Luke seems to be saying that the work of Jesus led, and in the plan of God was meant to lead, to the life of the church. Some writers like to bring this out by speaking of Luke's theme as 'salvation history', or by drawing attention to the promise and fulfilment motif.³

Luke sees this divine purpose as intimately bound up with the love and the mercy of God. A feature of this Gospel is the way God's love is portrayed as active in a variety of ways and among a variety of people. This is not an occasional theme, but one which runs through the whole writing. As A. H. McNeile put it, whereas in Matthew the keynote may be said to be royalty, and in Mark power, in Luke it is love.⁴ It is perhaps this that gives to the Third Gospel its peculiar attractiveness. The writer was obviously a man of culture, with an appreciation of the beautiful, and he could write well. But it is not any or all of these that accounts for the beauty of this writ-

2. Notice Luke's frequent use of the word *dei* to convey the thought of a divine necessity in Jesus' ministry (2:49; 4:43; 9:22; 13:16, 33; 17:25; 19:5; 22:37; 24:7, 26, 44). So also he uses *boulē*, 'purpose', twice in Luke and seven times in Acts, a total of nine out of the twelve occurrences of the term in the New Testament. S. Schulz has emphasized the importance of the plan of God in Luke's theology (*ZNW* 54, 1963, pp. 104-116).

3. Cf. Nils A. Dahl, *SLA*, pp. 150ff.

4. A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, rev. C. S. C. Williams (Calerendon Press, 21953), p. 14.

ing. Rather it is the way the love of God shines through in parable and saying and story of Jesus.⁵

Luke's theme is a grand one and he treats it at some length. His Gospel is the longest of the four, and when Acts is added he has written more of the New Testament than any other single writer. Clearly a study of his writings is important for the student of the New Testament.

1. Authorship

It is usually agreed that the author of our Gospel is to be identified with the writer of Acts. The Preface to Luke (1:1–4) is addressed to Theophilus and Acts 1:1 appears to be a kind of secondary preface. It is addressed to the same person and is apparently intended to recall the former.⁶ Style and vocabulary favour unity of authorship.

Tradition unanimously affirms this author to be Luke. This is attested by the early heretic Marcion (who died c. AD 160; Luke was the only Gospel in his canon), the Muratorian Fragment (a list of the books accepted as belonging to the New Testament; it is usually held to express Roman opinion at the end of the second century), the

-
5. Many have paid their tribute to the attractiveness of the book. E. Renan spoke of it as 'the most beautiful book there is' (*'le plus beau livre qu'il y ait'*) (*Les Évangiles*, Paris 1877, p. 283), a verdict which caused C. K. Barrett to remark that Luke 'was more concerned with truth than beauty' (*Luke the Historian in Recent Study*, Epworth Press, 1961, p. 7). W. Manson pays this tribute: 'Luke has cast his net wide, and produced a gospel the most voluminous and varied, the most vibrant and sympathetic, the most beautiful and sweetly reasonable of all that we possess' (Manson, p. xxvii). F. C. Grant sees Luke as 'the most valuable of our four' and Luke-Acts as 'the most valuable writing in the New Testament' (*The Gospels*, Faber and Faber, 1957, p. 133).
 6. H. Conzelmann and E. Haenchen take the view that the Preface to Luke is not meant to refer to Acts. But most scholars see the Preface as applying to both books. See, for example, the discussion by A. J. B. Higgins in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. W. Ward Gasque and Ralph P. Martin (Paternoster, 1970), pp. 78–91.

anti-Marcionite Prologue to Luke (which also says that Luke was a native of Antioch, that he was a physician, that he wrote his Gospel in Achaia, and that he died at the age of eighty-four, unmarried and childless),⁷ Irenaeus,⁸ Tertullian,⁹ Clement of Alexandria¹⁰ and others.

Sometimes this tradition is dismissed as no more than guesswork, but this is too cavalier. Luke was not, as far as we know, a person of such prominence in the early church as to have two such considerable volumes as these fathered on to him without reason. If people were guessing, would they not be much more likely to come up with an apostle? Or Epaphras? Or Mark? The fact that a non-apostolic man of no known prominence is universally held in antiquity to have been the author must be given weight.

We should not overlook the point made by Martin Dibelius that this book is unlikely to have been published without the author's name attached. He points out that the address to Theophilus presupposes that there was the desire to circulate the book among the educated. For such readers the name of the writer would necessarily have been included. If the prologue 'gave the name of the person to whom the dedication was addressed, the name of the author could hardly be omitted from the title.'¹¹ Tradition would not uni-

-
7. The text is given in Greek in Albert Huck, *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels*, English edn. ed. F. L. Cross (Tübingen, 1936), p. VIII, and in English in Ellis, p. 41. The Prologues are dated by Huck AD 160–180. Most recent scholars, however, regard them as much later and many see them as of little value. See, for example, the note in E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Basil Blackwell, 1971), pp. 10–12. Ellis is more respectful (Ellis, loc. cit.), as are R. G. Heard, who finds some early and valuable material here (*JTS*, n.s. 6, 1955, pp. 9–11) and Fitzmyer (pp. 38f.).
8. *Adversus Haereses* III.i.1.
9. *Adversus Marcionem* iv.2.
10. *Stromateis* i.21.
11. M. Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (SCM Press, 1956), p. 148. H. J. Cadbury points out that when the title and author of the book were named on a separate tag (which he thinks was probably the case

formly ascribe to Luke a book known from its publication to have been written by someone else.

The tradition accords with the Preface which shows us that the author was not an eyewitness of the things he records, though he had searched out evidence from those who were. He was clearly a careful writer and a cultured man, but not one of Jesus' first followers.

The internal evidence agrees. In Acts there are four passages in which the writer uses the pronoun 'we' (Acts 16:10–17; 20:5–16; 21:1–18; 27:1 – 28:16). These appear to have been taken from the diary of one of Paul's companions. One of the 'we' sections yields the information that the writer stayed for some time in Caesarea with Philip the evangelist and his four daughters (Acts 21:8ff.). It was not until more than two years later (Acts 24:27) that he and Paul sailed for Rome (Acts 27:1). This period spent with such companions must have given opportunity for discovering much about Jesus and the early church.

The vocabulary and style of the 'we' passages are the same as those of the rest of the book, from which the natural conclusion is that one author wrote the whole. It is true that some critics deny this. They hold that the author of Acts has copied a few passages from someone else's diary as his way of supplying information about part of the events he is describing.¹² Or they think that the 'we' is simply a literary device.¹³ Such arguments are not impressive. The use by the author of extracts from his own notes is intelligible, but that by someone else much less so. We might pose the

with Luke-Acts) neither appeared in the text of the roll (*The Making of Luke-Acts*, Macmillan, 1927, p. 195). Cadbury thinks the evidence that Luke was the author is not conclusive. But he does not explain how Luke could have displaced another name so completely.

12. For example, H. Windisch holds that the author of Acts was not Luke, 'but he used as a source a diary of Luke's' (*The Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, vol. 2 (Macmillan, 1922, p. 342).
13. Ernst Haenchen, following Dibelius, takes this line. He suggests that the use of 'we' is a way of indicating that 'for some of the trips he (i.e. the author of Acts) was able to depend upon reports from an eyewitness' (*SLA*, p. 272).

dilemma in this way: If the author is not trying to use the prestige of the writer of the earlier document, why should he retain the 'we'? If he is, why does he not use that writer's name? That would have been far more effective. Indeed, without the name the 'we' proves little, as the variety of explanations proves. Nothing so far adduced is nearly as natural an explanation of these passages as that which holds that a companion of Paul used extracts from his own diary.

If we can accept this we shall see the author as one of those with Paul at the times indicated by the use of 'we' but who are not named in the narrative (the author would not give his own name but include himself in the 'we'). Acts ends with Paul in Rome, and the author is perhaps to be looked for among those named in the captivity Epistles or 2 Timothy as being with him, but not mentioned in Luke-Acts. This leaves us with a small group: Titus, Demas, Crescens, Jesus Justus, Epaphras, Epaphroditus and Luke. There seems no reason for thinking of any of these apart from Luke as being our author.¹⁴

Paul speaks of Luke as 'the beloved physician' (Col. 4:14) and in earlier days the case for the Lucan authorship was held to be strongly supported by the medical language which many discerned in Luke-Acts.¹⁵ But H. J. Cadbury has convinced most people that the language is not especially medical,¹⁶ by pointing out that most of the examples cited

-
14. Luke is mentioned in the New Testament only in Col. 4:14; Philm. 24; 2 Tim. 4:11. Some have identified him with Lucius of Cyrene (Acts 13:1) or with the Lucius whom Paul calls his kinsman (Rom. 16:21), but the names are slightly different and there seems no reason for identifying either with Luke. Some of the early church Fathers thought Luke was 'the brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches' (2 Cor. 8:18, AV; cf. the collect for St Luke's day in the *Book of Common Prayer*), but this seems fanciful.
15. The case was strongly argued by W. K. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St Luke* (Longmans, Green and Co., 1882), and more cautiously by A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician* (Williams and Northgate, 1907).
16. H. J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Harvard University Press, 1920). A. Q. Morton, however, sees a weakness in Cadbury's approach, when he compares Luke's language to that in Josephus and

can be paralleled in writers who were not medicos. It seems generally agreed now that there was no special technical medical language in our sense of the term, for writers such as Hippocrates and Galen seem to have used the ordinary language of educated people. But if Cadbury has made it difficult to think of the language of Luke-Acts as proving that the writer was a physician, he seems to have turned up nothing inconsistent with the hypothesis. At least on occasion there are indications of medical interest. Thus where Matthew and Mark speak only of a fever, Luke particularizes it as a 'high' fever (Matt. 8:14; Mark 1:30; Luke 4:38). Similarly he speaks of a certain man not simply as having leprosy, but as 'full' of leprosy (5:12, i.e. he was an advanced case). Again, if he was a medical man it is a very human touch that he omits the statement that the woman with the haemorrhage had spent all her money on doctors (8:43; cf. Mark 5:26).

A more serious objection to the Lucan authorship is the allegation that Acts differs in some important respects from the Pauline writings. The inference is drawn that no-one who was a close companion of Paul's could have written Acts. Thus the speaking with 'tongues' on the Day of Pentecost seems different from what Paul means by tongues in 1 Corinthians 14. Again, it is not easy to reconcile the statements about Paul's visits to Jerusalem in Acts 9:26; 11:30; 15:2 with those in Galatians 1:18; 2:1. Some draw attention to problems in reconciling the movements of Paul's companions in Acts 17:16; 18:5 and in 1 Thessalonians 3:1, 6, or in reconciling the statements about the guarding of Damascus (Acts 9:24; 2 Cor. 11:32). Close examination reveals little of substance in such objections. Difficulties of this type may well show that Acts was written in independence of the Pauline Letters, but they scarcely show more. There are no real contradictions.

the LXX: 'There are 18,000 words in the Gospel of Luke and 1,500,000 in the works of Josephus and in the Septuagint.' This could mean that the words in question are a hundred times more common in Luke than in Josephus (A. Q. Morton and G. H. C. Macgregor, *The Structure of Luke and Acts*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1964, p. 3; Morton is not arguing for Hobart's hypothesis, which he castigates as 'a lunatic assertion', but indicating a weakness in Cadbury's refutation).

The real strength of the objection, however, concerns theology rather than narrative. The theology of Acts, objectors say, even in speeches attributed to Paul, is so very different from that of the apostle that it is out of the question that Acts could have been written by one of his companions. The classic expression of this argument seems to have been given by Philipp Vielhauer, who makes four main points.

1. In the Areopagus speech Luke makes Paul express the Stoic idea of natural theology. 'Due to its kinship to God the human race is capable of a natural knowledge of God and of ethics (Acts 10:35) and has immediate access to God. The "word of the cross" has no place in the Areopagus speech.'¹⁷

2. In Acts Paul is 'a Jewish Christian who is utterly loyal to the law'. More precisely he is 'a true Jew ... in contrast to the Jews who have been hardened'.¹⁸ He circumcises Timothy (16:3) and takes action to show that he conforms to the law (21:21ff.). The real Paul is implacably opposed to the doctrine of the law set forth in Acts.

3. The Christology of Acts is adoptionistic (this refers to the idea that Jesus was 'adopted' as Son of God; it denies his pre-existence) and pre-Pauline.

4. In Acts 'Eschatology has been removed from the center of Pauline faith to the end and has become a "section on the last things"'.¹⁹

But not all go along with this point of view. Vielhauer is scarcely just to all the evidence. Thus in the Areopagus passage he overlooks the fact that the speech follows much the same three points as Paul makes in 1 Thessalonians 1:9f., namely the importance of turning from idols to serve the true God, of the return of Christ for judg-

17. *SLA*, p. 37. This is from a translation of his essay of 1950–51 which seems to have set the pattern for much subsequent German thinking. Vielhauer's view has been further developed by Götz Harbsmeier, who holds that the church must always face the alternative between Paul and Luke (*SLA*, pp. 68f.).

18. *SLA*, p. 38.

19. *SLA*, p. 45.

ment, and of the resurrection of Jesus.²⁰ Again, it is not really fair to Luke to say that his report of the speech teaches that natural man is able to come to a saving knowledge of God.²¹ The hearers of Paul's address did not come in fact to know God and in Luke-Acts ignorance of this kind is regarded as culpable. Thus Jesus prays for his ignorant executioners – their ignorance does not justify them (Luke 23:34). Luke repeats that these executioners were ignorant, but guilty (Acts 3:17 with 2:23; 13:27f.). Again, Vielhauer does not give sufficient weight to that strand of Pauline teaching in which the apostle says 'To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews' (1 Cor. 9:20). Nor does he allow sufficient weight to the consideration that it is highly unlikely that the apostle's mission preaching was in the same vein as his letters to churches.²² It is also true, as Ellis points out, that Paul 'never disparages the voluntary keeping of the Law by Jewish Christians'.²³ Vielhauer's point about Christology seems to be met by C. F. D. Moule's study, 'The Christology of Acts', in which he argues that the Christology of Acts is not uniform,

-
20. J. Rohde reports U. Wilckens as making essentially this point (*Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists*, SCM Press, 1968, p. 207).
 21. Ellis cites B. Gärtner and E. Norden as agreeing that this speech does not contradict Pauline teaching (Ellis, p. 46).
 22. Cf. C. F. D. Moule, 'it needs to be remembered that it is a priori likely that there should be differences between a speaker's initial presentation of the gospel to a non-Christian audience, and the same speaker's address to those who have already become Christians; and that, with rare exceptions, the Acts speeches belong to the former, while the Pauline epistles belong to the latter class' (*SLA*, p. 173). In the rare exceptions Acts. 20:17ff. has Paul speaking to Christians and verse 28 has a very 'Pauline' reference to redemption. Passages in the Letters such as Rom. 1:3–4; 1 Cor. 15:1ff.; 1 Thess. 1:9f. recall evangelistic preaching and they approximate to the *kerygma* of Acts. G. Bornkamm finds some conflict between Acts and Paul, but he finds the incident of the vow (Acts 21:17ff.) authentic (*SLA*, pp. 204f.).
 23. Ellis, p. 44. He cites Rom. 14:20f.; 1 Cor. 7:18ff.; 9:20 and draws attention to Kirsopp Lake's view that 'in this respect Acts gives a faithful representation of St. Paul's own view' (*HDAC* 1, p. 29).

but that Luke is apparently reproducing his sources pretty faithfully.²⁴

As for eschatology, Ulrich Wilckens examines the view of many of our contemporaries that, in his endeavour to portray redemptive history, Luke has lost the emphasis on eschatology so typical of other early writers. He agrees that there is something in this. Luke is indeed interested in history and he does not have the same eschatological views as do some other New Testament writers. But he comes to this conclusion: 'It is Paul, interpreted existentially, who is so sharply set against Luke as the great but dangerous corrupter of the Pauline gospel. But the existentially interpreted Paul is not the historical Paul. And the essential points of theological criticism levelled against Luke are gained not so much from early Christian tradition itself as from the motifs of a certain modern school of theology which disregards or misinterprets essential aspects of early Christian thought.'²⁵ We are not compelled to choose between Luke and Paul.

This is a very important conclusion. The question is not whether there is a difference between Acts and the Epistles, but whether the right conclusion is being drawn from it. In history it has happened not infrequently that a close companion of a great man has given a picture of him different from that man's self-disclosure in his letters. Granted that the writer of Acts may well not have penetrated deeply into the distinctive Pauline theology, he is yet capable of reporting what Paul said and did and he seems to have done so. All that the objection proves is that Luke was not another Paul, perhaps also that he had not seen any of Paul's Epistles. He was writing independently of the apostle.

We should, moreover, not overlook the fact that there is no evidence that Luke was converted by Paul. The probability is that he was not, and that he had reached Christian maturity before coming under Paul's influence. If so, we must not expect his theology to be a kind of diluted Paulinism. Moreover, if, as seems almost certain, he was a Gentile,²⁶ he may well have found

24. *SLA*, pp. 159–185.

25. *SLA*, p. 77.

26. His good Greek is not evidence for this, as a cultured Jew might well have a good grasp of the language. The case rests on the reference to

some of Paul's rabbinic method of argument difficult to follow.

The differences between Acts and Paul may be used as an argument in favour of the Lucan authorship just as easily as against it. An author who was not one of Paul's companions would scarcely dare to write so extensively of the apostle without taking care to use the Epistles.²⁷ If it be contended that he did not know the Epistles, the further question arises, Why then did he write of Paul? Someone who knew neither Paul nor his letters would not make Paul the central figure of the Gentile mission. It is not sufficient to counter that he relied on a diary of a companion of Paul's, for 'Heroes are seldom made by reading other people's diaries'.²⁸

A similar objection is that in Acts 15 Paul accepts the decrees of the Council, including food laws, an attitude which is difficult to reconcile with his failure to mention these things in Galatians. However,

Luke in distinction from those 'of the circumcision' (Col. 4:11, 14). This probably does mean that Luke was a Gentile, though some argue that the expression means Jews who were 'zealous for the law' in distinction from those who were lax. But this seems far-fetched. Again, apart from *amēn* he avoids Semitic words. Further, he has little about the dispute between Jesus and the Pharisees over the law, a topic which would be interesting to a Jew, but less so to a Gentile. There is also the evidence of the anti-Marcionite Prologue noted above, which says that he was a native of Antioch. His interest in the Old Testament may be urged in support of the view that he was a Jew, as is the suggestion that he was a kinsman of Paul's (Rom. 16:21; the name Lucius is, however, not the same as Luke) and an early tradition that he was one of the seventy-two. Reicke thinks that Luke was probably Jewish (*The Gospel of Luke*, SPCK, 1965, p. 22), as does Ellis (pp. 52f).

27. Morton S. Enslin, in his article 'Luke the Literary Physician' in *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature*, ed. D. A. Aune (E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 135–143, contends that Luke did use these Letters. Many will find his arguments unconvincing, but even if they are accepted it remains that there is no obvious use of the Letters and this is significant. One would expect attention to be drawn to the use of the Letters as a means of accrediting the writing.

28. Ellis, p. 51.

if Galatians was written before the Council the objection loses its force: Paul could not have mentioned non-existent decrees. We cannot regard as decisive an objection that depends for its force on a particular view of the dating of Galatians.²⁹ Even if Galatians were written subsequent to the Council it is more than doubtful whether the objection will stand. More than one scholar has seen in the difference of viewpoint and interest an adequate explanation of the difference.³⁰

From all this it seems that there is good reason for holding that Luke is the author of our Gospel (and of Acts). While the evidence falls short of final proof it is quite strong, and no suitable alternative has been suggested.

2. Date

Three dates for this Gospel have been suggested with some seriousness, namely around AD 63, about AD 75–85 and early in the second century. The date is bound up with that of Acts, for Luke must be earlier than its sequel.³¹

For the early date the following considerations are relevant.

1. Acts ends with Paul in prison. If Luke knew of Paul's release or martyrdom he would probably have mentioned it.
2. The Pastoral Letters seem to show that Paul visited Ephesus again. If Luke wrote after that visit he would surely not have left Paul's prophecy that the Ephesians would not see him again (Acts 20:25, 38) stand without comment.

-
29. For the date of Galatians see the discussions in R. A. Cole, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians*, TNTC (Tyndale, 1965), pp. 20–23, and in George S. Duncan, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), pp. xxi–xxxii.
 30. For example, J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (Macmillan, 1902), p. 125; Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia* (London, 1954), pp. 78f.
 31. A few scholars have thought Acts earlier than Luke, at least in its present form. Thus C. S. C. Williams argues that Proto-Luke appeared first, then Acts, then our present Luke (*ET* 64, 1952–53, pp. 283f.). Pierson Parker supports such a view (*JBL* 84, 1965, pp. 52–58).

3. Luke notes the fulfilment of the prophecy of Agabus (Acts 11:28). If he were writing after AD 70 it is logical to expect him to mention somewhere the fulfilment of Jesus' prophecy that the city would be destroyed (Luke 21:20).

4. Acts shows no knowledge of the Pauline Epistles and so must be early. The fact that they were preserved shows that these letters were treasured and it is a fair inference that they would have become known not very long after they were written. Any Christian interested enough in Paul to write about him would have made use of them.

5. In Acts no event after AD 62 is mentioned. There are no references, for example, to the deaths of James (AD 62) or of Paul, or to the destruction of Jerusalem.

Not all evaluate this evidence in the same way. It can be argued that these points mostly depend on our view of what Luke is or is not likely to have included and we may be wrong. Some accordingly hold that these considerations do not stand in the way of a latish date (thus W. G. Kümmel favours a date between AD 80 and 90,³² and A. F. J. Klijn c. 80³³). But to others the considerations adduced are weighty and E. M. Blaiklock, for example, thinks of a date c. AD 62,³⁴ F. F. Bruce not very long after c. AD 61 (which he sees as the date of Luke),³⁵ and Pierson Parker AD 62 or 63.³⁶ Bo Reicke holds that when Luke wrote Acts he knew nothing of events later than AD 62, so that Luke must be earlier than this.³⁷

Those who favour a date c. AD 75–85 argue as follows.

1. Some sayings of Jesus, particularly in the eschatological discourse, seem to show that Luke was writing after the fall of Jerusalem (19:43; 21:20, 24). Thus, whereas Mark reads 'when you see the desolating sacrilege set up where it ought not to be' (Mark 13:14), the Lucan equivalent is, 'when you see Jerusalem surrounded

32. W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (SCM Press, 1965), pp. 132f

33. A. F. J. Klijn, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Leiden, 1967), p. 66.

34. E. M. Blaiklock, *The Acts of the Apostles*, TNTC (Tyndale 1959), p. 17.

35. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London, 1951), p. 14.

36. *Art. cit.*, p. 55.

37. *Aune, op. cit.*, p. 134.

by armies' (21:20). This is seen as a 'prophecy' manufactured after the fall of Jerusalem. Thus Kümmel takes it as certain that 'Luke looks back upon the fall of Jerusalem' and he regards this as 'decisive' against an early date.³⁸ But he does not take 21:27 into account.

2. Luke used Mark and therefore must be later than c. AD 68, the earliest date most critics will allow for Mark (personally I think Mark should be dated somewhat earlier).

3. There is no good reason for dating Luke far from Matthew and as the First Gospel is usually put into the 80s a similar date is required for Luke.

4. Luke tells us that many had written before him (1:1). But this could scarcely have taken place earlier than AD 70.

The argument usually relied on is that from prediction. Critics feel that a prophecy such as that about the fall of Jerusalem is likely to have been given its precise shape after the events, not before them. But this is very dubious. If Luke was shaping the prophecy after the event and making it fit the facts, why did he leave it all so general? After all, to speak of a city as surrounded by armies shows no great knowledge. Even if we throw in the reference to casting up a bank (19:43) we get no farther, for this was normal siege technique.³⁹ The further question arises: If Luke is reshaping the narrative in the light of events, why does not Matthew do the same?

A much more likely explanation is that Jesus spoke both of 'the desolating sacrilege' and of the armies surrounding the city.⁴⁰ Matthew and Mark retain one expression and Luke the other. The

38. W. G. Kümmel, *op. cit.*, p. 105. By contrast, C. F. D. Moule is not impressed by the argument that Luke 21:20 was written after the event (*The Birth of the New Testament*, A. and C. Black, 1962, p. 122).

39. Bo Reicke is scathing about the view that this prophecy is *ex eventu*, calling it 'an amazing example of uncritical dogmatism in New Testament studies'. He argues that in none of the Synoptists does the prophecy correspond to what is known about the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem (*Aune, op. cit.*, p. 121).

40. F. Blass made this suggestion long ago. He regarded it as 'self-evident' that Jesus' speech was longer than the report of it in any one Gospel. See *Philology of the Gospels* (Macmillan, 1898), p. 46.

interests of the authors probably explain their choice. Matthew speaks of the fulfilment of prophecy which would carry conviction to his readers, while Luke, writing for Gentiles, chooses rather the words which speak of armies.⁴¹

Those who take the references to the destruction of Jerusalem as ‘prophecies’ after the event should surely consider passages which were not fulfilled at that time such as ‘then they will see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory’ (21:27). If the one passage ‘proves’ that this Gospel was written after the event, the other equally ‘proves’ that it was not. There is also the well-known fact that, in response to revelation, the Christian community fled from Jerusalem to Pella as the Romans approached.⁴² This seems to show that, before the siege began, Christ’s words were known and the command ‘flee to the mountains’ (21:21) was taken literally.

The other points are no more convincing. It is possible, as a few scholars hold, that Luke did not use Mark. It seems much more probable that he did, but the date of Mark is not known and not all scholars put it as late as AD 68. Again, there is no reason for tying Luke’s date to Matthew’s and even if we do, it is far from certain that Matthew was written in the 80s. Those who hold that ‘many’ could not have written before Luke unless we date him after about AD 70 imply that Christians took about forty years to start writing. But Paul was writing in the early 50s, probably indeed in the late 40s, and there is no reason for thinking that he was the only one. Thus none of these arguments proves much. They turn out to be subjective estimates of the possibilities.

Recently some scholars have argued for a second-century date (e.g. J. Knox, J. C. O’Neill). Such views put this Gospel dangerously close to the time of Marcion who based his canon on an expurgated version of Luke. Knox holds that Marcion used not Luke but an

41. Donald Guthrie reminds us that history knows of accurate predictions and he cites Savonarola’s prophecy that Rome would be captured (*New Testament Introduction*, Tyndale, 3 1970, p. 114). We should not minimize Jesus’ ability to predict.

42. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.v.3.

earlier writing, which as it happens was also used by Luke.⁴³ But the orthodox based their attack on Marcion on the view that his Gospel was based on the canonical Luke. They must have known the truth of the matter. Those who hold to a late date but yet see Marcion as using Luke are faced with the difficult problem of explaining how Luke's Gospel could, within ten to twenty years, have gained enough authority for Marcion to be able to gain a following by relying on it alone of the four.

The view that Luke is late is sometimes bolstered by an appeal to statements in Acts which are thought to have been taken from the Jewish historian Josephus. His *Antiquities* was published c. AD 93, so that if Luke depended on it he wrote late. The first of such passages is that in which Josephus says that Theudas rebelled during the governorship of Fadus, 44–46. He was overthrown and the next governor, Alexander (46–48), executed some of the sons of Judas the Galilean. Luke reports Gamaliel as speaking of Theudas followed by Judas (not the sons of Judas), and Gamaliel is speaking some twelve years before Theudas rebelled. Clearly Luke does not depend on Josephus for what he writes.

The other statement concerns Lysanias (Luke 3:1). A man of this name was tetrarch of Abilene, and Josephus says that he was executed by Mark Antony in 36 (or 34) BC. There is, however, evidence that there was another Lysanias⁴⁴ and it will be this man to whom Luke refers. He is not misquoting Josephus.

Clearly neither of these examples shows that Luke had read Josephus. Hans Conzelmann rejects the idea that Luke is dependent on Josephus (though he is not averse to a late date for Acts).⁴⁵ Indeed, the presumption is all the other way, for Luke is normally accurate

43. *SLA*, p. 287, n. 8. O'Neill has argued his case in ch. 1 of *The Theology of Acts* (SPCK, 21970).

44. W. Ramsay cites an inscription from Abilene referring to this Lysanias between AD 14 and 29. He sees 'absolutely no justification for the unreasonable charge that this dating in Luke III.1 was wrong' (*The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1895, p. 298). See further the note on 3:1.

45. *SLA*, p. 299.

in the places where he can be tested. It is unlikely that he will have taken these two statements from Josephus and made an error both times.⁴⁶ I cannot see that the evidence for a second-century date has much to be said for it.

On the whole, then, there seems most to be said for a date in the early 60s. The evidence comes short of complete proof, but there seems more to be said for this view than for either of the others.

3. Language

Linguistically this Gospel falls into three sections. The Preface (1:1–4) is written in good classical style.⁴⁷ It shows what Luke is capable of, but thereafter he forsakes this style altogether. The rest of chapters 1 and 2 have a strong Hebraic flavour. So marked is this that a number of scholars have come to the conclusion that we have here a translation from an original Hebrew. If so we have no way of knowing whether Luke or someone else did the translating.

From 3:1 on the Gospel is written in a type of Hellenistic Greek strongly reminiscent of the Septuagint, the translation into Greek of the Hebrew Old Testament. The vocabulary is extensive, and Luke uses 266 words (other than proper names) which are not found elsewhere in the New Testament, quite a remarkable number when we consider that he shares much of his subject-matter with Matthew and Mark.⁴⁸

46. F. J. Foakes Jackson makes the point that there is little in Josephus that is relevant to Luke's purpose. It is hard to see why he should spend time on a book which would give him so little information (*The Acts of the Apostles*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1937, pp. xivf.). There is no reason for thinking that Luke had ever read Josephus.

47. For the conventions adopted in writing prefaces see H. J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke*, pp. 194ff. He points out that the preface shows that the work was meant for a public (ibid., p. 204). It stamps the work as literature, and shows that it was not originally intended, for example, for liturgical purposes.

48. The corresponding figures for Matthew and Mark are 116 and 79 respectively. See R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik des Neutestamentlichen*