

Luke's Sermon on the Way

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In this study,¹ I will attempt to reconstruct the middle portion (Lk 11:29–14:35) of Luke's Sermon on the Way (Lk 9:51–18:14). The Synoptic theory underlying the reconstruction is this sequence of texts:

Luke A > Matthew > Luke B and Acts I > Luke C and Acts II

I reconstruct Luke A by excising: (1) lines taken from Matthew by Luke B; (2) Gentile mission material added by Luke B; and (3) passages expressing Luke C's sense that the Christian future lay only with the Gentiles. I end by noting that the reconstruction meets the test of plausibility: it makes expository sense as a consecutive document.

Criteria for Luke B

Characteristics foreign to Luke A but appearing in Luke B include: (1) universality; (2) kingship: Matthew likes power, and in his Scripture fulfillment passages, he gives Scripture the function of foretelling Christ. Matthew adds a disruptive king to a Luke A parable, and Luke B adds a nonfunctional king to a parable *derived* from Matthew;² (3) comfort with large amounts of money; and (4) harshness. Examples include:

Universality. Some material already present in Luke A was relocated in Luke B, in some cases to further emphasize the theme of universality:

- **Lk 13:20-21**, the Leaven Parable < Mt 13:33. In the preceding Mustard Seed parable, Luke agrees with Matthew against Mark (and against nature) in making the mustard bush into a more impressive tree. Luke then *relocates* that parable from the end of Mark's Kingdom parables, which feature growth of the small. Matthew's Leaven illustrates the power of the small to transform the large.

The relocated Mustard Seed and the new Leaven have the same meaning: the taking over of the larger by the smaller. Here is Matthew's supersessionism in miniature.

Kingship. Several Mt/Lk passages speak of Jesus as not only powerful, but as *uniquely* powerful. These fit the Matthean / Luke B Kingship emphasis:

- **Lk 10:22**. "All things are delivered to me" < Mt 11:27
- **Lk 11:23**. "He who does not gather with me, scatters" < Mt 12:30. This again follows a unit (the Beelzebub accusation) which has been *relocated* in Luke.

Note the tendency for Luke B passages to be associated with relocated material.

¹Continuing Brooks **Acts-Luke** and Brooks **Steward**.

²For the bidirectionality argument, see Brooks **Acts-Luke** 152. Matthew's kingship interest begins to permeate Luke at the Luke B stage, when Luke is adding material from Matthew.

Money. Luke's Minae parable clumsily imitates Matthew's Talents parable, but it does represent a more accepting attitude toward money than that of Luke A. So also:

- **Lk 16:10-12.** This, the second of three attempts to explain the Canny Steward parable (Lk 16:1-13),³ borrows terms ("faithful in little") from the Luke B Minae parable (Lk 19:17), and thus is probably not itself earlier than Luke B.
- **Lk 19:1-10** (Zacchaeus) is a rich man redeemed by restoring to those he had defrauded, and giving alms of half his goods. In contrast to the Lazarus story (Luke A), *crimes of money are now redeemable*. Jesus' remark "forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham" is probably an evocation – and a mitigation – of the unforgiving Abraham in the Luke A Lazarus story (Lk 16:25).

Whether by Luke or borrowed from Matthew, these are probably Luke B passages.

Harshness in passages probably taken from Matthew will be noticed as it occurs.

Criteria for Luke C

Acts II depicts the severance between Judaism and Christianity. Paul recognizes the Jews' rejection of Christ, and turns to the Gentiles (Ac 28:23f). Passages which contain that message, or add it to Luke, have previously been identified. They are:

- **The Nazareth Addition**, Lk 4:25-30. Jesus cites Scripture showing the favor of God *to Gentiles rather than to Jews*; the Nazareth mob try to kill Jesus.
- **The Seventy**, Lk 10: 1-12, symbolizing the Mission to the Gentiles.
- **The Feast Addition**, Lk 14:24. The Feast parable, Lk 14:15-24, derived from Mt 22:1-10, ends with the servants filling the hall (Mt 22:10, Lk 14:23]. A further line, Lk 14:24. with no parallel in Matthew, rules, "*For I say unto you, that none of those men that were bidden shall taste of my supper.*" The exclusion of the first-called (the Jews) marks this as the more drastic Luke C.
- **The Lazarus Addition**, Lk 16:27-31. The basic Lazarus story (Lk 16:19-26) condemns the rich man to hell, just because he is rich. This is basic Luke A poverty doctrine. In the addition, the rich man asks to return from the dead to warn his brothers. This Abraham denies; "*If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, if one rise from the dead,*" that is, not even the resurrected Jesus, himself risen from the dead, will persuade them. This turns from the Jews just as decisively as does Paul in Ac 28:2 (in Acts II, and thus contemporary with Luke C).
- **The Good Samaritan**, Lk 10:29-37, shows a priest and a Levite refusing to render aid to the wounded man; *only a Samaritan* [Gentile] does so.
- **The Ten Lepers**, Lk 17:11-19, shows ten healed, but only one, a Samaritan, returning to give thanks. Jesus notes that "*only this foreigner*" thanks him.

The point of the Samaritan stories is not that merit is shown by Samaritans (Gentiles) but that merit is shown *only* by Samaritans, and not by the Jews in those same stories. Samaritans are a code word for Gentiles throughout Acts. The entry of the Gentiles coincides with, and is contrasted with, the moral exit of the Jewish leadership.

³For the separation of the several explanations of this parable, see Fitzmyer 2/1104f. For the difficulty of the parable itself, see Snodgrass 401f. For a suggestion as to what this baffling parable means, and why it expresses that meaning so confusingly, see Brooks **Steward**.

Continuity Criteria

The directionality between two passages can sometimes be determined. Separately, an original sequence will tend to make more sense than a derived sequence.

The Sermon on the Way: Lk 9:51-18:14

The portion of the Sermon still to be examined in detail is Lk 11:29-14:35, its middle segment. The format of the previous studies will be followed: first identifying possible later material, and then assessing what remains when it is removed.

For the sake of continuity, I begin by repeating the Sermon sections identified in my Acts-Luke paper. Those sections were:

[1. Total Dedication to the Way]

- ┌9:57-62. A man is warned of the hardships of following Jesus
- 9:59-60. A man is chided for hesitation in following Jesus
- └9:61-62. A man is chided for hesitation in following Jesus
- 10:38-42. Mary and Martha

[2. Prayer as a Companion on the Way]

- ┌11:1-4. The Lord's Prayer
- 11:5-8. Illustration suggesting that prayer will be answered
- └11:9-13. Assurance that prayer will be answered appropriately
- 11:27-28. Jesus rebukes veneration of his earthly mother

We may now take up the next stretch of canonical Luke. As before, I mark previously identified passages as Luke [A], [B], or [C]. Non-A passages are indented. Harsh details are *italicized*; Matthean parallels and implied directionalities are given at right.

Lk	Mt
11:29-30. An <i>evil</i> generation	< 12:38-40
11:31-32. Queen of the South and Noah will <i>condemn</i> it	< 12:42, 41
11:33. Let your light shine	> 5:15
11:34-35. The eye is the lamp of the body	< 6:22-23
11:36. If your whole body is full of light	
11:37-38. [Introduction to dinner with Pharisees]	
11:39-43. <i>Woe</i> to Pharisees	< 23:25, 23:23, 23:6
11:44. Pharisees like unseen <i>graves</i>	< 23:37
11:45-46. Bind <i>heavy burdens</i>	< 23:4
11:47-48. Build the <i>tombs</i> of the prophets	< 23:29
11:49-51. Wisdom of God sends prophets	< 23:24
11:52. They have <i>taken away</i> the key	< 23:13
11:53. [Narrative conclusion]	
12:1. <i>Beware</i> the leaven of the Pharisees	< 16:6, 16:11b
12:2-3. Nothing can be covered up	> 10:26-27
12:4-5. Fear only him who can kill the soul	> 10:28
12:6-7. You are worth many sparrows	> 10:29-31

The 11:37-38 Introduction precedes the First Pharisee dinner, which is more hostile than the Lk 14 one. No story needs two Dinners with Pharisees, so probably one of Luke's is secondary. Of them, the harsher Lk 11:39-12:1 is the better candidate for influence from censorious Matthew. So also the harsh 11:29-32.

Lk 11:33 (“Let your light shine”) has a keyword link with 11:34f (“The eye is the lamp of the body”), but no organic connection.⁴ 11:33, seemingly an order for open advocacy of the Gospel, is not thematically resumed until 12:2f (all will be revealed) and 12:4f, on the dangers of advocacy; 12:6-7 reads like a concluding encouragement. These considerations lead to the elimination of most of Lk 11, and we have left:

[3. Fearless Witnessing]

- ┌11:33. Let your light shine
- 12:2-3. Nothing can be covered up
- └12:4-5. Fear only him who can kill the soul
- 12:6-7. Encouragement: You are worth many sparrows

We may now consider the rest of Lk 12:

Lk	Mt
12:8-9. Who acknowledges me, I will acknowledge	> 10:32-33
12:10. Who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit	> 12:32t
12:11-12. The Holy Spirit will teach what to say	> 10:19-20
12:13-15. Jesus refuses to divide an inheritance	
12:16-21. Parable of the Rich Fool	
12:22-28. Do not be anxious	> 6:25-34
12:29-32. Do not be concerned for daily things	> 6:19-20
12:33-34. Sell what you have; gain treasure in Heaven	> 6:21
12:35-46. Be like watchful servants	> 25:1-13
12:47-48. Ignorance will receive lighter punishment	
12:49-50. Would the end were near	
12:51-53. I come not to bring peace, but division	> 10:34-36

There are no previously identified B or C passages, and nothing suggests a thematic intrusion. The material easily fits the previous pattern of triplet-based sections, thus:

[4. Warning Against Apostasy]

- ┌12:8-9. Who acknowledges me, I will acknowledge
- 12:10. Who denies the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven
- └12:11-12. Warning: You will be put on trial before the authorities

[5. The Dangers of Worldliness]

- 12:13-15. Introduction: Jesus refuses to adjudicate an inheritance
- ┌12:16-21. **The Rich Fool**
- 12:22-28. Do not be anxious
- └12:29-31. Do not be concerned for daily things
- 12:32. Encouragement: “Your Father will give you the Kingdom”

[6. Watchful Waiting]

- ┌12:33-34. Sell what you have; gain treasure in Heaven
- 12:35-46. Be like watchful servants
- └12:47-48. Ignorance will receive lighter punishment
- 12:49-53. Warning: I come not to bring peace, but division

Notice that the ends of successive sections alternate warnings with encouragements.

⁴Easton 188, “somewhat strained;” Fitzmyer 2/940, “The function of ‘lamp’ has changed here;” Johnson 186 “muddled.”

The next part of the Sermon has a few previously identified [B] or [C] passages. There are also some pairs where the Matthean member seems to be primary:

Lk	Mt
12:54-56. Signs of the End	16:2-3
12:57-59. Agree with your accuser	> 5:25-26
13:1-5. Repent or perish	
13:6-9. Time will be allowed to repent	
13:10-17. Healing an infirm woman on the Sabbath	< 12:11
13:18-19. Mustard Seed (<i>relocated</i>) [B]	
13:20-21. Parable of the Leaven [B]	< 13:33
13:22. Introduction: Journeying toward Jerusalem	
13:23-24. Few will find the Way	> 7:13-14
13:25. The householder will deny them entry	> 25:10-12
13:26-27. Their protests of earlier support will be in vain	> 7:22-23
13:28-30. Many will come and take your places	< 8:11-12
13:31-33. Pharisees warn about Herod	
13:34-35. Lament over Jerusalem	< 23:37-39
14:1. Introduction: Dinner with a Pharisee	

Lk 13:22, which introduces what follows, cannot be an integral part of what precedes. Of what precedes, eliminating known B passages leaves four passages about the dangers of exclusion at the End, plus an extraneous Sabbath healing.⁵ After the 13:22 introduction come three passages about the difficulty of finding the Way. Two are in Matthew's agglomerative Sermon on the Mount,⁶ and are presumably from Luke A. Like Jesus' self-descriptions in Lk 17:22-37,⁷ Jesus' Jerusalem lament is extraneous. Luke's Sermon is not about Jesus, it is about his followers.

These considerations lead to the following reconstruction:

[7. Preparation For the End]

- ┌12:54-56. Signs of the End
- 12:57-59. Agree with your accuser
- └13:1-5. Repent or perish
- 13:6-9. Encouragement: Time will be allowed to repent

[8. Danger of Being Excluded]

- 13:22. Introduction: Journeying toward Jerusalem⁸
- ┌13:23-24. Few will find the Way
- 13:25. The householder will deny them entry
- └13:26-27. Warning: Their protests of earlier support will be in vain

Again the triplet-based sections and alternating final warnings and encouragements.

⁵Lk 13:10-17 is ill-placed in context, combines elements of healing and exorcism stories, and is a female counterpart ("a daughter of Abraham") to Zacchaeus [B], a "son of Abraham." See Creed 283, Marshall 556-559, Fitzmyer 2/1010-1014, and Nolland 2/7220-725.

⁶The term is Streeter's; **Four** 167, 250, 264. He expresses horror at Luke strewing gobbets of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount over his own Gospel. It is far more plausible that Matthew stole Luke A's Sermon on the Plain, and bulked it out with tidbits from elsewhere in Luke.

⁷See Brooks **Steward** 164-165.

⁸This resumption of the Travel Motif occurs exactly halfway through the Sermon.

We now return to Lk 14:1, and the second, and milder, of Luke's two Dinner with Pharisees scenes (the first was the notably hostile one in Lk 11).

Lk	Mt
14:1. Dinner with a Pharisee	
14:2-6. Sabbath healing of man with dropsy; Pharisees accept	
14:7-11. Take the lowest place	
14:12:14. Invite the poor, who cannot repay you.	
14:15-23. The Feast [A]	> 22:2-10
14:24. None invited shall taste my feast [C]	
14:25-27. Must renounce all	> 10:37-38
14:28-33. Count cost before beginning	
14:34-35. If the salt has lost its taste	> 5:13

The Dinner with Pharisees continues to the end of the Parable of the Feast, which seems to be its climax; at 14:25 Jesus instead addresses the crowds. The Feast Parable may not be encouraging to the Pharisees (who are admonished), but it does encourage the nobodies – Luke's audience – who will replace them at the Final Feast.

The words to the crowd make what seems to be a standard Lukan Triplet, and this time it is the Christians who are admonished, to weigh the need of total renunciation, not to embark on the Way if they cannot see it through, and not to be complacent about their membership. As in Lk 13:26-27 above, membership can be lost.

The priority of the Sermon on the Plain has been noted above, and will include the directionality Lk 14:34-35 > Mt 5:13. As for Mt 10:37-38, it is part of Matthew's Second Discourse, which like Matthew's First Discourse (the Sermon on the Mount) is suspect as an agglomerative production. Here is the Matthean context:

Mt	Lk
10:34-36. I do not come to bring peace	> 12:51-53
10:37-39. Who loves father or mother more than me	< 14:26-27
10:40-11:1. [End of the Discourse]	

Strife *within* families (Mt 10:34-36) is not the same as the need to *abandon* family (10:37-39). It is easy to see how they might have been put together, but this does not contradict the possibility of an agglomerative gathering in Matthew based on separate sayings which are themselves coherent in Lukan context. We then have, in Luke:

[9. The Need for Humility]

- 14:1. Introduction: Dinner with a Pharisee
- ┌14:2-6. Healing of man with dropsy; Pharisees *accept* Sabbath healing
- 14:7-11. Take the lowest place, and you will be exalted
- └14:12:14. Invite those who cannot repay you; you will feast in the next life
- 14:15-23. Encouragement: **The Feast**. "That my house may be filled"

[10. The Cost of Discipleship]

- ┌14:25-27. Must renounce all
- 14:28-33. Count cost before beginning
- └14:34-35. Warning: If salt has lost its taste, it will be discarded

The pattern of alternate encouragements and warnings continues here. It will be even more conspicuous when we assemble the whole, and find that the feast in 15:15-23 recurs in the feast which concludes the Lost Son parable, two sections away.

The Sermon on the Way (Luke 9:51-18:14)

The above arguments do not suffice to show that the Lukan Sermon on the Way is coherent as a whole. I here repeat the above analyses, as a test of that requirement, for both the thematic and the formal aspects of the Sermon. Focal pieces, in sections that have them, are **emphasized**.

[§1. Total Dedication to the Way]

9:51a. Introduction: Departing for Jerusalem

┌9:57-58. A man offers to follow; Jesus dissuades him

9:59-60. A man asks to bury his father; Jesus refuses

┌9:61-62. A man asks to say farewell; Jesus refuses

10:38-42. **Mary and Martha** [against domestic distraction]

[§2. Prayer as Companion Along the Way]

┌11:1-4. **The Lord's Prayer**

11:5-8. The Friend at Midnight: Repeated prayer will be answered

┌11:9-13. Ask and the Father will give you good gifts

11:27-28. Praise of Jesus' mother rebuked [against sentimental distraction]

[§3. Fearless Witnessing]

11:33. Theme: Let your light shine

┌12:2-3. Nothing can be covered up

12:4-5. Fear only him who can kill the soul

┌12:6-7. Encouragement: You are worth many sparrows

[§4. Warning Against Apostasy]

┌12:8-9. Who acknowledges me, I will acknowledge

12:10. Who denies the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven

┌12:11-12. Warning: On trial, the Holy Spirit will teach you what to say

[§5. The Dangers of Worldliness]

12:13-15. Introduction: Jesus refuses to adjudicate an inheritance

┌12:16-21. **The Rich Fool**

12:22-28. Do not be anxious

┌12:29-31. Do not be concerned for daily things

12:32. Encouragement: Your Father will give you the Kingdom

[§6. Watchful Waiting]

┌12:33-34. Sell what you have; gain treasure in Heaven

12:35-46. Be like watchful servants

┌12:47-48. Ignorance will receive lighter punishment

12:49-53. Warning: I came not to bring peace, but division

[§7. Preparation For the End]

┌12:54-56. Signs of the End

12:57-59. Agree with your accuser

┌13:1-5. Repent or perish

13:6-9. Encouragement: Time will be allowed to repent

[§8. Danger of Being Excluded]

13:22. Introduction: Journeying toward Jerusalem

┌13:23-24. Few will find the Way

13:25. The householder will deny them entry

┌13:26-27. Warning: Their protests of earlier support will be in vain

[§9. The Need for Humility]

- 14:1. Introduction: Dinner with a Pharisee
- ┌14:2-6. Healing of man with dropsy; Pharisees *accept* argument for Sabbath healing
- └14:7-11. Take the lowest place, and you will be exalted
- ┌14:12-14. Invite the poor, who cannot repay you, and you will feast in the next life
- └14:15-23. Encouragement: **The Feast**. “That my house may be filled”

[§10. The Cost of Discipleship]

- ┌14:25-27. Must renounce all
- └14:28-33. Count cost before beginning
- ┌14:34-35. Warning: If salt has lost its taste, it will be discarded

[§11. Joy in Heaven Over The Saved]

- 15:1-2. Introduction: Pharisees criticize Jesus’ eating with sinners
- ┌15:3-7. The Lost Sheep
- └15:8-10. The Lost Coin
- ┌15:11-32. Encouragement: **The Lost Son** [note the final feast]

[§12. The Dangers of Wealth]

- ┌16:1-9. **The Canny Steward**, with Luke A’s explanation
- └16:14-15. Wealth-loving Pharisees rebuked
- ┌16:19-26. Warning: **The Rich Man and Lazarus**

[§13. Sin and Forgiveness]

- ┌17:1-2. Woe to those by whom temptations come
- └17:3-4. Need for repeated forgiveness of a brother
- ┌17:7-10. Servant must do more than is required
- └17:20-21. Encouragement: The Kingdom is in the midst of you

[§14-15. Exit Portal: Two Concluding Parables in Aesopic Form]

- ┌18:1-5. **The Unjust Judge**
- └18:6-8. Moral: God listens to prayer (echoing §2)
- ┌8:9-13. **Pharisee and Publican**
- └8:14. Moral: The humble, who have renounced all, will be exalted (echoing §1)

Reflections on the Reconstruction

The Sermon typically presents its arguments in triplicate, sometimes with an extra piece preceding or following. Introductions maintain contact with the journey motif.

The first two segments have the same message (the dangers of distraction); both end with an illustration in the feminine sphere. After that dual warning at the outset, successive sections end by alternating encouragement and warning (#3-13). The exit segments reinforce the encouragement of #13. The pace is quickened by abandoning the triplet expository feature, and the tone is lightened by use of the Aesopic form, complete with promythium and epimythium as in the recent Latin version of Phaedrus. This concluding rhetorical lightness is itself encouraging: the final mood is not dark.

Lk 17:20-21 “The Kingdom is in the midst of you” does not envision a Present Kingdom;⁹ it is merely a momentary encouragement, echoing the one at 12:32.

⁹So Creed 210, Nolland 3/853, and others. But the idea of an immanent, not an imminent, Kingdom *was* in the air at the time; see Gospel of Thomas #3 (= 51, 113) and #30 (= 77).

The Logic of Luke's Additions

Why did Luke put the borrowed passages where he did? Though they are certainly less comfortable in Luke, we can usually find some logic in their present placement.¹⁰ In the following suggestions, the original Luke A material is **highlighted**:

Mt	Layer	Lk	Pericope
	A	9:51a	Setting out for Jerusalem
	B	9:51b-56	Samaritan Rejection
	A	9:57-62	Gathering Followers
	B	10:1-10	Sending of the Seventy
	B	10:17-20	Return of the Seventy
11:25-27		10:21-22	"I Thank Thee, Father"
13:16-17	B	10:23-24	"Blessed Are Your Eyes"

Luke B's Jesus winnows his followers before sending seventy of them off; his praises of them on return (with material taken from Matthew) are appropriate to the reported success of their mission. There is a link between 10:17-20 and 10:21-22f.

	C	10:25-28	The Lawyer's Question [relocated]
		10:29-37	The Good Samaritan
	A	10:38-42	Mary and Martha

The Lawyer's Question was moved to this place to introduce the Good Samaritan, which Luke may have thought of as a male counterpart to Mary and Martha.¹¹

Mt	Layer	Lk	Pericope
	A	11:1-4	The Lord's Prayer
	A	11:5-8	The Friend at Midnight
	A	11:9-13	Answer to Prayer
12:22-30		11:14-23	The Beelzebub Controversy
12:43-45	B	11:24-26	Return of the Evil Spirit
	A	11:27-28	Enthusiasm for Jesus' Mother
12:38-42		11:29-32	Seeking a Sign
	A	11:33-36	Let Your Light Shine
23:1-36		11:37-12:1	Against the Pharisees
	A	12:2-12	Fearless Confession

Prayer is part of exorcism, and the Luke B challenge to Jesus' exorcisms (as involving traffic with Satan) logically follows the Luke A sequence on prayer. The Return of the Evil Spirit, taken from a nearby passage in Matthew, relates thematically to the subject of evil spirits. The Luke A woman who is focused on Jesus' mother is looking for something in the wrong place, as are those who in Luke B's addition seek a sign from Jesus himself. The last link juxtaposes the Pharisees, who follow wrong principles, with the disciples, who are told to let their light (that is, their right principles) shine, in the adjacent Luke A passage.

¹⁰The usual view is that Luke's placements have "no special appropriateness. A theory which would make an author capable of such a proceeding would only be tenable if, on other grounds, we had reason to believe he was a crank" (Streeter **Four** 183). For Goulder's rejoinder to Streeter, see Goulder **Crank**.

¹¹So Goulder **Luke** 2/493.

Mt	Layer	Lk	Pericope
	A	12:13-21	The Rich Fool
	A	12:22-34	Cares for Earthly Things
	A	12:35-46	Watchfulness
	A	12:47-48	The Servant's Wages
	A	12:49-56	The Present Time
	A	12:57-59	Agree With Your Accuser
	A	13:1-9	Repentance
	B	13:10-17	Healing an Infirm Woman
13:31-32	B	13:18-19	The Mustard Seed [relocated]
13:33	B	13:20-21	The Leaven
	A	13:22-27	Exclusion From the Kingdom

The word "eighteen" links the Luke A Repentance passage and Luke B's Healing story (the woman had been infirm for eighteen years). The Mustard Seed parable was moved from its probable original position (at the end of Mark's Parables of the Kingdom) in connection with including Matthew's Parable of the Leaven. This inclusive piece may have been placed where it is to offset the forbidding tone of the following A passage, which emphasizes that few will enter the Kingdom.

Mt	Layer	Lk	Pericope
	A	13:22-27	Exclusion From the Kingdom
8:11-12	B	13:28-29	Gnashing of Teeth
20:16	B	13:30	The Last Will Be First
	B	13:31-33	Warning from Friendly Pharisees
	B	13:34-35	Lament Over Jerusalem
	A	14:1-24	Dining With Pharisees

Luke A's Exclusion is enhanced by warning passages from Matthew. The travel motif in 13:31-33 introduces Matthew's Lament Over Jerusalem, developing the idea of danger in 13:22-27, though here it is danger to Jesus rather than to his followers.

Mt	Layer	Lk	Pericope
	A	14:1-24	Dining With Pharisees
	A	14:25-35	Cost of Discipleship
	A	15:1-32	Parables of Losing and Finding
	A	16:1-9	Parable of the Canny Steward
Lk B 19:11f	B	16:10-12	Second explanation of parable
6:24	B	16:13	Third explanation of parable
	A	16:14-15	Wealth-loving Pharisees Rebuked
11:12	B	16:16	The Law was until John
5:18	B	16:17	Not a jot will pass from the Law
5:32	B	16:18	Against divorcing a wife
	A	16:19-26	The Rich Man and Lazarus
	C	16:27-31	Not even Moses

The borrowed further explanations of the Steward Parable naturally follow that notoriously difficult Parable. The three legal items are not inappropriately associated with the Pharisees, whose expertise is the Law. The Luke C extension of the Lazarus story is authorial, and naturally follow the story which it extends, adding a dimension not in the original, but very much part of the Luke C agenda.

Mt	Layer	Lk	Pericope
	A	17:1-2	Woe to those by whom temptations come
	A	17:3-4	Need for repeated forgiveness of a brother
17:20	B	17:5-6	If you had faith
	A	17:7-10	Servant must do more than is required
	C	17:11-19	The Ten Lepers
	A	17:20-21	Encouragement: The Kingdom is within
	B	17:22-37	Apocalyptic miscellany
	A	18:1-5	The Unjust Judge
	A	18:6-8	Moral: God listens to prayer
	A	18:9-13	Pharisee and Publican
	A	18:14	Moral: The humble will be exalted

As noted earlier,¹² 17:5-6 comes in abruptly; the “sea” in which tempters are drowned in 17:1 gave a hook for the “sea” of the sycamine tree in 17:6. “Doing more than others” may have linked the servant of 17:7f with the single grateful leper of 17:11f. The “kingdom” of 17:21 perhaps legitimizes the apocalyptic miscellany of 17:22-37. All in all, the intrusions, though indeed intrusive, cannot be said to be entirely random.

Dating the Synoptics

The argument in this and the preceding papers assumes only *relative* dates, namely:

Luke A > Matthew > Luke B and Acts I > Luke C and Acts II

but there are also some implications for absolute dates, which I explore here.

First, neither Matthew nor Luke is likely to have been written before the deaths of Paul (c60) and Peter (c64) ended the Apostolic Age and created a crisis of continuity, which required new teaching material and new administrative structures. That both Matthew and Luke are parasitic on Mark merely shows that Mark at that time was the authoritative account of Jesus, which had to be respected as well as surpassed.

Second, it has been well argued that Matthew was earlier than the destruction of the Temple in 70.¹³ Certain passages in Luke, probably to be ascribed to Luke B, clearly describe the destruction of the Temple,¹⁴ so Luke B must be post-70.

Third, the editing of Paul's letters for wider circulation (and to fill the authority vacuum in a different way than that pursued by the Second Tier Gospels) included interpolations. In one of them, 1 Thess 2:13-16, Paul alludes to the destruction of the Temple in 70. Then the Pauline editing process must have extended into at least 71. Luke B is of the same date as Acts I, and as several over the years have recognized, Acts is aware of Paul's letters.¹⁵ This gives an earliest date of c72 for Acts I.

¹²Brooks **Steward** 164, citing Fitzmyer and others.

¹³The argument of Gundry **Matthew** 599-609 for a pre-70 Matthew is not, in my opinion, refuted by the partial counter-argument in Davies and Allison 1/127-138.

¹⁴Luke 21:20 (B) is an absolutely unambiguous reference to the siege of Jerusalem in 70. To Luke B also belongs the unique, interruptive, and almost equally clear 19:39-44.

¹⁵See Elbert **Possible**, with references to earlier work.

Fourth, Acts II may be one response to the issuance of the Birkat ha-Minim in c85.¹⁶ For the whole Luke-Acts formation process, we might then have:¹⁷

- c64 Peter dies, ending the Apostolic Age
- c66 Luke A written, as a first response to the need for a new Gospel
- c68 Matthew written, drawing on and competing with Luke A
- 70 Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple
- c71 Paul's letters edited, as another response to the need for authority texts
- c72 Luke B and Acts I written, in response to the popularity of Matthew
- c80 Gamaliel II at Jamnia; hardening of Judaism toward the Jesus sect
- c85 Birkat ha-Minim prayer effectively excludes Christians from synagogues
- c88 Acts II (Antioch) responds with a symmetrical turning to the Gentiles
- c90 John 9:22, 12:42, 16:2 (Ephesus) speaks of expulsion from synagogues
- c91 First persecutions of expelled Christians in distant Pontus (Pliny)
- c91 1 Peter B responds to persecutions in Pontus and Bithynia
- c94 "Sudden misfortunes" (1 Clement 1:1) reflect persecutions in Rome
- c96 1 Clement written from Rome after a delay; asserts church unity

Authorship Questions

Given three stages in the formation of Luke-Acts, there may have been as many as three "Lukes." Are they the same person? In favor of identity is the consistency of style in Luke-Acts, including a Septuagintal tone in moments of high seriousness. Against it is the shift in affinity from Luke A (oblivious to Gentiles) to Luke B (concern for amity between Jewish and Gentile Christians), to Luke C (who takes the Gentile side against a newly hostile Judaism). The differences can be explained by outer events; the similarities argue for one person. The span here suggested (from 66 to 87, 21 years) is compatible with a single person.

What is a sermon? Probably, something delivered on one occasion. The "Sermon" here identified may be too long for that, but it could at any rate serve as a repertoire of sermon material; a pastor's sourcebook. What it does *not* suggest is material with which to preach to the unconverted.

There is disagreement about Luke's racial identity. The deutero-Pauline witness Colossians 4:11-14 groups him outside "those of the circumcision," whereas Syrian tradition is that he was a Jew. Perhaps the division into Luke A, B, and C can clarify. Luke A shows no sympathy for, or even awareness of, Gentiles. This may tilt the uncertainty in favor of a Jewish Luke, who over time responded to, and came to accept, the Gentile tendency which grew increasingly strong in the first century. Confronted with a choice between Jewishness and Christianity, he chose the latter.

¹⁶Once excluded from the synagogues, Jesus followers were exposed to the requirement of Emperor worship. For 1 Peter B (1:1-2 and 4:12-end; so Perdelwitz), see Beare. For the c91 date of the first persecutions in Pontus, see Brooks **Pliny** 214. 1 Clement 1:1 refers to recent "sudden calamities" as a reason for not writing earlier. The Birkat ha-Minim probably spread gradually from Palestine, and need not have been uniformly observed in the places it reached. But the many reflections of something out of the ordinary in c85-c94 seem to point to a reality.

¹⁷With an eye on the conclusions reached in Brooks **Pliny** 214.

Implications

However the authorship questions may turn out, one thing seems certain. During its entire formation process, the Luke-Acts text was under one *proprietorship*, if only that of a sponsoring church. The third author (or the only author, in his final revision) could not only compose new material (Acts II), *he could insert harmonizing passages into the previous material*, both in Acts I and in the Gospel. Theories which separate Acts and Luke would seem to be ruled out by this consideration.

That the Q theory is challenged by the Luke A/B/C model, which accounts otherwise for the bidirectionality of the Luke/Matthew common material not in Mark, has been noted in an earlier study.¹⁸

Let it not pass without mention that this Sermon, if correctly reconstructed, is of immense interest to students of early Christianity. For one thing, even after removing what there is reason to believe are later additions, and even if it be regarded as a repertoire for preaching rather than a sample of preaching, it is the longest known piece of early Christian paraenesis. Its systematic alternation between warning and encouragement gives us a tour of the subject as at least one early church saw it.

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¹⁸See Brooks **Acts-Luke** 152, whose conclusion is annexed herewith.