

The Twofold Use of 'Jerusalem' in the Lucan Writings.

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To begin with the phenomena in Luke's Gospel, as the simpler, we find that out of 31 instances Jerusalem occurs in the Hebraic form (Ἱερουσαλὴμ) in 27, and in the Hellenic (Ἱεροσόλυμα) only in 4, namely 2²² 13²² 19²⁸ 23⁷. When we analyze them, these four cases seem due to the final author of this Gospel. Thus 2²², 'they brought Him (the infant Jesus) up to Jerusalem, to present Him to the Lord,' is the first reference to the Jewish capital in the work, and so it naturally appears in the form familiar to Gentile readers. In marked contrast to this, the five remaining cases of the name in the chapter present Jerusalem under the Hebraic form (2²⁵. 38. 41. 43. 45.; see below). The next case, 13²², is a purely objective topographical note, touching Jesus' progress as He 'journeyed on towards Jerusalem'; similarly 19²⁸, 'and when He had thus spoken, He went on before, going up to Jerusalem'—a verse which simply reminds the reader of the course already indicated more than once (and may be suggested by Mk 11¹). The last instance, 23⁷, is the verse which states that Pilate, 'when he knew that He was of Herod's jurisdiction, sent Him unto Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem in these days.' *Ierosolūma*, then, seems so far to be Luke's own word when writing freely for his readers as Gentiles. And when we pass to Acts the same holds good. Thus it is this form which first meets us in the preface linking Acts to the Gospel, in the words, 'He charged them not to depart from Jerusalem' (1⁴); whereas the next 11 occurrences of the name (1⁸–7 *fin.*) exhibit the Hebraic form.

But, granting that the Hellenic form is that which Luke naturally uses when telling a plain tale to his Gentile readers (without regard to the original 'atmosphere' of the actors), what causes can be suggested for the frequent emergence of the Hebraic form? This happens in the Gospel 27 times out of a total of 31, and in Acts 36 times out of some 59. As regards the Gospel, the fact is the more noticeable in that the Hebraic form never occurs in any other Gospel save in the

solitary case of Mt 23³⁷—the sad apostrophe: 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets' (= Lk 13³⁴). Here there is an emotional reason for the persistence of the more Hebraic form, the city being addressed as the hearth of Hebrew religion; that is, it is regarded strictly from the Jewish or theocratic standpoint. Speaking broadly, then, we may say that the habitual occurrence of this form in Luke's Gospel is due to the strong tradition (oral or written in parts), charged with Hebrew sentiment, into which Luke felt himself to have entered in telling the Gospel story, and which controls his style even in certain objective topographical notices where the context is full of Hebraic feeling (see *e.g.* 17¹¹ 24¹³. 52.). This probably explains the habitual use of the Hebraic form in Lk 2–3 (after 2²²), as explained above. A special case is the phrase, 'Judæa and Jerusalem,' always found in the Hebraic form (5¹⁷ 6¹⁷).

The like holds good in Acts, though the proportions of the two uses are greatly modified by the change in the narrative, and by the author's freer hand in telling his story. Thus in the long section, 1⁸–7 *fin.*, dealing with the early history of the Jerusalem Church, the Hebraic form alone appears, and that in cases where there is almost certainly no question of a written source (*e.g.* 1¹⁹ 2⁵ 6⁷, cf. 9²⁶. 28). Here what one seems to recognize is the instinctive adjustment of the writer's language to the spirit of the situation—a feature in our author which becomes plainest in his self-identification with the standpoint of his speakers and their audiences. This psychological or sympathetic cause of our author's departure from his own usage, and that the one most familiar to his readers, alone explains many cases in speeches by Jews and to Jewish hearers, where the Hebraic form occurs apart from any probable use of a written source. Among such cases I would reckon 9¹³. 21 and 22¹⁷ (in contrast to 26⁴. 10. 20) in particular. But these cases of direct speech do not seem to exhaust the material. There are virtual quotations or statements of motive which

naturally suggest the use of the Hebraic form. To the former variety may belong γ^2 $\iota\sigma^2$ (in contrast to $\iota\sigma^4$) 22^5 ; to the latter, 8^{28} (though it may be a case of assimilation to the quotation of angelic words in 8^{26}).

If now we include the possibility of written sources as a factor, such a variety of possible explanations of the Hebraic form leaves a certain number of cases on the border between two, e.g. 1^{12} 2^5 . 14 11^2 . 22 12^{25} (which is textually suspected). But, even though it clearly has the effect of making more doubtful the actual use of written sources in some cases, it has a most important bearing on authorship. For the Greeks who fell so instinctively into the standpoint and spirit of the Jews whose words and motives he reproduces, can hardly have been other than a man who had mingled in the life of those whose experiences and feelings he thus sympathetically reflects. On the other hand, he must have been a man of wonderfully fine literary and historical sense, as regards his imaginative realization of what he relates. For the shades

of distinction which we seem to have found to lie behind Luke's twofold use of 'Jerusalem' are totally absent from the Gospel of Mark, and are hinted at only in one passage in our Matthew, and that a Logian passage of deep patriotic pathos—Christ's lament over the city of the Promises (23^{37}). Elsewhere the evangelists, including the fourth, are content to use the Gentile form in a plain, matter-of-fact way, in addressing their Greek or at least Hellenistic¹ readers.

¹ It is interesting to note that in a Hellenistic (Christian) interpolation in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* we get the Hebraic form and not the pure Hellenic one: *Test. Dan.*, 5, *καὶ οὐκέτι ὑπομένει Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐρήμωσιν, οὐδὲ αἰχμαλωτίζεται Ἰσραὴλ* (cf. *Levi*, *passim*). Here the city is used, not in a geographical but in a quasi-personal or collective human sense—a sense analogous to one of the Pauline uses, that in *Gal* 4^{25} t.; cf. *He* 12^{22} , *Rev* 3^{12} $21^{2,10}$, and *Test. Dan.*, 5, *καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς νέας Ἱερουσαλήμ εὐφρανθήσονται δίκαιοι*. On the dual Pauline usage, analogous to the Lucan, see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 316 n. The religious use of the name persists in *1 Clem.* xli. 2, sacrifice being ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ μόνη.

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