

The significance of the Infancy Narrative in Luke

Introduction

The Lucan Infancy Narrative is so rich, and raises so many issues, that I need to spell out right at the beginning where I'm coming from. I'm an orthodox Christian, who believes in the Incarnation, and the Virgin Birth (or better, the Virgin Conception) of Jesus. I have an understanding of Mary which deviates rather from the official Roman Catholic one, but my devotion to her is real and comparatively frequent and would probably not please the Diocese of Sydney. Alongside this, I'm also committed to the methods of Biblical criticism, and these cause me to question the historicity of much of the Infancy Narrative material. Yet, although I'm not a fundamentalist, I believe the first two chapters of Luke were written with help from the Holy Spirit, who uses them in every generation to convey to us the truth about Jesus. So with Bible in one hand, and Prayer Book and rosary in the other, let me try to unpack these precious chapters. This won't be line by line exegesis – you must do that for yourselves, with a good commentary.

For people brought up in a liturgical Church such as ours, the Gospel of Luke shapes our understanding of Christianity in ways we may only come to realise in later years. The Lucan scheme of things is built into the liturgical year: his Infancy Narrative shapes Advent and Christmas (with help from Matthew). At the other end of the Gospel story, Luke's version of Jesus' return to the Father, and of how and when the Holy Spirit came to the disciples, gives us Ascension and Pentecost (overruling John).

Actual readings from Luke, in addition to the Ordinary Sundays in Year C, come every year at Christmas and on the feasts of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Naming of Jesus, the Presentation, Mary, and John the Baptist – all from the Infancy Narrative. And then there are the feasts of Luke, and Simon & Jude from later in Luke's Gospel.

And then there are the canticles woven into our worship: the Magnificat, the Benedictus, and the Nunc Dimittis, not to mention the Hail Mary for the more Catholic-minded among us. All from Luke's Infancy Narrative.

We hear these opening chapters so often that we can become deaf to them, or reduce their meaning to our childhood understanding of them. Yet they contain a wealth of material, and are significant for our understanding of the rest of Luke's Gospel (and Acts), and the whole Bible, and the Apostolic Faith, more especially the Virgin Conception and the Incarnation of Christ. And there are issues of historicity to tackle.

Structure

1. ***Within the Gospel:*** Luke almost certainly added on what we call the Infancy Narrative (chapters 1 & 2) ***after*** he'd written the rest of the Gospel. He initially began his Gospel at the same point that Mark did – with John the Baptist. Chapter 3 reads like an opening chapter, and includes Luke's genealogy of Jesus. Apart from the opening four verses addressing Theophilus (which could equally well lead into Chapter 3), Chapters 1 and 2 form a self-contained unit, carefully constructed, which is both a preparation for so many of the themes in the rest of the Gospel and a miniature Gospel in its own right. Note also that Acts 1 plays the same introductory cameo role for Luke's story of the Apostolic Church in Acts as Luke 1-2 does for his Gospel, and breathes the same Spirit-filled atmosphere, with Mary at the heart of

both. We could say that Luke 1-2 is the ‘segue’ from the Old Testament to the Gospel, and Acts 1 the ‘segue’ from Luke’s Gospel to the Acts of the Apostles, reflecting Luke’s three part historical schema: Israel, the Christ event; the period of the Church.

2. *Within the Infancy Narrative.* [See ‘Appendix 1: The Structure of the Lucan narrative: A diptych’]

How has Luke organised his story? Note two things in particular

- The parallelism between the stories about John the Baptist and Jesus
- The way Luke ‘elevates’ the details in Jesus’ story to emphasise the primacy of Jesus (e.g. barrenness overcome of virginal conception)

In other words, Jesus and John are like but unlike; there’s continuity and discontinuity; in Jesus something new and unique is beginning. It’s very possible that this is one instance of the process we see in the New Testament which smoothes out any lingering rivalry between the disciples of Jesus and the disciples of John the Baptist, by progressively subordinating the Baptist into the role of a ‘Forerunner’ of Jesus the Messiah. But it’s also one of the ways in which Luke very skilfully effects the transition from the Old Israel and the Old Covenant to the new dispensation in Jesus Christ. The Diptych is saturated with Old Testament references and echoes and associations, and John is the final embodiment of the Old Covenant.

Let’s now look at *the content of Luke’s Infancy Narrative* under seven headings:

1. Christology
2. Mary
3. Anawim
4. Links with the Old Testament
5. The place of Jerusalem
6. Universal mission
7. Historicity issues

1. *Christology*

- **Titles:** After the death and resurrection of Jesus, and the Holy Spirit’s empowering of the disciples, the Early Church reflected again and again on the identity of Jesus and its implications. We can see how these reflections developed by comparing the four Gospels with one another (and of course with the various New Testament Epistles which precede the Gospels). The Christology ‘heightens’ from Mark through to John, and later descriptive titles tend to be retrojected back into the gospel narratives. Luke is no exception, and heightens the public use of such terms as ‘Lord’, ‘Son of God’, ‘Messiah’, ‘King’, and ‘Saviour’ (peculiar to Luke among the Synoptic Gospels). All five are used in the Infancy Narrative.

- ‘Lord’ - 1:17, 43, 76; 2:11
- ‘Son of God’/ ‘Son of the Most High’ - 1:32, 35, 2:49
- ‘Messiah’ – 2:11, 26
- ‘King’ – 1:32,33
- ‘Saviour’ - (1:69), 2:11

Also used are ‘Son of David’, ‘Holy’, ‘Light for revelation to the Gentiles’, ‘Glory to the people Israel’. In these titles are a whole cluster of claims about who Jesus is, and a foreshadowing of the themes of the Gospel.

Parallel to all this is Luke’s heightening of *the role of the Holy Spirit* in the Public Ministry of Jesus – and here in the Infancy Narrative, right at the beginning, the Spirit is very much in evidence.

- John the Baptist is filled with the Holy Spirit - 1:15
- The Holy Spirit will come upon Mary – 1:35
- Elizabeth is filled with the Holy Spirit - 1:41
- Zechariah is filled with the Holy Spirit - 1:67
- The Holy Spirit rests on Simeon – 2:25
- Revelation to Simeon by the Holy Spirit – 2:26

And remember, the Spirit (of prophecy) was understood to have been absent from Israel since the last of those we now term the ‘canonical prophets’. The return of the Spirit therefore has eschatological significance. Something is afoot! Fast forward to Luke 3-4 (the baptism and temptation of Jesus) and Luke 4 (the opening sermon of Jesus in the Nazareth synagogue: ‘The spirit of the Lord is upon me’)

- ***The Virgin Birth or (better) Conception:*** This is no invention of Luke. At the very least, the tradition predates both Luke and Matthew, who draw on a common tradition. The divergences between the two Infancy narratives are wide and real, but leave the central affirmations intact. [See Appendix 2 ‘The Infancy Narratives in Luke and Matthew’]

Note that Luke, unlike John and Paul, suggests nothing of the *pre-existence* of Jesus. Nor is there any explicit statement of Incarnation equivalent to John’s ‘the Word was made flesh’ (John 1:14). But for Luke, the uniqueness of Jesus’ filial relation to the Father is clear in Luke 1:35. Jesus was not ‘adopted’ at his Resurrection; he was understood to be Son of God *from birth*.

How would such a tradition have developed? There are various answers:

- It was based on family secrets (the ‘memoirs’ of Joseph or Mary) BUT why didn’t other writers pick up this tradition, and why the divergences between Luke and Matthew?
- It was a deduction made by early Christians from the title ‘Son of God’ BUT why would anyone do so, given that the title was widespread and applied with widely different meanings in the ancient world?
- It was a borrowing from the pagan world, which knows of heroes born of gods and human women BUT all such stories involved the (male) god taking human form and having intercourse with a woman.
- There were Jewish traditions of the virgin birth of the patriarchs BUT these were allegorical accounts of the formation of virtues in human souls.

“None of these proposals has explained adequately how there came to be some sort of a tradition in the early Christian community prior to both Luke and Matthew about the virginal conception of Jesus.” (Fitzmyer)

The genealogy in Luke 3 falls outside the Infancy Narrative proper, but note:

- It can’t be reconciled with that in Matthew (different names, different number of generations)
- Jesus’ descent from David is through Joseph, i.e. it is not biological but legal (by ‘adoption’).
- In Luke’s genealogy, Jesus’ forebears are traced back to Adam, not to Abraham as in Matthew. This foreshadows his role as saviour not just of the Jews but also of the Gentiles.

2. Mary

I love Austin Farrer's words: *'About the person of Mary, I cannot have the happiness to know my reader's sentiments, but I can have the generosity to acquit them of a crime. I will not suppose them to hate a name, because others have inordinately loved it'*. May I commend to you *'Mary: Grace and Hope in Christ'*, the 2004 Seattle Statement prepared by the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, in which there is very substantial convergence of our respective understandings of Mary. And I quote from ARCIC: *'Anglicans have tended to begin from reflection on the scriptural example of Mary as an inspiration and model for discipleship. Roman Catholics have given prominence to the ongoing ministry of Mary in the economy of grace and the communion of saints.'*

Luke presents a very different picture of the mother of Jesus from that in Mark's Gospel. In Mark, not only is there no Infancy Narrative in which the divine origin of Jesus is made known to Mary or Joseph at conception and birth, but his mother and natural family seem to lack appreciation of what his mission really is. And Jesus distances himself from her. His true family, he says is, 'whoever does the will of God'. There's a stark contrast here between his natural and eschatological families. In Luke, however, this contrast is avoided. Mary from the beginning is the one who 'hears the word of God and obeys it' (11:27-38). She is the model disciple, from the Annunciation onwards, receptive to the working of God's Spirit, and we find her in Acts 1 as part of the community of disciples – the eschatological family of Jesus - waiting in prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit at the birth of the Church. True, Mary is slow to understand that Jesus must be about the business of his Father, but she ponders 'all these things' like a good disciple. She is in fact presented as a figure or personification of the Church. Note in passing that for Luke there's no shadow of doubt of the centrality of Jesus as Lord and Saviour; any significance he gives to Mary derives from that. But that significance is greater than some Christians have been willing to acknowledge.

Other key Marian themes include

- New creation, with the Holy Spirit shaping this new beginning of humanity
- The modelling in the Annunciation of how God's grace interfaces with human freedom
- Poverty and simplicity and openness to God as marks of the true Israel (Old and New), which are rewarded in the eschatological reversal in the Kingdom of God
- The 'blessedness' of Mary, greeted by Gabriel and Elizabeth with words which continue to be used to honour her.

You will know of that form of prayer called the Rosary, some of you more intimately than others. The first five of the fifteen 'mysteries' to meditate on are the Joyful Mysteries: Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity of Jesus, Presentation, and Finding in the Temple. All are from Luke's Infancy Narrative, with a little help from Matthew.

3. Anawim

'The Poor Ones' figure largely in Luke's Gospel as a whole – the lowly, the poor, the sick, the downtrodden, the widows and orphans – as we'll see in later papers today. But note the early appearance of this theme, in the Infancy Narrative. The words of the Magnificat, the shepherds, Simeon and Anna, Mary herself, all embody the spirit of those who depend on God by contrast with the rich and the proud who show no need of God.

Note that the Magnificat is among other things about social justice. It should be rescued from its Babylonian Captivity in English cathedral music, and restored to the streets, to take its place with the French ‘Marseillaise’, the American abolitionist hymn ‘Mine eyes have seen the glory’, and the Communist ‘Internationale’. (Of course the Magnificat predates and is superior to all three.)

To what extent this Anawim piety was generated by an actual community of Jewish or Jewish-Christian people, or was simply an attitude of mind, is a matter of debate. But there’s the real possibility that Luke was drawing on both Jewish and Jewish-Christian understandings of the Anawim, the Poor Ones, as the ultimate narrowing down of the faithful remnant of Israel. Fast-forward to Jesus’ ‘jubilee’ sermon in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke 4) and to the Beatitudes (Luke 6).

4. Links with the Old Testament

- **Jesus is presented as the climax of God’s dealing with Israel.**

Some of the Old Israel (i.e. *all* the *dramatis personae* in the Infancy narratives) are shown as welcoming Jesus in one way or another. John the Baptist becomes the link person between Old and New, the last of the prophets. There is the clear hint that some of Israel will reject Jesus (2:34-5), but for Luke the confrontation with the Synagogue is not the pressing matter that it is for Matthew.

- The Old Testament is a far more important source for understanding the content and details of the Infancy Narratives than are the alleged parallels within the pagan world.

- Luke’s OT motifs are ‘*the patriarchal couples (especially Abraham & Sarah) the births of Samson and Samuel, and the post-exilic piety of the Anawim*’ (Raymond Brown) cf Matthew’s focus on the patriarch Joseph, and Moses.

- There are no explicit citations of Old Testament prophecy (cf Matthew). However, ***the text is studded with unacknowledged quotes, and OT associations and parallels.*** See, for example

- ***the pattern of birth announcements in Old Testament*** [see Ishmael (Gen. 16:7-13); Isaac (Gen. 17:1-21; 18:1-15); Samson (Judges 13:3-20)] ***is the pattern of Lucan birth announcements.***

- The appearance of an angel (or the Lord) to someone (mother or father)
- Fear on the part of the person confronted by the heavenly figure
- The heavenly message (often with stereotyped details)
- An objection by the person confronted or a request for a sign
- The giving of some sign or reassurance

- ***the OT background of the Canticles (Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis)***

= ‘set piece’ compositions from Old Testament materials, especially Septuagint (but NB ‘Semitisms’ in the Greek). Example: The Magnificat. [See Appendix 3: The Magnificat’s Old Testament Background]

5. The place of Jerusalem

For Luke, Jerusalem is ‘*the city of destiny for Jesus and the pivot for the salvation of mankind*’ (Raymond Brown). It’s not only the place where Jesus died, rose and ascended; it’s also the place where salvation has been accomplished and from which witnesses go out to all the world.

Luke's Gospel begins and ends in Jerusalem (cf the other three Gospels). His Infancy Narrative reflects this emphasis. It begins with Zechariah offering incense in the Jerusalem Temple, and ends with the child Jesus in the Temple. The Presentation is especially rich in Jerusalem Temple themes.

6. *Universal mission*

Luke rejoices in the mission to the Gentiles. He embraces the universalist strand in Judaism and presents Jesus' ministry to Israel as leading seamlessly to the Church's ministry to the whole world. In the Infancy Narrative this is expressed explicitly in Simeon's words '*my eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to your people Israel*' (2:30-32). The song of the angels (however translated) also has a universal reference.

7. *Historicity issues*

These are considerable, and include

- The difficulty of reconciling Luke and Matthew
- The incompatibility of some of Luke's details with what we know of Mediterranean history from other sources
- The question of how Luke knew intimate family history
- The beginning of the process we see fully developed in some later Roman Catholic thinking about Mary, which amounts to saying 'Such and such a thing ought to have happened, therefore it did' – Farrer's 'fact-factory'.

I can't go into this issue of historicity in detail here, but my own preference is to

- Rely more on the Lucan elements overlapping with those in Matthew (which preserve many central affirmations about Jesus' conception and home and family life and which offer evidence of a very early tradition).
- Thankfully receive the Canticles as they stand as Luke's contribution to our understanding of who Jesus is (similar to the speeches he places in the mouths of Peter and Paul in Acts). This is not to deny that Luke may well be drawing on earlier traditions for them.
- Recognise that all four Gospels are theological statements arranging pre-existing chunks of memory, and not get fussed too much by Luke's creative handling of them.
- Prefer the carefulness and artistry of Luke's Infancy Narrative to either the later Apocryphal Gospels' fantastic accounts of Jesus' childhood, or the equally speculative and arbitrary accounts of some reductionist writers today.
- Preserve a healthy scepticism which enables us to ask questions.

I'm happy to kneel in simplicity at the Christmas Crib every year, and pay my homage to the mystery of Incarnation. Indeed I'm more than happy to do so; my faith in Christ obliges me to.

Peter Stuart, 2006

Some books to read:

Donald Bolen & Gregory Cameron (eds.), *Mary: Grace and Hope in Christ* – the Seattle Statement of the Anglican Roman Catholic International Commission (London/New York: Continuum, 2006)

*Brown, Raymond, *The Birth of the Messiah* (New York: Doubleday, 1977)

*Brown, Raymond et al (eds.), *Mary in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress/ New York: Paulist, 1978)

*Fitzmyer, Joseph, *The Gospel According to Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1979)

Green, Joel B., *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

*Schweitzer, Eduard, *The Good News according to Luke* (London: SPCK, 1984)

[* = in the WIT Library]

Questions for discussion

1. What part does Luke's Infancy Narrative play in your own understanding of who Jesus is?
2. Which form of the 3-year lectionary do you prefer – the 'Related' version (in which the OT reading always relates to and leads into the Gospel reading), or the 'Continuous' version (in which the OT readings Sunday by Sunday continue through a book, like the Epistle and Gospel readings)? Why? Which do you think Luke might prefer, and why?
3. How do you respond to Luke's portrait of Mary?
4. How threatening to (i) a wealthy consumer culture
(ii) a piously Christian ruling elite
are the values of Luke's Infancy Narrative?

Appendix 1

The structure of the Lucan Narrative: a diptych

I

<i>I. The Angelic Announcements of the Births (1:5-56)</i>	
1. About John (1:5-25) The parents introduced, expecting no child (because barren) (5-10) Appearance of the angel (11) Zechariah is troubled (12) ‘Do not fear...’ (13) Your wife will bear a son (13) You shall call him John (13) He shall be great before the Lord (15) Zechariah’s question: ‘How shall I know?’ (18) Angel’s answer: I have been sent to announce this to you (19) Sign given: You shall become mute (20) Zechariah’s forced silence (22) Refrain A: Zechariah ‘went back’ (<i>apeithen</i>) (23)	2. About Jesus (1:26-38) The parents introduced, expecting no child (because unmarried) (26-27) Entrance of the angel (28) Mary is troubled (29) ‘Do not fear...’ (30) You will bear a son (31) You shall call him Jesus (31) He shall be Great (32) Mary’s question: ‘How shall this be?’ (34) Angel’s answer: The holy Spirit will come upon you (35) Sign given: Your aged cousin Elizabeth has conceived (36) Refrain A: The angel ‘went away’ (<i>apeithen</i>) (38)
3. Complementary Episode: The Visitation (1:39-45) <i>Canticle:</i> Magnificat (46-55) Refrain A: Mary ‘returned’ to her home (56)	
<i>II The Birth, Circumcision and Manifestation of the Children (1:57-2:52)</i>	
4. The Birth of John (1:57-58) The birth of John (57) Joy over the birth (58)	5. The Birth of Jesus (2:1-20) The birth of Jesus (1-12) <i>Canticle of the Angels</i> (13-14) Joy over the birth (15-18) Refrain B: Mary treasured all this (19) Refrain A: The shepherds returned (20)
6. The Circumcision and Manifestation of John (1:59-80) John circumcised and named (59-64) Reaction of the neighbours (65-66) <i>Canticle:</i> Benedictus (68-79) Refrain C: ‘The child grew...’ (80)	7. The Circumcision and Manifestation of Jesus (2:21-40) Jesus circumcised and named (21) Reaction of Simeon and Anna (25-38) <i>Canticle:</i> Nunc dimittis (29-32) Refrain A: They returned (39) Refrain C: ‘The child grew...’ (40)
8. Complementary Episode: The Finding in the Temple (2:41-52) Refrain A: ‘went’ to Nazareth (51) Refrain B: His mother kept all this in her heart (51) Refrain C: Jesus grew in wisdom, age and grace (52)	

Appendix 2: The Infancy Narratives in Luke and Matthew (based on Fitzmyer's commentary on Luke)

Common elements

1. Jesus's birth is related to the reign of Herod (Luke 1:5; Matt 2:1)
2. Mary, his mother to be, is a virgin engaged to Joseph, but they have not yet come to live together (Luke 1:27,34; 2:5; Matt 1:18)
3. Joseph is of the House of David (Luke 1:27; 2:4; Matt 1:16, 20)
4. An angel from heaven announces the coming birth of Jesus (Luke 1:28-30; Matt 1:20-21)
5. Jesus is recognised himself to be a son of David (Luke 1:32; Matt 1:1)
6. His conception is to take place through the Holy Spirit (Luke 1:35; Matt 1:18,20)
7. Joseph is not involved in the conception (Luke 1:34; Matt 1:18-25)
8. The name "Jesus" is imposed by heaven prior to his birth (Luke 1:31; Matt 1:21)
9. The angel identifies Jesus as "Saviour" (Luke 2:11; Matt 1:21)
10. Jesus is born after Mary and Joseph come to live together (Luke 2:4-7; Matt 1:24-25)
11. Jesus is born at Bethlehem (Luke 2:4-7; Matt 2:1)
12. Jesus settles, with Mary and Joseph, in Nazareth in Galilee (Luke 2:39, 51; Matt 2:22-23)

Differences

1. Striking structural differences (can't be put in parallel columns in a Synopsis)
2. Angelic announcement comes to Mary in Luke, and to Joseph in Matthew
3. Matthew's infancy narrative has a genealogy, Luke's does not (Luke 3:23-38 follows Jesus' baptism). And the two genealogies are quite different.
4. Luke knows nothing of
 - Magi, Star, Herod episode
 - flight to Egypt,
 - massacre of the innocents,
 - return from Egypt
5. Matthew knows nothing of
 - Conception and Birth of John the Baptist
 - Benedictus
 - Visitation
 - Magnificat
 - Census of Quirinius
 - Shepherds
 - Presentation in Temple
 - Simeon
 - Anna
 - Nunc Dimittis
 - Finding of Jesus in the Temple

Appendix 3: The Magnificat's Old Testament background

**'My soul proclaims the greatness of the Lord,
and my spirit has found gladness in God my Saviour'**

Psalm 35:9 'Then my soul will find gladness in the Lord;
It will take pleasure in his salvation'

1 Samuel 2:1-2 (Hannah's song):
'My heart is strengthened in the Lord;
My horn is exalted in my God...
I delight in your salvation'

Habakkuk 3:18 (Habakkuk's song):
'I shall find gladness in the Lord;
I shall rejoice in God my saviour'

'Because He has regarded the low estate of His handmaid –'

1 Samuel 1:11 (Hannah praying for a child):
'O Lord of Hosts, if you will look on the low estate of your handmaid'

Genesis 29:32 (Leah after a childbirth):
'Because the Lord has regarded my low estate'

'For behold, henceforth all generations will call me fortunate –'

Genesis 30:13 (Leah after a childbirth):
'Fortunate am I, for all women call me fortunate'

'Because He who is mighty has done great things for me'

Deuteronomy 10:21 (Moses to Israel):
'He is your God who has done great things for you'

Zephaniah 3:17 'The Lord your God is in you,
A Mighty One will save you'

'And holy is His name',
Psalm 111:9 'Holy and awesome is His name'

**'And His mercy is from generation to generation
on those who fear Him'**

Psalm 103:17 'But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting
Upon those who fear Him'.

**'He has shown strength with His arm;
He has scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts,
He has put down the mighty from their thrones
And has exalted those of low degree.
He has filled the hungry with good things,
And the rich He has sent empty away'**

1 Samuel 2:7-8 (Hannah's song):
'The Lord makes poor and makes rich:
He reduces in lowliness and He lifts up.
He lifts the needy from the earth,
And from the dung heap he raises up the poor
To seat them with the mighty,
Making them inherit a throne of glory'

Psalm 89:10 (A hymn praising God's action for the Davidic king):
'You have reduced the proud to lowliness like a wounded thing;
And by your powerful arm you have scattered your enemies.'

Job 12:19 'He has overthrown the mighty'

Ezekiel 21:26 'Having reduced the proud to lowliness,
And having exalted the man of low degree'

Psalm 107:9 'He has filled the soul of the hungry with good things'

'He has helped His servant Israel

In remembrance of His mercy,

As he spoke unto our fathers,

To Abraham and his posterity forever'

Isaiah 41:8-9 'You, O Israel,

My servant Jacob whom I have chosen,

Seed of Abraham who I loved,

Whom I have helped from the ends of the earth.'

Psalm 98:3 'He has remembered His mercy to Jacob

And His goodness to the House of Israel'

Micah 7:20 'You will give truth to Jacob and mercy to Israel,

As you have sworn to our fathers from days of old'

2 Samuel 22:51 (David's hymn at the end of his life):

'Showing mercy to His anointed one,

To David and his posterity forever'