Study guide to Studying the New Testament: A Fortress Introduction (Fortress Press, 2010) By Bruce Chilton and Deirdre Good

This study guide to *Studying the New Testament* is designed to help you engage with the New Testament.

As in the case of the Fortress Introduction, the development of the texts within their generative environments takes the foreground. But we also introduce critical methods alongside the texts, because they disclose grounding themes and wider implications that every reader needs to know in order to be biblically literate.

Each chapter is introduced and key issues are highlighted in the reflections and exercises. On the whole, reflections are intended for groups in churches and for students engaged in cultural history, while the exercises are more textually pointed, and would suit academic study in both religion and theology. Students in seminaries and divinity schools should work through both the reflections and the exercises, and each section cites ample further reading at its close.

Chapter 1: Jesus and his Social Worlds

The four Gospels in the New Testament, all written in the common Greek of the first century, reflect the cultures and concerns of the diverse Hellenistic cities that produced them. Their variety is fascinating, but the differences a reader finds as he or she moves from one Gospel to the next can cause confusion, and even frustration. What can we know about Jesus, when the Gospels do not fully agree, and sometimes contradict one another?

For example, only two Gospels narrate Jesus' birth. One account (Matthew 2.13–15) places Jesus and his family in Egypt just after his birth, while the other (Luke

2.22–38) insists they were in Jerusalem at that time. All four Gospels depict Jesus' crucifixion; yet they disagree in recording what his very last words were. Did he say, 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?' (Matthew 27.46; Mark 15.34) or, 'Father, into your hands I commend my spirit' (Luke 23.46) or, 'It is finished' (John 19.30)?

Attempts have been deployed over the centuries in a failed attempt to explain away such contradictions. But since the end of the eighteenth century scholars have shown – and people who have read all the Gospels through have generally agreed – that the Gospels are not verbatim histories of the events concerning Jesus. They are rather theological interpretations of his significance for believing communities, woven from memories about him.

This evaluation of the Gospels takes account of their religious purposes: they were designed to promote faith in Jesus, not to provide an objective account of his life. Whether the reader today approaches these texts as a believer or not, the fact of their religious origin needs to be acknowledged, if the Gospels are to be understood.

On any reading, the New Testament begins with Jesus, who is the origin of the faith that all the documents profess. Scholarly assessments of Jesus are hardly unanimous, and should not be expected to be, given the ferment of ideas surrounding him in current debate. There is nonetheless widespread agreement that five environments he negotiated prove crucial to understanding him. Those environments are (1) rural Jewish Galilee (including Gamla, Nazareth), (2) the movement of John the Baptist, (3) the towns Jesus encountered as a rabbi (Capernaum, Sepphoris), (4) the rule of Herod Antipas, and (5) deep controversy concerning the Temple in Jerusalem. The chapter discusses each in turn.

Parables

Parables lie at the heart of Jesus' proclamation of God's realm. Much research on the parables attempts to uncover information about the historical Jesus and his teaching or the intentions of gospel writers. Other approaches stress readeroriented interpretations focused away from historical context and towards readers as co-creators of meaning.

Parables are considered as metaphors from a common stock of proverbial comparisons. (In fact, the term translated from Hebrew and Aramaic into English as "parable" most basically means "comparison.") Thus in the parable of the Prodigal Son, Jesus uses a theme from Israelite traditions in which the younger son succeeded at the expense of the elder (Cain and Abel; Jacob and Esau). The parable can be read and re-titled as a story of restored harmony between estranged children and forgiving fathers. A socio-critical interpretation reads the parable as a Mediterranean family story about a dysfunctional relationship between a father and two sons in which the younger son behaves inappropriately in asking for his inheritance before the father has died. A reader interested in feminist concerns might ask the whereabouts of the mother or sisters in the parable. We might also ask why the younger son has run away in the first place. If, for example, an implied reader with a history of sexual abuse reads the parable, the return of the prodigal son to the patriarchal family could be unhelpful for abused victims. The point here is to demonstrate that the experience of a reader affects interpretation of the text.

Reflections

I) If you did not read about Jesus of Nazareth in the New Testament, but within a newly discovered ancient Aramaic writing, how would you describe him? Pay particular attention to the cultural and economic setting in which he acted. On the basis of your consideration, how would you describe Jesus' purpose overall in his own time?

- II) This chapter describes Jesus' development in terms of the social environments in which he was active:
 - a. rural Galilee,
 - b. the movement of John the Baptist,
 - c. the towns Jesus visited as a rabbi,
 - d. Herod Antipas' antagonism to Jesus,
 - e. Jesus' final confrontation with the authorities of the Temple and the Romans.

Within each of these environments, match a theme that emerged in Jesus' teaching.

III) Choose just one of the themes you identified in the previous question, and assess whether you believe it continues to be influential today in (a) recognized public values, *and* (b) the teaching of the Church.

Exercises

Parables

One parable that has been interpreted very differently by scholars is the Vineyard Workers (Matthew 20:1-16).

Questions

- 1. If the vineyard owner is identified with God how might the parable be interpreted? What is the principle of justice operative in the parable? Does it resonate with ideas of justice elsewhere in Matthew's gospel (see for example Matt. 5:20)?
- 2. How might the parable be interpreted from a socio-scientific perspective in which the vineyard owner is a member of an oppressive elite being

judged for his unfair treatment of workers? Who are the tenants and what might the message of the parable be?

Birth Stories

Accounts of Jesus' birth exist in the gospels of Matthew and Luke. They share common features but differ in details. Scholars think that these narratives were added after the bulk of gospel material had been composed. Thus it is possible to see motifs and themes in them reflected elsewhere in the gospel and conversely, that they encapsulate the gospel in which they occur. Setting out the birth stories of Matthew and Luke side by side helps to highlight the differences in their accounts:

Matthew 1-2 (48 verses)	Luke 1-2 (132 verses)	
1:18-24 An angel tells Joseph of Jesus'	1:5-38: Gabriel tells Zechariah of John	
birth in a dream	the Baptist's birth; then Mary of Jesus'	
	birth	
	1:39-80 Mary visits Elizabeth; John the	
	Baptist is born & circumcised	
	2:1-5: Joseph & Mary journey to	
	Bethlehem for the census	
1:25-2:1a Mary's son is born in	2:6-7: Mary gives birth to a son in	
Bethlehem of Judea and named Jesus	Bethlehem of Judea	
	2:8-20 Angels appear to shepherds who	
	visit the child in a manger	
	2:21: The infant is circumcised &	
	named Jesus	
1:1b-12 Magi come from the East		
visiting Herod then Jesus		

2:13-21 Joseph takes "the child and his	
mother" to Egypt where they remain	
until the death of Herod	
2:22-23 They return to Israel and settle	2:39-40 The trio returns to Nazareth
in Nazareth to fulfill prophecies	
	2:41-52 A teenage Jesus & extended
	family visit the Jerusalem Temple

Questions

- 1. Are there core elements to the story of Jesus' birth in Matthew and Luke?
- 2. Are these core elements known to the gospels of John or Mark?
- 3. What are the particular features of Matthew 1-2 and how might they be explained?
- 4. What are the key features of Luke's account and how might they be explained?

The Lord's Prayer

The prayer that Jesus taught his disciples has become known as 'The Lord's Prayer' and is probably the best-known prayer of the Christian tradition. The Gospels give us two variations and a third is found in *The Didache* (an early non-canonical text):

Matthew 6:9-15	Luke 11:1-4	Didache 8.2
Our Father, the one in the	Father,	Our Father, the one in the
heavens		heaven
Hallowed be your name	Hallowed be your name	Hallowed be your name
Your kingdom come,	Your kingdom come.	Your kingdom come.

Your will be done on		Your will be done on
earth as it is in heaven.		earth as it is in heaven.
Give us this day our	Give us each day our	Give us this day our
daily bread;	daily bread;	bread for the morrow
And forgive us our debts,	And forgive us our sins,	And forgive us our sin
as we also have forgiven	for we ourselves forgive	as we forgive those who
our debtors;	everyone who is	sin against us
	indebted to us;	
And lead us not into	And lead us not into	And lead us not into
temptation but deliver us	temptation.	temptation but deliver us
from evil.		from evil. For the power
		and glory are yours
		forever.

It is likely that oral variations account for the different versions of the Lord's Prayer that have come to us but all versions have two parts: the first addresses God and the second makes requests of God for food, forgiveness of debts and deliverance from temptation and evil.

The opening address to God is consonant with the theology of the particular text. Only in Matthew does Jesus instruct the disciples to pray to God as "Our father, the one in the heavens." Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer opens with the direct address of Jesus to God, "Father, hallowed be your name."

The *Didache* and Matthew emphasize the location of the heavenly Father. In Matthew, Jesus instructs the disciples to pray succinctly within the wider context of the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5-7), an epitome, or summary, of Jesus' message. In a gospel that instructs members of Matthew's community to "call no one father on earth for you have one father, the one in the heavens" (23:9), calling God heavenly Father in corporate prayer makes sense.

Only the *Didache's* version of the Lord's Prayer concludes with a doxology, that is, a concluding ascription of glory to God. Texts show that various doxologies were added to the Matthean and Lucan versions of the Lord's Prayer as its liturgical use developed.

At the heart of the Lord's Prayer is the request that God's name be known and God's reign actualized. These ideas echo prayers and narratives of Hebrew Scriptures. Exodus 3:14, for example, records the revelation of God's name; Psalm 145 celebrates God's name and the spread of God's kingdom. Only when God's kingdom comes fully will God be honored and glorified (Ezekiel 36:20-23). Jewish prayers that may have been in use in the first century CE such as parts of the Eighteen Benedictions (or Tefillah, literally "prayer") ask for forgiveness for the sake of God's name. According to Mishnah Berakoth 4.1, the Tefillah was said three times daily, as was the Lord's Prayer, according to the Didache 8:2-3.

Questions

- 1. What are the differences between these three versions of the Lord's Prayer? Account for some of these differences by placing the prayer within the context of the gospel in which it occurs.
- 2. Why is the Lord's Prayer absent from Mark and John's Gospels?
- 3. Summarize the content of the prayer. Are there specifically Christian elements (compare e.g. Exodus 3.14; Psalm 145; Ezekiel 36.20–23)? Could you imagine someone Jewish praying this prayer today?
- 4. Account for differences in Matthew and Luke's versions of the prayer, taking into account the Matthean and Lucan themes evident in the prayer.

Last Words of Jesus

Jesus last words before he died on the cross were considered significant by each of the Gospel writers. However, they each record his words differently:

- Mark 15:34: At three o'clock Jesus cried out with a loud voice, "Eloi, Eloi, lema sabachthani?" which means, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"
- Matthew 27:46: And about three o'clock Jesus cried with a loud voice, "Eli,
 Eli, lema sabachthani?" that is, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken
 me?"
- Luke 23:46: Then Jesus, crying with a loud voice, said, "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit." Having said this, he breathed his last.
- John 19:28-30: After this, when Jesus knew that all was now finished, he said (in order to fulfill the scripture), "I am thirsty." A jar full of sour wine was standing there. So they put a sponge full of the wine on a branch of hyssop and held it to his mouth. When Jesus had received the wine, he said, "It is finished." Then he bowed his head and gave up his spirit.

Questions

- 1. How might Jesus' last words in Mark and Matthew be read given that translators supply punctuation? Does it make a difference that these words seem to be quoting Psalm 22?
- 2. Why do gospels written in Greek preserve Aramaic words of Jesus? Where else does this happen and what is its significance? (Begin by looking at the following passages: Mark 5:41; 14:36)
- 3. How do you account for the variations among Jesus' last words as reported in the gospels?

Bibliographical background

Study of Jesus has been well served in recent years by the multi-volume project of John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1991 (series continued in New Haven by Yale University Press)).

The perspective of this chapter reflects that work, and others that place Jesus within his environment in Judaism. That contextualization has been challenged by some scholars, who have attempted to mount the argument that Jesus was a Hellenistic thinker. The foremost representative of this school of thought in recent years has been John Dominic Crossan in, The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991). Crossan has since acknowledged that archaeological investigation has gone against his theory in a book he wrote with Jonathan L. Reed, Excavating Jesus: Beneath the Stones, Behind the Texts (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2001). Reed has been more trenchant in this regard in Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Reexamination of the Evidence (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 2000). For a still more vigorous statement of how archaeology has undermined the fashion of the past few decades of scholarship, see Mark A. Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Another way of denying Jesus' Jewish environment has been the argument that scholars have only emphasized Jesus' Jewish identity in the wake of the Holocaust; see Paul Barnett, *Finding the Historical Christ* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2009). In fact, the perspective arose with the historical critical method, an inheritance of the Reformation; see Bruce Chilton and C. A. Evans (eds), Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research, New Testament Tools and Studies 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1994 and 1998 [in paperback]).

Themes developed in this chapter rely on recent work on the Merkavah – see
Timo Eskola, *Messiah and the Throne: Jewish Merkabah Mysticism and Early Exaltation Discourse*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
2.142 (Tu□bingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001); the Targums – see Bruce Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible: Jesus' Use of the Interpreted Scripture of His Time*(Wilmington, Delaware: Glazier, 1984, 216; also published with the subtitle, *Jesus' Own Interpretation of Isaiah* in London: SPCK, 1984); and the archaeological

evidence regarding synagogues and miquaoth - see Dan Urman and Paul V. M. Flesher (eds), Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery, Studia post-Biblica 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1998). Work of that kind has been applied to the question of Jesus' development in Bruce Chilton, Rabbi Jesus: An Intimate Biography (New York: Doubleday, 2000). Paula Fredriksen investigates the relative responsibility of Roman and Jewish authorities for Jesus' death, with particular emphasis on the Romans' intent to deter the followers of Jesus, in Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews: A Jewish Life and the Emergence of Christianity (New York: Knopf, 1999). The claim of the Gospels that Jesus was Messiah, the anointed one of God, is also found in Paul. While many writers still redefine 'Messiah' to bring it into line with their religious convictions about Jesus, the concept nonetheless coheres with Jesus' crucifixion and the inscription over the cross, 'The King of the Jews'. This discussion speaks to the question of messianic self-consciousness, which is also embedded in Jesus' relationship to the book of Zechariah; see Deirdre J. Good, *Jesus the Meek King* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1999).

Chapter 2: Paul and his Letters

Paul is one of history's transformative figures. He came not from the territory of ancient Israel but from the Diaspora, a term in Greek that means 'dispersion' and refers to the fact that, by the first century, many more Jews lived outside Israel than within that territory. Many of these families, like Paul's, had lived within their new cultures for generations, and contributed to the diverse cultural mix of what is called the Hellenistic world. In the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great, Greek became the common language of the Mediterranean Basin and the Near East, and the culture of the Greeks (the *Hellenes*) cross-pollinated with a wide variety of influences throughout that area.

Paul wove his devotion to Israel together with the Stoic philosophy of the Hellenistic world, a school of thought that searched for a single, rational principle underneath the world of nature as well as human society. On that basis, Paul framed a new perspective on the meaning of Jesus as the exemplar and the hope of all humanity. Before the word Christianity gained currency (a term that Paul himself never used in his letters), Paul made following Jesus into a radically new and powerful religious movement.

The New Testament gives us Paul's life and thought in fragments. His letters are the earliest documents in the New Testament, when they are genuine. But some that have traditionally been attributed to Paul were not written by him (such as Hebrews and Titus), and one of the most important of the authentic letters (2 Corinthians) is pasted together from separate pieces of correspondence. Even when we have whole and genuine letters, we are in the position of an eavesdropper who can hear only one side of a conversation, since we don't have letters written back to Paul. We need to parse his words to assess the issues he is addressing and from what perspective, and we have to gather the settings and milieux that he addressed from what he says about them.

Reflections

- I) What influence do you believe Paul's upbringing in Tarsus, a thriving port city in present-day Turkey, exerted on his development and thought? On balance, is Paul more a Jewish thinker or a Hellenistic philosopher?
- II) Paul went through radical changes; he became a Pharisee, and then an apostle. Do conditions in the places where these changes happened tell us something about Paul's character and the natural of his religious experience?

III) The chapter describes both the controversies in which Paul was involved, and the later collection of his letters in order to address the wider Church. How does this process reflect the social concerns of believers in the decades before and then after Paul's death? Why were letters written in his name after he died? If critical study shows that a letter attributed to Paul was in fact composed by a later editor or a completely unrelated author, does that imply that it has no real place in the New Testament?

Exercises

A. Paul on women and slavery

Paul's teaching on women and slavery has caused much controversy for later Christians, and he is often quoted in debates about women in the Church today and was appealed to by those who supported slavery. Read the text boxes 'Paul and slavery' on p. 74 and 'Paul and Women' on pp. 80–1, and then answer the following questions.

- 1. Identify the women and their roles or offices in Paul's letters and Acts (see Romans 16.1–12; Philippians 4.2–3; 1 Corinthians 1.11; Acts 16.14, 40). What weight do these texts have for modern debates about the roles and offices of women in church or synagogue?
- 2. Consider how Nympha, head of a house church or assembly (Colossians 4.15), might have heard the words of Colossians 3.18–20:

Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord.

Husbands, love your wives and never treat them harshly.

Children, obey your parents in everything, for this is your acceptable duty in the Lord.

3. In a society where slavery was normative, consider how we might understand advice to slaves given in Colossians 3.22–24:

Slaves, obey your earthly masters in everything, not only while being watched and in order to please them, but wholeheartedly, fearing the Lord. Whatever your task, put yourselves into it, as done for the Lord and not for your masters, since you know that from the Lord you will receive the inheritance as your reward; you serve the Lord Christ.

B. Paul and same-sex relations

The topic of same-sex relations is a vexed one in our day. Only a handful of passages in Paul are cited. According to the Gospels, Jesus is silent on this topic. The passage usually given the most weight is in Paul's letter to the Romans: "For this reason God gave them up to degrading passions. Their women exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural, and in the same way also the men, giving up natural intercourse with women, were consumed with passion for one another. Men committed shameless acts with men and received in their own persons the due penalty for their error." (Romans 1.26–27)

Paul's teaching in 1 Corinthians is also often cited in the debate:

Do you not know that wrongdoers will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived! Fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, male prostitutes (Greek: *malakoi*), sodomites (Greek: *arsenokoitai*), thieves, the greedy, drunkards, revilers, robbers – none of these will inherit the kingdom of God. And this is what some of you used to be. (1 Corinthians 6.9–11)

Questions

- 1. In Romans 1.26–27:
- (a) Who are the subjects under discussion?
- (b) What does 'for this reason' refer to?
- (c) What kinds of same-sex relations are known in the world of Paul's time? Is this passage about gay men and lesbians? (See Brooten, Gagnon and Via, and Rogers in Further reading.)

- (d) What is 'natural' and what is 'unnatural'? Here, you will want to take into account what Paul's understanding might be both here and in Romans 11.24, and also what the hearers might understand.
- (e) How does this section relate to the rest of the letter to the Romans?
- 2. The category we know as 'homosexual' did not exist in the ancient world or, indeed, until the nineteenth century. Therefore the Greek words *malakos* and *arsenokoites* cannot mean what we mean by 'homosexuals'. Of course, some behaviour that we today associate with homosexuality may be described in prenineteenth-century literature.

Read the NRSV translation of 1 Corinthians 6.9–11 above, and the section on pp. 10–12 about Bible translations, and then compare this translation of 1 Corinthians 6.9 with others of this passage. For example:

The KJV translates: 'Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate [malakoi], nor abusers of themselves with mankind [arsenokoitai] . . .'.

The NIV translates: 'Do you not know that the wicked will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived: Neither the sexually immoral nor idolaters nor adulterers nor male prostitutes [malakoi] nor homosexual offenders [arsenokoitai] . . .'.

The Message paraphrases: 'Unjust people who don't care about God will not be joining in his kingdom. Those who use and abuse each other, use and abuse sex, use and abuse the earth and everything in it, don't qualify as citizens in God's kingdom. A number of you know from experience what I'm talking about, for not so long ago you were on that list.'

Note that the word *malakos* is an adjective and that *arsenokoites* is a noun. The KJV has remained faithful to the parts of speech in the original.

(a) Which translations have remained faithful to the parts of speech in the original?

- (b) Do any of the translations include people unidentified in the NRSV?
- (c) Can you find other examples of the Greek words *malakos* and *arsenokoites* in other ancient texts? Do they shed any light on meaning here?

 Consult, for example, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3rd edn, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), 613b, where the entry for *malakos* is:
- (1) Pertaining to being yielding to touch, soft (of things e.g. clothes). Soft clothes or garments are described in Luke 7.35 and Matthew 11.8.
- (2) Pertaining to being passive in a same-sex relationship.
- 3. Look again at 1 Corinthians 1 and 6.9–11. Can you tell which groups of people Paul is writing his letter to?
- 4. How much weight should Romans 1.26–27 and 1 Corinthians 6.9–11 be given in contemporary discussions of same-sex relations? How do the Greek words *malakos* and *arsenokoites*, which describe two separate groups of persons in 1 Corinthians 6.9, correlate to the modern understanding of gay and lesbian families?

C. Letters in Paul's name

Several of the letters that are traditionally attributed to Paul were probably written by his followers. This was not an uncommon practice in the first century, nor was it done to deliberately deceive. Read the text boxes on the 'Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran', p. 79, and 'Paul's letters and letters written in his name', p. 77, and then answer the following questions.

Questions

1. Compare the account of Abraham and Sarah in Genesis 12.10–20 with the account in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (see box on p. 79). What purposes might lie behind the *Genesis Apocryphon's* retelling of the story of Abraham and Sarah in Egypt? What is the attitude of the author of the Genesis Apocryphon to the text of Genesis?

- 2. Compare the organizational structure reflected in 1 Corinthians and the Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Timothy and Titus). How can you account for the differences?
- 3. How would you understand and explain the prohibition against women teaching in 1 Timothy 2.12 (written in Paul's name) in the light of Paul's own treatment of women (cf. Romans 16.1–12; Philippians 4.2–3; 1 Corinthians 1.11)?

D. Paul and Jesus

In some scholarly circles it has become fashionable to claim that Paul was the real founder of Christianity, not Jesus: Paul wrote seven of the 27 documents of the New Testament and influenced at least six others; Pauline ideas influenced Augustine and Martin Luther. However, not all scholars agree, and the statement at the end of this chapter, that Jesus is the founder of Christianity and Paul its maker, is an example of one way that the relationship between the two has been defined. Like all such statements by scholars, this is open to evaluation.

Questions

- 1. How did Jesus see himself? This is sometimes called his 'Messianic self-consciousness'. See, for example, Mark 8.27–35; Mark 10.45.
- 2. How did Paul see himself? See, for example, 1 Thessalonians 2.7; Galatians 2.11–14; 1 Corinthians 4.15; 2 Corinthians 6.4–10.
- 3. If Jesus was not the founder of Christianity, what else might he have been?
- 4. What are the implications of the argument that Jesus was the founder of Christianity?

Bibliographical background

For a lucid description of the impact of discussion in regard to the relationship of Acts and Paul's letters, see Donald Harman Akenson, *Saint Saul: A Skeleton Key to the Historical Jesus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 134–43. From these considerations, Akenson evolves a chronology comparable to that followed here

(144–5), based in its turn on the work of Gerd Lu□demann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* (tr. F. S. Jones; London: SCM Press, 1984).

Lu□demann (99) follows the suggestion of J. B. Lightfoot, originally published in 1865, that Galatians was written later than most scholars place it; see St. Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999), 36–56. We follow the view of the majority. All recent discussions of chronology are greatly indebted to Robert Jewett, *Dating Paul's Life* (London: SCM Press, 1979).

The use of Acts in the reconstruction of Paul's development is critically defended by some scholars, such as in Rainer Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* (tr. D. Stott; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), and vigorously excluded by others; see John Dominic Crossan and Jonathan L. Reed, *In Search of Paul: How Jesus' Apostle Opposed Rome's Empire with God's Kingdom: A New Vision of Paul's Words and World* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2004). The resolution of the question turns on the reasons for which Acts was composed, a topic we turn to in Chapter 4. Most biographers advise critical caution in the use of Acts; see Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

Daniel Boyarin succinctly distils a great deal of scholarly discussion in regard to Paul and Stoicism in *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). Jerome Murphy-O'Connor argues that Paul's family had acquired citizenship only during the first century B.C.E., having been enslaved by the Romans in Galilee and exiled to Rome, where his father became a citizen prior to moving to Tarsus; see *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). A different view, reflected here, is maintained in Bruce Chilton, *Rabbi Paul: An Intellectual Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 2004). Both these biographies deal with Paul's alleged anti-Semitism, and provide bibliographies.

Chapter 3: The Gospels

Gospels are a unique form of literature, which emerged as a result of Jesus' own teaching and the movement that he inspired. The word in Greek, *euanggelion*, traditionally rendered 'gospel' in English, literally means 'good news', but that translation is too generic to do justice to how this term was used originally. The Greek version of the Scriptures of Israel show that, contextually, the issue was good news in the context of battle, so the word refers to a message or announcement of victory.

In the Aramaic of Jesus' time, besorta' – which corresponds to euanggelion – referred to such a message of victory. In the book of Isaiah in its Aramaic version (the Targum), for example, the verbal form basar is used to speak of the tidings of God's final triumph (Isaiah 52.7), while the noun refers to the message of the prophet who speaks that promise (Isaiah 53.1). These two passages are of especial interest, because they form a precedent for Jesus' preaching. In these quotations, where the Targum introduces new wording as compared to the Hebrew text of Isaiah, italics are used, so that the particular meaning of Isaiah for Aramaic speakers will be clear:

How beautiful upon the mountains *of the land of Israel* are the feet of him who announces *victory*, who publishes peace, who announces good *victory*, who publishes redemption, who says to *the congregation of Zion*, The King*dom of* your God *is revealed*. (Targum Isaiah 52.7)

Who has believed *this*, our *message of victory*? And to whom has *the strength of* the *mighty* arm of the Lord been *so* revealed? (Targum Isaiah 53.1)

Not only do we find here the Aramaic wording (besorta' and basar) that stands behind 'gospel' (euanggelion), and 'preach the gospel' (euanggelizomai) in the New Testament, but also the exact equivalent of Jesus' signature concern, the kingdom of God. The similarity of usage between Jesus and the Targum indicates that he framed his message in the Aramaic tradition of his own time, and that his usage of the term 'gospel' in particular was shaped by that tradition.

His passionate concern was to announce the kingdom of God as the final news of victory, and to call people to belief in that announcement. To do so meant that he crafted oral teaching that his disciples could also convey, and that he also expected his disciples to remember his own story as part of this message. Only on that basis could he expect that what the woman did would 'be spoken of in memory of her' (Mark 14.9).

This 'gospel' taught by Jesus (usually referred to without capitalizing the first letter) consisted of materials he crafted for memorization, the method by which rabbis taught their disciples. But because he died at an early age for a Rabbinic master, the work of compiling his teaching fell to his successors. His immediate followers were his first successors in teaching, and eventually their numbers included the authors of the texts we call Gospels (with a capitalized first letter), which were written forty years and more after Jesus' death. No Gospel is simply a copy of another; rather, each represents the choices among varying traditions, written and/or oral, and the development of those traditions that had taken place in a given locality. Although a consensus is emerging in regard to the cities in which each Gospel emerged, a consensus reflected here, their origins are a matter of inference, based upon clues in the texts themselves and later traditions of the Church. Similarly, the actual authors of each Gospel are unknown. Who they were, where they worked, and what the purpose of their writing was, are all matters that must be inferred from the texts themselves.

Reflections

I) If Jesus and his first followers conveyed their teaching orally, rather than in writing, what does that imply about how the written Gospels emerged? Should the oral, Aramaic origin of written, Greek documents be taken as a challenged to their accuracy? Why should there be four Gospels in the New Testament, when what they say sometimes seems contradictory?

- II) Prior to the emergence of the written Gospels, the chapter refers to compilations of traditions gathered by principal disciples:
 - a. Peter's teaching,
 - b. "Q,"
 - c. James' teaching,
 - d. Mary Magdalene's teaching,
 - e. Barnabas' teaching.

In each case, what social concerns do you see reflected in the source that make it distinctive from the others?

III) III When the Gospels of the New Testament and *the Gospel according to Thomas* emerged in written form, each conveyed its message within a characteristic literary structure. Can you relate the message and theology of each Gospel to the structure of its presentation?

Exercises

1. Three different Gospel openings

Matthew, Mark and Luke each gave their Gospels distinctive openings which set their agenda for the rest of their Gospel. Read the text box 'Gospel beginnings' on p. 105 and then answer the following questions.

Questions

1. A good way to read the opening of Mark's Gospel actively is by reading it out loud:

The beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ [Son of God] as it is written in Isaiah the prophet: Behold! I am sending my messenger before your face, who will organize your way; the voice of one crying in the desert, 'Prepare the way of the Lord, Make his paths straight!' John the baptizer appeared in the desert preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins and all the country

of Judaea went out to him and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem and they were baptized by him in the Jordan river confessing their sins. Now John was clothed in the skin of camels and he wore a leather belt around his loins and was eating locusts and wild honey and he preached saying: 'There comes one stronger than I after me of whom I am not worthy, stooping down to loosen the strap of his sandals. I baptize you with water but he will baptize you with holy spirit'; and it happened in those days Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized in the Jordan by John and immediately, coming up out of the water he saw the heavens split open and the spirit coming down as a dove on him and a voice came from the heavens: 'You are my son the beloved, in you I am well-pleased', and the spirit drove him into the desert and he was in the desert forty days being tempted by Satan and he was with the wild beasts and the angels served him. Now after the arrest of John, Jesus came into Galilee preaching the gospel of God and saying, 'The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God has come near; repent and believe in the gospel.' (Mark 1.1–15)

- (a) What do you notice after hearing these opening verses?
- (b) What is being conveyed here?
- (c) Compare the opening of Matthew's Gospel (Matthew 1.1–17) to the opening of Mark. What differing impressions does the reader get from these two openings?
- 2. Compare the following two translations of Matthew 1.2:

KJV: Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren;

NRSV: Abraham was the father of Isaac, and Isaac the father of Jacob, and Jacob the father of Judah and his brothers,

- (a) What are the differences between these two translations?
- (b) What is the function of the genealogy in Matthew?

- (c) What are the consequences of the absence of a genealogy from Mark's Gospel?
- (d) Why does Matthew include women in the genealogy? Who are they?
- 3. Read Matthew's account of who Jesus was and whence he came in Matthew 1-2. Notice the repeated use of the formula, 'this took place so as to fulfill the words of the prophet X' followed by a particular citation.
- (a) Which parts of Scripture is Matthew using?
- (b) What is Matthew's attitude to these Scriptures?
- 4. Compare the following texts from Luke and Josephus' *Against Apion*: Luke 1.1–4: Since many have undertaken to set down an orderly account of the events that have been fulfilled among us, just as they were handed on to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word, I too decided, after investigating everything carefully from the very first, to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, so that you may know the truth concerning the things about which you have been instructed.

Against Apion 1: Through my treatise on Ancient History, most eminent Epaphroditus, I consider that, to those who will read it, I have made it sufficiently clear concerning our people, the Judaeans, that it is extremely ancient and had its own original composition, and how it inhabited the land that we now possess; for I composed in the Greek language a history covering 5,000 years, on the basis of our sacred books.

However, since I see that a considerable number of people pay attention to the slanders spread by some out of malice, and disbelieve what I have written on ancient history, but adduce as proof that our people is of more recent origin that it was not thought worthy of any mention by the most renowned Greek historians, I thought it necessary to write briefly on all these matters, to convict

those who insult us as guilty of malice and deliberate falsehood, to correct the ignorance of others, and to instruct all who wish to know the truth on the subject of our antiquity.

- (a) What do Luke's and Josephus' openings have in common?
- (b) What is the style and purpose of Luke's preface? (It is also helpful to read Acts 1 as the introduction to the second part of a two-volume work.)
- (c) What is the author's relationship to eyewitness reports?
- (d) If Theophilus is a Gentile and an interested patron for whom Luke writes, in what ways might the narrative of Luke–Acts demonstrate his interests and concerns?

2. Accounts of Jesus' baptism

The accounts of Jesus' baptism differ among the Gospels. Only Mark and Matthew agree that John baptized Jesus. In Luke, John is not identified as the agent of baptism (he is removed from the scene) and in John's Gospel, the baptism is not recorded. It is possible to see the different emphases of the Gospel writers in their various accounts of Jesus' baptism.

Mark 1:9-11	Matthew 3:13-17	Luke 3.19	John 1.32-34
		But Herod the	And John testified,
		ruler, who had	'I saw the Spirit
		been rebuked by	descending from
		him because of	heaven like a
		Herodias, his	dove, and it
		brother's wife,	remained on him.
		and because of all	I myself did not
		the evil things that	know him, but the

		Herod had done,	one who sent me
		added to them all	to baptize with
		by shutting up	water said to me,
		John in prison.	"He on whom you
			see the Spirit
			descend and
			remain is the one
			who baptizes with
			the Holy Spirit."
			And I myself have
			seen and have
			testified that this
			is the Son of God.'
In those days	Then Jesus came	Luke 3:21-22	
Jesus came from	from Galilee to		
Nazareth of	John at the Jordan,		
Galilee and was	to be baptized by		
baptized by John	him.		
in the Jordan.	John would have		
	prevented him,		
	saying, 'I need to		
	be baptized by		
	you, and do you		
	come to me?' But		
	Jesus answered		
	him, 'Let it be so		
	now; for it is		
	proper for us in		

	this way to fulfil		
	all righteousness.'		
	Then he		
	consented.		
	And when Jesus	Now when all the	
And just as he was	had been	people were	
coming up out of	baptized, just as	baptized, and	
the water, he saw	he came up from	when Jesus also	
the heavens torn	the water,	had been baptized	
apart and the	suddenly the	and was praying,	
Spirit descending	heavens were	the heaven was	
like a dove on	opened to him	opened, and the	
him.	and he saw the	Holy Spirit	
And a voice came	Spirit of God	descended upon	
from heaven, 'You	descending like a	him in bodily	
are my Son, the	dove and	form like a dove.	
Beloved; with you	alighting on him.	And a voice came	
I am well pleased.'	And a voice from	from heaven, 'You	
	heaven said, 'This	are my Son, the	
	is my Son, the	Beloved; with you	
	Beloved, with	I am well pleased.'	
	whom I am well		
	pleased.'		

Questions

1. Read Mark 1. What is the purpose of the baptism in Mark's Gospel? Why was Jesus baptized?

- 2. Why does Matthew's account of Jesus' baptism include a dialog between Jesus and John the Baptist? What does it say about the relationship between John and Jesus?
- 3. If John's Gospel has no account of Jesus' baptism, why does the Gospel include John the Baptist (John 1.6–35; 3.27–30; 5.33–36)?
- 3. Radical discipleship and household division

Following Jesus into a community of disciples who preach of God's dynamic realm nevertheless brings about household conflict. In Luke 12.51–53 Jesus says: "Do you think that I have come to bring peace to the earth? No, I tell you, but rather division! From now on five in one household will be divided, three against two and two against three; they will be divided: father against son and son against father, mother against daughter and daughter against mother, mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law and daughter-in-law against mother-in-law." Matthew adds to this Q saying, 'and one's foes will be members of one's own household' (Matthew 10.34–36).

Questions

- 1 How many people live in this household? (The passage assumes the presence of slaves.)
- 2 Where does division occur?
- 3 Which generation follows Jesus out of the household? Who is left in a household once family members have left to follow Jesus?
- 4 What does this say about Jesus' pragmatic choice of followers?
 (Read Luke 5.1–11 where Jesus calls Simon with James and John, partners in a fishing guild and brothers.)

Bibliographical Background

Study of the genre of the Gospels, as compared to Graeco-Roman literature, has been a thriving topic, bringing varying estimates of the historical element in the Gospels; see Charles H. Talbert, *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977); Adela Yarbro Collins, *Is Mark's Gospel a Life of Jesus? The Question of Genre* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1990); Lawrence M. Wills, *The Quest of the Historical Gospel: Mark, John and the Origins of the Gospel Genre* (London: Routledge, 1997); Michael E. Vines, The Problem of Markan Genre: The Gospel of Mark and the Jewish Novel (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

As that work has proceeded, scholars have also pursued the question of how Jesus' followers shaped traditions they had received into sources, which in turn influenced the Gospels in terms of shape as well as content. Among them, prominent contributions include Wilfred L. Knox, The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953); Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis 22 (tr. Eric J. Sharpe; Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961); Thorleif Boman, Die Jesus-Überlieferung im Lichte der neueren Volkskunde (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967); Étienne Trocmé, Jesus as Seen by His Contemporaries (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1973); Bo Reicke, The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986); Maurice Casey, Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and An Aramaic Approach to Q: Sources for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); James D. G. Dunn, Jesus Remembered: Christianity in the Making (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); Richard Bauckham, Jesus and the *Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006). As opposed to these approaches, a vigorous argument has been mounted that the Gospels are best explained in strictly literary terms by one author using the work of another. See William R. Farmer, The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis (New

York: Macmillan, 1964); David L. Dungan, A History of the Synoptic Problem: The Canon, the Text, the Composition, and the Interpretation of the Gospels (New York: Doubleday, 1999). In developing our approach, we have been guided by the classic work of Burnett Hillman Streeter, The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates (London: Macmillan, 1930).

Chapter 4: Catholic and Apocalyptic Writings

The New Testament is available today as a collection of writings that the Church consults as the word of God. Many readers think of the New Testament when they read the statement attributed to Paul (2 Timothy 3.16), 'All Scripture is Godinspired and useful for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness.' But at the time of the Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Timothy and Titus) a generation after Paul's death, the 'Scripture' concerned was the Bible of Israel, available to most Christian congregations in the Greek translation known as the Septuagint.

The second-century teacher Justin Martyr referred to the Gospels today included in the New Testament as 'memoirs of the apostles' (*Apology* 66.3). By his time, a powerful new concept had become current among the followers of Jesus: they believed that God directly addressed the Church at large, not only individual congregations, by means of what the apostles said in their writings, and that the apostolic message concerned the ultimate fate of all humanity and the end of the world as we know it.

This conviction insisted that the words of the apostles were universal, or 'catholic' (*katholikos*) in the language of the time, and that they included apocalyptic truth. The word 'apocalyptic' comes from the Greek word *apokalupsis*, which means 'uncovering', 'disclosure' or 'revelation'. Scholars speak of 'apocalyptic' in reference to a type of literature produced by religious

communities that deny the reality of this world and look forward to its supersession by a future, divinely ordered world.

As a literary style, apocalyptic claims to be a revelation by God of his purpose for his chosen people and for the future of the creation. It uses visions, oracles, symbols, and cryptic language to convey its message, since the import of such writing is intended only for the inner group, the guardians of the worldview of the community involved. The community of God's people is typically called upon to accept suffering and even martyrdom during the present period of cosmic struggle, but they are given assurance that they will be vindicated and will enjoy new life in the age to come.

The eschatological expectations of Christianity varied, but a commitment to eschatology, and to the conviction that the apostolic message addressed the Church as whole, not merely particular localities, remain facts that need explanation.

The dating of the individual documents that voice this consensus is still open to discussion, and several of them found their way among the books accepted in the New Testament only late and with difficulty. Seven of them (the Letter of James, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John and Jude) are known as the Catholic Epistles, since they address Christians beyond particular communities. After they have been considered, we will complete our discussion of books of the New Testament by turning to other works produced after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. (Mark 13; Matthew 24–25; Luke 21; 2 Thessalonians; Acts; and the Revelation to John) that show how a catholic consensus emerged out of apocalyptic convictions.

Reflections

I Today the term "Catholic" conveys several definitions, and evokes many different emotions. What does it imply to call James, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, 1

John, 2 John, 3 John, and Jude "Catholic Epistles"? Is this the best description of them? Do they have traits in common aside from their address of Christians beyond particular communities?

II Apocalyptic expectations are often expressed in the New Testament. The Revelation of John conveys this perspective most consistently, but it also appears substantially in the "Little Apocalypse" of the Synoptic Gospels (Mark 13; Matthew 24-25; Luke 21), 2 Thessalonians, and Acts, as well as elsewhere in the New Testament. Why are *differing* expectations reflected in these writings? What relationship do they have to Jesus' anticipation of the future?

III Treatments of the books of the New Testament described in this chapter often refer to their great variety. Although that view is not challenged in the Fortress Introduction, the underlying confidence in the future on the part of both "catholic" and "apocalyptic" works is also maintained. This raises the more general question: is the New Testament a coherent body of work, or an accidental gathering of documents that happened to be influential in certain communities?

Exercises

1. Apocalypticism

The texts of 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch and the Revelation are often described as 'apocalyptic' in their outlook. Read the text box about '4 Ezra and 2 Baruch' on p. 143, and then answer the following questions.

Questions

1. What are the responses of 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra and the Revelation to the destruction of the Temple? (See e.g. Revelation 11.1–2; 4 Ezra 9–10; 2 Baruch 85.)

- 2. What are the characteristics of an apocalyptic worldview? (See Collins under Further Reading.)
- 3. Are Jesus and Paul apocalyptic figures? (See, for example, Mark 9.1; Mark 13; 1 Corinthians 7.29–31.)

2. 2 Peter on Paul's letters

The author of 2 Peter cites Paul in support of the letter's argument about the coming judgment:

So also our beloved brother Paul wrote to you according to the wisdom given him, speaking of this as he does in all his letters. There are some things in them hard to understand, which the ignorant and unstable twist to their own destruction, as they do the other scriptures. (2 Peter 3.15–16)

This allows us to conclude that 1 Peter post-dates Paul's letter-writing activity. The passage connects Paul's letters with 'other scriptures', implying inspiration but not necessarily canonical status.

Questions

- 1. What view of Paul and Paul's letters can be inferred from this passage?
- 2. How do you read the description 'all his letters'?
- 3. Who is appealing to Paul as an authority figure?

4. Acts

Acts is the only book in the New Testament that sets out to record the events immediately after the death and resurrection of Jesus. It is in the book of Acts that we learn Jesus' disciples were called 'Christians' for the first time at Antioch (Acts 11.26) as well as learning about important events such as Pentecost, the conversion of Paul and the mission to the Gentiles. Read the text box 'What type of book is Acts?' on p. 145 and what it says about the opening of Luke in the text box 'Gospel beginnings' on p. 105, then answer the following questions.

Questions

- 1 To what genre do you think Acts belongs?
- (a) Is it history? (See Acts 1.1–8.)
- (b) Do you think it has apocalyptic features? (See the text box on p. 154 for examples of other apocalyptic texts, and see

Acts 2.)

- 2 Speeches are an important feature of Acts; can you identify them?
- (a) What are the particular emphases of these speeches?
- (b) What are their common elements?
- (c) What meaning can be attributed to the speeches as a whole?
- (d) To whom were the speeches directed?
- 3 Acts provides another source of information about the apostle Paul in addition to his letters.
- (a) Compare the account of Paul's conversion in Acts (9.1–21) with what Paul says about his own conversion (Galatians 1.11–12).
- (b) Compare what Acts says about Paul's preaching (Acts 14, 17) with what Paul says about his preaching (e.g. 1 Thessalonians 1.9; 1 Corinthians 2.1–5).
- (c) What impression of Paul's character does Acts give? How does this compare with the impression of Paul we receive from his letters?
- (d) How do you account for the differences?

Bibliographical Background

Albert Schweitzer is rightly credited with making the issue of apocalyptic central to the study of the New Testament; see *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* (tr. W. Montgomery; London: A. & C. Black, 1911). Even at the time of Schweitzer, however, Johannes Weiss argued that apocalyptic disclosure was less a matter of calendrical forecast than of

comprehensive revelation; see *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God* (tr. Richard Hyde Hiers and David Larrimore Holland; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971). Progressively, the position of Weiss gained traction during the twentieth century, although an attempt – principally among British scholars – to reject eschatology and apocalyptic as central to the study of the New Testament did not carry the day.

Among central or useful publications, see Paul S. Minear, New Testament Apocalyptic, Interpreting Biblical Texts (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981); Paul D. Hanson (ed.), Visionaries and their Apocalypses, Issues in Religion and Theology 4 (London: SPCK and Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); Bruce Chilton (ed.), The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus, Issues in Religion and Theology 5 (London: SPCK and Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); Ithamar Gruenwald, From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism: Studies in Apocalypticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism, Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 14 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1988); James C. VanderKam and William Adler (eds), The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity, Compendia rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum. Section 3, Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature 4 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996); Duane F. Watson (ed.), The Intertexture of Apocalyptic Discourse in the New Testament, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 14 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002); Scott M. Lewis, What are They Saying about New Testament Apocalyptic? (New York: Paulist Press, 2004); Edward Adams, The Stars Will Fall from Heaven: Cosmic Catastrophe in the New Testament and its World, Library of New Testament Studies 347 (London: T. &T. Clark, 2007); William C. Nicholas, Jr, I Saw the World End: An Introduction to the Bible's Apocalyptic *Literature* (New York: Paulist Press, 2007); Jonathan T. Pennington and Sean M. McDonough (eds), Cosmology and New Testament Theology, Library of New Testament Studies 355 (London: T. &T. Clark, 2008); Albert L. Hogeterp, Expectations of the End: A Comparative Traditio-historical Study of Eschatological,

Apocalyptic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2009). Awareness that apocalyptic opened up a range of questions about the fate of the world as well as personal experiences that were taken up by many of the last writers of the New Testament has led to analyses that deal with the issues across several documents. Among them feature A. J. Mattill, Luke and the Last Things: A Perspective for the Understanding of Lukan Thought (Dillsboro: Western North Carolina Press, 1979); Raymond E. Brown, The Epistles of John, The Anchor Bible 30 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1982); John T. Carroll, Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke–Acts, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 92 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988); Andrew Chester and Ralph P. Martin, *The Theology of the Letters of James, Peter, and Jude:* New Testament Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); John M. Court, The Book of Revelation and the Johannine Apocalyptic Tradition, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 190 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); David R. Nienhuis, Not by Paul Alone: The Formation of the Catholic Epistle Collection and the Christian Canon (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007).