

# ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

## INTRODUCTION

Among standard scholarly introductions to the NT, that of T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909 [1905]) is still unmatched for the depth and vigor of its textual analysis. The most useful one-volume compendium is W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. H. C. Kee (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975). Although uneven in quality, H. Koester's *Introduction to the New Testament*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), contains much useful information, particularly in its first volume, *History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995). Also quite helpful is the survey of modern NT research in E. J. Epp and G. W. MacRae, eds., *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989). Among textbook introductions, R. E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), and B. D. Ehrman, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), are worth consulting. For treatments of the development of the NT, see Hans von Campenhausen, *The Formation of the Christian Bible*, trans. J. A. Baker (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972); A. von Harnack, *The Origin of the New Testament*, trans. J. R. Wilkinson (New York:

Macmillan, 1925); and C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1982).

The basic pattern of conspiracy explanations of early Christianity has remained rather constant. One can compare H. S. Reimarus, *The Goal of Jesus and His Disciples*, trans. G. W. Buchanan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970 [written before 1768]) and H. Schonfield, *The Passover Plot* (New York: Bantam Books, 1966). The options are laid out with customary verve by D. Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, ed. R. Hodgson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973 [1835]), 735–44. Strauss himself developed a mythological approach to the NT that is very close to the one I use, but with significant differences. Strauss was hampered by rigid presuppositions and relatively undeveloped critical tools, but his insight was nevertheless acute.

For examples of psychological reductionism, see E. Fromm, *The Dogma of Christ* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1955), and R. L. Rubenstein, *Paul My Brother* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972). For a reading of earliest Christian history from the perspective of a Marxist reduction, see K. Kautsky, *Foundations of Christianity*, trans. H. F. Mins (New York: S. A. Russell, 1953).

On the development and history of the historical-critical model, see W. Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, vol. 1, *From Deism to Tübingen*

(Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992); R. A. Harrisville and W. Sundberg, *The Bible in Modern Culture: Theology and Historical-Critical Method from Spinoza to Käsemann* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995); W. G. Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems*, trans. S. MacL. Gilmour and H. C. Kee (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972); S. Neill and N. T. Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861–1986* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); and J. K. Riches, *A Century of New Testament Study* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity, 1993). Criticism of the method by scholars taking it very seriously is exemplified by J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976), and N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 3–120.

The classic expressions of the History of Religions School approach to the NT are W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, trans. J. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970), and R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., trans. K. Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951–55). On this approach, see L. W. Hurtado, “New Testament Christology: A Critique of Bousset's Influence,” *TS* 40 (1979): 306–17.

The movement to treat the history of earliest Christianity without regard to considerations of canon was given great impetus by W. Bauer's *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, ed. R. A. Kraft and G. Krodel, trans. P. J. Achtemeier et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), and given programmatic expression by J. M. Robinson and H. Koester in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971). See also B. L. Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament? The Making of the Christian Myth* (San Francisco: HarperCollins,

1995). For a challenge to this view, see H. J. Hultgren, *The Rise of Normative Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).

The so-called sociological approach to early Christianity is not entirely novel (cf. S. J. Case, *The Social Origins of Christianity* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923]), but it has come into its own. For a popular treatment, see H. C. Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980), and for a review of the options, H. E. Remus, “Sociology of Knowledge and the Study of Early Christianity,” *Studies in Religion* 11 (1982): 45–56. To date, the theoretically oriented approaches of J. G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975); R. A. Horsley, *Sociology and the Jesus Movement*, 2nd ed. (New York: Continuum, 1994); and G. Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity*, trans. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977) have received more attention than the carefully crafted studies of E. A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century* (London: Tyndale, 1960); A. J. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); W. A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); and G. Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth*, trans. and ed. J. Schütz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981). For a summary of the issues involved, see B. Holmberg, *Sociology and the New Testament: An Appraisal* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

As for the now burgeoning literary approach to the NT, see appendix 1 for further bibliography.

For examples of Jewish response to the Holocaust and reinterpretation of the traditional Jewish symbols, see the very different approaches by R. L.

Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz: Radical Theology and Contemporary Judaism* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966), and E. L. Fackenheim, *The Jewish Bible after the Holocaust: A Re-reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

## CHAPTER I

Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Greek and Latin authors are found in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann). The sections of Apuleius in this chapter come from *The Golden Ass*, trans. R. Graves (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1951), 187, 190, 262, 264–66. The quotation of A. D. Nock is from *Conversion* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 218.

For introductory surveys of the symbolic world of the NT, see R. Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary Setting*, trans. R. Fuller (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1956); E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993); H. Koester, *History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed. (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995); B. Reicke, *The New Testament Era*, trans. D. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980 [1956]); U. Schelle, *The History and Theology of New Testament Writings*, trans. M. E. Boring (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998); and N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992). One should also consult the invaluable eight volume series edited by W. A. Meeks, *Library of Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986–87), which explores the Greco-Roman and Jewish backgrounds of the NT. Engaging introductions to the symbols of the NT world are provided by B. J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights*

*from Cultural Anthropology*, rev. ed. (Atlanta: John Knox, 1993); and R. Rohrbaugh, ed., *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1996). Selections of primary texts pertinent to the NT can be found in C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background: Writings from Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire That Illuminate Christian Origins*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), and E. M. Boring et al., eds., *Hellenistic Commentary to the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995). Standard treatments of Hellenistic history and culture include M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1959); W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 3rd rev. ed., with G. T. Griffith (New York: World, 1952); and P. Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). For the Roman period more specifically, see P. Petit, *Pax Romana*, trans. J. Willis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); and K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). An indispensable reference work for the history and culture of the ancient world is S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Classic studies of the Roman context are J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, ed. H. T. Rowell, trans. E. O. Lorimer (New York: Penguin Books, 1985 [1940]), and S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (New York: World Pub. Co., 1956 [1904]). For more recent treatments, see M. Goodman (with J. Sherwood), *The Roman World: 44 BC–AD 180* (New York: Routledge, 1997); P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); R. MacMullen, *Roman*

*Social Relations: 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); and P. Veyne, ed., *A History of Private Life*, vol. 1, *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987). A good sense of the imperial atmosphere is given by R. Macmullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire* (New York: Routledge, 1992 [1966]). Connections to Christianity are drawn in S. Benko and J. J. O'Rourke, eds., *The Catacombs and the Coliseum: The Roman Empire as the Setting of Primitive Christianity* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1971). A selection of primary texts is found in N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, *Roman Civilization: Selected Readings*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

Aspects of Hellenistic and Roman religion are considered by G. Anderson, *Sage, Saint and Sophist: Holy Men and Their Associates in the Early Roman Empire* (New York: Routledge, 1994); W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985); D. Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)—by far the best book ever done on Roman religion; R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); L. H. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion in the Ancient World*, 2 vols., ed. Z. Stewart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); R. M. Ogilvie, *The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1969); R. Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire*, trans. A. Nevill (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996); and A. Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft Among the Romans* (London: Granada, 1982). Pertinent primary texts are selected in F. C. Grant's two collections: *Ancient*

*Roman Religion* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957) and *Hellenistic Religion: The Age of Syncretism* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953). Also see M. Beard, et al., *Religions of Rome*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

On specific facets of ancient religion, see the following: for the mysteries, W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), the source collection by M. W. Meyer, ed., *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), the classic by R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery Religions: Their Basic Ideas and Significance*, trans. J. E. Steely (Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1978), and D. Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology & Salvation in the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); for magic, the collection of texts and introductions by G. Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), and C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera: Ancient Christian Magic & Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); for the pervasive traditions concerning miracles, W. Cotter, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (New York: Routledge, 1998), H. C. Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World: A Study in Sociohistorical Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), and H. E. Remus, "Miracle (NT)," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 4: 859–69; for conversion, A. D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998 [1933]), N. Shumate, *Crisis and Conversion in Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), and T. M. Finn, *From Death to Rebirth: Ritual and Conversion in Antiquity* (New York: Paulist, 1997); for prayer, M. Kiley et al., eds., *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine* (New

York: Routledge, 1997), and S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); for prophecy, D. E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), and H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, ed. B. C. McGing (New York: Routledge, 1988); for the imperial cult, S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); for the darker side of Hellenistic religiosity, E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966 [1951]), and H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Beacon, 1963); and for the often neglected facet of women's religious experience, the source collection by S. Kraemer, *Maenads, Martyrs, Matrons, Monastics: A Sourcebook on Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), and her important synthesis of the material, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions Among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

For a comprehensive survey of ancient philosophy see G. Reale, *A History of Ancient Philosophy*, 4 vols., trans. J. R. Catan (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985–90). The emphases of philosophy in the Hellenistic period are treated in J. Annas, *The Morality of Happiness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); P. Bilde et al., eds., *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1997); R. B. Branham and M. O. Goulet-Cazé, eds., *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); A. A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); the

source collection, translation, and commentary of A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, eds., *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); the source collection by A. J. Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation, A Greco-Roman Sourcebook* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986); M. C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); and R. W. Sharples, *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics: An Introduction to Hellenistic Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1996). On the importance of imitating models in Hellenistic culture, see W. Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, 3 vols., trans. G. Highet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939–45); H. I. Marrou, *The History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956); and G. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

## CHAPTER 2

In this chapter, I have written out the titles of Jewish primary sources whenever possible. For the Qumran writings this is too complex, so I have used the abbreviations found in the Society of Biblical Literature's *Member's Handbook*, 1994.

The translation of 4 Ezra is by G. H. Box in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: At the Clarendon, 1913), 579; that of the Mishnah is from *The Mishnah*, trans. H. Danby (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 10–11, except for *Pirke Aboth*, which comes from R. Travers Herford, *The Ethics of the Talmud: Sayings of the Fathers* (New York: Schocken, 1962), 19, 66, 77. The Rabbi Eliezer citation comes from *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan*, trans. J.

Goldin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), 82. *Tractate Kutim* is translated by Michael Higger, as found in S. W. Baron and J. L. Blau, eds., *Judaism: Postbiblical and Talmudic Period* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1954), 68–69. The translation of Babylonian Talmud, *Makkoth*, is by H. M. Lazarus in I. Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud* (London: Soncino Press, 1935), 30:169–73. The blessings are translated by D. Hedegard, *Seder Rav Amran Gaon*, pt. 1 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1951). The selections from the *Passover Haggadah* are translated by J. Sloan, *The Passover Haggadah*, rev. ed. (New York: Schocken, 1953), 49, 51. The selection from *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* is translated by M. McNamara in *Targum and Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 140. The *Habakkuk Peshet* from Qumran is translated by G. Vermes in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 2nd ed. (New York: Penguin, 1975), 242, 239.

Standard historical surveys of Judaism in Palestine are available in W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein, eds., *Cambridge History of Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), vol. 1, *Introduction: The Persian Period* (1984), and vol. 2, W. D. Davies, ed., *The Hellenistic Age* (1989); as well as in L. L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992). Of particular value is E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976). For a general survey of the region, see F. Miller, *The Roman Near East: 31 BC—AD 337* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); J. H. Hayes & S. R. Mandell, *The Jewish People in Classical Antiquity: From Alexander to Bar Kochba* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998). A condensed survey of the historical period is found in E. Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* (New York: Schocken, 1949). For a thorough treat-

ment of the history and the literature of the period, see E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus*, 4 vols., rev. ed., ed. G. Vermes et al. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–87), and the series CRINT (Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia/Minneapolis: Fortress Press): sect. 1, S. Safrai and M. Stern, eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century*, 2 vols. (1974–76); Sect. 2.1, M. J. Mulder, ed., *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (1988); Sect. 2.2, M. E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (1984); and Sect. 3.1, S. Safrai, ed., *Literature of the Sages* (1987). Also noteworthy is the survey of modern scholarship in R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg, eds., *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986). For a more general treatment of the literature of the period, see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2005). An important handbook on the relationship of this literature to the NT is C. A. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1992).

Several specific studies on Palestine are worth noting: D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism: Jewish and Christian Ethnicity in Ancient Palestine* (New York: Doubleday, 1992); D. M. Rhoads, *Israel in Revolution 6–74 C.E.* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976); Z. Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine* (New York: Routledge, 1994); S. Freyne, *Galilee: From Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E.: A Study of Second Temple Judaism* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980); R. A. Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee: The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity, 1996); L. I.

Levine, ed., *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992); P. Richardson and S. Westerholm, eds., *Law in Religious Communities in the Roman Period* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991); and T. Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1996 [1995]). For general cultural information, see J. J. Rousseau and R. Arav, *Jesus and His World: An Archaeological and Cultural Dictionary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995). Also, see appendix 1 for a bibliography on culture in the time of Jesus. On general aspects of Judaism of the period, see S. J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987).

Special attention is given to the relation of Judaism to Hellenism in M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2 vols., trans. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974); J. Goldstein, "Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism," in *JCS-D*, 2:64–87; and H. Fischel, ed., *Essays in Greco-Roman and Related Talmudic Literature* (New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1977). On the sects, see G. Stemberger, *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes*, trans. A. W. Mahnke (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995); L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of Their Faith*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Soc. of Am., 1966); J. Neusner, *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973); A. J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological Approach* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1988); R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1975); R. A. Horsley (with J. S. Hanson), *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Religious Movements at the Time of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985); and M. Hengel, *The Zealots*,

trans. D. Smith (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989). An important work that surveys the practice and beliefs of all the sects, including the am-ha-aretz, is E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice & Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity, 1992).

On apocalyptic, see J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984; 2d ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998]); A. Yarbro Collins, ed., *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting*, *Semeia* 36 (1986); B. McGinn, et al., *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 1, *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Continuum, 1998); C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK Press, 1982); D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964); and P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, trans. W. J. Short (JSPSS, 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996 [1990]). See also the detailed studies in D. Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983). On resurrection, see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS, 26; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972). For messianism, see J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992); J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995); and G. S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba* (JSPSS 27; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998). On the Book of Daniel, see J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM, 16; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1977).

On the Jewish wisdom tradition in both Palestine and the Diaspora (next chapter), see J. J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997).

On aspects of Jewish worship, see B. M. Bosker, *The Origins of the Seder: The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), and L. A. Hoffman, *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979). On the temple, see C. T. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 1996). On the synagogue, see S. Fine, ed., *Sacred Realm: The Emergence of the Synagogue in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); and idem, *This Holy Place: On the Sanctity of the Synagogue during the Greco-Roman Period* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998); J. Gutmann, ed., *The Synagogue: Studies in Origins, Archeology, and Architecture* (New York: Ktav, 1975); and L. I. Levine, ed., *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987). On the Targums, see D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, eds., *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context* (JSOTS 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994); E. G. Clarke, "The Bible and Translation: The Targums," in B. H. McLean, ed., *Origins and Method: Towards a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity* (JSNTSup 86; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 380–93; and A. D. York, "The Targum in the Synagogue and in the School," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods* 10 (1979): 74–86.

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(New York: Schocken, 1961); H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 2nd rev. ed., trans. M. Bockmuehl (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991); and E. E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs*, 2 vols., trans. I. Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975). For more recent scholarship, see J. Neusner, "The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism: Yavneh (Jamnia) from A.D. 70 to 100," *ANRW* II.19.2 (1979): 3–42. On the development of midrash, see G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973); G. Porten, "Midrash: Palestinian Jews and the Hebrew Bible in the Greco-Roman Period," *ANRW* II.19.2 (1979): 103–38; and A. G. Wright, *The Literary Genre Midrash* (New York: Alba House, 1967). On the literature, see J. Neusner, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1994). For the history, see G. Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age 70–640 C.E.*, trans. G. Levi (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989). On the role of women, see P. J. Haas, ed., *Recovering the Role of Women: Power and Authority in Rabbinic Jewish Society* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992), and J. R. Wegner, *Chattel or Person? The Status of Women in the Mishnah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

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*Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices*, trans. W. G. E. Watson (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); D. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (New York: Routledge, 1996); S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans, eds., *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (JSPSS 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997); L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994); E. Ulrich and J. Vanderkam, eds., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994); and J. C. Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994). On women, see E. M. Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in M. O. Wise et al., eds., *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site* (New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 115–31.

For a selection of primary texts, see C. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* (New York: Schocken, 1974), and G. W. E. Nickelsburg and M. E. Stone, *Early Judaism: Texts and Documents on Faith and Piety*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009). For full editions of primary texts, see the following: for the Jewish pseudepigraphic writings, J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985); for the targums, the series *The Aramaic Bible* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1987–); for the mishnah, J. Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); for the Babylonian Talmud, both I. Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud* (London: Soncino, 1935–52), and A. Steinsaltz, ed., *Talmud: The Steinsaltz Edition* (New York: Random House, 1989–); for the Palestinian Talmud, *Talmud of the Land of Israel: A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*, ed. J. Neusner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); and for the Qumran texts, both F. García Martínez,

*The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, 2nd ed., trans. W. G. E. Watson (Leiden: E. J. Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), and M. Wise et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996).

### CHAPTER 3

The translations from Greek sources in this chapter are from the Loeb Classical Library, except for the citation from Aristaeus, by H. T. Andrews, in R. H. Charles, ed., *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), 2:115.

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On the variety of literature produced by Jews in the Diaspora, see the survey of modern scholarship in R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg, eds., *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986); the relevant studies in M. E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2.2; Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984); and sections in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, III.1/III.2 (1986, 1987).

For a general treatment of all the literature, see J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York: Crossroad, 1983).

For discussion of the self-definition of Jews in the Diaspora, see the collection of essays in S. J. D. Cohen and E. S. Frerichs, eds., *Diasporas in Antiquity* (BJS 288; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993); as well as C. R. Holladay, "Jewish Responses to Hellenistic Culture," in P. Bilde et al., eds., *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1992), 139–63; and J. Z. Smith, "Fences and Neighbors: Some Contours of Early Judaism," reprinted in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 1–18, 135–39.

On various aspects of Jewish life and thought in the Diaspora, see the essays in J. A. Overman and R. S. MacLennan, *Diaspora Jews and Judaism* (SFSHJ 41; Atlanta: Scholars, 1992); as well as C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935); J. N. Lightstone, *The Commerce of the Sacred: Mediation of the Divine among Jews in the Greco-Roman Diaspora* (BJS 59; Chico, Calif.: Scholars, 1984); and L. M. White, *Building God's House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 60–101, 174–87. Although one should use it with a degree of caution, the magnum opus by E. R. Goodenough, *The Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953–68), should not be neglected (for a general synthesis, see particularly vol. 12, *Summary and Conclusions*, and the abridged version: E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, ed. J. Neusner [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988]). On Diaspora religious practice, see L. V. Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism: Essays on Jewish Cultural Identity*

*in the Roman World* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998); and E. P. Sanders, "Purity, Food and Offerings in the Greek-Speaking Diaspora," in *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity, 1990), 255–308, 359–68.

On the Septuagint (LXX), see S. Jellicoe, ed., *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations; Selected Essays* (New York: Ktav, 1974); and M. K. H. Peters, "Septuagint," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 5:1093–1104. On the debated issue of Jewish proselytizing of Gentiles, see M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); and S. McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991). On the general relationships between Jews and Gentiles in antiquity, see L. H. Feldman, *Jew & Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); J. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); P. Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes Toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); and J. N. Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World* (NovTSup 41; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975).

On Josephus, see P. Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works, and their Importance* (JSPSS 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1988); S. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979); L. H. Feldman, "Flavius Josephus Revisited: the Man, His Writings, and His Significance," *ANRW* II.21.2 (1984): 763–862; idem, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); S. Mason,

ed., *Understanding Josephus* (JSPSS 32; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998); and T. Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and Society* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984). Also useful are the two volumes of essays edited by L. H. Feldman and G. Hata (Detroit: Wayne State University Press): *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (1987) and *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (1989). Invaluable is the survey of modern scholarship on Josephus by L. H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship (1937–1980)* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984). For Josephus' portrayal of women, see C. A. Brown, *No Longer Be Silent: First Century Portraits of Jewish Women* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992).

For introductions to Philo, see E. J. Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1963); S. Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); idem, "Philo Judaeus: An Introduction to the Man, his Writings, and his Significance," *ANRW* II.21.1 (1984): 3–46; R. Williamson, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and H. A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947). Also on Philo, but involving as well an interpretation of much of Hellenistic Jewish literature, see E. J. Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935). On Philo's dual Greek and Jewish identities, see the two books by A. Mendelson: *Secular Education in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1982), and *Philo's Jewish Identity* (BJS 161; Atlanta: Scholars, 1988). On Philo's portrayal of women, see J. R. Wegner, "Philo's Portrayal of Women—Hebraic or Hellenic?" in A.-J. Levine, ed., "Women Like This": *New Perspectives on Jewish*

*Women in the Greco-Roman World* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), 41–66; and D. Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women* (BJS 209; Atlanta: Scholars, 1990). On the ancient city of Alexandria, an important center of Diaspora Judaism, see C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), and D. Sly, *Philo's Alexandria* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

On Jewish apologetic literature and figures such as Artapanus and Eupolemus, see B. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus "On the Jews": Legitimizing the Jewish Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); H. Conzelmann, *Gentiles, Jews, Christians: Polemics and Apologetics in the Greco-Roman Era*, trans. M. E. Boring (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992); R. Doran, "The Jewish Hellenistic Historians Before Josephus," *ANRW* II.20.1 (1987): 246–97; E. S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); idem, "Fact and Fiction: Jewish Legends in a Hellenistic Context," in P. Cartledge, ed., *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 72–88; G. E. Sterling, *Historiography & Self-definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts & Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup, 64; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); and B. Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1974). For the way in which the figure of Moses was interpreted in this tradition, see D. Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (SBLDS 1; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1972); C. R. Holladay, *Theios An r in Hellenistic Judaism* (SBLDS 40; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1977); and W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (NovTSup 14; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 100–75. Also see the important collection of essays on Josephus' apologetic work *Against*

*Apion*: L. H. Feldman and J. R. Levison, eds., *Josephus' Contra Apionem* (AGJU 34; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996).

For a selection of primary sources related to the life and thought of Jews in the Greco-Roman world, see L. H. Feldman and M. Reinhold, eds., *Jewish Life and Thought among Greeks and Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), and M. Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans: A Diasporan Sourcebook* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). For primary sources, see the following: for most of the Hellenistic Jewish literature, J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985); for both Josephus and Philo, the Loeb Classical Library editions; and for Greco-Roman texts on Jews and Judaism, M. Stern, ed. and trans., *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–1984). For the diverse witness from Jewish inscriptions and attestation of various Jewish communities and general practice in the Diaspora, see the following: B. J. Brooton, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues* (BJS 36; Atlanta: Scholars, 1982); J. W. van Henten and P. W. van der Horst, eds., *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (AGJU 21; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994); P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCE–700 CE)* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1991); L. Kant, “Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin,” *ANRWII.20.2* (1987): 671–713; H. J. Leon, *The Jews in Ancient Rome*, rev. ed., with C. Osiek (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995); and P. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For excellent introductions and commentary on the fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish authors and texts,

consult the series by C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (Atlanta: Scholars), vol. 1, *Historians* (1983); vol. 2, *Poets* (1989); vol. 3, *Aristobulus* (1995); vol. 4, *Orphica* (1996); and vol. 5, *Pseudo-Greek Poets* (1998).

## CHAPTER 4

Reviews of the evidence concerning Jesus and Christians from Jewish and pagan sources are found in F. F. Bruce, *Jesus and Christian Origins Outside the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974); C. A. Evans, “Jesus in Non-Christian Sources,” in B. Chilton and C. A. Evans, eds., *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (NTTS 19; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 443–78; and J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 56–111. For Jewish perceptions of Christianity, including discussion of their mutual interaction, see R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (New York: Ktav, 1903); J. Lauterbach, “Jesus in the Talmud,” in *Rabbinic Essays* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1951), 473–570; A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977); and M. Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (AD 135–425)*, trans. H. McKeating (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). For the Roman side, see S. Benko, *Pagan Rome and the Early Christians* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); M. Whittaker, *Jews & Christians: Graeco-Roman Views* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); and R. L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). For shorter treatments, see L. Schiffmann, “At The

Crossroads: Tannaitic Perspectives on the Jewish Christian Schism,” in *JCS-D* 2:115–56; R. Wilken, “The Christians as the Romans (and Greeks) Saw Them,” in *JCS-D* 1:100–125; and H. W. Basser, “Allusions to Christian and Gnostic Practices in the Talmudic Tradition,” *JSJ* 12 (1981): 87–105. On the religious claims and experiences reflected in the NT texts, see L. T. Johnson, *Religious Experience: A Missing Dimension of NTS* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998).

## CHAPTER 5

The citations on page 113 comes from E. Renan, *The Life of Jesus*, trans. J. H. Holmes (New York: Modern Library, 1927 [1863]), 357, and from A. Loisy, *The Birth of the Christian Religion and the Origins of Christianity*, trans. L. P. Jacks (New York: University, 1962 [1933, 1936]), 97–98.

The bald statement that Christianity came to birth with the resurrection experience represents a strong, but also disputed, reading of the evidence, particularly within contemporary scholarship devoted to Christian origins. When I speak of the “birth of Christianity,” I do not, of course, suggest that the scattered, fragmentary, and allusive experiences and convictions reported in these pages as yet constituted a uniform and distinctive “religion.” But I do claim that what eventually developed into that religion found both its point of origin and its self-definition precisely in these experiences and convictions.

Among some of the older, classic discussions of the resurrection faith, see D. Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, ed. P. Hodgson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973 [1835]), 735–44, for a full range of naturalistic explanations. In contrast, F. C.

Baur is terse and circumspect in *The Church History of the First Three Centuries*, ed. A. Menzies (London: Williams & Norgate, 1878 [1853]), 1:42: “The view we take of the resurrection is of minor importance for the History.” The discussion by J. Weiss in *Earliest Christianity*, ed. E. C. Grant (New York: Harper & Row, 1959 [1914]), 1:14–44, is full, critical, but ultimately psychologizing.

At least the older discussions took the issue seriously. Many recent histories of Christianity reduce treatment of the resurrection to a single line or less; see, e.g., W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 86; P. Johnson, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Atheneum, 1979), 32; H. Chadwick, *The Early Church* (New York: Penguin, 1967); and H. Conzelmann, *History of Primitive Christianity*, trans. J. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973), 38–42. In contrast, see the serious treatment by L. Goppelt, *Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times*, trans. R. A. Guelich (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1970), 8–24.

Some contemporary historical studies challenge the importance of the resurrection from several directions, all of which share a refusal to take religious experience seriously. The tradition of E. Renan lives on in contemporary explanations of the resurrections as a psychological “event” that takes place in the mind of Peter (at the popular level, see J. Spong, *Resurrection: Myth or Reality?* [San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994]; and at the scholarly level see both G. Luedemann, *The Resurrection of Jesus: History, Experience, Theology* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994], and W. Marxsen, *The Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth*, trans. M. Kohl [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970]). The tradition of Loisy lives on in studies that attribute belief in the resurrection to the resolution of cognitive dissonance. These place the dissonance in a different sequence than I

do here. Rather than thinking that the dissonance is caused by the disciples' hopes being shattered by the crucifixion, I locate it in the experience of the resurrection, which shatters their symbolic world. Similar to Loisy are the positions taken by H. Jackson, "The Resurrection Belief of the Earliest Church: A Response to the Failure of Prophecy?" *JR* 55 (1975): 415–25; and U. Wernick, "Frustrated Beliefs and Early Christianity," *Numen* 22 (1975): 96–130.

Pushing the matter even further, the resurrection of Jesus is considered a disease of language according to P. E. Devenish, "The So-Called Resurrection of Jesus and Explicit Christian Faith: Wittgenstein's Philosophy and Marxsen's Exegesis as Linguistic Therapy," *JAAR* 51 (1983): 171–90. In contrast, P. Lapide, *The Resurrection of Jesus: A Jewish Perspective* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Books, 1983), despite arguing that since the world continued without change Jesus could not be the Messiah, nevertheless affirms the centrality of the resurrection experience for the first Christians.

More recently, some scholars have insisted that diversity in various "Jesus movements" was even more profound than the NT suggests, to the extent that some post-death followers of Jesus knew nothing of the resurrection and based their lives only on his words and deeds (see B. L. Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament? The Making of the Christian Myth* [San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1995], and J. Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990]). Such radical disintegration of the Christian movement in its earliest stages simply creates a historical problem of a different order.

On the form and context of the resurrection accounts, see J. E. Alsop, *The Post-Resurrection Appearance Stories of the Gospel Tradition: A History-*

*of-Tradition Analysis* (London: SPCK, 1975), and C. H. Dodd, "The Appearance of the Risen Christ: An Essay in Form-Criticism of the Gospels," in D. Nineham, ed., *Studies in the Gospels* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 9–35. On issues of redaction by the evangelists, see the conservative but still helpful treatment by G. R. Osborne, *The Resurrection Narratives: A Redactional Study* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1984). On the NT traditions of the resurrection of Jesus, see H. von Campenhausen, "The Events of Easter and the Empty Tomb," in *Tradition and Life in the Church: Essays and Lectures in Church History*, trans. A. V. Littledale (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 42–89; C. F. Evans, *Resurrection and the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1970); R. Fuller, *The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971); P. Perkins, *Resurrection: New Testament Witness and Contemporary Reflection* (New York: Doubleday, 1984); idem, "The Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth," in B. Chilton and C. A. Evans, eds., *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (NTTS 19; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 423–42; and U. Wilckens, *Resurrection*, trans. A. M. Stewart (Atlanta: John Knox, 1978). A useful review of approaches is found in T. Lorenzen, *Resurrection and Discipleship: Interpretive Models, Biblical Reflections, Theological Consequences* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1995), 1–111.

For background to the remarks made in this chapter on religious experience, see R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, trans. J. W. Harvey (London: Oxford University Press, 1950); W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1961 [1902]); J. Wach, *The Comparative Study of Religions*, ed. J. Kitagawa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958); M. Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, trans. W. Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); G. Van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, 2

vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); G. Marcel, *Mystery of Being*, vol. 1, *Reflection and Mystery*, trans. G. S. Fraser (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1969); and idem, *Creative Fidelity*, trans. R. Rosthal (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1964).

## CHAPTER 6

This chapter's title is borrowed from the book by N. A. Dahl, *Jesus in the Memory of the Early Church* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Books, 1976) wherein one can find his seminal article on *anamn sis*. That essay, together with another significant piece, "The Crucified Messiah," is of fundamental importance for understanding the development of the gospel tradition (see the latter study and other of his essays in *Jesus the Christ: The Historical Origins of Christological Doctrine*, D. H. Juel, ed. [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991]).

For a sense of the Christian movement into the Greco-Roman world, see P. Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. J. Moffatt (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961 [1908]); E. G. Hinson, *The Evangelization of the Roman Empire: Identity and Adaptability* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1981); and R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100–400)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

Various aspects of the social dimension of the earliest Christian movement are found in R. Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in Their Historical Setting*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994); J. V. Hills, ed., *Common Life in the Early Church* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity, 1998);

E. A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century* (London: Tyndale Press, 1960); H. C. Kee, *Who Are the People of God? Early Christian Models of Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); G. Lohfink, *Jesus and Community: The Social Dimension of Christian Faith*, trans. J. P. Galvin (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984); A. J. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); C. Osiek and D. L. Balch, *Families in the New Testament World: Households and House Churches* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997); and L. E. Vaage & V. Wimbush, eds., *Asceticism and the New Testament* (New York: Routledge, 1999). One of the best attempts to place the development of traditions within the social contexts of worship and controversy is C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1982).

On the speeches of Acts and their relation to the gospel tradition, see C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964 [1935]). Less confident of the traditional nature of these speeches is M. Dibelius, "The Speeches of Acts and Ancient Historiography," in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. M. Ling (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: SCM, 1956), 138–85. On early Christian tradition, see J. D. G. Dunn, "Jesus Tradition in Paul," in B. Chilton and C. A. Evans, eds., *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (NTTS 19; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 155–78; J. I. H. MacDonald, *Kerygma and Didache: The Articulation and Structure of the Earliest Christian Message* (SNTSMS 37; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and G. N. Stanton, *Jesus of Nazareth in New Testament Preaching* (SNTSMS 27; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

On the Christian practice of preaching, see H. O.

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## CHAPTER 8

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## CHAPTER 9

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## CHAPTER 12

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### CHAPTER 13

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## CHAPTER 14

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## CHAPTER 15

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## CHAPTER 16

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and R. J. Karris (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971); P. T. O’Brien, *Colossians, Philemon* (WBC; Waco: Word, 1982); and C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962). On Philemon alone, see A. D. Callahan, *Embassy of Onesimus: The Letter of Paul to Philemon* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity, 1997).

## CHAPTER 17

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## CHAPTER 18

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## CHAPTER 23

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## CHAPTER 25

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## CHAPTER 26

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## EPILOGUE

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## APPENDIX I

For a comprehensive survey and introduction to new interpretive methods and their development, see A.

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## APPENDIX 2

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