

Illustrations xiii

Editor's Note xv

Preface xvii

Acknowledgments xx

Abbreviations xxi

Introduction 1

The Relationship to "New Testament Theology" 2

The Structure of the Present Work 6

Timeline 9

PART I ~ ROOTS AND STARTING POINTS

1. Second Temple Judaism 19

The Aftermath of the Exile 20

Jewish History in Hellenistic and Roman Times 21

The Maccabean Uprising / 21

Rome and Judea / 22

Galilee	/ 26
Toward Disaster	/ 27
Jewish Religion	28
Groups	/ 32
Diaspora Judaism	36
Jewish Writings from the Period	37
From Palestine	/ 37
From the Diaspora	/ 38
Uncertain Provenance	/ 39
Rabbinic Literature	/ 39

2. Greco-Roman Religion and Philosophy 41

Religion	41
Civic Cult and Private Worship	/ 41
Mystery Cults	/ 43
Other Religious Phenomena	/ 46
Cult of Rulers	/ 47
Philosophy	50
Plato and His Followers	/ 51
Stoics, Cynics, Others	/ 52
Was There a Gnostic Religion?	/ 53

3. Events, Persons, Sources 56

Jesus: Mission, Message, Fate	56
The Easter Experiences	57
The Beginnings of the Gentile Mission	59
Conflicts around the Gentile Mission	60
Jesus Remembered	/ 63
From the Jewish War to the Early Second Century	64
The More Liberal Wing	/ 64
The More Conservative Wing	/ 65
Further Developments	67
The Conservative Wing	/ 67
"Mystical" and Platonist Strands	/ 68
Radical Paulinism	/ 70
Popular Strands	/ 70

<i>Prophecies and Revelations</i>	/ 71
<i>Proto-Orthodox</i>	/ 71
<i>Christians with Gnostic Leanings</i>	/ 72
<i>The Marginalization of Gnostic Christians</i>	/ 75

PART II ~ BASIC PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

4. Last Things First: God, History, and Beyond 79

Israelite and Jewish Hopes	79
<i>The God Who Acts: From Exodus to Exile</i>	/ 79
<i>Apocalypticism</i>	/ 81
<i>Expectations at the Time of Jesus</i>	/ 83
Jesus and God's Kingdom	86
<i>Eschatological?</i>	/ 86
<i>On Earth or in Heaven?</i>	/ 89
Millenarian Expectation	93
Toward a Kingdom in Heaven	98
<i>Paul</i>	/ 98
<i>Developments after Paul</i>	/ 102
Spiritual Reinterpretations	105
Outcome and Impact	110

5. After Death: The Destiny of the Individual 114

Jewish and Greco-Roman Visions	114
<i>From the World of Shadows to Different Destinies</i>	/ 114
<i>Bodily Resurrection and Immortality of the Soul</i>	/ 118
Visions of Judgment in the Jesus Movement	120
<i>Annihilation</i>	/ 120
<i>Hell</i>	/ 121
Resurrection or Immortality?	124
<i>Resurrection of the Flesh?</i>	/ 124
<i>The Risen Jesus as a Model</i>	/ 125
<i>Paul and the Corinthians: Spiritual Resurrection?</i>	/ 126
<i>The Spiritual Trajectory after Paul</i>	/ 129
<i>A Basic Tension and Its Consequences</i>	/ 131

6. Sold under Sin? The Human Condition 134

- Israelite and Jewish Notions of Sin 134
 - Universal Sinfulness* / 135
 - The Origin of Sin* / 137
 - Sin as a Way of Life: "Sinners" as a Social Category* / 138
- Sin and the Human Condition in the Jesus Movement 139
 - Sin as Transgression* / 139
 - "Sinners" as a Social Category in the Jesus Tradition* / 140
 - Under Cosmic Powers* / 143
 - Sin as Enslaving Power in Paul* / 144
 - Blinded by Ignorance* / 150
- A Historical Epilogue 152

7. What Must I Do to Be Saved? Different Paths to Salvation 154

- Covenantal Nomism 154
- The Path of Repentance and Obedience 157
 - John and Jesus* / 157
 - Early Christianity* / 159
- Salvation through Jesus 166
 - Jesus' Death as Saving Event* / 167
 - New Life in Union with Christ* / 174
 - Faith and Works: A Pauline Contrast* / 176
 - Predestination—or Universal Salvation?* / 181
- Saving Knowledge 184
- Salvation outside the Church? 186
- Salvific Rites 187
- Prospects 191

8. True Man or True God? The Mediator of Salvation 192

- Deliverers and Mediators in Jewish Tradition 192
 - Royal Figures* / 192
 - Transcendent Figures* / 193

Jesus' Self-Understanding	196
What Difference Did Easter Make?	198
Jesus' Future Task	199
Jesus' Present Function	201
Jesus' Past Ministry	204
<i>Death</i>	/ 204
<i>Actions</i>	/ 205
<i>Teaching</i>	/ 208
Jesus' Birth	209
Jesus' Preexistence	213
<i>From Kenosis to Epiphany</i>	/ 217
<i>"Docetic" or "Real" Incarnation?</i>	/ 221
Epilogue	225

9. The Empowering Presence: Experiences and Doctrines of the Spirit 228

The Divine Spirit in Jewish and Greek Tradition	228
The Spirit and Extraordinary Phenomena	231
The Spirit and Everyday Christian Life	237
The Spirit Guides the Church	241
Conflicts around the Spirit	243
Personifying the Spirit	245

10. True Israel? From Jewish to Christian Identity 247

Jewish Identity	247
Jesus and Jewish Identity	252
Preserving Jewish Identity	253
Crossing Boundaries, Remolding Identity	256
<i>Paul's Practice</i>	/ 257
<i>Paul's Theory</i>	/ 259
Ambiguous Continuity	264
Toward Non-Jewish Identity	272
Jewish Identity Denied	276
A Short Epilogue	282

**11. Strangers in a Transitory World:
Christians and Pagans 283**

Idolatry 283

Worshiping Idols / 283

Idol Meat / 285

Conflict and Apology 288

Harassment and Persecution / 288

Political Apology / 295

Pagan Philosophy and Culture / 296

Some Effects 299

12. Toward Christian Orthodoxy 301

Authoritative Scripture 301

Authoritative Tradition 304

Authoritative Persons 306

Women as Leaders 311

Inner-Christian (In)tolerance 313

**Conclusion Common Ground and Diversity
in Early Christian Thought 315**

Notes 319

Bibliography 407

Index of Subjects 435

Index of Ancient Sources 449

Index of Modern Authors 475

Figures

1.1	Map of Palestine in the time of Jesus	18
1.2	Map of the Mediterranean environment of early Christianity	24
1.3	Roman army in Jerusalem	28
1.4	Synagogue ruins from Capernaum	29
1.5	Moses reading the Law	30
1.6	Scale model of Jerusalem and the Second Temple at the time of King Herod	31
1.7	Qumran	33
2.1.	Statue of Mother Goddess Artemis	43
2.2	Goddess Isis receives Io	44
2.3	Augustus sacrificing	49
2.4	Bronze coin of Ephesus showing emperor worship	50
2.5	Plato	51
3.1	Christ heals a blind man	57
3.2	Crucifixion	58
3.3	Busts of the Apostles Peter and Paul	62
3.4	Fragment from the Gospel of Thomas	69
3.5	Emperor Constantine	76
4.1	Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God	90
4.2	Apocalyptic scene	94
5.1	Vision of Ezekiel	117
5.2	Resurrected woman	132
6.1	Adam and Eve after the Fall	138

ILLUSTRATIONS

xiv	6.2	John the Baptist	139
	6.3	Augustine	152
	7.1	Donkey head graffito	166
	7.2	<i>Christ Descending into Hell</i> by Giovanni Canavesio and Giovanni Baleison	172
	7.3	Headstone with anchor cross and two fish	174
	7.4	Good shepherd	175
	7.5	Basket of bread and fish	190
	8.1	Christ and John the Baptist	207
	8.2	Madonna, prophet, and star fresco	211
	8.3	Moses and the rock	214
	8.4	Resurrection of Lazarus	218
	8.5	Christ Pantocrator	224
	9.1	Holy spirit with Christ and the apostles	232
	9.2	Pentecost	233
	9.3	Ancient Corinth	238
	10.1	Paul preaching to the Jews in Damascus	261
	10.2	Adoration of the Magi	266
	10.3	Caricature of Jews in the Winchester Psalter	271
	10.4	Jesus and the Samaritan woman	273
	11.1	Colosseum ruins	289
	11.2	Nero	290
	11.3	Ignatius and Polycarp	294
	12.1	Page from Codex Vaticanus	304
	12.2	Christ and the apostles	307
	12.3	Mary Magdalene	312
	12.4	Nicene Council	313