

Eddy Lanz

New Testament Survey

The Gospel of Life
Spread
in the First Century.

Rawalpindi
Eved Adonai - Is 53:11
2016

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Preface

In the fall semester of 2015 and the spring semester of 2016 I taught "New Testament Survey" at the Zarephath Bible Seminary (ZBS) in Rawalpindi. For me it was a great joy to go back to my files from the time when I taught the same subject at the Missionshaus Bibelschule Wiedenest in Germany from 1987 to 1998. Of course I had to update some things and look into others anew. This book is a growing blog book (www.lanz.li) with the date of the last version given. It is dedicated to my Pakistani students who inspired me to put things into writing for them to enjoy even if it is far from perfect.

The New Testament is a great treasure, it is the gospel of life, given by God's inspiration in the first century and ever spreading since then. It is a joy to study and to teach it.

Jesus Christ the central hero of the New Testament is outstanding. He is unique. According to the testimony of the probably eight apostles and prophets or chosen ones who wrote the New Testament Jesus is the Christ, the Son of Man, the Savior of Israel and the world, the high priest in heaven, the King of kings, the Lord of lords, not only a prophet, but the Word of God in person whose Spirit was in the prophets of the Old Testament, the eternal Son of God who was the beloved of the Father even before the foundation of the world, that is the second person of the Holy Trinity.

May this book encourage people to study the books of the New Testament, appreciate its contents and worship its hero.

Eddy Lanz,
Rawalpindi, Pakistan,
18.7.2016

Chapter 1

The Gospel According to Matthew

1.1 Introduction to Matthew

1.1.1 Questions

(a) Who wrote the gospel according to Matthew (b) when (c) where (d) to whom and (e) with what purpose?

1.1.2 Information taken from the gospel of Matthew

a. About the author: 9:9; 10:3; 28:16-20. These sections do not mention Matthew as the author. But if we accept the testimony of the early church that the apostle Matthew wrote the gospel according to his name, then we get here some precious information about his background when he was called, about his becoming an apostle and about his writing this gospel to fulfill the great commission of his Lord.

b. About the time: 24:15f; 21:41; 22:7; 17:24-27.

c. About the place: 28:15.

d. About the recipients: 28:15-20; 21:41; 16:18; 18:17.

It is often stated that Matthew wrote to recipients from a Jewish background and Mark in comparison to people from Gentile background. It might be helpful to compare the sections from Mark which are used to show that his recipients had a Gentile background with the relevant parallels in Matthew:

It seems that *Jewish customs* need not be explained in Mt 15:2ff and 26:17, but are explained in Mk 7:3ff and 14:12. But we should not put too much emphasis on this. The explicit explanations in Mark, can also be found in Matthew as implicit if one reads carefully. In comparison Luke gives an explanation in one case (Lk 22:7), but not in the other (Lk 11:38). In addition to that we should not overlook Mt 22:23 where a special belief of the Sadducees is explained in Matthew!

The *teaching about the law* is in Mark not as extensive as in Matthew but it is also there (e.g. Mk 7:8ff; 10:19f).

In Mark *Aramaic expressions* are translated, but in Matthew they can not be translated because they show not up at all: compare Mk 3:17 and Mt 10:2; Mk 5:41 and Mt 9:25; Mk 7:11 and Mt 15:5; Mk 7:34 and Mt -; Mk 14:36 and Mt 26:29. And in the two places where both Mark and Matthew have Aramaic expressions, they are also translated in Matthew: see Mk 15:22 and Mt 27:33; Mk 15:34 and Mt 27:46.

Mark has some *universalistic statements*, while Matthew sounds particularistic. But Matthew has along with his particularistic sounding statements also universalistic ones:

1. Particularistic (salvation is only for the Jews) sounding statements: 1:21; 5:47; 6:7.32; 10:5-6; 15:24.26 (cf. Mk 7:27); 18:17. Compare also 5:18f; 5:23f; 6:16ff; 17:24ff; 19:17ff; 23:2f; 23:23;

24:20.

2. Universalistic (salvation is for all nations) statements:

1:1 Son of Abraham (Gn 12:1-3; 22,18; Gal 3:16; cf. Mt 3:9).

2:1ff Herod wants to kill Jesus - the Gentile Magi worship him.

2:13ff Herod murders the children - the holy family is safe in Gentile Egypt.

3:9 "We have Abraham as our father" - "God is able from these stones to raise up children for Abraham."

4:12f John is arrested and his revival for Judea and all the region about the Jordan is over. - Jesus is a light shining in the "Galilee of the Gentiles" (4:15).

8:10-13 "With no one in Israel have I found such faith" - as with the Gentile centurion of Capernaum.

The sons of the kingdom thrown into darkness - many will come from east and west and recline at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven.

10:17-18 "Beware of men, for they will deliver you over to courts and flog you in their synagogues, and you will be dragged before governors and kings for my sake, to bear witness before them and the Gentiles." (Testimony for Jews and Gentiles)

12:18.21 The Pharisees want to destroy Jesus (14), the Gentiles will hope in Jesus (18+21).

12:38-45 the scribes and Pharisees (38-39; 43ff) - the sign of Jonah (39), the men of Nineveh (41), the queen of the South (42).

13:15 Israel hardened - 13:31-33 Mustard seed and leaven proclaim the spreading of the gospel all over the world.

13:57 "A prophet is not without honor except in his hometown and in his own household."

15:8 Israel's heart is far from God - 15:28 The Gentile woman has great faith.

16:1-12 The sign of Jonah for the evil and adulterous generation -

16:18 the church uniting Jews and Gentiles who believe in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God (cf. 21:43).

21:28-46 The chief priests and the elders (23) - "the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a people producing its fruits" (21:43; 22,1-14).

23:37-39 Israel temporarily set aside - there is a time for world mission 24:14

25:31-46 The righteous seem to come from all nations.

26:13 World evangelisation

27:54 The Gentile centurion and those with him are the first in Matthew to testify that Jesus is Son of God after his crucifixion.

27:62-28:4.11-15 The Jews receive the sign of Jonah through the Gentile guards at the tomb who were indirect witnesses of the resurrection of Jesus but they reject the sign and use money and corruption to spread their deception.

28:16-20 On a mountain in the Galilee of the Gentiles the risen Jesus Christ, the supreme ruler of heaven and earth, sends his eleven disciples to make all nations disciples and teach them all his teaching until the end of this world. e. About the purpose: 28:18-20.

1.1.3 Title (Inscription)

1. According to Matthew: ⲁ Sinaiticus (IV); Vaticanus (IV)¹;
2. Gospel according to Matthew: D (V); W (IV/V); f¹³; ℣;
3. Holy Gospel according to Matthew: f¹ ;
4. Beginning with God of the Gospel according to Matthew: 1241 (XII) and others;

1. E. Nestle and K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 2006), p. 1.

5. Out of according to Matthew: L (VIII) and others.

1.1.4 Traditions of the early church about Matthew

Important early witnesses for the gospels

1. Papias was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia. The most important fragments of his five volume work *Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις* "logion kyriakon exegeseis" (written around 120/160 A.D.) are found in Eusebius, h.c. III 39.1.²
2. Justin Martyr lived from around 110 to 165 A.D. He was from Greek family background, born in Flavia Neapolis in Israel and an eclectic philosopher. His conversion to Christianity happened probably around 135 in Ephesus. He was martyred in Rome. Among his writings his "Apology" and his "Dialogue with Trypho" are of special importance.³
3. Irenaeus of Lyons, born not long before 142 A.D. in Asia Minor, in his youth a disciple of Polycarp of Smyrna, later a presbyter in Lugdunum (Lyons) in Gaul, from 178 bishop of Lyons. His most important writing is "Against Heresies" (Latin title: *Adversus Haereses*) from 180/189 in five volumes, which is especially written against the Valentianians. Year of death not known.⁴

2. K. Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, edition no. 16 (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1981) §10a.

3. *ibid.* §12c.

4. *ibid.* §17c.

4. The Muratorian Canon according to this website⁵: "The Muratorian Fragment is the oldest known list of New Testament books. It was discovered by Ludovico Antonio Muratori in a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, and published by him in 1740. It is called a fragment because the beginning of it is missing. Although the manuscript in which it appears was copied during the seventh century, the list itself is dated to about 170 because its author refers to the episcopate of Pius I of Rome (died 157) as recent."
5. The "Anti-Marcionite" prologues to the gospels. "These introductions to the gospel according to Mark, Luke and John (the prologue to Matthew got lost) are found in 38 Latin Bible manuscripts. Originally the prologues were written in Greek, but now only the prologue to Luke is available in one Greek manuscript. The prologues must have been written after Papias and before Irenaeus, i.e. in the time between 160 and 180 A.D."⁶
6. Tertullian, "born about 150/55 in Carthage as son of a Gentile centurion, studied rhetorics and philosophy, became a lawyer and worked as such successfully in Rome. About 190 A.D. in Carthage he converted to the Catholic church, later he became a Montanist (breaking away from

5. The Muratorian Fragment, [accessed September 22, 2012], <http://www.bible-researcher.com/muratorian.html>. Here the text of the Canon is given according to Bruce Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 305-307.

6. A. Huck and H. Lietzmann, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, edition no. 10 (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1950), p. VII. Translation Lanz. The dating is contested.

the church before 207/8)." He died "after 222/223. He is the first great Latin theologian, the creator of Latin tract literature. He was a layman."⁷

7. Clement of Alexandria taught "about 200 at the Catechetical School of Alexandria. It is not clear where he came from. After having traveled in Greece, Italy and in the orient, he became first a student of Pantaenus and then his successor at the Catechetical School of Alexandria which he left during the persecution of 202/203; he died before 216."⁸ According to Heussi Clement was an ecclesiastical (not heretical) gnostic who did not reject the authoritative faith of the church, but acknowledged it as indispensable presupposition for the deeper knowledge (gnosis).⁹

8. Origen was born around 185-186 A.D. in Alexandria, Egypt. First he was a student and then since 203 teacher at the Catechetical School there. 231 he was excommunicated by bishop Demetrius of Alexandria. He then founded a Christian school in Caesarea in Israel. He was a very prolific writer. He made a difference between faith (pistis) on the one hand and knowledge or deeper insight (gnōsis) on the other hand. Deeper insight does not deny faith, but is far superior. Origen probably died 254 A.D. as a result of having been tortured in the Decian persecution.¹⁰

7. Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte* §17e.

8. *ibid.* §17h.

9. *ibid.* §17h.

10. *ibid.*, §17k.

9. Eusebius was born about 260-265 and died about 339-340. He became bishop of Caesarea in Israel. His Church History (Ἱστορία ἐκκλησιαστική, Historia ecclesiastike, often quoted as "h.e.") is of enormous historical value because many quotes from now lost old christian books can be found in it.¹¹
10. Jerome from Stridon in Dalmatia (about 345-420) stayed for some years in Rome while he had a good relationship with bishop Damasus of Rome. He propagated an ascetic life style, especially among aristocratic ladies in Rome. Before and after his time in Rome he lived as monk in the orient. His translation of the Bible into Latin, later called Vulgate, was of great importance.¹²

Quotes about Matthew

1. Papias: "So then Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language, and every one interpreted them as he was able."¹³
2. Irenaeus: "Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were

11. Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, §1b + 17m.

12. *ibid.*, §33c.

13. Philip Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1890), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.html>, p. 254 (hist. eccl. III,39,16). The Greek according to Eusebius, Kirchengeschichte Eusebius εκκλησιαστικης ιστοριας, Schwartz, E. <ed> (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1908), 442 pp, p. 122: Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο, ἡρμηνεύσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος

preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the Church."¹⁴
 "Matthew, again, relates His generation as a man, saying, 'The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham;' and also, 'The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise.' This, then, is the Gospel of His humanity; for which reason it is, too, that [the character of] a humble and meek man is kept up through the whole Gospel."¹⁵

3. Pantaenus. Eusebius writes about him: "Pantænus was one of these, and is said to have gone to India. It is reported that among persons there who knew of Christ, he found the Gospel according to Matthew, which had anticipated his own arrival. For Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had preached to them, and left with them the writing of Matthew in the Hebrew language, which they had preserved till that time."¹⁶
4. Clement. "Again, in the same books, Clement gives the tradition of the earliest presbyters, as to the order of the Gospels, in the following manner: The Gospels containing the genealogies, he says, were written first."¹⁷
5. Origen: "CONCERNING the four Gospels which alone are uncontroverted in the Church of God under heaven, I have learned by tradition that the Gospel according to Matthew,

14. Philip Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, Ante-Nicene Fathers (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1886), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.html>, p. 595 (Against Heresies III,I,1).

15. *ibid.*, p. 617 (Against Heresies III,XI,8).

16. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 346 (hist. eccl. V,10,3).

17. *ibid.*, p. 410 (hist. eccl. VI,14,5-6).

who was at one time a publican and afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, was written first; and that he composed it in the Hebrew tongue and published it for the converts from Judaism."¹⁸

6. Eusebius: "For Matthew, who had at first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other peoples, committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue, and thus compensated those whom he was obliged to leave for the loss of his presence."¹⁹
7. Jerome: "The first evangelist is Matthew, the publican, who was surnamed Levi. He published his Gospel in Judæa in the Hebrew language, chiefly for the sake of Jewish believers in Christ, who adhered in vain to the shadow of the law, although the substance of the Gospel had come."²⁰

18. Philip Schaff, ANF09. The Gospel of Peter, The Diatessaron of Tatian, The Apocalypse of Peter, the Vision of Paul, The Apocalypse of the Virgin and Sedrach, The Testament of Abraham, The Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena, The Narrative of Zosimus, The Apology of Aristides, The Epistles of Clement (complete text), Origen's Commentary on John, Books 1–10, and Commentary on Matthew, Books 1, 2, and 10–14. (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2004), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf09.html>, p. 537 (Comm. in Matthew I).

19. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 216 (hist. eccl. III,24,6).

20. Philip Schaff, NPNF2-06. Jerome: The Principal Works of St. Jerome (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1892), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.html>, p. 780 (Preface to Matthew).

Summary of these quotes

1. Author: Matthew (Papias, Irenaeus, Pantaenus, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome); second name "Levi" mentioned by Jerome.
2. Time: Matthew is first gospel (Origen). Matthew and Luke were first (Clement). Matthew wrote his gospel for his people when he was about to leave Israel to preach the gospel to other nations (Eusebius).
3. Place: Irenaeus and Eusebius seem to think of Israel as the home of the Jews as place of writing.
4. Recipients: Jewish Christians in Israel (Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome).
5. Purpose: Matthew wanted to leave Israel but wanted to leave something behind as a substitute for his oral teaching (Eusebius). To teach Jewish Christians not to follow the shadow of the law, but the truth of the gospel (Jerome).
6. Special characteristics: Matthew's gospel was first written in Aramaic or Hebrew (Papias, Irenaeus, Pantaenus, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome). Pantaenus found a Hebrew or Aramaic Matthew in India. Matthew presents especially the humanity of Christ (Irenaeus).

1.1.5 Characteristics of Matthew

Often Matthew is more concise than Luke or Mark, if he relates the same event.²¹ He puts a special emphasis on the fact that Jesus

21. D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, edition no. 3 (Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970), 1054 pp, p. 21-25.

is the Christ predicted in the Old Testament and therefore fulfills many OT prophecies. Matthew has very particularistic passages, but at the same time his climax is the universalistic proclamation of the gospel to all nations. Matthew speaks of the church (ἐκκλησία *ēkklēsia* 16:18; 18:17.17).

He gives much information of Jesus' teaching about eschatology (Mt 24-25; 13:36-43.47-50). He likes to present parables about the kingdom of heaven (seven in Mt 13; 18:23; 20:1; 22:2; 25:1). For further discussion of Jesus' teaching in parables see section 7.1.

In his structure Matthew likes to use the numbers three, five and seven. For example seven parables about the kingdom of heaven in Mt 13. Five sermons or talks of Jesus in Mt 5-7, 10, 13, 18 and 23-25. Three is used for example in 1:17 (three times 14); 4:1-11 (three temptations); 6:1-18 (three different kinds of acts of righteousness: giving, praying, fasting).

There are two important phases of Christ's teaching ministry. The first starts in 4:17, "From that time Jesus began to preach, saying, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.'" The second starts after the confession of Peter (Mt 16:21): "From that time Jesus began to show his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer many things from the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised."

1.1.6 Christology in Matthew

Christ

In Matthew Jesus is the Christ. It is part of the name of the book (Mt 1:1). It is the climax of salvation history (Mt 1:16.17. The birth of the Christ is a miraculous birth from a virgin. The name of the Christ, Jesus means that the Lord saves and is a fulfillment

of "Immanuel" (Is 7:14) "God with us". In Jesus Christ God has become man and is with us to save us from our sins (Mt 1:18-25).

Jesus Christ's being born in Bethlehem fulfilled Micah 5:2 (Mt 2:4-6). When John the Baptist heard in prison of the great miracles which Jesus Christ was performing, he sent his disciples to Jesus so that Jesus may confirm to them that he is the coming one (Mt 11:2).

Peter confesses that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God (Mt 16:16). A truth which is confirmed by Jesus, but which should not be publicly taught to others (Mt 16:20). Jesus used Ps 110:1 to show the Pharisees that the Christ is much greater than David who calls him "my Lord" (Mt 22:41-45).

No disciple should be called instructor, "for you have one instructor, the Christ" (Mt 23:10). There will be many falls Christs (Mt 24:5,23).

Asked by the high priest whether he is the Christ, Jesus confirmed it (Mt 26:63). After his confession to be the Christ Jesus is condemned to death and beaten and mocked for it (Mt 26:66-68). Pilate offered to release "Jesus who is called Christ" (Mt 27:17). When the Jews chose Barabbas, Pilate asked, "'Then what shall I do with Jesus who is called Christ?' They all said, 'Let him be crucified!'" (Mt 27:22).

King

The Magi come to acknowledge the new-born king of the Jews as their own Lord (Mt 2:2). Jerusalem is special because it is the city of the great King who is the Christ (5:35). Jesus fulfills Zechariah 9:9 to show that he is the promised humble king coming on a donkey (21:5). In his second coming Jesus is as king of all nations also divine judge of all nations (Mt 25:34,40) and sends the wicked into

eternal punishment and the righteous into eternal life.

Asked by Pilate whether he is the king of the Jews, Jesus affirmed the question (27:11). He is mocked and beaten as king of the Jews (27:29) and condemned as such (27:37). The last time in Matthew he is called king is in Mt 27:42, "He saved others; he cannot save himself. He is the King of Israel; let him come down now from the cross, and we will believe in him." What a testimony of his enemies: "He saved others!" That was their testimony about his life. His enemies do not know that he died at the cross even to save them (Mt 5:43-48), and therefore he could not abandon the cross and shorten his suffering. Even his death was salvation for his people (Mt 1:21).

Son of God

In Matthew Jesus is the Son of God. God the Father proclaimed him to be his beloved Son (Mt 3:17; 17:5). The devil tried to tempt Jesus with this (4:3.6). Demons knew of his being the Son of God (8:29). The disciples worshiped him as Son of God (14:33) and Peter confessed him as such (16:16). Concerning the day and hour of the coming of Christ "no one knows, not even the angels of heaven, nor the Son, but the Father only" (24:36).

Asked by the high priest, Jesus confirmed to be the Son of God (Mt 26:63-64). At the cross Jesus first was mocked because of his confession to be the Son of God (Mt 27:40.43), but finally "the centurion and those who were with him" confessed, "Truly this was the Son of God!" (Mt 27:54). There is one section in Matthew where Jesus speaks very much like in the gospel of John (Mt 11:25-27):

25 At that time Jesus declared, "I thank you, Father,
Lord of heaven and earth, that you have hidden these

things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to little children; 26 yes, Father, for such was your gracious will. 27 All things have been handed over to me by my Father, and no one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him."

Jesus as the Son has authority over all things (cf. Mt 28:18) and is the only way to know God the Father. This implies the deity of Jesus Christ and is an important section for Trinitarian thinking.

Son of Man

In Matthew Jesus very often uses the phrase "the Son of Man" in speaking of himself.

1. Simply as a way of speaking of himself (8:20; 12:32; 13:37; 16:13);
2. related to his being rejected, his suffering, death and resurrection for the salvation of the world (11:19; 12:40; 17:9.12; 17:22; 20:18; 20:28; 26:2.24.45);
3. related to his ascension into heaven and his sitting at the right hand of God the Father to rule in divine and royal authority (16:28; 26:64);
4. related to his second coming in visible divine glory (Mt 10:23; 16:27; 24:27.30; 24:37.39; 24:44; 25:31; 26:64);
5. related to his divine authority,
 - (a) to forgive sins on earth (Mt 9:6; 20:28);

- (b) being "something greater than the temple" and "lord of the Sabbath" (Mt 12:6.8);
- (c) to judge the world (Mt 13:41; 16:27; 19:28; 25:31).

Lord

To understand the way that Jesus is Lord, it is useful to have an overview of the use of "lord" or "Lord" (kyriōs) in Matthew.

1. Basically kyriōs means "lord, owner" and is also used in that basic meaning in Matthew (Mt 6:24; 10:24.25; 13:27; 15:27; 18:25; 18:25.27.31.32.34; 20:8; 21:30; 21:40; 25:11; 25:18-26; 27:63).
2. Kyriōs meaning the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jakob
 - (a) In many places in Mt kyriōs is the Greek translation of the Hebrew name of God in the OT as for example in quotations from the OT or in phrases which are taken from the OT (Mt 1:20.22.24; 2:13.15.19; 4:10; 5:33; 21:9; 21:42; 22:37; 22:44; 23:39; 27:10; 28:2).
 - (b) God as Lord in the New Testament context.
 - i. "the Lord of the harvest" (Mt 9:38);
 - ii. "Father, Lord of heaven and earth" (Mt 11:25)
3. Jesus is called "lord" or "Lord"
 - (a) As somebody who is superior to the person speaking, for example a disciple or somebody who comes with a request (8:2; 8:6.8; 8:21; 8:25; 9:28; 14:28.30; 15:22; 15:25.27; 16:22; 17:4; 17:15; 18:21; 20:30.31.33; Mt 26:22.

- (b) "The Lord needs them" (the donkey and the colt; 21:3).
- (c) As Lord with divine authority (Mt 12:8: lord of the Sabbath; 22:43.44.45).
- (d) As "Lord God". In some places it is clear that the name of God of the OT is meant, but at the same time it can also be understood to point to Jesus as the Lord God.
 - i. In Mt 3:3 Is 40:3 is quoted which speaks of God the Lord, but John also prepares the way for Jesus who is mightier than John and who is the Lord (3:11-12).
 - ii. The devil is tempting Jesus to tempt the Lord. Jesus' answer shows the devil also that the devil should not tempt Jesus the Lord (Mt 4:7).
- (e) On judgment day Jesus is Lord with judgment authority (Mt 7:21-23), 21 "Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' will enter the kingdom of heaven, but the one who does the will of my Father who is in heaven. 22 On that day many will say to me, 'Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and cast out demons in your name, and do many mighty works in your name?' 23 And then will I declare to them, 'I never knew you; depart from me, you workers of lawlessness.'" (Also 24:42; 24:45-51; 25:37.44.)

Summary: God and Man in one person

Looking at all titles of Jesus Christ and at their use and at what Jesus is doing in the sections under view, it is clear that Jesus is presented in Matthew as true God and true Man in one person.

1.1.7 Is there a literary relationship between the first three gospels?

Much of the content of Mt, Mk and Lk can be viewed and read together. Therefore they are called "synoptic gospels"²², while John often has his own way of relating his gospel. The wording of the synoptic gospels is often so closely parallel that many think there must be a literary dependency. There are two dominant suggestions for the solution of the synoptic problem: One proposing a priority of Mark (e.g. the Two-Source Hypothesis [Mark-Q model]) and the other a priority of Matthew (e.g. Griesbach hypothesis or Two-Gospel hypothesis; or the Augustinian hypothesis).

The Two-Source Hypothesis

According to this theory Mark was the first of our canonical gospels and the authors of Matthew and Luke both used it when they were writing their own gospel. In addition to that they used a source of words of Jesus called "Q" (for German "Quelle" = "source").

$Mt = Mk + Q$ $Lk = Mk + Q$.

By seeing the parts unique to Matthew (UMt) and the parts unique to Luke (ULk) as two further sources the Two-Source-Hypothesis has been enlarged to a Four-Source Hypothesis:

$Mt = Mk + Q + UMt$ $Lk = Mk + Q + ULk$.

The resulting chart for the composition of Matthew looks like this:²³

22. A view of all four gospels together with one column for each gospel is called "synopsis" (view together).

23. The hypothetical source "Q" is here given according to H. Conzelmann and A. Lindemann, *Arbeitsbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 2. Auflage (Tübingen, 1976), p. 65, some times complemented by Huck and Lietzmann, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*.

Matthew	UMt	Mk	Q	?	Matthew	UMt	Mk	Q	?
1:1-2,23	x				15:12-13	x			
3:1-6		x			15:14-16:16		x		
3:7-12			x		16:20-17:23		x		
3:14-15	x				17:24-27	x			
3:16-17		x			18:1-9		x		
4:1		x			18:10	x			
4:2-11			x		18:11-15			(x)	
4:12		x			18:16-20	x			
4:13-16	x				18:21			(x)	
4:17-25		x			18:22-35	x			
5 - 7			x		19:1-9		x		
8:1	x				19:10-12	x			
8:2-4		x			19:13-27		x		
8:5-13			x		19:28			(x)	
8:14-16		x			19:29		x		
8:17-18	x				19:30			(x)	
8:19-22			x		20:1-16	x			
8:23-9:26		x			20:17-21:9		x		
9:27-36	x				21:10-11	x			
9:37-38			(x)		21:12-13		x		
10:1-5a		x			21:14-16	x			
10:5b-6	x				21:17-27		x		
10:7-24				?	21:28-32	x			
10:25	x				21:33-22:10		x		
10:26-40				?	22:11-14	x			
10:41	x				22:15-46		x		
10:42		x			23:1-3	x			
11:1	x				23:4			x	
11:2-19			x		23:5-7		x		
11:20				?	23:8-11	x			
11:21-27			x		23:12-14				?
11:28-30	x				23:15-22	x			
12:1-4		x			23:23-25			x	
12:5-7	x				23:26-28				?
12:8-16		x			23:29-39			x	
12:17-21	x				24:1-9		x		
12:22-30			x		24:10-13	x			
12:31-32		x			24:14-25		x		
12:33-34	x				24:26-28			x	
12:35				?	24:29-36		x		
12:36-37	x				24:37-41			x	
12:38-39		x			24:42-44		x		
12:40-42			(x)		24:45-51			(x)	
12:43-45			x		25:1-13	x			
12:46-13,23		x			25:14-30			x	
13:24-30	x				25:31-46	x			
13:31-32		x			26:1-27:2	25+53			
13:33-52	x				27:3-10	x			
13:53-14:27		x			27:11-28:8	19,24f,52f,62ff			
14:28-31	x				28:9-20	x			
14:32-15:11		x							

Griesbach Hypothesis or Two-Gospel Hypothesis

Johann Jakob Griesbach (4 January 1745 – 24 March 1812) was a German theologian who favored the priority of Matthew before Luke. He also saw Mt and Lk as written before Mark. This is today also called the two-gospel hypothesis because it sees Mt and Lk (two gospels) as the basis for Mark and solves the synoptic problem in this way. The two-gospel hypothesis has the advantage that it does not need the assumption of a lost source "Q".

St. Augustin's Harmony of the Gospels

St. Augustin had already seen the priority of Matthew. He favored the idea that the canonical sequence of the gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John) was also the chronological order:

Now, those four evangelists whose names have gained the most remarkable circulation over the whole world, and whose number has been fixed as four ... believed to have written in the order which follows:
first Matthew, then Mark, thirdly Luke, lastly John...
Of these four, it is true, only Matthew is reckoned to have written in the Hebrew language; the others in Greek. And however they may appear to have kept each of them a certain order of narration proper to himself, this certainly is not to be taken as if each individual writer chose to write in ignorance of what his predecessor had done, or left out as matters about which there was no information things which another

nevertheless is discovered to have recorded. But the fact is, that just as they received each of them the gift of inspiration, they abstained from adding to their several labours any superfluous conjoint compositions. For Matthew is understood to have taken it in hand to construct the record of the incarnation of the Lord according to the royal lineage, and to give an account of most part of His deeds and words as they stood in relation to this present life of men. Mark follows him closely, and looks like his attendant and epitomizer.²⁴

In this case I follow St. Augustin, as I often find myself doing also in other subjects.

A suggestion for the dates of Mt, Mk and Lk.

The two canonical books of Luke can help to place Matthew and Mark as well because Luke's work gives us a good time frame. A good terminus a quo seems to be what is related in Acts 15 where it was decided in A. D. 48 by the council of the apostles and elders in Jerusalem that Gentile Christians do not need circumcision to be saved (Acts 15:1.22-29). The four canonical gospels are already written in a way that this insight is implied. We can assume that they have been written after this council.

Because Acts ends with the two years of Paul in Rome (ca. A.D. 59-61) and may have been written about the end of that time

24. Philip Schaff, NPNF1-06. St. Augustin: Sermon on the Mount; Harmony of the Gospels; Homilies on the Gospels, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1886), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf106.html>, p. 114 (Harmony of the Gospels, book I, ch. II).

(A.D. 61), we can date the gospel according to Luke in the year A.D. 61 or before that time. Because Luke mentions that he knew of older reports and we think that two of them were the gospels according to Matthew and according to Mark which he used, we can give a date for Matthew and Mark after 48 and before 61 A.D.

The gospel according to Matthew in Aramaic may have been written about 50 to 53. The Greek gospel according to Mark may have been written after that in the middle of the fifties. The Greek translation of Matthew may have been done after the gospel of Mark was written and before the gospel of Luke.

1.2 Outline and Content of Matthew

UMt = Unique to Mt;

(UMt) = Unique to Matthew with a certain parallel elsewhere;

UMt* = Only a certain part is unique to Mt.

A 1:1-4:22 Jesus Christ the king is coming.

B 4:23-8:1 First discourse: The Sermon on the Mount

C 8:2-9:34 Christ's divine authority is manifest in his miracles.

D 9:35-11:1 Second discourse: Mission Discourse

E 11:2-12:50 Who is Jesus of Nazareth?

F 13:1-53 Third discourse: Parabolic Discourse

E' 13:54-17:27 Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.

D' 18:1-19:2 Fourth discourse: The Discourse on the Church

C' 19:3-22:46 Christ's divine authority is manifest in his teaching.

B' 23:1-26:1 Fifth discourse: Against False Teachers, Olivet Discourse.

A' 26:2-28:20 Jesus Christ the king is going.

A 1:1-4:22 Jesus Christ the king is coming.

1:1-17 (UMt) "The genealogy of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham" (1).

1:18-25 (UMt) The birth of Jesus Christ²⁵

2:1-23 UMt Visit of the Magi (1-12). The flight to Egypt (13-15). Herod kills the children (16-18). From Egypt to Nazareth (19-23).

3:1-12 John the Baptist prepares the way.

3:13-17 UMt* The baptism of Jesus (3:14-15*)

4:1-11 The temptation of Jesus

4:12-22 UMt* After John's being arrested, Jesus went to Galilee, left Nazareth making Capernaum his headquarter. "From that time Jesus began to preach ... 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand'" (17). He calls Simon, Andrew, James and John (4:13-16*).

B 4:23-8:1 First discourse: The Sermon on the Mount

4:23-5:2 Introduction to the Sermon on the Mount: Jesus "went throughout all Galilee, teaching ... and healing ... So his fame spread throughout all Syria" (23-24). "And great crowds followed him from Galilee and the Decapolis, and from Jerusalem and Judea, and from beyond the Jordan" (25).

5:3-20 The beatitudes (3-12). Salt and light (13-16). Jesus came to fulfill the law and the prophets (17-20).

5:21-26 Jesus teaches about "You shall not murder" (Ex 20:13).

5:27-30 About "You shall not commit adultery" (Ex 20:14).

5:31-32 About "Whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a cer-

25. Many of the headings have been taken from Good News Publishers, ed., English Standard Version, [Accessed May 9, 2011], 2001, <http://www.crosswire.org/sword/modules/ModInfo.jsp?modName=ESV>.

tificate of divorce" (Dt 24:1).

5:33-37 About "You shall not swear falsely" (Lv 19:12; Nm 30:2).

5:38-42 About "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" (Ex 21:24).

5:43-48 About "You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy" (5:43; Lv 19:18).

6:1-18 About not practicing your righteousness before other people: charitable giving (6:1-4), prayer (The Lord's Prayer) (6:5-15), and fasting (6:16-18).

6:19-34 "Do not lay up for yourselves treasures on earth ... but ... in heaven" (19). "Do not be anxious about your life ... nor about your body" (25). "But seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness" (33).

7:1-6 "Judge not, that you be not judged" (1). "You hypocrite, first take the log out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your brother's eye" (5).

7:7-11 "Ask, and it will be given" (7).

7:12-27 Whoever truly belongs to the kingdom of God, does the will of God. False prophets and false disciples are on their way to destruction.

7:28-8:1 Closure of the sermon and transition to the next narrative block.

C 8:2-9:34 Christ's divine authority is manifest in his miracles.

8:2-4 Jesus cleanses a leper.

8:5-13 The faith of the centurion of Capernaum

8:14-17 The healing of Peter's mother-in-law and many others show Jesus as the servant of the Lord from Isaiah 53:4 "He took our illnesses and bore our diseases."

8:18-22 The cost of following Jesus

8:23-27 Jesus calms a storm.

8:28-34 He heals two demon-possessed men in the area of the Gadarenes.

9:1-8 Jesus heals a paralytic proving his power to forgive sins.

9:9-13 Jesus calls Matthew and eats at his house with his friends, because he is a loving doctor who wants to cure sinners from sin.

9:14-17 Jesus does not teach his disciples to fast now at the time of Israel's Messianic wedding feast knowing that they will fast in the new era "when the bridegroom is taken away from them" (15).

9:18-26 Healing of a woman who suffered from a discharge of blood and the raising of the daughter of a ruler (Jairus).

9:27-34 UMt Jesus heals two blind men and a man unable to speak.

D 9:35-11:1 Second discourse: Mission Discourse

9:35-10:4 Introduction to the Mission Discourse. The harvest is plentiful, the laborers few. The twelve chosen apostles.

10:5-15 Jesus sends out the twelve apostles.

10:16-33 "Behold, I am sending you out as sheep in the midst of wolves" (16). "Do not be anxious how you are to speak" in court (19). "Do not fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul" (28). "So everyone who acknowledges me before men, I also will acknowledge before my Father who is in heaven" (32).

10:34-39 Division even at home because of Jesus: "Whoever loves father or mother ... son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And whoever does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me" (37-38).

10:40-42 "Whoever receives you receives me, and whoever receives me receives him who sent me" (40). Whoever receives a prophet or a righteous person or only gives a small disciple a cup of water, will receive his reward for this (41-42).

11:1 Closure of the sermon and transition to the next narrative block.

E 11:2-12:50 Who is Jesus of Nazareth?

11:2-6 John's question: "Are you the one who is to come?"

11:7-19 The testimony of Jesus about John the Baptist.

11:20-24 Woe to Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum because they did not repent in spite of many miracles of Jesus.

11:25-30 UMt* Jesus confesses the gracious will of the Father as the source of recognizing the truth of salvation and the Son. "Come to me, all who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (28; 28-30*).

12:1-14 Jesus as Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath and allows the disciples to pluck heads of grain and to eat. He also healed a man with a withered hand on the Sabbath. Therefore "the Pharisees went out and conspired against him, how to destroy him" (14).

12:15-21 "Jesus, aware of this, withdrew from there. And many followed him, and he healed them all and ordered them not to make him known" (15-16). In this hidden and cautious way of Jesus to do his deeds he fulfilled (UMt*) Is 42:1-4 which also mentions that the Gentiles would hope in his name.

12:22-37 The authority of Jesus over demons shows that he has bound Satan and brought the kingdom of God near in the power of the Holy Spirit. When his enemies claim that he does not work through the Holy Spirit, but through Beelzebul, they identify God's Spirit with the devil. This sin of blasphemy against the Spirit "will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come" (32). A tree is known by its fruit and a heart by the words coming out of it. Therefore on the day of judgment people will be justified by their words and condemned by them.

12:38-45 The scribes and Pharisees demanded a sign from Jesus who answered: "An evil and adulterous generation seeks for a sign, but no sign will be given to it except the sign of the prophet Jonah" (39). On judgment day Israel will be judged for rejecting someone

greater than Jonah and greater than Solomon. What happens at the return of an unclean spirit is also an example for what happens to unrepentant Israel.

12:46-50 Who is the mother of Jesus and who are his brothers?

F 13:1-53 Third discourse: Parabolic Discourse

13:1-3a Introduction to the Parabolic Discourse

13:3b-9 The parable of the sower.

13:10-17 The purpose of the parables is that the disciples of Jesus may know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven, but the other Israelites not, in fulfillment of Is 6:9-10.

13:18-23 The parable of the sower explained.

13:24-30 UMt The parable of the weeds

13:31-32 The mustard seed

13:33 UMt The leaven

13:34-35 That Jesus taught in parables was a fulfillment of Ps 78:2.

13:36-43 UMt The parable of the weeds explained.

13:44 UMt The parable of the hidden treasure

13:45-46 UMt The parable of the pearl of great value

13:47-50 UMt The Parable of the Net

13:51-52 As the disciples understood all, Jesus confirmed: "Every scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven is like a master of a house, who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old" (52).

13:53 Closure of the sermon and transition to the next narrative block.

E' 13:54-17:27 Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.

13:54-58 Jesus rejected at Nazareth: "A prophet is not without honor except in his hometown and in his own household" (57).

14:1-12 Herod thinks that Jesus is John the Baptist whom he had

killed and who has been raised from the dead.

14:13-21 Jesus feeds the five thousand.

14:22-33 UMt* Jesus walks on the sea of Gennesaret. He saves the sinking Peter* and the disciples worship him as the Son of God.

14:34-36 Jesus heals the sick in Gennesaret.

15:1-20 Human traditions and divine commandments: "It is not what goes into the mouth that defiles a person, but what comes out of the mouth" (11).

15:21-28 The faith of a Canaanite Woman.

15:29-31 On a mountain near the Sea of Galilee Jesus healed "the lame, the blind, the crippled, the mute, and many others" (30).

15:32-38 Jesus feeds the four thousand.

15:39-16:4 In the region of Magadan "the Pharisees and Sadducees ... asked him to show them a sign from heaven" (1). Jesus answered: "An evil and adulterous generation seeks for a sign, but no sign will be given to it except the sign of Jonah" (4).

16:5-12 "Watch and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees" (6). First the disciples did not understand "to beware ... of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees" (12).

16:13-20 UMt* Peter confesses Jesus as "the Christ, the Son of the living God" (16). Peter is blessed and Jesus will give him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. On the rock of Peter's confession Christ will build his church (17-19*). Jesus "strictly charged the disciples to tell no one that he was the Christ" (20).

16:21-23 (I) "From that time Jesus began to show his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer many things from the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised" (21). When Peter rebuked Jesus that he should not suffer, Jesus answered: "Get behind me, Satan!" (23).

16:24-28 "If anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me" (24). The cost and profit of

following Jesus.

17:1-13 The transfiguration of Jesus: "This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased; listen to him" (5).

17:14-21 Jesus heals a demon-possessed boy who is a lunatic and often falls into fire or water.

17:22-23 Jesus again foretells his death and resurrection (II).

17:24-27 UMt The temple tax: A royal father does not take tax from his son. Therefore "the sons are free" (26).

D' 18:1-19:2 Fourth Discourse: The Discourse on the Church

18:1a Introduction to the Discourse on the Church

18:1b-11 "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" (1) "Whoever humbles himself like this child is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven" (4). "Woe to the world for temptations to sin!" (7) The knowledge that it is possible to suffer for sins forever in hell should help one to avoid being thrown into hell.

18:12-14 The parable of the lost sheep: "So it is not the will of my Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish" (14).

18:15-20 UMt What to do "if your brother sins" (15). The power of two or three uniting in prayer in this context: "Truly, I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (18).

18:21-35 UMt The parable of the unforgiving servant

19:1-2 Closure of the sermon and transition to the next narrative block.

C' 19:3-22:46 Christ's divine authority is manifest in his teaching.

19:3-12 UMt* About married life and divorce (19:10-12*)

19:13-15 Let the children come to me

19:16-26 A rich young man. Cost and reward of following Jesus.
 20:1-16 UMt Laborers in the vineyard
 20:17-19 Jesus foretells his death a third time.
 20:20-28 The sons of Zebedee. " But whoever would be great among you must be your servant" (26). Jesus "came ... to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (28).
 20:29-34 Jesus heals two blind men near Jericho.
 21:1-11 UMt* Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem on a donkey (21:10-11*)
 21:12-17 UMt* Jesus took action against business in the temple because "It is written, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer'" (13). There he also healed the blind and the lame and accepted the "Hosanna to the Son of David!" by the children (21:14-16*).
 21:18-22 Jesus curses the fig tree.
 21:23-27 The chief priests and leaders asked: "By what authority are you doing these things?" (23) Jesus would have answered their question if they answered his: "The baptism of John, from where did it come? From heaven or from man?" (25).
 21:28-32 UMt The parable of the two Sons
 21:33-46 The parable of the tenants of the vineyard
 22:1-14 The parable of the royal wedding feast
 22:15-22 "Is it lawful to pay taxes to Caesar, or not?" (17)
 22:23-33 Sadducees ask about the resurrection
 22:34-40 "Teacher, which is the great commandment in the Law?"
 22:41-46 The Christ as the son of David or his Lord.

B' 23:1-26:1 Fifth Discourse: Against False Teachers, Olivet Discourse

23:1 Introduction to the discourse against false teachers.
 23:2-12 UMt* "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat" (2). As far as they teach the law of Moses, do it. But do not copy

their deeds. "They do all their deeds to be seen by others" (5) and love to be honored. "The greatest among you shall be your servant" (11; 1-3.8-11*).

23:13-36 UMt* Woes to the scribes and Pharisees (15-22*)

23:37-39 "O Jerusalem, ... the city that kills the prophets..." (cf. Lk 13:34-35)

24:1-3 Introduction to the Olivet Discourse

24:4-25:46 The Olivet discourse

24:4-14 1. Worldwide part (cf. Mk 13:5-13; Lk 21:8-19)

24:15-28 2. Israel specific part (cf. Mk 13:14-23; Lk 21:20-24)

24:29-31 3. Return of Christ (cf. Mk 13:24-27; Lk 21:25-27)

24:32-25:13 4. "Stay awake, for you do not know on what day your Lord is coming" (42; 25:13; cf. Mk 13:28-37; Lk 21:28-36). UMt The parable of the ten virgins (25:1-13)

25:14-30 5. The parable of the talents (cf. Lk 19:11-27).

25:31-46 6. UMt The final judgment.

26:1 Closure of the sermons and transition to the next narrative block.

A' 26:3-28:20 Jesus Christ the king is going.

26:1-2 Jesus said to his disciples: "After two days the Passover is coming, and the Son of Man will be delivered up to be crucified."

26:3-5 "The chief priests and the elders ... plotted together in order to arrest Jesus by stealth and kill him. But they said, 'Not during the feast, lest there be an uproar among the people.'"

26:6-13 At Bethany "a woman came up to him with an alabaster flask of very expensive ointment, and she poured it on his head as he reclined at table" (7) "The disciples ... were indignant ... But Jesus ... said to them... 'she has done it to prepare me for burial'" (8-12).

26:14-16 Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, receives thirty pieces of

silver from the chief priests to deliver Jesus to them.

26:17-19 Jesus sends disciples to a certain man saying: "My time is at hand. I will keep the Passover at your house with my disciples" (18).

26:20-25 Jesus "reclined at table with the twelve" saying "Truly, I say to you, one of you will betray me" (21). "Judas ... answered, 'Is it I, Rabbi?' He said to him, 'You have said so'" (25).

26:26-29 Institution of the Lord's Supper: Eating from the bread and drinking from the cup, all disciples partake in the body and blood of Jesus and in the new covenant and receive thus forgiveness of their sins.

26:30-35 "They went out to the Mount of Olives" (30). "Then Jesus said to them, 'You will all fall away because of me this night ... But after I am raised up, I will go before you to Galilee'" (31-32). Jesus tells Peter: "This very night, before the rooster crows, you will deny me three times" (34).

26:36-46 In Gethsemane Jesus reveals his sorrow to Peter, James and John asking them to watch with him while he was praying: "My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as you will" (39). But they slept.

26:47-56 "Judas came ... and with him a great crowd with swords and clubs" to deliver Jesus with a kiss into the hands of the chief priests and elders. Jesus let himself be seized so that the Scriptures might be fulfilled. Then all the disciples left him and fled.

26:57-68 Jesus was led to the house of Caiaphas "where the chief priests and the the whole Council were seeking false testimony against Jesus that they might put him to death but they found none" (59-60). Then the high priest adjured Jesus by the living God to tell whether he is the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus answered: "You have said so. But I tell you, from now on you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of Power and coming on the clouds of

heaven" (64). In answer to this they sentenced him to death, "spit in his face and struck him" (67).

26:69-75 During that time Peter denied Jesus in the courtyard three times. "Immediately the rooster crowed", Peter remembered what Jesus had said, went out and wept bitterly.

27:1-2 "When morning came, all the chief priests and the elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death ... and delivered him over to Pilate the governor."

27:3-10 Judas said, "'I have sinned by betraying innocent blood.' They said, 'What is that to us? See to it yourself.' And throwing down the pieces of silver into the temple, he ... went and hanged himself." The chief priests bought with them the potter's field as a burial place for strangers. Thus a prophecy of Jeremiah (perhaps Jer 18-19) was fulfilled and of Zechariah (11:12-13).

27:11-14 The governor asked Jesus, "'Are you the King of the Jews?' Jesus said 'You have said so.'" (11) This meant "yes". "When he was accused by the chief priests and elders, he gave no answer ... so that the governor was greatly amazed" (12+14).

27:15-23 UMt* According to his custom to release a prisoner at the feast Pilate asked whether they wanted "Barabbas, or Jesus who is called Christ? For he knew that it was out of envy that they had delivered him up" (17-18). His wife warned him as well that Jesus was a "righteous man" (19*). But "the chief priests and the elders persuaded the crowd to ask for Barabbas and destroy Jesus ... 'Let him be crucified!'" (20+23).

27:24-26 UMt* "Pilate ... took water and washed his hands before the crowd, saying, 'I am innocent of this man's blood; see to it yourselves.' And all the people answered, 'His blood be on us and on our children!' Then he ... having scourged Jesus, delivered him to be crucified." (24-25*)

27:27-30 The soldiers of the governor mock Jesus as "king of the

Jews" putting a scarlet robe on him and a crown of thorns on his head, spitting on him and beating him with a reed.

27:31-56 UMt* In the crucifixion of Jesus, the king of the Jews, Psalm 22 is fulfilled. Through the death of the Son of God the way into God's presence is opened as "the curtain of the temple was torn in two, from top to bottom" (51). An earthquake and the appearances of many risen saints in the holy city after the resurrection of Jesus also present Jesus as the Son of God, a truth which the centurion of the crucifixion affirms with his men (52-53*).

27:57-61 Joseph from Arimathea, a disciple of Jesus, buried Jesus in his own new tomb.

27:62-66 "Next day ... the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered before Pilate" to request a guard for "the tomb to be made secure until the third day" because Jesus had said "After three days I will rise" (62-64). Pilate answered: "You have a guard of soldiers. Go, make it as secure as you can" (65).

28:1-10 UMt* "Toward the dawn of the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary went to see the tomb" (1). A dazzling white angel of the Lord caused an earthquake, rolled back the stone shocking the guards into death-like freeze, but telling the women not to fear and to inspect the empty tomb of the risen Jesus who "is going before you to Galilee" (7). So they ran "quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy ... to tell his disciples" (8). Then Jesus appeared himself to them and ordered them to tell the disciples to meet him in Galilee (9-10*).

28:11-15 UMt "Some of the guard went into the city and told the chief priests all that had taken place" (11). But they with the elders bribed the soldiers to lie saying that the disciples stole the dead body of Jesus. Thus the Jews rejected the God-given sign of Jonah.

28:16-20 UMt Jesus appears as promised to the eleven disciples on a mountain in Galilee and tells them: "All authority in heaven and

on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you always, to the end of the age" (18-20).

Chapter 2

The Gospel according to Mark

2.1 Introduction to Mark

2.1.1 Questions

(a) Who wrote the gospel according to Mark (b) when (c) where (d) to whom and (e) with what purpose?

2.1.2 Information taken from the gospel of Mark

- a. About the author: 14:51-52?; 14:13?; 10:17.21?¹
- b. About the time: 13:14 ("let the reader understand"); 10:30 ("with persecutions")
- c. About the place: The use of Latin expressions is only a hint to-

1. Cf. Adolf Pohl, Das Evangelium des Markus, Wuppertaler Studienbibel Ergänzungsband (Wuppertal, 1986), p. 16-17.

wards Italy, because they could also be used outside of Italy. But if one accepts certain statements of the old church about the origin of Mark in Italy or Rome then this could be viewed as corroborative evidence: 4:21; 5:9.15; 6:27.37; 7:4; 12:14.42; 14:65; 15:15.16.39.44.

In this context the mentioning of Simon of Cyrene as "the father of Alexander and Rufus" in Mk 15:21 is very interesting if combined with Röm 16:13 ("Greet Rufus, chosen in the Lord; also his mother, who has been a mother to me as well.").

d. About the recipients: Jewish customs are explained (7:3ff; 14:12). Aramaic expressions are translated (3:17; 5:41; 7:11.34; 14:36; 15:22.34). The gospel is universalistic for all nations (13:10; 14:9; 16:15-16; see also 7:27! Compare 13:10 with Mt 24:20). The discussion of the law is not as extensive as in Matthew, but it is also found (e.g. 7:8ff; 10:19f).

e. About the purpose: 1:1.14.15; 13:10; 10:45; 14:22-24; 7:27 ("first"). Christology (see special characteristics). Salvation is for Jews and Gentiles.

2.1.3 Information taken from other biblical books

About the traditional author of the gospel of Mark: John (Acts 13:5); John Mark (Acts 12:12.25; 15:37)²; Mark (Acts 15:39; Col 4:10; 2 Tm 4:11; Philemon 24; 1 Pt 5:13).

2.1.4 Title (Inscription)

1. According to Mark: ⲁ Sinaiticus (IV); Vaticanus (IV)³

2. D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, edition no. 3 (Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970), 1054 pp, p. 71.

3. Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 88.

2. Gospel according to Mark: A (V); D (V); L (VIII); W (IV/V); Θ (IX); f¹³; 1 (XII); 33 (IX); 2427 (XIV?); 117; lat (old Latine translations and Vulgate);
3. The holy Gospel according to Mark: 209 (XIV); 579 (XIII); others; vg^{cl} (1592).

2.1.5 Traditions of the early church about Mark

For the background-information about early important witnesses see section 1.1.4.

1. Papias: "This also the presbyter said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely."⁴
2. Irenaeus: "Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been

4. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 253 (hist. eccl. III,39,15).

preached by Peter."⁵

"Mark, on the other hand, commences with (a reference to) the prophetic spirit coming down from on high to men, saying, 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Esaias the prophet,' - pointing to the winged aspect of the Gospel; and on this account he made a compendious and cursory narrative, for such is the prophetic character."⁶

3. The "Anti-Marcionite" prologues to the gospels: "... Mark recorded, who was called Colobodactylus⁷, because he had fingers that were too small for the height of the rest of his body. He himself was the interpreter of Peter. After the death of Peter himself, the same man wrote this gospel in the parts of Italy."⁸

4. Clement. "1.And thus when the divine word had made its home among them, the power of Simon was quenched and

5. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 595 (Against Heresies III,I,1). The Greek text about what is said about Matthew and Mark is quoted here according to Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses libri 5*, Migne *Patrologia Graeca*, accessed February 24, 2013 (2007), http://khazarzar.skeptik.net/pgm/PG_Migne/Irenaeus%20Lugdunensis_PG%2007/ 'Ο μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφῇ ἐξηνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον, Μάρκος, ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν.

6. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 617 (Against Heresies III,XI,8).

7. The nickname means "stumpy finger."

8. Anonymus, The "Anti-Marcionite" prologues to the gospels, accessed February 1, 2016; translated by Roger Pearse, 2006, http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/anti_marcionite_prologues.htm.

immediately destroyed, together with the man himself. And so greatly did the splendor of piety illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, and were not content with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel, but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a follower of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant, that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease until they had prevailed with the man, and had thus become the occasion of the written Gospel which bears the name of Mark. 2. And they say that Peter when he had learned, through a revelation of the Spirit, of that which had been done, was pleased with the zeal of the men, and that the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the churches. Clement in the eighth book of his Hypotyposes gives this account, and with him agrees the bishop of Hierapolis named Papias."⁹

"5. Again, in the same books, Clement gives the tradition of the earliest presbyters, as to the order of the Gospels, in the following manner: 6. The Gospels containing the genealogies, he says, were written first. The Gospel according to Mark had this occasion. As Peter had preached the Word publicly at Rome, and declared the Gospel by the Spirit, many who were present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time and remembered his sayings, should write them out. And having composed the Gospel he gave it to those who had requested it. 7. When Peter learned

9. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 146f (hist. eccl. II,15,1-2).

of this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it."¹⁰

5. Tertullian "The same authority of the apostolic churches will afford evidence to the other Gospels also, which we possess equally through their means, and according to their usage - I mean the Gospels of John and Matthew - whilst that which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's whose interpreter Mark was. For even Luke's form of the Gospel men usually ascribe to Paul. And it may well seem that the works which disciples publish belong to their masters."¹¹
6. Origen: "The second is by Mark, who composed it according to the instructions of Peter, who in his Catholic epistle acknowledges him as a son, saying, 'The church that is at Babylon elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth Marcus, my son.'"¹²
7. Eusebius: "Peter the Apostle, by nation a Galilean, first high priest of the Christians, after he had been the first to found a church at Antioch, proceeded to Rome, where as bishop of the same city he remains, preaching the gospel for 25 years... Mark the evangelist, Peter's interpreter, preaches Christ in Egypt and Alexandria."¹³ "And they say that this Mark was the first that was sent to Egypt, and that he proclaimed the

10. *ibid.*, p. 410f (hist. eccl. VI,14,5-7).

11. Philip Schaff, ANF03. *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian, Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2006), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03.html>, p. 582 (IV,5).

12. Schaff, NPNF2-01. *Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine*, p. 434 (hist. eccl. VI,25,5).

13. Jerome, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, accessed February 3, 2016; a translation into Latin of the *Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea* (2005), <http://www.>

Gospel which he had written, and first established churches in Alexandria."¹⁴ "Neither did Peter permit himself to write a Gospel through his excessive reverence. Mark, being his friend and companion, is said to have recorded the accounts of Peter about the acts of Jesus".¹⁵

8. Jerome: "The second is Mark, the amanuensis of the Apostle Peter, and first bishop of the Church of Alexandria. He did not himself see our Lord and Saviour, but he related the matter of his Master's preaching with more regard to minute detail than to historical sequence."¹⁶
9. Epiphanius: "And immediately after Matthew it was committed to Mark, having been the follower of Saint Peter in Rome, to give an exposition of the gospel, and having written it, he was sent by Saint Peter to the country of the Egyptians."¹⁷

tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_03_part2.htm, p. 261. The 25 years of Peter in Rome have not necessarily been in Eusebius original and may be an addition of Jerome.

14. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 148 (hist. eccl. II,16,1).

15. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, vol. 3, accessed February 3, 2016; translated by W.J. Ferrar (SPCK, 1920), book 3, ch. 5.

16. Schaff, NPNF2-06. Jerome: The Principal Works of St. Jerome, p. 780 (Preface to Matthew).

17. Translated by Lanz from the Greek found in Saint Epiphanius, *Corporis haereseologici: Panarion. Latin & Greek*, ed. Franz Oehler, vol. v.02 pt.02 (Berlin: Asher, 1856), <https://archive.org/details/p2corporishaereseo02epipuoft>, p. 56-58: "Εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον ἀκόλουθος γενόμενος ὁ Μάρκος τῷ ἁγίῳ Πέτρῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐπιτρέπεται τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκθέσθαι, καὶ γράψας ἀποστέλλεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χώραν. Epiphanius was bishop of Constantia in Cyprus and writes this at the end of the 4th century in his "haereses"

10. Chrysostomos: "Of Matthew again it is said, that when those who from amongst the Jews had believed came to him, and besought him to leave to them in writing those same things, which he had spoken to them by word, he also composed his Gospel in the language of the Hebrews. And Mark too, in Egypt, is said to have done this self-same thing at the entreaty of the disciples."¹⁸

Summary of these quotes

1. Author: Mark (Papias, Ireneaus, "Anti-Marcionite" prologue to Mk, Clement, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, Chrysostomos). Mark himself was not an eyewitness (Papias, Jerome). The gospel of Mark is the gospel of Peter.
2. Time: after the exodus (excessio) of Peter (Ireneaus, "Anti-Marcionite" prologues to Mk); while Peter was still alive (Clement, Origen, Epiphanius); as second after Matthew (Jerome, Epiphanius); as third after Matthew and Luke (Clement).
3. Place: Rome (Epiphanius); Italy ("Anti-Marcionite" prologues to Mk); Egypt (Chrysostom; Schaff¹⁹ thinks that Ireneaus may imply the same idea by stating that Mark wrote after the "departure" of Paul and Peter).

(51,6), cf. Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, §34.

18. Philip Schaff, NPNF1-10. St. Chrysostom: Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1886), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf110.html>, p. 14, (Homily I. on Matthew. Chrysostom (= Mouth of gold) died 407 A.D., cf. Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, §34c.

19. Schaff, NPNF1-10. St. Chrysostom: Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew, p. 14, fn. 39.

4. Recipients: Christians in Italy (Anti-Marcionite" prologues to Mk); those who have heard Peter in Rome (Clement; Epiphanius); Romans and Egyptians (Eusebius); Egyptians (Chrysostom).
5. Purpose: To answer the request of the hearers of Peter to have a written account of Peter's preaching (Clement; Chrysostom); "it was committed to Mark" to write the gospel (Epiphanius).
6. Outline: wrote down accurately, though not in order (Papias); with more regard to minute detail than to historical sequence (Jerome); pointing to the winged aspect of the Gospel; and on this account he made a compendious and cursory narrative (Ireneaus).
7. Special characteristics, like an eagle: "pointing to the winged aspect of the Gospel; and on this account he made a compendious and cursory narrative (Ireneaus).

2.1.6 Characteristics of Mark

The gospel according to Mark is shorter than Matthew, Luke and John. That is a simple fact, but with far-reaching consequences. It contains a lot of action, but less talk²⁰: 2:4; 4:37-38; 6:39; 7:33; 8:23ff; 14:54. Guthrie calls Mark a "a gospel of action", "a quickly moving drama with the cross at its climax", "an essentially factual account of the life of Jesus"²¹ But in spite of the fact that Mark is shorter than Matthew, a version of a story in Mark may be longer

20. See Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 53-57.

21. See *ibid.*, p. 53.

and more detailed than in Matthew whose version might be more concise (cf. e.g. 2:1-12 with Mt 9:2-8; Mk 5:1-17 with Mt 8:28-9:1).

There is not so much discussion about the law as in Matthew. There are also less prophecies pointed out as in Matthew (see e.g. 1:2-3) and there is no genealogy as in Mt and Lk.

There is a recurring report of the lack of understanding of the disciples (4:13; 6:52; 8:17.21; 9:10.32). Some family members of Jesus did not understand him either (3:21). Lack of faith dominated his home town Nazareth (6:5-6). People who heard Jesus were now and then amazed or shocked, including the disciples (1:27; 10,24.32).

2.1.7 Christology in Mark

Mark describes reactions and emotions of Jesus which show his human nature (1:41.43; 3:5; 8:12.33; 10:14.16.21). The divine nature of Jesus is also presented in Mark, for example in Jesus being the Lord. In fulfillment of Is 40:3 John the Baptist prepares the way for the Lord (Mk 1:3). The one who is mightier than John comes after him (1:7-8). That is Jesus who is God the Lord having become flesh (see also 12:35-37; 14:62; 16:19-20).

Jesus is called seven²² times the Son of God in Mark (1:1; 1:11; 3:11; 9:7; 13:32; 14:61; 15:39). He is the Christ, a word which is also used seven times in Mk (1:1; 8:29; 9:41; 12:35; 13:21; 14:61; 15:32) as is the word "David" (2:25; 10:47.48; 11:10; 12:35.36.37).

Jesus talks 14 times about himself as the Son of Man (2:10.28; 8:31.38; 9:9.12.31; 10:33.45; 13:26; 14:21.21.41.62) which is twice seven times or the numerical value of "David" in Hebrew (cf. Mt

22. If Son of God in 1:1 is original which I think.

1:17). In most of these verses the talk of Jesus about the Son of Man is related to the passion of Christ. As the Son of Man Jesus gives his life as a ransom for many (10:45).

Jesus keeps his being the Christ a secret and commands silence (1:24.25.34.43.44; 3:11.12; 5:43; 7:36; 8:27-30; 9:9).²³ Jesus being the Christ had to be kept secret until the passion week in Jerusalem (11:9-10.28.33), especially until the resurrection as the glorious outcome of the passion of Jesus (9:9; 8:31).

Jesus is mocked and condemned to be crucified as the king of the Jews (15:2.9.12.18.26) and the king of Israel (15:32). The title king is used six times for Jesus in Mk and all six times in the context of his passion while it is used 12 times in Mark all in all. The other six times are five times for king Herod (6:14.22.25.26.27) as the murderer of John the Baptist and once for kings in the context of the persecution of believers (13:9). The kings of this world persecute and murder God's people, while Jesus, the king ordained and sent by God, is rejected by the world and mocked and crucified.

2.1.8 The question of the ending of Mark

In Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus which are from the middle of the fourth century and are "the earliest virtually complete copies of Mark presently within our possession"²⁴ the gospel of

23. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 57: "Jesus did not have as His purpose any public proclamation of His Messiahship".

24. Nicholas P. Lunn, *The Original Ending of Mark: A New Case for the Authenticity of Mark 16:9-20*, accessed March 15, 2016 (James Clarke & Co, 2015), https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=MtDwCAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=isbn:0227904575&hl=en&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false, p. 357. There is also other manuscript evidence but without these two uncials this would not way as much.

Mark ends with verse eight: "And they went out and fled from the tomb, for trembling and astonishment had seized them, and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid." Mainly because of this fact many New Testament scholars nowadays think that Mk 16:9-20 are not an original part of the gospel of Mark but have been added some time later by someone who wanted to give the gospel of Mark a somewhat more fitting ending than trembling women who were afraid and not talking to anybody.²⁵

But there is also a minority of scholars who think that Mk 16:9-20 were part of the original gospel of Mark and that Mk 16:9-20 were either lost accidentally in one part of the textual transmission (for example through the loss of the last page of an early codex of Mark) or removed on purpose. A good example for a recent and quite thorough presentation of this view is the book of Nicholas P. Lunn, "The Original Ending of Mark: A New Case for the Authenticity of Mark 16:9-20".

Lunn points out that the second-century church fathers Irenaeus and "almost certainly" Justin Martyr knew and used Mark 16:9-20 as scripture belonging to the gospel of Mark. "Since the text would require some years after its composition to become known and for its authority to become established, the ending must be dated on the basis of this evidence to around AD 120-125 at the very latest" (p. 357).

But Lunn pushes the date even further back: "Yet as it is now recognized that several non-canonical Gospels dating from this same period, such as the Gospel of Mary and the Gospel of Peter, make use of the ending, for the passage to be considered an authoritative

25. So for example Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London, New York: United Bible Societies, 1975), 767 pp, p. 122-126.

source alongside canonical Gospel material its origins must needs reach back even further. In view of this latter evidence it would be difficult to place the origins of Mark 16:9-20 after the turn of the century" (p. 357).

Lunn sees "verbal allusions" in "certain of the apostolic fathers" and concludes that they "were also familiar with the ending", especially "Clement of Rome. The writing of Clement's first epistle is commonly placed within the last decade of the first century and its provenance, Rome, is the same as that traditionally ascribed to Mark's Gospel. This would push the origins of the ending back earlier still, to the time in fact when modern scholarship assigns the writing of the second Gospel itself" (p. 357).

An old witness in favor of Mk 16:9-20 is also "the second-century Diatessaron which incorporated the passage ... Also of considerable significance is the fact that it appears in all text types - Alexandrian, Western, Caesarean, as well as Byzantine. This is not so with the shorter and abrupt endings, which are far more limited in their distribution" (p. 357-358).

In the codex Vaticanus Mark ends with 16:8 before the end of one column and "the following column was left completely blank, a unique feature in the NT of that manuscript". According to Lunn this "would indicate implicit knowledge of the ending by the copyist and the possibility that it could be added later" (p. 358). In the case of codex Sinaiticus "a cancel-leaf was inserted at the very same point" of the ending of Mark. Lunn thinks that this perhaps was done to exclude the possibility that a longer ending which was may be known to the copyist could not be included later. "Even the earliest extant evidence, therefore, is not unequivocal" (p. 358).

With regard "to the internal evidence" Lunn tries to show "that the existence of seventeen words in Mark 16:9-20 that do not occur anywhere elsewhere in Mark does not constitute an argument

against authenticity". He "demonstrated in some detail that the existence of seventeen such items falls within the known Markan parameter" (p. 358).

He applied "deeper-level linguistic checks, unconsidered by earlier scholars, ... to the language of the ending. It was first shown that in terms of the proportion of its sentence constituents the passage confirmed to that displayed by other Markan passages, including those of similar length" (p. 358). "Other linguistic features, such as the manner of participant reference within the ending, the occurrence of certain two-part and even more specific three-part collocations, and the presence of a number of precise syntactic constructions all served to corroborate the Markan nature of the language" (p. 358).

Then Lunn also looked into "additional supporting evidence for the originality of Mark 16:9-20". He sought this "in literary features. The presence of a range of ancient rhetorical conventions, such as *inclusio* and parallelism, pointed to the ending as an integral part of the Gospel" (p. 358).

Lunn notes "corresponding elements ... between the opening and closing of the Gospel's major sections", especially of "the correspondence between the close of the first macrosection at 6:1-13 and of its final macrosection, that is, the ending found in 16:9-20. Each of these passages presents the idea of unbelief among Jesus' own people / disciples, the sending out of his disciples to preach the gospel and the accompaniment of miracles. Verbal links in these two structurally corresponding sections strongly support the inclusion of 16:9-20 as the work's actual conclusion" (p. 358).

He also refers to "intratextual connections with the Gospel's only other resurrection narrative in Mark 5" which show "a close interrelationship between the final chapter and that earlier passage, again pointing to common authorship" (p. 359).

Lunn is right in seeing "Mark 10:32-34 as a programmatic statement for the closing sections of the Gospel" and therefore concludes "not just a passion narrative but a resurrection narrative was necessitated since not just the former but the latter also was predicted" (p. 359).

Because Lunn sees Mk 16:9-20 as an original and integral part of this gospel, he had also to look for "possible causes for the textual dislocation at the end of Mark ... While it was not uncommon for ancient codices to have damaged endings, the fact that the break is located neatly between the end of one section and the beginning of another points more to the purposeful excision of the latter" (p. 360).

Because the "textual tradition omitting the ending has close connections with Egypt" Lunn assumes that people with links to "Gnostic-Christian groups" who were present there "during the early Christian centuries" and were "strongly opposed to physical resurrection" deliberately removed "the resurrection narratives from Copies of Mark circulating in Egypt" and thus caused "the textual problem" (p. 360).

Anybody now turning to the problem of the ending of Mark should have a look at Lunn's contribution. It brings fresh air into an old problem.

I would like to add some notes. I have found the word "gospel" eight times in Mark (1:1.14.15; 8:35; 10:29; 13:10; 14:9; 16:15), three times in chapter one related to the opening verse of the book and Jesus preaching the gospel of God and calling people in Israel to repent and believe in the gospel. In the middle verses of the eight uses of gospel, in 8:35 and 10:29, we have the phrase in the mouth of Jesus "for my sake and the gospel's" inviting us to make sacrifices for Jesus and the gospel.

The last three uses are all related to the world wide gospel

(13:10; 14:9; 16:15) and correspond to the three of the opening of the book where the gospel is first brought to the Jews through John the Baptist and Jesus: "And the gospel must first be proclaimed to all nations" (13:10). "And truly, I say to you, wherever the gospel is proclaimed in the whole world, what she has done will be told in memory of her" (14:9). "And he said to them, 'Go into all the world and proclaim the gospel to the whole creation'" (16:15). The Greek ²⁶ wording of 14:9 and 16:15 is especially close and for me a good argument to see this as an inclusion at the beginning and the end of the passion narrative pointing to the fact that Mk 16:9-20 is part of the original Mark.

In Mk 3:14-15 Jesus "appointed twelve (whom he also named apostles) so that they might be with him and he might send them out to preach and have authority to cast out demons." After this starting verse "the twelve" is used for them ten more times (3:15; 4:10; 6:7; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; 14:10.17; 14:20; 14:43) which makes eleven all in all. Judas Iscariot the traitor is called "one of the twelve" (14:10.20.43). The last time Judas is seen in Mark he hands Jesus over to the enemies (14:43) and this is the eleventh use of the word "twelve" for the twelve apostles. The next and last time it is not the "twelve" we see, but "the eleven" and this is in Mk 16:14 (cf. Mt 28:16; Lk 24:9.33; Acts 1:26; 2:14). This may well be deliberate. "The twelve" would have appeared exactly twelve times in Mark, if not one of the twelve had delivered Jesus into the hands of the enemies thus leaving the area of salvation and the stage of salvation history. This observation is also in favor of including Mk 16:9-20

26. 14:9 ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ὃ ἐποίησεν αὕτη λαληθήσεται εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς. 16:15 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει.

in the original text.

One emphasis of 16:9-20 is the lack of faith of the disciples and that Jesus "rebuked them for their unbelief²⁷ and hardness of heart²⁸" which fits the picture of the disciples in the gospel of Mark like a glove.

The statement of Jesus in front of the high priest "you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of Power" (14:62) has its counterpart in Mk 16:19: "So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven and sat down at the right hand of God."

The bottom line is that I think that Mk 16:9-20 was part of the gospel according to Mark from the beginning. The loss of Mk 16:9-20 in one part of the early tradition can be explained with the loss of the last sheet of a codex of Mark at the end of the first century in Egypt.

2.1.9 A suggestion for the date of Mark

If we place all four canonical gospels after Acts 15 (48 A. D.) and Mark after the Aramaic Matthew (after 50 to 53 A. D.) and before Luke-Acts (before 59 to 62 A. D.), we can suggest as a probable date for Mark the middle of the fifties (54 to 56; see section 1.1.7).

2.2 Outline and Content of Mark

UMk = Unique to Mk;

(UMk) = Unique to Mark with a certain parallel elsewhere;

27. ἀπιστία *apistia* is found in the gospels in Mt 13:58; Mk 6:6; 9:24 and 16:14 and looks quite at home in Mark.

28. The hardness of the heart σκληροκαρδία *sklērokardia* is found in the gospels in Mt 19:8, Mark 10:5 and 16:14.

UMk* = Only a certain part is unique to Mk.

1:1 Title of the book: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God"

A¹ 1:1-39 John proclaims a baptism of repentance. Baptized Jesus, God's Son, proclaims: "Repent and believe in the gospel."

B¹ 1:40-3:12 Healing people Jesus orders demons not to make him known. As Son of Man he forgives sins and is lord of the Sabbath. When he is taken away a new time and fasting starts.

C¹ 3:13-6:30 Jesus sends 12 apostles. Scribes view him as Satan's servant, King Herod as John the Baptist, some relatives as crazy. His home town rejects him. Four parables illustrate his teaching, four miracles his divine power.

D 6:31-8:21 Jesus twice fed thousands after which disciples are seen in a boat without understanding, hardened hearts, blind eyes, deaf ears. Israel's heart is far from God. What comes out of the heart is what defiles man. Jesus heals a deaf man.

C² 8:22-10:52 Jesus, recognized by Peter as the Christ, charged the twelve to tell no one about him and began to teach them "that the Son of Man must suffer many things ... be killed, and after three days rise again". But they did not understand.

A² 11:1-13:37 "See, we are going up to Jerusalem" (10:33): Jesus, the Son of God, enters Jerusalem and the temple finding no fruit, but the temple "a den of robbers" (17). So the temple will be destroyed with not one stone left upon another (13:2). After a time of tribulation "they will see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory" (13:26).

B² 14:1-16:20 "And the Son of Man will be delivered over to the chief priests and the scribes, and they will condemn him to death and deliver him over to the Gentiles. And they will mock him and spit on him, and flog him and kill him. And after three days he will

rise" (10:33-34).

A¹ 1:1-39 John proclaims a baptism of repentance. Baptized Jesus, God's Son, proclaims: "Repent and believe in the gospel."

a¹ 1:1-8 The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God: In the wilderness John the Baptist prepares the way of the Lord Jesus by proclaiming a baptism of repentance. "All the country of Judea and all Jerusalem were going out to him" (5).

b¹ 1:9-11 After his baptism by John, Jesus anointed by God's Spirit hears: "You are my beloved Son; with you I am well pleased." (11)

c¹ 1:12-13 The temptation of Jesus in the wilderness.

a² 1:14-20 "Now after John was arrested, Jesus came into Galilee, proclaiming the gospel of God, and saying, 'The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe in the gospel'" (14-15). He calls Simon, Andrew, James and John (16-20).

b² 1:21-34 Jesus heals a man with an unclean spirit on the Sabbath in the synagogue of Capernaum who had cried out: "I know who you are - the Holy One of God." Then he heals Peter's mother-in-law on the Sabbath and after sunset many others. "He would not permit the demons to speak, because they knew him" (34; cf. 24-25).

c² 1:35-39 The next day after an early time of prayer in the wilderness Jesus moved on to preach in many other places all over Galilee and to drive out demons.

B¹ 1:40-3:12 Healing people Jesus orders demons not to make him known. As Son of Man he forgives sins and is lord of the Sabbath. When he is taken away a new time and fasting starts.

a¹ 1:40-45 Jesus cleanses a leper ordering him not to tell anybody but show himself only to the priests as a witness. But he talked so much of it that Jesus had to stay out of towns and keep to desolate places. **UMk** 1:45.

b¹ 2:1-17 The Son of Man heals a paralytic to prove his power to forgive sins (1-12). He calls Levi and eats with his friends because he is a loving doctor able to cure sinners (13-17).

c 2:18-22 Jesus' disciples cannot fast while he is with them. "When the bridegroom is taken away" (20), the new era and fasting starts .

b² 2:23-3:6 The Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath and allows his disciples to pluck heads of grain and to eat (23-28). He also heals a man with a withered hand on the Sabbath (3:1-6). Therefore "the Pharisees went out and immediately held counsel with the Herodians against him, how to destroy him" (3:6).

a² 3:7-12 "Jesus withdrew with his disciples to the sea, and a great crowd followed, from Galilee and Judea and Jerusalem and Idumea and from beyond the Jordan and from around Tyre and Sidon" (7-8). He healed many and liberated many from unclean spirits who knew him to be the Son of God, but "he strictly ordered them not to make him known" (12).

C¹ 3:13-6:30 Jesus sends 12 apostles. Scribes view him as Satan's servant, King Herod as John the Baptist, some relatives as crazy. His home town rejects him. Four parables illustrate his teaching, four miracles his divine power.

a¹ 3:13-19 On a mountain Jesus "appointed twelve (whom he also named apostles) so that they might be with him and he might send them out to preach and have authority to cast out demons" (14-15).

b¹ 3:20-21 **UMk** Some relatives of Jesus "went out to seize him, for they were saying, 'He is out of his mind'" (21).

c¹ 3:22-30 Scribes from Jerusalem were saying... "by the prince of demons he casts out the demons" (22). Jesus declared them to have blasphemed against the Holy Spirit and therefore to have no forgiveness ever. The truth is that Jesus has bound Satan and now can empty Satan's house (27).

b² 3:31-35 Who is the mother of Jesus and who are his brothers?

d¹ 4:1-34 Four parables illustrate the teaching of Jesus.

4:1-2 Jesus sitting in a boat teaches a very large crowd on the shore in parables.

4:3-9 The parable of the sower.

4:10-12 The purpose of the parables is that the disciples of Jesus may know the secrets of the kingdom of god, but the other Israelites not "so that 'they may indeed see but not perceive, and may indeed hear but not understand, lest they should turn and be forgiven'" (12).

4:13-20 The parable of the sower explained.

4:21-23 The parable of the light.

4:24-25 "Pay attention to what you hear: with the measure you use, it will be measured to you" (24).

4:26-29 **UMk** The parable of the growing seed

4:30-32 The parable of the mustard seed

4:33-34 Jesus was publicly teaching the people only in parables "as they were able to hear it" (33), "but privately to his own disciples he explained everything" (**UMk*** 34*).

d² 4:35-5:43 Four miracles illustrate the divine power of Jesus.

4:35-41 Jesus calms a storm.

5:1-20 He heals a demon-possessed men in the area of the Gerasenes.

5:21-43 Healing of a woman who suffered from a discharge of blood and the raising of the daughter of Jairus.

b³ 6:1-6 Jesus rejected at Nazareth: "A prophet is not without honor, except in his hometown and among his relatives and in his own household" (4).

a² 6:7-13 Jesus sends out the twelve apostles.

c² 6:14-29 Herod thinks that Jesus is John the Baptist whom he had killed and who has been raised from the dead.

a³ 6:30 "The apostles returned to Jesus and told him all that they had done and taught."

D 6:31-8:21 Jesus twice fed thousands after which disciples are

seen in a boat without understanding, hardened hearts, blind eyes, deaf ears. Israel's heart is far from God. What comes out of the heart is what defiles man. Jesus heals a deaf man.

a¹ 6:31-44 Jesus feeds the five thousand men.

b¹ 6:45-52 Jesus walks on the sea of Gennesaret. His disciples in the boat "were utterly astounded, for they did not understand about the loaves, but their hearts were hardened" (51-52).

c¹ 6:53-56 Jesus heals the sick in Gennesaret.

d¹ 7:1-23 Pharisees attack Jesus lack of upholding the traditions. Jesus answers that Israel's heart is far from God. They reject the commandment of God in order to establish their traditions. "What comes out of a person is what defiles him. For from within, out of the heart of man, come evil thoughts" (20-21).

d² 7:24-30 A Syrophenician woman perseveres successfully in asking Jesus to free her daughter from an unclean spirit.

c² 7:31-37 **UMk** Jesus heals a deaf man with a speech impediment.

a² 8:1-9 Jesus feeds four thousand.

b² 8:10-21 In Dalmanutha district Pharisees demand a sign (10-12). In the ship Jesus warns his disciples: "Watch out; beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod" (15). "Do you not yet perceive or understand? Are your hearts hardened? Having eyes do you not see, and having ears do you not hear?" (17-18).

C² 8:22-10:52 Jesus, recognized by Peter as the Christ, charged the twelve to tell no one about him and began to teach them "that the Son of Man must suffer many things ... be killed, and after three days rise again". But they did not understand.

a¹ 8:22-26 **UMk** Jesus heals a blind man at Bethsaida in two steps.

b¹ 8:27-30 Peter confesses, "You are the Christ" (29). Jesus "strictly charged them to tell no one about him" (30).

c¹ 8:31-33 Jesus foretells his death and resurrection (I.). Peter does not accept the teaching and is rebuked.

d¹ 8:34-9:1 "If anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever would save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel's will save it" (34-35). Cost and profit of following Jesus.

b² 9:2-13 The transfiguration of Jesus: "This is my beloved Son; listen to him" (7). "He charged them to tell no one what they had seen, until the Son of Man had risen from the dead" (9).

a² 9:14-29 Jesus heals a boy with a spirit that makes him mute. "All things are possible for one who believes" (23).

c² 9:30-32 Jesus again foretells his death and resurrection (II). "But they did not understand the saying, and were afraid to ask him" (32).

d² 9:33-50 Who is the greatest? "If anyone would be first, he must be last ... servant of all" (35). "Whoever receives one such child in my name receives me" (37). "The one who is not against us is for us" (40). "If your eye causes you to sin, tear it out. It is better for you to enter the kingdom of God with one eye than with two eyes to be thrown into hell" (47).

e 10:1-12 "And he left there and went to the region of Judea and beyond the Jordan, and crowds gathered to him again. And ... he taught them" (1) Pharisees test Jesus: "Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife?" (2).

d³ 10:13-31 "Let the children come to me" (13-16, esp. 14). "Whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it" (15). A rich man asks: "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" (17-31, esp. 17) "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God" (25). Cost and reward of following Jesus: "There is no one who has left house or brothers ... for my sake and for the gospel, who will not receive a hundredfold ... and ... eternal life" (29-30).

c³ 10:32-34 Jesus foretells his death and resurrection (III): "See, we are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be delivered

over to the chief priests and the scribes, and they will condemn him to death and deliver him over to the Gentiles. And they will mock him and spit on him, and flog him and kill him. And after three days he will rise" (33-34).

d⁴ 10:35-45 James and John ask to sit at the right and left of Jesus in his glory. "Whoever would be great among you must be your servant... For even the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (43+45).

a³ 10:46-52 Jesus heals blind Bartimaeus near Jericho.

**A² 11:1-13:37 "See, we are going up to Jerusalem" (10:33):
Jesus, the Son of God, enters Jerusalem and the temple finding
no fruit, but the temple "a den of robbers" (17). So the temple
will be destroyed with not one stone left upon another (13:2).
After a time of tribulation "they will see the Son of Man com-
ing in clouds with great power and glory" (13:26).**

a¹ 11:1-11 Jesus entered Jerusalem on a colt with a crowd shouting, "Hosanna! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Blessed is the coming kingdom of our father David!" (9-10). Jesus also inspected the temple.

b¹ 11:12-14 Jesus cursed a fig tree because he found not fruit.

c¹ 11:15-19 Jesus took action against business in the temple saying: "Is it not written, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations'? But you have made it a den of robbers" (17).

b² 11:20-25 In the morning, they saw the fig tree withered away to its roots. A lesson from this is, "Have faith in God" (22).

a² 11:27-12:12 The chief priests and leaders asked: "By what authority are you doing these things?" (28) Jesus would have answered their question if they answered his: "Was the baptism of John from heaven or from man?" In the parable of the tenants Jesus is the son, the last messenger sent by the father, about to be rejected and murdered and to become the cornerstone of a new building.

d¹ 12:13-17 "Is it lawful to pay taxes to Caesar, or not?" (14) "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (17).

e¹ 12:18-27 Jesus answers the Sadducees questioning the resurrection, "Have you not read ... 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'? He is not God of the dead, but of the living. You are quite wrong" (26-27).

f¹ 12:28-34 A scribe asked, "Which commandment is the most important of all?" (28) Jesus answered, "The most important is '... The Lord our God, the Lord is one. And you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind and with all your strength.' The second is this: 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself'" (29-31). **UMk***: 32-34a.

f² 12:35-37 Jesus taught, "How can the scribes say that the Christ is the son of David? David himself ... declared, 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, until I put your enemies under your feet.' David himself calls him Lord. So how is he his son?"

e² 12:38-40 "Beware of the scribes, who ... like greetings in the marketplaces... who devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers" (38+40).

d² 12:41-44 The widow's offering: "She out of her poverty has put in everything she had, all she had to live on" (44).

c² 13:1-37 The Olivet Discourse: Jerusalem and the temple are destroyed. After a time of tribulation "they will see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory" (13:26).

Introduction to the Olivet Discourse (1-4)

1. Worldwide part (5-13; cf. Mt 24:4-14; Lk 21:8-19)
2. Israel specific part (14-23; cf. Mt 24:15-28; Lk 21:20-24)
3. The Son of Man coming (24-27; cf. Mt 24:29-31; Lk 21:25-27)
4. "Be on guard, keep awake. For you do not know when the time will come" (33; 28-37; cf. Mt 24:32-25:13; Lk 21:28-36).

B² 14:1-16:20 "And the Son of Man will be delivered over to the chief priests and the scribes, and they will condemn him to death and deliver him over to the Gentiles. And they will mock him and spit on him, and flog him and kill him. And after three days he will rise" (10:33-34).

1. 14:1-52 "And the Son of Man will be delivered over to the chief priests and the scribes" (10:33).

a¹ 14:1-2 "The chief priests and the scribes were seeking how to arrest him by stealth and kill him, for they said, 'Not during the feast, lest there be an uproar from the people.'"

b¹ 14:3-8 "At Bethany ... a woman came with an alabaster flask of ointment of pure nard, very costly, and she ... poured it over his head" (3). The disciples were indignant, "but Jesus said, ... 'she has anointed my body beforehand for burial'" (6+8).

c¹ 14:9 "Wherever the gospel is proclaimed in the whole world, what she has done will be told in memory of her."

a² 14:10-11 Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, receives the promise of money from the chief priests to deliver Jesus to them.

d¹ 14:12-15 Jesus sent two of his disciples to prepare to eat the Passover, "Go into the city, and a man carrying a jar of water will meet you. Follow him..." (13).

d² 14:16 "And the disciples ... found it just as he had told them, and they prepared the Passover."

e¹ 14:17-21 In the evening Jesus came with the twelve. "As they were reclining at table ... Jesus said, '... one of you will betray me, one who is eating with me ... one of the twelve'" (18+20). "For the Son of Man goes as it is written of him, but woe to that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed!" (21)

f¹ 14:22-25 Institution of the Lord's Supper: With the bread Jesus offers his own body, with the cup his own "blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many" (24).

g¹ 14:26-27 "They went out to the Mount of Olives" (26). "Jesus said to them, 'You will all fall away'" (27).

h¹ 14:28 "But after I am raised up, I will go before you to Galilee."

i¹ 14:29-31 Jesus tells Peter: "This very night, before the rooster crows twice, you will deny me three times" (30).

f² 14:32-42 In Gethsemane Jesus reveals his sorrow to Peter, James and John asking them to watch with him while he was praying: "Abba, Father, all things are possible for you. Remove this cup from me. Yet not what I will, but what you will" (36). But they slept.

e² 14:43-49 "Judas came ... and with him a crowd with swords and clubs" (43) to deliver Jesus with a kiss into the hands of the chief priests and elders. Jesus let himself be seized so that the Scriptures might be fulfilled.

g² 14:50-52 Then all the disciples left him and fled. **UMk** 51-52: "And a young man followed him, with nothing but a linen cloth about his body. And they seized him, but he left the linen cloth and ran away naked."

2. 14:53-72 "... and they will condemn him to death" (10:33).

j¹ 14:53-60 "And they led Jesus to the high priest" (53) where "the chief priests and the whole Council were seeking testimony against Jesus to put him to death, but they found none" (55).

k¹ 14:61-62 Then "the high priest asked him, 'Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' And Jesus said, 'I am, and you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.'"

j² 14:63-65 In answer to this they sentenced him to death and "some began to spit on him and to cover his face and to strike him" (65).

i² 14:66-72 During that time Peter denied Jesus in the courtyard three times. "And immediately the rooster crowed a second time" (72). Peter remembered what Jesus had said and wept.

3. 15:1-20 "... and deliver him over to the Gentiles. And they will mock him and spit on him, and flog him" (10:33-34).

j³ 15:1 "And as soon as it was morning, the chief priests held a consultation with the elders and scribes and the whole Council... And they bound Jesus ... and delivered him over to Pilate" (1).

k² 15:2 "And Pilate asked him, 'Are you the King of the Jews?' And he answered him, 'You have said so'" which means 'yes' (2).

j⁴ 15:3-20 "The chief priests accused him of many things" (3). "But Jesus made no further answer, so that Pilate was amazed" (5). Pilate offered to release a prisoner at the feast, "Do you want me to release for you the King of the Jews?" (9). "But the chief priests stirred up the crowd to have him release for them Barabbas instead" (11) and to crucify Jesus. "So Pilate, wishing to satisfy the crowd, released for them Barabbas and having scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified" (15). The soldiers of the governor mock Jesus as "king of the Jews" putting a purple cloak on him and a crown of thorns on his head, spitting on him and beating him with a reed.

4. 15:20-41 "... and kill him" (10:34)

f³ 15:20-41 In the crucifixion of Jesus, the king of the Jews, Psalm 22 is fulfilled. Through the death of Christ, the Son of God, the way into God's presence is opened as "the curtain of the temple was torn in two, from top to bottom" (38).

5. 15:42-16:20 "And after three days he will rise" (10:34).

b² 15:42-16:2 "Joseph of Arimathea, a respected member of the Council, who was also himself looking for the kingdom of God" (43) "laid him in a tomb that had been cut out of the rock" (46). "Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Salome bought spices, so that they might go and anoint him. And very early on the first day of the week ... they went to the tomb" (16:1-2).

h² 16:3-14 "Entering the tomb, they saw a young man ... And he said to them, '... He has risen; he is not here ... But go, tell his dis-

ciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee. There you will see him" (5-7). Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene and then to two disciples. When he appeared to the eleven, he rebuked them for their unbelief and hardness of heart.

c² 16:15-16 Jesus commanded them, "Go into all the world and proclaim the gospel to the whole creation" (15).

k³ 16:17-20 "Signs will accompany those who believe ... the Lord Jesus ... was taken up into heaven and sat down at the right hand of God. And they ... preached everywhere while the Lord worked with them and confirmed the message by accompanying signs."

Chapter 3

The Lukan Corpus

3.1 Introduction to Luke and Acts

3.1.1 Questions

(a) Who wrote the gospel according to Luke and Acts (b) when (c) where (d) to whom and (e) with what purpose?

3.1.2 Information taken from the gospel of Luke and from Acts

Lk 1:1 Inasmuch as many have undertaken to compile a narrative of the things that have been accomplished among us, 2 just as those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word have delivered them to us, 3 it seemed good to me also, having followed all things closely for some time past, to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, 4 that you may

have certainty concerning the things you have been taught.¹

a. About the author: He is not an eyewitness himself, but has access to eyewitnesses and written accounts of the gospel story. According to the We-Passages in Acts (16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16) the author of Acts was part of the team of the apostle Paul and a companion on some of his journeys.

b. About the time: Luke and Acts are written by the same author (Lk 1:3; Acts 1:1) for Theophilus and the Gentile recipients he represents. Because Acts ends with the two years of Paul in Rome (ca. A.D. 59-61) and may have been written about the end of that time (A.D. 61) and Luke is written first, we can place it in the year A.D. 61 or before that time.

c. About the place: Because Acts ends with Paul in Rome, one possible place of writing is Rome or Italy, especially if one reason that Acts was written for the "excellent Theophilus" was that he may know that Paul was innocent and not guilty of any kind of rebellion against the Roman state, but just what he claimed to be, a servant of the living God.

d. About the recipients: The gospel according to Luke and the book of Acts are dedicated to the "most excellent Theophilus" who seems to have been a Gentile Roman citizen of a high rank² who had been taught about the Lord Jesus and the gospel of God and who represented interested Gentiles as the intended audience of this gospel.

1. 1:1 Ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, 2 καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, 3 ἔδοξε κάμοι παρηκολουθηκóτι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, 4 ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

2. Compare the "most excellent Theophilus" κράτιστε Θεόφιλε *kratistē* here with the "to his Excellency the governor Felix" τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι Φήλικι *kratistōi* in Acts 23:26.

Theophilus as a name means also "Friend of God", "Lover of God".
 e. About the purpose: The gospel gives an "orderly account" of the origin of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Lord who was sent by God to Israel in agreement with the holy books of the Jews as the savior of Israel and all nations. Acts shows that the Christian movement is neither against the Jews nor against the Roman authority, but a movement related to the coming kingdom of God and the proclamation of salvation and the gift of eternal life through faith in Jesus Christ.

3.1.3 Information taken from the rest of the New Testament

Luke (Col 4:14; 2 Tm 4:11; Philemon 1:24).

2 Cor 8:18 "With him we are sending the brother who is famous among all the churches for his preaching of the gospel."³

3.1.4 Title (Inscription)

1. According to Luke: ⲁ Sinaiticus (IV); Vaticanus (IV); vgst; bo^{ms4};
2. Gospel according to Luke: A (V); D (V); L (VIII); W (IV/V); θ (IX); Ξ (VI); Ψ (IX/X); 33 (IX); ℣; lat(= old Latin translations and Vulgate); sa^{mss}; bo^{pt};
3. Holy Gospel according to Luke: 209 (XIV); 579 (XIII);

3. συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν I agree with Jerome that Paul speaks here of Luke.

4. Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 150.

4. Beginning of the holy Gospel according to Luke: 1241 (XII).

3.1.5 Traditions of the early church about Luke's books

Quotes about the gospel according to Luke and Acts

1. Irenaeus:

Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel preached by him.⁵

For the cherubim, too, were four-faced, and their faces were images of the dispensation of the Son of God. For, [as the Scripture] says, “The first living creature was like a lion,” symbolizing His effectual working, His leadership, and royal power; the second [living creature] was like a calf, signifying [His] sacrificial and sacerdotal order; but “the third had, as it were, the face as of a man,” - an evident description of His advent as a human being; “the fourth was like a flying eagle,” pointing out the gift of the Spirit hovering with His wings over the Church. And therefore the Gospels are in accord with these things, among which Christ Jesus is seated. For that according to John relates His original, effectual, and glorious generation from the Father,

5. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 595 (Against Heresies III,I,1).

thus declaring, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Also, "all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." For this reason, too, is that Gospel full of all confidence, for such is His person. But that according to Luke, taking up [His] priestly character, commenced with Zacharias the priest offering sacrifice to God. For now was made ready the fatted calf, about to be immolated for the finding again of the younger son. Matthew, again, relates His generation as a man, saying, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham;" and also, "The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise." This, then, is the Gospel of His humanity; for which reason it is, too, that [the character of] a humble and meek man is kept up through the whole Gospel. Mark, on the other hand, commences with [a reference to] the prophetic spirit coming down from on high to men, saying, "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Esaias the prophet," - pointing to the winged aspect of the Gospel; and on this account he made a compendious and cursory narrative, for such is the prophetic character.⁶

But that this Luke was inseparable from Paul, and his fellow-labourer in the Gospel, he himself

6. *ibid.*, p. 616-617 (Against Heresies III,XI,8).

clearly evinces, not as a matter of boasting, but as bound to do so by the truth itself. For he says that when Barnabas, and John who was called Mark, had parted company from Paul, and sailed to Cyprus, “we came to Troas;” and when Paul had beheld in a dream a man of Macedonia, saying, “Come into Macedonia, Paul, and help us,” “immediately,” he says, “we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, understanding that the Lord had called us to preach the Gospel unto them.”⁷

2. The Muratorian Canon

(2) The third book of the Gospel is that according to Luke. (3) Luke, the well-known physician, after the ascension of Christ, (4-5) when Paul had taken with him as one zealous for the law, (6) composed it in his own name, according to [the general] belief. Yet he himself had not (7) seen the Lord in the flesh; and therefore, as he was able to ascertain events, (8) so indeed he begins to tell the story from the birth of John... (34) Moreover, the acts of all the apostles (35) were written in one book. For 'most excellent Theophilus' Luke compiled (36) the individual events that took place in his presence - (37) as he plainly shows by omitting the martyrdom of Peter (38) as well as the departure of Paul from

7. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 630 (Against Heresies III,XIV,1).

the city [of Rome] (39) when he journeyed to Spain.⁸

3. The "Anti-Marcionite" prologue to Luke

Indeed Luke was an Antiochene Syrian, a doctor by profession, a disciple of the apostles: later however he followed Paul until his martyrdom, serving the Lord blamelessly. He never had a wife, he never fathered children, and died at the age of eighty-four, full of the Holy Spirit, in Boetia. Therefore - although gospels had already been written - indeed by Matthew in Judaea but by Mark in Italy - moved by the Holy Spirit he wrote down this gospel in the parts of Achaia, signifying in the preface that the others were written before his, but also that it was of the greatest importance for him to expound with the greatest diligence the whole series of events in his narration for the Greek believers, so that they would not be led astray by the lure of Jewish fables, or, seduced by the fables of the heretics and stupid solicitations, fall away from the truth. And so at once at the start he took up the extremely necessary [story] from the birth of John, who is the beginning of the gospel, the forerunner of our Lord Jesus Christ, and was a companion in the perfecting of the people, likewise in the introducing of baptism and a companion in martyr-

8. The text is taken from The Muratorian Fragment where it is given according to Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 305-307.

dom. Of this disposition the prophet Malachi, one of the twelve, certainly makes mention. And indeed afterwards the same Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles.⁹

4. Clement.

"Again, in the same books, Clement gives the tradition of the earliest presbyters, as to the order of the Gospels, in the following manner: The Gospels containing the genealogies, he says, were written first."¹⁰

"... as Luke in the Acts of the Apostles relates that Paul said, "Men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious."¹¹

5. Origen: "And third, was that according to Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, which he composed for the converts from the Gentiles."¹²

9. Anonymus, The "Anti-Marcionite" prologues to the gospels.

10. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 410 (hist. eccl. VI,14,5-6).

11. Philip Schaff, ANF02. Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire), Ante-Nicene Fathers (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2004), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.html>, p. 668 (Strom. 5.12).

12. Schaff, ANF09. The Gospel of Peter, The Diatessaron of Tatian, The Apocalypse of Peter, the Vision of Paul, The Apocalypse of the Virgin and Sedrach, The Testament of Abraham, The Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena, The Narrative of Zosimus, The Apology of Aristides, The Epistles of Clement (complete text), Origen's Commentary on John, Books 1-10, and Commen-

Origen implies in his commentary on Matthew that Luke wrote Acts: "Judas the Galilean whom Luke mentions in his Acts of the Apostles."¹³

6. Eusebius:

7. But Luke, who was of Antiochian parentage and a physician by profession, and who was especially intimate with Paul and well acquainted with the rest of the apostles, has left us, in two inspired books, proofs of that spiritual healing art which he learned from them. One of these books is the Gospel, which he testifies that he wrote as those who were from the beginning eye witnesses and ministers of the word delivered unto him, all of whom, as he says, he followed accurately from the first. The other book is the Acts of the Apostles which he composed not from the accounts of others, but from what he had seen himself.

8. And they say that Paul meant to refer to Luke's Gospel wherever, as if speaking of some gospel of his own, he used the words, "according to my

tary on Matthew, Books 1, 2, and 10–14., p. 537 (Comm. in Matthew I).

13. Cf. Acts 5:37. Translation by Lanz from Origen, *Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei* (lib. 12-17), accessed January 16, 2013, [http://khazarzar.skeptik.net/pgm/PG_Migne/Origenes_PG % 2011 - 17 / Commentarium % 20in % 20evangelium % 20Matthaei_.pdf](http://khazarzar.skeptik.net/pgm/PG_Migne/Origenes_PG%2011-17/Commentarium%20in%20evangelium%20Matthaei_.pdf), p. 138: Ἰούδας μὲν ὁ Γαλιλαῖος, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεσιν

Gospel.”¹⁴

7. Jerome:

Luke a physician of Antioch, as his writings indicate, was not unskilled in the Greek language. An adherent of the apostle Paul, and companion of all his journeying, he wrote a Gospel, concerning which the same Paul says, “We send with him a brother whose praise in the gospel is among all the churches” and to the Colossians “Luke the beloved physician salutes you,” and to Timothy “Luke only is with me.” He also wrote another excellent volume to which he prefixed the title Acts of the Apostles, a history which extends to the second year of Paul’s sojourn at Rome, that is to the fourth year of Nero, from which we learn that the book was composed in that same city ... Some suppose that whenever Paul in his epistle says “according to my gospel” he means the book of Luke and that Luke not only was taught the gospel history by the apostle Paul who was not with the Lord in the flesh, but also by other apostles. This he too at the beginning of his work declares, saying “Even as they delivered unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word.” So he wrote the gospel as he had heard it, but composed the

14. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 185-186 (hist. eccl. III,4, 7-8).

Acts of the apostles as he himself had seen."¹⁵

Summary of these quotes

1. Author: Luke and Acts written by Luke (Irenaeus; Muratorian Canon; the "Anti-Marcionite" prologue to Luke; Clement; Origen; Eusebius; Jerome). Jerome understands that Paul speaks in 2 Cor 8:18 of Luke ("We send with him a brother whose praise in the gospel is among all the churches").
2. Time: The gospel according to Luke is the third gospel (The Muratorian Canon; the "Anti-Marcionite" prologue to Luke; Origen). Matthew and Luke were written before Mark and John (Clement). Luke was written before Paul's letters to Romans and 2 Timothy (Eusebius; Jerome; "according to my Gospel", cf. Rom 2:16; 16:25; 2 Tm 2:8. That would be before spring 56 A.D. for Romans according to our assumed date). Acts is "a history which extends to the second year of Paul's sojourn at Rome, that is to the fourth year of Nero" (Jerome).
3. Place: The gospel written "in the parts of Achaia" (The "Anti-Marcionite" prologue to Luke). Acts written in Rome (Jerome).
4. Recipients: The gospel written for the worldwide church (Irenaeus); for the Greek believers (the "Anti-Marcionite" prologue to Luke); for the converts from the Gentiles (Ori-

15. Philip Schaff, NPNF2-03. Theodoret, Jerome, Gennadius, & Rufinus: Historical Writings (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1892), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf203.html>, p. 538, On Illustrious Men 7.

gen). Acts written for the "most excellent Theophilus" (The Muratorian Canon).

5. Purpose: Luke wrote to present the "sacrificial and sacerdotal order" of Jesus (Irenaeus). Luke wrote "for the Greek believers, so that they would not be led astray by the lure of Jewish fables, or, seduced by the fables of the heretics and stupid solicitations, fall away from the truth" (the "Anti-Marcionite" prologue to Luke). Luke wrote "in two inspired books, proofs of that spiritual healing art which he learned from" the apostles (Eusebius).
6. Special characteristics. Luke's gospel presents the sacrificial and sacerdotal order of Jesus (Irenaeus). Luke's gospel is the gospel somehow related to Paul (Origen; Eusebius; Jerome).

3.1.6 **Characteristics of Luke**

1. Luke writes as a good historian covering the time from the annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist and of Jesus, the childhood of John and Jesus, important aspects of Jesus' ministry, his passion and resurrection up to his ascension where his second book Acts continues.¹⁶ By giving names of kings and other high officials he places his report of salvation history within the framework of saecular history (1:5; 2:1-2; 3:1-2).
2. Luke starts his story in the temple in Jerusalem (Lk 1:5ff) and he ends it there (Lk 24:52-53). There are no appearances of the risen Lord mentioned in Galilee, only the ones in and near Jerusalem.

16. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 90-93.

3. The gospel of Luke is universalistic: Jesus is Savior for the whole earth (2:11.14). "All flesh shall see the salvation of God" (3:6; cf. 4:25-27).
4. Luke shows a special interest in people
 - (a) in individuals: Mary and Martha (10:38-42); Mary Magdalene (8:2; 24:10);
 - (b) in social outcasts (7:36-50; 19:1-10; 23:39-43);
 - (c) in faithful and believing women (Elisabeth and Mary 1:24-25; 1:39-56; 2:19.51; female followers of Jesus 8:2-3; 23:49.55-24:11);
 - (d) in children (7:12; 8:42; 9:38; 18:15 τὰ βρέφη from βρέφος ta brēphē infants, babies)
 - (e) in social relationships (often in the context of meals; 7:36-50; 11:37-44; 10:38-42; 10,38-42; 19:1-10; 24,13-32; 11:5-8; 15:8-10; 15,22-32; 10:35);
 - (f) in the subject of being poor or rich (6:20.24.30; 12:13-21; 16:1-31; 3:10-14; 4:17-21; 1:53).
5. Luke has a special emphasis on
 - (a) Prayer: According to our outline analysis prayers may initiate new sections in the gospel of Luke (those in brackets do not initiate a new section). After the first these are all prayers of Jesus: 1:5-10; 3:21; 6:12; 9:18 (+ 9:28); 10:21 (+ 11:1); (22:31-32; 23:34.46).
 - (b) The Holy Spirit (1:15.41-44; 1:67-79; 2:26-32; 4:1.14.18; 10:21; 24:49). This emphasis is continued in Acts.
 - (c) Joy (1:14.44; 1:46-55; 2:10-11; 6:21.23; 10:21; 15:1-32).

3.1.7 Characteristics of Acts

A book of history.

Both books of Luke are good historical narratives but with the theological perspective of salvation history. It is good history embedded in world history with kings and governors mentioned, but the key ruler is God the Father through his Son Jesus Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷ Without Luke's gospel, we still had Matthew, Mark and John, but with less historical information and framework. But if we took not only Luke away from the New Testament, but also Acts we would lose a lot of the historical framework which we have now. It would be a great loss.

Acts within the New Testament.

The book of Acts is a wonderful link between the four canonical gospels on one side and the letters of the New Testament on the other. Its place in the New Testament canon after the gospels and before the letters is just fitting. It is possible to place much of Paul's letters within the historical framework given by Acts. And the catholic epistles can be placed afterwards accordingly. See subsection 3.3.2.

Showing the development of the early church.

In Acts Luke gives us a picture of the early development of the church in Jerusalem and Judea and from there after the stoning of Stephen in Samaria and the near east, especially Antioch. We hear of Aramaic and Greek speaking Jewish Christians in Jerusalem

17. For the characteristics cf. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 336ff.

and of social tensions because the widows of one group were overlooked, of deacons appointed to help in this situation. Without Acts we would be much poorer in our knowledge of the development of the early church and the spreading of the gospel. Later in Acts we follow the team of Paul from Antioch to the capital of the Roman empire.

From Jerusalem to Rome by the power of the Holy Spirit.

The gospel of Luke starts in the temple in Jerusalem and ends there. After the disciples witnessed the ascension of Jesus Christ and received his blessing, they are seen last in the temple in Jerusalem praising God. Acts starts with the ascension of Jesus Christ from mount Olivet near Jerusalem (Acts 1) and ends in Rome. In chapter 2 Peter proclaims that Jesus has ascended into heaven and taken his seat of power at the right hand of God and that Jesus has poured out the Holy Spirit on all flesh in fulfillment of Joel 2:28-32 (Acts 2:17-21, 33-35). It is interesting that in Joel it is the Lord God who pours out his Spirit and in the fulfillment in Acts it is the Lord Jesus. This is another proof of the divinity of Jesus Christ. We can say that Acts starts with the ascension and enthronement of Jesus as the king of the universe at the right hand of God. One of the first deeds of this new empowered and appointed king is that he starts to conquer the world back for God by pouring out the Holy Spirit on all flesh proven by the gift of the Holy Spirit to speak all tongues of men. Through the whole of Acts we see Jesus Christ guiding his church from above through the Holy Spirit and at the end we reach Rome together with Paul. If we take the two books of Luke together, then they start in Jerusalem and end in Rome. Now Theophilus knows where the gospel came from and how it reached the capital city of the empire where he lived.

A portrait of the development of early theology.

By reporting the key ideas of several sermons of Peter and Paul throughout the book and by giving a summary of the council of the apostles and elders in Jerusalem in Acts 15 Luke gives us snapshots of the development of the early theology of key leaders of the church.

Concentration on Peter and Paul

The two main human characters of Acts are the apostle Peter and the apostle Paul with their associated coworkers and different teams throughout the book. Luke seems to concentrate on them (see sub-section 3.3.1). It is interesting that according to the testimony of the early church most or all of the New Testament books are related to these two apostles and their coworkers.

1. *Peter and team*: Matthew, Mark, John (Jn, 1 + 2 + 3 Jn, Revelation), James, Peter (1 + 2 Pt), Jude.

2. *Paul and team*: Mark, Luke (Lk +, Acts), 14 letters of Paul (with Hebrews included).

Mark can be placed in both teams and Peter used Silvanus (1 Pt 5:12) while writing his first letter.

3.1.8 Christology in Luke

Christ

Jesus was born for the Jews "in the city of David a Savior, who is Christ the Lord" (Lk 2:11). Simeon knew from "the Holy Spirit that he would not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ (Lk 2:26). As the people were wondering whether John the Baptist "might be the Christ" (Lk 3:15), John answered them that he only baptizes with water, but the one who is mightier than he would

come and baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire and would have the authority to give eternal life or to throw into the fire of hell.

Demons knew that Jesus was the Christ (Lk 4:41), "but he rebuked them and would not allow them to speak," when he threw them out. Jesus asked the disciples, "Who do you say that I am?" Peter answered, "The Christ of God." (Lk 9:20).

Jesus taught in the temple, "How can they say that the Christ is David's son? For David himself ... calls him Lord" (Lk 20:41-44) in Ps 110:1).

The people of the council urged Jesus to tell them whether he was the Christ (Lk 22:67) and in his own way Jesus confirmed it.

The Jews then accused Jesus before Pilate, "We found this man misleading our nation and forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ, a king" (Lk 23:2).

Later when Jesus was crucified, he was mocked that he should save himself, if he is the Christ (Lk 23:35.39). But the risen Jesus explained to the disciples that this is what the prophets had predicted about him, "Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory?" (Lk 24:26). "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be proclaimed in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem." (Lk 24:46-47)

King

Jesus fulfills Zechariah 9:9 to show that he is the promised humble king coming on a donkey (19:38). The Jewish leaders accuse him before Pilate, "We found this man misleading our nation and forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ, a king" (23:2). When Pilate asked him whether he is king

of the Jews, Jesus affirmed (23:3). Jesus is crucified as the king of the Jews (23:38) and mocked as such (23:37).

Son of God

Gabriel said that Jesus would "be called holy - the Son of God" because of his miraculous birth from the virgin by the power of the Holy Spirit (Lk 1:35). When Jesus "had been baptized and was praying, ... a voice came from heaven, 'You are my beloved Son; with you I am well pleased'" (Lk 3:21-22).

The genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3:23-38 ends with "the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son of God."

The devil tempted Jesus saying, "If you are the Son of God, command this stone to become bread ... If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down from here" (Lk 4:3.9). Demons knew that Jesus was the Son of God (Lk 4:41).

On the mount of transfiguration a voice came out of a cloud, saying to Peter, James and John, "This is my Son, my Chosen One; listen to him!" (Lk 9:35).

The people of the Jewish council asked Jesus, "Are you the Son of God, then?" (Lk 22:70). And when he confirmed, he was condemned.

Son of Man

In Luke Jesus very often uses the phrase "the Son of Man" in speaking of himself.

1. Simply as a way of speaking of himself (Lk 6:22; 9:58; 11:30; 17:22; 17:26).
2. "The Son of Man came to seek and to save the lost" (Lk 19:10).

3. Related to his being rejected, his suffering, death and resurrection for the salvation of the world (Lk 7:34; Lk 9:22; 9:44; 12:10; 18:31; 22:22.48; Lk 24:7);
4. related to his ascension into heaven and his sitting at the right hand of God the Father to rule in divine and royal authority (Lk 22:69);
5. related to his second coming in visible divine glory (9:26; 12:40; 17:24.30; 18:8; 21:27.36);
6. related to his divine authority,
 - (a) to forgive sins on earth (Lk 5:24);
 - (b) being "lord of the Sabbath" (Lk 6:5);
 - (c) to judge the world (Lk 9:26; 12:8; 17:26.30).

Lord

To understand the way that Jesus is Lord, it is useful to have an overview of the use of "lord" or "Lord" (kyriōs) in Luke.

1. Basically kyriōs means "lord, owner" and is also used in that meaning in Luke (12:36.37; 12:42-47; 13:8; 13:25; 14:21-23; 16:3.5; 16:13; 19:16.18; 19:20.25; 19:33; 20:13.15).
2. Kyriōs meaning the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jakob
 - (a) In many places in Lk kyriōs is the Greek translation of the Hebrew name of God in the OT as for example in quotations from the OT or in phrases which are taken from the OT (Lk 1:6; 1:11; 1:16; 2:22.23.24; 2:39; 4:8.12; 4:18.19; 10:27; 13:35; 19:38; 20:37; 20:42).

- (b) God as Lord in the New Testament context (Lk 1:9; 1:15; 1:17; 1:25; 1:28; 1:32; 1:38; 1:45.46; 1:58.66; 1:68.76; 2:9.15; 2:26; 5:17; 10:2; 10:21).
3. Jesus is called "Lord"
- (a) Jesus calls himself "the Lord" and sends his disciples to do so fetching the colt (Lk 19:31.34).
 - (b) The author Luke calls Jesus "the Lord" (Lk 7:13; 7:19; 10:1; 10:39.41; 11:39; 12:42; 13:15; 16:8; 17:5.6; 18:6; 19:8; 22:61.61; 24:3).
 - (c) A person speaking to Jesus acknowledges him as "Lord", for example a disciple or somebody who comes with a request (Lk 5:8; 5:12; 7:6; 9:54; 9:59.61; 10:17; 10:40; 11:1; 12:41; 13:23; 17:37; 18:41; 22:33; 22:38; 22:49).
 - (d) While not speaking to Jesus, Elizabeth talks of Jesus as "my Lord" (Lk 1:43) and the disciples say, "The Lord has risen indeed" (24:34).
 - (e) Jesus as Lord with divine authority
 - i. "a Savior, who is Christ the Lord" (Lk 2:11);
 - ii. "lord of the Sabbath" (6:5);
 - iii. "Why do you call me 'Lord, Lord,' and not do what I tell you?" (6:46);
 - iv. "'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool.' David thus calls him Lord, so how is he his son?" (20:41-44).
 - (f) As "Lord God". In some places it is clear that the name of God of the OT is meant, but at the same time it can also be understood to point to Jesus as the Lord God.

- i. In Lk 3:4 Is 40:3 is quoted which speaks of God the Lord, but John also prepares the way for Jesus who is mightier than John and who is the Lord (3:15-17).
 - ii. The devil is tempting Jesus to tempt the Lord. Jesus' answer shows the devil also that the devil should not tempt Jesus the Lord (4:12).
- (g) On judgment day Jesus is Lord with judgment authority (12:42-47).

Savior

In Lk 1:46-48 Mary said, "My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Savior, for he has looked on the humble estate of his servant." Here God the Lord is Mary's Savior and has chosen her to become the mother of the Christ. In Lk 2:10-11 the angel identifies the new born baby Jesus as the Savior, "Fear not, for behold, I bring you good news of a great joy that will be for all the people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, who is Christ the Lord."

Summary: God and Man in one person

Looking at all titles of Jesus Christ and at their use and at what Jesus is doing in the sections under view, it is clear that Jesus is presented in Luke as true God and true Man in one person.

3.2 Outline and Content of Luke

ULk = Unique to Lk;

(ULk) = Unique to Luke with a certain parallel elsewhere

ULk* = Only a certain part is unique to Lk.

A. 1:5-3:20 The birth and being raised of John the Baptist to prepare the way for the Lord Jesus and the fulfillment of his calling. The birth and being raised of Jesus the Lord.

B. 3:21-6:11 Jesus, the prayerful Son of God, is anointed with the Spirit "to proclaim good news ... the year of the Lord's favor" (4:18-19), do good even on the Sabbath and save sinners.

C. 6:12-9:17 Jesus chose twelve apostles, trained them with his teaching, showed them great divine miracles and sent them.

D. 9:18-10:20 Jesus asked the disciples: "Who do you say that I am?" Peter answered, "The Christ of God." Jesus commanded them to tell nobody and taught them about his death and resurrection in Jerusalem. Starting his way to Jerusalem he sent 72 "into every ... place where he himself was about to go" (10:1).

E. 10:21-18:30 What Jesus teaches on the way to Jerusalem.

F. 18:31-34 Outline for 18:35-24:53. 18:35-19:46 Jesus healed a blind beggar who recognized him as the Son of David, but Jerusalem was blind for the coming of Jesus as King. Jesus saved Zacchaeus from his love of money, but Israel's leaders made God's house of prayer a den of robbers. Therefore Jesus will return later as king.

G. 19:47-22:6 While Jesus was teaching daily in the temple, many heard him, but the chief priests and leaders of the people wanted to kill him all the time. The rejection of Jesus will lead to the destruction of Jerusalem and to a long time for the Jews without their Messiah.

H. 22:7-62 In the night of the passover feast Jesus instituted the Lord's supper, promised the faithful apostles thrones in his kingdom, steeled himself in prayer to the Father to drink the cup of suffering, knowing that the Scriptures must be fulfilled, was betrayed by Judas, arrested by his enemies and denied by Peter.

I. 22:63-23:49 The Jewish leaders condemned Jesus handing him over to Pilate compelling him to crucify Jesus, in spite of the fact that Pilate and Herod found Jesus innocent. Even when crucified Jesus loved his enemies, saved one criminal and prayed to the Father committing his spirit to him. The Father sent signs showing his Son to be the Savior.

J. 23:50-24:53 Jesus dead and buried in a tomb is a source of grief for the disciples. But on the third day the female disciples find the tomb empty and are told by angels that Jesus is alive. Jesus appeared to the disciples bringing them great joy saying, "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead."

1:1-4 ULk Prologue and introduction to the whole book.¹⁸

A. 1:5-3:20 The birth and being raised of John the Baptist to prepare the way for the Lord Jesus and the fulfillment of his calling. The birth and being raised of Jesus the Lord.

a¹ 1:5-25 ULk **While the people were praying** in the temple court at the hour of incense, Gabriel told Zechariah of the coming birth of John "to make ready for the Lord a people prepared" (17).

a² 1:26-38 (ULk) Gabriel was sent to Nazareth to Mary, a virgin betrothed to Joseph of the house of David, and told her of the coming miraculous birth of Jesus, the Son of God and king of Israel.

18. For the micro-analysis of Luke I have also used Hajime Murai, Literary structure (chiasm, chiasmus) of Gospel of Luke, accessed March 30, 2016, http://www.valdes.titech.ac.jp/~h_murai/bible/42_Luke_pericope_e.html. For the macro-analysis, especially for Lk 10-18, I profited from David G. Palmer, The Structure of Luke's Gospel, accessed April 13, 2016, 2013, <http://www.davidgpalmer.co.uk/the-structure-of-lukes-gospel/>.

b¹ 1:39-56 ULk Mary visits Elizabeth. Mary praises God.

c¹ 1:57-66 ULk The birth and circumcision of John the Baptist

b² 1:67-79 ULk Zechariah prophesying praises God .

d¹ 1:80 ULK The childhood and growing up of John the Baptist.

c² 2:1-21 (ULk) The birth of Jesus Christ and his circumcision.

d² 2:22-52 ULk The childhood and growing up of Jesus. His presentation at the temple. Simeon and Anna (22-40). The boy Jesus in the temple (41-52).

d³ 3:1-20 ULk*: 10-15* John the Baptist prepared the way for the Lord Jesus. Herod the tetrarch locked up John in prison.

B. 3:21-6:11 Jesus, the prayerful Son of God, is anointed with the Spirit "to proclaim good news ... the year of the Lord's favor" (4:18-19), do good even on the Sabbath and save sinners.

a¹ 3:21-38 (ULk 23-38) After his baptism **Jesus while praying** was anointed by God's Spirit and heard: "You are my beloved Son; with you I am well pleased" (22). The genealogy of Jesus presents him as Son of Man (Adam) and so Son of God.

b¹ 4:1-13 "Jesus ... was led by the Spirit in the wilderness for forty days, being tempted by the devil. And he ate nothing during those days" (1-2). He overcame the temptations by the word of God.

a² 4:14-41 ULk*: 16-21.23.25-30* Jesus preaches in Galilee. On a Sabbath in Nazareth he claims Is 61:1-2 to be fulfilled: He is anointed with "the Spirit of the Lord ... to proclaim good news to the poor ... the year of the Lord's favor" (18-19). But they wanted to kill him (14-30). In Capernaum he healed a man with an unclean demon on the Sabbath (31-37) and Peter's mother-in-law and after sun set many more. He silenced demons driving them out because they would say, "You are the Son of God!", the Christ (38-41).

c¹ 4:42-44 Jesus went into a desolate place and said when found: "'I must preach the good news of the kingdom of God to the other towns as well; for I was sent for this purpose.' And he was preach-

ing in the synagogues of Judea" (43-44).

d¹ 5:1-11 ULk A miraculous catch of fish. Jesus calls Simon, a sinner, to "be catching men" for God. James and John joined too.

e 5:12-14 Jesus cleanses a leper.

c² 5:15-16 Jesus became very famous so that "great crowds gathered to hear him and to be healed of their infirmities. But he would withdraw to desolate places and pray."

d² 5:17-32 Jesus, the Son of Man, heals a paralytic proving his power to forgive sins (17-26). He calls Levi and eats at his house with his friends, because he is a loving doctor who wants to cure sinners from sin (27-32).

b² 5:33-39 Jesus does not teach his disciples to fast now at the time of Israel's Messianic wedding feast knowing that they will fast in the new era "when the bridegroom is taken away from them" (35).

a³ 6:1-11 As Son of Man and lord of the Sabbath he allowed the disciples to pluck heads of grain to eat. He healed a withered hand on the Sabbath. The scribes and Pharisees "were filled with fury and discussed with one another what they might do to Jesus" (11).

C. 6:12-9:17 Jesus chose twelve apostles, trained them with his teaching, showed them great divine miracles and sent them.

a¹ 6:12-16 **After a night of prayer on a mountain Jesus** chose from his disciples twelve whom he also named apostles.

b¹ 6:17-19 Jesus came down with the twelve and stood on a level place ministering to a great multitude from all Judea and Jerusalem and the seacoast of Tyre and Sidon, curing them from diseases and unclean spirits.

c¹ 6:20-49 ULk* Sermon on a level place: The beatitudes. Jesus pronounces woes. Love your enemies. Judge not! Doing the will of the Lord.

d¹ 7:1-10 The faith of the centurion of Capernaum

e¹ 7:11-17 ULk Jesus raised the only son of a widow at Nain.

f¹ 7:18-23 John's question: "Are you the one who is to come?" (19)

f² 7:24-35 The testimony of Jesus about John the Baptist.

e² 7:36-50 (ULk) A woman anoints Jesus showing her love because her sins are forgiven: "Your faith has saved you; go in peace" (50).

b² 8:1-3 ULk Jesus "went on through cities and villages, proclaiming and bringing the good news of the kingdom of God. And the twelve were with him, and also some women who ... provided for them out of their means."

c² 8:4-18 A sermon in parables.

8:4-8 The parable of the sower.

8:9-10 The purpose of the parables is that the disciples of Jesus may know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven, but the other Israelites not "so that 'seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand'" (cf. Is 6:9-10).

8:11-15 The parable of the sower explained.

8:16-18 No one covers a lighted lamp with a jar. "Take care then how you hear" (18).

8:19-21 "My mother and my brothers are those who hear the word of God and do it" (21).

d² 8:22-25 Jesus calms a storm.

d³ 8:26-39 He heals a demon-possessed man in the area of the Gerasenes.

e³⁺⁴ 8:40-56 Healing of a woman who suffered from a discharge of blood: "Daughter, your faith has made you well; go in peace" (48). The raising of the daughter and only child of Jairus.

a² 9:1-10a Jesus sends out the twelve apostles and they come back and report what they have done. "Herod the tetrarch heard about all that was happening, and he was perplexed ... Herod said, 'John I beheaded, but who is this about whom I hear such things?' And he sought to see him" (7+9).

b³ 9:10b-17 Jesus took the twelve apostles "and withdrew apart to

a town called Bethsaida" (10). "When the crowds learned it, they followed him, and he welcomed them and spoke to them of the kingdom of God and cured those who had need of healing" (11). Jesus feeds the five thousand men.

D: 9:18-10:20 Jesus asked the disciples: "Who do you say that I am?" Peter answered, "The Christ of God." Jesus commanded them to tell nobody and taught them about his death and resurrection in Jerusalem. Starting his way to Jerusalem he sent 72 "into every ... place where he himself was about to go" (10:1).

a¹ 9:18-20 As Jesus "was praying alone ... he asked" (18) the disciples what the people and the disciples think who Jesus is. While the people thought of Jesus as a prophet, Peter answered for the disciples that Jesus was the "Christ of God" (20).

b¹ 9:21-22 Jesus "strictly charged and commanded them to tell this to no one saying, 'The Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected by the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised'" (21-22).

c¹ 9:23-27 The cost and profit of following Jesus: "If anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me" (23).

a² 9:28-36 The transfiguration of Jesus: "**As he was praying, the appearance of his face was altered**, and his clothing became dazzling white. And .. Moses and Elijah ... appeared ... and spoke of his departure, which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem" (29-31). "This is my Son, my Chosen One; listen to him!" (35)

d¹ 9:37-43a Jesus heals a father's only son with an unclean spirit.

b² 9:43b-45 Jesus again said, "The Son of Man is about to be delivered into the hands of men" (44). "But they did not understand this saying, and it was concealed from them, so that they might not perceive it. And they were afraid to ask him about this saying" (45).

c² 9:46-48 Who is the greatest? "Whoever receives this child in my

name receives me ... For he who is least among you all is the one who is great" (48).

d² 9:49-50 "'Master, we saw someone casting out demons in your name, and we tried to stop him' ... 'Do not stop him, for the one who is not against you is for you.'"

e¹ 9:51-56 ULk "When the days drew near for him to be taken up, he set his face to go to Jerusalem. And he sent messengers ahead of him ... to make preparations for him" (51-52). When a Samaritan village did not receive Jesus, "they went on to another village" (56).

c³ 9:57-62 The cost of following Jesus

e² 10:1-16 ULk*: 10:1* Jesus sends out the seventy-two. Woe to Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum because they did not repent in spite of many miracles of Jesus. "The one who hears you hears me, and the one who rejects you rejects me" (16).

d³ 10:17-20 ULk "The seventy-two returned with joy, saying, 'Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name!' ... 'Behold, I have given you authority ... over all the power of the enemy ... Nevertheless, do not rejoice in this ... but rejoice that your names are written in heaven.'"

E. 10:21-18:30 What Jesus teaches on the way to Jerusalem.¹⁹

a¹ 10:21-42 God reveals the Son to children. Inheriting eternal life: law and love. " **I thank you Father**, ... that you have hidden these things from the wise ... and revealed them to little children" (21).

(a1 10:21-24 The Father hides from the wise and reveals to the children; b1 10:25-37 ULk The parable of the good Samaritan. Example for a wise man from whom it is hidden; b2 10:38-42 ULk Mary and Martha: Example for a child to whom it is revealed and who hears.)

19. For the macro-analysis of 10:21-18:30 I profited much from Palmer, *The Structure of Luke's Gospel*.

b¹ 11:1-13 ULk*:1.5-9* Jesus teaches to pray. "**Now Jesus was praying** in a certain place ... one of his disciples said to him, 'Lord, teach us to pray'" (1). The Lord's prayer (2-4). A friend asking with persistent impudence (5-8). Promises for prayer. The Holy Spirit is given (9-13).

c¹ 11:14-12:12 Because Jesus casts out demons by the finger of God, the kingdom of God has come upon Israel. "Blessed ... are those who hear the word of God and keep it!" (11:28). The sign of Jonah. "Give as alms those things that are within, and behold, everything is clean for you" (11:41). "Everyone who acknowledges me before men, the Son of Man also will acknowledge before the angels of God" (12:8). (a1 11:14-26; b1 11:27-28; a2 11:29-32; c1 11:33-36; b2 11:37-54; c2 12:1-12).

d¹ 12:13-48 Earthly and heavenly riches: "Be on your guard against all covetousness" (15). Be not anxious, what you will eat or what you will put on (22). Trust God and be rich for him. Be ready and waiting for the coming Son of Man who will reward his faithful servants and punish the unfaithful. (a1 12:13-21 ULk; b1 12:22-30; a2 12:31-34 ULk*: 32*; b2 12:35-48)

e¹ 12:49-13:9 Divisions, warning and prudence, repentance: Jesus has come to cast the fire of the Holy Spirit on the earth, but this will bring also change and division into families, by one part repenting in time and the other not. (a1 12:49-53; b1 12:54-59; a2 13:1-5 ULk; b2 13:6-9 ULk)

f^{center} 13:10-14:24 Jesus heals people even on a Sabbath showing the kindness of God. The kingdom of God starts from the small and low. Whoever wants to enter the kingdom of God must give it preference. Jesus will go to Jerusalem and die there and will be perfected on the third day, but Jerusalem shall not see him until it welcomes him. (a1 13:10-17 ULk; b1 13:18-21; c1 13:22-30; d 13:31-35 ULk*: 31-33*; a2 14:1-6 ULk; b2 14:7-14 ULk*: 7-

10.12-14*; c2 14:15-24 ULk*: 15*).

e² 14:25-15:32 Divisions, warning and prudence, repentance: To come to Jesus, one must love him more than anything. Then one is wise and a prudent and truly repentant disciple. All sinners came to Jesus and he joyfully accepted them. (a1 14:25-33 b1 14:34-35 a2 15:1-32: 1-2; 3-7 The lost sheep; 8-10 ULk*: 8-9* The lost coin; 11-32 ULk The prodigal son).

d² 16:1-31 Earthly and heavenly riches. Coming judgment. (a1 16:1-13 ULk The parable of the dishonest manager; b 16:14-18 ULk*: 14-15* "The Pharisees ... were lovers of money ... and ... ridiculed him" (14); a216:19-31 ULk The rich man and Lazarus).

c² 17:1-37 Woe to the one through whom temptations come. How to pay attention to each other and forgive each other. Faith increases by doing humbly God's word. "Your faith has made you well" (19). "The kingdom of God is not coming with signs to be observed ... the kingdom of God is in the midst of you" (20-21). "On the day when the Son of Man is revealed" (30) one must totally turn to him and leave everything else to be saved. (a1 17:1-4; b1 17:5-10; b2 17:11-19; a2 17:20-37).

b² 18:1-14 Jesus teaches to pray, with persistence and with humbleness. (a1 18:1-8 ULk The parable of the persistent widow; a2 18:9-14 ULk The pharisee and the tax collector).

a² 18:15-30 One has to receive the kingdom of God like a child. Inheriting eternal life: law and following Jesus. (a1 18:15-17 "Let the children come to me" (16). "Whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it" (17). a2 18:18-30 The rich ruler. "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" (18).

18:31-34 Outline for 18:35-24:53:

"See, we are going up to Jerusalem, and everything that is written about the Son of Man by the prophets will be accomplished. For he will be delivered over to the Gentiles and will be mocked and

shamefully treated and spit upon. And after flogging him, they will kill him, and on the third day he will rise.' But they understood none of these things".

F. 18:35-19:46 Jesus healed a blind beggar who recognized him as the Son of David, but Jerusalem was blind for the coming of Jesus as King. Jesus saved Zacchaeus from his love of money, but Israel's leaders made God's house of prayer a den of robbers. Therefore Jesus will return later as king.

a¹ 18:35-43 A blind beggar near Jericho cried out, "Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!" He was told to be silent, "but he cried out all the more". Jesus gave him his sight.

b¹ 19:1-10 ULk Because Jesus came into his house, Zacchaeus, a chief tax collector and rich man, was changed from a lover of money to a lover of the poor. "Today salvation has come to this house ... For the Son of Man came to seek and to save the lost" (9-10).

c 19:11-27 The parable of the ten minas: "He proceeded to tell a parable, because he was near to Jerusalem, and because they supposed that the kingdom of God was to appear immediately" (11).

a² 19:28-44 ULk*: 40-44* Jesus entered Jerusalem on a colt while his disciples were shouting, "Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord!" (38). Some Pharisees wanted Jesus to silence his disciples, but he declined. Jesus wept over Jerusalem, saying, "Would that you ... had known on this day the things that make for peace! But now they are hidden from your eyes ... And they will not leave one stone upon another in you, because you did not know the time of your visitation" (42 + 44).

b² 19:45-46 In the temple Jesus began to drive out those who sold. "It is written, 'My house shall be a house of prayer,' but you have made it a den of robbers" (46).

G. 19:47-22:6 While Jesus was teaching daily in the temple,

many heard him, but the chief priests and leaders of the people wanted to kill him all the time. The rejection of Jesus will lead to the destruction of Jerusalem and to a long time for the Jews without their Messiah.

a¹ 19:47-48 Jesus "was teaching daily in the temple. The chief priests and the scribes and the principal men of the people were seeking to destroy him ... all the people were hanging on his words."

b¹ 20:1-19 The chief priests and leaders asked: "Tell us by what authority you do these things" (2). Jesus would have answered their question if they answered his: "Was the baptism of John from heaven or from man?" (4). In the parable of the wicked tenants (9-19) Jesus is the beloved son, sent by the father, about to be rejected and murdered and to become the cornerstone of a new building.

c¹ 20:20-26 "Is it lawful for us to give tribute to Caesar, or not?" (22). "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (25).

d¹ 20:27-40 Jesus answers the Sadducees questioning the resurrection, "But that the dead are raised, even Moses showed ... he calls the Lord the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. Now he is not God of the dead, but of the living, for all live to him" (37-38).

e 20:41-44 Jesus taught, "How can they say that the Christ is David's son? For David himself says ... 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand' ... David thus calls him Lord, so how is he his son?"

d² 20:45-47 "Beware of the scribes, who ... love greetings in the marketplaces ... who devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers" (46-47).

c² 21:1-4 The widow's offering: "She out of her poverty put in all she had to live on" (4).

b² 21:5-36 Jesus' talk about the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. The Jews "will fall by the edge of the sword and be led

captive among all nations, and Jerusalem will be trampled underfoot by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled ... And then they will see the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory" (24 + 27).

Introduction to this talk (5-7)

1. Worldwide part (8-19; cf. Mt 24:4-14; Mk 13:5-13;)
2. Israel specific part (20-24; cf. Mt 24:15-28; Mk 13:14-23)
3. The Son of Man coming (25-27; cf. Mt 24:29-31; Mk 13:24-27)
4. "But stay awake at all times, praying that you may have strength to escape all these things that are going to take place, and to stand before the Son of Man" (36; 28-36; cf. Mt 24:32-25:13; Mk 13:28-37).

a² 21:37-22:6 "Every day he was teaching in the temple, but at night he ... lodged on the mount called Olivet" (21:37). "The chief priests and the scribes were seeking how to put him to death ... Then Satan entered into Judas called Iscariot ... He ... conferred with the chief priests and officers ... So he consented and sought an opportunity to betray him to them in the absence of a crowd" (2-6).

H. 22:7-62 In the night of the passover feast Jesus instituted the Lord's supper, promised the faithful apostles thrones in his kingdom, steeled himself in prayer to the Father to drink the cup of suffering, knowing that the Scriptures must be fulfilled, was betrayed by Judas, arrested by his enemies and denied by Peter.

a¹ 22:7-20 "So Jesus sent Peter and John, saying, 'Go and prepare the Passover for us, that we may eat it'" (8). "And they ... found it just as he had told them, and they prepared the Passover" (13). Institution of the Lord's Supper (14-20): "This is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me ... This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood" (19-20).

b¹ 22:21-23 "But behold, the hand of him who betrays me is with

me on the table. For the Son of Man goes as it has been determined, but woe to that man by whom he is betrayed!" (21-22)

c¹ 22:24-34 ULk*: 27-30a* The disciples discussed "which of them was to be regarded as the greatest. And he said to them, '... Let the greatest among you become as the youngest, and the leader as one who serves'" (24-26). In the kingdom of Jesus the twelve apostles will "sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (30). Jesus tells Peter that he had prayed for him that his faith may not cease in the temptation through Satan. "When you have turned again, strengthen your brothers" (32). "The rooster will not crow this day, until you deny three times that you know me" (34).

d 22:35-38 ULk*: 35-36.38* Jesus said, "When I sent you out with no moneybag or knapsack or sandals, did you lack anything?" They said, "Nothing." He said to them, "But now let the one who has a moneybag take it ... And let the one who has no sword sell his cloak and buy one. For ... this Scripture must be fulfilled in me: 'And he was numbered with the transgressors'" (35-37).

a² 22:39-46 ULk*: 43-44* Jesus prays on the Mount of Olives. "Pray that you may not enter into temptation" (40) "Father, if you are willing, remove this cup from me. Nevertheless, not my will, but yours, be done" (42).

b² 22:47-53 Judas betrayed the Son of Man with a kiss into the hands of the chief priests and officers of the temple and elders.

c² 22:54-62 "Then they seized him and led him away, bringing him into the high priest's house, and Peter was following at a distance" (54). There in the courtyard Peter denied Jesus three times.

I. 22:63-23:49 The Jewish leaders condemned Jesus handing him over to Pilate compelling him to crucify Jesus, in spite of the fact that Pilate and Herod found Jesus innocent. Even when crucified Jesus loved his enemies, saved one criminal and prayed to the Father committing his spirit to him. The Father sent

signs showing his Son to be the Savior.

a¹ 22:63-65 Jesus is mocked, beaten and blasphemed.

b¹ 22:66-23:1 ULk*: 67b-68* "When day came, the assembly of the elders of the people gathered together" (66). "If you are the Christ, tell us.' 'If I tell you, you will not believe ... But from now on the Son of Man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God.' So they all said, 'Are you the Son of God, then?' And he said to them, 'You say that I am'" (67-70). So they declared him guilty and brought him to Pilate.

c¹ 23:2-5 ULk*: 2.5* Before Pilate they accused him of rebellion against Caesar "saying that he himself is Christ, a king" (2). Pilate asked him, "Are you the King of the Jews?" And he answered him, "You have said so" (3). But Pilate found him not guilty.

d 23:6-12 ULk Hearing that Jesus was a Galilean, Pilate sent him to Herod. "Herod ... questioned him at some length, but he made no answer" (8-9). "Then Herod with his soldiers ... mocked him. Then ... he sent him back to Pilate. And Herod and Pilate became friends" (11-12).

c² 23:13-25 "Pilate then called together ... the rulers and the people ... 'And after examining him before you, behold, I did not find this man guilty of any of your charges against him. Neither did Herod ... I will therefore punish and release him'" (13-16). "But they kept shouting, 'Crucify, crucify him!'" (21) So Pilate decided that their demand should be granted" (24).

b² 23:26-32 ULk*: 27-31 The soldiers led Jesus together with two criminals to Golgatha. They compelled Simon of Cyrene to carry the cross for Jesus. Jesus says to lamenting women: "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children. For behold, the days are coming when they will say, 'Blessed are the barren and the wombs that never bore and the breasts that never nursed!' Then they will begin to say to the moun-

tains, 'Fall on us,' and to the hills, 'Cover us'" (28-30).

a² 23:33-49 Jesus was crucified and mocked, but prayed to his Father, first to forgive his enemies, later to receive his spirit, after he had saved one of the crucified criminals for paradise. The Father answered with sending three hours of darkness and the tearing of the curtain of the temple in two. The centurion recognized him as innocent, "the crowds ... returned home beating their breasts" (48).

J. 23:50-24:53 Jesus dead and buried in a tomb is a source of grief for the disciples. But on the third day the female disciples find the tomb empty and are told by angels that Jesus is alive. Jesus appeared to the disciples bringing them great joy saying, "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead."

a¹ 23:50-53 Joseph from Arimathea went to Pilate, asked for the body of Jesus, took it down, wrapped it in a linen shroud and laid him in a new tomb cut in stone on the day of Preparation. The Sabbath was beginning.

b¹ 23:54-24:12 The female followers of Jesus from Galilee saw the tomb, returned and prepared spices and ointments. On the Sabbath they rested. On the first day of the week they went to the tomb and found it empty. Two angels told them, "He ... has risen. Remember how he told you ... that the Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men and be crucified and on the third day rise" (6-7). The reported this to the eleven, but they did not believe them.

b² 24:13-35 ULk Two disciples going to Emmaus were joined by Jesus without recognizing him. They shared why they were sad. The stranger explained, "O foolish ones, and slow ... to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory?" (25-26). Having arrived, they recognized him while he broke the bread and then vanished. Returning to Jerusalem to tell the eleven, the others said,

"The Lord has risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon!" (34).
b³ 24:36-49 ULk*: 44-49* Jesus appeared to his disciples, "Why are you troubled, and why do doubts arise in your hearts? ... For a spirit does not have flesh and bones as you see that I have" (38-39). "These are my words that I spoke to you while I was still with you, that everything written about me in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled" (44). "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be proclaimed in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (46-47). Jesus will send the promise of the Holy Spirit.

a² 24:50-53 ULk The ascension of Jesus. Jesus "led them out as far as Bethany ... blessed them ... parted from them and was carried up into heaven. And they worshiped him and returned to Jerusalem with great joy, and were continually in the temple blessing God."

3.3 The Outline of Acts

A key verse for Acts is 1:8 "But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you, and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth." Up to Acts 8:4 Luke reports of the apostles that they having received the power of the Holy Spirit are mainly witnesses in Jerusalem and Judea. Acts 8:4-25 shows the arrival of the gospel in Samaria. And Acts 8:26 to 28:31 follows the spreading of the word to the ends of the earth. As the gospel of Luke begins in the temple in Jerusalem and ends there, Acts starts in Jerusalem and ends in Rome.

3.3.1 The outline of Acts according to leading persons

1	Jesus and the apostles
2-5	Peter (+ John + the other apostles)
6-7	Stephen as one of the seven deacons
8	Philip (one of the seven deacons)
9:1-31	Saul
9:32-11:18	Peter
11:19-15:41	Barnabas and Saul
(12:1-17	Peter)
(15:1-29	The apostles and elders, especially Peter, James, Paul and Barnabas)
16:1-28:31	Paul and his team

3.3.2 Paul's letters within the framework of Acts

For the historical framework of Acts and a chronology of the life of Paul see Rainer Riesner²⁰ and Eckard Schnabel²¹. If not otherwise noted the Bible quotations are according to the ESV.²²

20. Rainer Riesner, *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus. Studien zur Chronologie, Missionsstrategie und Theologie*, WUNT 71 (Tübingen: Mohr / Siebeck, 1994)

21. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Paul the Missionary: Realities, Strategies and Methods* (Inter Varsity Press, 2008), https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/Paul_the_Missionary.html?id=tDIh1AC0nqAC&redir_esc=y, p.40ff. Schnabel distinguishes 15 phases of Paul's missionary work from his conversion in A.D. 31/32 to his death in Rome around A.D. 67. The first phase includes his preaching in Damascus, the last phases are his ministry in Spain (phase 14) and in Crete (phase 15).

22. Publishers, English Standard Version

Acts 1:3	After his crucifixion (14th Nisan = 7th April) Jesus appears for 40 days and then ascends into heaven.	April/May 30
1:15	In Jerusalem about 120 believers experience the election of Matthias to replace Judas.	May 30
2:1.41	Pentecost: 3000 people come to faith.	May 30
3:1 + 4:4	After the healing of the lame and the sermon of Peter the number of male believers increases to 5000. The Great Sanhedrin starts to persecute them.	
6:1-7	Seven men are appointed as deacons to care for widows while the disciples were increasing in number.	
6:8-8:4	Court case against Stephen and first bloody persecution.	30/31
8:5ff	Revival in Samaria	30/31
8:26ff	Ethiopian Minister of Finance is baptized.	30/31
9:1.9.20	Conversion of Paul near Damascus	31/32
	Paul in Arabia (Gal 1:17)	32/33
9:23-25	Attempt on Paul's life in Damascus (2 Cor 11:32-33)	33
9:26-29	Paul's first visit in Jerusalem as a disciple, seeing Peter Gal 1:18-19	33/34
9:30	Paul in Cilicia and Syria (Gal 1:21; Acts 11:25-26)	33/34-42
9:31	"So the church throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria had peace."	31-43/44

9:32-35	Revival through Peter in Lydda and Sharon.	After 8:1ff
9:36-43	Revival through Peter in Joppā who stayed there for many days with one Simon, a tanner.	After 8:1ff
10:1-11:18	God's election and conversion of Cornelius and his house signal a new phase in the mission to the Gentiles.	After 8:1ff
11:19	The gospel is preached by "those who were scattered because of the persecution that arose over Stephen" to Jews in Phoenicia and Cyprus and Antioch.	After 8:1ff
11:20-21	Amongst those who were scatterd some Jewish Christians from Cyprus and Cyrene also evangelized Greek speaking non-Jews in Antioch. The Lord blessed their efforts causing a great revival amongst those Gentiles.	After 8:1ff
11:22-24	The church in Jerusalem sent Barnabas to Antioch and he served the church there very well.	
11:25-26	Barnabas brought Saul from Tarsus to Antioch. For a whole year both met with the church and taught a great many people.	43-44
11:27-30	Prophets from Jerusalem visit the church in Antioch. In answer to the prophecy of Agabus about a coming famine the church decided to send help to the poor Christians in Judea through Barnabaus and Saul. This implies that the 2nd Jerusalemvisit of Paul is this famine relief visit. Identifying the visit of Gal 2:1-10 with this visit and reckoning the 14 years of Gal 2:1 in an inclusive way results in the years 31/32 for Paul's conversion. The predicted famine happened between 44 and 48.	44

12:1-2	Persecution of Christians in Judea. James the brother of John killed by Herod Agrippa I.	43/44
12:3-19	Peter's life in danger, but miraculously saved.	Easter 44
12:19-23	Herod Agrippa I. stayed some time in Caesarea and dies afterwards struck by an angel of the Lord.	44
12:24-25	Barnabas and Saul returned with John Mark from Jerusalem to Antioch. Mark was the cousin of Barnabas (Col 4:10).	44
13:1-4	The leadership of the church in Antioch set apart Barnabas and Saul to spread the gospel in obedience to the Holy Spirit's command. So they were sent out by the Holy Spirit and came to Cyprus.	45
13:4-13	Barnabas and Saul evangelizing Cyprus (see Acts 4:36; 11:20). Arrival at Salamis, then going through the whole island with finally coming to Paphos.	45-46
13:13	In Perga in Pamphylia John Mark left the team and returned to Jerusalem (see 15:38).	
13:14-51	Church founded in Antioch in Pisidia, gospel spread in the whole region (13:49!).	
13:51-14:6	Church founded in Iconium. They remained "for a long time" there (14:3).	
14:6-7	Flight from Iconium to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and to the surrounding country.	
14:8-20	Evangelization in Lystra. The apostles Barnabas and Paul had to fight syncretistic tendencies among the Gentiles. Jews coming from Antioch and Iconium cause Paul to be stoned.	
14:20-21	Church founded in Derbe, many disciples made.	

14:21-23	They returned to Lystra and to Iconium and to Antioch, strengthening the disciples and appointing elders in every church.	47
14:24-26	Passing through Pisidia they came to Pamphylia and preached in Perga. Return per ship from Attalia to Antiochia. They gave a report to the church about "all that God had done with them, and how he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles"	47
14:28-15:2	Longer stay of Barnabas and Paul in Antioch. Peter/Cephas visits Antioch (Gal 2:11-14). Visit of certain men coming from James (Gal 2:12). Some visitors taught circumcision as necessary for salvation in Antioch and probably also in the churches of South Galatia which had been founded in Acts 13:13-14:23. To solve this doctrinal question the church sends Paul and Barnabas and others to the apostles and elders in Jerusalem.	47-48
	Paul's letter to the Galatians	48
15:3	Paul and Barnabas "passed through both Phoenicia and Samaria, describing in detail the conversion of the Gentiles, and brought great joy to all the brothers." 48	
15:4-29	The council of the apostles and elders in Jerusalem.	48
15:30-34	Judas and Silas together with Paul and Barnabas delivered the letter containing the decision of the Holy Spirit, the apostles and elders which caused great joy. Judas and Silas stayed for some time.	48
15:35	Paul and Barnabas worked again together for some time in Antioch.	48

15:36-39	Paul and Barnabas split up because of John Mark while planning to visit the newly founded churches on their last missionary journey. Barnabas wants to take John Mark with him, but Paul did not want to take him because he had left in Pamphylia (see 13:13). Barnabas then took Mark to visit the churches in Cyprus.	48
15:40-41	"But Paul chose Silas and departed, having been commended by the brothers to the grace of the Lord. And he went through Syria and Cilicia, strengthening the churches" (cf. Gal 1:21).	48/49
16:1-3	Having come to Derbe and to Lystra Paul finds Timothy a promising young believer and makes him part of his team.	48/49
16:4-5	"As they went ... through the cities, they delivered to them for observance the decisions that had been reached by the apostles and elders who were in Jerusalem. So the churches ... increased in numbers daily."	
16:6	"They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia."	
16:7	"And when they had come up to Mysia, they attempted to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit of Jesus did not allow them."	
16:8-11	God calls the team of Paul from Troas to Macedonia. The author of Acts (and Luke) is part of the team (16:10-17 is the first "we" passage, cf. 20:5-15, 21:1-18, 27:1-28:16.).	49
16:12-40	Church founded in Philippi.	8-10, 49

17:1-10	Church founded in Thessalonica. Persecution.	
17:10-14	Church founded in Berea. Persecution.	
17:14	The brothers sent Paul to the sea, but Silas and Timothy stay in Berea.	
17:15	"Those who conducted Paul brought him as far as Athens, and after receiving a command for Silas and Timothy to come to him as soon as possible, they departed."	
17:16-34	In Athens Paul leads some to Christ.	Early 50
18:1-4	Paul came to Corinth and stayed with "a Jew named Aquila, a native of Pontus, recently come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to leave Rome." Paul and Aquila were both tentmakers.	Spring 50
18:5	Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians.	Spring 50
18:5-11	Church founded in Corinth. Intensive teaching of Paul. Great Revival.	
	Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians.	Fall 50
18:12-17	"When Gallio was proconsul of Achaia" (from July 1, 51 to July 1, 52) "the Jews made a united attack on Paul and brought him before the tribunal".	July, August, September 51?
18:18	After the incident before Gallio Pauls stayed for some more time in Corinth and then "set sail for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila. At Cenchreae he had cut his hair, for he was under a vow."	51
18:19-21	Priscilla and Aquila stay in Ephesus. In the synagogue Paul promises to return later "if God wills".	51
18:22	Caesarea, Jerusalem, Antioch in Syria.	
18:23	Paul spent some time in the church in Antioch.	51-52

18:23	Paul started for a new missionary trip and "went from one place to the next through the region of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples."	Spring 52
18:24-27	Apollos came to Ephesus teaching accurately about Jesus in the synagogue though he knew only the baptism of John. Priscilla and Aquila explained to him the way of God more accurately.	51/52
18:27-19:1	While Apollos in Corinth "powerfully refuted the Jews in public, showing by the Scriptures that the Christ was Jesus", Paul came to Ephesus and found there some disciples.	52
19:1-8	Paul preached for three months in the synagogue of Ephesus.	Summer 52
19:9-20	Paul withdrew from the synagogue "and took the disciples with him, reasoning daily in the hall of Tyrannus... for two years, so that all the residents of Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks".	Autumn 52 to autumn 54
19:21	Paul planned "to pass through Macedonia and Achaia and go to Jerusalem" and afterwards Rome.	After autumn 54
19:22	"Having sent into Macedonia ... Timothy and Erastus, he himself stayed in Asia for a while." Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor 16:5-10).	Autumn 54 Early 55
19:23-20:1	The riot in Ephesus caused by Demetrius	Spring 55
20:1	Paul encouraged the disciples (cf. 1 Tm 1:3), said farewell and departed for Macedonia (according to Acts 20:31 after 3 years).	Spring 55

20:1	According to 2 Cor 2:12-13 Paul travelled via Troas (cf. Acts 16:11-12) to preach the gospel of Christ there and "a door was opened" for him to do this.	Summer 55
20:2	Paul's first letter to Timothy written from Troas or Macedonia.	Summer 55
20:2	Preaching in Macedonia. Organization of the collection for the poor Christians in Judea.	Summer 55
	Paul's second letter to the Corinthians	Summer 55
	Paul's letter to Titus	08/09, 55
20:2-3	Three months in Greece over the winter.	55-56
	Paul's letter to the Romans	Spring 56
20:3	A failed attempt on Paul's life, his return via Macedonia.	Spring 56
20:4-5	Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus and Trophimus "were waiting for us at Troas" (second "we" passage Acts 20:5-15: Starting in Philippi after the first ended there! See 16:10-17. Cf. 21:1-18 and 27:1-28:16.)	
20:6-12	Paul and Luke "sailed away from Philippi after the days of Unleavened Bread, and in five days" they came to the others at Troas and stayed for a week.	56 after Passover
20:13-15	Troas, Assos, Mitylene, passing Chios, Samos, reaching Milet	56 before Pentecost
20:16-38	In Milet Paul's talk to the elders of Ephesus. Closure of his work there and farewell forever.	

21:1-3	Cos, Rhodes, Patara, passing Cyprus, landing in Tyre. Third "we" passage (Acts 21:1-18; cf. 16:10-17, 20:5-15, 27:1-28:16).	
21:4-6	Seven days in Tyre: Paul is warned.	
21:7-8	Voyage from Tyre to Ptolemais. From there to Caesarea.	
21:8-15	A few days in the house of Philipp, the Evangelist. Prophecy of Agabus.	
21:15-26	Arrival in Jerusalem, visiting James, meeting with all elders.	Late spring 56
21:27-22:29	Paul was nearly lynched by a mob in Jerusalem which assumed that Paul had led the Ephesian Trophimus into the Temple. Paul taken captive.	
22:30-23:10	Paul before the Great Sanhedrin.	
23:11	The Lord promised Paul: "Take courage, for as you have testified to the facts about me in Jerusalem, so you must testify also in Rome."	
23:12-35	A plot to kill Paul, his protective custody in Caesarea, in Herod's praetorium.	
24:1-21	Paul and his court case before the governor Felix at Caesarea	
24:22-27	Paul kept in custody by Felix for two years. None of his friends were prevented from attending to his needs.	Summer 56 to 58
	Paul's letter to the Philippians	56
	Paul's letter to the Colossians	56
	Paul's letter to Philemon	56
	Sending of Timothy	56
	Paul's letter to the Ephesians	56
	Paul sent Tychicus and Onesimus with Col, Philemon and Eph.	

	Paul's second letter to Timothy from Caesarea? (Alternative: Later from Rome.)	Summer 56?
24:27	The governor Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus.	Summer 58
25:1-12	Paul and his court case before the governor Festus at Caesarea. Paul appealed to Caesar.	
25:13-26:32	Paul and his case before king Agrippa and Bernice and Festus.	
27:1-12	Start of the voyage of the captive Paul to Rome (with Aristarchus and Luke, fourth "we" passage 27:1-28:16, cf. 16:10-17, 20:5-15, 21:1-18): Sidon, Myra in Lycia, Cnidus, Fair Havens on Crete. The voyage was now dangerous because even the Fast was already over.	Autumn 58
27:13-38	Storm at sea	
27:39-44	Shipwreck near Malta	
28:1-11	Three months on Malta	Winter 59
28:12-15	Syracuse, Rhegium, Puteoli, Forum of Appius, Three Taverns	
28:16-31	Two year captivity of Paul in Rome in his own flat with a soldier watching him.	59-61
	Paul's second letter to Timothy from Rome? (Alternative: Earlier from Caesarea.)	Autumn 60?

Chapter 4

The Letters of Paul

4.1 Paul's letter to the Galatians

4.1.1 Introduction to Galatians

Summary

According to the south Galatian theory the recipients are churches planted in Acts 13-14 (Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, see Acts 13:13; 14:24; 16:6; 18:23). Paul could have written the letter at the time of Acts 15:1-3 before the council in Jerusalem (A.D. 48). The place of writing could have been Antioch in Syria. In favor of this theory is the fact that the decision of Acts 15 is not mentioned which according to Acts 16:4 was handed over to the churches of this area. It would not have been necessary to write Galatians in the way it was written, after this decision and its being delivered. Against this theory speaks the fact that the name of Barnabas is not mentioned in Gal 1:1 and perhaps also the statement in Gal 4:13.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1-2 "Paul... and all the brothers who are with me, To the churches of Galatia". Are these churches in Galatia in the southern or in the northern region of Galatia? Should we accept the North or the South Galatian Theory?

The *North Galatian Theory* looks at Acts 16:6 and 18:23 and identifies the recipients of the letter with proper "Galatians" in the tribal sense of the word who were more to be found in the northern part of the Roman province "Galatia". According to this theory the visit mentioned in Gal 2:1-10 is identical with the visit in Acts 15.

According to the *South Galatian Theory* the recipients are the churches planted in Acts 13:13-14:24 (Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe). Here the visit of Gal 2:1-10 is identified with the visit in Acts 11:27-29. The revelation of Gal 2:2 is seen as the prophecy of Agabus about the famine in 11:28 and the element of helping the poor agrees well with Gal 2:10.

A combination of Gal 1:1, 1 Cor 16:1-4, 2 Cor 8:16-23 and Acts 20:4 helps us to decide in favor of the South Galatian Theory. Paul speaks of the churches in Galatia in Gal 1:1 and 1 Cor 16:1 where he talks about the collection of the love gift for the poor saints in Judah. In 1 Cor 16:4 Paul hints that he might go himself with the collected money to Jerusalem. 2 Cor 8:16-23 speaks of people who are going to accompany Paul on this journey to show the love of the Gentile Christians for the Jewish brothers and sisters.

Acts 20:4 then gives us the names of people who actually went with Paul: "Sopater of Berea, the son of Pyrrhus from Berea, accompanied him; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy; and the Asians, Tychicus and Trophimus." Sopater, Aristarchus and Secundus represent the Macedonians, Tychicus and Trophimus the Asians, and Gaius and

Timothy (Acts 16:1-3) represent "Derbe and Lystra" which is best understood as representing the "Galatians".

We have no names of churches of northern Galatia, but we have the above mentioned names of southern Galatia and they were well represented through Gaius and Timothy and they were first reached with the gospel. These passages of Paul combined with Luke very well agree with the South Galatian Theory. Luke also gives us the same information as Paul that Paul's visit to Jerusalem was related to the collection for the saints in Judea (Acts 24:17; Rom 15:25-32).

1:6-9 "I am astonished that you are so quickly deserting him who called you in the grace of Christ and are turning to a different gospel..." The false teachers (cf. 4:17-18) entered the area of the work of Paul and his team not long after the churches had been founded ("so quickly") and brought "additional" teaching which is rejected by Paul as a false gospel and the preacher of the false gospel are put under a curse.

1:11-2:10 This section is full of biographical information about the life of Paul. 1:13.23 First Paul persecuted the church of Jesus Christ. 1:15-17 From the place where he was converted by God he went to Arabia and then "came back" to Damascus which implies that his conversion happened in or near Damascus (cf. Acts 9). There is no time reference given for the time he spent in Arabia (cf. Acts 9:1-25).

1:18-19 "After three years" Paul went up to Jerusalem to visit Peter = Cephas "and remained with him fifteen days". During that visit he also met "James the Lord's brother" whom Paul reckons amongst the "apostles". 1:21 Then Paul went "into the regions of Syria and Cilicia" (cf. Acts 9:30: Tarsus in Cilicia). 1:22-24 Paul "was still unknown in person to the churches of Judea". They only had heard of his conversion to Jesus Christ.

2:1-2 "Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem

with Barnabas, taking Titus along with me. I went up because of a revelation..." Is this visit to be understood as the visit of Acts 15:1ff (North Galatian Theory) or of Acts 11:27-30 and 12:25 (South Galatian Theory)? 2:2 Paul "set before them (though privately before those who seemed influential) the gospel" he "proclaimed among the Gentiles, in order to make sure" that he "was not running or had not run in vain". 2:3 Titus who is not mentioned in Acts but who was an important part of Paul's team (see Paul's letter to Titus) "was not forced to be circumcised, though he was a Greek".

2:4-5 Paul speaks of "false brothers secretly brought in ... to them we did not yield in submission even for a moment, so that the truth of the gospel might be preserved for you" (cf. the demand of circumcision for Gentile Christians as necessary for salvation in Acts 15:1.5). It was not an easy visit.

2:6-9 The important people Paul and Barnabas talked to were "James and Cephas and John" (2:9) and they acknowledged God's special gifting of Paul and Barnabas to teach the gospel amongst the Gentiles. They saw that Paul "had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised" (2:7). This did not mean a splitting of the missionary task force that one part preaches the gospel only to Jews and the other only to Gentiles. Peter had preached the gospel to the Gentiles before (Acts 10; 15:7) and he would continue to do so (Mt 28:18-20). And Paul always went to Jewish synagogues first preaching them the gospel of Christ (Rom 1:16-17).

I think the idea here was that James, Peter and John and the whole church has to take seriously the insights God had given Paul when it comes to the question of salvation for Gentiles and how they should live to honor God in Christ.

2:11-21 When Peter came to Antioch and behaved in a hypocritical way stopping eating with Gentiles after "men from James"

came and so infecting the rest of the Jewish Christians and even Barnabas with hypocrisy, Paul felt compelled to stand up against Peter in front of all and to rebuke his hypocrisy: "If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you force the Gentiles to live like Jews?" (2:14). Jews and Gentiles alike are "not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ" (2:16).

3:1 When Paul preached the gospel, the passion narrative was an important part of it. The phrase "O foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you?" has to be understood in a spiritual sense and does not mean that they are silly in a worldly sense (cf. 1 Cor 2:14).

4:8 Before coming to Christ the recipients practiced idolatry. 4:12-15 What Was the "weakness of the body"? Was bad eyesight a part of it? Was this perhaps related to his being formerly stoned at Lystra (Acts 14:19; 2 Cor 11:25)? Is Paul speaking in 4:13 of his "first time preaching" or of his "former preaching" in comparison to a later, a second time preaching (τὸ πρότερον)? 4:17 The false teachers want to estrange the churches of Galatia from Paul.

5:7-12 Paul uses sharp words against the false teachers. The metaphor of the leaven makes it clear why Paul is not ready for any compromise in this struggle. 5:15 Any religious attitude which is based on the flesh will always go hand in hand with "biting and devouring one another".

6:6 This verse can be combined with other similar verses (1 Cor 9:6ff; 1 Tm 5:17-18) to support the idea of full time workers in the gospel. 6:12-13 The false teachers make circumcision a must. 6:17 Paul bears on his "body the marks of Jesus". These could be wounds he received while suffering for Christ's sake which now are healed but still visible. It could also be that he still suffers from having been stoned in Lystra (Acts 14:19).

4.1.2 **Outline of Galatians**

1:1-5 Letter beginning (sender, recipients, greeting): "Paul, an apostle... and all the brothers who are with me, To the churches of Galatia: Grace to you and peace..." 1:6-10 "If anyone is preaching to you a gospel contrary to the one you received, let him be accursed" (1:9). Paul places this curse where he normally would have a thanksgiving in his letters.

1:11-2:10 In preaching the gospel Paul is not dependent on men but is directly chosen by God and is God's authorized apostle. His personal biography puts an emphasis on this. Paul has been acknowledged by James, Peter (Cephas) and John. 2:11-22 In Syria's Antioch Paul had to oppose Peter before them all and affirm that neither Jews nor Gentiles could be justified by works of the law, but only by faith in Jesus Christ, his grace and his death at the cross.

3:1-5 Paul wants to shake the Galatians out of their foolish trance into which they have been bewitched. He had portrayed Christ as crucified before their eyes and they had received the Spirit of God only by putting their faith into Christ not by any works of the law. 3:6-9 Abraham was justified by faith. He is the example given by Scripture for the way how the Gentiles would be justified by faith and blessed "in Abraham".

3:10-14 The law and the works of the law stand in opposition to the justification by faith. "Cursed be everyone who does not abide by all things written in the Book of the Law, and do them" (Dt 27:26). But "the righteous shall live by faith" (Hb 2:4). "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us" dying at the cross so that the blessing of Abraham might reach the Gentiles and they receive the Spirit by faith.

3:15-24 The law which has been given centuries later cannot annul the earlier given promise and covenant of God with Abraham.

The law was our appointed guardian until Christ came. 3:25-4:7 "But now that faith has come, we are no longer under a guardian." Jews and Gentiles who believe in Christ, have put on Christ, are one in Christ and Abraham's children, heirs according to promise, grown up sons with full legal rights, having received the Spirit of his Son being no longer under the law.

4:8-20 If the Gentile Galatian Christians would fall back into an Old Testament lifestyle which is outdated now after the coming of Christ, the whole labor of Paul in their area would have been in vain. Paul makes a dramatic appeal to win back their love and obedience. 4:21-31 Paul interprets Sarah and Hagar and their sons and what happened to them allegorically: "these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery; she is Hagar" (4:24). Sarah represents the New Covenant bearing children for freedom and sonship with full legal rights.

5:1-15 On the side of freedom we have: Christ, the sonship, God's grace, the hope of righteousness, faith working through love and in the fulfillment of the commandment of love the fulfillment of the whole law. On the side of slavery there are the following threats: with circumcision the obligation to keep the whole law, being severed from Christ, having fallen away from grace, without sonship, Spirit, righteousness, without being persecuted because of the cross, but with inner anxiety and consuming one another.

5:16-26 Walking by the Spirit means to be free from the law but because of the fruit of the Spirit this is not against the law, but the inmost fulfillment of the law, having been crucified with Christ and having crucified the flesh with its passions and desires. Those who follow the desires of the flesh and do the works of the flesh will not inherit the kingdom of God.

6:1-10 The spiritual should try to restore sinners in a gentle and humble way. One who is taught the word should share good things

with his teacher. One who sows to his own flesh will from the flesh reap corruption, but the one who sows to the Spirit will from the Spirit reap eternal life. Let us do good to everyone, and especially to fellow believers. 6:11-18 The cross of Christ separates the old world from the new creation. Those who cherish it, are persecuted but belong to the chosen people of God with grace and mercy upon them.

4.2 Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians

4.2.1 Introduction to 1. Thessalonians

Summary

1 Thessalonians was written by Paul, Silvanus and Timothy in spring 50 from Corinth just a few months after the founding of the church in Thessalonica. The purpose of the letter is 1. to comfort the Thessalonians and strengthen their faith while they go through persecutions, 2. to teach them about the hope of the coming of Christ and eternal life with him and 3. to teach them to lead a holy life, especially not to be lazy but to work for their living.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 *Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy.* In Acts 15:36-41 *Paul* and Barnabas had disagreements about John Mark and separated. This resulted in a new team of Paul after that: Paul chose Silas (Acts 15:40; = *Silvanus*). Silvanus had been appointed together with Judas to deliver the decision of the apostles and elders (Acts 15:27.30). He came to Antioch in Syria and was also a prophet (15:32). He was a co-founder of the church in Thessalonica (Acts 17:4; cf. 1 Pt 5:12).

Coming to Derbe and to Lystra Paul added *Timothy* to the team "the son of a Jewish woman who was a believer, but his father was a Greek". Paul "circumcised him because of the Jews who were in those places, for they all knew that his father was a Greek (Acts 16:1-3; 1 Cor 9:20). His "grandmother Lois and ... mother Eunice" came first to faith (2 Tm 1:5) and they taught Timothy "from babyhood" (2 Tm 3:15).

1:1 *To the church of the Thessalonians.* Acts 17:1-9 informs us how the church was founded. 1:6 *You received the word in much affliction.* See Acts 17:5-9.13: The Jews from Thessalonica persecuted the Christians from Thessalonica and from Berea. 1:7 *You became an example to all the believers in Macedonia and in Achaia.* 1:8 *but your faith in God has gone forth everywhere, so that we need not say anything.* At the time of letter writing there are already Christians in Achaia.

2:2 *We had already suffered and been shamefully treated at Philippi.* The church in Thessalonica was founded after the church in Philippi and after Paul and Silvanus had suffered there (Acts 16:1-40). In Acts 16:10 the first "we" passage of Acts starts and leads the team including the author Luke to Philippi. The second "we" passage starts in Philippi (Acts 20:5-6). This may mean that the author of Acts, Luke, stayed in Philippi to strengthen the church in the same way as Timothy was to encourage the Thessalonians (3:1-3).

2:9 *For you remember, brothers, our labor and toil: we worked night and day, that we might not be a burden to any of you.* The team of Paul worked for their own material needs. Cf. Phil 4:15-16: "And you Philippians yourselves know that in the beginning of the gospel, when I left Macedonia, no church entered into partnership with me in giving and receiving, except you only. Even in Thessalonica you sent me help for my needs once and again."

2:14-16 Paul mentions several persecuting parties: "For you, brothers, became imitators of the churches of God in Christ Jesus that are in Judea. For you suffered the same things from your own countrymen as they did from the Jews, 15 who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out, and displease God and oppose all mankind 16 by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles that they might be saved - so as always to fill up the measure of their sins. But God's wrath has come upon them at last!"

2:17-18 So far Paul's wish to visit Thessalonica for a second time was not granted yet, but it is still there (cf. 3:10). 3:1-5 Paul remained in Athens (with Silvanus?) and sent Timothy "to establish and exhort you in your faith, that no one be moved by these afflictions" (3:-2-3). The command in Acts 17:14-15 seems to have been fulfilled by Timothy. And by Silvanus? Or did he stay in Thessalonica because of the hard persecution? Cf. Acts 18:5 "when Silas and Timothy arrived from Macedonia". Or had Paul sent Silas to Philippi or Berea and now they both came together to Paul? 3:6-7 Timothy came with good news to Paul, probably in Corinth (Acts 18:5). Paul writes this letter in answer to these good news and to tackle some problems (3:10).

The inscription of Delphi helps to date Paul's stay in Corinth and the two letters of Paul to the Thessalonians:

Tiber[ius Claudius C]aes[ar August]us G[ermanicus,
Highest Priest, invested with tribunician auth]ority [for
the twelfth time, acclaimed Emperor for t]he twenty-
sixth time, F[ather of the Fa]therland, [Consul for the
fifth time, Censor, sends greetings to the city of the
Delphians.] For a lo[ng time I have been well] dis-
pos[ed toward t]he ci[ty] of Delph[i, but also solici-
tous for its] [pro]sperity, and I have always protec[ted

th]e cul[t of t]he [Pythian Apol[lo But] now [since]
it is said to be desti[tu]te of [citi]zens, as [L. Ju]nius
Gallio, my fr[iend] an[d procon]sul [recently reported
to me; and being desirous that Delphi] should con-
tinue to retain [inta]ct its for[mer rank, I] ord[er you
to in]vite [well-born people also from]...¹

This inscription presents a decree of Emperor Claudius about the people of Delphi where he mentions Gallio as proconsul of Achaia at the time of the 26th acclamation of Claudius as "Imperator". From other inscriptions we know that this time covered the first seven months of A.D. 52. Normally a proconsul started his one year duty on first of July which would mean that Gallio started his time as proconsul probably on July 1, 51. It is possible that the decree belongs to the end of the seven month period in which case Gallio started July 1, 52.²

I assume that Gallio's start was July 1, 51 and that the Jews choose the early time of his duty to accuse Paul before the new proconsul Gallio (Act 18:12). Paul did not immediately leave Corinth after the Gallio incident, but stayed "many more days" there or "a good while" (18:18) bringing the whole time in Corinth to 18 months (18:11). If the 18 months reached into the autumn of 51, the early time of Paul in Corinth would be *spring A.D. 50 and the first letter to the Thessalonians* could be dated to that time.

4:9-10 The Thessalonians love each other and "all the brothers throughout Macedonia". 5:27 "I put you under oath before the Lord

1. K.C. Hanson, The Gallio Inscription (a.k.a. Delphi Inscription), accessed August 26, 2015, July 2010, <http://www.kchanson.com/ANCDOSCS/greek/gallio.html>

2. Morris Carson Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), p.282.

to have this letter read to all the brothers." If we combine 5:27 and 2:13 it becomes clear that Paul writes this letter to share it as the word of God (2 Thes 3:14.17).

4.2.2 **Content of 1. Thessalonians**

1:1-10 Letter beginning (sender, recipients, greeting, thanksgiving): "1 Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, To the church of the Thessalonians... Grace to you and peace. 2 We give thanks to God always for all of you..." They thank God for the faith, love and hope of the Thessalonians (2-3) knowing that God has chosen them so that they could become an example to all the believers in Macedonia and in Achaia (4-10).

2:1-12 Paul and the members of his team have worked with love, care and pure motives when they preached the word of God and founded the church in Thessalonica. They also worked for their own material needs. This should be a good example for the Thessalonians to do the same and "to walk in a manner worthy of God" (2:12).

2:13-16 They thank God that the Thessalonians accepted their sermon as the word of God in the midst of persecutions. 2:17-20 It is Paul's great desire to see them again. 3:1-9 Paul had sent Timothy "to establish and exhort" them in their faith "that no one be moved by these afflictions" (3:2-3). 3:10-13 They pray night and day for them to see them again and supply what is lacking in their faith. They wish that God may strengthen them and let them be blameless in holiness at the coming of Jesus Christ.

4:1-2 Start of the admonishing and motivating part: They should grow in their Christian to please God more and more. 4:3-8 To lead a holy life with regard to their own sexuality: "This is the will of God, your sanctification: that you abstain from sexual immorality"

(4:3). 4:9-10 To love each other. 4:11-12 To earn their own living.

4:13-5:11 The importance of the coming of Jesus Christ for those who belong to him. 4:13-18 The hope of the resurrection of the dead is a comfort for Christians who have lost through death loved ones who were believers. 5:1-3 The time of the day of the Lord is not known. The day will come suddenly like a thief in the night. 5:4-11 Therefore Christians should always be ready for this day to come as the day of their salvation and the day when they are united with Christ for ever.

5:12-22 Some further admonishments and motivations. 5:23-28 Blessing, final requests, greetings.

4.3 Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians

4.3.1 Introduction to 2. Thessalonians

Summary

According to the time of writing 2 Thessalonians seems not far away from the first letter (perhaps summer or fall of A.D. 50). There is still the problem of persecution. The subject of the end times with the coming of Christ and the day of the Lord is still very important for the church. The purpose of the letter is again 1. to encourage them to be faithful to the Lord while suffering pressure from their enemies, 2. to remove the misunderstanding "that the day of the Lord has come" already and to clarify this subject of "the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and our being gathered together to him" and 3. to take action that idle and undisciplined believers are led to a change of life.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 *Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy*: the same authors as in the first letter. *To the church of the Thessalonians...* and the same recipients. The situation seems to be roughly the same as in the first letter. 1:3-4 Believers in Thessalonika are still persecuted, but they stand firm in faith, love and patience. 2:1-2 "... we ask you, brothers, 2 not to be quickly shaken in mind or alarmed, either by a spirit or a spoken word, or a letter seeming to be from us, to the effect that the day of the Lord has come." A "letter which seems to be of" Paul, Silvanus and Timothy taken together with the remark in 3:17 about the sign of his genuine letters could indicate that somebody tried to falsify a letter.

2:15 They should "hold to the traditions that" they were taught Paul and his team, "either by ... spoken word or by ... letter." 3:6-12 Paul writes about what to do with some brothers who lead an idle or undisciplined life who do not work for their own material needs. 3:14-17 This section implies that Paul's genuine letters are important and should be obeyed.

4.3.2 Content of 2. Thessalonians

1:1-12 Letter beginning (sender, recipients, greeting, thanksgiving, intercession): "Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, To the church of the Thessalonians ... 2 Grace to you and peace..." Thanksgiving (1:3-10; 1:5-10 speak in the context of thanksgiving of God's righteous judgment to save the believing Thessalonians and to punish their persecutors on the day when Jesus returns) and intercession (1:11-12).

2:1-12 The coming of Jesus and the gathering of the faithful to him on the day of the Lord will not happen "unless the rebellion

comes first, and the man of lawlessness is revealed" (2:3). "The coming of the lawless one" is part of God's judgment "for those who are perishing, because they refused to love the truth and so be saved" (9-12). The Lord Jesus will kill this lawless one "with the breath of his mouth" at his coming (8).

2:13-14 They thank God for the election and the faith of the Thessalonians. 2:15 Based on this they encourage them "to stand firm and hold to the traditions that" they "were taught ..., either by ... spoken word or by ... letter". 2:16-17 A wish of blessing that the Lord Jesus Christ himself and God the Father may encourage and strengthen them "in every good work and word".

3:1-2 They ask for intercession for themselves as a team that God may bless their missionary work and save them from wicked and evil men. 3:3-5 Because of God's faithfulness are they confident that the Thessalonians will be guarded against the evil one and will be obedient to do what they commanded and love God and be steadfast under pressure.

3:6-16 The Thessalonians are instructed how to behave towards idle and undisciplined brothers so that they are led to change their lifestyle and start to work for their material needs. 3:17-18 Greeting of Paul, sign of genuineness of this letter, blessing.

4.4 Paul's first letter to the Corinthians

4.4.1 Introduction to 1. Corinthians

Summary

1 Corinthians was written before the riot caused by Demetrius (Acts 19:23-41) in early 55 from Ephesus. Paul's plan had been to stay in Ephesus until Pentecost (1 Cor 16:8). After the riot Paul left

immediately for Macedonia (Acts 20:1).

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 Paul and Sosthenes have written this letter. In Acts 18:17 Sosthenes is a Jewish Christian, "the ruler of the synagogue", and beaten up by Jewish opponents in front of Gallio who did not care. 1:1 The recipients are "To the church of God that is in Corinth... together with all those who in every place call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ", this means it is a letter to a local church but at the same time to all saints. Paul places the recipients in Corinth into the fellowship of the worldwide church (cf. 2 Cor 1:1 where he combines the church in Corinth "with all the saints who are in the whole of Achaia").

1:11-12 Chloe's people informed Paul about some things that were going on in Corinth. Chloe seems to have been a rich Christian lady with a household of her own. Somehow her people travelled to Ephesus and shared the problems of the church with Paul the founder of this same church which resulted in his tackling some of those problems in 1 Corinthians, for example the divisions in the church with people saying: "I follow Paul," or "I follow Apollos," or "I follow Cephas," or "I follow Christ."

15:1-58 A good illustration for the fact that there was some resistance in the philosophical atmosphere of Greece toward the teaching of the resurrection of the body is found in Acts 17:32. 15:32 Is it possible to understand this verse on the backdrop of Acts 19:23-41 (cf. 1 Cor 16:8-9)? 16:1 Paul wants the collection for the saints in Jerusalem and Judea to be well organized (as in Galatia!).

16:5-7 Paul's travel plans shall lead him first to Macedonia, then Achaia so that he may stay the winter with them in Corinth (cf. Acts 19:21). 16:8-9 Place of writing is Ephesus, time of writ-

ing before Pentecost. Paul profits from an open door for the gospel, but has also many adversaries. 16:10-11 When Timothy comes to Corinth (cf. Acts 19:22: Paul had sent Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia), they should grant him a fearless stay amongst themselves and not despise him while he does the work of the Lord. They should also support when he goes back to Paul who is expecting him.

16:12 Paul urged Apollos to visit Corinth, but he did not want now. This may imply that Apollos had visited Ephesus (cf. Acts 18:24-19:1). 16:15-18 Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus came probably from Corinth to Ephesus and have seen Paul and refreshed his spirit. 16:19 "The churches of Asia send you greetings" and "Aquila and Prisca" too. 16:21 That Paul writes his greeting with his own hand probably implies that someone else wrote the letter while Paul dictated (cf. Rom 16:22).

4.4.2 Content of 1. Corinthians

1:1-9 Letter beginning (sender, recipients, greeting, thanksgiving): "1 Paul... and our brother Sosthenes, 2 To the church of God that is in Corinth... with all those who in every place call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ... 3 Grace to you and peace." Paul thanks God that the Corinthians through the preaching about Christ "are not lacking in any spiritual gift", as they "wait for the revealing of our Lord Jesus Christ".

1:10-4:21 Because of the divisions in Corinth Paul argues for the unity in Christ and for being of one mind in him.

1:10-17 Overcome those divisions which are based on personality cult through the unity in Christ! 1:18-25 The word of the crucified Christ which the world regards as foolishness is the chosen means of God to save those who believe. 1:26-31 In Corinth God

chose the foolish, weak, low nobodies to bring to nothing those that were something "so that no human being might boast in the presence of God" (1:29).

2:1-5 The church in Corinth was founded without human words of wisdom through Paul's preaching Christ crucified alone, in the power of the Spirit and in spite of his own weakness, fear and much trembling. 2:6-16 In spite of the fact that the gospel looks foolish to those without, it is a treasure trove of great divine and hidden wisdom for those who believe in it from within. Those who have received the Spirit of God know their treasure: In Christ they have the mind of the Lord!

3:1-23 Divisions based on personality cults are a sign of immature Christians. Appolos or Paul are only servants of God in God's field or God's building. Everyone should build on the foundation of Jesus Christ with the best materials knowing that the fire of day of the the Lord will reveal the quality of each one's work. We should not boast in men, because all things are ours, and we are Christ's, and Christ is God's.

4:1-5 Paul only wants to be regarded as a servant of Christ and steward of the mysteries of God who is found trustworthy and receives his commendation from God on the day of judgment. 4:6-13 Paul speaks out against a theology of glory without suffering which surpasses the boundaries of Scripture.

5:1-13 To protect the church from infection they should purge the immoral and evil person from among them "to deliver this man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, so that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord" (5:5). 6:1-8 There should be some wise people in the church who are able "to settle a dispute between brothers". Brothers should not "go to law before the unrighteous instead of the saints" (6:1). 6:9-11 The "unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God... neither the sexually immoral, nor idolaters,

nor adulterers, nor men who practice homosexuality, nor thieves, nor the greedy, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor swindlers will inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you. But you were washed, you were sanctified".

6:12-20 As members of the body of Christ Christians are "one spirit with him" and their body is "a temple of the Holy Spirit". It should be therefore impossible for them to go to a prostitute. They should flee from sexual immorality and glorify God in their body. 7:1-40 It is good not to marry and stay single. "But because of the temptation to sexual immorality, each man should have his own wife and each woman her own husband" (7:2). In a mixed marriage a divorce should not be initiated by the spouse who believes in Jesus Christ (7:12-16). The circumcised or the uncircumcised "should remain in the condition in which he was called" (7:20). A believing slave is a full member of church and should not be concerned about it. If he can gain his freedom, he should avail himself of the opportunity (7:21-22). It is good for virgins and widows to remain single for the Lord's sake, but if they marry, they do not sin.

8:1-10:32 Out of love for the weak and to avoid contacts with demons Christians do not eat food offered to idols.

8:1-13 The knowledge that "an idol has no real existence," and that "there is no God but one" would allow me to eat the food offered to idols, if I had not to abstain from eating it out of love for the weak brother who would defile his conscience while eating it.

9:1-27 Paul did not use his right to live from preaching the gospel or to marry and he became "all things to all people, that by all means" he might save some. His example should be followed!

10:1-13 The Israelites "were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, 2 and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, 3 and all ate the same spiritual food, 4 and all drank the same spiritual drink... 5 Nevertheless, with most of them God was

not pleased, for they were overthrown in the wilderness" because of evil desires, idolatry, sexual immorality, putting the Lord to the test and grumbling.

10:14-22 You cannot partake in the blood and the body of Christ in the Holy Communion and at the same time partake in the table of demons by eating food offered to idols.

10:23-11:1 The food offered to idols has no magical power in itself. Therefore it is possible to "eat whatever is sold in the meat market without raising any question on the ground of conscience" (10:25) and also to accept an invitation, "if one of the unbelievers invites you to dinner and you are disposed to go, eat whatever is set before you without raising any question on the ground of conscience. But if someone says to you, 'This has been offered in sacrifice,' then do not eat it, for the sake of the one who informed you" (10:27-28).

11:2-16 God's order of creation with regard to husband and wife is not ignored but reflected in the worship of the New Testament church. 11:17-34 Divisions in the church, selfish eating and getting drunk and loveless inconsiderateness do not agree with the character of the Holy Communion. "Let a person examine himself, then, and so eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For anyone who eats and drinks without discerning the body (of the Lord from a profane meal) eats and drinks judgment on himself" (11:28-29; addition in brackets mine). The Lord underlines the holiness of his table with judgment of his people who "are disciplined so that" they "may not be condemned along with the world" (11:32).

12:1-14:40 How to use the spiritual gifts for the edification of the Church.

12:1-31 The spiritual gifts are many but are all given by one and the same Spirit of God whose influence is recognizable in the confession: "Jesus is Lord" (12:3). By being baptized with the Holy

Spirit all Christians have been made members of the one body of Christ and have a gift to serve that body.

13:1-13 Love is the crown of all spiritual gifts. Without love all gifts are useless and nothing. Faith, hope, and love abide forever, these three; but the greatest of these is love.

14:1-40 The gift of prophecy surpasses the inspired speaking in not-learned languages because the church is built up, encouraged and comforted through it in an understandable way. When the church comes together, all different kinds of gifts can be practiced. Only two or three should speak in languages, and that one after the other and only with an interpreter. "Let two or three prophets speak, and let the others weigh what is said" (14:29). Wives should not take part in the weighing of the prophetic speech or in a teaching discussion in church "but should be in submission, as the Law also says" (14:34; even if they are allowed to pray and prophesy themselves in the church according to 11:5).

15:1-58 Christ has risen indeed, in fulfillment of Scripture and in accordance with the eyewitness accounts of more than 500 brothers and sisters. Without the resurrection the Christian faith is empty without forgiveness of sins and without hope. The resurrection of Jesus Christ is the warranty of the coming resurrection of his people as well and is the start of his powerful rule over all the cosmos and all the enemies of God. All enemies will be subdued, the last enemy to be subdued is death which will happen at the time of the last trumpet when Christ transforms the living believers and raises the dead (15:26.50-57). The resurrection body is far superior than our current body.

16:1-4 "Now concerning the collection for the saints ... on the first day of every week, each of you is to put something aside and store it up, as he may prosper" . 16:5-24 Paul shares his travel plans, writes last admonishments and sends some greetings.

4.5 Paul's first letter to Timothy

4.5.1 Introduction to 1. Timothy

Summary

The situation mentioned in 1:3 that Paul left Timothy in Ephesus while he himself was going to Macedonia fits very well into Acts 20:1. The time of writing therefore can be identified with the time of Acts 20:2 which would be according to our chronology in the summer of A.D. 55. According to 3:14-16 The purpose of this letter is an instruction in practical churchlife.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 Paul writes to "Timothy, my true child in the faith". 1:3 Timothy stayed in Ephesus when Paul went to Macedonia (cf. Acts 20:1.3.). 1:3-4.6-7 There was the challenge of false teaching to be fought (see 1:20 Hymenaeus and Alexander, cf. Acts 20:20).

3:1-7 Qualifications for overseers (several in one local church, see 5:22; Acts 20:17.28). 3:8-13 Qualifications for deacons. 3:14-16 The purpose of this letter is that Paul instructs Timothy that he "may know how one ought to behave in the household of God, which is the church of the living God, a pillar and buttress of truth". Paul hopes to come to Timothy "soon". The soon has to be understood in the sense of weeks and months not days otherwise the letter would have been superfluous.

4:1-5 The false teachers have ascetic and gnostic tendencies. They reject marriage and forbid certain foods (cf. 2:15 which implies married life as pure and God's potential protection for mothers giving birth. Cf. Acts 20:29-31). 4:13 "Until I come, devote yourself to the public reading of Scripture, to exhortation, to teaching."

5:3-16 Qualifications of widows and regulations about them (cf. 5:14-15 with 1 Cor 7). 5:23 Medical advice for Timothy: "No longer drink only water, but use a little wine for the sake of your stomach and your frequent ailments." 6:3-5 Characteristics of false teachers. 6:20-21 Paul's mentioning of "the irreverent babble and contradictions of what is falsely called 'knowledge'" (γνώσις gnōsis) shows the backdrop of the false teachers to be gnosticism.

4.5.2 Content of 1. Timothy

1:1-2 Letter beginning (sender, recipient, greeting): Paul... to Timothy... Grace, mercy, and peace...! 1:3-11 After Paul's departure to Macedonia Timothy should remain at Ephesus and "charge certain persons not to teach any different doctrine". Those people were "desiring to be teachers of the law, without understanding" it. "The aim of our charge is love that issues from a pure heart and a good conscience and a sincere faith" (1:5). The false teachers were swerving away from that.

1:12-17 Paul thanks God for his grace that he saved him a former persecutor of the church and gave him the gospel to preach. "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners", of whom Paul is "the foremost". Paul's conversion shows the great patience of Jesus Christ and encourages all future believers.

1:18-20 This message that Christ has come to save sinners to the glory of God Paul entrusts to his son Timothy so that he may be strengthened and "in accordance with the prophecies previously made about" him, "may wage the good warfare". For this he needs "faith and a good conscience" which some have rejected and "made shipwreck of their faith, among whom are Hymenaeus and Alexander".

2:1-7 It is for Christians a task of utmost priority "that suppli-

cations, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all people, for kings and all who are in high positions, that we may lead a peaceful and quiet life, godly and dignified in every way". God readily accepts these prayers because he wants "all people to be saved". Because Christ Jesus is the "mediator between God and men... who gave himself as a ransom for all" for which testimony Paul is a teacher to the nations.

2:8-15 Therefore men and women should pray in every place in an outer and inner fitting way. In church a wife should behave in a way which reflects the order of creation without dominating her husband, but with submissiveness. God will help faithful women in the hour of giving birth.

3:1-7 For an overseer certain ethical and spiritual qualifications are needed so that they can fulfill their exemplary duty. 3:8-13 For a deacon similar ethical and spiritual qualifications are needed. 3:14-16 Paul hopes to come to Timothy soon but writes the letter that life in church may be well regulated and running smoothly with the confession of the great "mystery of godliness", God having become man in Jesus Christ, in the center.

4:1-5 The Holy Spirit "expressly says that in later times some will depart from" this faith "by devoting themselves to deceitful spirits and teachings of demons". These false teachings will despise God's order of creation, forbid married life and "foods that God created to be received with thanksgiving".

4:6-16 Timothy should give good teaching, reject secular myths, train himself in a God-fearing lifestyle and do not neglect his spiritual gift (as an evangelist, see 2 Tm 4:5). So he shall save himself and those who hear and obey him.

5:1-2 Timothy should behave toward old and young men and women in a fitting way. 5:3-16 Paul gives qualifications and regulations for the selection of those widows who shall be supported by

the church. 5:17-25 Fulltime elders should receive a salary which honors their work for the Lord and the church. They should be protected against false accusations, but in case of sin be rebuked in front of all. Timothy should "not be hasty in the laying on of hands, nor take part in the sins of others". He should not "drink only water, but use a little wine" for the sake of his health. Some good and bad deeds of men are clearly visible even before the judgment day, others are revealed on that day. Nothing will remain hidden.

6:1-2 Slaves who are believers should honor God in their daily life by behaving toward their masters with respect and good service. 6:3-16 Paul warns of teachers who use religion for their personal gain, but do not cling to the words of Jesus and so damage themselves and others. They want to become rich and so fall into temptation. But Timothy should "flee these things" and "pursue righteousness... faith, love" and purity "until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ".

6:17-19 Rich Christians should handle their worldly riches in a Christian way. 6:20-21 Timothy shall "guard" the treasure of his faith entrusted to him and "avoid the irreverent babble and contradictions of what is falsely called 'knowledge'".

4.5.3 Structure of 1. Timothy

Welch has made an interesting suggestion for a chiasmic structure of 1. Timothy.³

3. J. W. <Hrsg.> Welch, *Chiasmus in Antiquity*, accessed September 2, 2015 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1981), <http://publications.maxwellinstitute.byu.edu/book/chiasmus-in-antiquity/>, p. 226f.

I. Introduction (20 verses)

A Watch that no other doctrine is taught (1:1–7)

(a) shun fables

(b) be pure in heart, of good conscience, faithful

(a) shun vain jangle.

B The Law can help overcome basic sins (8–11)

(a) use the law lawfully

(b) to overcome many evils

(a) according to this glorious gospel.

B' Christ ultimately overcomes sins (12–17)

(a) I obtained mercy

(b) from Christ, though the worst of sinners

(a) I obtained mercy

A' Hold the faith against false preachers (18–20)

(a) War well against them

(b) hold the faith in good conscience

(a) against Hymanaeus and Alexander.

II. Ecclesiastical Affairs (28 verses)

C Offer prayers for political rulers (2:1–8)

D Public silence of women in the Church (9–15)

E-1 The calling of a Bishop (3:1–7)

E-2 The calling of a Deacon (8–13)

III. Personal Declarations (19 verses)

(a) The Christological hymn (3:14–16)

(b) The prophecy of false doctrine (4:1–5)

(b) The charge to minister (6–11)

(a) Timothy's ordination affirmed (12–16)

II. Ecclesiastical Affairs Continued (27 verses)

D-1 Treatment of Old Widows in the Church (5:1–10)

D-2 Treatment of Young Widows in the Church (11–16)

E' Public visibility of the Elders (17–25)

C' Obedience to masters (6:1–2a)

I. Conclusion (19 verses)

A Teach these things for others are perversions (6:2b–5)

- (a) teach and exhort;
- (b) the many evils of disputations;
- (a) withdraw.

B Contentment, not money, is gain (6–10)

- (a) godliness with contentment is gain
- (b) we can carry nothing out of this world
- (a) let us be content.
- (a) the rich fall into a snare
- (b) love of money is the root of all evil
- (a) the rich are pierced through with sorrows.

A' Follow these things which are righteous (11–16)

- (a) fight well for eternal life
- (b) keep the commandment
- (a) for the only King who hath immortality

B' Convert the rich to be rich in good works (17–21)

- (a) trust not in uncertain riches but God
- (b) be rich in good works
- (a) keep that which is committed to thy trust.

4.6 Paul's second letter to the Corinthians

4.6.1 Introduction to 2. Corinthians

Summary

Paul and Timothy wrote 2 Corinthians from Macedonia before Paul visited Corinth and Achaia, according to our chronology in the summer of A.D. 55. Titus had brought good news about a fundamental breakthrough in Corinth (2 Cor 2:12; 7:2-16). Therefore the tone of Paul's writing about his ministry in 2 Cor 2-7 is very positive with an emphasis on God's glory being revealed in his weakness. The whole letter is the most personal letter of Paul as written to a church and can be compared to 2 Timothy as his most personal letter to an individual.

Part of the letter is dedicated to the preparation of the collection for the poor saints in Judah (2 Cor 8-9) and in the end of his letter Paul turns to fight the remaining strongholds of the enemy in Corinth which have not yet fallen (2 Cor 10:1-13:10).

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 Paul and Timothy are the authors. 1:1 "To the church of God that is at Corinth, with all the saints who are in the whole of Achaia" gives the recipients. This may indicate that the church in Corinth was the biggest and most important church in all of Achaia (cf. Acts 18:10; see also 20:1-2).

1:8 There had been a very difficult situation in Asia which threatened the life of Paul. That may be related to Demetrius' riot

in Ephesus (Acts 19:23-40). 1:16-17 Paul had changed his original travel plans of 1 Cor 16:5-7. At the same time we have to bear in mind that 2 Cor 12:14 and 13:1 imply a second visit of Paul to Corinth before his writing of 2 Corinthians. 1:23-2:4 Paul's motive in changing his travel plans was "to spare" the Corinthians and "not to make another painful visit to you".

2:3-4 Paul had written a letter to the Corinthians "out of much affliction and anguish of heart and with many tears". Assuming that this "Letter of Tears" is not identical with 1 Corinthians, some people see four letters of Paul written to the Corinthians: Letter A is the letter mentioned in 1 Cor 5:9-11 identified as a letter written before 1 Corinthians. Letter B is our 1 Corinthians. Letter C the lost Letter of Tears and Letter D is 2 Corinthians.

But it is also possible to understand 1 Cor 5:9-11 as talking about the letter Pauls is just writing now, 1 Corinthians, as is the case in Gal 6:11. And the Letter of Tears could be identical with our 1 Corinthians. This would leave us with only two letters of Paul written to the Corinthians which we both still have in our canon. This is the view of things I prefer.⁴

2:12-13 In Troas a door opened for Paul to preach the gospel. In spite of this good opportunity Paul's "spirit was not at rest" because he "did not find ... Titus there". Titus was supposed to bring news from Corinth. Paul was so troubled about the difficult situation of the church in Corinth, that he "took leave of them and went on to

4. I do not think that genuine letters of an apostle could be lost easily in the first century. A good example for this are 2 and 3 John for me. They are very small and a kind of private, but they have been copied and kept as precious. Even the opponents of Paul recognized his letters as "weighty and strong" in 2 Cor 10:10. His disciples would keep and copy them spreading the word. The "letter from Laodicea" mentioned in Col 4:16 could be our "Ephesians" if the circular letter theory of Ephesians is correct.

Macedonia" (cf. Acts 20:1-2) in search of Titus and news. His way of travel to get to Macedonia was probably similar to what we find in Acts 16:11-12: "So, setting sail from Troas, we made a direct voyage to Samothrace, and the following day to Neapolis, and from there to Philippi".

2:14-3:3 This section brings a brighter atmosphere: Paul's burden for Corinth is lightened. He starts to praise his God-given service which surpasses even the glorious service entrusted by God to Moses. Seeing the atmosphere changed and Paul more confident and grateful for God's power revealing itself in his weakness, we as readers still have to wait until 7:5-8 to understand the reason for the change of mood in Paul:

5 For even when we came into Macedonia, our bodies had no rest, but we were afflicted at every turn - fighting without and fear within. 6 But God, who comforts the downcast, comforted us by the coming of Titus, 7 and not only by his coming but also by the comfort with which he was comforted by you, as he told us of your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me, so that I rejoiced still more. 8 For even if I made you grieve with my letter, I do not regret it - though I did regret it, for I see that that letter grieved you, though only for a while.

7:8 The letter mentioned here as causing grief in Corinth will be identical with the Letter of Tears (see above). We think that this points to the impact of 1 Corinthians which partly prepared the breakthrough Titus now could report of.

8:1-2 Paul mentions the progress of the collection in Macedonia to encourage people in Achaia to follow Macedonia's good example. 8:6.16-17 Titus accepted the responsibility to promote the

collection for the saints in Judea in Corinth. 8:10 The plan of the collection goes back to the year before (cf. 1 Cor 16:1-4). 8:18-19 The "brother who is famous among all the churches for his preaching of the gospel" and who "has been appointed by the churches to travel with us as we carry out this act of grace that is being ministered by us" could be Luke (cf. Acts 16:10ff; 20:5f). 8:20-24 Besides the one brother mentioned as appointed by the churches to accompany Paul to deliver the money of the collection there are others appointed so that a whole group will go to Jerusalem with Paul (cf. Acts 20:4). 9:2 "Achaia has been ready since last year", that is before the writing of 1 Corinthians (cf. 1 Cor 16:1-4 which implies this readiness).

10:10 The acknowledgment of Paul's opponents that "His letters are weighty and strong" implies that there were already at least two letters in existence before the writing of 2 Corinthians (according to our chronology: Gal, 1 Thes, 2 Thes, 1 Tim, 1 Cor). 10:16 Paul wants to "preach the gospel in lands beyond" the Corinthians, or beyond Achaia (cf. Acts 19:21; Rom 15:19).

11:7-12 In Achaia Paul used to work for his living, but he accepted help sent to him from Macedonia (from the church in Philippi, cf. Phil 4:10.15-18). 11:13-15.22 False apostles force Paul to write things which he would not have mentioned otherwise (cf. also 12:11). 11:23-33 Here Paul gives a whole list of his sufferings for Christ's sake (cf. 11:32-33 with Acts 9:24-25).

12:2-10 It was 14 years ago that Paul "was caught up to the third heaven... caught up into paradise - whether in the body or out of the body... God knows" (12:2-4). But after these great revelations Paul started to experience great pain in his body: "So to keep me from being too elated by the surpassing greatness of the revelations, a thorn was given me in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to harass me, to keep me from being too elated" (12:7). Three times he pleaded

with the Lord to remove this pain and finally learned the answer: "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness" (12:9).

12:12 God let the "signs of a true apostle" be performed in Corinth "with signs and wonders and mighty works". 12:14 Paul is planning to come to Corinth "for the third time". 12:15 He really loves them. 12:18 Paul has sent Titus and "the brother" to Corinth. 13:2 Paul mentions an earlier second visit in Corinth.

4.6.2 **Content of 2. Corinthians**

1:1-7 Letter beginning (author, recipients, greeting, blessing): Paul and Timothy to "the church of God that is at Corinth, with all the saints who are in the whole of Achaia: Grace to you and peace" (1:1-2). "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our affliction, so that we may be able to comfort those who are in any affliction" (1:3-4), including the Corinthians (1:5-7).

1:8-11 God delivered Paul from a deadly peril in Asia. 1:12-14 Paul has a clear conscience with regard to his missionary work in Corinth and other places and with regard to his whole way of life. 1:15-2:4 He did not change his travel plans out of sinful reasons but to spare the Corinthians in not making another painful visit to them.

2:5-11 Forgive the sinner who has caused pain, but has now repented from his sins. "Comfort him, or he may be overwhelmed by excessive sorrow" (2:7). Forgiving each other helps us "so that we would not be outwitted by Satan" (2:11).

2:12-13 Paul explains the circumstances which led to his writing this second letter to the Corinthians. There was a revival in Troas, but he had no peace of mind and went to Macedonia in search

of Titus. In 7:5 he continues this line of thought which he starts here. 2:14-3:6 Paul enjoys God's blessing on his preaching of the gospel which divides his audience in two groups: those who are saved and those who are lost. Through his preaching the Corinthians have received the life-giving Spirit and have become a letter of Christ written "not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts" (3:3).

3:7-18 Paul's ministry in the power of the life-giving Spirit is even more glorious than the ministry of Moses which only delivered God's word onto tablets of stone in letters that would kill, but could not change the human heart to live forever. The ministry of Moses also had only a temporary glory hinted at by the veil he would put on his face. But the ministry of preaching the gospel brings life and an eternal glory to those who "with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image from one degree of glory to another... from the Lord who is the Spirit" (3:18).

4:1-6 Paul's great God-given ministry motivates him to lead a pure life and preach truthfully glorifying Christ and not himself. If his "gospel is veiled, it is veiled only to those who are perishing" whose minds have been blinded by "the god of this world" (4:3-4). "For God, who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness,' has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (4:6).

4:7-18 This is the way powerful Christian ministry happens: God's treasure in our poverty, his power in our weakness, his life revealed in our body carrying the death of Jesus. Even facing death in faith we preach salvation "as we look not to the things that are seen but to the things that are unseen" (4:18). "Though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed day by day" while our "affliction is preparing for us an eternal weight of

glory beyond all comparison" (4:16-17).

5:1-10 The best for us would be to receive the heavenly new body of life without suffering the earthly death before. We groan in our earthly body desiring that "what is mortal may be swallowed up by life" (5:4). As long as we are at home in our body, we are away from our home with the Lord (5:6). Our longing to be with the Lord is stronger than our desire to stay alive in this body. We want to please our Lord here and there knowing that "we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, so that each one may receive what is due for what he has done in the body, whether good or evil" (5:9-10).

5:11-21 Motivated by the fear of the Lord and the love of Christ Paul preaches the gospel that Christ died for all reconciling the world with God and liberating the repentant sinner from his sins and making him a new creation reconciled with God.

6:1-13 Having proven himself to be a faithful servant of God in all kinds of circumstances (6:3-10) Paul pleads with the Corinthians "not to receive the grace of God in vain" (6:1-2) and to answer his heartfelt love to themselves, to his children, with widening their own hearts as well (6:11-13).

6:14-7:1 Because of the great promises of God to be his sons and daughters living closely with him, we should "cleanse ourselves from every defilement of body and spirit, bringing holiness to completion in the fear of God" (7:1) while not being "unequally yoked with unbelievers" (6:14).

7:2-16 The news of the repentance and the breakthrough in Corinth brought by Titus have filled Paul's heart with great joy (7:4-16) and now he asks them to make room in their hearts for him because he loves them so much (7:2-3).

8:1-9:15 Collection for the saints in Jerusalem and Judah. 8:1-24 In spite of their own poverty the churches of Macedonia were

very generous in their giving for the saints in Judah, in fact they gave even beyond their means. This should encourage the Corinthians to give for this collection as well as promised. Paul sends Titus together with other brothers so that this collection may be well organized and successful. 9:1-15 As they, the people of Achaia, have been ready since last year, they should now collect their gift joyfully looking up to God remembering his grace and his manifold gifts to them.

10:1-13:10 Paul defends his ministry and is ready to fight the remaining strongholds of the enemy in Corinth which have not yet fallen. 10:1-18 Paul defends his ministry and is ready to fight in this spiritual warfare with spiritual weapons having "divine power to destroy strongholds" and to "take every thought captive to obey Christ, being ready to punish every disobedience, when your obedience is complete" (10:4).

11:1-15 The gospel of the false apostles (11:12-13) who proclaim "another Jesus" so that the Corinthians receive "a different spirit from the one" they received (11:4-5), is nothing else but a temptation of Satan (11:1-3 and 11:14-15). 11:16-33 The whole ministry of Paul with all his sufferings for Christ's sake shows the big difference between him and the false apostles.

12:1-10 Paul received great revelations, but had also to go consequently through great sufferings to stay humble and let Christ's grace be sufficient for himself, for Christ's "power is made perfect in weakness" (12:9). 12:11-13:4 Paul is "not at all inferior to these super-apostles". The "signs of a true apostle" were performed among them. He and his missionary team have lived a pure and exemplary life among them (12:11-13).

For the third time he is ready to come to them to fight as a father for his children, not sparing those who have sinned (12:14-13:4). 13:5-13 "Examine yourselves, to see whether you are in the

faith. Test yourselves" (13:5-6). Paul prays to God that they may not do wrong and may be restored (13:7-10). 13:11-14 The letter closes with some exhortations, greetings and a very famous trinitarian blessing.

4.7 Paul's letter to Titus

4.7.1 Introduction to Titus

Summary

Paul says in Rom 15:19 "that from Jerusalem and all the way around to Illyricum I have fulfilled the ministry of the gospel of Christ". It could be argued that Crete is included in this circle. Why should he go as far as Spain (Rom 15:23-24), if Crete was not evangelized yet? It is true that Luke does not give any information of how this island was reached. But he also does not tell very much about the early ministry of Paul in Syria and Cilicia (see Acts 9:30; 11:25; Gal 1:21) or his reaching out to the Illyrians.

If the above assumption is correct Titus was written before Romans was written (before early A.D. 56). After Paul's sending of Artemas or Tychicus to Titus, he should join Paul in Nicopolis in Illyricum before the winter while he could still travel (Tit 3:12; cf. Acts 27:9). This Titus probably has done, because according to 2 Tm 4:10 Titus actually is found later in Dalmatia which is partly also Illyricum. Therefore we can date Titus tentatively in August/September of A.D. 55.

Paul left Titus in Crete to put "what remained into order, and appoint elders in every town". The letter gives directions about the qualifications of the elders (1:5-9) and also gives Titus a vision of essential core values for a church living out the gospel of grace in

a tough hedonistic and unethical environment.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 Paul is the author. 1:4 He writes to Titus, his spiritual son, an uncircumcised Gentile Christian and very capable member of Paul's team (see 2 Cor 2:13; 7:6.13.14; 8:6.16.23; 12:18; Gal 2:1.3; 2 Tm 4:10). 1:5 Titus is in Crete to appoint elders in the churches of every town.

1:10-16 There is a problem of false teaching in Crete. To lie is part of the culture as is hedonism which leads to ethical problems in the church. The antidote is to be sound in faith and not to devote oneself "to Jewish myths and the commands of people who turn away from the truth" (1:14).

3:1 Believers should "be submissive to rulers and authorities... ready for every good work". 3:9 Titus should "avoid foolish controversies, genealogies, dissensions, and quarrels about the law" which were probably hobby horses of the false teachers (cf. 1:10-16). 3:12 Paul wants Titus to join him in Nicopolis in Illyricum when Artemas or Tychicus are sent to him. 3:13 Titus should help Zenas the lawyer and Apollos to get ready for their journey with all what they need.

4.7.2 Content of Titus

1:1-4 Letter beginning (author, recipients, greeting): Paul... to Titus: Grace and peace... 1:5-9 Paul left Titus in Crete to "put what remained into order, and appoint elders in every town". Therefore Paul now writes about the qualifications of the elders. 1:10-16 Churches in Crete are exposed to bad influences from Cretan deceptive and hedonistic culture and from false teachers of Jewish

background. Therefore believers have to be taught to "be sound in the faith" and love the truth.

2:1-10 Through his example and sound teaching Titus should help older and younger men and women and also slaves to a sound and spiritual life full of good works so that the faithful "may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior" (2:10). 2:11-15 "The grace of God has appeared" in the person of Christ, "bringing salvation for all people, training us to renounce ungodliness and worldly passions... and to live ... godly lives in the present age, waiting for ... the appearing of the glory of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us to redeem us from all lawlessness and to purify for himself a people ... zealous for good works".

3:1-2 Christian ethics implies obedience to rulers and authorities, a life of readiness for every good work with a gentle, kind and peace loving behavior toward all people. 3:3-7 For we Christians ourselves were once disobedient, full of sins and hatred, but when God's love of man appeared in Christ, "he saved us not because of works done by us in righteousness, but according to his own mercy" (3:4-5).

3:8-11 Titus should teach this so that faithful people should be rich in good works. He should "avoid foolish controversies, genealogies, dissensions, and quarrels about the law" (3:9) and deal appropriately with "a person who stirs up division". 3:12-15 Final instructions and greetings.

4.8 Paul's letter to the Romans

4.8.1 Introduction to Romans

Summary

Paul wrote Romans in Corinth at the time of Acts 20:2-3 after the collection had been completed in Macedonia and Achaia and therefore also after the writing of the two letters to the Corinthians and probably shortly before his journey to Jerusalem (Spring A.D. 56). Because the Romans did not know him and his preaching, Paul unfolds his vision of the gospel in full systematic force. He hopes that they adopt him as their missionary for Spain, not for material support but for spiritual prayer support (Rom 15:24.30-32).

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1-6 Paul is the author. 1:6 He writes to all Christians in Rome most of whom were Gentiles. But there were also some Jewish Christians as for example Aquila (Rom 16:3; cf. Acts 18:2). 1:11-15 Paul never visited the Church in Rome but desires very much to do so and strengthen the Christians there. According to Acts 19:21 he already had this desire in Ephesus. See also the travel plans shared in Rom 15:22-28.

12:12.14.17-21 (combine this with 13:1!) It is clear that the Christians are already persecuted but not generally and systematically, more on a "private" basis and incidentally.

15:19-24 "From Jerusalem and all the way around to Illyricum" Paul has "fulfilled the ministry of the gospel of Christ" (15:19). Now his task in these areas is fulfilled and he wants to move on. His general principle is "to preach the gospel, not where Christ has already been named, lest I build on someone else's foundation"

(15:20). Because the church in Rome was founded by someone else, Paul could not come earlier. He had a desire to come to Rome, but this was not his priority. But now he wants to go to Spain and Rome is on the way. Therefore he plans to come and enjoy their fellowship and spiritual support for his missionary work in Spain (15:22-24).

15:25-28 First he has to go to Jerusalem to deliver the money of the collection of the churches of Macedonia and Achaia (and probably Galatia, cf. 1 Cor 16:1; Acts 20:4) for poor Christians in Jerusalem and Judah. 15:30-32 It is interesting that Paul knew beforehand that his journey to Jerusalem could be dangerous, so he asked for special prayers that he may survive and then come to Rome on his way to Spain. See also the troubles he had in Acts 19:23-41 and 20:3.

It was probably Phoebe, a servant or "deaconess" of the church at Cenchreae which was a sea port of Corinth, who took the letter to Rome. Therefore the place of writing will be Corinth. 16:23 "Gaius, who is host to me and to the whole church, greets you." Paul baptized a Gaius in Corinth (1 Cor 1:14). That Gaius is a host for Paul and the whole church, would imply that he is rich and has a big house. A Gaius as the host for Paul also agrees with Corinth as place of writing.

4.8.2 **Content of Romans**

1-11 The gospel "is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes, to the Jew first and also to the Greek. For in it the righteousness of God is revealed from faith for faith" (1:16-17).

1:1-15 Letter beginning (author, recipient, greeting, thanksgiving and prayer). "Paul... To all those in Rome who are loved by God and called to be saints: Grace to you and peace..." (1:1-7). Paul

thanks God for the Roman believers whose "faith is proclaimed in all the world" (1:8) and asks God to make it possible for him to visit the church in Rome with God's full blessing to strengthen them by sharing the gospel (1:9-15).

1:16-17 This is Paul's summary of what he is going to unfold in 1:18-11:36:

16 For I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes, to the Jew first and also to the Greek. 17 For in it the righteousness of God is revealed from faith for faith, as it is written, "The righteous shall live by faith."

1:18-3:20 All, both Jews and Greeks, are under sin and guilty before in God's judgment.

1:18-32 The Gentiles are under sin (cf. 3:9).

2:1-16 God's judgment of Jews and Gentiles will be righteous. Whoever passes judgment on another, condemns himself, because he practices the very same things (2:1-3). On God's day of wrath his righteous judgment will be revealed on Jews and Gentiles without any partiality. "2:6 He will render to each one according to his works: 7 to those who by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honor and immortality, he will give eternal life; 8 but for those who are self-seeking and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, there will be wrath and fury" (2:4-11). All who have sinned will perish, with or without the law. Born again Gentiles, who do not have the law by nature, but do what the law requires, are a law to themselves.

2:17-3:20 The Jews are under sin (cf. 3:9). 2:17-25 If a circumcised Jew is proud of the law in his hands, but breaks it, his circumcision becomes uncircumcision and the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of" him. 2:26-29 If a Gentile

man who is uncircumcised keeps the precepts of the law, his uncircumcision is regarded as circumcision and he receives praise from God.

3:1-8 The great advantage of the Jews is that they "were entrusted with the oracles of God" (3:2), but this does not save them from being condemned as sinners. 3:9-20 According to many OT passages quoted by Paul all are sinners, "none is righteous, no, not one" (3:10). This is especially valid with regard to the Jews who were the recipients of those words of God (3:19). "For by works of the law no human being will be justified in his sight, since through the law comes knowledge of sin" (3:20).

3:21-5:21 "The righteousness of God has been manifested apart from the law... the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe" (3:21-22) be they Jews or Gentiles.

3:21-26 God has revealed his righteousness in Christ: he is just and the justifier of the one who has faith in Jesus. Because all men are guilty sinners before God, God cannot acknowledge them as righteous based on their own works. There is only one way of redemption for them, to have faith in Christ and the atoning power of his blood and so receive God's grace and justification for free. In former times in his divine forbearance God had passed over sins of men looking forward to the cross that he would demonstrate his righteousness that he would punish all sin while his son would bear all the sins of the world (Is 53:6; Jn 1:29; 2 Cor 5:14-21).

3:27-4:8 Boasting is excluded by the law of faith. "For we hold that one is justified by faith apart from works of the law" (3:28). This is true for Jews and Gentiles. Since God is one, "he will justify the circumcised by faith and the uncircumcised through faith". That this agrees with the revelation of the Old Testament is proven by the testimony of Abraham and David. Abraham's righteousness was based on faith: "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him

as righteousness" (Rom 4:3; cf. Gn 15:6). "David also speaks of the blessing of the one to whom God counts righteousness apart from works: 'Blessed are those whose lawless deeds are forgiven, and whose sins are covered; blessed is the man against whom the Lord will not count his sin' (Rom 4:6-8; cf. Ps 32:1-2).

4:9-25 Through his faith in God's promise Abraham became the father of all who believe, circumcised Jews or uncircumcised Gentiles. 5:1-11 "Since we have been justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ" (5:1) and "we rejoice in hope of the glory of God... we rejoice in our sufferings... we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ" (5:2.3.11). 5:12-21 Adam and Christ are the source and the representatives of the old mankind in Adam and the new mankind in Christ. Adam brought sin, death and condemnation to all in Adam. Christ brought grace, life and justification to all in Christ.

6:1-8:39 Those who are united with Christ are dead to sin (6:1-23) and to the law (7:1-25). They should "walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit" (8:1-16). They endure the sufferings of the present time with Christ with the assured hope that they one day will be revealed as the Christ-like children of God full of glory.

6:1-23 The fact that Christians are reigned by grace does not mean that they should continue in sin. They were crucified with Christ, died with him, were buried with him and raised with him from the dead having been united with him in baptism. Therefore they are dead to sin and should now live for God in righteousness.

7:1-25 "The law is binding on a person only as long as he lives" (7:1). The Christians "have died to the law through the body of Christ, so that" they "may belong to another, to him who has been raised from the dead, in order that" they "may bear fruit for God" (7:4).

5 For while we were living in the flesh, our sinful passions, aroused by the law, were at work in our members to bear fruit for death. 6 But now we are released from the law, having died to that which held us captive, so that we serve not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit.

7:5 can be understood as a summary of what is unfolded in 7:7-25 and 7:6 as a summary of what is described in 8:1-17. Our flesh cannot be reformed or be made better. The indwelling sin makes that impossible (7:11.13.14.18-20). Only the future deliverance "from this body of death" shall deliver us for ever from sinfulness (7:24; cf. 8:23-24).

8:1-14 "There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus" (8:1). But they should "walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit" (8:4) and "by the Spirit... put to death the deeds of the body" (8:13). "For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God" (8:14).

8:15-39 All who receive the Spirit of God, "are children of God... heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ" (8:16-17). They follow Christ through "the sufferings of this present time" to their future glory of Christ-like children of God (8:18.29). With great hope they wait eagerly and patiently "for adoption as sons, the redemption of" their "bodies" (8:23-25). Even "the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God" because then "the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God" which will be like the new birth of creation (8:19-22). Nothing can separate God's chosen ones from the love of God in Christ Jesus. All things must work together for their good (8:26-39).

9:1-11:36 God's Ways with Israel. The subject of election and

predestination has already started in Rom 8:28-39 but is continued here with regard to Israel. Because of the great importance of this subject, the content of Rom 9:1-11:36 is presented in the following 33 summarizing points.

1. The apostle Paul begins with sharing his enormous burden of intercession for his unbelieving fellow Israelites (9:1-2), continues in this attitude of prayer (10:1) and concludes his discourse with praising God (11:33-36). This context of adoration and prayer has to be kept in mind while looking at Rom 9-11.
2. The fact that not all Israelites acknowledge Jesus as the Christ (9:5) does not mean that the word of God has failed (9:6). For from the beginning not all carnal descendants of Israel or Abraham were also children of God, but only the children of the promise (9:7-8).
3. The decision who is and who is not a child of promise is based on God's election (9:11).
4. God elects not according to the works of men but according to his own grace. Human works stand in opposition to God's grace. Human faith is not in opposition to God's grace (9:12; 9:30-10:21; 11:5-6).
5. In giving his grace God can prefer one man (e.g. Jacob) and reject the other (e.g. Esau; 9:13).
6. Sinful man has no claim to receive grace. By not giving his grace to somebody God is not unjust (9:14-21).
7. If God favors somebody with his grace, he expresses his own mercy and love (9:15-16).

8. While the grace of God has no cause in man, but only in God's will to show grace, the wrath of God is caused by the sins of man.
9. When God hardens man, he does not make a sinless man a sinner, but he hands an already sinful man in such a way over to his sinfulness that he will not be able to repent (9:17-18; 11:7-10).
10. God's hardening of the sinner is related to the will of God to show his wrath and make known his power (9:17-18.22).
11. It is to be kept in mind with regard to the hardening of the sinner that Rom 9-11 is about Israel and that in this context the hardening has a purpose and a time limitation:
 - (a) Through the hardening of a great part of Israel (11:1-10) salvation has come to the Gentiles. After this has now happened the individual Israelites can be made jealous instigating them to gain salvation too (11:11-14).
 - (b) When the fullness of the Gentiles has come in, the partial hardening of Israel will stop and the whole remnant of the Israel of that time will be saved (11:25-27.30-32).
12. In showing wrath God remains just. His judgments are holy.
13. God calls Jews and Gentiles to the same salvation and the same glory (9:23-26).
14. God saves only a small remnant in comparison to the whole number of the descendants of Israel. This does not put God's

power and capability into question. Quite on the contrary his power is especially shown through his judgment of the vessels of wrath. His ability to save is wonderfully presented in the fact that he gives his people a remnant at all and does not destroy them like Sodom and Gomorrah (9:22.27-29).

15. Rom 9:6-29 present God's greatness and sovereignty and prove that God's word has not become invalid because of the lack of faith of many Israelites. The problem that many Israelites do not believe in Jesus as the Christ is here looked at more from the perspective of God's work.

In Rom 9:30-10:21 the same problem of the lack of faith of many Israelites is now looked at more from the perspective of Israel's doing, that means more from the human side of things.

Both perspectives present the same reality, neither can be neglected: The work of God on the one hand and the responsibility of man on the other.

16. The decisive mistake of the (unbelieving) Israelites is that they seek a righteousness according to the works of the law and not by faith in Jesus Christ. By "seeking to establish their own, they did not submit to God's righteousness" (10:3; see 9:30-10:3).
17. The final target of the law is the coming Christ. Everybody who misses Christ, misses the purpose of the law (10:4).
18. Only those gain righteousness and salvation who believe in their heart that God raised Jesus from the dead and confess with their mouth that Jesus is Lord (10:5-11).

19. The way of salvation by faith is open for Jews and Greeks (and so for all men). The same Lord is Lord of all, bestowing his riches on all who call on him in a prayer of faith (10:12-13).
20. Rom 10:14-15 argue that only those who have heard the gospel can be saved by faith in Jesus Christ. God's way of salvation for all of mankind includes the following steps:
 - (a) Christ has accomplished redemption (Rom 3:21-31).
 - (b) God sends preachers of this good news.
 - (c) The preacher brings the good news.
 - (d) People hear the good news.
 - (e) They believe the good news.
 - (f) They call on the Lord with faith who is rich enough for all men to save them.
 - (g) The Lord saves those who believe.
21. But not all Israelites have believed the gospel, even though the whole nation has been reached in their own country and in the Diaspora. The reason is that Israel did not understand the gospel (10:2-3.16-19) and did therefore not accept God's hands held out to them (10:21).
22. God's hands were really held out to them, that means that God really wanted them to return to him. God's offer of his grace and salvation was real, but Israel did not seek the offered righteousness of grace, because she was busy establishing her own righteousness (10:21.2-3).

23. Because Israel rejected the primary offer (cf. 1:16) of the gospel, God wants to make the Israelites jealous by evangelizing and saving Gentiles to instigate the Israelites to gain salvation by coming to Christ (10:19-20; 11:11.13-14).
24. God has not rejected his people, the Israelites because there is still a remnant of Israel according to God's gracious election which is to be distinguished from the other part which has been hardened in "retribution" for its sins (11:1-10).
25. The Israelites who stumbled, did not stumble in order that they might fall and remain destroyed on the ground, but for the purpose that salvation may "come to the Gentiles, so as to make Israel jealous" (11:11). There is still hope for them that they may return to God (11:13-14.23-24).
26. The Gentiles profited from the temporary hardening of a part of Israel because in consequence God granted them a worldwide time of salvation through the proclamation of the gospel. If this sad cause with regard to Israel brought so much salvation to the world, what great blessings should we expect when God will finally accept the whole remnant of Israel? If "their rejection means the reconciliation of the world, what will their acceptance mean but life from the dead?" This means probably that the time of rapture and resurrection happen after the re-acceptance of Israel or coincide with it, according to 11:25-26 perhaps the latter (11:12.15-16.25-27).
27. Gentiles who have come to faith in Jesus Christ have been grafted in the cultivated olive tree. Jews who did not believe in Jesus as the Christ, have been broken off. This means that Jews and Gentiles who believe in Jesus Christ are part

of one body of salvation and united by their faith in Christ. Faith brings into the body of salvation, disbelief breaks off (11:17-24).

28. Gentile believers are warned not to be arrogant towards Israel, but to fear God and to contemplate the kindness and severity of God. Paul presents both possibilities: That the Jews may come to faith in Christ and be grafted in again and that the Gentile who does not continue in God's kindness will be cut off (11:20-24).
29. The Jews who do not believe in Jesus Christ, are enemies (of God) for the sake of the believing Gentiles as regards the gospel. "But as regards election, they are beloved for the sake of their forefathers" (11:28). Therefore they have a future under the love of God "for the gifts and the calling of God are irrevocable" (11:29).
30. Just as at one time the Gentiles were disobedient to God but now they have received mercy because of the disobedience of the Israelites, so the Israelites are now disobedient to God because of God's mercy shown to the Gentiles so that they also may now receive mercy (9:30-31).
31. The final word and climax of the argument in Rom 9-11 is 11:32, after this there is only praise and adoration of God: "For God has consigned all to disobedience, that he may have mercy on all."⁵ This relates to Gentiles and Jews. The first part of 11:32 presents literally the idea that God has closed the door of a room with a key where all had entered,

5. 32 συνέκλεισεν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπειθειαν ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσει.

perhaps by their own sinful choice, but then God shut the door and locked it. The room is the room of disobedience. God let them suffer the consequences of their sin for some time, only to open the door again and have mercy on all of them, meaning Jews and Gentiles alike. Cf. the explanations to the temporary hardening of the Jews above (9:18ff and 11:1-11).

32. God's ways with Israel, as discussed by the apostle Paul, surpass all human understanding. At the end of this discourse is not a rationalizing Philosopher on his chair, but a worshipping apostle on his knees praising God (11:33-36).
33. All of the universe - Israel and the Gentiles are only a part of it - has its origin in God's creative power, is sustained by him and has to serve him. Therefore this discourse about God's ways with Israel (Rom 9-11) concludes with a statement of God's eternal adoration: "To him be glory forever. Amen" (11:36).

12:1-15:13 Those who have experienced God's mercies should give their bodies as a living sacrifice and be transformed by the renewal of their mind so that their practical life may agree more and more with God's holy and perfect will.

12:1-2 Those who have experienced God's mercies should commit themselves totally to God and be ready to be transformed according to God's perfect ethical will. 12:3-13 Life of Christians within the fellowship of the church: As one body has many members but is still one body, so each should serve the others with his gift in love and affection for the edification of the whole body. 12:14-13:7 Life of Christians within the world: They should love

even their enemies (12:14-21) and be subject and obedient to the governing authorities (13:1-7).

13:8-10 "Owe no one anything, except to love each other" (13:8). "The commandments... are summed up in this word: 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself'... love is the fulfilling of the law" (13:9-10). 13:11-14 Because "salvation is nearer to us now than when we first believed" (13:11), we should cast off evil deeds like dirty clothes and put on the Lord Jesus Christ instead (13:12-14).

14:1-15:13 Those who are strong in faith and eat everything should not despise the weak who only eat vegetables. Those who abstain from eating meat should not pass judgment on the others who eat meat, for God has welcomed them. It is permitted to eat meat and drink wine and esteem all days alike. But to walk in love is the most important rule of life for all believers whether they are weak or strong in faith. This may mean not to eat meat because of the brother who would be grieved by it.

15:14-16:27 Letter closure.

15:14-33 Paul plans to take the collection to Jerusalem, visit Rome and then go to Spain to evangelize her with the spiritual support of the church in Rome. 16:1-24 In spite of the fact that the apostle Paul has not visited the church in Rome yet, he has many friends there whom he knows from other places as the long list of greetings shows. 16:25-27 Paul closes his letter with praising God.

4.9 Paul's letter to the Philippians

4.9.1 Introduction to Philippians

Summary

The so-called captivity letters of Paul⁶ Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians and Philemon⁷ are related to each other. As Philippians, Colossians and Philemon mention Paul and Timothy as co-authors but Ephesians has only Paul as author, we can assume that Philippians, Colossians and Philemon were written first. Then Paul sent Timothy to Philippi as promised in Phil 2:19 and afterwards wrote Ephesians. Tychicus and Onesimus delivered Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon.

As Paul had planned to send Timothy as soon as he could see how it would go with him (Phil 2:23), Timothy would deliver the news about Paul in Philippi as Tychicus would do the same in Ephesus (Eph 6:21) and Colossae (Col 4:7-9). At the time of writing Philemon 22 Paul had the hope to be released soon which agrees with his sentiments in Phil 1:25 and 2:24.

The place of writing could be Caesarea or Rome. If these letters were written from Rome, then we do not know more about the circumstances of Paul than we are told in Acts 28:30-31. If the letters were written from Caesarea, Paul knew since the Lord told him in Acts 23:11 that he would leave Judea alive to go to Rome. But he did not know that the governor Felix would save him from the Jews on the one hand, but on the other keep him in captivity for two

6. See the verses which present Paul as a prisoner or somebody who is bound with chains: Eph 3:1.13; 4:1; 6:19-20; Phil 1:13-17; Col 4:3.18; Philemon 1:1.9.10.13.22.23; 2 Tm 1:8.12.16-17; 2:9-13; 4:6-8; 4:16-18.

7. About the introduction of 2 Timothy which was also written from captivity, see below.

years hoping to get money from him and finally "desiring to do the Jews a favor" leave him in prison (Acts 24:22-27).

With regard to the time of writing I assume that these letters were written in the summer of A.D. 56 after he was taken captive in Jerusalem and during his first time in Herod's praetorium (Acts 23:35), perhaps after having been there a few weeks without knowing yet how his case would develop. But we have also to keep in mind that Phil 2:25-30 implies quite a few journeys to and fro which will have taken some weeks.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 "Paul and Timothy, servants of Christ Jesus". In this case Paul does not put his title of apostle before his name. 1:5 The Philippians had a "partnership in the gospel from the first day until now". 1:12-14 What has happened to Paul (captivity, chains, to be in the praetorium) has served to advance the gospel. The word praetorium (1:13) would fit Rome, Caesarea and Epheus as place of writing and all three have been proposed. For a praetorium in Caesarea see Acts 23:35.

1:15-17 Some preach Christ "from envy and rivalry" to afflict Paul in his imprisonment. 1:20-26 Paul wonders whether he is going to die or survive this crisis. He is convinced that he will survive because he has still work to do. 1:27 implies that Paul plans a further visit of Philippi as does 2:24.

2:19-23 Paul plans to send Timothy "just as soon as I see how it will go with me". 2:24 Paul himself plans to visit Philippi. 2:25-30 Paul sends Epaphroditus who was so ill that he almost died. He got so ill because he faithfully brought the financial support of the Philippians to Paul.

3:2-3 When Paul warns the Philippians to look out for the "con-

cision" (KJV, a circumcision that went wrong) and while the true Christians are the real "circumcision", he warns them not to be influenced by Jewish false teachers. 3:5-6 Paul speaks of his personal background in the Jewish religion.

4:2-3 Euodia, Syntyche and Clement are mentioned amongst "other fellow workers". 4:10.15.16.18 Paul is glad and grateful for the financial support send by the church in Philippi. 4:22 The greetings of "those of Caesar's household" would fit Rome or Caesarea as place of writing. See also Acts 28.

4.9.2 Content of Philippians

For this outline compare Kent.⁸

- A1 1:1-11 letter beginning: author, recipient, greeting (1-2), thanksgiving (3-8) and intercession (8-11).
- B1 1:12-26 Paul's Circumstances and Hope for the Future.
First reason for joy: Christ is proclaimed (12-18).
Second reason: Paul will be saved (19-26).
- C1 1:27-2:18 First Series of Exhortations.
 - a1 Live worthy of the Gospel, stand firm in the Lord, fighting in unity and ready to suffer (1:27-30).
 - b1 Make my joy complete by following Christ's example which is the guideline for unity and humility in the church with the hope of glory (1-11).
 - a2 Live a life of light sticking to the Gospel (12-18).

8. F. E. Gaebelin, *The Expositors Bible Commentary: Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1,2 Thessalonians, 1,2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon*, vol. 11, Wood, A. S.; Kent, H. A.; Vaughan, C.; Thomas, R. L.; Earle, R.; Hiebert, D. E.; Rupprecht, A. A. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1978), p. 102.

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| B2 | 2:19-30 | Paul's Circumstances and His Plan to Send Timotheus (19-24) and Epaphroditus (25-30). |
| C2 | 3:1-4:9 | Second Series of Exhortations. |
| | b2 | Rejoice in the Lord, not because of the righteousness according to the law but because of the righteousness according to the faith. The example of Paul in this regard (3:1-21). |
| | a3 | Stand firm in the Lord, one in the Spirit fighting for the Gospel (4:1-3). |
| | b3 | Rejoice in the Lord, being kind to all and leading a life of prayer imitating Paul's example (4:4-9). |
| B3 | 4:10-20 | Paul's Circumstances and the Philippians' Gifts to him which is another reason for joy. |
| A2 | 4:21-23 | Closing Salutation. |

4.10 Paul's letter to the Colossians

4.10.1 Introduction to Colossians

Summary

Onesimus belonged to Colossae (Col 4:9). He was a runaway slave of Philemon. This means that the house of Philemon and the church in his house were in Colossae as well (Philemon 1:1-2). This agrees with Archippus being mentioned as worker of the church in Colossae (Col 4:17) and as one of the especially named recipients of the letter to Philemon (Philemon 1:2).

As Tychicus delivered Ephesians and Colossians and Onesimus went with him (Eph 6:21; Col 4:7-9), all three letters (Eph, Col, Philemon) will have been written roughly at the same time and then delivered. Onesimus probably delivered the letter to Philemon which had been written so that Philemon might receive well

the runaway slave who had in the mean time repented and become a Christian through the apostle Paul. As mentioned above Colossians may have been written in the summer of A.D. 56 from Caesarea.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 The apostle Paul and Timothy are the authors. 1:2 The "saints and faithful brothers in Christ at Colossae" are the recipients (for example Philemon). 1:7 Epaphras founded the church in Colossae. 2:1 Paul has a spiritual struggle for believers at Colossae and Laodicea and "for all who have not seen me face to face".

4:7 Paul sends Tychicus (cf. Eph 6:21) so that he can give verbal information about Paul's circumstances. 4:8 Onesimus the runaway slave of Philemon who has now accepted Christ accompanies Tychicus on his way.

4:10-11 There are greetings from some Jews who were Paul's "fellow workers for the kingdom of God", namely Aristarchus, Paul's "fellow prisoner", Mark, the cousin of Barnabas (whom they should welcome, if he comes) and Jesus Justus. 4:12-14 The greetings from Gentile Christians include Epaphras from Colossae, Luke the beloved physician and Demas.

4:15 They should greet the Christians in Laodicea. 4:16 "And when this letter has been read among you, have it also read in the church of the Laodiceans; and see that you also read the letter from Laodicea." 4:17 Archippus should fulfill his ministry given to him by the Lord (cf. Philemon 1:2).

4.10.2 Content of Colossians

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| A1 | 1:1-2 | Authors: Paul and Timothy, recipients: believers at Colossae, greetings: grace and peace. |
| B1 | 1:3-13 | Paul and Timothy give thanks for faith, love and hope of the believers at Colossae. They pray for the Colossians that God might fill them with the knowledge of his will through all spiritual wisdom that they may live a life worthy of the Lord. |
| C1 | 1:14-23 | Christ's greatness in creation and redemption is revealed through the gospel - of which Paul is a servant. |
| D1 | 1:24-2:5 | Paul rejoices in his sufferings for the body of Christ. Through his preaching and counseling he wants to present everyone perfect in Christ including the Colossians. |
| E1 | 2:6-15 | As you have received Christ Jesus, so lead your life in him: Rooted and built up in him. Let no one deceive you through philosophy depending on the tradition of men and not on Christ. For in Christ all the fullness of the Godhead lives in bodily form, and you have this fullness in him. In him you were circumcised, in putting of the body of the sins of the flesh, buried, and made alive again through faith. In him all your sins are forgiven. |

- F 2:16-23 Let no man therefore judge you with regard to eating or drinking, in respect of a holiday, or of the new moon, or of sabbath days: these are a shadow of things to come - but the body is of Christ. Do not let anyone disqualify you for the prize while he is puffed up by his fleshly mind and has lost connection with the Head.
- E2 3:1-4 If you have been raised with Christ, then seek those things which are above, where Christ is. Set your minds on things above, not on things on the earth. For you died, and your life is hidden with Christ in God.
- D2 3:5-15 Therefore the believers should put to death the earthly body parts, meaning sins like sexual immorality, evil desires and greed and should put on the new man, which is being renewed in the image of its Creator. The virtues of the new man (Christ) are like pieces of clothes, love binding all together as a bond of perfection.
- C2 3:16-4:1 The word of Christ should dwell richly in the believers. As servants of Christ, they should glorify the greatness of Christ in the position they have, being husband or wife, parent or child, master or slave.
- B2 4:2-6 The believers should pray, being watchful and thankful and also pray for Paul and Timothy. They should walk in wisdom when interacting with outsiders.
- A2 4:7-18 Tychicus is sent with Onesimus to take the letter to the recipients, to give them additional information about the circumstances of the authors Paul and Timothy and to strengthen them spiritually. Several personal greetings are shared, the last one being: "I, Paul, write this greeting in my own hand. Remember my chains. Grace be with you."

4.11 Paul's letter to Philemon

4.11.1 Introduction to Philemon

Summary

See the summary of the introduction to Philippians and Colossians. This letter was written at about the same time as Philippians and Colossians (summer A.D. 56) and from the same place (Caesarea).

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 Authors are "Paul, a prisoner for Christ Jesus, and Timothy our brother". 1:1-2 Recipients are "Philemon our beloved fellow worker and Apphia our sister and Archippus our fellow soldier, and the church in your house". 1:5 Paul heard of Philemon's love and faith, perhaps through Onesimus or Epaphras?

1:9-10 While himself imprisoned or in "chains" Paul could lead Onesimus to Christ and became his spiritual father. 1:13 If Onesimus had stayed with Paul he could have served him in his being bound. 1:22 Paul, hoping to be released soon and then visit Colossae and Philemon, asks for a guest room to be prepared. 1:23-24 Greetings from Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, and Luke, Paul's fellow workers.

4.11.2 Content and Structure of Philemon

Welch has made an interesting suggestion for a chiasmic structure of Philemon.⁹

A Epistolary (1–3)

9. Welch, *Chiasmus in Antiquity*, p. 225f.

- B Paul's prayers for Philemon (4)
 - C Philemon's love, faith and hospitality (5–7)
 - D Paul could use his authority (8)
 - E But prefers to make supplications (9–10)
 - F Onesimus a convert of Paul's (10)
 - G Paul has made Onesimus profitable (11)
 - H Receive Onesimus as Paul's own bowels (12)
 - I Paul retained Onesimus as Paul's minister
in the bonds of the Gospel (13)
 - J Without Philemon's willing consent
Paul will not require Philemon
to take Onesimus back (14)
 - J' Perhaps the reason Onesimus left
was so that Philemon could take
Onesimus back forever (15)
 - I' Not as a servant
but as a brother in the Lord (16)
 - H' Receive Onesimus as Paul's own self (17)
 - G' Paul will repay any wrong
Onesimus has done (18–19)
 - F' Philemon indebted as a convert to Paul (19)
 - E' Paul makes supplication to Philemon (20)
 - D' Although he could ask for obedience (21)
 - C' Paul requests hospitality of Philemon (22)
 - B' Philemon's prayers for Paul (22)
 - A' Epistolary (23–25)

4.12 **Paul's letter to the Ephesians**

4.12.1 **Introduction to Ephesians**

Summary

See the summary of the introduction to Philippians and Colossians. At the time of writing Paul is a prisoner. Is the place of composition Rome, Caesarea or Ephesus? About the possibility of Ephesus see 1 Cor 15:32; 2 Cor 6:5; 11:23; Rom 16:7. From these passages it is evident that Paul was imprisoned several times even before the drafting of 2 Corinthians, not just once in Acts 16 in Philippi, and that there were certain "fights" in Ephesus. Because the site of Ephesus is not mentioned in 1:1 in all manuscripts, some assume that the letter from Ephesus may be drawn up in a hypothetical imprisonment of Paul in Ephesus. But since this captivity is not really testified, we leave Ephesus aside and ask rather whether the letter was drafted in Caesarea or Rome.

As we have already said in the discussion of Philippians, Colossians and Philemon, we prefer Caesarea as the place of writing and the summer of A.D. 56 as the time. We know from Acts 21:29 that the Jews who wanted to lynch Paul, mistakenly thought he had brought Trophimus the Ephesian into the temple desecrating it. There were extra tablets in the temple warning Gentiles not to enter the area which was forbidden to them threatening them with the death sentence. Paul's captivity began with this misunderstanding. Knowing this Eph 2:14 gains new relevance: "For he himself is our peace, who has made us both one and has broken down in his flesh the dividing wall of hostility".

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 Author of the letter is the Apostle Paul. 1:1 Recipients of the letter are the saints "in Ephesus". Acts 19 tells us how the church in Ephesus was founded. Because "in Ephesus" was originally left out in some old and important manuscripts (Papyrus 46, Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus et al.) some people are in favor of the idea that this letter was a circulating one, going to Ephesus and other places like Laodicea (a letter of Paul to the Christians in Laodicea is mentioned in Col 4:16). This is an interesting and stimulating theory. I do not think that a letter of Paul to the church of Laodicea would have been easily lost. I could imagine that our letter to the Ephesians was directed both to Ephesus and Laodicea.

2:1.11.19 The recipients are mostly Gentile Christians (circumcision 2:11). 3:1 Paul is a prisoner for "you Gentiles". It is noteworthy that Paul was arrested because some Jews in Jerusalem thought that Paul had brought Trophimus the Ephesian into the temple. He did not do it. But here in Ephesians chapter two he argues that Gentiles have access to God the Father in Christ and are even part of God's temple. 3:8 "To me, though I am the very least of all the saints, this grace was given, to preach to the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ".

4:1 Paul is a "prisoner in the Lord". 4:17ff The majority of the recipients are Gentile Christians (cf. 2:11). 6:19 Request for intercession. 6:20 Paul is "an ambassador in chains" to declare the gospel boldly. For the "chain" see Acts 28:20 where we see him with his chain in Rome. 6:21-22 In addition to the letter Tychicus brings personal information about Paul's circumstances.

4.12.2 **Content of Ephesians**

1:1-2 Letter beginning: author is the apostle Paul, recipients are "the saints who are in Ephesus", greeting is "grace and peace".

1:3-3:21 The salvation in Christ

1:3-14 Praising God for the spiritual blessings in Christ. 1:15-23 Paul thanks for the faith and love of the recipients and prays that God may reveal to them through his Spirit the full extent of their Christian hope, their eternal inheritance, and the power of God in them. 2:1-10 In his mercy unto them God saved them who were dead in sins because of his grace in Christ and made them alive to enjoy the full salvation in Christ.

2:11-22 In the one body of Christ Jews and Gentiles have become one. 3:1-13 Paul is a prisoner for the sake of Jesus Christ and for the sake of this mystery that in Christ the Gentiles fully belong to the Body of Christ, the Church. Through Church the manifold wisdom of God is now made known to the rulers and authorities in the heavenly places.

3:14-21 Paul's intercedes for the recipients that God the Father may grant them to be strengthened through God's Spirit so that Christ may dwell in their hearts through faith and that they may comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of Christ that surpasses knowledge, that they may be filled with all the fullness of God.

4:1-6:20 The new Christian life as a life worthy of Christ

4:1-6 Christians should lead a life worthy of Christ, being humble and meek, loving each other and preserving the unity in the Spirit. 4:7-16 The source of the gifts of the Holy Spirit is the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. They are given so that the one body of Christ with all the members may be built up in love.

4:17-5:20 Christian life is a life of the new man in Christ that

differs very much from the life of the old man in Adam: The new man in Christ has a heart that listens to God, keeps a clear conscience, loves the truth, overcomes anger, pursues honest work, uses his tongue for good, shows sacrificial love as Christ did, avoids sexual immorality and materialistic greed, loves to live in the light with wisdom, not as a slave of liquor, but full of God's Spirit, of gratitude and praise.

5:21-6:9 People who are full of the Spirit do not abolish the authority structures. Women submit to their husbands, children obey their parents, slaves their masters. Husbands love their wives, parents do not provoke their children to anger, but bring them up in the discipline and instruction of the Lord, masters stop their threatening, knowing that God is the greatest Master and Judge of all and there is no partiality with him.

6:10-17 Christians should put on the whole armor of God, that they may be able to stand against the schemes of the devil. For they do not wrestle against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the cosmic powers over this present darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places. 6:18-20 This battle is also one of intercession for all fellow Christians, also for Paul and his task to spread the gospel. 6:21-24 Greetings and blessings.

4.13 Paul's second letter to Timothy

4.13.1 Introduction to second Timothy

Summary

2 Timothy may have been written in Rome (traditional view) or in Caesarea. Who feels that the explanation of 1:16-18 given below is

not acceptable, is likely to prefer Rome. Caesarea would fit well as place of writing if we think of certain statements in 2. Tim 4. The decision is difficult. Perhaps we have to leave it open. One thing is clear namely that 2 Timothy was written by Paul while he was in chains. It is a captivity epistle. Therefore it could be combined with Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians and Philemon and located in Caesarea (written in A.D. 56) or in Rome (written in A.D. 60). It may also belong to a later captivity of Paul beyond the framework of Acts, as some see it.

I personally prefer Caesarea or Rome because Paul told the elders of Ephesus in Acts 20:25: "And now, behold, I know that none of you among whom I have gone about proclaiming the kingdom will see my face again". I see this as a prophetic prediction. Another reason are Paul's plans in Rom 15:19-24 to carry the gospel to Spain after having "fulfilled the ministry of the gospel of Christ" in the whole area "from Jerusalem and all the way around to Illyricum" stating that he has "no longer ... any room for work in these regions". If 2 Timothy were to be dated in a captivity after Acts 28, it would imply that Paul would have revisited the old area of his ministry (from Jerusalem to Illyricum) because of all the statements of places mentioned in 2 Tim 1 and 4 (see below the statements related to the introduction questions).

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1-2 Author is Paul, recipient Timothy, the greeting is "Grace, mercy and peace..." 1:3-4 Paul is thinking of the tears of Timothy that were probably shed at parting from Paul. Timothy had a devout mother Eunice and a devout grandmother Lois. 1:8 The prisoner Paul urges Timothy to "Suffer with me!" 1:12 Paul suffers for the sake of the Gospel. 1:15 All who were in Asia turned away

from Paul, Phygelus and Hermogenes among them.

1:16-18 Paul wishes that God may grant mercy to Onesiphorus, because he was looking for Paul in Rome and found him finally, but where? If in Rome, then 2 Timothy was drafted in Rome. But if Onesiphorus had only expected to find him in Rome, but did not really, then he may have found him somewhere else, maybe in Caesarea. Onesiphorus belonged to Ephesus in Asia at least for the time Paul speaks of in 2 Tim 1:18. Surely he knew of Paul's plan to travel first to Jerusalem to deliver the collection for the poor among the Jewish Christians, and then to Rome. Perhaps he had expected to meet him in Rome, which was not the case. After learning that Paul had been delayed in Judea as feared (see Romans 15:30-31), Onesiphorus could have arranged his return to Asia in a way that he could pay a consolatory visit to Paul in Judea.

2:9 Paul suffers for the gospel bound with chains as a criminal. 2:16-18 The heresy of Hymenaeus and Philetus spreads like cancer. They say that the resurrection has already happened and so pervert the faith of some people. This wrong teaching is probably based on a purely spiritual and gnostic interpretation of the resurrection while at the same time denying the resurrection of the flesh (cf. 1 Cor 15:12).

2:22 Timothy is to escape the lusts of youth. Paul sees him as "young". He joined the team of Paul about the year A.D. 48. If we assume that he was at least 20 years old at that time which would represent the earliest age of conscription according to Nm 1:3 (cf. 2 Tim 2:3-4), then he was about 30 years old at time of the writing of this letter (A.D. 56 or later).

3:1-9 In the last days there will come times of great difficulty because the people will be sinful in every respect. 3:11 Paul recalls his being persecuted in Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, the area from which Timothy came (Acts 16:1-3).

4:6.9-10 Paul is facing death. Timothy is to come quickly. The team member of Paul Demas has left him, because he has grown fond of this world. Crescens has gone to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. 4:11 Luke alone is with Paul. Timothy should bring Mark, who would be useful to Paul for ministry. On the one hand Paul is ready to die, but on the other he is going to continue his ministry of evangelism. 4:12 Paul sent Tychicus to Ephesus (cf. Eph 6:21 and Col 4:7-8).

4:13 Timothy should bring the cloak that Paul left with Carpus at Troas, also the books, and above all the parchments. Timothy is not in Ephesus (see 4:12), but his trip to Paul will be via Troas. Timothy is to bring this cloak before winter (4:21). This can be understood in the following way: Paul left the cloak with Carpus at Troas, along with the books, because he hoped to go first to Jerusalem in the warmer season of the year where he did not need the cloak and the books. Then he planned to go by ship to Rome and from there to Spain to evangelize (cf. Acts 20:21; Rom 15:24). The journey from Jerusalem to Rome would be done partly by sea via Troas. He did not expect to have to spend the winter in Judea and in prison. But now everything drags on, and he needs his cloak.

4:14-15 Alexander the coppersmith did Paul great harm. Timothy should beware of him himself. 4:16-17 Paul's first defense in court was difficult. He had been abandoned by all. Only the Lord was with him. 4:19 Greetings to Prisca and Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus. 4:20 Erastus remained at Corinth. Paul left Trophimus, who was ill, at Miletus. 4:21 Timothy should come before winter (with the cloak, see 4:13). Greetings from Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, Claudia and all the brothers and sisters.

4.13.2 Content of second Timothy

1:1-2 Author is the apostle Paul, recipient Timothy his beloved child, and the greeting is "Grace, mercy, and peace..." 1:3-5 Paul thanks for Timothy and prays eagerly to see him again.

1:6-14 Strengthened by God's Spirit Timothy should be willing to suffer and use his gift to preach the gospel without fear (cf. 4:5). He should not be ashamed of the gospel nor of Paul as a prisoner. He should guard the good deposit entrusted to him. Because God's salvation is for ever. Paul himself is not ashamed of the gospel.

1:15-18 All who were in Asia turned away from Paul, Phygelus and Hermogenes among them. Paul wishes that God may grant mercy to Onesiphorus and his family on the day of the Lord, because he has helped the prisoner Paul and refreshed him.

2:1-13 What Timothy has heard from Paul he should entrust to faithful men who will be able to teach others also. He should do this with total commitment and with willingness to suffer, the risen Messiah constantly in mind. Paul suffers for the gospel and for the sake of the elect. Christians should be ready to confess Jesus and suffer for him, so that Jesus may confess them before God the Father and may give them eternal life and glory.

2:14-26 Because the secularizing gnostic heresies spread like cancer, Timothy should avoid irreverent babble. He should charge believers not to quarrel about words and correct his opponents with gentleness, leading himself a pure life.

3:1-9 In the last days there will come times of great difficulty because the people will be sinful in every respect. 3:10-17 In contrast, Timothy has proven himself many times to be a capable minister of the gospel, while following Paul in all his sufferings. He knows the Holy Scriptures since childhood and should encouraged by them cling to Christ.

4:1-5 Timothy should not stop to preach and teach the gospel knowing that in the future many will prefer myths to sound doctrine. He should do this even if he has to suffer for it. 4:6-8 Paul himself sees the race of his life as almost finished and looks forward to the day of Christ.

4:9-15 Because only Luke is with Paul and many fellow workers are elsewhere, Timothy should soon come to Paul bringing Mark with him and the cloak that Paul left with Carpus at Troas and the books. 4:16-18 At Paul's first defense no one came to stand by him, but all deserted him. But the Lord stood by him and strengthened him, so that through him the message was fully proclaimed and all the Gentiles could hear it. So he was rescued from the lion's mouth. He knows that the Lord will rescue him from every evil deed and bring him safely into his heavenly kingdom. 4:19-22 Timothy should come before the winter. Greetings and blessing.

4.14 The Letter to the Hebrews

4.14.1 Introduction to Hebrews

Summary

Because of the way 1:1-4 is written the normal letter beginning with author, recipients and greeting is non-existent. The recipients clearly knew who had written to them and the author knew the recipients and their situation well. He wanted to glorify Christ and honor him and therefore did not mention his name nor the name of the recipients in the beginning.

I think that the names which have been suggested for the author like Apollos or Barnabas of whom we have no writing at all have to be rejected. They can not be verified one way or the other. The

suggestion that the content is Paul's, the Greek is from Luke, is more of a nature that can be verified by looking at Paul's letters and the Greek of Luke in the gospel and in Acts.

The author is somehow related to Timothy whom we know as a member of the team of the apostle Paul. There are numerous parallels between Hebrews and the 13 letters that bear the name of Paul. The argument is of a very high quality. I agree with the old church¹⁰ which understood the ideas to be from Paul and has included it with the letters of Paul naming them according to the recipients (see Papyrus 46) and not as the catholic epistles according to the authors.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1-4 Because these verses want to praise the greatness and uniqueness of Jesus Christ the divine Son of God, the author does not mention his own name nor the name of the recipients which would have been the normal style of writing a letter. This has caused the uncertainty about author and recipients. But the mentioning of Timothy in 13:23 shows they author to belong to the Pauline circle according to my opinion. And the recipients will have known the author who asks them to pray for him, as well as the author knew their specific circumstances as the following sections show. It is not a catholic epistle. It is a letter to a specific group of Christian believers who seem to be at home in much of the Old Testament and may, as the title suggests be "Hebrews" in the sense of predominantly Jewish Christians.

2:3 "... how shall we escape if we neglect such a great salvation? It was declared at first by the Lord, and it was attested to us

10. For a recent argument by a Greek scholar in favor of Paul see David Alan Black, *The Authorship of Hebrews: The Case for Paul* (Gonzalez, FL: Energion Publications, 2013).

by those who heard, while God also bore witness by signs and wonders and various miracles and by gifts of the Holy Spirit distributed according to his will." This is often seen as pointing to the author as second generation Christian, but this is not conclusive. The Lord is Jesus. "Those who heard" and subsequently taught while God affirmed their preaching with signs and works of the Holy Spirit, can be identified as the apostles or disciples of Jesus Christ.

5:12 "For though by this time you ought to be teachers... You need milk, not solid food." 6:4-6 They should avoid apostasy ("... if they then fall away, since they are crucifying once again the Son of God to their own harm and holding him up to contempt", 6:6). 6:10 They have been serving the saints with love.

10:32-34 In the "earlier days" they were persecuted and plundered and endured it joyfully. 11:32 "For time would fail me to tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson ..." (masculine participle used in Greek: author is a man). 12:4 "In your struggle against sin you have not yet resisted to the point of shedding your blood."

13:17 "Obey your leaders and submit to them, for they are keeping watch over your souls, as those who will have to give an account. Let them do this with joy and not with groaning, for that would be of no advantage to you." 13:18-19 They should pray for the author who has a clear conscience so he may be restored to them the sooner. 13:22 "I appeal to you, brothers, bear with my word of exhortation, for I have written to you briefly." 13:23 Timothy has been released. The author plans to visit the recipients with Timothy, if he comes soon. 13:24 "Those ... from Italy send you greetings".

Ideas about the letter in church history

For these informations see Leon Morris.¹¹ Early use of the epistle by Clement of Rome (1 Clement 17:36), probably by Polycarp (To the Philippians 6:12), Hermas (Visions 2.3.2; 3.7.2; Similitudes 9.13.7). Pantaenus knows the title "To the Hebrews" (Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History 6.14.4) as does Tertullian (De Pudicitia 20).

The oldest Manuscripts have it already.¹² Clement of Alexandria thinks Paul wrote Hebrews in Hebrew, Luke translated it into Greek (Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, 6.14.2).

Origen's opinion about the author is worth quoting in full:¹³

11. In addition he makes the following statements in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews in his Homilies upon it: "That the verbal style of the epistle entitled 'To the Hebrews,' is not rude like the language of the apostle, who acknowledged himself 'rude in speech' that is, in expression; but that its diction is purer Greek, any one who has the power to discern differences of phraseology will acknowledge.

11. F. E. Gaebelin, *The Expositor's Bible Commentary: Hebrews, James, 1,2 Peter, 1,2,3 John, Jude, Revelation*, vol. 12, Morris, L. and Burdick, D. W. and Blum, E. A. and Barker, G. W. and Blum, E. A. and Johnson, A. F. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1981), p. 4-6. He states: "When it was accepted as part of the NT, this was partly at least because contemporaries held Paul to be the author" (p. 6).

12. Papyrus 46 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library) from about A.D. 200 has the Pauline Epistles and Hebrews among them. Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 686.

13. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 6.25.11-14, here quoted according to Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: *Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine*, p. 435.

12. Moreover, that the thoughts of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged apostolic writings, any one who carefully examines the apostolic text will admit.'

13. Farther on he adds: "If I gave my opinion, I should say that the thoughts are those of the apostle, but the diction and phraseology are those of some one who remembered the apostolic teachings, and wrote down at his leisure what had been said by his teacher. Therefore if any church holds that this epistle is by Paul, let it be commended for this. For not without reason have the ancients handed it down as Paul's.

14. But who wrote the epistle, in truth, God knows. The statement of some who have gone before us is that Clement, bishop of the Romans, wrote the epistle, and of others that Luke, the author of the Gospel and the Acts, wrote it." But let this suffice on these matters.

4.14.2 **Content of Hebrews**

1:1-4 This letter beginning is a condensed summary of the content of Hebrews presenting Jesus as the unique and divine Son of God and source of salvation. 1:5-14 The Son of God in his divinity is greater than all the angels. 2:1-4 The salvific word of the Son is more important than the word delivered by angels.

2:5-18 "Now it was not to angels that God subjected the world to come", but to "the son of man" Jesus. He was "for a little while ... made lower than the angels" but then "crowned with glory and honor because of the suffering of death, so that by the grace of God he might taste death for everyone" destroying the power of the ac-

cusing devil. As merciful and faithful high priest he does not save the angels, but the seed of Abraham.

3:1-6 As apostle, high priest and faithful Son of God Jesus Christ is greater than Moses who was faithful only as a servant in God's house. 3:7-4:11 "Do not harden your hearts as in the rebellion" of the desert generation because of lack of faith, but remain faithful to Christ and enter the "Sabbath rest for the people of God" by faith. "Whoever has entered God's rest has also rested from his works as God did from his."

4:12-13 The word of God is sharper and more effective than any two-edged sword of a priest, piercing to the division of soul and of spirit, discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart, exposing the inmost being of every creature totally before God the Judge to whom we are accountable. 4:14-5:10 In Christ, the Son of God, we have a compassionate, saving, sinless, eternal heavenly and better High Priest. Therefore let us stick to the confession of our faith and continue to come into the presence of God to receive grace.

5:11-6:12 "You have become dull of hearing" and still "need milk, not solid food" (5:11-12). This is not good. By this time you should have been teachers. "Let us leave the elementary doctrine of Christ and go on to maturity" (6:1). Be "imitators of those who through faith and patience inherit the promises" (6:12).

6:13-19 Because God cannot lie and because of his oath, God's promise to Abraham is doubly sure for the heirs of the promise. Therefore we "have strong encouragement to hold fast to the hope set before us. We have this as a sure and steadfast anchor of the soul, a hope that enters into the inner place behind the curtain" (18-19).

6:20-7:28 As heavenly high priest after the order of Melchizedek Christ brings the priesthood of perfection which is far superior to

the priesthood of Aaron, son of Levi. By the power of an indestructible life Jesus Christ is the guarantor of a better covenant. As high priest he himself is "holy, innocent, unstained, separated from sinners, and exalted above the heavens" (7:26).

8:1-13 As heavenly high priest Christ serves at the greater and real place of worshipping God, not at the shadow place of worship on earth. He is mediator of a new and better covenant, which "is enacted on better promises" (8:6).

9:1-28 The earthly sanctuary was a prophetic and temporary order of God with an external holiness. The people of God had to wait for the fulfillment in Christ who sacrificed himself and shed his blood on the cross and "entered once for all into the holy places" in heaven "by means of his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption" (9:12) which is also unique and once and for all, final (see 9:25-28). He is the high priest at the right hand of God in heaven who inaugurated the new covenant and is its mediator.

10:1-18 The animal sacrifices of the law were only a shadow of the real thing. "For it is impossible for the blood of bulls and goats to take away sins" (10:4). The body casting its prophetic shadow into the law of Moses is the body of Jesus Christ sacrificed at the cross. This unique sacrifice of the body of Jesus Christ brought about a unique, true and final, eternal salvation from sin so that all the external, earthly sin offerings of animals have become obsolete.

10:19-39 "Therefore... since we have confidence to enter the holy places by the blood of Jesus... through the curtain, that is, through his flesh" (10:19-20), "let us hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering" (10:23), "not neglecting to meet together" (10:25) and through endurance and faith save our souls.

11:1-40 Since the beginning of salvation history believers received God's affirmative testimony for themselves, but not the ultimate goal of God's promise, because God's better plan was that

they should not be made perfect without us.

12:1-17 "Therefore, since we are surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses, let us ... run with endurance the race that is set before us, looking to Jesus, the founder and perfecter of our faith" (12:1-2). Let us imitate Christ's willingness to suffer for God's sake and let us accept God's fatherly love while he disciplines us "that we may share his holiness" (12:10). Let us "strive for peace with everyone, and for the holiness without which no one will see the Lord" (12:14). Having this great goal we should "see to it that no one fails to obtain the grace of God" (12:15).

12:18-29 Because our destination is not Mount Sinai where the old covenant was made with a self revelation of God that was terrifying for all of Israel, even for Moses, but we "have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem... and to God, the judge of all, ... and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant" (12:22-24), we should not refuse God who is speaking if he now not only speaks on earth, but from heaven. God will "once more shake not only the earth but heaven too... so that what is unshaken may remain" (12:26-27). We should "be grateful for receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken" and thus "offer to God acceptable worship, with reverence and awe" (12:28).

13:1-19 We serve God in loving each other with brotherly love, in hospitality, in remembering those who suffer persecution, in leading a faithful married life, in keeping our life free from love of money, and being content with what we have, in remembering and obeying our spiritual leaders and imitating their faith, above all in imitation of Christ and in confessing him, in clinging to sound doctrine without obsolete food laws, in seeking the city of God and praising God through Christ, in intercession for the brothers and sisters. 13:20-25 The letter ends with blessings and greetings.

Chapter 5

The Catholic Epistles

The remaining letters of the New Testament are called "catholic" epistles in the sense of epistles with a worldwide audience. The sequence of James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1 and 2 and 3 John and Jude seems to follow the sequence found in Galatians 2:9: "And when James and Cephas and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given to me, they gave the right hand of fellowship to Barnabas and me, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised." Jude who calls himself "Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James" (Jude 1:1) has been added to them at the end, being a smaller and less famous servant of Jesus Christ and the brother of the first in this series. This makes him at the same time a brother of Jesus, of course, but humbleness lets him drop that claim as James drops it as well in his introduction. Though the three letters of John belong to the catholic epistles, they are treated here in the context of the Corpus Johanneum.

5.1 The Catholic Epistle of James

5.1.1 Introduction to James

Summary

James, the brother of the Lord Jesus Christ, has written this letter probably in the middle of the fifties of the first century from Jerusalem to the churches "in the Dispersion", meaning wherever the churches were, including the area of "the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" mentioned in 1 Pt 1:1. As many of these churches had been planted by the team of Paul, we must view them as mixed churches with Jews and Gentiles, probably with a majority of Gentile Christians in them. One purpose of his letter was to correct a misunderstanding of Paul's teaching (represented in Gal 3 and Rom 4) as if faith without works was enough to be saved. That this was not really the meaning of Paul is evident in such passages as Gal 5:6 (cf. 2 Pt 3:15-16).

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 Author is "James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ". There are four possible men in the New Testament with the name of James: 1. James, son of Zebedee and Brother of John (Mk 1:19). 2. James, the son of Alphaeus (Mk 3:18). 3. James, father of Judas (Lk 6:16; Acts 1:13). 4. James, the brother of the Lord Jesus Christ (Mt 13:55; Mk 6:3; Gal 1:19; 2:9; 2:12; Acts 12:17; 15:13; 21:18; 1 Cor 15:7; 9:5; Jud 1:1). There are certain similarities between the letter of James and the words of James, brother of the Lord, in Acts 15:13-21. Zahn points to a section of Origene in a Latin manuscript of his (lib IV, 8 in Rome) where it is the Lord's

brother James who is the author of the letter.¹ I think James, the brother of Jesus, fits best. He was stoned to death in A.D. 62 in Jerusalem and was a very prominent leading figure of that church at least from Acts 12:17 onward. The place of writing is therefore probably Jerusalem.

1:1 Recipients are "the twelve tribes in the Dispersion". 1:12; 2:2 (synagogue)²; 3:14; 4:1-4; 4:13; 5:14. I would understand "the twelve tribes in the Dispersion" as the worldwide ("catholic") Christian church in the dispersion with Jewish and Gentile Christians in it. The Dispersion would stand in contrast to Jerusalem from where James probably has written.

That God's people in the dispersion may imply Gentile Christians as well is clearly the case for first and second Peter (1 Pt 1:1; 2:9f; 4:3; 2 Pt 3:1; Jude was written to the same recipients as 2 Peter). 1:12 "Blessed is the man who remains steadfast under trial": one subject is temptation.

2:1 James speaks of "the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory" which implies the divinity of Jesus Christ. 2:1-7 It is sin to prefer rich guests in the church to poorer people. It is the sin of partiality. "Are not the rich the ones who oppress you, and the ones who drag you into court?" (2:6)

2:21-24 "Was not Abraham our father justified by works when he offered up his son Isaac on the altar? 22 You see that faith was active along with his works, and faith was completed by his works; 23 and the Scripture was fulfilled that says, 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness' - and he was called a

1. Theodor Zahn, *Grundriß der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904), p. 43.

2. In the letter of Ignatius to Polycarp (IV,2) the word synagogue is used for Gentile Christian assemblies. It does not necessarily imply Jewish Christian recipients.

friend of God. 24 You see that a person is justified by works and not by faith alone." These statements of James somehow relate to what Paul writes in Gal 3:5-14 or Rom 3:28-4:25 and also to what Paul probably was preaching in the churches he planted. One important purpose of his letter is that James wants to give a correction to a misunderstanding of Paul's preaching or writing or both (cf. Acts 21:20-26; Gal 2:6-10; 2 Pt 3:15-16; see Gal 5:6!).

If James presupposes Romans, then it is written after Romans (after A.D. 56) and before the death of James in A.D. 62. If it presupposes Galatians, then it is written after Galatians (after A.D. 48). I think a good time area for James is after 48 and before the visit of Paul in Jerusalem and in the house of James (Acts 21:17-26; before the late spring of A.D. 56).

5:3 "You have laid up treasure in the last days." James sees the presence as the last days.

James as the Sermon of the Mount in the form of a letter

There are so many parallels between this letter of James and the famous Sermon on the Mount that we can see this letter of James as the Sermon on the Mount in the form of a letter.

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| Jas 1:2 | Mt 5:10 |
| 1:5 | 7:7 |
| 1:9-11 | Lk 6:20.24 |
| 1:12 | Mt 5:11-12 |
| 1:16 | Mt 7:11 |
| 1:19-20 | Mt 5:21-22 |
| 1:22(-25) | 7:24 |
| 1:26 | 5:22.37 |
| 2:5 | Mt 5:3; Lk 6,20 |

| | |
|----------|---|
| 2:6-7 | 5:11 |
| 2:8-13 | 5:21-32; 7:12 (cf. Jas 2:8 with Mt 22:39) |
| 2:14-26 | 7:12-29 |
| 3:1-12 | 5:5.22.33-37; 7:1-2; Lk 6:28 |
| 3:13-18 | Mt 5:5.9.24.38-48; 7:16-20 |
| 4:1-3 | 5:21-26; 7:7 |
| 4:4 | 6:24 (cf. Jas 4:10 with Mt 23:12) |
| 4:11-12 | 7:1-5 |
| 4:13-5:6 | 6:19-34 |
| 5:7-8 | 7:21-22 |
| 5:9 | 7:1 |
| 5:10-11 | 5:10-12 |
| 5:12 | 5:33-37 |

5.1.2 **Content of James**

1:1 Letter beginning. Author is "James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ". Recipients are "the twelve tribes in the Dispersion". Greetings. 1:2-4 Trials mean joy for Christians if they endure them with faith and steadfastness because then they grow more mature and towards spiritual perfection. 1:5-8 Everybody who lacks wisdom, should ask God in faith, and he will see how God gives generously to him. If such a man doubts God, he will receive nothing, being himself double-minded and unstable.

1:9-11 A lowly brother should boast of his high value before God knowing that he is not less than a rich man in a worldly sense whose beauty will pass away very quickly. 1:12-18 Blessed are those who remain steadfast under trial, for they will will receive eternal life from God. Any temptation to do evil, is not from God. The source of such a temptation is in sinful man himself. "But each

person is tempted when he is lured and enticed by his own desire. Then desire when it has conceived gives birth to sin, and sin when it is fully grown brings forth death" (1:14-15). "Every good gift" comes from God. This also includes the grace of being born again according to the will of God by the word of truth (1:17-18).

1:19-27 Christians should be slow to anger, put away all wickedness and receive with meekness the implanted word, which is able to save their souls. But they have not only to hear, but to do it, for example in visiting orphans and widows in their affliction, and in keeping oneself unstained from the world.

2:1-13 Before God it is a sin to show partiality. In the church service therefore rich people should not be given a special treatment while poor people are being dishonored. 2:14-26 Faith without works is dead. Dead faith cannot save.

3:1-12 Not many Christians should become teachers, for the teachers will be judged with greater strictness. The tongue is only a small member of the human body, but it may have an enormous effect. Man rules the world with all the animals, but is incapable of controlling his own tongue. Before God our tongue should be like a spring pouring forth only fresh water not salt water, only blessing and not cursing.

3:13-18 Contentious wisdom is earthly, unspiritual, demonic, but God-given wisdom is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, open to reason, full of mercy and good fruits, impartial and sincere" (3:17).

4:1-12 Quarrels, murder, praying wrongly to spend it on one's passions show that the recipients lead a worldly life in spiritual adultery toward God. They need to repent, mourn, weep humble themselves before the Lord. They should not speak evil against one another. The one who speaks against a brother or judges his brother, speaks evil against the law and judges the law. There is only one lawgiver and judge, he who is able to save and to destroy.

4:13-5:6 Christians should not boast of their plans for the future how they will gain wealth, but they should do good knowing themselves to be totally dependent on God and his will. If a person is wealthy and wicked, he is heading for a terrible disaster on the day of judgment.

5:7-11 Given the fact that the Lord is coming soon, it is necessary to wait patiently and endure all the suffering and not to sigh against fellow Christians. A great example of suffering and patience are the prophets of God. Job is a model of steadfastness, and the Lord had compassion on him. 5:12 Christians should not swear. What they say, should be true having no need to affirm it with an oath. 5:13-18 "Is anyone among you suffering? Let him pray. Is anyone cheerful? Let him sing praise" (5:13). If someone is sick, he should call elders of the church to give him counseling and pray over him, anointing him with oil that he may be healed.

5:19-20 If anyone among the Christians wanders from the truth and someone brings him back, so the second will save the soul of the first from death and will cover a multitude of sins.

5.2 The First Catholic Epistle of Peter

5.2.1 Introduction to 1 Peter

Summary

Peter, the apostle and eyewitness of the sufferings of Christ (1:1; 5:1) has written this letter to Gentile Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" (1:1; 1:17-19; 2:9-10; 4:3-4). The place of writing is "Babylon" which may be a code name for Rome (cf. Rev 17-18). The time is probably before the Neronian persecution (2:13-17). Paul is perhaps not in Rome, there are no greetings

from him, but from Mark and Silvanus. The time is perhaps after 61 and before 64. The purpose of the letter is to strengthen their faith in God and Jesus Christ while they suffer persecution (5:12).

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 Letter beginning: Author is "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ". Recipients are "those who are elect exiles of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia". 1:6-8 Sufferings of the recipients are mentioned. They have not seen Jesus, but they love him. 1:17-19 The recipients are "in exile". They were "ransomed from the futile ways inherited from" their "forefathers".

2:9-10 The recipients were formerly "not a people, but are now "God's people". This implies that the recipients are predominantly from Gentile background. 2:12 They have to suffer as Christians.

2:13-17 Peter teaches them about the right attitude towards the state authorities: They should be "subject for the Lord's sake to every human institution, whether it be to the emperor as supreme, or to governors as sent by him" (2:13-14). They should "honor everyone" (2:17), especially the emperor.

2:19-25 Christian servants were suffering. 3:9.14-17; 4:1.4.6.12-19 Suffering as Christians. 4:3-4 The recipients are Gentile Christians. 5:1 The author admonishes the elders "as a fellow elder and a witness of the sufferings of Christ". 5:6-10 Suffering as Christians.

5:12 The author has written briefly by "Silvanus, a faithful brother as I regard him". 5:13 "She who is at Babylon, who is likewise chosen, sends you greetings, and so does Mark, my son."

5.2.2 **Content of 1 Peter**

1:1-2 Peter wrote a letter to God's elect in some former Eastern Roman provinces. 1:3-12 May God be praised for the great salvation in Christ which is firm and secure for us even in our sufferings and which brings us great joy.

1:13-25 Christians should answer God's mercy, love and grace of salvation with a holy life that corresponds to God's holiness.

2:1-10 The members of God's people are to grow through the word of God that is like milk for new-born babies. They should come to the Lord Jesus Christ, "a living stone rejected by men but in the sight of God chosen and precious" (2:4). They are "like living stones ... being built up as a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices" (2:5) and to "proclaim the excellencies" of God.

2:11-17 Christians should lead a blameless life within human society, 2:18-25 so as servants, 3:1-6 as wives and 3:7 as husbands, 3:8-16 even if they should suffer while doing good, they all should continue to do good in a Christian spirit and should live peaceably, because they have a hope, 3:17-22 and because Christ has shown the better way, namely to suffer for doing good, and in his divine power Christ today as in the days of Noah rescues the few righteous.

4:1-6 Christians should arm themselves with the willingness to suffer as Christ did, "for whoever has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin" (4:1). They should live "no longer for human passions but for the will of God" (4:2), knowing that he "is ready to judge the living and the dead" (4:5). Christian martyrs are a good example that this makes sense. They have heard the gospel and accepted it in their life time, human judges sentenced them to die according to the flesh, but the divine judge granted them to live forever in the spirit (4:6).

4:7-11 "The end of all things is at hand" (4:7). Therefore Christians should pray together, love each other, show hospitality to one another without grumbling and use the spiritual gifts "to serve one another, as good stewards of God's varied grace" (4:10) "that in everything God may be glorified through Jesus Christ" (4:11).

4:12-19 The persecution of Christians as a "fiery trial" is not "something strange". It is a reason to rejoice while sharing "Christ's sufferings" because of the future joy of the revelation of Christ's glory. "It is time for judgment to begin at the household of God" (4:17). Those who "suffer according to God's will" should "entrust their souls to a faithful Creator while doing good" (4:19).

5:1-4 The elders should shepherd the flock of God, exercising oversight, not under compulsion, but willingly, not for shameful gain, but eagerly; not domineering over those in their charge, but being examples to the flock. 5:5-9 The younger should be subject to the elders. All, the younger and the elders, should clothe themselves with humility toward one another, for "God opposes the proud but gives grace to the humble" (5:5). All should humble themselves under the mighty hand of God casting all their anxieties on him. They should be sober-minded and watchful and resist their adversary the devil in their faith knowing that not only they suffer his attacks but that the same kinds of suffering are being experienced by the brotherhood throughout the world.

5:10-14 "The God of all grace, who has called you to his eternal glory in Christ, will himself restore, confirm, strengthen, and establish you" (5:10). Peter has written this letter by Silvanus, the faithful brother. That they suffer and remain faithful "is the true grace of God", they should stand firm in it. The church of God's chosen people in Babylon (= Rome?) sends greetings, as does Mark, the spiritual son of Peter (the writer of the gospel of Mark). "Peace to all of you who are in Christ" (5:14).

5.3 The Second Catholic Epistle of Peter

5.3.1 Introduction to 2 Peter

Summary

The apostle Simeon Peter (1:1) has written this second letter (3:1) to the recipients of his first letter (1 Pt 1:1: "the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia") whom we had recognized as Gentile Christians. They had also received letters from the apostle Paul (2 Pt 3:15) which may point to Paul's letters to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, Laodiceans, to Philemon and Timothy (First Timothy, while Timothy was in Ephesus). The eschatological teaching which 2 Peter 3:15 implies as present in those letters of Paul agrees with what we find in the above mentioned letters of Paul.

If we assume that Peter meant Rome when he said Babylon in his first letter (1 Pt 5:13) and we date first Peter after Acts 28 (= after A.D. 61/62), then his second letter could be written from Rome or Italy as well some time later and before Peter's martyrdom under the emperor Nero in 65 (2 Pt 1:14). In the night between the 18th and 19th July of A.D. 64 a fire broke out in Rome which lasted for seven nights and six days. There were rumours that Nero started it. Nero then was looking for a scapegoat and accused the Christians to have caused it and consequently persecuted them murderously, one of them was Peter. The traditional date for his crucifixion is the 29th of June A.D. 65.³

The purpose of the letter is a warning against false prophets and

3. Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church - Volume I Apostolic Christianity A.D. 1-100* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1985), p. 379-381.

related heresies. Because of the sure hope of the second coming of Jesus Christ to usher in a new world Peter calls us to live a holy and righteous life.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1 Author is "Simeon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ".
1:1 Recipients are "those who have obtained a faith of equal standing with ours by the righteousness of our God and Savior Jesus Christ". 1:13-15 Peter knows about his imminent death. 1:16-18 Peter points to the transfiguration of Jesus Christ as a key element of his life.

2:1-3 He prophesies and warns about the coming of false teachers. 2:9-22 Peter speaks of perverted people. 3:1-2 The letter is the second letter to the same recipients. 3:2 "...that you should remember the predictions of the holy prophets and the commandment of the Lord and Savior through your apostles". When Peter talks of "your apostles", does he mean Paul and Barnabas, for example concerning Galatia (see Acts 14:14; cf. 2 Pt 3:15-16)?

3:3-5 He speaks of "scoffers" who will come "in the last days". 3:15-16 He acknowledges that God has given the apostle Paul special wisdom and that his letters are to be seen on one level with the other Holy Scriptures. But he also warns: "There are some things in them that are hard to understand, which the ignorant and unstable twist to their own destruction, as they do the other Scriptures" (3:16). It could be that the false teachers twisted Paul's writings to justify their errors.

5.3.2 **Content of 2 Peter**

1:1-2 Letter beginning: author is Simeon Peter, recipients are "those who have obtained a faith of equal standing with ours", greeting is "grace and peace". 1:3-11 God "called us to his own glory and excellence". Through knowing him God has granted us all that we need for a holy Christian life. Therefore we should supplement our faith with virtue, knowledge, self-control, steadfastness, godliness, brotherly affection, and love and so make our calling and election sure. "For in this way there will be richly provided for" us "an entrance into the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ" (1:11).

1:12-15 Knowing that he will die soon, Peter writes this letter, not to tell them something new, but to remind them of crucial things they already know: 1:16-21 He did not follow cleverly devised myths when he proclaimed "the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ", but he was an eyewitness of Christ's divine majesty on the mount of transfiguration and he heard God the Father identifying Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God. The inspired prophetic word of the Old Testament likewise guarantees the powerful future advent of the Christ.

2:1-22 Peter predicts the coming of false teachers from within the church who very much like the false prophets of the Old Testament times will lead people astray and therefore will incur God's judgment. 2:1-3 The true prophets of the Old Testament were opposed by false prophets. In a similar way in the new covenant the way of truth will be discredited through false prophets and their followers, but their condemnation and eternal punishment is a sure thing.

2:4-11 For if God did not spare the angels, the world before the flood, and Sodom and Gomorrah and only saved a few righteous

people, then these people will not escape judgment "who indulge in the lust of defiling passion and despise authority... do not tremble as they blaspheme the glorious ones" (2:10).

2:12-22 The sins of the false teachers and their followers are: blasphemy, unjust acquisition of money, reveling in the daytime, deceptions, having eyes full of adultery, being insatiable for sin, enticing unsteady souls, having hearts trained in greed, following the way of Balaam in loving gain from wrongdoing, as "waterless springs" being nominal followers of Christ, promising freedom while being themselves slaves of self-destruction. "It would have been better for them never to have known the way of righteousness than after knowing it to turn back from the holy commandment delivered to them... 'The dog returns to its own vomit, and the sow, after washing herself, returns to wallow in the mire'" (2:21-22).

3:1-16 The second coming of Christ and with it the passing away of the old world and the coming of the new world are sure things. Therefore Christians should lead a holy and godly life waiting for this day of the Lord.

3:1-2 In his second letter to the same recipients Peter again wants to remind them of the prophetic words of the Old Testament and of "the commandment of the Lord and Savior through your apostles".

3:3-4 In the last days scoffers will come and doubt the return of Jesus Christ in power and glory and any change of the world related to his coming: "All things are continuing as they were from the beginning of creation" (3:4). The hidden motive of their teaching is ethical: They want to follow their own sinful desires without fearing any judgment of God.

3:5-10 But they commit several mistakes while thinking like this:

1. God created heavens and earth through his word and pre-

served the earth through his word until he send the Flood and put an end to the world of that time. The world after the Flood was a new one (3:5-6).

2. Accordingly "by the same word the heavens and earth that now exist are stored up for fire, being kept until the day of judgment and destruction of the ungodly" (3:7).

3. We have to distinguish between the human way to measure time and God's way. The coming "soon" of God's day belongs to the divine time. God comes not a day too late, but on time (3:8-9a).

4. The Lord's motivation to wait is his loving patience: Because after the coming of the day of the Lord there will be no more opportunity for repentance, his day has not come yet. He "is patient toward you, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should reach repentance" (3:9b).

5. At some point the waiting patience of the Lord will come to an end: "But the day of the Lord will come like a thief, and then the heavens will pass away with a roar, and the heavenly bodies will be burned up and dissolved, and the earth and the works that are done on it will be exposed" (3:10).

3:11-14 The knowledge that the old heavens and the old earth will pass away and that a new world of righteousness will come, should encourage the Christians to lead a holy and godly life to be found by the Lord "without spot or blemish" when he comes. 3:15-16 "And count the patience of our Lord as salvation, just as our beloved brother Paul also wrote to you according to the wisdom given him" (3:15). Peter views the letters of Paul as holy scriptures on one level with the inspired books of the Old Testament. People who twist them do so "to their own destruction" (3:16). 3:17-18 The recipients should not let themselves be "carried away with the error of lawless people" (3:17). Instead they should "grow in the grace and knowledge of ... Jesus Christ" (3:18).

5.4 The Catholic Epistle of Jude

5.4.1 Introduction to Jude

Summary

Author is Jude, a brother of James (cf. Jas 1:1). Probably this James is also a brother of Jesus and so Jude with him (Mk 6:3). As he seems to use 2 Peter, he will have written some time after it was written. If Jude 1:17 relates to 2 Peter, then we can assume that Jude was written to the same recipients. There is no hint about the place of writing. The main purpose seems to be an appeal "to contend for the faith that was once for all delivered to the saints. For certain people have crept in unnoticed" (1:3-4). While Peter predicted the coming of false teachers, Jude says, they have arrived and it is time to refute them. Jude may have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). He lists several judgments of God of the past and might have mentioned it, had it already happened.

Introduction statements as they come up in the letter.

1:1-2 Letter beginning: author is "Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James", the recipients are "those who are called, beloved in God the Father and kept for Jesus Christ", the greeting is "May mercy, peace, and love be multiplied to you". 1:3 It is time "to contend for the faith that was once for all delivered to the saints". 1:4 The false teachers deny Jesus Christ: "For certain people have crept in unnoticed ... ungodly people, who pervert the grace of our God into sensuality and deny our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ".

1:9 "But when the archangel Michael, contending with the devil, was disputing about the body of Moses, he did not presume to pro-

nounce a blasphemous judgment, but said, 'The Lord rebuke you.'" According to Origen this is a quote of the book "The Ascension of Moses".⁴

1:12 "These are blemishes on your love feasts". 1:14-15 "It was also about these that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying, 'Behold, the Lord came with ten thousands of his holy ones, to execute judgment on all and to convict all the ungodly of all their deeds of ungodliness that they have committed in such an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things that ungodly sinners have spoken against him.'" This seems to be a quote from the Book of Enoch ("The Ethiopic Book of Enoch" Book I, 1:9).⁵

1:17-18 "But you must remember, beloved, the predictions of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ. They said to you, 'In the last time there will be scoffers, following their own ungodly passions.'" Jude may point here to 2 Pt 3:3 (cf. 1 Tm 4:1). If this is the case, then 2 Pt was first, Jude second. Some would argue in favor of a dependence the other way around, i.e. 2 Peter using Jude. But if Peter predicts the rise of false teachers and Jude points back to this prediction saying that it is now fulfilled, it makes sense that he

4. Philip Schaff, ANF04. Fathers of the Third Century: Tertullian, Part Fourth; Minucius Felix; Commodian; Origen, Parts First and Second, Ante-Nicene Fathers (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2006), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04.html>, p. 567 (De principiis, III,2,1) : "And in the first place, in the book of Genesis, the serpent is described as having seduced Eve; regarding whom, in the work entitled *The Ascension of Moses* (a little treatise, of which the Apostle Jude makes mention in his Epistle), the archangel Michael, when disputing with the devil regarding the body of Moses, says that the serpent, being inspired by the devil, was the cause of Adam and Eve's transgression." Cf. Clemens of Alexandria, Adumbrat. in Ep. Judae and Didymus of Alexandria, In Ep. Jud. enarrat.

5. James H. Charlesworth, *Apocalyptic literature and testaments*, vol. 1 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983), 995, p. 13-14.

urges them to stand up for their faith against the false teachers. .

5.4.2 Content of Jude

1:1-2 Letter beginning. 1:3-4 Jude makes an appeal "to contend for the faith... for certain people have crept in unnoticed" false teachers "who pervert the grace of our God into sensuality and deny ... Jesus Christ" and whose condemnation is sure. 1:5-7 For the Lord, "who saved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed those who did not believe" and fallen angels "he has kept in eternal chains ... until the judgment of the great day just as Sodom and Gomorrah ... serve as an example" of punishment.

1:8-13 The sins of these people who are relying on their dreams, are the following: they defile their flesh, reject authority, blaspheme superhuman majesties, they walk in the way of Cain, are greedy like Balaam and rebellious like Korah. During your love feasts "they feast with you without fear, looking after themselves". They are "waterless clouds... fruitless trees in late autumn, twice dead, uprooted" (1:12). For them "the gloom of utter darkness has been reserved forever" (1:13).

1:14-16 Enoch had already prophesied the coming of the Lord to execute judgment on the all the undgodly who "are grumblers, malcontents, following their own sinful desires... are loud-mouthed boasters, showing favoritism to gain advantage" (15-16). 1:17-19 They should remember "the predictions of the apostles of ... Christ" who predicted the coming of the "scoffers" for the last days who would follow "their own undgodly passions" and "cause divisions, worldly people, devoid of the Spirit".

1:20-23 The Christians should build themselves up in their holy faith, praying in the Holy Spirit. They should keep themselves in the love of God while they wait for the merciful coming of Je-

sus Christ to grant them eternal life. They should themselves have mercy on those who doubt and those who live in impurity to save them snatching them out of the fire.

1:24-25 To "the only God, our Savior, through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion, and authority". He is able to keep his people from stumbling and present them blameless before himself with great joy, in spite of all false teachers and all temptations.

Chapter 6

Corpus Johanneum

The Corpus Johanneum consists of the books which were considered by the old church as having been written by the apostle John, the brother of James, one of the Twelve, i.e. the gospel of John, his three letters and the book of Revelation.

6.1 Introduction to the gospel according to John, his three letters and Revelation

Accepting the mainstream testimony of the old church, we combine the introductory questions for all five books. We start with the challenge which triggered the writing of first letter of John.

6.1.1 The Challenge which triggered 1 John

If we read 1 John carefully, we realize that there was an enormous challenge to the church at that time which made it necessary that someone who take up that challenge and answer it. Antichris-

tian heresies came over many churches like a flood (2:18ff; 4:1ff). Those heresies somehow originated from the area of the church, but those who started them, were not truly born again (2:19).

The false prophets from these Anti-Christian heresies denied "that Jesus is the Christ", they denied "the Father and the Son" (2:22). The Spirit of God can be recognized from the fact that he "confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh" (4:2). "Every spirit that does not confess Jesus is not from God. This is the spirit of the antichrist" (4:3).

It seems that these heresies which were not only prophesied for the future but already there at the time of John (2:18) had a Gnostic character, belonged to Gnosticism. Within Gnosticism the key virtue and the key good that is preached is "knowledge" (from Greek: ἡ γνώσις *hē gnōsis* See 1 Tm 6:20-21).

There was a whole bunch of heresies in the second half of the first century and throughout the second century which belonged to Gnosticism. They all shared the idea that "matter" is in itself evil or bad and that the true good can only be found in the spiritual world. Therefore the human body was seen as evil or bad, because it was made from matter.

On the backdrop of these Gnostic ideas it is clear that for them the redeemer or Savior can never become flesh. This would mean that he becomes evil or bad. If he looked like having a body, this could only be a deception of the eyes. Jesus' body may have looked like a human body, but was not really such. His death at the cross might have looked like a real human death, but for the Gnostics it only looked like it, it seemed to be so. This is called "docetism" (from Greek δοκέω *dōkēō* in this context with the meaning "to seem").

Because in Christian faith the propitiating death of Jesus on the cross is core teaching (2:2; 4:10), it was necessary for the church

to answer the challenge of docetism. Therefore John stood up and wrote this letter speaking of the blood of Jesus (1:7; 5:6.6.8) and that Jesus who "was from the beginning" was the "Word of Life", "which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we looked upon and have touched with our hands" (1:1). John and his fellow apostles were ear witnesses, eye witnesses and touch witnesses.

Jesus was truly man with a body which he could offer as a sacrifice on the cross to become "the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world" (2:1).

The heretics were also dangerous because they used similar words and touched similar subjects as the Christian preachers did. But the content of their words was totally different. The confusion among the simple minds within the church was so great that the author felt that he had to point out again and again how the true Christian can be recognized and distinguished from the deceiver and the liar.

6.1.2 The Author of 1 John and of John

The author of 1 John was able to bring light into this confusing darkness caused by docetism. Though he does not mention his name, the first verses imply that he was a disciple of Jesus who heard, saw and touched him, before and after the cross. He knew Jesus to be the revealed life of God in person.

In our extant Greek manuscripts the letters 1 + 2 + 3 John are connected with the name "John". In the text of 2 and 3 John the author calls himself just "The elder". In all three letters we find the same way to speak and write and these letters have correctly been understood as letters of the same person.

From the beginning the first letter spread much wider and much

more than the second and third which is readily understandable. The second and third letter can not be fake letters, because it would not be understandable for what reason they would have been faked, even not given any famous name for the author.

The best explanation is that they also have been copied from the beginning because the author was a well known and well received authority. But because they were so short and had not so much content as the first letter they were not as much wide spread. This also explains why the second and third letter were not acknowledged by all Christian writers of the first few centuries. See the discussion of the tradition of the old church below.

Parallels between 1 John and John with regard to language and content

| | 1 John | | John |
|----------|---|-----------------|---|
| 1:1-3.5 | beginning, life, which was with the Father, Word (lōgōs), we have seen it, and testify to it, light, darkness, Jesus Christ | 1:1-18 | In the beginning, life, this was with God, Word (lōgōs) we have seen, John testifies; light, darkness, Jesus Christ |
| 1:4 | that joy be full | 15:11 | that joy be full |
| 2:1 | advocate Jesus Christ (paraklētos) | 14:16 | Holy Spirit another helper (paraklētos) = > paraklētos Jesus |
| 2:2 | He is the propitiation ... for the sins of the whole world. | 1:29 | the Lamb ... who takes away the sin of the world! |
| 2:4-5 | love = keeping his commandments | 14:21 + 15:10ff | love = keeping his commandments |
| 2:5.8-11 | by this we know, new commandment, loving the brother | 13:34-35 | by this all know, new commandment, loving the brother |
| 2:14 | the word of God abides in you | 15:7 | If ... my words abide in you |

| | | | |
|----------------|---|-----------------|---|
| 2:24 | you heard from the beginning | 16:4 | I did not say these things to you from the beginning |
| 2:27 | as his anointing teaches you about everything - and is true | 14:26;
16:13 | "the Holy Spirit ... will teach you all things" "the Spirit of truth ... will guide you into all the truth" |
| 2:29 +
3:1f | having been born of him, children of God | 1:12-
13 | having been born of him, children of God |
| 3:5 | he appeared to take away sins | 1:29 | the Lamb ... takes away the sin of the world! |
| 3:6 | who abides in him | 15:5.7.9 | to abide in Jesus |
| 3:8.15 | To be of the devil. The devil has been sinning from the beginning. The works of the devil. Who hates his brother is a murderer. | 8:41.44 | You are doing the works of your father. You are of your father the devil. He was a murderer from the beginning. |
| 3:14 | We have passed out of death into life. | 5:24 | Whoever ... believes ... has passed from death to life. |
| 3:16 | By this we know love, that he laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the brothers. | 15:12-
13 | "This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you. Greater love has no one than this, that someone lays down his life for his friends." |
| 3:22 | Whatever we ask we receive from him, because we keep his commandments and do what pleases him. | 15:7.10 | If you abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask whatever you wish, and it will be done for you ... If you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love. |
| 4:2 | Jesus Christ has come in the flesh. | 1:14.17 | The Word became flesh ... grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. |
| 4:5 | They are from the world ... and the world listens to them. | 15:19 | Because you are not of the world ... therefore the world hates you. |
| 4:6 | the Spirit of truth | 14:17;
16:13 | the Spirit of truth |

| | | | |
|----------|--|------------------|--|
| 4:7 | Let us love one another ... whoever loves has been born of God. | 13:34f | A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another ... By this all people will know that you are my disciples. |
| 4:8-9.16 | God is love ... God sent his only Son into the world, so that we might live through him. | 3:16 | For God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life. |
| 4:11 | Beloved, if God so loved us, we also ought to love one another. | 15:12-13; 13:34f | This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you. |
| 4:12 | No one has ever seen God. | 1:18 | No one has ever seen God. |
| 4:16 | So we have come to know and to believe the love that God has for us. | 6:69 | And we have believed, and have come to know, that you are the Holy One of God. |
| 4:21 | And this commandment we have from him: whoever loves God must also love his brother. | 13:34 | A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another: just as I have loved you, you also are to love one another. |
| 5:1 | Everyone who believes that Jesus is the Christ has been born of God. | 1:12-13 | But to all who did receive him, who believed in his name, he gave the right to become children of God, who were born ... of God. |
| 5:2-3 | ... when we love God and obey his commandments | 15:10; 14:15.21 | "If you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love." "If you love me, you will keep my commandments." |
| 5:4-5 | For everyone who has been born of God overcomes the world. And this is the victory that has overcome the world - our faith. Who is it that overcomes the world except the one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? | 16:33 | In the world you will have tribulation. But take heart; I have overcome the world. |

| | | | |
|--------|---|----------------------|---|
| 5:6-10 | Jesus Christ, water, blood, truth, testify, believe | 19:33-35 | Jesus, water, blood, testify, truth, believe |
| 5:13 | I write these things to you who believe in the name of the Son of God that you may know that you have eternal life. | 20:31 | But these are written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that by believing you may have life in his name. |
| 5:18 | We know that everyone who has been born of God does not keep on sinning, but he who was born of God protects him, and the evil one does not touch him. | 10:28-29;
6:37-39 | They will never perish, and no one will snatch them out of my hand. My Father, who has given them to me, is greater than all, and no one is able to snatch them out of the Father's hand. |
| 5:20 | The Son of God has come and has given us understanding, so that we may know him who is true; and we are in him who is true, in his Son Jesus Christ. He is the true God and eternal life. | 17:3 | And this is eternal life, that they know you the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent (cf. 20:28; 1:1ff). |

We can assume that the author of the gospel according to John and the author of 1 John are one and the same person. This agrees with the testimony of the old church. As both fight docetism we can assume that both were written approximately at the same time and in a similar situation of the church challenged by that heresy.

This means that if we find the author of the gospel, we also have the author of 1 John.

Evidence from John about the author.

Jn 1:14 implies that the author was an eyewitness of the revealed glory of God in the Word that had become flesh in the person of

Jesus Christ, "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we have seen his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father, full of grace and truth."

The author knew¹

1. Jewish rituals (2:6; 7:37; 8:12; 18:28; 19:31-42);
2. Jewish feasts (2:13; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2; 10:22);
3. Jewish teachings (5:10; 7:21-23; 9:14 => Sabbath; 4:27 => attitude towards women);
4. Jewish history (2:20; 4:9; 7:35; 11:49 + 18:13);
5. Jerusalem's geography (5:2; 19:13; 9:7; 18:1);
6. Israel's geography (1:28; 12:1; 3:23; 2:1 + 4:46 + 21:2; 6:1 + 21:1; 4:5; 4:21; 11:54);
7. details (2:6; 6:19; 21:8.11; 6:9; 12:3; 13:24; 18:6; 19:39);
8. reactions of the disciples (2:11; 4:27; 6:19; 12:16; 13:22f);
9. Jesus' motives in certain situations (2:11.24; 6:15.61; 13:1).

The most decisive section about the author is found in 21:24

This is the disciple who is bearing witness about these things, and who has written these things, and we know that his testimony is true.

1. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, p. 237ff.

These words point to "the disciple whom Jesus loved" as the author "the one who had been reclining at table close to him and had said, 'Lord, who is it that is going to betray you?'" (21:20). The same phrase of a disciple whom Jesus loved is found in 13:23-24; 19:26-27; 20:2.8; 21:(2).7.²

Now let us take a look at these sections within their context one after the other to get some information about the person of the author. 13:23-24:

23 One of his disciples, whom Jesus loved, was reclining at table close to Jesus, 24 so Simon Peter motioned to him to ask Jesus of whom he was speaking.

A few hours before Jesus was arrested, he reveals to his disciples that a traitor is among them who would deliver Jesus into the hands of the enemies. At this time only the closest friends of Jesus were present, the twelve apostles. The author must be one of the Twelve. He is distinguished from Peter and from Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot. He must be one of the other ten.

But there is more to it. If the order of the arrangement of the places was not a coincidence, then this disciple "whom Jesus loved" was a very close disciple, a very close friend which would agree with his "name" of "a disciple whom Jesus loved".

Furthermore the question, "Who is the traitor?" was a very touchy one. We know that Peter had a leading role among the Twelve. All lists put him down as number one (Mt 10:2; Mk 3:16; Lk 6:14; Acts 1:13). It is interesting that Peter motioned this disciple nearest to Jesus to get the answer! This disciple must have belonged to the

2. This is found in two different, but synonymous expressions: ὃν ἠγάπα (ὁ Ἰησοῦς) in 13:23; 19:26; 21:7; 21:20 and ὃν ἐφίλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς in 20:2.

absolute core group within the Twelve.

19:26-27:

26 When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved standing nearby, he said to his mother, “Woman, behold, your son!” 27 Then he said to the disciple, “Behold, your mother!” And from that hour the disciple took her to his own home.

Jesus was the firstborn son of Mary. Therefore he had a special responsibility to care for his mother. From the time since the public ministry of Jesus had started his legal human father Joseph is never mentioned as alive. It is probable that Mary was already a widow at that time. The children had to care for their parents. In this case Jesus for his mother.

Jesus knew that he would die and rise again and go to this Father. Here he makes Mary the mother of the disciple whom he loved and this disciple a son of Mary. The disciple understood this very well. He took the mother of Jesus Mary and cared for her in his own home. And Mary accepted this as well. This also tells us a lot about Jesus and his love for this disciple and his trust for him. They were very close. This totally agrees with what we have seen in chapter 13. Another interesting point is that this disciple was the only male disciple who was so close to the cross of Jesus that Jesus could talk to him.

20:1-2:

1 Now on the first day of the week Mary Magdalene came to the tomb early, while it was still dark, and saw that the stone had been taken away from the tomb.
2 So she ran and went to Simon Peter and the other disciple, the one whom Jesus loved, and said to them,

“They have taken the Lord out of the tomb, and we do not know where they have laid him.”

In this gospel only Mary Magdalene is mentioned by name from the several women who went to the tomb, but the second verse clearly implies several women at the tomb too, "we do not know where they have laid him". The other gospels mention women who had already grown up sons. Perhaps Mary Magdalene was the youngest and accordingly the best runner to inform the most important from the Eleven about the empty tomb. Again we get the impression that the author belonged to the core of the Eleven mentioned together with Peter who was clearly the leader. The following verses underline that impression (20:3-9):

3 So Peter went out with the other disciple, and they were going toward the tomb. 4 Both of them were running together, but the other disciple outran Peter and reached the tomb first. 5 And stooping to look in, he saw the linen cloths lying there, but he did not go in. 6 Then Simon Peter came, following him, and went into the tomb. He saw the linen cloths lying there, 7 and the face cloth, which had been on Jesus' head, not lying with the linen cloths but folded up in a place by itself. 8 Then the other disciple, who had reached the tomb first, also went in, and he saw and believed; 9 for as yet they did not understand the Scripture, that he must rise from the dead.

The author is the only person we know about who came to the faith that Jesus had risen from the dead only because of the evidence of the empty tomb. The Gentile guard of soldiers could have not interest to steal the body of the crucified Jesus. The Jewish enemies of

Jesus would never have unwrapped the body of a dead person even if they had some motive to take the body away which of course they had not. They would not like the idea of becoming unclean because touching a dead person with or without clothes. But without clothes it was an even greater abhorrence. And why should they move the dead body?

Especially "the face cloth, which had been on Jesus' head, not lying with the linen cloths but folded up in a place by itself" was an interesting piece of evidence. The disciple whom Jesus loved knew his Lord. He was an orderly person. It was the climax of salvation history. The Son of God had come, lived a holy life full of love and mercy, gave himself, body and blood, as an atonement for the sins of the whole world to die at the cross and now on the third day had risen from the dead, but he would not just throw the face cloth away. He would take it from his face, fold it orderly together and put it neatly in a fitting place by itself. This disciple knew, it was the Lord's doing. This was Jesus himself who had done that. Jesus is alive.

No tomb raiders raided a tomb with nothing in it to raid. The empty tomb bore the handwriting of Jesus. But this disciple did not discuss it with anybody. He just believed himself. And he explains in 20:9 that the disciples as a group had not yet recognized that the fact that the Christ would rise from the dead was already predicted in the Old Testament. For the other male disciples it took a lot of convincing evidence before they allowed their heart to believe that Jesus is actually risen from the dead and alive. Some even saw him and could not believe (Lk 24:41).

In Lk 24:12 we read that Peter saw the same evidence of the empty tomb and the cloths which are mentioned here "and he went home marveling at what had happened". The one marvels and is astonished, the other believes. The disciple whom Jesus loved was

very close to Jesus. He recognized the empty tomb as he saw as Jesus' doing. We can perceive the same closeness of this disciple to Jesus in the next story (21:2):

2 Simon Peter, Thomas (called the Twin), Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, the sons of Zebedee, and two others of his disciples were together. 3 Simon Peter said to them, "I am going fishing." They said to him, "We will go with you." They went out and got into the boat, but that night they caught nothing.

Seven men experienced this second miraculous catch of fish (cf. Lk 5:1-11). The core subject of Jn 21 is that Jesus in his grace restores Peter to his role as apostle and leader in spite of the fact that he had denied him three times. Now he asks him three times, "Do you love me?" (21:15ff). When Peter affirms this, he gets restored to his office.

The charcoal fire in 21:9 points back to the charcoal fire in 18:18. There Peter had denied Jesus thrice, here he thrice affirms his love for Jesus. The bread and fish laid out on the charcoal fire is a kind of summing up of Peter: The last time we heard of bread and fish in John's gospel was in 6:11 at the feeding of the 5000 men (6:1-15).

After that miracle Jesus delivered a very important sermon about himself as the "bread of life" (6:26-59). In this sermon Jesus rejected the worldly desire of the multitudes for a bread king (6:14-15 by pointing out that he had to give his flesh and blood for the world (6:51). Because of this sermon many disciples left Jesus (6:60-66).

When Jesus asked the Twelve, "Do you want to go away as well?", the great moment of Peter came when he confessed, "Lord, to whom shall we go? You have the words of eternal life, and we have believed, and have come to know, that you are the Holy One of

God" (6:67-69). So when Jesus had bread and fish on the charcoal fire in 21:9, he combined the great confession of Peter from John 6 after the feeding of the 5000 with the great denial of Peter in John 18. Both was Peter, the Peter of virtues and the Peter of sins. The climax of Peter's life with regard to Jesus and his hitting rock bottom.

The miraculous catch of fish in John 21 has its counterpart in Lk 5:1-11. There Peter was called into full time gospel ministry. Three men had witnessed this great miracle and had been shocked to their core: Peter, James and John (Lk 5:9-11).

The first who recognizes in the second miraculous catch of fish the signature of Jesus is the author of our gospel (21:6-8):

6 He said to them, "Cast the net on the right side of the boat, and you will find some." So they cast it, and now they were not able to haul it in, because of the quantity of fish. 7 That disciple whom Jesus loved therefore said to Peter, "It is the Lord!" When Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he put on his outer garment, for he was stripped for work, and threw himself into the sea. 8 The other disciples came in the boat, dragging the net full of fish, for they were not far from the land, but about a hundred yards off.

The first to recognize "It is the Lord!" is the disciple whom Jesus loved. He talks to Peter. The first to take action, is Peter: He "threw himself into the sea" to swim to Jesus on the shore. As in John 13 and 20 both disciples are again associated with each other. One is first in insight, the other first in action. Both fit each other like a glove. Again the disciple whom Jesus loved proved to be very close to Jesus, to recognize his doing first, as in 20:8 when he was the first to believe.

In Lk 5 Peter and the sons of Zebedee were present as here (21:2). It is evident that the author should be one of the three, because he recognized the work of Jesus in Jn 21 as a repetition of the work of Jesus in Lk 5. He can not be Peter, so he must be either James or John, son of Zebedee.

This fits the evidence of the other gospels as well. Peter, James and John belonged to a small core group within the Twelve closest to Jesus, sometimes with Andrew added. Peter and Andrew were brothers, as James and John were. These four were always the first in all four lists of apostles we have (Mt 10:2; Mk 3:16-17; Lk 6:14; Acts 1:13). They heard Jesus' Olivet discourse (Mk 13:3).

Only Peter, James and John were present when Jesus raised the daughter of Jair (Mk 5:7) or was transfigured on the mount (Mk 9:2). Only these three took Jesus aside in Gethsemane and revealed his great distress to them saying, "My soul is very sorrowful, even to death. Remain here and watch" (Mk 14:33-34).

James was the first martyr from the apostles in A.D. 43 or 44 (Acts 12:2). Therefore from the core group of the Twelve we are only left with one possible candidate for the authorship of the fourth gospel: John, the brother of Zebedee.

This fits the impression that our author was closely associated with Peter excessively well: In Lk 22:8 Jesus sent Peter and John as a team to prepare the Passover. We know that Jesus used to send the disciples two by two (Mk 6:7; Lk 10:1). We also see Peter and John more than once in Acts together as a team (3:1; 4:13; 8:14). They were closely associated and probably often sent together by Jesus.

Our result is that John 21:24 points to John the son of Zebedee as the author of the fourth gospel, if we follow the testimony of John's gospel and combine it with the testimony of the other gospels and Acts. It also agrees with the testimony of the church of the first

centuries.

Does Jn 21:24 imply that John 21 is written by another author?

John 21:24 reads: "This is the disciple who is bearing witness about these things, and who has written these things, and we know that his testimony is true." Does the statement "we know" point to a group of authors for the chapter 21 who affirmed the testimony of the writer of the gospel John 1-20. Is John 21 a kind of appendix?

I do not think that this is the case. A biblical author in the OT or the NT could write about himself in the first person singular ("I"; Gal 6:11; 2 Jn 1:1) or plural ("We"; 2 Cor 4:1-18; 3 Jn 12) or he could speak of himself in the third person singular ("He"; Abraham speaking of himself to God as "your servant" in Gn 18:3).

Third John 9-10 and 12 is a good example for an author switching between "I" and "We" and speaking very similar to what we find in John 21:24-25:

9 I have written something to the church, but Diotrephes, who likes to put himself first, does not acknowledge our authority. 10 So if I come, I will bring up what he is doing, talking wicked nonsense against us ... 12 Demetrius has received a good testimony from everyone, and from the truth itself. We also add our testimony, and you know that our testimony is true.

We think that the same person has written the gospel, three letters and Revelation. In 3 Jn 9-12 he talks in the same way as he writes in Jn 21:24-25 switching from "we" to "I" or from "I" to "we" and speaking about truth of a testimony which we know or you know to be true.

People who think that John 21 is an appendix written by another

hand than John 1-20 also argue that John 20:30-31 would have been a good closure for a book ending with John 20. But we have no book of John ending with John 20. The book we have ends with John 21. And 1 John 5:13 is very similar to Jn 20:30-31 and is not found as the closure of the letter but more in the middle of the last chapter of the letter:

Jn 20:31

31 but these are written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that by believing you may have life in his name.

1 Jn 5:13

I write these things to you who believe in the name of the Son of God that you may know that you have eternal life.

John speaks several time in between in his first letter about his writing the letter and his purpose with it (1:4; 2:1; 2:7-8; 2:12-14; 2:21.26; 5:13). If we accept the idea that the same author has written the gospel according to John and 1 John, then we see that as John has written several times in his first letter why he is writing so he may have written about the purpose of the book in John 20 and the author of the book in 21:24 and both times about the fact that the miracles and all deeds of Christ are only a small selection of all that Jesus had done which was much more:

Jn 20:30

Now Jesus did many other signs in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book;

Jn 21:25

Now there are also many other things that Jesus did. Were every one of them to be written, I suppose that the world itself could not contain the books that would be written.

We think that one person wrote the whole of the gospel accord-

ing to John from 1:1 to 21:25 and that this person was John the son of Zebedee the disciple whom Jesus loved.

6.1.3 Traditions of the early church about John's books

First we look into the letters of Ignatius of Antioch and the letter of Polycarp. The books of John seem to be reflected in them because John's books influenced them. Ignatius and Polycarp do not say anything about the author of these books of John, but they clearly use the books as an acknowledged authority. After that we shall hear the traditions of the old church about John and his writings.

Ignatius of Antioch

According to Schaff³ Ignatius was bishop of Antioch "at the close of the first century and the beginning of the second" and was condemned to death in 107 C.E. or between 110 and 116, "transported to Rome, and thrown before wild beasts in the Colosseum". Some of his epistles are disputed, but "the seven shorter Greek Ep. are genuine".⁴ He wrote his seven epistles on his journey to his martyrdom in Rome:

Eusebius and Jerome put them in the following order:

- (1) To the Ephesians;
- (2) to the Magnesians;
- (3) to the Trallians;
- (4) to the Romans;
- (5) to the Philadelphians;

3. Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church - Volume II Ante-Nicene Christianity A.D. 100-325* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1985), p. 47-48.

4. *ibid.*, p. 47.

(6) to the Smyrneans;

(7) to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna.

The first four were composed in Smyrna;

the other three later in Troas.⁵

To the Ephesians VII 2 (cf. Jn 1:14; 1 Jn 4:2; 2 Jn 1:7):

There is one Physician who is possessed both of flesh and spirit; both made and not made; God existing in flesh; true life in death; both of Mary and of God; first passible and then impassible, even Jesus Christ our Lord.⁶

To the Ephesians XIV 1 (cf. 1 Jn 4:8.16 God is love):

For the beginning is faith, and the end is love. Now these two, being inseparably connected together, are of God, while all other things which are requisite for a holy life follow after them.⁷

To the Ephesians XIV 2 (cf. 1 Jn 3:3.5-6 "No one who abides in him keeps on sinning"):

5. *ibid.*, p. 656.

6. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 76. The Greek according to O. de Gebhardt, A. Harnack, and Th. Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* - editio quinta minor (Leipzig, 1906), p. 89 reads: εἷς ἰατρός ἐστιν, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεὸς, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.

7. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 81.

No man [truly] making a profession of faith sinneth;
nor does he that possesses love hate any one.⁸

To the Ephesians XVII 1 (cf. Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; 1 Cor 2:6.8):

Be not ye anointed with the bad odour of the doctrine
of the prince of this world; let him not lead you away
captive from the life which is set before you.⁹

To the Ephesians XIX 1 (cf. Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; 1 Cor 2:6.8):

Now the virginity of Mary was hidden from the prince
of this world, as was also her offspring, and the death
of the Lord; three mysteries of renown, which were
wrought in silence by God.¹⁰

To the Magnesians I 3 (cf. Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; 1 Cor 2:6.8):

... but especially of Jesus and the Father, in whom, if
we endure all the assaults of the prince of this world,
and escape them, we shall enjoy God.¹¹

To the Magnesians VIII 2 (cf. Jn 1:1ff):

... that there is one God, who has manifested Himself
by Jesus Christ His Son, who is His eternal Word, not
proceeding forth from silence, and who in all things
pleased Him that sent Him.¹²

8. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus,
p. 81.

9. *ibid.*, p. 83.

10. *ibid.*, p. 84.

11. *ibid.*, p. 86.

12. *ibid.*, p. 91.

To the Magnesians IX 1 (cf. Rv 1:10 ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ the Lord's day as Sunday):

If, therefore, those who were brought up in the ancient order of things have come to the possession of a new hope, no longer observing the Sabbath, but living in the observance of the Lord's Day, on which also our life has sprung up again by Him and by His death - whom some deny, by which mystery we have obtained faith, and therefore endure, that we may be found the disciples of Jesus Christ, our only Master - how shall we be able to live apart from Him, whose disciples the prophets themselves in the Spirit did wait for Him as their Teacher? And therefore He whom they rightly waited for, being come, raised them from the dead.¹³

To the Trallians IV 2 (cf. Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; 1 Cor 2:6.8):

I therefore have need of meekness, by which the devil, the prince of this world, is brought to nought.¹⁴

To the Trallians V 1 (Jn 3:12):

Am I not able to write to you of heavenly things?¹⁵

To the Trallians IX 2 (1 Jn 5:12):

Christ Jesus, apart from whom we do not possess the true life.¹⁶

13. *ibid.*, p. 91.

14. *ibid.*, p. 98.

15. *ibid.*, p. 98.

16. *ibid.*, p. 101.

To the Trallians X (against docetism):

But if, as some that are without God, that is, the unbelieving, say, that He only seemed to suffer (they themselves only seeming to exist),¹⁷ then why am I in bonds? Why do I long to be exposed to the wild beasts? Do I therefore die in vain? Am I not then guilty of falsehood against [the cross of] the Lord?¹⁸

To the Romans III 3 (Jn 15:18f; 17:14; 1 Jn 3:13):

The Christian is not the result of persuasion, but of power. When he is hated by the world, he is beloved of God. For says [the Scripture], "If ye were of this world, the world would love its own; but now ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of it: continue in fellowship with me."¹⁹

To the Romans VII 1 (cf. Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; 1 Cor 2:6.8):

The prince of this world would fain carry me away, and corrupt my disposition towards God. Let none of you, therefore, who are [in Rome] help him.²⁰

To the Romans VII 2 (cf. Jn 4:10.11; 7:38; 6:51.55):

17. The Greek according to Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* - editio quinta minor, p. 99 reads: λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν, αὐτοὶ ὄντες τὸ δοκεῖν

18. Schaff, ANF01. *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, p. 102.

19. *ibid.*, p. 107.

20. *ibid.*, p. 110.

... but there is within me a water that liveth and speaketh, saying to me inwardly, Come to the Father. I have no delight in corruptible food, nor in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham; and I desire the drink of God, namely His blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life.²¹

To the Philadelphians VII 1 (cf. Jn 3:8; 16:8):

For though some would have deceived me according to the flesh, yet the Spirit, as being from God, is not deceived. For it knows both whence it comes and whither it goes, and detects the secrets.²²

To the Philadelphians IX 1 (cf. Jn 10:7.9):

He is the door of the Father, by which enter in Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, and the apostles, and the Church. All these have for their object the attaining to the unity of God.²³

To the Smyrneans I,1-III,3 (cf. Jn 2:19; 10:17f; true suffering, true self-raising, against docetism):

I Glorify God, even Jesus Christ, who has given you such wisdom. For I have observed that ye are perfected in an immoveable faith, as if ye were nailed to

21. *ibid.*, p. 110.

22. *ibid.*, p. 118.

23. *ibid.*, p. 120.

the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit, and are established in love through the blood of Christ, being fully persuaded with respect to our Lord, that He was truly of the seed of David according to the flesh, and the Son of God according to the will and power of God; that He was truly born of a virgin, was baptized by John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him; and was truly, under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch, nailed [to the cross] for us in His flesh.²⁴ Of this fruit we are by His divinely-blessed passion, that He might set up a standard for all ages, through His resurrection, to all His holy and faithful [followers], whether among Jews or Gentiles, in the one body of His Church.

Now, He suffered all these things for our sakes, that we might be saved. And He suffered truly, even as also He truly raised up Himself, not, as certain unbelievers maintain, that He only seemed to suffer, as they themselves only seem to be [Christians].²⁵ And as they believe, so shall it happen unto them, when they shall be divested of their bodies, and be mere evil spirits.

For I know that after His resurrection also He was still possessed of flesh, and I believe that He is so now. When, for instance, He came to those who were with

24. The Greek according to Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* - editio quinta minor, p. 107 reads: ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί

25. The Greek according to *ibid.*, p. 107 reads: καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὥς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὄντες·

Peter, He said to them, “Lay hold, handle Me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit.”²⁶ And immediately they touched Him, and believed, being convinced both by His flesh and spirit. For this cause also they despised death, and were found its conquerors. And after his resurrection He did eat and drink with them, as being possessed of flesh, although spiritually He was united to the Father.²⁷

To the Smyrneans V 2 (cf. 1 Jn 4:2-3; 2:22 Jesus had and has a true body):

For what does any one profit me, if he commends me, but blasphemes my Lord, not confessing that He was [truly] possessed of a body?²⁸ But he who does not acknowledge this, has in fact altogether denied Him, being enveloped in death.²⁹

26. The Greek according to *ibid.*, p. 108 reads: Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. 2. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον.

27. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 122-123.

28. The Greek according to Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera - editio quinta minor*, p. 108 reads: τὸν δὲ κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον;

29. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 125.

Polycarp of Smyrna

To the Philippians VII 1 (cf. 1 Jn 4:2f; 3:8; 2 Jn 7; Jn 8:44; against docetism):³⁰

“For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is antichrist;” and whosoever does not confess the testimony of the cross, 378 is of the devil; and whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says that there is neither a resurrection nor a judgment, he is the first-born of Satan.³¹

It is evident from the letters of Ignatius and the letter of Polycarp that the battle front against docetism was still very crucial at their time. The gospel according to John and 1 John (perhaps with 2 John) were important weapons for them in this battle.

Papias of Hierapolis

For further information about Papias and the following witnesses see section 1.1.4.

3. He says: “But I shall not hesitate also to put down for you along with my interpretations whatsoever things I have at any time learned carefully from the elders and carefully remembered, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure

30. According to Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte* §10 a Polycarp wrote his letter to the Philippians after Ignatius' journey to Rome. The 86 year-old Polycarp died as a martyr on February 23, 155 A.D. (according to the usual date) or after 161.

31. Schaff, ANF01. *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, p. 53.

in those that speak much, but in those that teach the truth; not in those that relate strange commandments, but in those that deliver the commandments given by the Lord to faith, and springing from the truth itself.

4. If, then, any one came, who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders, - what Andrew or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that what was to be gotten from the books would profit me as much as what came from the living and abiding voice."³²

Eusebius who presents this quotation from Papias interprets the fact that the name of John is mentioned twice in the way that there have been two different persons of the same name John. More about this below under "Eusebius".

Justin Martyr

And further, there was a certain man with us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied, by a revelation that was made to him, that those who believed in our Christ would dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that thereafter the gen-

32. Papias quoted according to Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine p. 250-251 (h.e. III, 39, 3-4).

eral, and, in short, the eternal resurrection and judgment of all men would likewise take place.³³

Irenaeus of Lyons

And therefore the Gospels are in accord with these things, among which Christ Jesus is seated. For that according to John relates His original, effectual, and glorious generation from the Father, thus declaring, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.” Also, “all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made.” For this reason, too, is that Gospel full of all confidence, for such is His person.³⁴

Afterwards³⁵, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia.³⁶

John, the disciple of the Lord, preaches this faith, and seeks, by the proclamation of the Gospel, to remove that error which by Cerinthus had been disseminated among men, and a long time previously by those termed Nicolaitans, who are an offset of that “knowledge” falsely so called, that he might confound them, and persuade them that there is but one God, who

33. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus p. 336; Dialogue with Trypho LXXXI, 4.

34. *ibid.* p. 617 (Against the Heresies III,XI,8).

35. That means after Mt, Mk and Lk.

36. *ibid.* p. 595 (Against the Heresies III,I,1).

made all things by His Word; and not, as they allege, that the Creator was one, but the Father of the Lord another; and that the Son of the Creator was, forsooth, one, but the Christ from above another, who also continued impassible, descending upon Jesus, the Son of the Creator, and flew back again into His Pleroma; and that Monogenes was the beginning, but Logos was the true son of Monogenes; and that this creation to which we belong was not made by the primary God, but by some power lying far below Him, and shut off from communion with the things invisible and ineffable. The disciple of the Lord therefore desiring to put an end to all such doctrines ...³⁷

Then, again, the Church in Ephesus, founded by Paul, and having John remaining among them permanently until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the apostles.³⁸

John also, the Lord's disciple, when beholding the sacerdotal and glorious advent of His kingdom, says in the Apocalypse: "I turned to see the voice that spake with me ..." ... But when John could not endure the sight ... and the Word reviving him, and reminding him that it was He upon whose bosom he had leaned

37. *ibid.* p. 613 (Against the Heresies III,XI,1).

38. *ibid.* p. 598 (Against the Heresies III,III,4). Trajan governed from 98 to 117 A.D. (Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte* §11e). Therefore according to Irenaeus who quotes older witnesses John must have lived at least until the end of the first century.

at supper, when he put the question as to who should betray Him ...³⁹

We will not, however, incur the risk of pronouncing positively as to the name of Antichrist; for if it were necessary that his name should be distinctly revealed in this present time, it would have been announced by him who beheld the apocalyptic vision. For that was seen no very long time since, but almost in our day, towards the end of Domitian's reign.⁴⁰

The Muratorian Canon

(9) The fourth of the Gospels is that of John, [one] of the disciples. (10) To his fellow disciples and bishops, who had been urging him [to write], (11) he said, 'Fast with me from today to three days, and what (12) will be revealed to each one (13) let us tell it to one another.' In the same night it was revealed (14) to Andrew, [one] of the apostles, (15-16) that John should write down all things in his own name while all of them should review it. And so, though various (17) elements may be taught in the individual books of the Gospels, (18) nevertheless this makes no difference to the faith (19) of believers, since by the one sovereign Spirit all things (20) have been declared in

39. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus p. 711 (Against the Heresies IV,XX,11).

40. *ibid.* p. 813-814 (Against the Heresies V,XXX,3). Domitian ruled from 81 to 96 A.D.

all [the Gospels]: concerning the (21) nativity, concerning the passion, concerning the resurrection, (22) concerning life with his disciples, (23) and concerning his twofold coming; (24) the first in lowliness when he was despised, which has taken place, (25) the second glorious in royal power, (26) which is still in the future. What (27) marvel is it then, if John so consistently (28) mentions these particular points also in his Epistles, (29) saying about himself, "What we have seen with our eyes (30) and heard with our ears and our hands (31) have handled, these things we have written to you? (32) For in this way he professes [himself] to be not only an eye-witness and hearer, (33) but also a writer of all the marvelous deeds of the Lord, in their order."⁴¹

The "Anti-Marcionite" prologue to John

The Gospel of John was revealed and given to the churches by John while still in the body, just as Papias of Hieropolis, the close disciple of John, related in the exoterics, that is, in the last five books. Indeed he wrote down the gospel, while John was dictating carefully. But the heretic Marcion, after being condemned by him because he was teaching the opposite to him [John], was expelled by John. But he [Marcion] had brought writings or letters to him [John] from the brothers which were in Pontus.⁴²

41. The text is taken from The Muratorian Fragment where it is given according to Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 305-307.

42. Anonymus, *The "Anti-Marcionite" prologues to the gospels*.

Clement of Alexandria

Again, in the same books, Clement gives the tradition of the earliest presbyters, as to the order of the Gospels, in the following manner ... But, last of all, John, perceiving that the external facts had been made plain in the Gospel, being urged by his friends, and inspired by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel.⁴³

Origen

7. In the fifth book of his Expositions of John's Gospel, he speaks thus concerning the epistles of the apostles ... 9. Why need we speak of him who reclined upon the bosom of Jesus, John, who has left us one Gospel, though he confessed that he might write so many that the world could not contain them? And he wrote also the Apocalypse, but was commanded to keep silence and not to write the words of the seven thunders. 10. He has left also an epistle of very few lines; perhaps also a second and third; but not all consider them genuine, and together they do not contain hundred lines.⁴⁴

Eusebius

And when Mark and Luke had already published their Gospels, they say that John, who had employed all his time in proclaiming the Gospel orally, finally proceeded to write for the following reason. The three

43. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 410-411 (hist. eccl. VI,14,5-7).

44. *ibid.*, p. 434 (hist. eccl. VI,25,7-10). Here Eusebius quotes Origen.

Gospels already mentioned having come into the hands of all and into his own too, they say that he accepted them and bore witness to their truthfulness; but that there was lacking in them an account of the deeds done by Christ at the beginning of his ministry.⁴⁵

17. But of the writings of John, not only his Gospel, but also the former of his epistles, has been accepted without dispute both now and in ancient times. But the other two are disputed. 18. In regard to the Apocalypse, the opinions of most men are still divided. But at the proper time this question likewise shall be decided from the testimony of the ancients.

Chapter XXV. - The Divine Scriptures that are accepted and those that are not.

1. Since we are dealing with this subject it is proper to sum up the writings of the New Testament which have been already mentioned. First then must be put the holy quaternity of the Gospels; following them the Acts of the Apostles. 2. After this must be reckoned the epistles of Paul; next in order the extant former epistle of John, and likewise the epistle of Peter, must be maintained. After them is to be placed, if it really seem proper, the Apocalypse of John, concerning which we shall give the different opinions at the proper time. These then belong among the accepted writings.

3. Among the disputed writings, which are nevertheless recognized by many, are extant the so-called epis-

45. *ibid.*, p. 216 (hist. eccl. III,24,7).

tle of James and that of Jude, also the second epistle of Peter, and those that are called the second and third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person of the same name.

4. Among the rejected writings must be reckoned also the Acts of Paul, and the so-called Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to these the extant epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles; and besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it seem proper, which some, as I said, reject, but which others class with the accepted books.

5. And among these some have placed also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have accepted Christ are especially delighted. And all these may be reckoned among the disputed books.⁴⁶

Eusebius distinguishes three kinds of writings:

1. the accepted writings (ὁμολογούμενα *hōmōlogōumēna*),
 2. the disputed writings, which are nevertheless recognized by many (ἀντιλεγόμενα *antilegōmēna*),
 3. the rejected writings (νόθα *nōtha*).
1. The Homologumena according to Eusebius are the four gospels, Acts, 14 letters of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John, possibly also Revelation.
 2. The Antilegomena which Eusebius wants to be included in the canon are James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John.
 3. The Antilegomena which Eusebius sees as forgeries and wants

46. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 218-224 (hist. eccl. III,24,17-25,5).

to be excluded from the canon are the Acts of Paul, Shepherd of Hermas, Apokalypse of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, Didache and possibly Revelation. The New Testament according to Eusebius is with the exception of Revelation the same as our New Testament.

The gospel according to John and 1 John are accepted. Eusebius mentions that 2 John and 3 John were at his time not universally acknowledged as letters of the apostle John. This may be explained by the circumstance that they were very small, had not so much content as 1 John and were consequently not as often copied and wide-spread. For me all three letters of John were without doubt written by him. We know only one person of that time who talks or writes like this.

The fact that Eusebius introduces with regard to 2 John and 3 John another John may be related to his attitude towards Revelation for which he needs a second John. It is remarkable that Eusebius lists the book of Revelation twice: On the one hand in the first group of universally accepted writings, on the other among the rejected writings.

That the author of the book of Revelation was the apostle John was universally accepted since the second century (cf. Justin and Irenaeus above). Only Marcion and the Alogoi had rejected Revelation, but they did not represent main stream Christianity.

In his ambiguous listing of Revelation Eusebius was probably influenced by Dionysius the Great who was the leader of the school of Alexandria and 247/8 to 264/5 also bishop of Alexandria. Eusebius presents the argument of Dionysius about Revelation in his church history (VII, 25, 1-27). Dionysius rejects that Revelation had been written by the apostle John. His arguments for this are as follows:

1. The author of Revelation does not claim to be an apostle.
2. The outline and order of the book of Revelation and the words

used are totally different from what is found in the gospel of John. 3. The Greek of Revelation is drastically different from the Greek in John and 1 John.

It is very important to look at the context in which Dionysius talked about Revelation: It was the discussion about the millennium, i.e. whether or not there will be a thousand years reign on this earth or not. Dionysius taught against Nepos. "The occasion of these was Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, who taught that the promises to the holy men in the Divine Scriptures should be understood in a more Jewish manner, and that there would be a certain millennium of bodily luxury upon this earth."⁴⁷

Nepos used the book of Revelation for his arguments. Eusebius was very much like Dionysius against the ideas of Nepos and similarly minded Christians. Therefore he judged Papias of Hierapolis to be a man of limited intellectual powers (hist. eccl. III,39,13) and this again in the context of the teaching of a millennium, in spite of the fact that Papias of Hierapolis was probably together with Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna one of the outstanding leaders of their time. The readiness of Eusebius to sever the old and acknowledged tie that binds Revelation to the apostle John can only be understood in his rejection of a millennium on this earth. He wants some other John to have written it. Therefore he gives the quotation of Papias which we have seen above and interprets it in the following way:

5. It is worth while observing here that the name John is twice enumerated by him. The first one he mentions in connection with Peter and James and Matthew and

47. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 494 (hist. eccl. VII,24,1).

the rest of the apostles, clearly meaning the evangelist; but the other John he mentions after an interval, and places him among others outside of the number of the apostles, putting Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him a presbyter.

6. This shows that the statement of those is true, who say that there were two persons in Asia that bore the same name, and that there were two tombs in Ephesus, each of which, even to the present day, is called John's. It is important to notice this. For it is probable that it was the second, if one is not willing to admit that it was the first that saw the Revelation, which is ascribed by name to John.⁴⁸

Eusebius uses the quotation of Papias and the tradition of two tombs with the name of John in Ephesus to create an "elder John" who is to be distinguished from the apostle John. According to Eusebius this presbyter John wrote Revelation and 2 John and 3 John. But the words of Papias can be understood with Michaelis in a different way:

At first sight it looks as if the John of the twelve apostles mentioned in the first list and the elder John of the second list are two different persons. Against the possibility that it could be the same John, one is first inclined to raise several objections.

For example: How could the same John be meant, if the first list presents those who are already dead and the second those who are still alive? But because

48. *ibid.*, p. 251 (hist. eccl. III,39,5-6).

statements from earlier and later time are distinguished, John could have a place in both lists.

Or: Why is John, the son of Zebedee, if he is also meant in the second list, only mentioned after Aristion who did not belong to the Twelve? But also the first list ascends from the less important to the more important (Andrew before Peter, James before John, at the end the two apostles who wrote a gospel). Therefore in the second list John is mentioned afterwards, because for Papias he was more important than Aristion.⁴⁹

The tradition of two tombs with the name of John in Ephesus had before already been used by Dionysius to claim that another person than the apostle had written the book of Revelation: "But I think that he was some other one of those in Asia; as they say that there are two monuments in Ephesus, each bearing the name of John."⁵⁰ Michaelis comments about this tradition of two tombs:

If we look closer at this it only follows that in Ephesus people would point to two tombs of the one John, son of Zebedee that means that some claimed that this is the genuine tomb of John and others claimed that that is the true one. This tomb tradition does not imply that in Ephesus the two tombs were ascribed to two different Johns. Therefore it does not imply that there was a knowledge in Ephesus of a second John (even

49. Wilhelm Michaelis, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Bern, 1954), p. 93 (translation Lanz).

50. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: *Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine*, p. 498 (hist. eccl. VII,25,16).

if Dionysius used this report of two tombs in Ephesus in this way).⁵¹

Summing up the testimony of Eusebius about John's books it has become clear that Eusebius wanted two different Johns because of his attitude towards the millennium. He wanted to remove the book of Revelation as far as possible from the apostle John son of Zebedee. Therefore he saw the presbyter John as the author of 2 and 3 John and of Revelation. He did not have additional reliable historical information about two Johns in Ephesus.

Summary of the traditions of the early church

The gospel according to John and 1 John were both universally acknowledged as books of the apostle John, the son of Zebedee. 2 John and 3 John were probably less copied because they were so short and were consequently less wide-spread and finally less acknowledged. In the final discussion about the canon of the New Testament in the fourth century they were acknowledged as two genuine letters of the apostle John and as part of the NT canon. The book of Revelation was already in the second century universally acknowledged as a book of the apostle John and therefore as part of the NT canon. The dissenting position of Dionysius and Eusebius is readily understandable on the backdrop of their anti-chiliasm.

6.1.4 The recipients and the place and time of the composition of the books of John

As already mentioned above 1 John and the gospel according to John seem to have been written under similar circumstances and

51. Michaelis, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 95 (translation Lanz).

into a similar situation. The information from Irenaeus that John wrote the gospel against a Gnostic heresy endangering the church seems to fit the evidence very well. Irenaeus gives this view by referring to older testimonies.

If John wrote the gospel in Ephesus, then the first recipients were the Christians of the Roman province Asia Minor. We can assume the same group of recipients for the first letter of John. The seven churches to whom the book of Revelation was first written, belong to the same area and also knew about problems with Gnostic heresies (Rv 2:24; cf. 2:2.6.14.15.20.24).

We know through the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp that the battle of the church against Gnosticism and docetism would continue even after John in the same area. Quite a few churches of this area had been planted by the team of the apostle Paul who was already fighting an incipient Gnosticism (1 Tm 6:20; Colossians; 1 and 2 Corinthians) and who had warned the elders of Ephesus, "I know that after my departure fierce wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves will arise men speaking twisted things, to draw away the disciples after them" (Acts 20:29-30; cf. 1 Tm 4:1ff; 1:3). Especially in Asia Paul had experienced strong set-backs (2 Tm 1:15; 2:16-18; cf. 1 Tm 1:18-20).

In Asia Minor Paul fought an incipient Gnosticism, there John continued the battle against the Anti-Christian spirit and the next generation, represented by Ignatius and Polycarp, built their defense of the faith on the books of Paul and John.

The gospel of John and 1 John were probably written in Ephesus. The time of the writing of all of John's books was probably the last quarter of the first century. The information of Irenaeus that Revelation was written at the end of the rule of Domitianus (81-96 A.D.) would point to the beginning of the nineties for that

book which was according to 1:9 written and sent from the island Patmos and partly also written in heaven (10:4; 14:13; 21:5).

With regard to the gospel and 1 John we can not be more precise. 2 John also implies the same battlefield against the Anti-Christian spirit (2 Jn 1:7) as 1 John and should be placed time-wise in the same area of the last quarter of the first century. 3 John would fit in the same time. Because 2 and 3 John prepare the recipients for the coming of John (2 Jn 1:12; 3 Jn 1:13-14), they could have been written on a pastoral journey and we do not know the place of writing. The recipients were probably also in the area of Asia Minor.

6.2 The Gospel according to John

6.2.1 Outline and Content of John

UJn = Unique to Jn;

(UJn) = Unique to John with a certain parallel elsewhere

UJn* = Only a certain part is unique to Jn.

1:1-18 UJn Prologue of John: Jesus is the Son and eternal Word of God who has become man "full of grace and truth" (14). "John ... came as a witness, to bear witness about the light, that all might believe through him ... The true light ... was coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made through him, yet the world did not know him."

1:19-12:50 Jesus, the Light of the world, reveals his glory.

1:19-3:36 John is the friend of the bridegroom who joyfully leads the bride to the bridegroom.

^{a1} 1:19-51 (UJn) John gave witness about himself that he is not the Christ. Through his witness about Jesus as the lamb of God, the one who baptizes in the Holy Spirit, the Son of God and the one whose

coming after him John has predicted, the first disciples come to Jesus Christ and believe in him.

a² 2:1-12 UJn The wedding at Cana: Through his first miracle Jesus, the bridegroom, reveals his glory to the bride, the disciples.

b¹ 2:13-25 "The Passover of the Jews was at hand" (13): In the temple Jesus forbids to make his Father's house a house of trade. "Zeal for your house will consume me" (17). "What sign do you show us for doing these things?" (18) Jesus answered, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (19).

b² 3:1-21 UJn Jesus teaches Nicodemus, "Unless one is born again he cannot see the kingdom of God" (3). "Unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit ... You must be born again" (5-7). "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whoever believes in him may have eternal life" (14-15).

a³ 3:22-36 UJn According to the witness of John the Baptist Jesus is the bridegroom and the Son of God who came from above and "is above all" and to whom "the Father ... has given all things" (31 + 35).

4:1-12:50 To be the savior of the world Jesus, the Son of Man, must be lifted up on the cross and be thus glorified.

a¹ 4:1-42 UJn Jesus and the woman of Samaria: The Savior of the world gives living water so that people can worship God in spirit and in truth. "My food is to do the will of him who sent me and to accomplish his work ... Look, I tell you, lift up your eyes, and see that the fields are white for harvest. Already the one who reaps is receiving wages and gathering fruit for eternal life" (34-36).

b¹ 4:43-54 UJn In Cana in Galilee Jesus heals the son of an official of the king just through his word.

c¹ 5:1-47 UJn On the Sabbath Jesus heals a man who had been an invalid for thirty-eight years: "My Father is working until now, and I am working ... whatever the Father does, that the Son does likewise ... an hour is coming ... when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and ... will live" (17 + 19 + 25).

d¹ 6:1-71 UJn*: 22-67.70-71* "Now the Passover, the feast of the Jews, was at hand" (4): Jesus feeds five thousand men. "I am the bread of life; whoever comes to me shall not hunger" (35). "All that the Father gives me will come to me, and whoever comes to me I will never cast out ... And this is the will of him who sent me, that I should lose nothing of all that he has given me, but raise it up on the last day" (37 + 39). "And the bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh" (51).

e¹ 7:1-8:11 UJn "After this Jesus went about in Galilee. He would not go about in Judea, because the Jews were seeking to kill him. Now the Jews' Feast of Booths was at hand" (1-2): "On the last day of the feast, the great day, Jesus stood up" and revealed himself as the rock from whom "will flow rivers of living water" (37-38) pointing to the Holy Spirit which those who believe in him will receive after his glorification (after the hitting of the rock). Jesus did not condemn the adulterous woman and said, "Go, and from now on sin no more" (8:11).

e² 8:12-9:41 UJn Jesus claimed, "I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life" (8:12). "If you abide in my word, you are truly my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will set you free" (31-32). "If anyone keeps my word, he will never see death" (51). "Before Abraham was, I am" (58). For these claims they wanted to stone him to death. But his healing of a man born blind proved his claim to be the light of the world (9:4-5 and 9:6-41).

d² 10:1-42 UJn Jesus claimed, "I am the door of the sheep" (7) and "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep" (11). "And I have other sheep that are not of this fold. I must bring them also ... there will be one flock, one shepherd" (16). "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me. I give them eternal life ... and no one will snatch them out of my hand. My Father, who has given them to me, is greater than all, and no one is able to snatch them out of the Father's hand. I and the Father are one" (27-30). For these claims they wanted to stone him to death.

c² 11:1-54 UJn Jesus raised Lazarus from death and proved thus his claim, "I am the resurrection and the life. Whoever believes in me, though he die, yet shall he live, and everyone who lives and believes in me shall never die" (25-26). The high priest Caiaphas "prophesied that Jesus would die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but also to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad" (51-52).

b² 11:55-12:19 "Now the Passover of the Jews was at hand" (55) and "the chief priests and the Pharisees had given orders that if anyone knew where he was, he should let them know, so that they might arrest him" (57). "Mary ... took a pound of expensive ointment made from pure nard, and anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped his feet with her hair" (12:3). Judas Iscariot rebuked this "waste", but

Jesus said, "Leave her alone, so that she may keep it for the day of my burial" (7). Jesus entered Jerusalem as the promised king of Israel riding on a donkey's colt as prophesied welcomed by a cheering crowd, "Hosanna! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, even the King of Israel!" (12-19; see Zechariah 9:9).

a² 12:20-50 UJn Some Greeks "who went up to worship at the feast" wanted to see Jesus with the help of Philip and Andrew, but he answered that he first had to die to become the Savior of all mankind, "The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified. Truly, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit" (23-24). "Now is the judgment of this world; now will the ruler of this world be cast out. And I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all people to myself" (31-32). "If anyone hears my words and does not keep them, I do not judge him; for I did not come to judge the world but to save the world ... the word that I have spoken will judge him on the last day" (47-48).

13:1-21:23 Jesus, the Light of the world, overcomes darkness. Having loved his own who were in the world, he loved them to the end and thus was glorified.

13:1-17:26 "Having loved his own who were in the world, he loved them to the end" (13:1) and thus was glorified.

a¹ 13:1-35 "He loved them to the end" (13:1). "Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he had come from God and was going back to God" (3) he washed the feet of the disciples as an acted parable (3-17). The traitor Judas "after receiving the morsel of bread ... immediately went out. And it was night" (30). "When he had gone out, Jesus said, 'Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in him'" (31).

b¹ 13:36-38 This night Peter will deny Jesus three times. "Where I am going you cannot follow me now, but you will follow after-

ward" (36).

c¹ 14:1-7 "Let not your hearts be troubled. Believe in God; believe also in me" (1). They way which leads to the Father: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me" (6).

d¹ 14:8-21 "Lord, show us the Father" (8). "Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father is in me" (11). "Whatever you ask in my name, this I will do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son" (13). "In that day you will know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you" (20).

e¹ 14:22-31 To love Jesus is to keep his word and his commandments. "But the Helper, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you" (26). "I will no longer talk much with you, for the ruler of this world is coming" (30).

fc^{center} 15:1-8 "I am the true vine, and my Father is the vinedresser. Every branch of mine that does not bear fruit he takes away, and every branch that does bear fruit he prunes, that it may bear more fruit. Already you are clean because of the word that I have spoken to you" (1-3). "I am the vine; you are the branches. Whoever abides in me and I in him, he it is that bears much fruit, for apart from me you can do nothing" (5).

e² 15:9-16:15 To love Jesus is to keep his word and his commandments. "If the world hates you, know that it has hated me before it hated you" (18). "But when the Helper comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness about me" (26). "And when he comes, he will convict the world concerning sin and righteousness and judgment: ... concerning judgment, because the ruler of this world is judged" (16:8 + 11).

d² 16:16-27 "A little while, and you will see me no longer; and

again a little while, and you will see me" (16). "Whatever you ask of the Father in my name, he will give it to you. Until now you have asked nothing in my name. Ask, and you will receive, that your joy may be full" (23). "I do not say to you that I will ask the Father on your behalf; for the Father himself loves you, because you have loved me and have believed that I came from God" (26-27).

c² 16:28-31 Jesus affirms that he came from the Father and has come into the world, and he is leaving the world and going to the Father (28). The disciples believe in Jesus, "Now we know that you know all things and do not need anyone to question you; this is why we believe that you came from God" (30).

b² 16:32-33 The time has come that the disciples will be scattered and will leave Jesus alone. Yet Jesus is not alone, for the Father is with him. Jesus said this speech so that the disciples may have peace in him, because he has overcome the world.

a² 17:1-26 Jesus prayed for his glorification, "Father, the hour has come; glorify your Son that the Son may glorify you, since you have given him authority over all flesh to give eternal life to all whom you have given him" (1-2). The Father may keep the disciples all save (11-15). He may sanctify them in the truth which is God's word and which is Christ himself (17-19). God's eternal love for the Son may also be in the disciples and make them one in Christ and in the Father with Christ in them.

18:1-19:37 Behold Jesus, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!

a¹ 18:1-12 The powerful I-AM-Jesus (cf. Ex 3:14) let himself be weak and arrested by Judas and the cohort and the officers from the chief priests in a way to save the lives of his disciples fulfilling his own word "Of those whom you gave me I have lost not one" (see 17:12) and accepting that he has to drink the cup given to him by the Father. He stops Peter from fighting and certain death (cf.

18:36).

b¹ 18:13-27 Jesus is innocent before the Jewish court: The arrested Jesus was taken to Annas, the father-in-law of the high priest Caiaphas, to be interrogated. Jesus did not give away the names of his disciples and did not explain his public teaching, but preferred to be beaten. "Annas then sent him bound to Caiaphas the high priest" (24). In the meantime Peter denied Jesus three times.

b² 18:28-19:16 Jesus is innocent before the Roman court: The Jews handed Jesus over to the Roman governor Pilate for interrogation and trial according to their plan that Jesus be crucified fulfilling Jesus' prediction (18:32 => 12:32-33). Pilate found him innocent while Jesus confessed to be a king, "My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would have been fighting ... For this purpose I was born and ... have come into the world - to bear witness to the truth" (36-37). Pilate let Jesus be flogged and mocked by his soldiers hailing him as king (19:2-3). Hearing that Jesus had said to be the Son of God, Pilate was even more afraid and anxious to release him. But the Jews pressurized him to crucify Jesus. Pilate gave in and let Jesus be crucified as "the King of the Jews" when the Jews renounced their own hope of a Messiah saying, "We have no king but Caesar" (19:16).

a² 19:17-37 Behold, Jesus, the King of the Jews, crucified as "the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!" (cf. 1:29; 12:38 => Is 53:1.6-7) fulfilling the Scriptures (24 => Ps 22:18; 28 => Ps 22:15; 29 => Ps 69:21; 33 => Ex 12:46; 34 => Zech 12:10). In 19:30 Jesus said, "It is finished" (cf. 19:28). He died knowing that he had perfectly fulfilled the plan and will of God as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. His death was a triumph and victory (cf. 12:31-33).

19:38-21:23 Jesus, Lord and God, reveals himself on his disciples as the living one and the life giving one.

a¹ 19:38-20:18 Jesus reveals himself to Mary Magdalene who was seeking her Lord. Joseph of Arimathea, a secret disciple of Jesus, and Nicodemus took the body of Jesus and buried him in a new tomb in a nearby garden (19:38-42). On the first day of the week Mary Magdalene came to the tomb early and finding it empty she ran "to Simon Peter and the other disciple, the one whom Jesus loved" to inform them. Both ran to the tomb. "The other disciple ... saw and believed" (20:8) that Jesus had risen. Mary came back to the tomb and was weeping there when she first saw two angels who asked her why she was weeping. When she answered, "They have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid him" (13), her Lord was already there to end her grief and to send her to his "brothers" with the message, "I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.'

b¹ 20:19-23 Jesus reveals himself to the group of the apostles without Thomas: "On the evening of that day, the first day of the week ... Jesus came and stood among them and said to them ... 'Peace be with you. As the Father has sent me, even so I am sending you'" (19-21). "He breathed on them and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit'" (22). Because of Jn 16:7 combined with 20:17 this is an acted parable like the washing of the feet in 13:3-17: Jesus reveals himself as God who created Adam in Gn 2:7 and breathed his life into him and as God who can command the breath to "breathe on these slain, that they may live" (cf. Ez 37:9; 1 Cor 15:44-45). The actual receiving of the Spirit will happen, when he has ascended to the Father and will send the Spirit on Pentecost.

b² 20:24-29 Jesus reveals himself to the group of the apostles with Thomas: When the other disciples share that they have seen the Lord, Thomas answered, "Unless I see in his hands the mark of the nails, and place my finger into the mark of the nails, and place my hand into his side, I will never believe" (25). The next Sunday Je-

sus revealed himself to the group with Thomas saying to him, "Put your finger here, and see my hands; and put out your hand, and place it in my side. Do not disbelieve, but believe" (27). The answer of Thomas, "My Lord and my God!" shows that he had fully understood the implications of the self-revelation of Jesus a week before. Now he knew it to be true.

20:30-31 UJn Epilogue of John - first part: book's purpose.

"Now Jesus did many other signs in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book; 31 but these are written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that by believing you may have life in his name."

a² 21:1-23 When Jesus revealed himself for the third time to the disciples, he restored Peter to his leadership role: After the repetition of the miraculous catch of fish (21:1-14; cf. Lk 5:1-11) Jesus asked Peter three times, "Simon, son of John, do you love me?" Peter answered with "Yes" and was graciously restored to his leadership role to care for the sheep of Jesus. Peter would follow Jesus and glorify God by his death as a martyr. When Peter asked about the future of the disciple whom Jesus loved, Jesus answered, "If it is my will that he remain until I come, what is that to you? You follow me!" (22).

21:24-25 UJn Epilogue of John - second part: book's author.

"This is the disciple who is bearing witness about these things, and who has written these things, and we know that his testimony is true. Now there are also many other things that Jesus did. Were every one of them to be written, I suppose that the world itself could not contain the books that would be written."

6.3 The Revelation of Jesus Christ Sent to John

6.3.1 Introduction to Revelation

Summary

The proper name of this book according to the first verse is "The Revelation of Jesus Christ" or the "Apocalypse of Jesus Christ" which Jesus Christ received from his Father and sent to John. With regard to the time of writing we have this witness of Irenaeus⁵²

We will not, however, incur the risk of pronouncing positively as to the name of Antichrist; for if it were necessary that his name should be distinctly revealed in this present time, it would have been announced by him who beheld the apocalyptic vision. For that was seen no very long time since, but almost in our day, towards the end of Domitian's reign.

As emperor Domitian ruled from A.D. 81 to 96, we can assume that the Revelation was received at some time in the nineties of the first century. Having been exiled to the island of Patmos (Rv 1:9 the apostle John, the brother of James, received it from Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit (1:1.10; 4:2) and send it to seven churches in the Roman province of Asia: "to Ephesus and to Smyrna and to Pergamum and to Thyatira and to Sardis and to Philadelphia and to Laodicea". The purpose of the book is to make those "blessed" or "happy" who read or hear and do it (1:3).

52. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 813-814 (Against Heresies V,30,3).

Type of literature

The book of Revelation is also called the "Apocalypse" which is taken from the first word of the Greek text. The word denotes literally "the removal of a veil" or "revelation". It has become customary to speak of "apocalyptic literature" and Revelation is seen as such. But it is also a prophetic book (Rv 1:3; 22:10). And it has also clear marks of being a letter (Rv 1:4-6; 22:21).

Apocalyptic literature predicts an end of this world and a new world order to come. Because this world comes to an end, the last times before this end are crucial and have a special focus. Often a highly symbolic language is used, with symbolic numbers. Because of the complexity of the heavenly coded language, angelic beings may help the receiver of the apocalyptic visions as guides and interpreters.

Within the canon of the Bible "apocalyptic" material is normally found within prophetic books in the Old Testament (Is 24-27; 34-35; 65-66; Jer 30-33; Ez 36-39; Zec 9-14; Dn 2; 7-12) or in the New Testament within the prophetic book of Revelation or in the Gospels (Mt 24-25; Mk 13; Lk 21) or in the letters (2 Thes 2; 2 Pt 3; Heb 12).

My impression is that the border between the "normal prophetic" and the "apocalyptic" is not clear cut.⁵³ In the Olivet course Jesus speaks also as a prophet (Mt 21:11). The apostles Peter and Paul

53. The LXX for example uses the Greek term *apokalyptō* ἀποκαλύπτω in these texts to denote a divine activity of revealing something to someone: Nm 22:31; 24:4.16; 1 Sm 2:27; 3:7.21; 9:15; 2 Sm 7:27; Ps 98:2; 119:18; Is 53:1; 56:1; Dn 2:19.22.28; 2:29.30.47; 10:1; 11:35; Amos 3:7. Often it is said that "apocalyptic" literature originated in post-exilic Judaism. But what do we think of Is 24-27 or 34-35 and 65-66? If the book of Isaiah is seen as a unity and dated pre-exilic in the first half of the seventh century B.C. then these texts could be used to fix an earlier date of the origins of apocalyptic literature.

also seem to have been prophets at the same time (Acts 13:1; 5:3-4.9).

In interpreting the book of Revelation it is important to remember that it is a letter with a meaning for the seven churches in the first century, a prophecy which has to be heard and acted upon and an apocalypse with highly symbolic language.

Interpretive Schemes

There are mainly four different ways to interpret Revelation.⁵⁴

Futurist The predictions of Rv 4-22 are seen as something which will be fulfilled very close to the second coming of Christ at the end of this age.

Historicist In this way of understanding the book the reader looks at history from the time of John up to his own time to recognize fulfillments of its content and to be prepared for further developments until the coming of Christ.

Preterist According to this view the interpretation of Revelation is limited to the time of the author. Rv 4-22 describe exclusively events related to John's own time and outlook.

Idealist Here heavy emphasis is put on the poetic, symbolic and spiritual nature of the book. This is done to such an extent that no specific historic events are seen as predicted.

54. See Gaebelein, *The Expositor's Bible Commentary: Hebrews, James, 1,2 Peter, 1,2,3 John, Jude, Revelation*, p. 408-411.

All these four ways of interpretation have strengths and weaknesses. The futurist view severs the tie of the book to the seven churches of the first century which have received it in the first place. So it ignores totally the fact that Revelation is also a letter sent to the seven churches with meaning for those seven churches. But it is good that it encourages the church to look out for real future fulfillments of the prophecies and wait eagerly for Christ's coming. Many of the historicist interpreters have identified pagan and later papal Rome with "Babylon" and in addition to this have made other identifications of "fulfillments" where there is no real consensus. The preterist view stands in danger to ignore the prophetic character of the book with real predictions and expected fulfillments. But it is good that it tries to exhaust all possibilities of interpretations which fit into the real life setting of the first century. The idealist view does justice to the apocalyptic character of the book with its high symbolism but seems to overdo it with ignoring the specific predictive elements which are present as well.

Chronological or repetitive?

One important question about the book of Revelation is: Should Rv 4-22 be understood as a sequence of events or a recapitulation of events? Many readers nowadays read it chronologically. What is written first, will be fulfilled first. What is written later, will be fulfilled later. They identify the sequence of the revelation of the visions with their future fulfillment. The recapitulation theory is an alternative to this understanding and is already found in the old commentary on Revelation by Victorinus of Pettau who died in the Diocletianic persecution 303-305 C.E. In his comments to Rv 7 he points to the judgment in the parable of the weeds in Mt 13:27-30

and says regarding Revelation:⁵⁵

The Apocalypse here shows, therefore, that these reapers, and shepherds, and labourers, are the angels. And the trumpet is the word of power. And although the same thing recurs in the phials, still it is not said as if it occurred twice, but because what is decreed by the Lord to happen shall be once for all; for this cause it is said twice. What, therefore, He said too little in the trumpets, is here found in the phials.

We must not regard the order of what is said, because frequently the Holy Spirit, when He has traversed even to the end of the last times, returns again to the same times, and fills up what He had before failed to say. Nor must we look for order in the Apocalypse; but we must follow the meaning of those things which are prophesied.

Therefore in the trumpets and phials is signified either the desolation of the plagues that are sent upon the earth, or the madness of Antichrist himself, or the cutting off of the peoples, or the diversity of the plagues, or the hope in the kingdom of the saints, or the ruin of states, or the great overthrow of Babylon, that is, the Roman state.

Following Victorinus it is possible to show several things repeated in Rv 4-22 where it is not probable that the events are supposed to

55. Philip Schaff, ANF07. Fathers of the Third and Fourth Centuries: Lactantius, Venantius, Asterius, Victorinus, Dionysius, Apostolic Teaching and Constitutions, Homily, and Liturgies, Ante-Nicene Fathers (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1886), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf07.html>, p. 524-525

happen twice or thrice etc.:

1. The heavens disappear (6:14 sixth seal; 20:11 before the great white throne).
2. Mountains and islands move away (6:14 sixth seal; 16:20 seventh bowl).
3. The dead are judged (11:18 seventh trumpet; 20:12 judgment before the great white throne).
4. Babylon is fallen through God's judgment (14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2.10.21).

In all these cases it is evident that the same thing is meant. So there is some proven kind of repetition in Rv 4-22.

Of course, it is possible that we have to combine the idea of progress with the idea of some recapitulation. The seals for example contain the idea of a judgment which affects a fourth of the earth (6:8), while the trumpets repeatedly signal that a third of something is destroyed (8:7-12; 9:15). The bowls poured out mean more complete destruction (16:3-4). There is clearly also a kind of progress in the sequence of these three vision cycles.

Perhaps we can say that they do not start at the same time, but they lead to the same end. The seven seals can be read quite parallel to the Olivet discourse of Jesus in Mt 24 which speaks in favor of the assumption that both chapters cover the whole time between the first and the second coming of Jesus Christ. Perhaps the trumpets blow later in history and the bowls present the climax of the end of the end times. But all three series of seven seem to end with the day of the Lord which includes the visible coming of Christ into power (6:17 and 8:1; 11:15-19; 16:15-21).

Views on the Millennium

Within the Bible there is only one text which speaks of a thousand year reign (millennium)⁵⁶ and that is Revelation 20:1-10. Within church history three main views have developed to understand this notoriously difficult section: premillennialism, postmillennialism, and amillennialism.

Premillennialists believe in the coming of Christ before (pre) the thousand year reign. Postmillennialists see Jesus coming after (post) the thousand years. The name amillennialists seems to imply that these people do not believe in a thousand year reign because the prefix "a-" points to the negation of something. But this name is not quite correct because they believe in the millennium and identify it with the time of the church until the second coming of Christ.

Premillennialism According to premillennialism the second coming of Christ comes first, then the millennium and then the eternal state. It is possible to distinguish within premillennialism between the "historic premillennialism" and the modern "dispensational premillennialism" or "pretribulational premillennialism". The "historic premillennialism" had supporters throughout church history.⁵⁷

The "dispensational premillennialism" came up with John Nelson Darby and the Brethren movement (see ??). The new idea in "dispensational premillennialism" or "pretribulational premillennialism" was that the church would be taken up into heaven through the rapture before the "great tribulation" and that then a special time

56. "Millennium" comes from the Latin for a "thousand years".

57. A modern supporter is Grudem. See Wayne A. Grudem, *Systematic Theology. An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Leicester: Inter Varsity Press, 2005), p. 1127.

for Israel would start with a great tribulation, God's special protection and salvation of Israel through this difficult time and then a millennium for Israel as a climax.

One of the oldest witnesses for historic premillennialism in history is Papias writing in his five books "Interpretations of the Sayings of the Lord"⁵⁸ as reported by Eusebius. Latter says in his Church History (III,39,12-13) about Papias:⁵⁹

12. To these belong his statement that there will be a period of some thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, and that the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this very earth.⁶⁰ I suppose he got these ideas through a misunderstanding of the apostolic accounts, not perceiving that the things said by them were spoken mystically in figures. 13. For he appears to have been of very limited understanding, as one can see from his discourses.

According to Eusebius Papias was of the opinion that the kingdom of Christ will be "after the resurrection ... on this very earth" and for "a period of some thousand years". It is clear that Eusebius does not favor the premillennialism of Papias deeming him of "very limited understanding", but still we have to be grateful that Eusebius reports the words of Papias about this subject because his books have been lost and are only available through the quotes of others.

58. Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις According to Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, §10a this work was written between 120 and 160 C.E.

59. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: *Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine*, p. 252.

60. ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησί τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης• Eusebius, *Kirchengeschichte Eusebius ecclesiastica historia*, p. 121.

Since Papias, premillennialism has been promoted throughout church history with e.g. the following arguments. The first is that this seems to be the straightforward reading of Rv 20:1-10 within the context of Revelation. At the end of Rv 19 the beast and the false prophet are captured in war and "thrown alive into the lake of fire that burns with sulfur" (19:20).

In 20:1-3 Satan is seized, chained⁶¹ and thrown into the bottomless pit, which is shut with a key and sealed for a thousand years.

After the thousand years Satan is "released from his prison" and deceives the nations to organize an attack on the "beloved city", probably Jerusalem. The attackers are consumed by fire and the devil is thrown into the lake of fire to join the other two, the beast and the false prophet, who had already been there for a thousand years. After this the three of them will be tormented for their sins in the lake of fire for ever and ever (20:7-10).

It is acknowledged that the millennium as a period of a thousand years is only mentioned in Rv 20:1-10 within the Bible but at the same time there are also texts in the Old Testament which seem to imply an intermediate kingdom of God between the second coming of Christ and the eternal state (Is 65:20; 11:6-11; Ps 72; Zec 14:5-17).⁶²

Among the New Testament passages quoted in favor of premillennialism are the promise for the believers to rule the nations with a rod of iron in Rv 2:26-27⁶³, Paul's sequence of three resurrections in 1 Cor 15:23-25 (first Christ, then those who belong to

61. καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν χίλια ἔτη

62. Grudem, *Systematic Theology. An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine*, p. 1127-1129.

63. Cf. Ps 2:9; Rv 12:5-6; 19:15.

Christ, then the end).

Postmillennialism According to postmillennialism the millennium comes first, then the second coming of Christ and then the eternal state.⁶⁴ One key idea of postmillennialism is that the Great Commission in Mt 28:18-20 is not only a commandment but will be put into action by the church through the power of the Holy Spirit until the second coming of Christ. The kingdom of God is compared to the mustard seed starting small and growing big and to the leaven working slowly but surely and finally affecting everything (Mt 13:31-33).⁶⁵ Christ sits at the right hand of God until all his enemies are put under his feet (1 Cor 15:20-26.57-58).

Amillennialism According to amillennialism⁶⁶ the millennium has already started with the first coming of Christ, his death and resurrection, his ascension to heaven and his sitting at the right hand of God the Father. The number 1000 is not understood in a literal

64. According to Greg L. Bahnsen, "The Prima Facie Acceptability of Postmillennialism," [accessed February 22, 2013], 1977, <http://www.cmfnow.com/articles/pt031.htm> John Calvin could possibly be viewed as a postmillennialist, as well as Martin Bucer and Theodore Beza and other later theologians of reformed theology such as Jonathan Edwards, B. B. Warfield and A. Hodge.

65. See Grudem, *Systematic Theology. An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine*, p. 1122.

66. One early and influential supporter of amillennialism was Augustine of Hippo 354-430. Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, §33g. For Augustine's exposition on the subject see *City of God*, book XX, chapter 7-14, Philip Schaff, NPNF1-02. St. Augustin's *City of God and Christian Doctrine*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1890), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf102.html>, p. 608-620.

sense, but in a symbolical sense of a long period of time.⁶⁷

The second coming of Christ is the closure of the millennium and ushers in the eternal state. The passing away of the old heavens and earth, the coming of the new heavens and earth, judgment day, and the resurrection of the good and of the wicked all happen at the same time. The binding of Satan in Rv 20:1-3 is understood in the sense of the words of Jesus in Mt 12:28-29:

28 But if it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you.
29 Or how can someone enter a strong man's house and plunder his goods, unless he first binds the strong man? Then indeed he may plunder his house.⁶⁸

There are other passages in the New Testament which proclaim a great defeat of Satan related to the first coming of Christ, his death, resurrection and ascension (Lk 10:18; Jn 12:23-24.31-33; Col 2:14-15; Heb 2:14; Rv 12:5-11).

The first resurrection of Rv 20:4-6 is understood to be the martyrs who reign with Christ during the time of the church:

4 Then I saw thrones, and seated on them were those to whom the authority to judge was committed. Also I saw the souls of those who had been beheaded for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God, and who had not worshiped the beast or its image and had not received its mark on their foreheads or their

67. The same symbolic understanding of the number 1000 is true for many postmillennialists and some premillennialists as well.

68. Mt 12:29 ἢ πῶς δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἄρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον δήσῃ τὸν ἰσχυρόν; καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.

hands. They came to life and reigned with Christ for a thousand years.⁶⁹ 5 The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended. This is the first resurrection. 6 Blessed and holy is the one who shares in the first resurrection! Over such the second death has no power, but they will be priests of God and of Christ, and they will reign with him for a thousand years.

Here the first resurrection is understood as a spiritual resurrection and not a bodily one. The time of the resurrection of the body is understood to be the same for the good and for the wicked on the day of judgment (Jn 5:28-29; Acts 24:15; Dn 12:2).

The main ideas of Rv 20:1-10

It is possible to perceive the main ideas of Rv 20:1-10 and appreciate them in the context of Rv 19:11-21:8. We have seen that the main idea of this sixth vision cycle is "The Enemies of God pass away, the New comes." (see subsection 6.3.2) and the enemies of God are dealt with by being "thrown", ultimately into the lake of fire (Rv 19:20; 20:3.10.14.15). Having done away with his enemies (19:11-20:15) God then makes all things new (21:1-8).

The development of thought within 20:1-10 progresses in three steps:

1. 20:1-3 Satan is bound for a thousand years like a dangerous criminal in a high security prison.
2. 20:4-6 Those who preferred death to the sin of worshiping the beast who is the accomplice of Satan, are rewarded with

69. καὶ ἔζησαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ χίλια ἔτη.

eternal life as priests of God and Christ, ruling as kings for the thousand years while Satan is in prison.

3. 20:7-10 After a thousand years the criminal Satan is released, but he has not used the time in prison to change and repent. He continues in his sinful rebellion against God, deceives the nations again and is punished by being thrown into the lake of fire to be tormented for ever and ever.

So far this text can be understood and appreciated and is also quite clear.

Waiting for answers

But there are also questions which are difficult to answer at this time. For example who is Gog and Magog and "the nations that are at the four corners of the earth"?⁷⁰ At what time are they at the four corners of the earth? At the time of writing? At the end of the thousand years? Where do these nations come from at the time of the attack? From the four corners of the earth? Or together with Satan out of the abyss? Are the thousand years literally a thousand years or is this a symbolical number and points to a long time? When do the thousand years start?

Regarding prophecy we can say that the best interpretation of prophecy is its fulfillment. Sometimes people of one age were told to write their book and go to rest, so that people of a later age may understand the prophecy (see e.g. Dn 12:4.8.9). We can argue, we can try to explain, but we should not separate over the issue of

70. 20:8 καὶ ἐξελεύσεται πλανῆσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσι γωνίαις τῆς γῆς, τὸν Γῶγ καὶ Μαγῶγ, συναγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ὃν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης.

the right exposition of Rv 20:1-10.⁷¹ What faith can understand today, one should grasp and cling to. Faith does not fight love, but strengthens it.

6.3.2 **Content and Outline of Revelation**

Apart from the prologue (1:1-8) and epilogue (22:10-21) there seem to be two recognizable larger sections within the main part (1:9-22:9) of the book: The first section deals with the state of the seven churches the book was written to in the first place (1:9-3:22): The title for this section can be taken from 1:19 "Write therefore the things that you have seen, those that are..." The second section from 4:1-22:9 deals according to 4:1 with future things:

Come up here, and I will show you what must take place after this.

This future part had already been mentioned in 1:19:

Write therefore the things that you have seen, those that are and those that are to take place after this.

It is interesting that both larger sections are introduced by a special experience of John in the Holy Spirit. 1:10 is part of the introduction of 1:9-3:22:

10 I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and I heard behind me a loud voice like a trumpet⁷² 11 saying,

71. A very interesting book and recommended for further reading is J. Webb Mealy, *After the Thousand Years. Resurrection and Judgment in Revelation 20*, JSNT 70 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992).

72. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἤκουσα ὀπίσω μου φωνὴν μεγάλην ὡς σάλπιγγος

“Write what you see in a book and send it to the seven churches, to Ephesus and to Smyrna and to Pergamum and to Thyatira and to Sardis and to Philadelphia and to Laodicea.”

And 4:2 is part of the introduction of 4:1-22:9:

2 At once I was in the Spirit, and behold, a throne stood in heaven, with one seated on the throne.⁷³

The words "I was in the Spirit" are identical in 1:10 and 4:2, in this translation in English, and in the Greek text. These sentences are found in the introduction of both larger sections. They are structural markers showing us that the two main parts of the book have been received through a special and deep experience of the Holy Spirit. The structure of the first major part is easily recognized because of the seven letters to the seven churches which can be counted. Seven is the number of fullness or completeness. The seven churches represent the worldwide church in her different states and aspects.

To come up with a valid structure of the second major part (4:1-22:9) needs a closer look at this body of text. One key to find the structure of Rv 4-22 are the three vision cycles of the seven seals, the seven trumpets and the seven bowls. These three sections are easily recognizable with their introduction and their closure because of the persistent counting to seven.

A further step to find the structure of 4-22 is to recognize that the visions of Rv 12-14 which are contained by the 7 trumpets and the 7 bowls on either side constitute one more coherent vision cycle which is introduced by the vision of a woman (12:1-3). This gives us four sections from 4:1 to 16:21.

73. εὐθέως ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι• καὶ ἰδοὺ θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθηήμενος,

Now it is possible to show that the remainder from 17:1 to 22:9 can be divided into three sections by discovering the structural markers in the form of the two angels who guide John to see "Babylon the great" in 17:1-19:10 and the "New Jerusalem" in 21:9-22:9. Both sections start and end in a very similar manner. First we compare the beginning of both sections:

17:1-3

1 Then one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls came

and said to me,

"Come, I will show you the judgment of the great prostitute who is seated on many waters, 2 with whom the kings of the earth have committed sexual immorality, and with the wine of whose sexual immorality the dwellers on earth have become drunk."

3 And he carried me away in the Spirit into a wilderness, and I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast that was full of blasphemous names, and it had seven heads and ten horns.

21:9-11

9 Then came one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls full of the seven last plagues

and spoke to me, saying,

"Come, I will show you the Bride, the wife of the Lamb."

10 And he carried me away in the Spirit to a great, high mountain, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God.

It is important that the two guiding angels who show John first Babylon and then the New Jerusalem are two of the seven angels with the seven bowls of God's wrath (Rv 15-16). This creates links between Rv 15-16, 17:1-19:10 and 21:9-22:9. The relationship can be well understood because the seventh bowl implies the judgment of Babylon (16:19). Perhaps the angel who is showing John the judgment of Babylon in 17:1-19:10 is the angel of the seventh bowl. We recognize further that the completed judgment of Babylon causes a fourfold "Hallelujah" in 19:1-10. The fourth and cli-

mastic Hallelujah in 19:6-8 points in a cryptic way forward to the "Bride of the Lamb" whose identity is then later revealed in the third section.

"Hallelujah!

For the Lord our God the Almighty reigns.

7 Let us rejoice and exult and give him the glory,

for the marriage of the Lamb has come,

and his Bride has made herself ready;

8 it was granted her to clothe herself

with fine linen, bright and pure" -

for the fine linen is the righteous deeds of the saints.

If the reader gets curious about the identity of the Bride of the Lamb, he only has to read on to get the answer in 21:9-22:9. The Bride of the Lamb is the New Jerusalem coming down from heaven. When God will have rejected and destroyed the whore Babylon, the name of a city which has caused worldwide corruption, then the stage will be cleared for the coming down of the New Jerusalem which is the name of the city of God which causes worldwide conversion of all nations towards God.

Let us now have a look at the end of the two sections 17:1-19:10 and 21:9-22:9:

19:10

10 Then

I fell down at his feet to worship him,

but he said to me, "You must not do that!

I am a fellow servant with you and your brothers who hold to the testimony of Jesus.

Worship God."

For the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

22:8-9

8 I, John, am the one who heard and saw these things.

And when I heard and saw them, I fell down to worship at the feet of the angel who showed them to me,

9 but he said to me, "You must not do that!

I am a fellow servant with you and your brothers the prophets, and with those who keep the words of this book.

Worship God."

It is quite evident that these closing texts of our two sections resemble each other closely. They are structural markers showing us the end of 17:1-19:10 and 21:9-22:9. These two sections then contain the section 19:11-21:8 in the middle of them as the sixth of seven vision cycles which stretch from 4:1 to 22:9.

In this sixth vision cycle the enemies of God are dealt with by being "thrown", ultimately into the lake of fire (Rv 19:20; 20:3.10.14.15). Having done away with his enemies (19:11-20:15) God then makes all things new (21:1-8).

The fact that the New Jerusalem is presented in the seventh vision cycle as the "Bride, the wife of the Lamb... coming down out of heaven from God" to stay forever is most fitting. Again the number seven is the number of fullness and completion. The ways of God are perfect. His plans have been fulfilled. God's dwelling is with man forever.

We now can present an **outline of Revelation**⁷⁴

74. This outline is similar to the one found in Michael Wilcock, *The Message of Revelation*, BST (Inter Varsity Press, 2000), p. 15-18.

1. Prologue 1:1-8
2. Main Part 1:9-22:9
 - (a) Seven Letters about Today 1:9 - 3:22
 - i. 1:9-20 A vision of Christ introduces the seven letters. "Write therefore the things that you have seen, those that are..." (1:19; 1:10).
 - ii. 2:1-3:22 The seven letters
 - A. To the angel of the church in Ephesus write... 2:1-7
 - B. And to the angel of the church in Smyrna write... 2:8-11
 - C. And to the angel of the church in Pergamum write... 2:12-17
 - D. And to the angel of the church in Thyatira write... 2:18-29
 - E. And to the angel of the church in Sardis write... 3:1-6
 - F. And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write... 3:7-13
 - G. And to the angel of the church in Laodicea write... 3:14-22
 - (b) Seven Vision Cycles about the Future 4:1 - 22:9 "Write therefore ... those that are to take place after this" (1:19; 4:1-2).
 - i. The Scroll with the Seven Seals 4:1 - 8:1
 - ii. The Seven Trumpets 8:2 - 11:19
 - iii. The Woman, the Beasts, the Lamb and Judgment 12 -14
 - iv. The Seven Bowls 15 - 16
 - v. The Whore Babylon 17:1 - 19:10
 - vi. The Enemies of God pass away, the New comes. 19:11- 21:8
 - vii. The Bride of the Lamb 21:9 - 22:9
3. Epilogue 22:10-21

7 seals, trumpets and bowls

The three vision cycles of the 7 seals, 7 trumpets and 7 bowls can be compared in a table:

| | 7 Seals | 7 Trumpets | 7 Bowls poured out on |
|----|--|--|--|
| 1. | White Horse: Conqueror | 1/3 of the earth is burnt. | the Earth: sores. |
| 2. | Fiery Red Horse: War | 1/3 of sea becomes blood. | the Sea: all blood, all dead. |
| 3. | Black Horse: Inflation | 1/3 of the waters are poisoned. | the Rivers + springs of water: blood. |
| 4. | Pale Horse: Death/Hades, 1/4 judgment | 1/3 of the light becomes dark. | the Sun: heat, no repentance. |
| 5. | Martyrs | 1st woe: The abyss is opened. Pain. | the beast's throne: no repentance, dark, pain. |
| 6. | Day of the Lord | 2nd woe: 4 Euphrates angels are freed. No repentance. 1/3 of mankind killed. | the Euphrates: Preparation for the Day of God. |
| | The 144000 Sealed and the uncountable crowd. | Seven thunders, two witnesses. | Waiting for Jesus |
| 7. | 1/2 Hour of Silence | 3rd woe: Day of judgment. | the Air: It is done. |

One speciality of the sixth item is that there is a kind of attachment to it showing the state of the people of God: Attached to the sixth seal is 7:1-17, to the sixth trumpet 10:1-11:13, to the sixth bowl 16:15.

The seven seals and the seven trumpets can be divided into four and three. The four first seals present four riders on four horses, so they belong together. This sets the other three seals aside. The last three trumpets belong together because they are called "the three woes". This sets the four first trumpets aside.

The seven trumpets and the seven bowls can be compared with regard to the areas which are affected: The first hit the earth, the second the sea, the third the drinking water, the fourth the light source, the fifth cause darkness and pain, the sixth are related to the Euphrates and the seventh bring completion in judgment. The difference is that judgment of the trumpets is often related to one third of the affected "area" and the judgment of the bowls hits the whole.

6.4 1 John

6.4.1 Introduction to 1 John

Summary

6.4.2 Outline of 1 John

A 1:1-2:2 We testify that Jesus Christ the Son of God was made manifest as true God and true man. We proclaim him to you as eternal life "so that you too may have fellowship with us ... with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ" (3) in perfect joy. We have learnt from Jesus Christ "that God is light" (5). If we sin and then come to the light and confess our sins, Jesus is "faithful ... to cleanse us from all unrighteousness" (9) through his blood. Because he is our "advocate with the Father" (2:1) and "the propitiation for our sins, and ... the sins of the whole world" (2). "If we say we have not sinned, we make" God a liar (1:10).

B 2:3-17 Whoever keeps God's word and his commandments of love, "in him truly the love of God is perfected" (5). Whoever says, he knows God and "hates his brother is still in darkness" (9) and a liar. I am writing to you, because your sins are forgiven and you know God the Father and the Word of God who is from the beginning and have overcome the evil one. "Do not love the world or the things in the world" because "if anyone loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him" (15).

C 2:18-27 "As you have heard that antichrist is coming, so now many antichrists have come. Therefore we know that it is the last hour" (18). True believers continue to be with other true believers (19) because they "have been anointed by the Holy One" (20). The antichrist is the last days liar "who denies that Jesus is the Christ ... who denies the Father and the Son" (22). "As his anointing teaches

you about everything - and is true and is no lie, just as it has taught you - abide in him" (27).

D 2:28-3:24 Whoever abides in Jesus, has confidence at his coming (28) and will be like him because he will see him as he is (3:2). Everyone who practices righteousness and loves his brothers, has been born of him (2:29; 3:9-10). Whoever practices lawlessness and sin and hates his brother, belongs to the children of the devil and abides in death (3:4.8.10). "If our heart does not condemn us, we have confidence before God; and whatever we ask we receive from him, because we keep his commandments" (21-22). "And this is his commandment, that we believe in the name of his Son Jesus Christ and love one another" (23).

C' 4:1-6 The "spirit of the antichrist, which you heard was coming ... is in the world already" (3). Prompted by this spirit "many false prophets have gone out into the world" (1). Therefore "do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits" (1). "Every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God, and every spirit that does not confess Jesus is not from God" (2-3) but is "the spirit of error" (6). "You are from God and have overcome them, for he who is in you is greater than he who is in the world" (4).

B' 4:7-5:5 "God is love" (8). "In this the love of God was made manifest among us, that God sent his only Son into the world" (9) "to be the propitiation for our sins" (10). "If God so loved us, we also ought to love one another" (11) and so abide in God. "By this is love perfected with us, so that we may have confidence for the day of judgment" (17). "If anyone says, 'I love God,' and hates his brother, he is a liar; for ... whoever loves God must also love his brother" (20-21). "Everyone who believes that Jesus is the Christ has been born of God" (5:1), keeps his commandments and overcomes the world (3-4).

A' 5:6-21 The Son of God Jesus Christ "came by water and blood ... And the Spirit is the one who testifies" (6) for him. "I write these things to you who believe in the name of the Son of God that you may know that you have eternal life" (13). "If we ask anything according to his will he hears us. And ... we know that we have the requests that we have asked of him" (14-15), especially also if we ask for brothers who have committed a sin not leading to death (16). "Everyone who has been born of God does not keep on sinning, but he who was born of God protects him, and the evil one does not touch him" (18). By being in Jesus Christ we have fellowship with the true God and have eternal life (20).

Chapter 7

Jesus' Teaching in Parables. Typology and Allegory in the NT

7.1 Jesus' Teaching in Parables

7.1.1 The Old Testament backdrop of Jesus' teaching in parables.

We can learn from Mt 13:34-35 that Matthew understands Jesus' teaching in parables as an fulfillment of Ps 78:2¹. If we look at the

1. LXX according to Septuagint, Morphologically Tagged Rahlfs', Sword Module 2.5, [Accessed December 22, 2011], July 2008, <http://www.crosswire.org/sword/modules/ModInfo.jsp?modName=LXX>: ανοιξω εν παραβολαις το στομα μου φθεγξομαι προβληματα απ αρχης

Hebrew of that verse² we have two Hebrew words we can look at for the parabolic teaching of Jesus: מִשָּׁל māšāl and חִידָה ḥîdāh.

The usage of māšāl

In the LXX māšāl is mostly translated with παραβολή parabolē.³

1. A short catchy proverb of one or two lines which can be wide-spread among the people.
 - (a) "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 Sm 10:12).
 - (b) "Out of the wicked comes wickedness." (1 Sm 24:13).
 - (c) Many of the proverbs of Solomon are like this (1 Kgs 4:32; 3000; Prv 1:1.6; 10:1; 25:01; Eccl 12:9).
 - (d) A proverb of wisdom does not fit a fool and does not help him (Prv 26:7.9).
 - (e) Ezekiel says that God is going to remove the common faithless proverb in Israel "The days grow long, and every vision comes to nothing" with the affirmation of his word in this proverb "The days are near, and the fulfillment of every vision." (Ez 12:22.23). In a similar way God removes the proverb "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Ez 18:2.3).
2. A longer utterance which can cover much more than one verse:

2. אֶפְתָּחָהּ בְּמִשָּׁל כִּי אֶבְיַעָהּ חִידוֹת מִנִּי-קָדָם

3. In Prv 1:1 and 26:7 it is translated with ἡ παροιμία hē parōimia which John uses for the parables and sayings of Jesus.

- (a) of Balaam (Nm 23:7.18; 24:3.15.20.21.23);
 - (b) of Job (Job 27:1; 29:1);
 - (c) of redeemed Israel after the fall of Babylon (Is 14:4);
 - (d) of Ezekiel who was famous for speaking in riddles and parables (Ez 20:49; 17:2; 24:3).
3. māšāl and ḥîḏāh are combined in the following contexts (Ps 49:4; 78:2; Prv 1:6; Ez 17:2; Hb 2:6).
 4. The curse of Dt 28:37 that disobedient Israel "shall become a horror, a proverb, and a byword among all the peoples where the Lord will lead you away" is alluded to in several OT passages (1 Kgs 9:7; 2 Chr 7:20; Ps 44:14; Jer 24:9). The curse is also true for single Israelites who cling to their idolatry (Ez 14:8). "To become a proverb" is related to being despised, laughed at and scorned (Ps 69:11). Similarly a proverb can be spoken mockingly about somebody (Mi 2:4; Hb 2:6).

The usage of ḥîḏāh

In the LXX ḥîḏāh is translated with *problēma* (Jgs 14:12-19; Ps 49:4; 78:2; Dn 8:23; Hb 2:6); *ainigmata* (Nm 12:8; Dt 28:37; 1 Kgs 10:1; 2 Chr 9:1; Prv 1:6) and *diēgēma* (Ez 17:2). In Mt 13:35 *kēkrymmēna* "hidden things" is used.

1. God speaks with Moses "mouth to mouth, clearly, and not in riddles". "In riddles" is here an antonym of "clearly understandable" (Nm 12:8).
2. Samson's riddle is, "Out of the eater came something to eat. Out of the strong came something sweet" (14:14). It is answered by his opponents with the help of his wife,

"What is sweeter than honey? What is stronger than a lion?" (14:18). The word is used in these verses: Judges 14:12.13.14.15; 14:16.17.18.19.

3. Royals may engage in a competition to present riddles and solve them as the queen of Sheba did with Solomon (1 Kgs 10:1; 2 Chr 9:1). In Dn 8:23 there is this prediction: "And at the latter end of their kingdom, when the transgressors have reached their limit, a king of bold face, one who understands riddles, shall arise."
4. *ḥîḏāh* and *māšāl* are combined in the following contexts: Wisdom taught in Psalms (Ps 49:4; 78:2) and in Proverbs (Prv 1:6). Ez 17:2 introduces the whole of Ez 17:3-24 which is a very good example for an OT parable. Hb 2:6 introduces a mocking judgment word about the Chaldeans very similar to Is 14:4.

There are texts in the Old Testament which are parables even if the word is not used to identify them. Jotham the son of Gideon used a kind of parable to proclaim God's judgment to the leaders of Shechem (Judges 9:7-20).

Jesus stands in the tradition of the Old Testament. He is the Messiah and king, but he is as king also a man of great wisdom like king Solomon who used "parables" to teach his disciples. Jesus is a wisdom teacher with his own group of disciples. His parables can be one- or two-liners or longer sections as in the prophet Hezekiel who was also famous for his "parables" and "riddles".

The fact that sometimes the word "parable" is combined with "riddle" implies that parables can contain mysteries which are not immediately understandable for the disciple without help

from his teacher. That is exactly what we will find in the NT when we look at the use of "parable" there.

7.1.2 Parables in the New Testament

ἡ παραβολή *hē parabōlē* f. noun is "simile, illustration, parable".⁴ The word parable in the NT is used most often in the context of Jesus' ministry (in Mt, Mk and Lk). Twice it is used in Hebrews.

1. Length of parables in the New Testament

- (a) One or two liners (Mt 15:11.15; Mk 7:15.17; Lk 4:23).
- (b) Parables longer than one or two lines: Many parables in the NT fall into this category (see below).

2. Jesus taught the public exclusively in parables (Mt 13:3; Mk 4:2; Lk 8:4; Mt 13:10; Mk 4:10; Lk 8:9; Mt 13:34; Mk 4:34; Mt 13:53). Mt 13:34-35:

34 All these things Jesus said to the crowds in parables; indeed, he said nothing to them without a parable. 35 This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet: "I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter what has been hidden since the foundation of the world."⁵

3. The purpose of parables discussed

4. Max Zerwick and Mary Grosvenor, *An Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (Rome, 1981) under Mt 13:3.

5. Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, ἐρεῦξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς.

- (a) The disciples ask why Jesus teaches in parables (Mt 13:10).
- (b) To the disciples it is given "to know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 13:11; Mk 4:10; Lk 8:10; Mk 4:33-34; Mt 13:51). According to Mk 4:33 Jesus choose and formed his parables according to the ability of the public to hear them. They were taken from the life of their own world: "With many such parables he spoke the word to them, as they were able to hear it" (cf. John 3:10-12). But at the same time the parables needed an explanation which was only given to the disciples (Mk 4:34): "He did not speak to them without a parable, but privately to his own disciples he explained everything."
- (c) But to those outside of discipleship it is not given. Jesus teaches in parables so that those without Jesus should not understand (Mt 13:13; Mk 4:11-12; Lk 8:10).
- (d) Jesus teaches in parables to fulfill prophecy.
 - i. Is 6:9-10 (Mt 13:13-15; Mk 4:11-12; Lk 8:10);
 - ii. Ps 78:2 (Mt 13:35).

4. Sections which are called parables⁶

- (a) The parable of the sower (Mt 13:3-8; 13:18-23; Mk 4:2-9; Mk 4:13-20; Lk 8:4-8; Lk 8:11-15);
- (b) the parable of the weeds of the field (Mt 13:24-30; 13:36-43);

6. There are also many section which are parables without being called so in the context, for example the parable of the lost coin (Lk 15:8-10); the parable of the prodigal son (Lk 15:11-32) etc.

- (c) the parable of the mustard seed (Mt 13:31-32; Mk 4:30-32);
- (d) the parable of the leaven (Mt 13:33);
- (e) "treasure hidden in a field" (Mt 13:44.53);
- (f) "a merchant in search of fine pearls" (Mt 13:45-46);
- (g) "a net that was thrown into the sea" (Mt 13:47-49.53);
- (h) "therefore every scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven is like a master of a house, who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old" (Mt 13:52.53);
- (i) the parable that what comes out of the mouth, is what defiles a person (Mt 15:11.15; Mk 7:15.17);
- (j) "there was a master of a house who planted a vineyard and ... leased it to tenants" (Mt 21:33-44.45; Mk 12:1-11.12; Lk 20:9-18.19);
- (k) "a king who gave a wedding feast for his son" (Mt 22:1-14);
- (l) "now learn a parable of the fig tree" (Mt 24:32 KJV; Mt 24:32-33; Mk 13:28-29); "look at the fig tree, and all the trees" (Lk 21:29-31);
- (m) the parables of the divided kingdom or the divided house (Mk 3:23-27).
- (n) "Is a lamp brought in to be put under a basket, or under a bed, and not on a stand?" (Mk 4:21-22.2.33-34).
- (o) "No one tears a piece from a new garment and puts it on an old garment ... And no one puts new wine into old wineskins" (Lk 5:36-37).

- (p) "Can a blind man lead a blind man? Will they not both fall into a pit?" (Lk 6:39).
- (q) The parable of the rich fool (Lk 12:16-21).
- (r) "Be like men who are waiting for their master to come home from the wedding feast" (Lk 12:35-38.41).
- (s) "If the master of the house had known at what hour the thief was coming" (Lk 12:39-40.41).
- (t) "The faithful and wise manager, whom his master will set over his household" (Lk 12:41-48).
- (u) The parable of the barren fig tree (Lk 13:6-9);
- (v) the parable of being humble at a wedding feast (Lk 14:7-11);
- (w) the parable of the lost sheep (Lk 15:3-7; Mt 18:12-14);
- (x) the parable of the persistent widow (Lk 18:1-8);
- (y) the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Lk 18:9-14);
- (z) the parable of the ten minas (Lk 19:11-27); cf. the parable of the talents Mt 25:14-30).

5. The usage of parable in Hebrews

- (a) The use of parable in Heb 9:8-9: "8 By this the Holy Spirit indicates that the way into the holy places is not yet opened as long as the first section is still standing 9 (which is symbolic for the present age). According to this arrangement, gifts and sacrifices are offered that cannot perfect the conscience of the worshiper." The arrangement of the tabernacle in court, holy place and most holy place is understood as a prophetic parable

about salvation history. This links the use of "parable" with typology and allegory in Hebrews and the New Testament (see below).

- (b) The use of parable in Heb 11:19 about Abraham's faith in Isaac's potential resurrection, "He considered that God was able even to raise him from the dead, from which, figuratively speaking, he did receive him back." This again links the use of "parable" with typology and allegory in Hebrews and the New Testament (see below).

7.1.3 Some example explanations of NT parables

The parable of the sower explained

The parable and its explanation is found in Mt 13:3-8; 13:18-23; Mk 4:2-9; 4:13-20; Lk 8:4-8; 8:11-15. The table is based on Matthew. If information is taken from Mark or Luke, the reference is given.

| | Part in parable 13:3-8 | Part explained 13:18-23 |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | A sower went out to sow. | |
| 2 | The seed | is the word of God Lk 8:11 |
| 3 | 4 And as he sowed, some seeds fell along the path, | 19 When anyone hears the word of the kingdom and does not understand it, |
| 4 | and the birds came and devoured them. | the evil one comes and snatches away what has been sown in his heart. |

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 5 | 5 Other seeds fell on rocky ground, where they did not have much soil, | 20 ... this is the one who hears the word |
| 6 | and immediately they sprang up, since they had no depth of soil, | and immediately receives it with joy, 21 yet he has no root in himself, but endures for a while, |
| 7 | 6 but when the sun rose they were scorched. And since they had no root, they withered away. | and when tribulation or persecution arises on account of the word, immediately he falls away. |
| 8 | 7 Other seeds fell among thorns, | 22 ... this is the one who hears the word, |
| 9 | and the thorns grew up and choked them. | but the cares of the world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the word, and it proves unfruitful. |
| 10 | 8 Other seeds fell on good soil | 23 ... this is the one who hears the word and understands it. |
| 11 | and produced grain, some a hundredfold, some sixty, some thirty. | He indeed bears fruit and yields, in one case a hundredfold, in another sixty, and in another thirty. |

The parable of the weeds explained

The parable of the weeds of the field and its explanation is found in Mt 13:24-30; 13:36-43.

| | Part in parable 13:24-30 | Part explained 13:36-43 |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | 24 The kingdom of heaven may be compared to a man who sowed | 37 The one who sows the good seed is the Son of Man. |
| 2 | good seed | 38 ... the good seed is the children of the kingdom. |
| 3 | in his field, | The field is the world, |
| 4 | 25 but while his men were sleeping, his enemy came and sowed | 39 and the enemy who sowed them is the devil. |
| 5 | weeds among the wheat and went away. | 38 ... The weeds are the sons of the evil one, |
| | 26 So when the plants came up and bore grain, then the weeds appeared also. 27 And the servants of the master of the house came and said to him, 'Master, did you not sow good seed in your field? How then does it have weeds?' 28 He said to them, 'An enemy has done this.' So the servants said to him, 'Then do you want us to go and gather them?' 29 But he said, 'No, lest in gathering the weeds you root up the wheat along with them. | |
| 6 | 30 Let both grow together until the harvest, | 39 ... The harvest is the close of the age, |
| 7 | and at harvest time I will tell the reapers, | and the reapers are angels. |

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>8 Gather the weeds first and bind them in bundles to be burned,</p> <p>9 but gather the wheat into my barn.</p> | <p>41 The Son of Man will send his angels, and they will gather out of his kingdom all causes of sin and all law-breakers, 42 and throw them into the fiery furnace. In that place there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.</p> <p>43 Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father.</p> |
|--|--|

The parable of the net that was thrown into the sea explained

This parable and its explanation is found in Mt 13:47-49.53.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>47 Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a net that was thrown into the sea and gathered fish of every kind.</p> <p>1 48 When it was full,</p> <p>2 men drew it ashore and sat down and sorted</p> <p>3 the good into containers</p> <p>4 but threw away the bad.</p> | <p>49 So it will be at the close of the age.</p> <p>The angels will come out and separate from the righteous the evil from the righteous and throw them into the fiery furnace. In that place there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.</p> |
|---|--|

From these three examples it is clear that Jesus himself when

explaining his own parables to the disciples could take any number of parts of the parable and give corresponding explanations to every single part he chose, from one part to ten parts or even more. It is not true that any parable has just one key idea and it is not allowed to explain different parts of the parables.

7.1.4 Parables in John

John does not use *parabōlē* for the parables of Jesus, but *parōimia*. It is interesting that in the LXX *māšāl* is mostly translated with *παραβολή* *parabōlē* but in *Prv* 1:1 (the title of the whole book!) and 26:7 it is translated with *ἡ παροιμία* *hē parōimia* which John uses for the parables and sayings of Jesus (*John* 10:6; 16:25.29; in 2 *Pt* 2:22 it is used for a proverb). *parōimia* is "a common saying, proverb; in *Jn.*, simile, hidden saying = Synoptic *παραβολή*".⁷

John 16:25-30 shows us an important aspect of Jesus' teaching in "figures of speech" (*en parōimiais*):

25 "I have said these things to you in figures of speech (*en parōimiais*). The hour is coming when I will no longer speak to you in figures of speech (*en parōimiais*) but will tell you plainly about the Father. 26 In that day you will ask in my name, and I do not say to you that I will ask the Father on your behalf; 27 for the Father himself loves you, because you have loved me and have believed that I came from God. 28 I came from the Father and have come into the world, and now I am leaving the world and going to the Father." 29 His disciples said, "Ah, now you

7. Zerwick and Grosvenor, *An Analysis of the Greek New Testament under John* 10:6.

are speaking plainly and not using figurative speech (parōimian)! 30 Now we know that you know all things and do not need anyone to question you; this is why we believe that you came from God."

The contrast of teaching in figures of speech is telling "plainly" or speaking "plainly". Here John agrees with Matthew, Mark and Luke that Jesus was heavily teaching in parables or in figures of speech before the cross and Pentecost and that this teaching was mysterious and needed extra explanation.

The same is true for John 10:6 "This figure of speech (parōimian) Jesus used with them, but they did not understand what he was saying to them." We can see Jesus' teaching in John 10:1-30 as an example for a parable of Jesus in John very similar to the parables we have in Mt, Mk and Lk.

7.2 **Typology and Allegory in the NT**

We have seen in the way how Hebrews uses the word parable in Heb 9:8-9 and 11:19 that this is not really different from a typological or allegorical way of interpretation. Therefore we think that this is also a good place to look into examples of allegorical or typological interpretation of Old Testament passages in the New Testament.

7.2.1 **Allegorical interpretation of the OT in the NT**

An allegory implies that in addition to the literal sense of something another meaning is expressed and intended. The word ἀλληγορέω *allēgōrēō* ("express in an allegory"⁸) is used only once in the

8. *ibid.* under Gal 4:24.

NT and that is the only place in the NT where we are told that this is an allegorical interpretation: Gal 4:24⁹. This verse has to be understood in the context of Gal 4:21-31. In Galatians Paul wants to convince the Galatian Gentile Christians that they do not need circumcision to be saved, but quite on the contrary that they would loose Christ and grace and salvation if they try to be justified by circumcision and by the law (Gal 5:2-4).

Paul asks them "Tell me, you who desire to be under the law, do you not listen to the law?" (4:21), and then he uses the two sons of Abraham to argue in favor of the freedom from law.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Gal 4:22-23.30 | - | Gn 21:10.12 | Allegorically interpreted Gal 4:24-29.31 |
| 22 | For it is written that | Abraham had two sons, | |
| 1 | one by a slave woman | 24 ... | these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery; she is Hagar. 25 Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. |

9. ἡτινὰ ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα• αὐταὶ γάρ εἰσιν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ, εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ allēgōrōmena

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 2 | and one by a free woman. | 26 But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother.
27 For it is written, "Rejoice, O barren one who does not bear; break forth and cry aloud, you who are not in labor! For the children of the desolate one will be more than those of the one who has a husband." |
| 3 | 23 But the son of the slave was born according to the flesh, | 29 But just as at that time he who was born according to the flesh persecuted him who was born according to the Spirit, so also it is now. |
| 4 | while the son of the free woman was born through promise. | 28 Now you, brothers, like Isaac, are children of promise. |
| 5 | 30 ... "Cast out the slave woman and her son, for the son of the slave woman shall not inherit with the son of the free woman." | 31 So, brothers, we are not children of the slave but of the free woman. |

If the Galatian Gentile Christians want to be justified by circumcision and the law, they behave as if they were children of the slave woman who will be cast out and not inherit the promise. But in fact they are children of the promise, children of the free woman Sarah whom Paul identifies with the help of Is 54:1 with the new and heavenly Jerusalem (4:26-27). Therefore Paul ad-

monishes them, "For freedom Christ has set us free; stand firm therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery." (Gal 5:1).

Paul takes Gn 21 within the context of the story of Abraham and interprets the above given parts allegorically to pursue his argument for the freedom of the Galatian Gentile Christians from circumcision and the law. We see that the apostle Paul applies different parts of Gn 21 to the situation of the Galatians. He uses the story of Gn 21 as a parabolic inspired story to bring home his point. We see that his use of Gn 21 has parallels to the way Jesus explains his own parables.

7.2.2 Typological interpretation of the OT in the NT

Words used

ὁ τύπος *hō typōs* m. noun "image, type; symbol".¹⁰

τυπικῶς *typikōs* is only used in 1 Cor 10:11: "typologically, as a foreshadowing".¹¹

ἀντίτυπος, -ον *antitypōn* adj. "corresponding to / realizing exactly sth foreshadowed in the "type".¹²

Usage of ὁ τύπος *hō typōs* in the NT

1. Mark of nails. This word is used for the mark of the nails in the hands of Jesus (Jn 20:25.25). So the form of the nails left their mark in the hands of Jesus.

10. Zerwick and Grosvenor, *An Analysis of the Greek New Testament* under 1 Cor 10:6.

11. *ibid.* under 1 Cor 10:11.

12. *ibid.* under 1 Pt 3:21.

2. The images or idols of the Israelites in the desert are called like this in Acts 7:43: "You took up the tent of Moloch and the star of your god Rephan, the images that you made to worship." The idea is that they had some figure or image which resembled their imagination of Moloch and Rephan.
3. Form of teaching, pattern, standard of teaching. The Romans have obeyed a "form of doctrine" (KJV) or a pattern of doctrine (Rom 6:17).
4. People are or should be an example for others.
 - (a) Paul and his team (Phil 3:17; 2 Thes 3:9);
 - (b) Timothy (1 Tim 4:12);
 - (c) Titus (Ti 2:7);
 - (d) the Thessalonians (1 Thess 1:7);
 - (e) the elders (1 Peter 5:3).
5. OT persons or things or events as types for people coming later.
 - (a) "Adam, who was a type of the one who was to come", i.e. Christ (Rom 5:14).
 - (b) The tabernacle was made according to a pattern, a type Moses had seen (Acts 7:44; cf. Ex 25:40). Heb 8:5: "They serve a copy and shadow of the heavenly things. For when Moses was about to erect the tent, he was instructed by God, saying, 'See that you make everything according to the pattern that was shown you on the mountain.'"¹³

- (c) The events after the exodus in the desert (1 Cor 10:1-11). "Now these things took place as examples for us, that we might not desire evil as they did... 11 Now these things happened to them as an example, but they were written down for our instruction, on whom the end of the ages has come." (1 Cor 10:6.11)¹⁴

Usage of ἀντίτυπος antitypōs in the NT. The antitype (antitypōs) is the counterpart of the type (typōs). It is also used when OT persons or things or events have counterparts in the New Testament. Salvation through the water of the flood of Noah is the type and the appeal to God at the time of water baptism is the antitype. The different parts of the tabernacle are the antitypes and the heavens are the real thing.

1. God's salvation of Noah's family in the ark through the water of the flood corresponds to God's salvation presented to people appealing to God for a good conscience while going through the water of baptism (1 Pt 3:20-21): "God's patience waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was being prepared, in which a few, that is, eight persons, were brought safely through water. 21 Baptism, which corresponds to this, now saves you, not as a removal of dirt from the body but as an appeal to God for a good conscience, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ."¹⁵

14. 6 Ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεθύμησαν... 11 ταῦτα δὲ τυπικῶς συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νοουθεσίαν ἡμῶν, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκεν.

15. ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σφύζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθελαις ῥύπου ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν, δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

2. The tabernacle on earth made by human hands has as its true counterpart the heavens themselves with God on his throne in them in the center. Heb 9:24: "For Christ has entered, not into holy places made with hands, which are copies of the true things, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God on our behalf."¹⁶

1 Cor 10:1-11 as an example of typology in the NT

The key idea of the typological use of the OT in the New Testament is that Jesus Christ has brought the climax of salvation history and that the whole of the Old Testament leads to him and his body the church (1 Cor 10:11). The Old Testament prepares for the New through prophetic predictions, but also through people who are types of Christ (like Adam) or things which foreshadow the salvation through Christ (like the sacrifices or regulations of the tabernacle) or through events which show how God deals with his people (like the wilderness generation).

1 Cor 10:1-11 is a good example for illustrating these things.

| | Part in the OT | Corresponding to the NT |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | 1 ... Our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, 2 and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea | All Corinthian Christians were baptized into Christ |

16. οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα εἰσῆλθεν ἅγια Χριστός, ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν, νῦν ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν•

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 2 | 3 and all ate the same spiritual food, | Christians take part in the Lord's supper (10:16-22) |
| 3 | 4 and all drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank from the spiritual Rock that followed them, | "and the Rock was Christ." The drink is the Holy Spirit (12:13) which was given after the Rock was struck at the crucifixion of Jesus (Jn 7:37-39; 19:34). |
| 4 | 5 Nevertheless, with most of them God was not pleased, for they were overthrown in the wilderness. | "6 Now these things took place as examples for us." If we want to reach our promised country, the heavenly Jerusalem, we must avoid their mistakes. |
| 5 | they desired evil | that we might not desire evil |
| 6 | they were idolaters "as it is written, 'The people sat down to eat and drink and rose up to play.' | Do not be idolaters |
| 7 | they indulged in sexual immorality and twenty-three thousand fell in a single day. | We must not indulge in sexual immorality |
| 8 | some of them put Christ to the test and were destroyed by serpents | We must not put Christ to the test |
| 9 | some of them grumbled and were destroyed by the Destroyer | We must not grumble |
| 10 | Now these things happened to them as an example, | but they were written down for our instruction, on whom the end of the ages has come. |

7.2.3 **Shadow and body**

Another way to point to corresponding things in the OT and the NT is to say that in the Old Testament we find the shadow of the things to come and the body which threw the shadow pointing to its coming is Christ's (Col 2:16-17 KJV):

16 Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days: 17 Which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.¹⁷

The idea seems to be that somebody is coming. The light is behind him and so his shadow goes before him and we can recognize the person who comes because of his peculiar shadow. The apostle Paul identifies the commandments in the law of Moses which are about eating and drinking and about holidays as part of this prophetic shadow of the law which was a forecast of the body of the coming Christ. Now that Christ has come, we should welcome and hug the body and leave the shadow. If somebody tries to hug the shadow of someone who has come, then he ignores and dishonors the person who has just arrived.

The same idea is also found in Heb 8:4-5:

4 Now if he were on earth, he would not be a priest at all, since there are priests who offer gifts according to the law. 5 They serve a copy and shadow of the heavenly things. For when Moses was about to erect the tent, he was instructed by God, saying, "See that

17. 16 Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν βρώσει ἢ ἐν πόσει ἢ ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς ἢ νομιμίας ἢ σαββάτων, 17 ἃ ἐστὶν σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

you make everything according to the pattern that was shown you on the mountain."¹⁸

Here the author talks about the tabernacle and the sacrifices and gifts presented to God there and calls it "a copy and shadow of the heavenly things". He also points to Ex 25:40 which is for him a proof text that the tabernacle reflects a heavenly reality. This implies that the ministry of Jesus Christ as heavenly high priest is superior (Heb 10:1):

For since the law has but a shadow of the good things to come instead of the true form of these realities, it can never, by the same sacrifices that are continually offered every year, make perfect those who draw near.¹⁹

In Hebrews the tabernacle and the sacrificial system of the OT is understood as a shadow having been forecast by the true form of Christ who is the eternal high priest after the order of Melchizedek sitting at the right hand of God exalted above the heavens (7:11-26) who has brought the new covenant and eternal salvation through the sacrifice of his own blood once and for all (9:11-28).

18. 4 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦν ἐπὶ γῆς, οὐδ' ἂν ἦν ἱερεὺς, ὄντων τῶν προσφερόντων κατὰ νόμον τὰ δῶρα• 5 (οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ λατρεύουσιν τῶν ἐπουρανίων, καθὼς κεχηρμάτισται Μωϋσῆς μέλλων ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν σκηνήν, "Ὅρα γάρ, φησὶν, ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δευχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει)•

19. Σκιὰν γὰρ ἔχων ὁ νόμος τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς αὐταῖς θυσίαις ἃς προσφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς οὐδέποτε δύναται τοὺς προσερχομένους τελειῶσαι•

Chapter 8

The Canon and the Textual Transmission of the New Testament

8.1 The Canon of the New Testament

8.1.1 Important Witnesses

The Muratorian canon

. . . at which nevertheless he was present, and so he placed [them in his narrative]. (2) The third book of the Gospel is that according to Luke. (3) Luke, the well-known physician, after the ascension of Christ, (4-5) when Paul had taken with him as one zealous for the law, (6) composed it in his own name, according to [the general] belief. Yet he himself had not (7) seen the Lord in the flesh; and therefore, as

he was able to ascertain events, (8) so indeed he begins to tell the story from the birth of John. (9) The fourth of the Gospels is that of John, [one] of the disciples. (10) To his fellow disciples and bishops, who had been urging him [to write], (11) he said, 'Fast with me from today to three days, and what (12) will be revealed to each one (13) let us tell it to one another.' In the same night it was revealed (14) to Andrew, [one] of the apostles, (15-16) that John should write down all things in his own name while all of them should review it. And so, though various (17) elements may be taught in the individual books of the Gospels, (18) nevertheless this makes no difference to the faith (19) of believers, since by the one sovereign Spirit all things (20) have been declared in all [the Gospels]: concerning the (21) nativity, concerning the passion, concerning the resurrection, (22) concerning life with his disciples, (23) and concerning his twofold coming; (24) the first in lowliness when he was despised, which has taken place, (25) the second glorious in royal power, (26) which is still in the future. What (27) marvel is it then, if John so consistently (28) mentions these particular points also in his Epistles, (29) saying about himself, 'What we have seen with our eyes (30) and heard with our ears and our hands (31) have handled, these things we have written to you? (32) For in this way he professes [himself] to be not only an eye-witness and hearer, (33) but also a writer of all the marvelous deeds of the Lord, in their order. (34) Moreover, the acts of all the apostles (35) were written in one book. For 'most excellent

Theophilus' Luke compiled (36) the individual events that took place in his presence — (37) as he plainly shows by omitting the martyrdom of Peter (38) as well as the departure of Paul from the city [of Rome] (39) when he journeyed to Spain. As for the Epistles of (40-1) Paul, they themselves make clear to those desiring to understand, which ones [they are], from what place, or for what reason they were sent. (42) First of all, to the Corinthians, prohibiting their heretical schisms; (43) next, to the Galatians, against circumcision; (44-6) then to the Romans he wrote at length, explaining the order (or, plan) of the Scriptures, and also that Christ is their principle (or, main theme). It is necessary (47) for us to discuss these one by one, since the blessed (48) apostle Paul himself, following the example of his predecessor (49-50) John, writes by name to only seven churches in the following sequence: To the Corinthians (51) first, to the Ephesians second, to the Philippians third, (52) to the Colossians fourth, to the Galatians fifth, (53) to the Thessalonians sixth, to the Romans (54-5) seventh. It is true that he writes once more to the Corinthians and to the Thessalonians for the sake of admonition, (56-7) yet it is clearly recognizable that there is one Church spread throughout the whole extent of the earth. For John also in the (58) Apocalypse, though he writes to seven churches, (59-60) nevertheless speaks to all. [Paul also wrote] out of affection and love one to Philemon, one to Titus, and two to Timothy; and these are held sacred (62-3) in the esteem of the Church catholic for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. There is

current also [an epistle] to (64) the Laodiceans, [6b] [and] another to the Alexandrians, [both] forged in Paul's (65) name to [further] the heresy of Marcion, and several others (66) which cannot be received into the catholic Church (67)— for it is not fitting that gall be mixed with honey. (68) Moreover, the epistle of Jude and two of the above-mentioned (or, bearing the name of) John are counted (or, used) in the catholic [Church]; and [the book of] Wisdom, (70) written by the friends of Solomon in his honour. (71) We receive only the apocalypses of John and Peter, (72) though some of us are not willing that the latter be read in church. (73) But Hermas wrote the Shepherd (74) very recently, in our times, in the city of Rome, (75) while bishop Pius, his brother, was occupying the [episcopal] chair (76) of the church of the city of Rome. (77) And therefore it ought indeed to be read; but (78) it cannot be read publicly to the people in church either among (79) the Prophets, whose number is complete, or among (80) the Apostles, for it is after [their] time. (81) But we accept nothing whatever of Arsinous or Valentinus or Miltiades, (82) who also composed (83) a new book of psalms for Marcion, (84-5) together with Basilides, the Asian founder of the Cataphrygians . . .¹

1. The text is taken from The Muratorian Fragment where it is given according to Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 305-307. On the website the background of the fragment is explained in the following way: "The Muratorian Fragment is the oldest known list of New Testament books. It was discovered by Ludovico Antonio Muratori in a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, and published by him in 1740. It is called a fragment

Origen

Eusebius of Caesarea² writes about Origen:³

3. In his first book on Matthew's Gospel, maintaining the Canon of the Church, he testifies that he knows only four Gospels, writing as follows: 4. "Among the four Gospels, which are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God under heaven, I have learned by tradition that the first was written by Matthew, who was once a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, and it was prepared for the converts from Judaism, and published in the Hebrew language. 5. The second is by Mark, who composed it according to the instructions of Peter, 1979 who in his Catholic epistle acknowledges him as a son, saying, 'The church that is at Babylon elected together with you, saluteth

because the beginning of it is missing. Although the manuscript in which it appears was copied during the seventh century, the list itself is dated to about 170 because its author refers to the episcopate of Pius I of Rome (died 157) as recent." This is a Latin translation of a Greek original and often difficult to understand.

2. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 434-435 (Eusebius, Church History VI, 25,3-14).

3. Origen was born around 185-186 A.D. in Alexandria, Egypt. First he was a student and then since 203 teacher at the Catechetical School there. 231 he was excommunicated by bishop Demetrius of Alexandria. He then founded a Christian school in Caesarea in Israel. He was a very prolific writer. He made a difference between faith (*pistis*) on the one hand and knowledge or deeper insight (*gnōsis*) on the other hand. Deeper insight does not deny faith, but is far superior. Origen probably died 254 A.D. as a result of having been tortured in the Decian persecution. See Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, §17k.

you, and so doth Marcus, my son.' 6. And the third by Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, and composed for Gentile converts. Last of all that by John." 7. In the fifth book of his Expositions of John's Gospel, he speaks thus concerning the epistles of the apostles: "But he who was 'made sufficient to be a minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit,' that is, Paul, who 'fully preached the Gospel from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum,' did not write to all the churches which he had instructed and to those to which he wrote he sent but few lines. 8. And Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, 'against which the gates of hell shall not prevail,' has left one acknowledged epistle; perhaps also a second, but this is doubtful. 9. Why need we speak of him who reclined upon the bosom of Jesus, 1989 John, who has left us one Gospel, though he confessed that he might write so many that the world could not contain them? And he wrote also the Apocalypse, but was commanded to keep silence and not to write the words of the seven thunders. 10. He has left also an epistle of very few lines; perhaps also a second and third; but not all consider them genuine, and together they do not contain hundred lines." 11. In addition he makes the following statements in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews in his Homilies upon it: "That the verbal style of the epistle entitled 'To the Hebrews,' is not rude like the language of the apostle, who acknowledged himself 'rude in speech' that is, in expression; but that its diction is purer Greek, any one who has the power to discern differences of phraseology will

acknowledge. 12. Moreover, that the thoughts of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged apostolic writings, any one who carefully examines the apostolic text will admit.' 13. Farther on he adds: "If I gave my opinion, I should say that the thoughts are those of the apostle, but the diction and phraseology are those of some one who remembered the apostolic teachings, and wrote down at his leisure what had been said by his teacher. Therefore if any church holds that this epistle is by Paul, let it be commended for this. For not without reason have the ancients handed it down as Paul's. 14. But who wrote the epistle, in truth, God knows. The statement of some who have gone before us is that Clement, bishop of the Romans, wrote the epistle, and of others that Luke, the author of the Gospel and the Acts, wrote it." But let this suffice on these matters.

Eusebius of Caesarea

Eusebius⁴ writes about the New Testament canon in his *Church History*:

1. Since we are dealing with this subject it is proper to sum up the writings of the New Testament which have been already mentioned. First then must be put

4. Eusebius was born about 260-265 and died about 339-340. He became bishop of Caesarea in Israel. His *Church History* (*Historia ekklesiastike*, often quoted as "h.e.") is of enormous historical value because many quotes from now lost old christian books can be found in it. See Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, §1b + 17m.

the holy quaternion of the Gospels; following them the Acts of the Apostles. 2. After this must be reckoned the epistles of Paul; next in order the extant former epistle of John, and likewise the epistle of Peter, must be maintained. After them is to be placed, if it really seem proper, the Apocalypse of John, concerning which we shall give the different opinions at the proper time. These then belong among the accepted writings. 3. Among the disputed writings,⁷⁸⁸ which are nevertheless recognized by many, are extant the so-called epistle of James and that of Jude, also the second epistle of Peter, and those that are called the second and third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person of the same name. 4. Among the rejected writings must be reckoned also the Acts of Paul, and the so-called Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to these the extant epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles; and besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it seem proper, which some, as I said, reject, but which others class with the accepted books. 5. And among these some have placed also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have accepted Christ are especially delighted. And all these may be reckoned among the disputed books. 6. But we have nevertheless felt compelled to give a catalogue of these also, distinguishing those works which according to ecclesiastical tradition are true and genuine and commonly accepted, from those others which, although not canonical but disputed, are yet at the same time

known to most ecclesiastical writers—we have felt compelled to give this catalogue in order that we might be able to know both these works and those that are cited by the heretics under the name of the apostles, including, for instance, such books as the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, or of any others besides them, and the Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles, which no one belonging to the succession of ecclesiastical writers has deemed worthy of mention in his writings. 7. And further, the character of the style is at variance with apostolic usage, and both the thoughts and the purpose of the things that are related in them are so completely out of accord with true orthodoxy that they clearly show themselves to be the fictions of heretics. Wherefore they are not to be placed even among the rejected writings, but are all of them to be cast aside as absurd and impious.⁵

8.1.2 **Theodor Zahn's overview of the history of the canon of the New Testament**

This overview is based on Zahn's summary⁶ of his own extensive work of eight volumes "Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Litteratur" (1881–1908).

5. Schaff, NPNF2-01. Eusebius Pamphilus: Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine, p. 220-225 (Eusebius, Church History III,25:1-7).

6. Zahn, Grundriß der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons

§1 Main concepts (p. 1-14):

The word canon (Greek: kanōn)⁷ is related to cane (Greek "kanē")⁸ as in "cane of reed". From kanē as something straight developed the meaning "ruler" or "straightedge" for kanōn (p.2). The Greek word kanōn was then also used for "list, table" (p. 6). The regular use of kanōn for the Bible is evident from the middle of the 4th century A.D. (p. 7) according to Zahn in the sense of "list" (catalog; p. 9).⁹ The Latin speaking church uses then the name "canon" (kanōn) for the Bible in the original sense of "(authoritative) rule of faith" (regula fidei). The terms "old testament"¹⁰ and "new testament"¹¹ implied the idea of a completed collection of documents of revelation. Irenaeus of Lyon does not use "testament"¹² for the Bible yet, but this usage of the word is found in Clement of Alexandria,¹³ Tertullian (testamentum) and Origen. Books belonging to this completed collection were defined as "being in the testament"¹⁴ (compare 2 Cor 3:14). A condition for being part of this collection of revelation documents was the ecclesiastical use which means the book had to be read during the services on a regular basis (p. 12). Compare in

7. Greek: κανών

8. Greek: κάνη, Hebrew qaneh קִנֵּה ; Syriac qanya' ܩܢܝܐ ; Assyrian-Babylonian kanû.

9. Greek: katalōgōs κατάλογος

10. παλαιά διαθήκη

11. καινή διαθήκη

12. διαθήκη

13. Clement of Alexandria served around 200 A.D. at the Catechetical School of Alexandria. Before this he travelled in Greece and the Near East. He started as a student of Pantaenus and then became his successor as teacher at the school in Alexandria which he left during the persecution in 202-203 A.D. See Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, §17g + h.

14. Greek: endiathēkōs ἐνδιάθηκος

this context the original usage of the word "apocryphal"¹⁵ meaning excluded from the public reading in the service without implying any negative judgment of the book. Three supplementary remarks about this condition are necessary: 1. The books permitted to be read during the services were not the same all throughout Christianity. 2. The judgment varied with regard to more than one book up to later times or temporarily in different ecclesiastical provinces. 3. The definition of a regular reading in church services is not absolutely clear cut. But it is correct in spite of these supplementary remarks to speak of an identity of the books which were canonical with the books which were read regularly in the church services.

§2 The New Testament around 170-220 A.D. (p. 14-27):

Summary on p. 26-27: Clearly belonging to the collection were the four gospels, 13 letters of Paul, Acts, Revelation, 1 Peter, 1 John (to which 2 and 3 John were regularly attached), probably Jude and the Shepherd of Hermas (not in the time from 200-210 A.D). But the judgment of the following books was varying: Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, Apocalypse of Peter, The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (Didache), Epistle of Barnabas, 1 and 2 Clement, Acts of Paul and Shepherd of Hermas. The Polemics against Marcion, the Gnostics and the Alogi imply that this collection was not just put together in the times of the discussions but that it had already been present as a result of earlier developments.

§3 The New Testament around 140-170 A.D. (p. 27-35):

1. The Bible of Marcion (p. 28-29). 2. The Bible of the Valentini-ans (p. 30-32). 3. The Scriptures of the Apostles in Justin Martyr.

15. Greek: *apōkryphōs ἀπόκρυφος*

According to Zahn as is evident from the books used in Justin's writings the Martyr knew the four gospels, Revelation, Romans, 1 Cor, Gal, Eph, (Philippians?), Col, 2 Thes, (Titus, 1 Tm?), Hebrews, 1 Pt, (James?), Acts and Didache among others.

§4 Oldest traces and origin of collections of apostolic writings (p. 35-41):

Many questions will never find certain answers. But it may be viewed as certain that both the fourfold gospel and the corpus of the 13 epistles of Paul originated around the years 80-110 A.D. and were introduced into the ecclesiastical usage of the Gentile Christian churches all the way from Antioch to Rom. These two collections were the foundation of the New Testament. It is equally certain that both these collections were from the start supplemented in the ecclesiastical usage and in the understanding of the churches by another collection of Christian writings. This third collection was varying regarding the numbers of the books but was also regarded as profitable to be used for reading in services and for the teaching and edification of the churches (p. 41).

§5 Origin and his school (p. 41-44):

No essential change of the canon of the New Testament happened through Origen or throughout the third century. The new contribution Origen brought was an exhaustive comparison of the traditional New Testament collections of different churches (p. 41). The homologumena¹⁶ were books that were universally acknowledged as holy scriptures. Antilegomena¹⁷ were such books which

16. ὁμολογούμενα

17. This expression was used later. Greek: ἀντιλεγόμενα

were not acknowledged as holy scriptures by a part of the churches. The Homologumena of the New Testament were according to Origen the four gospels, 13 letters of Paul, 1 Pt, 1 John, Acts, Revelation. The Antilegomena were according to Origen Hebrews, 2 Pt, 2 and 3 John, James, Jude, Epistle of Barnabas, Shepherd of Hermas, Didache and the gospel of the Hebrews. About Hebrews Origen thinks that it is canonical and from Paul. The ideas are from Paul, but Paul let the final writing be done by one of his disciples. Origen quotes 2 Peter as holy scripture. He himself has no doubts about the authenticity of 2 and 3 John, but he mentions the doubts of some people as a reason that they belong to the Antilegomena. Origen quotes James frequently, but he takes into account that this epistle is not universally acknowledged. In Latin translations of Origen's books James is also called "*scriptura divina*" (divine scripture). Only once Origen mentions that Jude is not universally acknowledged, but he himself quotes Jude as Holy Scripture and praises this epistle very much. Origen gives the Epistle of Barnabas an equal status with the Catholic Epistles¹⁸. Origen views the Shepherd of Hermas as an inspired and very useful book. He assumes that the author is the Hermas of Rom 16:14. But he also takes into account that people oppose this book as not canonical. Origen quotes Didache as holy scripture. This book was viewed as canonical in Alexandria, but by no means everywhere. Origen mentions the gospel of the Hebrews as the gospel of the Jewish Christian churches, but not of the Ebionites.

18. The Catholic or General Epistles of the New Testament are James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1 and 2 and 3 John and Jude

§7 Lucianus und Eusebius (p. 54-59):

The Homologumena according to Eusebius are the four gospels, Acts, 14 letters of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John, possibly also Revelation. The Antilegomena which Eusebius wants to be included in the canon are James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John. The Antilegomena which Eusebius sees as forgeries¹⁹ and wants to be excluded from the canon are the Acts of Paul, Shepherd of Hermas, Apokalypse of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, Didache and possibly Revelation. The New Testament according to Eusebius is with the exception of Revelation the same as our New Testament. We find this New Testament of Eusebius in Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus, in the supplement of the Canon 59 of Laodicea, in the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Same Holy Apostles 85²⁰, probably in the Apostolic Constitutions²¹ and Amphilochius of Iconium takes it into account together with the canon of Antioch (p. 57).

§8 Athanasius (p. 59-61):

In the 39th Festal Letter of Athanasius (367 A.D.) he is the first who presents the 27 books of our New Testament as the alone canonical ones (p. 60). The "kanōnizōmēna"²² are the 27 books of our New Testament. The "apōkrypha"²³ are totally rejected writings. The "anaginōskōmena"²⁴ which can be read with profit like the Di-

19. νόθα

20. See Schaff, ANF07. Fathers of the Third and Fourth Centuries: Lactantius, Venantius, Asterius, Victorinus, Dionysius, Apostolic Teaching and Constitutions, Homily, and Liturgies, p. 749.

21. See *ibid.*, p. 573.

22. κανονιζόμενα

23. ἀπόκρυφα

24. ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα

dache, Shepherd of Hermas, Wisdom of Solomon, Jesus ben Sira, Esther, Judith, Tobias.

§9 The further development of the Greek orient until the time of Justinian (p.61-64).

§10 The approximation of the occident (p. 64-75):

Nobody did more for the approximation of the occident to the orient with regard to the Bible than Jerome (p. 65). Athanasius had also a certain influence on the development in the occident. From 340-343 he was in Rome (p. 66). The relationship of Hebrews and some of the Catholic Epistles to the New Testament: Hebrews remained excluded from the Latin New Testament during the first three quarters of the fourth century (p. 67). 2 Peter and 2 and 3 John had even still in the fourth century an insecure relationship to the Latin New Testament (p. 68). The exclusion not only of James, but also of Jude was around 360 in Africa a done deal. No African author after Tertullian and before Augustine quoted one of those letters (p. 68). There are only a few traces of the distribution of 2 Peter, James, Jude, 2 and 3 John before 380 A.D. (p. 69). In 382 A.D. there was the Council of Rome under the authority of the bishop of Rome Damasus. The then 40-year-old presbyter Jerome was very important in the discussions because he became a trusted man and scholarly adviser of Damasus. The decisions were later renewed and extended by Pope Gelasius (492-96) and Pope Hormisdas (514-523; p. 70). Accordingly the New Testament contains the four gospels, 14 letters of Paul (Hebrews last), Revelation, Acts, seven Catholic epistles (1 and 2 Peter, epistle of the apostle James, one letter of the apostle John, 2 letters of the presbyter John, epistle of the apostle Judas Zealot). This canon was basically the canon of

Athanasius. "Rome had spoken, and the nations of the Occident had heard" (p. 71). It took more time in Africa. The councils in Hippo Regius (393 A.D.) and Carthage (397 A.D.) accepted the canon of the 27 books which had been decided on in Rome (382 A.D.) The idea that James and Jude were apostles was dropped. James and Jude were put last in the list of the Catholic epistles. The idea of two Johns was dropped as well. The decision of 397 was renewed in the council of Carthage in 419. Augustine who had already been an authority as a presbyter amongst the bishops at the council of Hippo was promoting the new canon unremittingly (p. 71).

8.2 The Textual Transmission of the New Testament

8.2.1 Ancient book production.

The material used for ancient books²⁵ was papyrus and leather, especially parchment. A papyrus scroll would be 9 to 10 m long. If the scroll was written on both sides, it is called an opisthograph. But a scroll was not easy to handle. The sections could not be found quickly. The codex was much more convenient to find sections fast.

The scribes used cursive script for daily writing needs but uncial script (majuscule script, capital letters) for writing of literature in the third to sixth centuries C.E. Since the 9th century a cursive minuscule script was used which made book production simpler and cheaper. This led to a greater spreading of literature. Uncial manuscripts are older and minuscule manuscripts younger. The ratio of extent minuscule manuscripts to majuscule manuscripts is ten

25. This section is based on Bruce Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 3-35.

to one. One reason for this seems to be that literature had become cheaper and more people could buy a book, also a Holy Book.

In ancient times Greek was normally written without spaces between the words (*scriptio continua* = continuous script). This could sometimes lead to ambiguity.

Often holy names (*nomina sacra*) were abbreviated with a line drawn above the abbreviation: For the Greek counterparts of God, Lord, Jesus, Christ, and Son the first and the last letter were written; of Spirit, David, cross, and Mother the first two letters and the last were written; of Father, Israel, and Savior the two first and the two last were written; of Man, Jerusalem, and Heaven the first and the last syllable were written.

When Christianity became a recognized religion in the Roman Empire in the fourth century, it became possible to have the Holy Scriptures copied in a "scriptorium" done by professional book copyists. One person would read and the others had to write down what they heard without seeing the original manuscript. This could lead to errors of the ears in the copy. Later when monks copied the Holy Scriptures there were less mistakes because the monks took more time for copying.

The scribe might put some interesting information in the colophon at the end of the manuscript. This could even include his name or the date and place of writing.

We find several "helps for readers". The Codex Vaticanus (B) from the fourth century has a system of "kephalaia" (chapters) for the gospels: 170 in Matthew, 62 in Mark, 152 in Luke and 50 in John. Other chapter divisions are found in the Codex Alexandrinus (A) of the fifth century and in most of the other Greek manuscripts: 68 in Mt, 48 in Mk, 83 in Lk and 18 in John. Similar kephalaia were used for Acts, the letters and Revelation. For each of the kephalaia of the Codex Alexandrinus and in most of the later manuscripts

there is a "titlos" in the margin which is a summary title of the section. The title in the margin of John 2:1 for example is "About the wedding at Cana".

Eusebius of Caesarea invented an ingenious system for finding parallel texts in the Gospels. It spread very far. Many manuscripts in Greek have it, also in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Gothic, Armenian, and in other translations. Every Gospel was divided in longer or shorter sections depending on the parallels in the other Gospels. All sections were numbered: 355 in Mt, 233 in Mk, 342 in Lk and 232 in John. Then Eusebius produced his tables or "canons". The first table has sections which are found in all four; the second table sections which are in Mt, Mk and Lk; the third those which are in Mt, Lk and John; and so forth. These tables were written in columns of numbers and were normally found on the first pages of the Gospel manuscripts. Within the Gospels the number of the Gospel section was written with the number of the fitting table. If someone reading John 4:44 wanted to look at the parallel texts he would find section number 35 in the margin together with table 1. Looking at the table one he would find together with section 35 of John, section 142 in Mt, 51 in Mk and 21 in Lk. The canons of Eusebius are also printed in some modern editions of the Greek text so that they can still help the reader.²⁶

A summary of the content of a book might be given in a preface or a short introduction. There might be some information about the life of the author. In the oldest manuscripts the book titles are short and simple ("According to Matthew"; "To the Romans"). Later they grew longer and got more complicated. The subscriptions at the end of a book were originally like the titles; short and simple, and

26. See for example Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 85*-89*.

marking only the end of the book. Later they got more developed and often included information about the assumed place of writing or the names of the secretaries.

The earliest manuscripts have only scarce punctuation. In the sixth and seventh century scribes started to use punctuation marks more generously. A gloss is a brief marginal explanation of a difficult word or phrase. Scholia are explanatory comments of a teacher which are inserted on the margin of the manuscript. When scholia are systematically given to explain the whole text continuously, the book is called a commentary. A catena is a biblical commentary made up of excerpts from earlier Biblical commentators. Catena means "chain" in Latin pointing to the chain of explanations. Each excerpt is normally introduced with the abbreviated name of the author. Onomastica try to give the meaning and etymology of names.

Ornately decorated initials were used to make the book more beautiful. In the Byzantine time the Greeks added pictures to help the reader to a better understanding. These could be pictures of Christ or his apostles or of scenes reported in the New Testament.

Presenting the text in cola (single sentences) and commata (single phrases) was done to help with the public reading of texts. In the Septuagint this system can be found in the poetic books. Jerome arranged his translation of the Prophets colometrically. The colometric system was used by some bilingual codices of the New Testament, e.g. Codex Bezae (D), Codex Claromontanus (D^P), Codex Coislinianus or Euthalianus (H^P), all dating to the sixth century.

Neumen are Byzantine notes helping to sing sections or to speak them rhythmically. They start to appear in codices from the seventh and eighth century, but it is not clear whether they were written when these manuscripts were written or added later. The notes were added with red or green ink above the words which should be sung.

Lectionaries were manuscripts with a collection of texts chosen to be read in the different services of the ecclesiastical year starting with Easter. Because such official liturgical texts have the tendency to be conservative and even archaic, the lectionaries are viewed as potentially valuable witnesses for a Greek text which might be older than the manuscript of the lectionary.

It is very interesting to look at the statistics of the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament in comparison to other ancient books. To classify the different manuscripts it has become customary to follow a system that was started by Wettstein and Gregory.

When the Swiss scholar Johann Jakob Wettstein had his beautiful two volume edition of the Greek New Testament printed in Amsterdam in 1751-52, he used Latin capital letters for the uncial manuscripts and Arabic numbers for the minuscule manuscripts.

Caspar René Gregory from Philadelphia, USA went to Germany after his theological studies in Princeton and became New Testament professor at the University of Leipzig in 1889. Gregory modified Wettstein's system by using a Gothic P with a superscript Arabic number for the papyrus manuscripts to distinguish them from the parchment manuscripts (for example \mathfrak{p}^{46}). After Wettstein it had become customary to use Latin and Greek capitals and the Aleph from the Hebrew alphabet for the longest known uncial manuscripts. But at the time of Gregory the number of the uncials had surpassed the letters of those alphabets. So Gregory gave every uncial manuscript an Arabic number with a prefixed zero (for example 01, 02, 03, ... 0100, 0101, 0102, ..., 0249, 0250). Gregory gave the lectionaries a l with an Arabic number (for example l 32). A l without any addition is a lectionary of the Gospels. l^a is a lectionary with texts out of Acts and the epistles. l^{+a} is a lectionary with texts out of the Gospels, Acts, and the epistles. The Greek lectionary has no texts out of Revelation.

In 1963 there were 76 papyri cataloged. According to the list of the Greek manuscripts in Nestle-Aland²⁷ there were 116 papyri cataloged in 2001. In 1963 there were 250 cataloged uncials. According to the list in Nestle-Aland²⁸ there were 303 uncials cataloged in 2001. In 1963 there were 2646 minuscule manuscripts cataloged. According to Nestle-Aland²⁹ there were at least 2829 minuscules cataloged in 2001. In 1963 there were 1997 lectionaries cataloged. According to Nestle-Aland³⁰ there were at least 2211 lectionaries cataloged in 2001. Altogether for 1963 there are 4969 Greek manuscripts and for 2001 at least 5459.

Only 50 manuscripts contain the whole New Testament, out of which Codex Sinaiticus is the only uncial manuscript.

As we have said before, it is interesting to contrast these numbers with the number of manuscripts which preserve the text of the ancient classics. For Homer's Iliad there are 457 papyri, 2 uncial manuscripts, and 188 minuscule manuscripts. For the works of Euripides there are 54 papyri and 276 parchment manuscripts, almost all of the later dating from the Byzantine period. Often there is a lapse of a millennium or more between the composition of the ancient classics and the earliest extant copies. In contrast the time between the composition of the books of the New Testament and the earliest extant copies is relatively brief. Several papyri of portions of the New Testament are extant which were copied within a century or so after the composition of the original documents.³¹

27. Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 684-690.

28. *ibid.*, p. 690-704.

29. *ibid.*, p. 704-714.

30. *ibid.*, p. 712-713.

31. According to Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 34-35.

8.2.2 Important witnesses to the text of the New Testament

The most important witnesses for the New Testament text are Greek manuscripts, old translations, and quotations in the church fathers.³²

1. Greek manuscripts.

Papyri. Two of the most important collections of Papyri³³ were acquired in 1930-31 by (now Sir) Chester Beatty (London) and in 1955-56 by Martin Bodmer (Geneva). The first named collection is now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (**p**⁴⁵; **p**⁴⁶; **p**⁴⁷).

1. **p**⁴⁵, Chester Beatty I, is from the first half of the third century. This codex contained originally Mt, Mk, Lk, John and Acts on 220 sheets of the format 22.8 x 16 cm.³⁴ A few fragments of this codex which originally were one sheet out of Mt have surfaced in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. The type of text in Mark stands closer to the Caesarean text than to the Alexandrian or to the Western text. With regard to the other gospels it stands between the Alexandrian and

32. This section is based on Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 36-92.

33. For the papyri see *ibid.*, p. 36-42.

34. According to Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 686 **p**⁴⁵ contains now Mt 20:24-32; 21:13-19; 25:41-26:39; Mk 4:36-40; 5:15-26; 5:38-6:3.16-25.36-50; 7:3-15; 7:25-8:1.10-26; 8:34-9:9.18-31; 11:27-12:1.5-8.13-19.24-28; Lk 6:31-41; 6:45-7:7; 9:26-41; 9:45-10:1.6-22; 10:26-11:1.6-25.28-46; 11:50-12:12.18-37; 12:42-13:1.6-24; 13:29-14:10.17-33; Jn 4:51.54; 5:21.24; 10:7-25; 10:30-11:10.18-36.42-57; Acts 4:27-36; 5:10-21.30-39; 6:7-7:2.10-21.32-41; 7:52-8:1.14-25; 8:34-9:6.16-27; 9:35-10:2.10-23; 31-41; 11:2-14; 11:24-12:5.13-22; 13:6-16.25-36; 13:46-14:3.15-23; 15:2-7.19-27; 15:38-16:4.15-21.32-40; 17:9-17.

the Western text. In Acts it stands decidedly closer to the Alexandrian text.

2. **P**⁴⁶, Chester Beatty II, is from about 200 C.E. This codex contained originally ten letters of Paul in the following order: Rom, Heb, 1. and 2. Cor, Eph, Gal, Phil, Col, 1 and 2 Thes on 104 sheets of the format 23 x 15 cm.³⁵ Generally this papyrus stands closer to the Alexandrian than to the Western text.
3. **P**⁴⁷, Chester Beatty III, is from the middle or second half of the third century. This codex containing the book of Revelation had probably originally 32 sheets of the format 20 x 12.5 cm.³⁶ Generally **P**⁴⁷ agrees more often with Codex Sinaiticus than with any other even though its remarkable independence appears quite often.

The other collection of Martin Bodmer is in the Bodmer library in Cologny near Geneva (**P**⁶⁶; **P**⁷²; **P**⁷⁴; **P**⁷⁵).

1. **P**⁶⁶, Bodmer II, is a papyrus codex of the Gospel according to John from about 200 C.E. The format of the extant pages

35. According to *ibid.*, p. 686 **P**⁴⁶ contains now Rom 5:17-6:3.5-14; 8:15-25.27-35; 8:37-9:32; 10:1-11:22.24-33; 11:35-15:9; 15:11-16:27; 1 Cor 1:1-9:2; 9:4-14:14; 14:16-15:15; 15:17-16:22; 2 Cor 1:1-11:10.12-21; 11:23-13:13; Gal 1:1-8; 1:10-2:9.12-21; 3:2-29; 4:2-18; 4:20-5:17; 5:20-6:8.10-18; Eph 1:1-2:7; 2:10-5:6; 5:8-6:6.8-18.20-24; Phil 1:1.5-15.17-28; 1:30-2:12.14-27; 2:29-3:8.10-21; 4:2-12.14-23; Col 1:1-2.5-13.16-24; 1:27-2:19; 2:23-3:11.13-24; 4:3-12.16-18; 1 Thes 1:1; 1:9-2:3; 5:5-9.23-28; Heb 1:1-9:16; 9:18-10:20.22-30; 10:32-13:25.

36. According to *ibid.*, p. 687 **P**⁴⁷ contains now Rv 9:10-11:3; 11:5-16:15; 16:17-17:2.

is 14.2 x 16.2 cm.³⁷ The text is a mixed text type with typical Alexandrian and Western elements. In about 20 cases the copyist has made corrections on the margin or between the lines and the dropped text belongs almost always to the Western tradition while the preferred variants belong to the Alexandrian text type.

2. **P**⁷², Bodmer VII, is a papyrus codex of the format 15.5 x 14.2 cm. M. Testuz edited this papyrus in 1959 and dated it to the third century. It contains a wide-ranging collection of writings in this order: the Nativity of Mary, the apocryphal correspondence of Paul to the Corinthians, the eleventh ode of Solomon, the epistle of Jude, Melito's Homily on the Passover, a fragment of a hymn, the Apology of Phileas, and Psalm 33 and 34 and 1 and 2 Peter. Because of its small format Testuz thinks that this papyrus was intended for private use and not for reading during the service. The text of 1 Peter shows clear connections to the Alexandrian text group and especially to the Sahidic text within this group.
3. **P**⁷⁴, Bodmer XVII, is quite a large papyrus codex from the seventh century. Originally it had 264 pages of the format 32 x 20 cm, but today it is in bad shape and contains parts of Acts, James, 1 and 2 Pt, 1 and 2 and 3 Jn, and Jude. The preserved text often agrees with the Codex Alexandrinus.
4. **P**⁷⁵, Bodmer XIV.XV, is a papyrus codex with the gospel according to Luke and John from about 175 to 225 accord-

37. According to Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 687, **P**⁶⁶ contains Jn 1:1-6:11; 6:35-14:26.29-30; 15:2-26; 16:2-4.6-7; 16:10-20:20.22-23; 20:25-21:9.

ing to the editors.³⁸ Out of the original 144 pages of the format of 26 x 13 cm just 102 pages are fully or partly preserved. The text type stands very close to the Codex Vaticanus. Occasionally the codex is the only Greek witness who supports some interesting variants in agreement with the Sahidic translation.

P⁵² has only a size of 6 x 9 cm and contains only a few verses out of the fourth gospel (18:31-33.37-38). It is the oldest copy of any part of the New Testament which so far has become known. Even though Bernhard P. Grenfell had already acquired it in 1920, it remained unnoticed until 1934 amongst hundreds of other papyrus fragments. In that year C. H. Roberts recognized its content when he was sorting the unpublished papyri of the John Rylands Library in Manchester. He published it dating it to the first half of the second century. Not all scholars were convinced by his arguments, but eminent paleographers like F. G. Kenyon, W. Schubart, Sir H. I. Bell, A. Deißmann, U. Wilcken and W.H.P. Hatch agreed with him. Therefore in spite of its tiny size **P⁵²** is of utmost importance pointing to an early composition of John's Gospel, because it was found in a provincial town at the river Nile far away from its traditionally assumed place of writing (Ephesus in Asia Minor).

Uncial manuscripts. The following uncials are of special importance.³⁹

38. According to *ibid.*, p. 688, **P⁷⁵** contains Lk 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32.35-39.41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24:53; Jn 1:1-11:45.48-57; 12:3-13:10; 14:8-15:10.

39. For the uncials see Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 42-61 and Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 690-704.

1. \aleph 01 The Codex Sinaiticus from the fourth century originally contained the whole Bible with four columns on every page having the format of 38 x 34.3 cm. Parts of the Old Testament were lost, but the whole of the New Testament is still preserved. This is the only uncial manuscript with the whole of the New Testament. Tischendorf found this codex about the middle of the 19th century in the monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. Generally speaking the text of Codex Sinaiticus belongs to the Alexandrian type but contains also quite a few Western variants. Before this codex left the scriptorium several correctors did their work. The original reading of any manuscript is given with \ast , in this case it would be \aleph^\ast . The variants of these correctors are given with the sign \aleph^a . Later, perhaps in the sixth and seventh century, several correctors who worked in Caesarea made a lot of selective changes in the Old Testament as well as in the New.

These readings, designated by the siglum \aleph^{ca} and \aleph^{cb} , represent a thoroughgoing effort to correct the text to a different standard, which according to a colophon at the end of the books of Esdras and Esther is stated to have been "a very ancient manuscript that had been corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus".⁴⁰

2. A 02 The Codex Alexandrinus from the fifth century contains the Old Testament (minus a few mutilations) and most of the New Testament.⁴¹ The text type of the Alexandrinus

40. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 46.

41. According to Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 690, the parts of the New Testament which are missing in A are Mt 1:1-25:6; Jn

in the gospels is the Byzantine text type making the Alexandrinus the oldest example of this text which is generally seen as less valuable. In the rest of the New Testament the Alexandrinus stands together with B and \aleph as a typical representative of the Alexandrian text. The reason for this may be that the copyist of these parts used another source than for the gospels.

3. B 03 One of the most valuable amongst all manuscripts of the Greek Bible is the Codex Vaticanus from the middle of the fourth century. It was already listed in 1475 as part of the Vatican library. It never became quite clear why all scholars who wanted to have a deeper look at this manuscript in the 19th century could not get permission to do this from the administration of the Bibliotheca Vaticana for a long time. It was not until 1889-90 that a complete photographic facsimile was published, edited by G. Cozza-Luzi. B contains the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha without Macabees. Today there are three missing sections: In the beginning almost 46 chapters of Genesis are missing, then about thirty Psalms and finally the last pages of the New Testament are missing from Heb 9:14 onwards (with 1 and 2 Tm, Tit, Phlm, Rv). The script is a small uncial without ornaments. That is seen as a sign that the Vaticanus is a little bit older than the Sinaiticus. The text type of the Vaticanus is viewed by many scholars as an eminent representative of the Alexandrian text type.
4. C 04 The Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus is a manuscript of the Greek Bible from the fifth century. The former text was

6:50-8:52; 2 Cor 4:14-12:6.

washed off its pages in the twelfth century and many of the sheets were rewritten with the text of a Greek translation of 38 ascetic tracts of the Syrian church father Ephraim (fourth century). By using chemicals and working very industriously Tischendorf was able to read the original text of this palimpsest and publish an edition of it in 1843. Only 64 sheets of the Old Testament are preserved but 145 of the New Testament, that is roughly 5/8 of the New Testament. Even though the manuscript is from the fifth century, its text is not as important as one might assume because of its age. It seems to be a mixture of all the more important text types and agrees often with the Byzantine text which is viewed by most scholars as the most inferior type of the New Testament text. Two correctors have worked on the manuscript (C^2 or C^b and C^3 or C^c). The first lived presumably in the sixth century in Palestine and the second in the ninth century in Constantinople.

5. D 05 The Codex Bezae Cantabrigensis from the fifth or sixth century contains most of the four gospels and Acts and a small fragment of 3 Jn. The text is given in Greek on the left page and Latin on the right page. The order of the gospels in D is the so called Western order: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark (first the two apostles and then the disciples of apostles at the end). No known manuscript has so many and so strange deviations from what is usually considered as the normal New Testament text. One characteristic of the Codex Bezae is the free addition or the occasional elision of words, sentences or whole scenes. The type of text is a Western type.
6. D^p 06 The Codex Claromontanus from the sixth century con-

tains only the letters of Paul (including Hebrews). The text is given in Greek on the left page and Latin on the right page as in the Codex Bezae. At least nine correctors have worked on the manuscript. The fourth of them has added spiritus and accents in the ninth century. The type of text is a Western type as in Codex Bezae.

7. W 032 The Codex Washingtonianus is one of the more important uncials that have been discovered in the 20th century. It is from the late fourth or early fifth century and contains the four gospels in the so called Western order (Mt, Jn, Lk, Mk). It had been acquired in 1906 by C. L. Freer from Detroit and is now kept in Washington. The text type is peculiarly mixed as if the text had been copied from different text families. In Matthew and in Lk 8:13-24:53 the text is like the common Byzantine text type; in Mk 1:1-5:30 it is Western and similar to the Vetus Latina (the old Latin translation); Mk 5:31-16:20 is Caesarean and related to \mathfrak{P}^{45} ; Lk 1:1-8:12 and Jn 5:12-21:25 are Alexandrian. The text of Jn 1:9-5:11 fills a quire which has been added in the seventh century, perhaps to supplant a damaged quire; it is a mixed text of Alexandrian character with some Western variants.

Important minuscule manuscripts. The following minuscule manuscripts are of special importance.⁴² In some cases scholars have discovered "family-relations" between certain manuscripts which seem to belong to one tradition.

1. \mathfrak{M} or Byz "Majority text, including the Byzantine Koine

42. For the minuscules see Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 61-66 and Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 704-714.

text, indicates readings supported by the majority of all manuscripts, i.e., always including manuscripts of the Koine type in the narrow sense."⁴³

43. So Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 55*. On p. 714 we are told that these minuscules belong to the Majority text: "2, 3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 23-25, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 44-47, 49, 50, 52-55, 57, 58, 60, 63, 65, 66, 68, 70, 73-78, 80, 82-84, 89, 90, 92, 95, 97-100, 105, 107-112, 116, 119-123, 125, 127-129, 132-134, 136-144, 146-148, 150, 151, 155, 167, 170, 171, 177, 183, 185-187, 190, 192-204, 207, 208, 210, 212, 214, 215, 217, 219-221, 223, 224, 226, 227, 231, 232, 235, 236, 240, 244-248, 250, 259-262, 264, 266, 267, 269, 272, 275-278, 280, 282-292, 300, 302, 304, 306, 308, 309, 313, 314, 316, 319, 320, 324, 325, 327-329, 331, 334, 337, 342, 344, 347, 351-362, 364, 366-369, 373-376, 379, 381, 384-386, 388, 390, 392-396, 399, 401, 402, 404, 405, 407-415, 418, 419, 422, 425, 426, 432, 438, 439, 443, 450, 452, 454, 457, 458, 461, 465, 466, 469, 476, 480, 491, 496, 498, 506, 507, 509-512, 514, 516, 518-521, 523-526, 528, 529, 531-535, 538, 540, 541, 546-551, 553, 554, 556, 558-560, 564, 568, 570, 571, 573, 575, 577, 578, 580, 583-588, 592-594, 596, 597, 600-604, 607, 616, 618, 620, 622, 624-628, 632-634, 637-640, 644, 645, 648-651, 655-657, 662-664, 666, 668, 669, 672-674, 677, 680, 684-686, 688-692, 694, 696, 698, 699, 705, 707, 708, 711, 714, 715, 717, 718, 721, 724, 725, 734, 736, 737, 739, 741, 745, 746, 748, 750, 754-757, 770, 794, 798, 801, 802, 824, 825, 831, 836, 839-841, 843-846, 848, 852, 853, 857, 862, 864, 866-868, 870, 877, 880, 884, 887, 890, 893, 894, 896, 901, 910, 911, 914, 916, 919-922, 928, 936-938, 942-944, 950, 951, 959, 962, 967, 970, 977, 980, 991, 993, 994, 1013, 1016, 1023, 1028, 1030, 1031, 1045, 1069, 1070, 1072-1078, 1080, 1094, 1099-1101, 1103-1105, 1107, 1110, 1112, 1119, 1121, 1129, 1148-1150, 1161, 1170, 1185, 1186, 1189-1191, 1193, 1196, 1198-1200, 1202, 1203, 1205-1209, 1211-1215, 1217, 1218, 1220-1227, 1231-1236, 1238, 1240, 1244, 1247-1250, 1254, 1255, 1260, 1264, 1277, 1283, 1285, 1300, 1309, 1310, 1312, 1314, 1316, 1320, 1323, 1324, 1328, 1330, 1331, 1334, 1339-1341, 1343, 1345, 1347, 1350-1352, 1356, 1360, 1370, 1374, 1392, 1395, 1400, 1417, 1437, 1438, 1444, 1445, 1447, 1449, 1452, 1470, 1476, 1482, 1483, 1492, 1503, 1504, 1508, 1513-1517, 1520, 1521, 1539, 1540, 1543, 1545, 1547, 1548, 1556, 1566, 1570, 1572, 1577, 1583, 1594, 1597, 1604, 1605, 1607, 1613, 1614, 1617-1619, 1622, 1626, 1628, 1636, 1637, 1649, 1656, 1662, 1668,

2. f¹ The minuscule manuscripts 1, 118, 131, and 209 are counted as family 1.⁴⁴ All these manuscripts come from the 12th to 14th centuries. Textual analysis of the Gospel according to Mark has shown that the text type of these minuscules often agrees with Codex Θ and seems to go back to the text type which was spread in Caesarea in the third and fourth centuries.
3. f¹³ The minuscule manuscripts 13, 69, 124, 174, 230, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689, 1709 and others are counted as family 13.⁴⁵ All these manuscripts come from

1672, 1673, 1683, 1693, 1701, 1714, 1717, 1720, 1723, 1725-1728, 1730-1734, 1736-1738, 1740-1743, 1745-1750, 1752, 1754-1757, 1759, 1761-1763, 1767, 1768, 1770-1772, 1800, 1821, 1826, 1828, 1829, 1835, 1847, 1849, 1851, 1855, 1856, 1858-1862, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1878-1880, 1882, 1883, 1888, 1889, 1897, 1899, 1902, 1905-1907, 1911, 1914-1934, 1936-1938, 1941, 1946, 1948, 1951, 1952, 1954-1958, 1967, 1968, 1970-1972, 1974, 1975, 1978-1982, 1986, 1988, 1992, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2007, 2009, 2013, 2085, 2096, 2098, 2111, 2119, 2125, 2126, 2132, 2133, 2135, 2139-2142, 2144, 2160, 2172, 2173, 2175-2178, 2181, 2183, 2187, 2189, 2191, 2199, 2218, 2221, 2236, 2261, 2266, 2267, 2273, 2275, 2277, 2281, 2289, 2295, 2300, 2303, 2306, 2307, 2309-2311, 2352, 2353, 2355, 2356, 2373, 2376, 2380-2382, 2386, 2389, 2390, 2423-2425, 2431, 2441, 2447, 2450, 2466, 2468, 2475, 2479, 2484, 2490, 2491, 2496, 2499-2503, 2507, 2532, 2534, 2536, 2540, 2545, 2547, 2549, 2552, 2554, 2558, 2572, 2573, 2578, 2579, 2581, 2584, 2587, 2593, 2600, 2619, 2626, 2627, 2629, 2631, 2639, 2657, 2666, 2668, 2671, 2675, 2690, 2691, 2696, 2698-2700, 2704, 2711, 2712, 2716, 2723, 2746, 2761, 2784, 2785, 2815, 2817, 2829" and many others.

44. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 61. According to Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 713 family 1 consists of 1, 118, 131, 209, 1582 and others.

45. According to *ibid.*, p. 713. See also Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 61.

the 11th to 15th centuries and go back to an archetype which originated either in Calabria or Sicily. One of the most noteworthy characteristics of these manuscripts is that they have the section of the adulterous woman (Jn 7:53-8:11) not in the fourth gospel but after Lk 21:38. Like f^l this family is also related to the Caesarean text type.

2. Ancient Versions of the New Testament.

The earliest versions⁴⁶ were done by missionaries and church workers to spread the Gospel in Syriac (see ??), Latin (see ??), Coptic (see ??), Gothic⁴⁷, and Armenian (see ??). With regard to textual criticism they can be helpful if used with care. Here are some sigla used in Nestle-Aland.⁴⁸

46. For the ancient versions of the New Testament see Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 67-86.

47. About 350 C.E. Ulfilas or Wulfila translated the Bible into Gothic after having created the Gothic alphabet for this.

48. Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 63*-72*.

| | | | |
|------------------|--|-------------------|--|
| latt | entire Latin tradition | sy | all Syriac versions |
| lat(t) | entire Latin tradition with few exceptions | sy ^s | Syrus Sinaiticus |
| lat | Vulgata and a part of Old Latin tradition | sy ^c | Syrus Curetonianus |
| it | all or majority of Old Latin witnesses | sy ^p | Peshitta |
| a.b.c. | Individual Old Latin manuscripts | sy ^h | Harklensis |
| vg | Vulgata | sy ^{hmg} | A marginal reading of the Harklensis |
| vg ^s | Vulgata Sixtina 1590 | sy ^{h**} | Readings of the Harklean text enclosed by critical signs |
| vg ^{cl} | Vulgata Clementina 1592 | sy ^{ph} | Philoxeniana |
| vg st | Vulgata (Stuttgart) 1994 | co | all Coptic versions |
| vg ^{ww} | Vulgata Wordsworth-White-Sparks | sa | Sahidic |
| aeth | Ethiopic | ac | Akhmimic |
| arm | Armenian | ac ² | Subakhmimic |
| geo | Georgian | mae | Middle Egyptian (= Mesokemic) |
| slav | Old Church Slavonic | mf | Middle Egyptian Fayyumic |
| got | Gothic | pbo | Proto-Bohairic |
| | | bo | Bohairic |

3. New Testament quotations in the Church Fathers.

According to Metzger the quotations from the New Testament in the writings of the early Church Fathers are very numerous:⁴⁹

Indeed, so extensive are these citations that if all other sources for our knowledge of the text of the New Testament were destroyed, they would be sufficient alone for the reconstruction of practically the entire New Testament.

49. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 86.

Sometimes it is difficult to recognize whether it is a quotation or a more liberal use according to the sense of a section. Here is a list of more important writers of the first centuries whose books contain numerous quotations from the New Testament.⁵⁰

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Ambrose of Milan | †397 | Hippolytus of Rome | †235 |
| Ambrosiaster | 366-384 | Irenaeus | †ca. 202 |
| Athanasius | †373 | Isidore of Pelusium | †435 |
| Augustine | †430 | Jerome | †419/420 |
| Chrysostom | †407 | Justin Martyr | †ca. 165 |
| Clement of Alexandria | †ca. 212 | Lucifer | †370/371 |
| Cyprian | †258 | Marcion | †150/160 |
| Cyrill of Alexandria | †444 | Origen | †253/254 |
| Didymus of Alexandria | †ca. 398 | Pelagius | 4th/5th cent. |
| Ephraim the Syrian | †373 | Primasius | †after 552 |
| Epiphanius of Salamis | †403 | Pseudo-Jerome | 5th/6th cent. |
| Eusebius of Caesarea | †339/340 | Rufinus of Aquileia | †410 |
| Gregory of Nazianzus | †389/390 | Tatian | ca. 170 |
| Gregory of Nyssa | †394 | Tertullian | †after 220 |
| Hilary | †367 | Theodor of Mopsuestia | †428 |

8.2.3 The pre-critical period: The origin and dominance of the *Textus Receptus*.

When we look at the history of New Testament textual criticism we can distinguish between a pre-critical period⁵¹ with the dominance of the *Textus Receptus* and modern textual criticism from Griesbach to the present.

From Ximenez and Erasmus to the brothers Elzevir.

When Johannes Gutenberg invented the printing press with a movable type in Europe in the middle of the 15th century, this brought

50. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 88-89.

51. This section is based on *ibid.*, p. 95-118.

a big change in book production and especially in the spreading of the Bible. The first great project of Gutenberg's printing press was the printing of the Vulgata between 1450 and 1456. The first complete Hebrew Bible was printed in 1488 at Soncino in the Italian region of Lombardy. The first printed edition of the Greek New Testament was part of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible by Cardinal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros (1437-1517), printed in 1514, but not published until 1522.

Desiderius Erasmus (1469–1536) was the first who published a printed New Testament in Greek (1516) which was printed by the publisher Froben in Basel. The printing of 1000 pages started on October 2, 1515 and was completed very quickly on March 1, 1516. Because of the great haste in the production there were hundreds of printing errors in it.

Because Erasmus could not find any manuscript with the whole of the New Testament, he used different manuscripts for the different parts of it. For most of the text he trusted two quite inferior manuscripts from the University library of Basel, one for the gospels and the other for Acts and the epistles, both from about the 12th century. For Revelation he only had one manuscript which he had borrowed from his friend Johann Reuchlin. The last sheet of this manuscript was missing that had contained the last six verses of Revelation. For these six verses Erasmus followed the Vulgata and translated it back into Greek. In some places of this manuscript the text of Revelation was so mixed up with the added commentary that it was not possible to distinguish both. Here as well Erasmus followed the Vulgata and translated it back into Greek.

In these sections Erasmus has created variants which can not be found in any other known Greek manuscript. But because the so-called Textus Receptus (=TR; "Received Text" TR) was born out of this work of Erasmus, these variants are still printed with the Textus

Receptus. Not only in Revelation but also in other parts of the New Testament Erasmus brought material into the Greek text which he had taken from the Vulgata and which consequently became part of the Textus Receptus out of which the King James Version of 1611 was translated.

The first edition of the Greek New Testament of Erasmus was sold and then the second edition, both within three years, all in all 3300 copies. The second edition became the source for Luther's translation of the New Testament into German.

His third edition was published in 1522 with the Comma Johanneum. This is an addition in 1 John 5:7-8 which at the time of Erasmus was part of the Vulgata and only available in one Greek manuscript when he included this in his third edition (KJV):

7 ... in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy
Ghost: and these three are one. 8. And there are three
that bear witness in earth...

In a footnote Erasmus himself writes that he had the suspicion that this one manuscript had only been produced recently. He said that if there was only one Greek manuscript with these words, he would publish them in his next edition.⁵²

The fourth edition of Erasmus was published in 1527. It contained the text of the New Testament in three parallel columns, the Greek, the Vulgata and his own Latin translation. In this fourth edition Erasmus used the Greek New Testament text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible by Ximenez to correct his own Greek text because he had realized that this was text-critically better. Therefore in his fourth edition Erasmus changed the Greek text in 90

52. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 101.

places in Revelation according to the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. In a fifth edition in 1535 Erasmus dropped the text of the Vulgata, but the Greek text was almost without differences to the fourth edition.

The Greek text of Erasmus was not as good as the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible which was prepared from 1502 to 1514, but it was published earlier and in a cheaper and more convenient edition. Therefore it spread much more and had a greater influence than the competition.

The Greek text of Erasmus had also an influence on the editions of Robert Estienne's (in Latin: Stephanus) four editions (1546, 1549, 1550 in Paris; 1551 in Geneva). The third edition of Stephanus was the first Greek New Testament with critical apparatus. This third edition became for many people, especially in England, the standard edition of the Greek New Testament. The fourth edition of Stephanus, which had the Greek text with the Vulgata and the translation of Erasmus, became important because it was the first time that the New Testament was printed with verses numbered consecutively.

Theodore Beza (1519-1605), friend and successor of Calvin in Geneva, published nine editions of the New Testament between 1565 and 1604. Four of these are independent editions (1565, 1582, 1588/89 and 1598), the others are only reprints in a smaller size. The editions have explanations, their own Latin translation and the Vulgata together with the Greek text. Beza had access to some more Greek manuscripts, for example to Codex Bezae (see item 5) and Codex Claromontanus (see item 6), but he did not consult them much because they were too different from what was considered the standard text of his time. His Greek text does not differ much from the fourth edition of Stephanus from 1551. The work of Beza was important because his editions had the tendency to fix the textus

receptus and to spread it. The translators of the King James Version of 1611 used Beza's editions of 1588/89 and 1598 extensively.

The two Dutch brothers Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevir published in 1624 in Leiden a small and handy edition of the Greek New Testament whose text was mainly based on Beza's edition of 1565. The preface to their second edition of 1633 boasts:

Therefore you have the text which is now received
(=acknowledged) by all: in which we present nothing
which is changed or corrupted.⁵³

The Latin "received text" has only to be changed from the accusative (textum receptum) to the nominative case (textus receptus) to give you the famous name "Textus Receptus" (TR) under which it has been known since.

The TR became not only the Greek source for the King James version of 1611 but for most of the important Protestant Bible translations in Europe until 1881. It was so respected as the standard text that any criticism of it was almost viewed as blasphemy. But we have to remember that the textual source of the TR was only a handful of not so important minuscule manuscripts. In ten places the TR presents variants which are not supported by any known Greek witness.

The collection of variant readings.

Metzger states about the following time:⁵⁴

53. The English translation was done by E. Lanz. The Latin original text is given in a footnote by Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 106: Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum: in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus.

54. *ibid.*, 106. This section is based on his pages 106-118.

The next stage in the history of New Testament textual criticism is characterized by assiduous efforts to assemble variant readings from Greek manuscripts, versions, and Fathers. For almost two centuries scholars ransacked libraries and museums, in Europe as well as the Near East, for witnesses to the text of the New Testament. But almost all of the editors of the New Testament during this period were content to re-print the time-honoured but corrupt *Textus Receptus*, relegating the evidence for the earlier readings to the apparatus. An occasional brave soul who ventured to print a different form of Greek text was either condemned or ignored.

The first systematic collection of variants was presented by the Polyglot Bible of Brian Walton (1600-1661) which was published from 1655-1657 in six great folios in London. The fifth volume contained the New Testament in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic and (in the gospels) Persian. The Greek text is the text of Stephanus from 1550 with a few slight changes. At the bottom of the page variants from the Codex Alexandrinus were given which Cyril Loucaris, the Patriarch of Constantinople, had presented to king Charles I of England in 1627. In the sixth volume of the Polyglot, in the appendix, Walton presented also a critical apparatus done by Archbishop Ussher with variants from 15 other authorities to which the marginal variants of Stephanus were also added.

John Mill (1645-1707) published his epoch-making edition of the Greek New Testament two weeks before his own death in 1707 after having worked for 30 years on textual critical issues. He had collected evidence from all Greek manuscripts, early translations and church fathers on which he could lay his hands. He wrote valu-

able prolegomena to his edition in which he talked about the canon of the New Testament, the transmission of the New Testament text and described 32 printed editions of the Greek New Testament and almost 100 manuscripts. He presented about 30,000 variants in his edition. The Greek text which he printed as his main text was the 1550 text of Stephanus.

The mathematician Edward Wells (1667-1727) published his edition of the Greek New Testament from 1709-1719 in ten parts. Wells deviated in 210 places from the TR and this almost always in agreement with the text critical editions of the 19th century. Even though his edition was ignored in his own time, history has to give him the honor of having been the first to reject the TR in favor of older manuscripts.

In 1729 Daniel Mace anonymously published his "The New Testament in Greek and English". He had selected those variants out of Mill's apparatus which he thought were superior to the TR. With regard to many of his changes he anticipated the opinions of later scholars.

With Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752) we come to a new chapter of the history of New Testament textual criticism. When he was studying theology in Tübingen, Germany, his pietist faith in the inspiration of the Bible was shaken by the 30,000 variants of Mill's edition. He decided therefore to commit himself to the study of textual criticism. With enormous energy and persistence he obtained all editions, manuscripts and early translations he could get. After extensive studies he came to the conclusion that the variants were less in number than expected and that they would not shake a single article of the evangelical doctrine.

In his "Prodromus" (Forerunner, 1725)⁵⁵ for his planned edi-

55. "Prodromus Novi Testamenti Graeci recte cauteque ordinandi" pub-

tion of the New Testament, Bengel proposed sound principles for textual criticism. Textual witnesses cannot just be counted but have to be weighed according to their value. They have to be ordered according to "groups, families, tribes and nations". Consequently he was the first to distinguish two big groups or "nations": The "Asian" which originated in Constantinople and surroundings and which includes the newer manuscripts and the "African" which he subdivided into two tribes, which have their respective main representatives in the Codex Alexandrinus on the one hand and in the Vetus Latina on the other. To distinguish the variants Bengel coined a rule which has been approved by all later textual critics in one form or other:

Formulated in Bengel's pithy Latin it is, *proclivi scriptiōni praestat ardua* ('the difficult is to be preferred to the easy reading').⁵⁶

In 1734 Bengel published an edition of the Greek New Testament with critical apparatus. The main text is still the TR. But in the lower margin of the page he inserted a selection of variants. Bengel gives his opinion about the value of the different variants with Greek letters:

α original reading
 β a reading better than that in the TR
 γ a reading equal to the TR
 δ readings inferior to the TR
 ε a very inferior reading that has to be rejected

lished in Johann Albrecht Bengel, Chrysostomus, *De Sacerdotio libri VI* (Denkendorf, 1725). See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 112.

56. *ibid.*, p. 112.

Even though Bengel was a man whose personal piety and practiced charity was well known and whose orthodoxy was acknowledged, he was treated as if he were an enemy of the Holy Scriptures. In answer to the accusations Bengel published a "Defence" (*defensio*) of the Greek Text of his New Testament.

Johann Jakob Wettstein (1693-1754) published his edition of the Greek New Testament in two volumes in Amsterdam in 1751-52, a result of 40 years of research. The main text printed was the TR, but in the margin Wettstein presented the variants which he thought to be the right ones. In an appendix⁵⁷ he gives a lot of good advice, for example that

manuscripts must be evaluated by their weight,
not by their number⁵⁸

Weinstein's critical apparatus was the first in which Latin capital letters were sigla for the uncials and Arabic numbers were sigla for the minuscules including the lectionaries.

8.2.4 **The modern critical period: from Griesbach to the present**

The beginnings of scientific textual criticism of the New Testament

are related to Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745-1812) who was New Testament professor at the University of Jena from 1775 until his

57. The title of the appendix is "Animadversiones et cautiones ad examen Variarum Lectionum N.T. necessariae" according to Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 114.

58. Translation Metzger. The Latin original is: "codices autem pondere, non numero estimandi sunt", see *ibid.*, p. 114.

death.⁵⁹ He distinguished three groups of texts: the Alexandrian, the Western and the Byzantine Recension. Griesbach saw Origen as representative of an Alexandrian recension, Codex D and the Latin translations as representatives of a Western recension, and Codex Alexandrinus and the uncials as representatives of a Byzantine recension. Griesbach was the first scholar in Germany who dared to deviate from the TR in many places. His most important editions of the Greek New Testament were printed in Halle in 1775-77, in Halle and London in 1796-1806, and in Leipzig in 1803-1807.

The end of the dominance of the *Textus Receptus*.

The German scholar Karl Lachmann (1793-1851) was the first major editor to break from the *Textus Receptus*. He was professor of classical and German philology at the Humboldt University, Berlin. In his edition of the Greek New Testament published in 1831 in Berlin he did not try to restore the original text which he deemed impossible, but to present the text which was in use in Eastern Christianity about 380 C.E.

The man who has done most for the modern textual criticism of the New Testament is without doubt Lobegott Friedrich Konstantin von Tischendorf (1815-1874) who discovered and published more manuscripts than any other scholar. Between 1841 and 1872 he published 8 editions of the Greek New Testament and 22 volumes with texts of biblical manuscripts. Having studied theology in Leipzig from 1834-1838 he committed himself to the restoration of the original form of the New Testament text. He visited libraries all over Europe and in the near East where he looked for old manuscripts and checked them. The most important of his editions

59. This section is based on *ibid.*, p. 119-146.

of the Greek New Testament is the eighth which was published in Leipzig in two volumes (1869-1872). With regard to this eighth edition Tischendorf was criticized that he had given too much importance to the Codex Sinaiticus which he had discovered between the seventh and eighth edition.

In England it was Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (1813-1875) who had the greatest success in leading the British away from their preference for the TR. His important edition of the Greek New Testament was published in six parts in London from 1857-1872. He saw his lifelong work for the Greek Text of the New Testament as an act of worshiping and serving God.

The year 1881 saw the publication of the most important edition which ever was done by British scholarship. Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901) and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828-1892) published their two volumes "The New Testament in the Original Greek". The first volume contains the Greek text, the second an "Introduction and Appendix" in which textual critical principles are explained. The two scholars had worked from 1853 to 1881 on this edition. They distinguish four text types: the Syrian (its latest form is the TR), the Western (e.g. Codex D), the Alexandrian (e.g. Codex C and L) and the "neutral" type (e.g. Codex B and Codex Sinaiticus). According to Westcott and Hort the first type is the least original and the last type the most valuable. This meant a total break with the *textus receptus*.

The approach of the German scholar Bernhard Weiss (1827-1918) was different from Westcott and Hort, but he came to similar conclusions. He also saw the Codex Vaticanus as the most important witness for the Greek New Testament text.

Hermann Freiherr von Soden (1852-1914) published a great

work about the Greek New Testament in the years 1902-13.⁶⁰ Von Soden's work is very intensive and thorough, but it became a kind of magnificent failure. He created a totally new system for the sigla of the manuscripts that was so complicated that it was not accepted by others.

The most widely used pocket edition of the Greek New Testament is the one done by Eberhard Nestle (1851-1913) for the Württembergische Bibelanstalt in Stuttgart.⁶¹ Since the third edition of 1901, Nestle followed the simple principle that he compared the three editions of the Greek New Testament from Tischendorf, Westcott/Hort, and Weiss. Wherever two of the three agreed, Nestle printed their text. Since the 17th edition some variants have been accepted into the main text against the majority of the three above named editions because in the case of these variants many scholars agreed that they have a claim to be the more original readings.⁶²

8.2.5 The origins of textual criticism as a scholarly discipline.

As it is the case with many other areas of Western science, textual criticism as a scholarly discipline can be traced back to the

60. Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments, in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt / hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte I Untersuchungen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1902-1910); Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments, in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt / hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte II Text mit Apparat*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1913).

61. Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 1st ed. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1898); E. Nestle and K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 2012).

62. See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 144.

Greeks.⁶³ One of the librarians of the famous library of Alexandria in Egypt, Zenodotus of Ephesus (about 325-234 B.C.), compared many manuscripts to restore the original text of the Iliad and the Odyssey of Homer shortly before 274 B.C.. In his critical edition of Homer he deleted doubtful lines, transposed others and made emendations.

The Hexapla of Origen is an example for an early textual critical work on the Old Testament. It gave a "sixfold" Old Testament 1. in Hebrew, 2. in Hebrew transliterated into Greek characters, 3. according to Aquila, 4. Symmachus, 5. LXX, and 6. Theodotion.⁶⁴ In his commentary on Matthew 15:14 about Mt 19:16ff Origen states that certain differences between the manuscripts of the gospels came into existence, either by the negligence of some writers, or by the audacious boldness of others, because some did not correct the copied manuscript according to the original, or while they corrected they left things out or added others according to what seemed best to them.

According to modern standards Jerome (about 345-420) was a more sharp-witted textual critic than Origen. For example Jerome mentions the possible confusion of similar looking letters and of abbreviations, the phenomenon of haplography and dittography, the switching of letters and also the possible intentional corrections through scribes.⁶⁵

In writing about the mentioning of Jeremiah in Mt 27:9 which was not included in some manuscripts of his time Augustine (354-430) argues that he understood in this case that more difficult vari-

63. This section is based on Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 149-155.

64. See E. Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments*, edition no. 4 (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1973), 230 pp, p. 58.

65. See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 153.

ant is the more original one.⁶⁶

8.2.6 Modern methods of textual criticism.

The classical method of textual criticism

which has been generally practiced by editors of classical Greek and Latin texts involves two main processes, recension and emendation. Recension is the selection, after examination of all available material, of the most trustworthy evidence on which to base a text. Emendation is the attempt to eliminate the errors which are found even in the best manuscripts.⁶⁷

The application of critical methods in the editing of classical texts was developed principally by three German scholars, Friedrich Wolf (1749-1824), Immanuel Becker (1785-1871), and Karl Lachmann (1793-1851). Lachmann used a "genealogical method" in analyzing the manuscripts: If certain manuscripts agree with regard to certain variants they probably have a common ancestor and it might be possible to reconstruct a family tree.

Often, however, difficulties hinder the construction of a family tree of manuscripts. A disturbing element enters when a mixture has occurred, that is, when a copyist has had two or more manuscripts before him and has followed sometimes one, sometimes the other. To the extent that manuscripts have a "mixed" ancestry, the genealogical relations among them become progressively more complex and obscure to the investigator.

66. Schaff, NPNF1-06. St. Augustin: Sermon on the Mount; Harmony of the Gospels; Homilies on the Gospels, p. 288-289.

67. This section is based on Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 156-185.

A theory of local texts

in the transmission of the New Testament was developed by B. H. Streeter in his "The Four Gospels, a Study of Origins".⁶⁸ Building upon the classical work of Westcott and Hort, Streeter sees Antioch, Rome and Alexandria as centers of local text groups representing three text types (Eastern, Western, Alexandrian). "Alexandrian" is Streeter's name for his combination of the "neutral" text type of Westcott-Hort and their "Alexandrian type". In addition to this Caesarea is viewed as a center of a fourth text type especially for the gospels. Variants which are later than the fifth century can be ignored if they do not deviate from the dominant Byzantine text type⁶⁹ which according to Streeter was a harmonized mixed text type of the text groups going back to the fourth century and was a forerunner of the later TR.

The evaluation of variants only according to internal evidence

(the style of the author, the immediate context etc.) while neglecting the external evidence (date and geographical distribution of the witnesses) is according to Metzger not acceptable. Both internal evidence and external evidence have to be taken into account.⁷⁰

Methods to discern family relationships

between manuscripts are very difficult and imply a lot of work.⁷¹

68. Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Four Gospels, a Study of Origins* (1924)

69. Streeter's name for the Syrian text type of Westcott-Hort. See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 170.

70. See *ibid.*, p. 175-179.

71. See *ibid.*, p. 179-181.

A conjecture,

as a conjectural emendation, tries to reconstruct the original reading of a clearly corrupt or illegible textual fragment. It is only permissible if there is no other way to reconstruct the original reading. It must have an intrinsic probability and must be capable of explaining the origin of the alleged corrupt reading.⁷²

8.2.7 The causes of error in the transmission of the text of the New Testament.**Unintentional Changes.**

Almost all unintentional changes which we have seen for the Old Testament are also important in the area of New Testament textual criticisms: confusion of similar looking letters, transposition of letters, haplography, dittography, homoioteleuton, homoioarkton, confusion with regard to abbreviations⁷³ (see ??). In addition to those errors there is also the category of hearing errors for the New Testament when copies were made in a scriptorium with one reading aloud and the others writing the text down from hearing it. For example the Greek personal pronouns for "you" and "we" could be thus confused.

Intentional changes.

It might sound strange but some more thoughtful scribes were more in danger of changing the given text than others who only wanted to faithfully copy what was before them.⁷⁴ Most of these changes

72. See *ibid.*, p. 182-185.

73. See *ibid.*, p. 186-195.

74. This section is based on *ibid.*, p. 195-206.

were done out of the good intentions of scribes who thought that they were correcting an error or an unfortunate expression which had crept into the Holy text.

1. Changes involving spelling and grammar. The book of Revelation contains many Semitisms and expressions which could be viewed as non-standard Greek. Consequently some copyists have "corrected" the original phrases of some verses in some manuscripts (Rv 1:4; 1:6; 1:15; 2:20).
2. Harmonistic corruptions. Monks knew many Bible sections by heart. While copying texts they could be tempted to adjust one gospel passage to the other. The words written in John 19:20 "it was written in Hebrew, in Latin, and in Greek" have been added in many manuscripts in Lk 23:38.
3. Addition of natural complements and similar adjuncts. Some phrases were used so often together that they seemed to belong naturally together, for example "the chief priest" and "the scribes". If in some verse only one phrase is used, a copyist might erroneously add the other as well. When Jesus says in Mt 9:13, "For I came not to call the righteous, but sinners", some manuscripts added "to repentance", probably mentally taken from Luke 5:32.
4. Clearing up historical and geographical difficulties. In Mk 1:2-3 we find a combined quotation of first Mal 3:1 and then Is 40:3, but only the name Isaiah is given as a reference. Therefore some later manuscripts did not say "as it is written in Isaiah the prophet", but "as it is written in the prophets". This seems to have been a deliberate "correction" to remove an alleged error.

5. Conflation of Readings. "What would a conscientious scribe do when he found that the same passage was given differently in two or more manuscripts which he had before him? Rather than make a choice between them and copy only one of the two variant readings (with the attendant possibility of omitting the genuine reading), most scribes incorporated both readings in the new copy which they were transcribing. This produced what is called a conflation of readings, and is characteristic of the later, Byzantine type of text."⁷⁵ A good example for this is the end of Luke (24:53): Some old manuscripts said about the disciples that they were continually in the temple "blessing God"⁷⁶, other old manuscripts said that they were continually in the temple "praising God".⁷⁷ The result was that younger manuscripts combined both readings to they were continually in the temple "praising and blessing God".⁷⁸
6. Alterations made because of doctrinal considerations. In some manuscripts statements have been erased or changed which seemed to contain an unacceptable or difficult teaching. In other manuscripts words might have been added as "proof"

75. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 200.

76. εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεόν. According to K. Aland and B. Metzger, *The Greek New Testament, UBS*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1975), p. 319 this reading is found in \mathfrak{P}^{75} \aleph B C* L syr^{s,pal} cop^{sa,bo} geo.

77. αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεόν. According to *ibid.*, p. 319 this reading is found in D it^{a,b,d,e,ff2,l,r1} Augustine.

78. αἰνοῦντες καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεόν. According to *ibid.*, p. 319 this reading is found in A C² K W X Δ Θ Π Ψ 063 f¹ f¹³ 28 33 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect l^{185m} it^{aur, c, f, q} vg syr^{p,h} arm Diatessaron. The aeth has the two verbs the other way around. This would be in Greek: εὐλογοῦντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεόν.

for some doctrinal statement. An example for the last mentioned possible change is the addition of "and to the Holy Spirit" in some Latin manuscripts⁷⁹ after Luke's statement in Lk 1:3 "it seemed good to me" (compare Acts 15:28). A possible example for deleting a phrase for doctrinal reasons is found in some manuscripts which do not have "and the son" in Mt 24:36.⁸⁰

7. Addition of miscellaneous details. In some manuscripts details were added. For example a manuscript of a Syrian translation adds some names in the genealogy of Jesus in Mt 1:8 which can be found in 1 Chr 3:11-12 but which destroy the intended order of 14 generations of Matthew (Mt 1:17).⁸¹

8.2.8 The practice of New Testament textual criticism.

Basic criteria for the evaluation of variant readings.

The most basic criterion : "... choose the reading which best explains the origin of the others."⁸²

The external evidence.

1. The date of the witness is important or, rather, the date of the type of text to which this witness belongs.

79. et spiritui sancto b q vg^{mss}; see Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 150.

80. According to Aland and Metzger, *The Greek New Testament*, UBS these e.g. do not have it: \aleph^a K L W Δ Π Γ^d and others. While these have "and the son": \aleph^{*b} B D Θ Γ^{13} and others.

81. Sy^c according to Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 1. See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 203.

82. *ibid.*, p. 207; this section is based on p. 207-211.

2. One should also look into the geographical distribution of the witnesses that agree in supporting a variant.
3. With regard to the genealogical relationship of texts and families of witnesses it has to be emphasized that witnesses should be weighed rather than counted.

The internal evidence involves two kinds of probabilities: transcriptional and intrinsic.

1. Transcriptional Probabilities depend upon considerations of palaeographical details and the habits of scribes.
 - (a) In general the more difficult reading is to be preferred because the scribe had the tendency to make easier what seemed difficult to him.
 - (b) In general the shorter reading is to be preferred. BUT this rule should not be followed:
 - i. if a homoioteleuton could be the cause of the shorter version,
 - ii. if the scribe dropped material as superfluous or awkward or going against pious faith, liturgical or ascetic practice.
 - (c) That reading is to be preferred which stands in verbal dissidence with the other because scribes had the tendency for harmonization of parallel texts.
 - (d) Scribes sometimes used:
 - i. to exchange an unfamiliar word with a familiar synonym,
 - ii. to make a grammatically less elegant expression more elegant according to atticistic tendencies,

- iii. to insert pronouns, conjunctions or expletive words to make the text smoother.
- 2. Intrinsic Probabilities depend upon considerations of what the author was more likely to have written, taking into account:
 - (a) the style and vocabulary of the author throughout the book,
 - (b) the immediate context,
 - (c) harmony with the usage of the author elsewhere, and, in the Gospels:
 - (d) the Aramaic background of the teaching of Jesus,
 - (e) the priority of the Gospel according to Mark,⁸³
 - (f) the influence of the Christian community upon the formulation and transmission of the passage in question.

The process of evaluating variant readings.

Make a list of the different variant readings.⁸⁴

The external evidence has to be considered first.

1. Variant readings which have an early witness should be preferred.

83. This is what Metzger says. But good arguments can be brought in favor of a priority of the Gospel according to Matthew.

84. This section is based on Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 211-219.

2. If a reading is only attested by Byzantine (or "Koine") witnesses, then it is generally probably not original, because the Koine text is based on a recension of earlier text types.
3. Koine or Byzantine witnesses:⁸⁵
 - (a) Gospels: A E F G H K P S V W (in Mt and Lk 8:13-24:53) Π Ψ (partially in Luke and John) Ω and most minuscules.
 - (b) Acts: H L P 049 and most minuscules.
 - (c) Epistles: L 049 and most minuscules.
 - (d) Revelation: 046 051 052 and most minuscules.
4. Western witnesses:
 - (a) Gospels: D W (in Mk 1:1 to 5:30) 0171, the Old Latin, (syr^s and syr^c in part), early Latin Fathers, Tatian's Diatessaron.
 - (b) Acts: **ⲡ**²⁹ **ⲡ**³⁸ **ⲡ**⁴⁸ D E 383 614 1739 syr^{hmg} syr^{palms} cop^{G67} early Latin Fathers, Ephraem.
 - (c) Epistles: the Greek-Latin bilinguals D F G, Greek Fathers to the end of the third century, Old Latin mss. and early Latin Fathers, Syrian Fathers to about A.D. 450.
 - (d) For Revelation no specifically Western witnesses have been identified.

85. For the lists of the Alexandrian, Western, Caesarean and Byzantine witnesses we follow here Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, p. xxix-xxx.

5. Caesarean witnesses

"The classification of Caesarean witnesses into pre-Caesarean and Caesarean proper has been most fully explored in the text of the Gospel of Mark... Very little research has been undertaken in identifying the Caesarean text (if there is such a text) in the other books of the New Testament."⁸⁶

- (a) Pre-Caesarean: \mathfrak{P}^{45} W (in Mk 5:31 to 16:20) $f^1 f^{13}$ 28.
- (b) Caesarean proper: Θ 565 700 arm geo Origen (in part), Eusebius, Cyril-Jerusalem.

6. Alexandrian witnesses

- (a) Proto-Alexandrian: \mathfrak{P}^{45} (in Acts) \mathfrak{P}^{46} \mathfrak{P}^{66} \mathfrak{P}^{75} \aleph B Sahidic (in part), Clement of Alexandria, Origen (in part), and most of the papyrus fragments with Pauline text.
- (b) Later Alexandrian:
 - i. Gospels: (C)⁸⁷ L T W (in Lk 1:1 to 8:12 and John) (X) Z Δ (in Mark) Ξ Ψ (in Mark; partially in Luke and John) 33 579 892 1241 Bohairic.
 - ii. Acts: \mathfrak{P}^{50} A (C) Ψ 33 81 104 326.
 - iii. Pauline Epistles: A (C) H I Ψ 33 81 104 326 1739.
 - iv. Catholic Epistles: \mathfrak{P}^{20} \mathfrak{P}^{23} A (C) Ψ 33 81 104 326 1739.
 - v. Revelation: A (C) 1006 1611 1854 2053 2344; less good: \mathfrak{P}^{47} \aleph .

86. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, p. xxx.

87. "In this list parentheses indicate that the text of the manuscript thus designated is mixed in character." *ibid.*, p. xxix.

Then the internal evidence is taken into account.

1. Which variant reading is more difficult, that is, more difficult for the scribe?
2. Knowing the development of Christian doctrine and cultus is important for evaluating some variant readings.
3. If a text from the synoptic gospels is under discussion, the parallel texts have to be looked at. Because of the tendency for harmonization the variant which is different from the parallel text is the more difficult reading.
4. In quotations from the Old Testament the LXX has to be consulted. The reading which deviates from the LXX is the more difficult one.
5. Is it possible that one of the variants can be traced back to a scribal error? Here a good knowledge of majuscules and minuscules is helpful.

Metzger gives a good summary of his special experience using the above given principles:

"In course of time the student will observe that generally the reading which is supported by a combination of Alexandrian and Western witnesses is superior to any other reading. There is, however, an exception to this observation; in the Pauline Epistles the combination of B D G is ordinarily not of great weight. The reason for this is that though B is purely Alexandrian in the Gospels, in the Pauline Epistles it has a certain Western element. Hence the combination of B plus one or more Western witnesses in Paul may mean only the addition of one Western witness to others of the same class. The combination of Western and Caesarean witnesses does not usually

possess exceptional weight, for the Caesarean text was probably formed from a base which had Western affiliations."⁸⁸

88. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 218.

Appendix A

The Hebrew Alphabet

| Name | Letter | Transcription | IPA Pronunciation |
|-------|--------|---------------|-------------------|
| 'āleṗ | א | ' | [ʔ] or Ø |
| bêṭ | ב | b | [b] |
| | בּ | b̥ | [v] |
| gîmel | ג | g | [g] |
| | גּ | g̥ | [g] |
| dāleṭ | ד | d | [d] |
| | דּ | d̥ | [ð] |
| hē | ה | h | [h] or Ø |
| wāw | ו | w | [w] |
| zayin | ז | z | [z] |
| ḥêṭ | ח | ḥ | [H] |
| ṭêṭ | ט | ṭ | [t] |

| | | | |
|-------|----|----------|----------|
| yōḏ | י | y | [j] or Ø |
| kaḇ | כ | k | [k] |
| | ך | <u>k</u> | [x] |
| lāmeḏ | ל | l | [l] |
| mēm | מ | m | [m] |
| nûn | נ | n | [n] |
| sāmek | ס | s | [s] |
| ‘ayin | ע | ‘ | [ʔ] |
| pēh | פ | p | [p] |
| | ף | <u>p</u> | [f] |
| ṣāḏēh | צ | ṣ | [ts] |
| qōḇ | ק | q | [q] |
| rēš | ר | r | [r] |
| śîn | ש | ś | [s] |
| šîn | שׁ | š | [ʃ] |
| tāw | ת | t | [t] |
| | תּ | <u>t</u> | [θ] |

| Vowel | Signs | | | |
|-------|-------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Name | simple | + m. l. | + m. l. ו | + m. l. |
| | | י y | w | ה h |
| paṭaḥ | ב ba | - | - | - |
| qāmeṣ | בּ bā or bo | בִּי bâ | - | בֵּה |

| | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|---------|---------|-------|
| ḥîreq | בִּי bi or bî | בִּי bî | - | - |
| ṣērê | בֵּי bē | בֵּי bē | - | בֵּהּ |
| səḡōl | בֶּי be | בֶּי bē | - | בֶּהּ |
| ḥôlem | בֹּי bō | - | בֹּי bō | בֹּהּ |
| qibbûṣ/šûreq | בּוּ bu qibbûṣ | - | בּוּ bū | - |
| | | | šûreq | |
| šəwā | בָּ bə | | | |
| ḥāṭēṭ paṭaḥ | חָ ḥă | | | |
| ḥāṭēṭ səḡōl | חֲ ḥě | | | |
| ḥāṭēṭ qāmeṣ | חֻ ḥō | | | |

Appendix B

The Greek Alphabet

| | | | | |
|---|---|----|---------|-------------|
| A | α | a | Alpha | Ἄλφα |
| B | β | b | Bēta | Βῆτα |
| Γ | γ | g | Gamma | Γάμμα |
| Δ | δ | d | Delta | Δέλτα |
| E | ε | ě | Epsílon | Ἔ ψιλόν |
| Z | ζ | z | Zēta | Ζῆτα |
| H | η | ē | Ēta | Ἡτα |
| Θ | θ | th | Thēta | Θῆτα |
| I | ι | i | Iōta | Ἰώτα |
| K | κ | k | Kappa | Κάππα |
| Λ | λ | l | Lambda | Λά(μ)βδα |
| M | μ | m | Mȳ | Μῠ |
| N | ν | n | Nȳ | Νῠ |
| Ξ | ξ | x | Xî | Ξι |
| O | ο | ō | Ōmikron | Ὄ
μικρόν |

| | | | | |
|---|-----|------|--------------|---------|
| Π | π | p | Pî | Πî |
| P | ρ | r | Rhō | Ῥō |
| Σ | σ,ς | s | Sîgma | Σîγμα |
| T | τ | t | Tau | Ταû |
| Υ | υ | y,u | Υpsilon | Υ ψιλόν |
| Φ | φ | ph | Phî | Φî |
| X | χ | ch | Chî | Xî |
| Ψ | ψ | ps | Psî | Ψî |
| Ω | ω | ō | Ōměga | Ὼ μέγα |
| Ἀ | ἄ | h(a) | Spiritus As- | |
| | | | per | |
| Ἄ | ἅ | (a) | Spiritus Le- | |
| | | | nis | |

Appendix C

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Chron. or 1 Chr | 1 Chronicles |
| 1 Cor. or 1 Cor | 1 Corinthians |
| 1 Esd. | 1 Esdras |
| 1 John or 1 Jn | 1 John (Epistle) |
| 1 Kings or 1 Kgs | 1 Kings |
| 1 Macc. or 1 Mc | 1 Maccabees |
| 1 Pet. or 1 Pt | 1 Peter |
| 1p | First person plural |
| 1 Sam. or 1 Sm | 1 Samuel |
| 1s | First person singular |
| 1 Thess. or 1 Thes | 1 Thessalonians |
| 1 Tim. or 1 Tm | 1 Timothy |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| 2 Chron. or 2 Chr | 2 Chronicles |
| 2 Cor. or 2 Cor | 2 Corinthians |
| 2 Esd. | 2 Esdras |
| 2 John or 2 Jn | 2 John (Epistle) |
| 2 Kings or 2 Kgs | 2 Kings |
| 2 Macc. or 2 Mc | 2 Maccabees |
| 2 Pet. or 2 Pt | 2 Peter |
| 2p | Second person plural |
| 2 Sam. or 2 Sm | 2 Samuel |
| 2s | Second person singular |
| 2 Thess. or 2 Thes | 2 Thessalonians |
| 2 Tim. or 2 Tm | 2 Timothy |
| 3 John or 3 Jn | 3 John (Epistle) |
| 3p | Third person plural |
| 3s | Third person singular |
| A. or Acc. | accusative case |
| abl. | ablative |
| Act. or Act | Active Voice |
| Acts | Acts of the Apostles |
| A.D. | anno domini, in the year of the
Lord |
| adj. | adjective |
| adv. | adverb |
| Amos or Am | Amos |

| | |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| anom. | anomalous |
| Aor. | Aorist |
| Apoc. | Apocrypha |
| Arab. | Arabic |
| ARV | American Revised Version |
| ASV | American Standard Version |
| AT | American Translation |
| AV | Authorized (King James) Version |
| Bar. or Bar | Baruch |
| B.C. | Before Christ |
| BHS | Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia |
| Caus. | Causal |
| c. | case |
| ca. | circa |
| cent. | century |
| C.E. | Christian Era |
| CEV | Contemporary English Version |
| cf. | confer, compare |
| ch. | chapter |
| Col. or Col | Colossians |
| Cond. | Conditional |
| conj. or conj | conjunction |
| cons. | consonant |
| Dan. or Dn | Daniel |

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| D. or Dat. | dative case |
| Decl. | Declension |
| Deut. or Dt | Deuteronomy |
| dimin. | diminutive |
| du. | dual number |
| DV | Douay Version |
| Eccles. or Eccl | Ecclesiastes |
| Ecclus. | Ecclesiasticus (= Sirach) |
| ed. | edition |
| e.g. | exempli gratia, 'for example' |
| Eph. or Eph | Ephesians |
| ERV | English Revised Version |
| esp. | especially |
| Esther or Est | Esther |
| ESV | English Standard Version |
| et al. | and others |
| etym. | etymology |
| EV | English version(s) |
| Exod. or Ex | Exodus |
| Ezek. or Ez | Ezekiel |
| Ezra or Ezr | Ezra |
| f. | feminine gender |
| fig. | figuratively |
| Fut. | Future |

| | |
|--------------|--|
| Gal. or Gal | Galatians |
| Gen. or Gn | Genesis |
| G. or genv | genitive case |
| Gk. | Greek |
| gov. | governing |
| Gr. | grammar |
| Hab. or Hb | Habakkuk |
| Hag. or Hg | Haggai |
| HB | Hebrew Bible |
| Heb. or Heb | Hebrews |
| Hosea or Hos | Hosea |
| ib. or ibid. | ibidem or 'in the same place or book or text' as the preceding |
| ident. | identical |
| id. | idem or 'the same meaning as that of a preceding word' |
| i.e. | id est, that is |
| impers. | impersonal or used impersonally |
| Impf. | imperfect |
| Impv. | imperative |
| ind. | indeclinable |
| indic. | indicative |
| Inf. | infinitive mood |
| instr. | instrumental |
| Intens. | Intensive |

| | |
|--------------|--|
| interj. | interjection |
| interpol. | interpolation |
| intrans. | intransitive (without accusative object) |
| Introd. | Introduction |
| IPA | International Phonetic Alphabet |
| irr. | irregular |
| Isa. or Is | Isaiah |
| James or Jas | James |
| JB | Jerusalem Bible |
| Jer. or Jer | Jeremiah |
| Job or Jb | Job |
| Joel or Jl | Joel |
| John or Jn | John (Gospel) |
| Jon. or Jon | Jonah |
| Josh. or Jo | Joshua |
| Jth. or Jdt | Judith |
| Jude | Jude |
| Judg. or Jgs | Judges |
| KJV | King James Version |
| Lam. or Lam | Lamentations |
| Lat. | Latin |
| Lev. or Lv | Leviticus |
| lit. | literally |

| | |
|-------------|---|
| loc. | locative |
| log. | logic |
| Luke or Lk | Luke |
| LXX | Septuagint |
| Mal. or Mal | Malachi |
| Mark or Mk | Mark |
| ⲙ | Masoretic text |
| Matt. or Mt | Matthew |
| Med. or Med | Medium Voice |
| metron. | metronymic |
| Mic. or Mi | Micah |
| m. | masculine gender |
| Mod. | modern |
| MS. | manuscript |
| MSS. | manuscripts |
| MT | Masoretic Text |
| NAB | New American Bible |
| Nah. or Na | Nahum |
| NEB | New English Bible |
| neg. | negative |
| Neh. or Neh | Nehemiah |
| NETS | A New English Translation of the Septuagint |
| NJB | New Jerusalem Bible |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| n. | neuter gender |
| N. or Nom. | nominative case |
| NRSV | New Revised Standard Version |
| NT | New Testament |
| ntr. | neuter gender |
| Num. or Nm | Numbers |
| Obad. or Ob | Obadiah |
| obs. | obsolete |
| opt. | optative |
| orig. | originally |
| OSMHB | Open Scriptures Morphological
Hebrew Bible |
| OT | Old Testament |
| partic. | particular |
| part. or part | participle |
| Pass. or Pass | Passive voice |
| perh. | perhaps |
| Pf. or Pf | perfect tense |
| Philem. or Phlm | Philemon |
| Phil. or Phil | Philippians |
| Pl. or Pl | Plural |
| pl. | plural |
| poet. | poetry or poetic |
| p. or p | page |

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| prec. | preceding |
| prep. | preposition |
| pres. or pres | present tense |
| priv. | privative |
| prob. | probably |
| Pr. of Man. | Prayer of Manasses (= Manasseh) |
| pronom. | pronominal |
| pron. | pronoun |
| Prov. or Prv | Proverbs |
| Ps. (pl.Pss.) or Ps (pl. Pss) | Psalms |
| redupl. | reduplicated |
| Reflex. | Reflexive or used reflexively |
| Rev. or Rv | Revelation (= Apocalypse) |
| rhet. | rhetoric |
| Rom. or Rom | Romans |
| RSV | Revised Standard Version |
| rt. | root |
| rts. | roots |
| Ruth or Ru | Ruth |
| RV | Revised Version |
| seq. | sequens |
| sev. | several |
| Sg. or Sg | Singular |

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Sir | Sirach (= Ecclesiasticus) |
| Song of Sol. or Song | Song of Solomon (= Song of Songs) |
| Song of Three Children | Song of the Three Holy Children |
| Subj. | subjunctive |
| subst. | substantive |
| suff. | suffix |
| superl. | superlative degree |
| Sus. | Susanna |
| Syr. | Syriac |
| Titus or Ti | Titus |
| Tob. or Tb | Tobit |
| TR | Textus Receptus (Received Text) |
| trans. | transitive (with accusative object) |
| vb. | verb |
| v.l. | varia lectio, different (variant) reading |
| vow. | vowel |
| Vulg. | Vulgate |
| V. or Voc. | vocative case |
| WEB | World English Bible |
| Wisd. of Sol. | Wisdom of Solomon (= Wisdom) |
| WLC | Westminster Leningrad Codex |
| Ws | Wisdom (= Wisdom of Solomon) |
| Zech. or Zec | Zechariah |
| Zeph. or Zep | Zephaniah |

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1 Paul, a servant of Christ Jesus,
called to be an apostle,
set apart for the gospel of God,
2 which he promised beforehand
through his prophets in the holy Scriptures,
3 concerning his Son,
who was descended from David
according to the flesh
4 and was declared to be the
Son of God in power
according to the Spirit of holiness
by his resurrection from the dead,
Jesus Christ our Lord ...