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Lecture 1

HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON THE HISTORICAL JESUS – THE PHASES OF JESUS SCHOLARSHIP

THE ANCIENT QUEST

What is history? (how it differs from theology)

The essential focus of theology is developing a coherent view of the world, rooted in a reading of the Bible as a whole

The essential focus of history is understanding the events of the past, and probing their significance for interrelated events

- Luke 1:1-4
 - o Strongly reminiscent of other historical writers, including Polybius (2nd c. BC), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st c. BC) and the Jewish historian Josephus (1st c. AD)

Origen of Alexandria and Caesarea (AD 185-253)

The consummate textual and redactional scholar of antiquity

- He would compare the transcripts of the same Gospel and also compare the Gospels between themselves
- Origen believed in redaction criticism of putting your whole self into analysis texts
- Dogmatic

Biblical scholarship after Origen

Enlightenment thinkers utilised contemporary methods to dismantle the dogma of previous philosophers.

- Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768) The 'revolutionary Jesus'
 - o Philosophically a deist, was against being a Christian
 - o The Jesus of history and the 'Christ' of apostolic invention
 - o Argued that you had to know the distinction between the Jesus of history and the 'Christ' of apostolic invention. He believed that the Disciples saw Jesus' death as a failure and so created this Christ-figure so he was still a saviour.
- David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874) The 'mythical Jesus'
 - o The Gospels' story was mythomaniac poetic and were never intended to be real rather it was a metaphor
- Joseph Ernest Renan (1823-1892) The 'wise man Jesus'
 - o 'Jesus, the wise ethical teacher' Charming egalitarian preacher
- Heinrich Julius Holtzmann (1832-1910) The 'failed Jesus'
 - o The priority of Mark and the Q-theory
 - o Matthew and Luke's 'other' source – Q. Big breakthrough in historical study, reinforced by the fact that Mark doesn't have some sayings that both Matthew and Luke have e.g. 'love your enemies'
 - o Strongly supported till this day
- William Wrede (1859-1906) The 'non-Messiah Jesus'
 - o The messianic 'secret' invented by the Gospel writers

- States that Mark created this idea of people close to Jesus called him Messiah and that he told people not to share it around
- Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965)
 - The 'Jesus' proposed by scholars from Reimarus to Wrede is 'a figure designed by rationalism, endowed with life by liberalism, and clothed by modern technology in an historical garb' → put a halt in Jesus-exploration
 - Professional organist, top-tier professor, doctor in Africa
 - Wrote one of the most influential books 'Quest of the historical Jesus' (1906), analysed the previous 200 years scholarship from Reimarus to Wrede. He brutally exposed that all they did was projecting their own views and giving evidence to support that view. Very compelling, he offered a mere 30 pages of his own historical analysis - that Jesus is an eschatological preacher.
 - We're all so prone to see ourselves in this figure of Jesus – 'a figure designed by rationalism, endowed with life by liberalism and clothed by modern theology in an historical garb'.

THE 'SECOND' OR NEW QUEST FOR JESUS

Modest attempt with the criterion, made attempts to remove his Jewish-ness

- Rudolf Bultmann (1855-1976)
 - The life and teaching of Jesus are of secondary importance to Christian faith
 - German scholar that didn't do much in history but wanted to reiterate the Gospels relevance to your life. (no need to study)
- The 'New Quest' of Ernst Kasemann (1906-1998)
 - How much of Christianity's post-Easter faith is supported by the Gospels' pre-Easter story?
- The criterion of dissimilarity
 - States that material in the Gospels which was significantly different from both Judaism and the early church is likely to have come from Jesus
 - Provides justification for later ecclesiastical traditions by having Jesus introduce it. Therefore, in the midst of uncertainty, things that are dissimilar from Judaism and Christianity can be said with confidence to come from Jesus
 - E.g. Oaths was agreed upon by everyone, yet Jesus's claim that 'let your yes' by yes and no's be no' – indicates it came from him
- The Jesus Seminar

THE 'THIRD' QUEST FOR JESUS

You can't expect to understand Jesus unless you address his Jewish origin, this opened the door to the way we do historical studies today. Need to know the Jewish Jesus and then the figure of Jesus in the Gospels with that background can be understood. The true quest, and simple way of addressing the scholarship of Jesus – what can we find out about Judaism and how does Jesus fit into it.

- Martin Hengel (1926-200)
 - Clarifying the Jewish and Hellenistic-Jewish origins of the Gospel's portrait of Jesus
 - Wrote about the history of Zealots, those who wanted to maintain the Israelite Kingdom of God – keep the Israelite inheritance which contrasted to Jesus' teaching of welcoming the Gentiles, to turn the other cheek.

- **Dead Sea scrolls 1947**
 - Revealed many phrases found in the Gospels e.g. Kingdom of God, purity. Gave greater background to the Israelite lifestyle. Proved invaluable to proving Jesus lived radically → food laws.
- Ed Parish Sanders (born 1937)
 - Writes clearly about what Jews were like and their context.
- Nicholas Thomas Wright (born 1948)
 - Adopts same methodology as Sanders, 500 page book on the currents of Judaism in the period of Jesus.
 - Jesus was an eschatological prophet who announced the end of exile and embodied the disclosure of God's kingship in the world. The key symbols of Second Temple Judaism crystallize in the Gospels' story of Jesus.
- Dale C. Allison
 - Says the third quest became overly confident, says that we can be confident about the vibe of Jesus rather than what he said.

→ if you don't focus on the sources at hand, you'll invent your own judgements

Lecture 2

GRAECO-ROMAN AND JEWISH SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF JESUS

1. THE ACCIDENTAL NATURE OF HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

'Fortuitousness and fragmentariness of surviving sources' – Martin Hengel (1926-2009)

Hit and miss information

Less than 1% historical accounts of the ancient world exists, yet the artefacts we do have reveal much more e.g. year of the emperor, dating structure, infanticide, perspectives, pay – *Dionysius son of Zoilus* complain letter 20BC, Roman soldier's letter to his wife 1BC

Pliny the Younger

Turkish Governor letter – 120 of them, teaching politics, fashion, literature etc.

Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence

Able to positively affirm various things yet unable to deny much and compare things '*...it is an elementary error to suppose that the unmentioned [or undiscovered] did not exist*' – Prof Graham Stanton, Cambridge University. → Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

Luke 4:16 reveals Nazareth was big enough to have a synagogue, religious customs, educated

Finding something can be considered a source, even with 99% of the text missing, yet upon critical analysis and other supporting material you can conclude whether it is true or not. If there is none, you remain open to it E.g. 2009 discovery of Jewish home, you could rightly say that prior to 2009 no homes existed in that place

Right discovery → The Pool of Bethesda (John 5:2-5), The Pool of Siloam

False or unsupported discoveries/evidence → John 18:39-40, Pilate releasing Barabbas, you add it to your data set. No one else mentions Paul of Tarsus.

2. GREEK, ROMAN AND JEWISH SOURCES (2ND CENTURY)

Not all of equal value, predominantly a reaction to Christian statements, they show that contemporaries in the first and second century saw no reason to doubt Jesus' experience.

- Talmud (2nd Century) Jesus the sorcerer

- Not all the 5 manuscripts have 'the Nazarene', only the Munich one had it or was it taken out from the other four – question on whether this is our Jesus that we are talking about. Most scholars think the latter as it's easy to take out to avoid offending the Medieval Europe.
- Mentioned 20 other persecutions and proper legal judgements, precedence

- Tacitus (AD 115) Jesus and his deadly superstition

- Everything we know about the emperors is most likely from Tacitus for the birth of the Roman Empire and imperialism.
- Wrote about the Great Roman Fire AD 64 that Nero blames Christians, named '*Christus*' – didn't see it as a title but merely Jesus' name. Were only mentioned here to understand the meaning of the word label 'Christians'.

- Reveals how little he knew of Jesus and of that time (prefect Pontius → noted as Procurator Pontius) even after decades of these events.
- **Pliny the Younger (AD 110): Christ as 'god'**
 - This Governor confronted an unforeseen problem: Christians. Maintain custom of killing Christians but was unsure why. He writes a letter to Trasian.
 - He receives a pamphlet listing out all the Christians, he asks 3 times if they're Christian and if so, they are executed. But he was reluctant to execute that many
 - Everywhere, all social classes – assumes that a person was elevated as god not realising this dates back to Jesus.

3. GREEK, ROMAN AND JEWISH SOURCES (FIRST CENTURY)

Jews hated the Romans for the harsh laws and taxes imposed on them.

- **Josephus (AD 93): Jesus the teacher, martyr and Christ**
 - 20 volumes insight into geography, religion, politics
 - Josephus accurately records dimensions enabling our ability to verify things more yet he exaggerates measures of people → remove a 0
 - Mentions Jesus twice, gained information in AD 50s to 60s
 - 1. Antiquities v 20 p.200, in reference to James, Ananus the High Priest ordered his death. Ananus' brother in law, 30 years ago was the High Priest during Jesus' time. In the year 62 AD, James was stoned to death.
 - 2. Antiquities v 18 p. 63-64, wide debate on this being Josephus. 90% scholars take a middle position, they believe Josephus' words have been improved.

Lecture 3

BIBLICAL & Gnostic SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF JESUS: SKEPTICISM & BIAS

Bias: Scholars address these texts as another source, they are not swayed by its religiosity – seen as a vibrant source due to how highly it is, and how it was written of those with low status. By extension, it's not a mere source but a whole body of literature. Though Josephus recounts it properly, he feeds in his bias through what he places attention to, first page in his autobiography speaks of how he excels. Considered normal as part of classical history.

Personal commitment and emotional attachment: The lesser the connection the poorer the recall. Significance and emotion can brand the mind. Richard Bauckham in 'Jesus and the Eyewitnesses' scores highly in recollection due to personal involvement, significance and how unusual the events are.

- Dale Alison sounds a caution about the Third Quest:
 - o Memory studies suggest only the gist is easily preserved
 - o We should content ourselves to discover on the thrust of Jesus' message and mission, not the precise details, through the test of 'recurrent motif'

Accepting and testing testimony

Historians are open-minded when reading sources, yet constant investigation and evaluation will occur such as:

1. Was the author in a position to know the information they report?
2. Does the author have the general character of someone reporting in good faith?
3. Do the things the author says fit with what is known more broadly about the time and place spoken of?
4. Are any specific things reported by an author corroborated by what other authors and evidence indicate?

Many things can be verified and enhanced through different pieces of history.

Gospels

Collection of NT as many towns and communities had had varying copies and collections of Gospels and letters and would copy and share it around. These Gospels were eye witness accounts.

1. PAUL'S EPISTLES (AD 50-65)

Saul turned Paul

Persecuted Christians during AD 31-32, before his conversion where he travelled to evangelise. Many things notable and identified that coincide with the facts we know today.

Oral tradition

Reliant on this method which involved repeating as 10-15% of the population could not read or write. It was part of ancient culture, Epicureanism, education and early Christianity.

The Mishnah – oral tradition of the Korah which Orthodox Jews hold equally as high with the NT.

Paridomi, paradoseis.

Epicurus (341 – 270 BC) ‘

- 40 ‘authoritative opinions’ / paragraphs were to be remembered. They believed in not worrying yes seeking pleasure and life.
- One of the few philosophical clubs, open to everyone

2. NEW TESTAMENT GOSPELS (AD 65-100)

In the Roman times, Gospel meant ‘breaking news’ and ‘important’. What are they in their literary form? Seen as ancient biographies, account of Jesus and record of his life.

Luke cites ‘many’ have recounted this, he has eyewitness material and is a mere receiver ‘handed down’ (oral tradition again) also written tradition. Although the Gospels are not biographies they have information that establishes it as biographies. What about the other gospels that are written in the second century.

The Mark Source

Using Mark as a reliable source is challenged by Papias (AD 60-130) Bishop of Herapolis who states, ‘Mark became Peter’s interpreter and wrote accurately all that that he remembered....For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter (Eusebius, Ecclesiastical Historical. 3.39.15). Others support the reliability of Mark, including Matthew and Luke (written AD 70) due to this strong source of Peter.

Richard Baukaum, notes ‘Inclusio of eyewitness testimony’ that Peter is the first and last disciple mentioned in the Gospel, an ancient literary technique used for indicating your source.

Matthew and Luke

Note that Matthew and Luke also have many sources besides Mark, where famous sayings are not from Mark but Q.

Differences between Matthew and Luke: genealogy, Luke’s material focuses on Gentiles, Matthew establishes a different focus. Best theory – Matthew and Luke had access to different sources

3. SOURCES IN MATTHEW, MARK AND JOHN

The Q Source (AD 40-80)

Matthew uses Mark, Q and M. Unique stories of Jesus.

The L Source

Where Luke finds his own source, unique in its grammatical approach, distinct style, literature form e.g. Parable of the Good Samaritan, Prodigal Son. Similar stories yet apart from the usual written pattern of Luke – the introduction of Luke *was* written by him. So on top of L, Luke uses Q and Mark.

The SQ Source (AD 50-70)

Semaya (German for source) Queila (Latin for Signs)

John’s source, 7 stories of signs bundled together, contains real and identified architecture descriptions that suggest he knew Jerusalem before 70AD, which reduces the concern that his book was written. AD 90.

4. THE GNOSTIC GOSPELS (130 AD)

52 documents/books that contains sayings that were quite unlike the NT gospels and had a very different worldview to the Bible. The premise is: your soul is trapped inside your psychological and physical self etc. They are very static, doesn't contain stories. 40 years after the latest Gospel and 100 years after Jesus, they reject the existing gospels and Judaism. Value is limited for the historical Jesus yet they reveal the 'splinter groups'.

Lecture 4

METHODS FOR THE STUDY OF JESUS

1. CRITERION OF HISTORICAL PLAUSIBILITY

Episodes of Jesus' teaching being verified by the ascents of early Galilean or Judean Jewish settings

Using the list of background sources as much as possible. Many historians state this isn't a criterion but merely a correct historical method – it requires supporting contextual elements.

2. CRITERION OF DISSIMILARITY

Jesus' unique statements that were distinct from Jewish writings. Has positive force, gives good reason for the existence of this sayings.

3. CRITERION OF DATE

Places preference on early sources over late ones, reducing the time between the events reduces its margin of error and thereby increases its reliability.

Fun fact: Best source for Alexander the Great, Arian, was written 400 years after, justified based on his use of earlier sources and his reasonable perspective.

4. CRITERION OF MULTIPLE ATTESTATION

If different, independent sources align with the same plot of the story, the event is most likely to be true. E.g. Mark, Q, Paul, L, John = all mention the 'twelve apostles'. Further enhanced by SQ, M etc. which strengthens its existence.

5. CRITERION OF RECURRENT ATTESTATION

Does not have to be a complete reliance on a story or situation but common motifs, gists etc.

6. CRITERION OF EMBARRASSMENT

Unlikely to have been invented if it was false, therefore the testament of the cross was culturally shameful. Really strong evidence that a women's testimony was seen as invalid. Both of these examples legitimise Jesus' death and resurrection.

7. CRITERION OF COHERENCE

Corroborate with existing material and understanding of the historic traditions.

8. CRITERION OF ARCHAIC LANGUAGE

Using the original language of Aramaic, e.g. words not used in Greek are taken from that language which indicates the author preserved something to Jesus' specific cultural context – debt, abba – Jesus so clearly remembered as calling God this.

9. CRITERION OF MEMORABILITY

Teaches of Jesus that are more memorable are more likely to be preserved accurately. Anything with drama, rhyme, symbolism, parables, puns and themes were easier to recount.

10. MEMORABILITY OF THE STORIES OF JESUS

Most sayings of Jesus are patterned for memorisation, but many stories do not contain 'flowery language'. Only contains the necessary details, an indication that these were an oral tradition before they were written – provides us with the insight that we deal with an oral tradition at hand.

11. ARCHAEOLOGY

Not a criterion of historicity but part of the plausibility of Jesus. Provides fresh eyes and proof of things being unmistakably Jewish - yet why were the Gospels written in Greek and not Aramaic (the Jewish language)?

- Archaeology reveals to us that Jews were bilingual, e.g. Jewish ossuary (box/funeral) with Aramaic & Greek inscriptions. (1980s+)
- Hence, with there being 12 disciples indicate a high chance that some of them were Greek, even more when they had Greek names - Phillip and Andrew.
- By being written in Greek it allowed for more reach both West/East.
- Taken as norm that the stories were in Greek.

Lecture 5

GALILEE AND BEGINNINGS

1. THE LAND OF GALILEE

Ecology of Galilee

Looking at the lake, surroundings, geographic references. Remains of houses which is densely populated containing the synagogue and other buildings. Rich with olives, fish and fertile soil. Confirms a Nazareth in the first century.

Turbulent Galilee

Paul raised in Tarsus, educated in Jerusalem. All of the apostles grew up in Galilee brimming with produce – comfortable yet life was still difficult. Capital of Galilee, Sepphoris (Zippori) – 6km from Jesus' home, where in 4BC King Herod the Great died which prompted a rebellion.

Judas, son of Hezekiah, created an impactful but unsuccessful revolt. He claimed Sepphoris and stole the armoury/weapons. This was carried on by his son and grandson. They lived in Gamla of Galilee (AD67), they battled with the Romans chanting the anthem 'only God!'

2. HISTORICAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE BIRTH OF JESUS

Bethlehem

Matthew and Luke write about Jesus' birth – if they included this to ensure he was messianic, why did Luke and John include this? Many reasonable arguments for Jesus being born in Bethlehem. Raymond E Brown concludes 'we can't know'. Jesus belonged to the Davidic timeline – Mathew, Luke, Rome 1.

When exactly was *Anno Domini*?

If Jesus was born in 4BC how is that possible? 6th Century Monk, Dennis the Little, was the great mathematician in Rome and utilised all the sources to count back to when Jesus was born.

3. THE 'MISSING YEARS' OF JESUS

Modern stories of a pilgrimage to the East

Thomas contains a story, but this is refuted as reliable due to its date and contrast to the Gospels. The only few stories is in Luke with Jesus travelling with his parents to the synagogue.

4. PERSONAL DETAILS

The carpenter

Most likely he was a good Jewish boy and helped his father's carpentry work and studied the scriptures. Mark 6:2-3 and in Matthew where the reference to his family trade is carpentry. The fact that the family lived into the 50s-60s indicates this family business continued.

Language

Hebrew used in formal settings e.g. Synagogue, Aramaic rendition of the Torah as many people lost Hebrew but most readings were probably in Aramaic. Long before Jesus the language pivoted from Hebrew to Aramaic. Longest surviving of all. Western part of Mediterranean mainly spoke Greek.

5. JESUS AND JOHN THE BAPTIST

John the Baptist whole purpose was to set up Jesus, he was a prophet preaching a baptism of repentance, important figure in his own right. Story of John's rising impact and threat upon Herod by Josephus in the Antiquities

Baptism

Israel had to begin again, that was John's message due to the impending doom. From Q, Matthew/Luke, "you brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the coming wrath?" Critical impact on Jesus

1. John's ministry predates that of Jesus
2. Jesus submitted himself publicly to John's defining ritual.
3. Two of Jesus' first disciples came from the circle of John's disciples
4. Jesus inherited John's practice of baptism.

Lecture 6

COMPANION AND COMPETITORS

1. TEACHERS AND JESUS

1.1 Teachers in the Greco-Roman world

Ancient world famous for its philosopher-teachers and for the 'schools' or groups of disciples the established.

Pythagoras

Late 6th century BC, taught them esoteric doctrines and a way of life ft. wearing white linen etc. More of a philosophy of his teachings – also famous for math discoveries and the analysis of musical harmony theory

Protagoras

Rose to prominence in the 5th century, sophistry – overwhelms you with vocabulary, spoke beautifully. Able to argue, known as the first relativist.

Plato

328-348BC, what is firm and solid in the world, tries to find the certainty compared to Protagoras' belief.

Other Ancient teachers

Epicurus of Athens (341-270BC) – pleasure-seekers, 'epicureans'

Zeno (335-263BC) – founder of Stoicism, argued that happiness is found in strict mental and emotional discipline.

Cynics – a more extreme form of stoicism, austere philosopher-preachers. Started with Diogenes in 4th century BC. Cynics lasted well beyond the time of Jesus.

Yeshua ben Sira (Jesus, son of Sira)

Wrote *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 132 BC. A wisdom teacher that argues true knowledge is found in the Jewish tradition. Called Israel to a pure devotion by following Jewish superiority.

1.2 Sadducees, Essenes, Zealots, Baptisers and the Pharisees

Josephus reveals to us three 3 or 4 sects of 'philosophies' (Antiquities 18.11-25), he labels it this in explaining it to Graco-Roman audience.

Sadducees

Group of conservative Jews didn't believe in the resurrection or after life. Created a religious aristocracy in Jerusalem that rejected innovation, they cooperated with the Romans and so kept their Jewish position of power. Primary focus was being the centre of power.

Essenes

Things noted in the 'Dead sea scrolls' as to what certain things were permitted, very tight intricate rules and beliefs. They had a method for reading the Bibles, Josephus describes them as 'the most accurate interpreters of the laws'.

Zealots

Fiercely loyal to the traditions of Judaism and violently opposed to the Roman presence in the holy land, would die for their faith. Aimed to assassinate key Jewish leaders who they believed were closely associated with the Romans. Some state they wouldn't appear until the Jewish war, longstanding tradition.

Baptisers

Prophetic reform movement declared Israel as sinful as nations. They must repent and come back to basics lest God's kingdom overthrow Israel itself. Usually aimed for conversions but John the Baptist said 'no you (Israel) are the problem and need to proselyte'.

Pharisees

Aimed to separate clean and unclean, but instead of moral laws it was related to entering the temple. Deciphering what was clean and appropriate for ritual participation e.g. Leviticus, pure regime. Hebrew Jesus taught how can you translate this law to yourself.

Pharisees aimed to defined this general category. The two most famous Pharisees were Hillel and Shammai, they created a long-lasting legacy through their Rabbinic schools. Still considered significant to orthodox Jews today. Babylonian Talmud (500s AD).

1.3 Jesus' clashes with the Pharisees

Challenge with the Pharisees in hand-washing and temple rituals which Jesus describes as 'woes' and human traditions (Matthew and Luke, Q). Takes us to the heart of authentic teaching which tainted by Rabbinic hypocrisy and injustice.

2. THE COMPANIONS OF JESUS

Jesus' teaching is thereby revolutionary which can be extended by the kind of students he appears to have sought.

2.1 The Twelve (Mark 3:13-19)

His mission is on Israel (Matthew 15:24), clear passages on the meaning of Jesus' teaching was aimed at a Jewish audience – cannot universalise to everyone without addressing it to Israel first. Met their cultural themes, multiple attestation. The Twelve goes back to the origins of ancient Israel where Jacob's 12 sons became 'twelve tributes of Israel', synonymous with OT Joshua 4:1-9.

Sign and symbol of the renewal of all things. Prophetic symbol. Solidly attested features of the Jesus story, found in Mark, Q, L, John and Paul – all independent sources. Becomes 11 as Judas betrays Jesus (criterion of multiple attestation, early date and embarrassment). Notion of a remnant as Jesus' provocative claim that God was redefining who his people are = maximum authority of Israel.

2.2 Jesus and his female disciples

Women have a visible presence at the start and end of Jesus' ministry. (Richard Bauckham, Gospel Women). Understand Jesus' relationship with women in context.

It was women who bankrolled his mission 'women were supporting them out of their own mean' (Meier p.76). Such a passing and uncontrived detail, one that was also potentially off-

putting to ancient male readers of Luke, has a strong claim to historicity as scholars usually observe. Stories and parables about women usually has them working and financially involved which would have given a heightened sensitivity to the ancient world.

Women prominent in their position, they travelled with Jesus. Some single and unchaperoned but visibly with Jesus which must have raised a few eyebrows (James Dunn) as they were heavily devalued in ancient Mediterranean societies.

2.3 Sinners and tax collectors

His inclusion of those classed as 'sinners' was deeply scandalous (Mark 2:15-17, Matthew 9:9-13, Luke 5:27-32).

Joachim Jeremias argues that 'sinners' were simply common folk – the people of the land. Professor Ed Sanders and William Davies claim that they were not just common-folk but the immoral. James Dunn see it 'functioned as a factional term' – a dismissive boo-word for those who neglected their ritual duties rather than extreme murders, tyrants etc.

Psalms of Solomon paralleled with the viewpoint of the Pharisees. That when the Messiah comes sinners are going to get it, this frames the expectations of his followers to people. Jesus subverts and shows controversially with tax collectors called to be his disciples (Luke 19:1-7) – story of Zacchaeus as Jesus announces 'today salvation has come to this house'. By eating with them Jesus demonstrates he accepts and relates with these people (Graham Stanton) – 'at table' symbolised the fellowship with God. Very striking in that time.

Ed Sanders insisted that rather than voicing 'repent' Jesus said 'God loves you'. The scandal on Jesus was that he was weak on sin. The more compelling answer is that his open table fellowship was another deliberate sign of his message of renewal for Israel. Jesus believed his purity was a more powerful contagion than that of sin.

Lecture 7

HEALERS IN THE TIME OF JESUS

1. THE 'PROBLEM' OF JESUS' HEALINGS

Able to identify sources, refine methods, analyse backgrounds and assess the data to craft a credible picture of a revolutionary Jewish teacher from Galilee. Yet, suddenly, to hear he is a miracle worker and that it was familiar to the ancient realm creates a challenge for contemporary readers.

1.1 Miracles everywhere

This discussion would be evaporated if it was a minor element of Jesus' ministry. However it is very evident in the Synoptic Gospels, secondary evidence from Paul let alone the extra-biblical sources e.g. Josephus. Meier notes the historicity of Jesus' 'extraordinary deeds' and that if it was rejected as part of Jesus' public ministry then so should 'every other Gospel tradition about him' as it refuses to account for its multiple attestation. (Meier, 1994 – vol 2, p.630-31).

1.2 The rationalist retreat from the history

- **Miracles as fabrication:** Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768) who founded the second quest claims it can be simply be abandoned and deemed as a total fabrication.
- **Miracles as natural events:** C.F. Bahrdt (1741-1792) who provides a non-supernatural approach. Interpret miracles naturalistically, e.g. bread and fish, everyone also brought out their food as they were touched by this act of kindness by the boy
 - o These are attempts to 'rescue' the credibility of the narrative by claiming only natural events.
- **Miracles as myth:** David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874), true in the heart and soul but not factual veracity. Not intended to be read literally and physically, but with an enlightenment frame of poetical expression with religious longings.
 - o All these attempt to do 'rationalist apologetics' which is Schweizer's notation of projecting your own views to history.

1.3 How do historians approach the miracles?

Know that Jesus was known in his day as a healer, they distance their private beliefs and know it doesn't oblige them to believe in miracles. E.g. Paula Fredriksen saying historians can't tell you if Jesus did do miracles as this engages with philosophy, they withhold their personal beliefs.

Cannot surpass the capacity of a historian to verify miracles, but they can discuss the reputation surrounding it. Based on this, historians can confidently affirm that Jesus did things which were widely interpreted from the beginning as miracles. Joachim Jeremias argues, "Thus even when strict critical standards have been applied to the miracles stories, a demonstrably historical nucleus remains. Jesus performed healings which astonished his contemporaries" (*New Testament Theology (vol.1)*, 1971, 92).

Ultimately, no real further sources or data that can assist investigating this matter further.

2. JEWISH HEALERS

Others known for their miraculous powers using the criterion of multiple attestation and date. Most of these Graeco-Romana and Jewish sources are inferior to miracles in connection with Jesus as these non-Christian healers appear in texts long after the events and with only 1-2 sources. Thus, they do not provide a favourable conclusion.

2.1 Rabbi Honi the circle-drawer

1st century BC, he died around 65BC drew a circle and would not exit it until the Lord would give rain. The most detailed account is in Mishnah (compiled AD200), Josephus (AD90) also has this accounts but does not include the circle. Though they are probably independent of each other yet the detail is varied. It can at least be said that this person existed.

2.2 Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa

AD70, three earliest references to him are all in the Mishnah (AD200) each claim he performed deeds and power. We can say that Hanina was prayerful, very good prayer and some were answered.

2.3 Eleazer the exorcist

Very early writing and close to the actual event (eyewitness), yet only one from Josephus writes in 90AD about this account that is estimated to have occurred in 70AD. Eleazar had a reputation as a healer and exorcist, and could demonstrate that he had done it. Relevance? This story is questionable e.g. manner of storytelling and Eleazar's effort to justify himself.

3. GRAECO-ROMAN HEALERS

Some parallels made to Jesus

3.1 The healing god Asclepius

You tell the priest the problem and sleep the night in the temple – 'incubation' and wake up healed. Lots of thank you in inscriptions to Asclepius written by the priests. This illustrates the widespread belief in healing in antiquity.

3.2 Emperor Vespasian as a healer?

Josephus' benefactor as he prophecies Vespasian would become emperor and since he does, the emperor keeps him safe. The miracle story recorded by Tacitus (AD114-117) where Vespasian already received 'prophecies' about his good fortune. Suetonius (AD120) offers a similar account. Scholars criticize this as a 'public relations' story, especially as Vespasian did not come from a blood line and need an alternative form of legitimacy in addition to his military victories. (Meier)

3.3 Apollonius of Tyana

Precise date unknown but was found to be an active, ancient healer during the second half the 1st century. Published in Rome by the pagan, philosopher Philostratus (AD172-350) with numerous of stories. The parallel is a simple healing and the person returns to their family. This is the only source of Life of Apollonius, occurring 120 years written after Apollonius from a well-known pagan perspective towards Julius Donar who was a renowned, anti-Christian. This time involved Christianity burgeoning and replicas of the Gospels. Further this work has almost no claim to historicity and remains a suspect both in sources and details.

3.4 Was Jesus unique?

The aforementioned sources only provide partial equivalents to the picture of a healer and exorcist we find in the Gospels. Jesus is a figure from antiquity, we can have confidence that he enjoyed a reputation as a healer. Not a claim that he did healings, but that he had a living reputation of being a miracle worker.

4. MIRACLES AND THEIR MEANING IN CONTEXT

4.1 What is a miracle anyway?

Latin: *miraculum* – 'object of wonder'

NT: *dunamis* – 'strength' or 'authority'. *Semeia* – 'signs'

Rather than introducing it as a miracle, the Hebrew Bible claims it is special examples of the strength and authority of the Maker. We have at least 2 statements about the miracles from Jesus' own lips, and both are found in our earliest Gospel source, Q (50s AD). They indicate: a reversal of the covenant curses in Deuteronomy and 2) a preview of the coming kingdom.

4.2 Reversal of the covenant curses

Future vs. current, Jesus thought his healings were glimpses of the end, the way things should be. (Matthew 11:2-6, Luke 7:18-23), in response to John the Baptist's question of who he is. Deuteronomy 28 terrifying chapter on the curses people would receive if they rejected God's word. Prophecies of those curses being undone – Isaiah 29:18, 35:5-6, 61:1, the recovery of Israel

4.3 'Signs' of the kingdom come

6 centuries later, Jesus walked upon Jews who still faced an unideal situation and were awaiting restoration. A text from the famous Dead Sea Scrolls, written just before the time of Jesus, provides an extraordinary parallel to Jesus' words. It reveals a hope of a future time where Isaiah's time will come true.

Jesus thereby also forecasts the renewal of all things in the kingdom. These fragments indicate an eternal kingdom which follow the matrix of ideas shared by Jesus through these signs. God showing in the present what he is hoping to do at the end. The first passage occurs when Jesus drives out a demon from a mute person (Luke 11:14-20, Matthew 12:22-28). Potential debate on ancient folk not knowing seizures/mental illness as physical conditions – Meier.

Jesus claimed that his miracle-working, this reputation he enjoyed, was part of his 'kingdom of God' project. Unique take on that theme as a 'trailer' or 'teaser'. Many scholars have strong suspicions about the psychomatic nature of ancient demon possession and exorcism but no one really doubts that Jesus' contemporaries believed that he could spectacularly deliver people from such traumatic conditions. It makes little sense for Christians to invent such a charge, potentially sowing seeds of doubt in the minds of readers with sorcery.

Theissen, 'He combines two conceptual worlds which had never been combined in this way before, the apocalyptic expectation of universal salvation in the future and the episodic realisation of salvation in the present through miracles'.

It simply reinforces God's promise to one day establish his kingdom and renew his people being visible and available. Rather than just healing people, gaining status, but real signs.

Lecture 7

MIDSEMESTER BREAK

Lecture 8

THE DEATH OF JESUS: CAUSES AND INTERPRETATION

1. THE BRUTE FACT OF CRUCIFIXION

1.1 Crucifixion in history

Supreme efficacy in torturing the victim and lengthening the pain, in collaboration with scourging, nakedness and beatings. Very common, not enough space or wood.

Jewish Antiquities 17.295 Governor Varus crucifies 2000 Jews

Jewish War 5.451 Romans crucify 500 Jews a day

Seneca (4BC- AD 65) writes of the agony of crucifixion, 'he would have many excuses for dying even before mounting the cross'.

Example of Jehohanan, Jewish writings, Josephus, Bodmer Papyrus P75 manuscript copy of Luke 'whoever does not carry their cross and follow me...' (underlined – words of divinity), 4-5th century piece of art (understandably not present cause it was not seen as a form of art, it was despicable).

Christians did find a way to depict the cross – enough for historians to understand its concept.

1.2 The certainty of Jesus' crucifixion

It's inclusion in the scripture considering the Criterion of Embarrassment indicates 'the unlikelihood that Christians would have invented it but also from the existence of two early and independent non-Christian witness to it. – John Dominic Crossan 'Jesus as revolutionary'.

Peter as a follower despite denying Jesus three times.

1.3 Who witness the crucifixion

Random mention of Simon in carrying Jesus' cross. Mark assumes the readers know who he is – trend of the Gospels is that the names fade out as seen in Matthew and Luke. Richard Baukham suggests that the inclusion was based on Simon being an eyewitness testimony and his two sons were no longer relevant in the timing of Matthew and Luke being written and thus omitted.

Strong understanding of women as affirming Jesus' crucifixion. Dunn, 'the only eyewitnesses that all the Evangelists agree on were women disciples...There is a strong possibility, therefore, that these women played a significant role in forming the tradition of Jesus' death'.

2. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CAUSES OF JESUS' DEATH

'To be "historical" the historical Jesus must have been crucifiable' Dunn. Logical story that made Jesus end up on the cross and not merely the first quest of Jesus being a moral teacher 'historical Jesus seminar' of American liberals affirming Jesus as standing for human rights.

2.1 The building tension

Jesus was at first associated with John the Baptist. The debates of him as a sorcerer and law-breaker from the Pharisees. The Gospels indicate his close connection with the Pharisees in

teaching is what brings the cause of the tension yet in the end it's the Priest who go to Pilate whereas in Jerusalem and end of the story Pharisees are not mentioned.

2.2 From the temple to the cross

Jesus' temple demonstration that grazed roughly with the Pharisees and temple people. 'The gun may already have been cocked, but it was the temple demonstration which pulled the trigger' Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (p. 305).

Josephus writes of a story where a man is sent to the governor and scourged for being annoying. Here is a historical setting of an individual announcing the judgement of God.

2.3 Crucified as "King of the Jews"

This public and prophetic announcement that God was going to overturn the temple. Crowds declaring Jesus as the coming king, from the line of David (eschatological theme). Paula Fredriksen, 'A straight line connects the Triumphal Entry and the Crucifixion. A pilgrim crowd noisily proclaiming the coming of the Kingdom, not to mention the coming of their King'.

All Gospels centre on Jesus being the 'King of the Jews', in the trial before Pilate it was also the focus to provoke Jesus' death. John writes differently as he has a strong Temple theology, 'the Word became flesh and became tabernacled amongst us' chapter 2 reference 'the temple he was referring to his body'. Startling awareness of the overarching plan and incident of Jesus' death. Chronological shift to make a the

2.4 The written charge against Jesus

- His flouting of various purity laws
- Forgiving like it was his to give
- Challenging the practices of priests
- Being in a context that was highly religious and proximity with other teachers.
- Talk about a coming kingdom and arrival on a donkey
- Entered the temple and overturning the tables, announcing a judgement of Jerusalem

2.5 Did Jesus anticipate his death?

Various inferences indicating Jesus was aware of his own demise.

3. THE EARLIEST INTERPRETATION OF JESUS' DEATH

3.1 "Christ died for our sins": the earliest Christian creed

3.2 Atoning death "according to the Scriptures"

1 Corinthians 15:3-8 – earliest interpretation of Jesus' death. Apostle Paul AD 55-56, summarises Jesus' death and states this is what earlier passages referred to. Isaiah 53:2-12 prophecies a suffering servant with continuous repetition of 'for sin/guilt/iniquities' and relation to an eschatological figure.

3.3 The Last Supper once again

Jesus' own thought: Luke 22, 1 Corinthians 11 and Mark 14, independently retell this story. Luke departs from Mark and his account does not correspond to Paul with 20 years apart.

Luke maintains oral tradition different to Paul/Mark. According to Mark and Luke, it is described as Jesus dying for the covenant which sends us to Jeremiah 31 – not the first blood which is Moses and sacrifices, second covenant is for the forgiveness of sins.

3.4 The Last Supper and the Passover

Human sacrifice performing the function of the Passover sacrifice.

3.5 The Last Supper and the new covenant

3.6 Atoning martyrs.

Temple vocabulary and language can be applied.

4 Maccabees 6.28-29, 'Be merciful to your people and let our punishment be a satisfaction on their behalf. Make my blood as purification and take my life as a ransom for theirs'. Writer in the 1st part of the century believed Eleazar (who was long dead) could say this.

4 Maccabees 17.20-22, Jewish authorship there can be little doubt that a learned Israelite to imagine that a brutal sacrificial death at the hands of a Gentile could be used as a sacrifice. Means that Jesus' impending death could no doubt be seen as a sacrifice.

Martin Hengel 'Jesus celebrated the Passover meal with his disciples and in it....in a symbolic action he related the broken bread to the breaking of his body and at the end of the meal the wine in the cup of blessing to the pouring out of his blood, through which the new eschatological covenant with God would be founded and atonement would be achieved for all. '

Without pivoting into theology, demonstrates that the historical Jesus could plausibly see his sacrifice as the atoning payment

Albert Schweitzer – comments on the timeline of Jesus and that Jesus' death would be the statement judgement on Israel.

Lecture 9

THE GOSPEL OF MARK

Gospels

The Gospels are ancient text which as kerygmatic (preaching) biography narrate theologically the history of Jesus in order to evoke and sustain faith in him

They have a purpose and agenda to convince you about something on Jesus. Clearest in the Gospel of John 20:31, 'but these are written so that you believe that Jesus is the Christ'.

PART 1: THE GOSPEL OF MARK AS HISTORICAL TEXT

1. Mark: The first written Gospel

Synoptic Gospels – three gospels 'see together', Mark is the earliest of the extant Christian Gospels (Markan priority)

- a. Most of Mark (93%) is found in either Matthew or Luke
 - i. These two books differ which indicate they used Mark independently
- b. Significant material not in Mark
 - i. But present in Matthew and Luke
- c. Triple tradition stories
 - i. Matthew and Luke generally do not agree with each other when they differ from Mark. Again this suggests both are using Mark independently and Mark was written first
- d. Relative order of events
 - i. Where inconsistencies are present in the chronological order of Matthew or Luke, Mark supports it. From this it seems that Mark is the original order
- e. Mark's style
 - i. Tends to be rougher, less polished Greek which the other two texts seem to correct
- f. Difficult readings
- g. Marky's Aramaisms
 - i. Mark incorporates a number of Aramaic sayings which are translated in Matthew and Luke e.g. little girl wake up
- h. Early Christian testimony
 - i. While Peter was still alive

2. Author

- a. External evidence
 - a. Unanimous witness of the early church: John Mark of Jerusalem on the basis of the apostle Peter's eyewitness testimony
 - i. The Title of the Gospel: evident in the earliest extant source, probably supplied as soon as two or more Gospels were collected together to distinguish one from the other
 - ii. Early Christian testimony
 1. Papias in Eusebius

- a. 110AD, reporting what the elder used to say that Mark wrote it based on Peter's sayings. Did not heard or follow the Lord but later on followed Peter
 - 2. Irenaeus
 - a. Talks about Mark being the 'disciple and interpreter of Peter'
 - 3. Clement of Alexandria
- b. John Mark in the NT: Acts 12.12,
 - i. Son of a Jerusalemite woman named Mary
 - ii. Cousin of Barnabas (Col 4.10)
 - iii. Companion of Paul and Barnabas
 - iv. Present with Paul and Peter in Rome (Philem 24, Col 4.10, 1 Peter 5.13)
 - v. Therefore, closely associated with two leading apostles (Peter and Paul) as well as with Barnabas, spent time in major Christian churches.
- c. Internal evidence
 - i. Aramaic expressions
 - ii. Vivid details
 - iii. Criticisms of the 12 and of Peter, holds the most criticism as it is from Peter compared to others who highly regarded him
 - iv. Peter remembered – Mark 11.21, 14.72, fig tree → eyewitness
 - v. The inclusion of eyewitness testimony Mk 1.16, 16.7. 1st/last mention – inclusion testimony. Doesn't include John the Baptist as he dies.
- d. Conclusion: The evidence strongly supports John Mark as the author of the Gospel, and the apostle Peter as Mark's primary source. Richard Baukham.

3. Date

- a. A date in the late 50s or early 60s
 - i. Luke's use of Mark as a source: Act concludes with Paul still in prison and does not narrate Paul's death in Rome. Thus Acts and therefore Luke, was most likely written before Paul's death 65CE. Luke used Mark, and his book must therefore been available to Luke in 65CE.
 - ii. Early tradition: Mark wrote in Rome while Peter was still alive. Peter arrived in Rome in the mid-fifties, and was martyred under Nero in 64-65CE.
- b. A date in the late 60s
 - i. Testimony of Irenaeus: Mark 'did hand down' his Gospel after the departure of Peter and Paul, this could mean after their relocation and thus after 62CE.
 - ii. Emphasis on suffering: could be referring to Neronian persecution in Rome. But this fits equally well with their current persecution.
 - iii. Mark 13: may reflect Jewish War context of Palestine in the late 60s. But there is nothing in Mark 13 that requires this.
- c. Conclusion: Arguments b. and c. for a date in the mid to late 60s are general and can probably be discounted. The remaining data supports the first date.

4. Provenance

Almost unanimous testimony of the early church

1. External evidence
 - i. NT places Mark in Rome with Peter and Paul: Col 4.10, Phlm 24, 2 Tim 4.11 and 1 Pet 5.13
 - ii. Early Christian testimony: Clements of Alexandria, in Eusebius, Rome Anti-Marcionate Prologue
2. Internal evidence
 - i. Translation of Aramaic
 - ii. Emphasis on suffering for Jesus may reflect Rome during Nero
 - iii. Latinisms: coins and translations
 - iv. Alexandar and Rufus
3. Conclusions: Internal arguments fit almost any major centre in the Roman empire. Nevertheless, the external evidence combined with internal d. strongly suggests Rome

5. Audience

Roman churches contains a mix of Jewish and Gentile house churches (Rom 2-3, 9-11, 14-15). Mark wrote from this network of churches, but for the wider Christian movement. Mark wrote for an oral audience (Mark 13.14)

6. Text

Some differences in the manuscripts and its phrasing. E.g. Mark 1.1 Son of God being part of the original Gospel. Mark 16:9-20 most don't have this manuscript and an editor's inclusion.

PART 2. THE GOSPEL OF MARK AS LITERATURE

1. Genre

Biographical narrative account of Jesus' life, ancient biography focuses on works and deeds rather than upbringing. Particular focus on their death where the figure has fully formed.

Reading Mark as kerygmatic biographical narrative, form and source-criticism: the Gospels as "scissors and paste" accounts of Jesus' life.

Narrative criticism: Gospel as carefully crafted narratives, not annalistic history but interpreted. Charismatic biographies.

2. Structure and contents (K.W. Larsen)

Mark as narrative as a "Drama in Three Acts" with 2 primary explanatory discourses

- Acts 1: Galilee – Jesus announces the kingdom: who is this man?
- Acts 2: On the way to Jerusalem, Jesus teaches about himself and the kingdom: the Christ who will suffer and be vindicated; his life in the kingdom means following him
- Acts 3: Jerusalem – Jesus brings the kingdom: death, resurrection and the final consummation
 - o Shapes Jesus' identity e.g. Jesus calming the waves 'who is this man?'

3. Plot development

Geographic progression: Galilee, Tyre and Sidon, Caesarea Philippi, Journey to Jerusalem
 Themes and characters: Jesus' authority, growing influence, rising opposition against Jesus, suffering and vindication. Part a) who is this man Part b) what does it mean to follow

4. Narrative features

- a. Dramatic features
- b. Extended narratives with vivid details
- c. Intercalation – Markan sandwich, Mark introduces the first story line (Jairus/ the fig tree) but leaves it unresolved.

THE GOSPEL OF MARK AS THEOLOGY

Lecture 10

THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

PART 1. THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1. Author and audience

Not explicitly identified in the Gospel itself, but cross references of Matthew/Levi the tax collector who is also one of the 12 disciples. Often dismissed in scholarship but well supported with internal and external evidence.

External evidence

Gospel superscriptions date it from late first/early second century

- Papias, in Eusebius, 'So then Matthew composed/compiled the oracles/the sayings'
- Origen, in Eusebius, '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'
- Clement of Alexandria, in Eusebius, Matthew committed to writing his Gospel
- Irenaeus, Matthew issued a written Gospel, while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome.

Can't find a Hebrew Matthew anywhere else, no longer extant. The style of the Greek text of Matthew makes it unlikely that Matthew in its present form is a simple translation from a Hebrew/Aramaic original.

Interpretations of the reference of Matthew in Papias – belief that there was a Hebrew version as we only have the Greek copy.

1. Manson: Matthew compiled a collection of sayings and wrote these in Hebrew, these were taken by early church Fathers who confused it with the canonical Matthew
2. Harris: Matthew compiled fulfilment quotations and 'proof texts' from the Hebrew Scriptures. Used in Christian apologetics and later incorporated into canonical Matthew to affirm OT prophecies.
3. Kurzinger: Matthew originally wrote his Gospel in Greek and Papias' reference to the Hebrew style not words, therefore it has a Semitic-feel which makes it seem like it is from the scripture. Not much evidence to support this assumption of a style over a language.
4. Hagner: Conservative approach that Matthew wrote an early Gospel in Hebrew (all of it) then reworked it into a Greek Gospel, using his own material and Mark.
 - i. Evidence doesn't allow a firm conclusion

Internal evidence

Using the Gospel as a mirror through looking inwards, reveals the kind of person

- a. A Jewish-Christian author and audience

- Jewish style: opening genealogy introducing Jesus, Jewish heritage and covenants.
- Repeated 'fulfilment formula' which presents Jesus as the fulfilment of the Hebrew Scriptures.
- Multiple unexplained references to Jewish customs – ceremonial washings, temple tax, phylacteries and tassels, whitewashed tombs. Indicates an assumption that the readers understand Jewish practices.
- Clear Israel and Moses typologies that run through the Gospel
- The strong indications that the author knew Hebrew

b. In a Hellenistic-Jewish environment

- Greek text – final form
- Use of LXX as well as own translations from Hebrew Scriptures. Citations from OT

c. In conflict and debate with the wider Jewish community

- Strong polemical engagement – sharp criticism of Jewish leaders
- Culpability of Jewish crowds at Jesus' trial → blood is on us, only in Matthew
- Jewish reports 'even to this day', empty tomb - note of chief priests spreading lies
- 'their synagogues', not ours, distancing themselves in the readership

d. Ongoing mission to Jews

- General Jewish tenor of the Gospel
- Matthew 10:23, attributes to Jesus instructing the disciples to go to the lost sheep of Israel instead of the Gentiles.

e. Active Gentile mission

- The prominence of Abram in narrative contexts which evoke God's promise that Abraham would be 'the father of many nations', time of blessing has arrived
- Matthew's genealogy includes many Gentile women, shows right up-front Matthew's interest in the covenant featuring non-Jews
- Location of Jesus' initial mission in "Galilee of the Gentiles"
- The first fruits of the Gentiles coming to faith in Christ in the stories of the magi and the Canaanite woman
- Jesus' prophecy to a non-Jew, the centurion, that many coming from the east and west into the kingdom of God. Results of eschatological prophesying to non-Jews.
- Jesus' explicit prophecy to all the nations, to the whole world (Matthew 24.14)
- World-wide mission, great commission (Matthew 28.18-20)

→ Locates the author to be a Jewish Christian in a Hellenistic context in conflict with the Jewish community and engaged in mission to them and the wider community to Gentiles.

f. Unique self-references

- Self-identification of the list of apostles of Matthew as the tax collector (Matt 10.3)
- The reference to the 'scribe' who becomes a disciple may be plausibly read as a non-exclusive self-reference to Matthew's clerical skill = people like me.

2. Date

Upper limit (*terminus ad quem*) 100CE: Matthew quoted in Ignatius, Eph 19.1-3, Polycarpe and Didache – sources the Lord's Prayer from the gospel.

Majority view: 70-100CE

- Dependence on the Gospel of Mark (55-70CE)
- Alleged 'anachronisms' evident in references to the destruction of Jerusalem (22.7) and to church point to post 70CE e.g. Upon Peter I will build my church (16.18).
- The phrase 'to this very day' is said to suggest a significant time lapse
- Evidence of Jewish-Christian tension in Matthew is said to suggest a date around the supposed 'Council of Jamnia' (90CE) considered to be high point of tensions.

Minority view: pre70CE

Response to arguments above:

- It is possible
- The references to the destruction of Temple and emergence of the church are general, and therefore amenable to early date. General nature of prophecies regarding the destruction of Jerusalem may suggest a date pre70.
- 30 years is reasonable time period to use this phrase 'to this very day' (30-60CE)
- Jewish Christians tensions was an ongoing, irregularly developing, locally differentiated phenomenon. Evidence for Council at Jamnia is weak.

Positive arguments for an early date

- The connection with Matthew the apostle suggests an early date – in his lifespan
- Early Church Fathers were unanimous for an early date. For them this was tied to Matthean authorship and priority, but the two issues can be split
- Matthew records a number of sayings of Jesus that suggest the Temple was still standing when he wrote. The preservation of some of these stories in a post 70CE document is difficult to explain. E.g. Temple tax – it seems Matthew would have let stand without comment the implication that Jesus supported this tax. Pre-70 before that situation has occurred.
- Matthew's incidental historical notes fit with pre-70 period
- Matthew has no undisputed dependence on Paul, whereas all Church Fathers show heavy reliance. Due to the massive influence of Paul and his letters, the earlier the date assigned Matthew the more explicable this independence.

3. Sources

Majority view: 'Two source hypothesis'

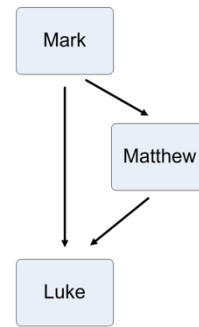
Connections between the Gospels, Matthew's literary dependence on Mark (80%), as well as 'Q' and 'M'. This view relies on the acceptance of Markan priority. Q is a hypothesis (written and oral sources).

Dispensing with Q: the Farrer-Goulder-Goodacre hypothesis

This view accepts the arguments for Markan priority, but dispenses with Q by arguing that Luke used Mark and Matthew. 2 arguments are mounted here:

- Lack of physical evidence for Q: it is better to explain the relationships between actual known sources than to resort to hypothetical sources for which we have no physical evidence.
- Matthew-Luke agreements against Mark: Why is there agreement unless one of them used the other? Is it coincidental or literary dependence?

Farrer hypothesis



Matthean priority: the Griesbach-Farmer hypothesis or 'Two Gospel hypothesis'

Argues that Matthew was written first, that Luke used Matthew and Mark abbreviated both.

- Strong early church tradition which supports Matthew. The Griesbach hypothesis makes use of the same arguments against 'Q' as the Farrer hypothesis.
- Against this view is the observation that Mark is a very unusual abbreviation.

PART 2. THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW IN LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

1. Genre

Jewish style Greco-Roman biography, claiming Jesus is the Messiah, the Christ. Clear theological perspective

2. Literary features

- Concise style – more stories with less detail e.g. Matthew 9:18-26, Mark 5:21-43
- Fulfilment formulas and OT quotations, 'this was to fulfil' theme, 1.22. 2.15-19
- Narrative outline
 - o Prologue: genealogy and birth of the Messiah
 - o The appearance of the Messiah
 - o The Messiah announces the kingdom of heaven
 - o Responses to the Messiah: rejection by Israel, acceptance by the disciples
 - o The Messiah inaugurates the kingdom of heaven through rejection and vindication: the passion and resurrection.
 - Relates to Moses, Jesus as the greater teacher. 5 books → 5 sermons on the mount. Dale Allison 'the new Moses'. Matthean themes.

PART 3. DISTINCTIVE THEOLOGICAL THEMES IN THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

1. Jesus' life and work is the climax of the story of Israel

- The genealogy, consistent connections and patterns. Deliberately foreshadows this.
- Moses and Israel typology, he is the new and better Israel. (1.18-4.11)
 - o Joseph and the dreams, descent to and return from Egypt, passing through the waters (baptism), testing in the wilderness, instruction from the mountain
- Repentance for forgiveness of signs in light of the coming Kingdom
- Fulfilment formulas and citations – distinctive theme

2. Jesus is the Son of God and servant of the Lord

Son of God in the Hebrew Scriptures

- Israel as 'Son of God' (Exod 4.22-23, Hos11.1) and is Israel's King as 'Son of God' (2 Sam 7.14, Psalm 2.7, Psalm 2.7, 89.26-27). Covenant, line of David

Servant of the Lord in Isaiah 40-55

- The servant in Israel: Isa 41.8-9; 44.1, 21; 48.20; 49.3.
- The servant is an individual or subgroup within Israel Isa 49.5-6, 52.13-53.12

Jesus as Son of God and Servant of the Lord in Matthew

- The Servant of the Lord 3.17; 8.17; 12.17-21
- The Son of God 3.17, 14.33, 16.16, 17.5, 27.40-43, 27.54. Worship and authority.
- Echoes of divine sonship from the OT, melding these figures, Son of God + Servant of the Lord = JESUS

3. Jesus is the suffering yet victorious Son of Man

The Son of Man in the Hebrew Scriptures

- Ps 8.4
- Ezekiel 2.1, 3,6,8; 3.1, 3, 4, 10, 17, 25
- Daniel 7.13-14
- The Danielic 'one like a son of man', a new Adam, A God-like universal sovereign

The Son of Man in Matthew

- The suffering Son of Man: 12.40, 12.17, 22; 20.18, 28 (cf. Isa 52-53); 26.2
- The coming Son of Man: 10.23; 13.41; 16.27-28; 19.28; 24.27, 30, 37, 30, 44; 25.31; 26.64
- Jesus' vindication in his ascension and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem OR Jesus' return for the judgement and the renewal of all things.

4. Jesus announces and inaugurates the 'Kingdom of Heaven'

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
Kingdom of God	5	15	32	2
Kingdom of Heaven	32	0	0	0
Kingdom	14	0	7	3
Total	51	15	39	5

Kingdom of heaven vs. Kingdom of God

Neither 'heaven' (place Christians go when they die) nor 'inner peace' but 'God's sovereign, dynamic and eschatological (final) rule' over his creation through his Son. 4.17, 12.28

5. Jesus announces judgement on national Israel, reconstitutes Israel in his resurrection, and sends his disciples to the nations

All complete and achieved through him. He is the replacement of Israel as the true Son and so therefore now go to the gentiles as Jesus has fulfilled the law so now go forth. 8.5-13, 10.1-6; 15.24; 22.1-14 etc.

Lecture 11

THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

PART 1. THE GOSPEL OF LUKE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1. Author, date and audience

Author

Author not identified in the text of the Gospel itself, classical Greek style, familiarity with Jewish Scriptures in Greek. Aware of Roman chronology and customs, link it to the Roman world (Luke 3). Identifies Luke as someone who as educated Hellenized Jew or Gentile God-fearer. The 'physician' and 'fellow worker' of Paul (Col 4.14, Philm 23, 2 Tim 4.11)

- External evidence from Lukan authorship

From late first/early second century, uniformly identify this Gospel as 'according to Luke'.

- o MSS ascribes book to Luke, earliest extant – late 2nd/early 3rd century
- o Unanimous for Lukan authorship: Marcion, Justin Martyr, Muratorian Canon, Tertullian.
- o Irenaeus Against Heresies

He is not an apostle or else there would be a linked to James, John, disciples. Indicates authenticity in keeping it to Luke, universal attribution.

- Internal evidence

The 'we' passages of Acts. (16.8-17, 20.5-15, 21.1-18, 27.1-28.16), indicates someone was with Paul. The companions include Luke, plus the use of medical language in Luke and Acts (Luke 4.38, Matt 8.14, Mk 1.30). Makes a very strong historical construction that it is Luke.

Date

Most arguments presuppose that Luke post-dates Mark and pre-dates Act

- Majority view: A date 75-85CE

Becomes problematic if Luke was to use Mark and it predates him (60s), and he uses Mark quite intentionally. Does not correspond with the 'many' accounts Luke mentions in the prologue. The prediction of the fall of Jerusalem may reflect the actual events (Luke 21:20), and his theology of concern of the 'delay of the parousia' (Luke 12.45, Mt 24.48). Becomes apologetic that he is awaiting Jesus' return but he has not.

- Minority view: a date in the 60s CE

Act ends with Paul's imprisonment in Rome (61-62CE), given the parallels developed he died in the Neronian persecution in 64-65CE. Argument from silence is quite significant as Paul's martyrdom is not narrated. This need to go to Rome parallels with Jesus' journey to Jerusalem. Emphasized by Luke-Acts generally positive view of Roman authority.

Major persecution in Rome 65-70CE, strange for it not to be mentioned in the book of Acts. It notes the fulfilment of the prophecy of Agabus regarding the famine (Acts 11.28), significant that the work is silent about the fulfilment of Jesus' prophecy regarding the destruction of Jerusalem (Luke 21:20).

Acts makes no reference to Paul's letter writing activity, this is harder to account for on a later dating of Acts, given that Paul's letters were considered significant in the early church.

Audience

Theophilus (Luke 1.3, Acts 1.1), the way people can write things is by being funded by a patron. A believer to give a written account. Also given to Gentile believers in general conveyed by literary style designed to engage educated Gentiles, interprets Jewish elements (Luke 21.20, Mark 13.14) salvation for those not descended by Abraham. For Theophilus and others like him.

2. Sources, methods and purpose

Method and sources

A carefully researched and deliberately constructed account. Luke is very close connection to Mark, Luke 1-9 and Mark 1-9, along with the passion narrative.

A plurality of written sources

- Q – common source between Luke and Matthew, concentrated in the journey narrative Luke 9-19.
- L – Luke's special material, birth story, account of the resurrection.

A plurality of oral sources

- Luke 1.2, 'inclusio of eye witness testimony'
- Peter (Luke 4.38, 24.34, Mark 1.16, 16.7)
- Mary (treasured these things in her heart), Joanna, Susanna (Luke 8.2-3, 24.6-8, 10)

Purpose

Luke 1.4 – so that you may know the truth concerning things about which you have been instructed.

"Insider" focus: to strengthen the convictions of believers.

Apologetic goal: to equip believers to defend the faith in the Graeco-Roman world. Especially as this was a very contested faith.

PART 2. THE GOSPEL OF LUKE IN LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

1. Narrative and authorial unity with Acts

Analogous prologues, common language, style and theological themes, parallel narratives (Jesus to Jerusalem, Paul to Rome). Open ups spaced for a sequel (Luke 22:69) Luke and Acts 'are not merely two independent writings from the same pen; they are a single continuous work. Acts is neither an appendix nor an afterthought' – Henry Cadbruy, *The Making of Luke-Acts*

2. Genre

- Early 20th century consensus: The Gospels as sui generis.
- Recent re-evaluation of focusing on parallels with Hellenistic literature.
 - o Alexander: scientific treatise
 - o Burridge: ancient biography
 - o Hengel: kerygmatic (proclamation preaching), you're being convinced
 - o Squires: Graeco-Roman historiography.

Comparison from ancient texts, Josephus, common style in prologue

3. Narrative outline

- Prologue 1.1-4
- Jesus' birth and childhood 1-2
- Jesus' preparation for ministry 3-4
- Jesus in Galilee 4-9
- Jesus on the way to Jerusalem 9-19
- Jesus' teaching in the Jerusalem temple 20-21
- Jesus' sufferings and death 22-23
- Jesus' exaltation 24

Key themes: salvation to all, eschatological reversal,

4. Narrative analysis

Prologue (1.1-4)

The prologue introduces the nature and purpose of the work as a whole, its sources, its recipient and its goal are all explicitly named.

The birth of the Saviour (1.5-2.52)

The birth narrative announces the long-awaited fulfilment of God's promises to Israel: at last God's salvation has arrived! Luke dramatises this section by changing the style of his narrative to the archaic Greek of the LXX. This transports readers back into the world of the Old Testament. The key characters – Zechariah and Elizabeth, Joseph and Mary, Simeon and Anna – represent the faithful remnant, worshipping at the temple in Jerusalem, and awaiting the Saviour. The announcement that the time of salvation has arrived is tied up with the announcement of two imminent births, those of John and Jesus. These two births are set in parallel in order to highlight the significance of the birth of Jesus: John's birth to a barren old woman is a miracle, but Jesus' birth to a young virgin is utterly unique; John is called to 'prepare the way for the Lord' (1.17), but Jesus is the Saviour, Messiah and Lord who comes (2.11); John is a 'prophet of the Most High' (1.76), but Jesus is the 'Son of the Most High' (1.32). The announcement of salvation in Jesus draws from Luke's characters songs of praise: first Mary (1.46-55), then Zechariah (1.68-79), the angelic chorus (2.14) and Simeon (2.29-32) praise God the Saviour (1.47; 2.30) because in Jesus he has raised up a Saviour from the line of David (1.69; 2.11), who will save God's people from their enemies (1.71), bring relief for the poor and oppressed (1.51-54), forgiveness of sins for his people (1.77), and revelation to the Gentiles (2.32; cf. Isa 42.6; 49.6). All this has come about in accordance with God's promises to Abraham (1.55, 73) and through the prophets (1.70). In this way, Luke's birth narrative introduces the major themes of the Gospel: God's faithfulness to his promises to Israel as the foundation for a universal salvation, the identity of Jesus as Messiah and Lord, and the good news as a message for the poor, weak and oppressed – all of which draws from God's people the response of joyful praise. At the same time, there are hints already that God's salvation will confound Jewish expectations: Jesus is born to a lowly family, his birth is announced to shepherds, and he will be 'a sign that will be opposed' so that his mother's soul will be pierced by a sword (2.34-35). The final scene in this section has Jesus in the temple at the age of twelve. This scene is unique to Luke amongst the Gospels. Its purpose is introduce

Jesus as the Son of his heavenly Father (2.49), and it emphasizes, by an *inclusio*, that God has endowed Jesus, his Son, the Messiah, with remarkable wisdom (2.40, 52), just as the prophets foretold (Isa 11.2). This final scene also plays an important role in Luke's overarching narrative: the Gospel ends as it begins here, with a married couple, just outside Jerusalem, searching for Jesus, and finding him after three days in the most remarkable of circumstances (cf. 24.24-35).

The preparation of the Saviour (3.1-4.13)

In Luke, as in the other Gospels, John the Baptist prepares the way for Jesus. Luke's account, however, contains three unique features that serve to develop Luke's emphasis on universal salvation and good news for the poor: i. Luke locates the ministries of John and Jesus on the world stage to emphasise the universal significance of these real historical events (3.1-2); ii. Luke, like the other Gospels (Mk 1.3; Matt 3.3; Jn 1.23), presents John the Baptist as the fulfilment of Isaiah 40.3. Luke, however, extends the citation to include Isaiah 40.5: 'all flesh shall see the salvation of God' (Lk 3.6). iii. Luke, like the other Gospels, records John the Baptist's announcement of impending judgment and call to repentance; but uniquely amongst the Gospels, Luke also records John's call to social justice (3.10-14). John the Baptist prepares the way, but once Jesus begins his ministry John disappears from the scene. Luke emphasizes this by narrating John's arrest and imprisonment before Jesus' baptism (3.19-20). Jesus' baptism itself, at which time the Spirit of God descends on Jesus, inaugurates the new age: Jesus is 'anointed' by the Spirit as Messiah (cf. Luke's emphasis on the Spirit at 4.1, 14, 18), and the voice from heaven confirms Jesus' identity as the Davidic Messiah (3.22; cf. Ps 2.7: 'you are my Son') and the Isaianic, Spirit-endowed, Servant of the LORD (3.22; Isa 42.1: 'with you I am well pleased'). The genealogy (3.23-38) further emphasizes Jesus' role as the one in whom God's promises to David and Abraham are being fulfilled. But Luke traces the line of Jesus even further back, to Adam, 'the son of God' (3.38). The point is clear: in Jesus, God is now at work to establish his true king, to fulfil his promises to Israel, and so to bring blessing to all the world. The account of Jesus' temptation (4.1-13) underlines this point. Jesus, the one true Son of God, empowered and directed by the Spirit of God, is a new Adam, and a new Israel: where they failed, this one succeeds, obeying his heavenly Father, and so confounding the Evil One. Unique to Luke, 12 however, is the editorial comment at 4.13: the devil departed from Jesus 'until an opportune time'. More than any other Gospel, Luke emphasizes that Jesus' struggle with the Evil One will run throughout his ministry, and only reach its climax, again in Jerusalem, when Jesus overcomes the final temptation (22.39-46; cf. 4.31-37; 8.12; 9.38-42; 10.17-18; 11.14-22; 13.11-17).

The Galilean Ministry of the Saviour (4.14-9.50)

The focus of Jesus' ministry in Galilee is his proclamation of the 'kingdom of God' (4.43; 6.20; 7.28; 8.1, 10; 9.2, 27). Luke introduces this ministry with a unique report of Jesus' sermon in the synagogue in Nazareth (4.14-30) in which Jesus declares himself to be the Messiah of Isaiah 61.1-2: anointed by the Spirit, he has come to bring 'good news to the poor' (4.18-21). Jesus clarifies that this good news is not only for Israel, but – as in the days of Elijah and Elisha – for those outside the borders of the chosen people. His announcement of salvation therefore causes offence, and the people attempt to throw him off a cliff near Nazareth: 'no prophet is accepted in the prophet's hometown' (4.24, 29). In the following narrative, Jesus

begins to fulfil the prophecy of Isaiah 61: he preaches good news to the poor in Capernaum (4.31-32), frees prisoners oppressed by the Evil One (4.31-37, 41), and heals the sick (4.38-39, 40; 5.12-14, 17-26). The remainder of this section to the end of chapter 9 is dotted with accounts of Jesus' mighty works. Jesus not only announces the kingdom of God; he also enacts it as he continues to heal the sick (8.40-56), cast out demons (8.26-39; 9.37-43), bring order out of chaos (8.22-25) and feed the hungry (9.12-17). This ministry is popular, but not without controversy. In particular, Jesus raises the ire of the 'scribes and the Pharisees' in Galilee by his disregard for their scruples regarding the Sabbath (6.1-11). The opposition is fierce, for they are 'filled with with fury' and discuss what they might do to him (6.11). Jesus' ministry in Galilee also includes the calling and teaching of disciples. Luke shares the evocative phrase 'fishers of men' with the other Synoptics (5.10: ζωγράφων; cf. Mk 1.16; Matt 4.19: ἀλιεῖς) but uniquely links Jesus' call of Simon Peter, James and John, to a miraculous catch of fish (5.1-11). After a night at prayer (6.12), Jesus chooses twelve men to be his disciples (6.13). After a period of being 'with Jesus' (5.9; 8.1, 38), the Master sends out the Twelve with 'power and authority' to extend his kingdom work: they are to 'proclaim the kingdom of God and to heal', and are given power and authority over all demons and to cure diseases' (9.1-2). In this section, Luke also records Jesus' great 'Sermon on the Plain'. Here Jesus' fills out his proclamation of the kingdom of God by teaching about its 'upside down' and 'inside out' values.

Luke, unlike Matthew, does not record any spiritual qualifications of Jesus' radical teaching (Lk 6.20-26; cf. Matt 5.3-12). Jesus speaks directly to the outcasts and the downtrodden: 'blessed are you who are poor ... blessed are you who are hungry now' (6.20-21). He likewise warns the rich and powerful: 'woe to you who are rich ... woe to you who are full' (6.24-25). In this way, Luke characteristically emphasizes the deep connection between spiritual realities and their social and economic manifestations. The kingdom of God is God's sovereign, gracious, eschatological rule over his creation. In Jesus' ministry God himself has entered his corrupt and broken world in order to reclaim it for himself. Far from being some other-worldly dimension disconnected from the realities of life, the kingdom of God brings 'radical reversal of fortunes and a reordering of society's values' around the King. For this reason, the heart of Jesus teaching is his radical call to love: to love God, 14 one's neighbour, and even one's enemies (6.27-35; cf. 10.27; 11.42); in this way the new community of Jesus' disciples will reflect the character of their heavenly Father, who is 'kind to the ungrateful and the wicked' (6.35). Following the Sermon, Luke records a range of responses to Jesus' teaching about the kingdom of God. Over and over again, it is the outsiders, the outcasts and the unlikely who come to Jesus to receive forgiveness and healing (7.1-10: Roman centurion; 7.11-17: widow's son at Nain; 7.36-50: sinful woman), while the self-righteous, the powerful, the proud keep their distance and receive his rebuke (7.29-35). Jesus' pronouncement to Simon the Pharisee summarizes the theme of this section: those who have been forgiven much, love much; those who think they don't need forgiveness, love little (7.47). The parable of the sower and the soils, which Luke shares with the other Synoptics (8.4-15; cf. Mk 4.3-20; Matt 13.3-23), brings all of this together: Jesus is sowing the word of the kingdom; only those who 'hear the word' and 'hold it fast in an honest and good heart' will 'bear fruit with patient endurance' (8.15). In the midst of all of this, the question of Jesus' identity cannot be avoided. John the Baptist sends his disciples to ask whether Jesus is 'the one who was to come' (7.19). Jesus' own disciples, after Jesus has astounded them by calming a storm on the lake, ask 'who is this?' (8.25). And the question is repeated by Herod Antipas who, hearing

reports of Jesus' mighty works, wonders 'Who, then, is this I hear such things about?' (9.9). The answer to this question comes in two forms. First, Jesus himself, echoing his sermon in Nazareth (4.14-30), explains that his actions are nothing less than the fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah (7.22; cf. Isa 26.19; 29.18-19; 35.5-6; 61.1-2). Second, Peter, the leader of the disciples, explicitly confesses Jesus as 'the Christ of God' (9.18-27). As in Mark and Matthew, 15 Peter's confession is the climax of the narrative up to this point, and a turning point in the ministry of Jesus. Jesus immediately begins to teach the disciples that 'the Son of man' must 'suffer many things ... and be killed, and on the third day be raised' (9.22; cf. Mk 8.31; Matt 16.21). In stark contrast to much Jewish expectation at the time, Jesus the Messiah is called to suffer and die, before rising again. In the chapters that follow, Jesus reiterates and expands on this radical vision of messiahship in two more 'passion predictions' (9.43-45; cf. Mk 9.31; Matt 17.22-23; and Lk 18.31-33; cf. Mk 10.33-34; Matt 20.18-19). Shockingly, he also teaches that those who wish to follow him must be ready to have their lives shaped by his: 'If anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily, and follow me' (9.23). Luke concludes his account of Jesus' Galilean ministry with Jesus' transfiguration on the mountain. Following directly after Peter's confession of Jesus as the Christ, and Jesus' teaching about his passion and resurrection, the vision of Jesus' glory at the transfiguration confirms both that confession, and that teaching. Luke alone records the content of the conversation Jesus has with Moses and Elijah. They discuss his imminent 'departure' (τὴν ἔξοδον) in Jerusalem. Just as Moses let the people out of slavery in Egypt, so Jesus will soon lead his people out of slavery to sin and death, through his own death, resurrection and ascension to the right hand of God. The glory the disciples have seen on the mountain is a foretaste of Jesus' destiny, and to confirm all of this God speaks again from heaven, as he did earlier at Jesus' baptism, to declare that Jesus is 'my Son, my chosen' (9.35).

The Mission of the Saviour: The Journey to Jerusalem (9.51-19.27)

At Luke 9.51 Jesus 'sets his face to go to Jerusalem'. The long section that follows (to 19.27) is Luke's 'travel narrative' and contains much that is unique to Luke's Gospel. Luke repeatedly reminds us that Jesus is travelling (9.57; 10.1, 38; 18.35; 19.1) and that Jerusalem is his goal (9.51-56; 13.22, 33; 17.11; 18.31; 19.11, 28, 41; cf. 19.45). Jesus' journey to Jerusalem is loaded with theological significance: it is in Jerusalem that God will reveal himself and save his people, and 'it is impossible for a prophet to be killed outside of Jerusalem' (13.31-35). On this journey Jesus and his disciples continue to proclaim the kingdom of God while performing miracles (9.60, 62; 10.9, 11; 11.2, 20; 13.18, 20, 28-29; 14.15; 16.16; 17.20-21; 18.16-17, 24-25, 29; 19.11), but the focus of Luke's travel narrative is Jesus' teaching. This teaching has a dual focus. On the one hand, Jesus speaks many parables that have the theme of eschatological reversal, and often focus on God's care for the poor, the lost and the outcast. These include the good Samaritan (10.29-37), the rich fool (12.13-21), the great banquet (14.16-24), the lost sheep, lost coin and lost son (15.1-32), the rich man and Lazarus (16.19-31), the persistent widow (18.1-8) and the Pharisee and the tax collector (18.9-14). In all of these, Jesus declares that God intends to bless humble 'outsiders', while proud 'insiders' will suffer rebuke or loss. On the other hand, on his journey to Jerusalem, Jesus teaches about the cost of discipleship. The section opens with Jesus' reply to three prospective disciples in which he explains the cost of following him (9.57-62). Jesus soon sends out seventy disciples in pairs ahead of him, to proclaim the kingdom of God, 'as lambs into the midst of wolves' (10.1-24). The nature and cost of discipleship is also emphasized in:

Jesus prayer of thanks to God for revealing himself through Jesus to (10.21-24); the story of Mary and Mary, where Mary's willingness to learn from Jesus models true discipleship (10.38-42); explicit instructions about counting the cost of discipleship (14.25-35); and a range of instructions about righteous living (eg. 11.1-13: prayer; 12.22-31: worry; 12.35-48; 17.20-37: watchfulness; 17.5-10: faith; 18.9-17: humility; 12.13-21; 16.1-13, 19-31; 18.18-30: use of money). In all of this, Jesus lays out a comprehensive vision of discipleship in the kingdom of God, following in the way of the cross. Jesus journey to Jerusalem reaches its climax in Jericho when Jesus meets Zacchaeus (19.1-10) and then tells a parable about the return of a king (19.12-27). The Zacchaeus episode sums up Jesus' mission in the Gospel of Luke. Zacchaeus is a chief tax collector, a hopelessly lost Israelite – 'the worst among the worst' – and yet 'the Son of Man came to seek and to save what was lost' (19.10). The salvation Jesus announced back in Nazareth (4.21) now arrives in Zacchaeus' home (19.9): 'Today salvation has come to this house, because this man, too, is a son of Abraham (19.9). The parable that follows is similar to Matthew's parable of the talents (Matt 25.14-30), but Luke's version emphasises the now-but-not-yet tension of the kingdom of God. Jesus tells the parable, because 'they supposed that the kingdom of God was to appear immediately' (19.11). The parable clarifies, however, that Jesus must first go away (cf. his 'departure' at 9.31), and receive his throne, before he returns in judgment (cf. 9.51; 22.69; Acts 2.30-36; 3.19-23). As with the transfiguration 16 scene, Luke here again emphasizes Jesus' heavenly reign.

The Saviour in Jerusalem: Conflict and Controversy (19.28-21.38)

In Luke 19.28, Jesus approaches Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, riding on a donkey, as the humble peace-bringing King of Zechariah 9.9. The disciples hail him as Messiah in the words of Psalm 118.26: 'blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord' (19.38; cf. Mk 11.9-10; Matt 21.9). This is the great climactic moment for which the faithful remnant have been waiting: the king has come! There is, indeed, an even deeper mystery in Jesus' 'triumphal entry' to Jerusalem: in it, Jesus embodies the return of the LORD himself to Zion, the great Day of Jerusalem's 'visitation' by God (19.44; cf. Lk 1.68; Isa 52.8; Zech 14.5). This indeed is a day on which even the stones should cry out in celebration as creation welcomes its King (19.40)! And yet, the leaders of the holy city do not recognise the time of their visitation (19.44), and so Jesus weeps for the city (19.41). He had longed to gather its people under his wings, but they were not willing (13.33-35). He had offered them the way of peace, but now judgment will overtake them (19.42): God will send the might of the Roman army to bring just judgment upon his rebellious people (19.43-44). Indeed, having pronounced this judgment upon the city of Jerusalem, Jesus proceeds to enact it in prophetic symbol reminiscent of Jeremiah or Ezekiel: in driving the traders out of the temple, he enacts the impending destruction of the city (19.45). Luke 20 presents Jesus in a series of debates with the Jewish leaders. The scene is reminiscent of Luke 2.46-47 when the boy Jesus sat with the teachers and asked them questions and amazed them with his answers. Now, however, it is the teachers who ask Jesus questions, and they ask only in order to trap him (20.20). They ask him about the source of his authority (20.1-9), about paying taxes to Caesar (20.20-26), and about the resurrection (20.27-40). As at the beginning of the Gospel, so now at the end, the teachers are amazed at Jesus answers (20.26). Now, however, it is the kind of amazement that leads them to plot to take his life (20.19). But Jesus is not only on the defensive here. In the midst of these debates, he tells the parable of the wicked tenant

farmers (20.9-19). This parable evokes Isaiah's vision of Israel as a LORD's vineyard (Isa 5), and predicts both Jesus' imminent rejection by the leaders of the Jews, and the judgment God will bring upon them. Similarly, at the end of the debates, when Jesus' answers have silenced the questions of the Jewish leaders, Jesus presents them with a riddle, which points to his true identity as the Christ (20.40-44). He then denounces scribes for their greed and hypocrisy (20.45-47), and contrasts their unrighteousness with the righteousness of the widow, who self-sacrificially gives out of her poverty (21.1-5). The remainder of Luke 21 presents Jesus' teaching regarding the future. Luke, more than the other Evangelists, brings out Jesus' shocking prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem. Where Mark and Matthew, record Jesus' cryptic words about the 'abomination of desolation' (Mk 13.14; Matt 24.15), Luke has Jesus speak plainly: 'when you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that its desolation has come near' (21.20). This prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem leads into a prophecy of the 'coming of the Son of man' (21.27) and universal judgment (21.35). Although this passage, and its parallels in Mark 13 and Matthew 24-25 are much debated, it seems best to understand them as simultaneously predicting the destruction of Jerusalem, and the great final judgment on all the wicked, of which Jerusalem's demise is the paradigmatic example.

The Passion of the Saviour in Jerusalem (22.1-23.56)

Luke 22-23 present the climax of the Gospel. These chapters narrate Jesus last supper with his disciples, his prayers and arrest in Gethsemane, his 'trials' before the Sanhedrin, Pilate and Herod, and his crucifixion. Luke's account of these events, even more than the other Gospels, emphasizes how these events took place in fulfilment of Scripture (esp. Isa 53), and that Jesus is the righteous (δίκαιος) Servant of the LORD, an innocent man (23.4, 14-15, 22, 41, 47), who suffers to bring salvation to many. The narrative begins with an account of Judas' plot to betray Jesus (22.6), and with Jesus' last supper with his disciples. Luke notes that Judas acted at the instigation of Satan (22.3): the 'opportune time' for which the Devil had been waiting, has now arrived (cf. 4.13). Jesus then celebrates the Passover with his disciples (22.7-38). Luke's account is much fuller than Matthew and Mark here. He records Jesus' teaching about his death as the sacrifice that will establish the 'new covenant' (22.20; cf. Jer 31.31-34; the phrase 'new covenant' is unique to Luke). He teaches again about true greatness in the kingdom of God, which is found only in the way of service and sacrifice for the sake of others (22.24-27). He promises that disciples will reign with him in his kingdom (22.28-30). He prophesies that Simon Peter will be tested by Satan and fail, but then be restored (22.31-34). And he gives new instructions for a new mission (cf. 9.3-5). In all of this, Jesus sees the fulfilment of Scripture, and especially of Isaiah 53: 'Scripture must be fulfilled in me' (22.22, 37; cf. Isa 53.12). Jesus next heads to the Mount of Olives and prays there alone, while the disciples fall asleep (22.39-46). He is faithful to the end, obediently trusting in his Father's will, while the disciples fail.

In the middle of this scene, Judas arrives with a crowd of chief priests, temple police and elders. He identifies Jesus and seals his betrayal with a kiss. One of the disciples strikes the slave of the high priest with a sword. Luke alone records that Jesus healed the man: even in the midst of chaos, Jesus is compassionate and in control (22.47-53). Jesus is taken to the house of the high priest. Peter follows at a distance and, when placed under pressure, denies any knowledge of Jesus. Luke dramatically emphasizes the personal nature of Peter's failure:

at the moment of Peter's third denial, as the cock crows, Jesus turns and looks at Peter (22.54-62). Meanwhile, Jesus is mocked and beaten by the men who are holding him (22.63-64). At daybreak, he is brought before the Sanhedrin and questioned as to whether he claims to be the Messiah. Jesus refuses to answer them, just as they have refused to answer his call throughout his ministry (22.66-68). Instead, Jesus speaks prophetically of the fulfilment of Psalm 110.1 in his exaltation: 'from now on the Son of man will be seated at the right hand of the power of God' (22.69). At this point in Mark and Matthew (Mk 14.62; Matt 26.64), Jesus speaks both of his session at the right hand of God (Ps 110.1) and of his 'coming on the clouds (Dan 7.13-14). Luke, however, consistent with his emphasis throughout the Gospel, only records Jesus' words about being seated at the right hand of God. Luke is not uninterested in Jesus' future advent (cf. Acts 1.11). But at this point, prior to Jesus' death and resurrection, he chooses to focus on the next stage of God's plan of salvation: the verdict of the Jewish leaders will be overturned when God enthrones Jesus at his right hand. This prophecy gives the Sanhedrin another chance to question Jesus regarding his messianic identity: 'are you, then, the Son of God'? Jesus' ambiguous reply 'you say that I am' makes it clear that they know he is making that claim. They seize on this as adequate evidence of his guilt and deliver him to Pilate (22.70-23.1). Before Pilate, the Sanhedrin cast their accusations against Jesus in terms the Roman governor can't ignore. Luke here again provides more detail than Mark and Matthew by listing three charges: 'We found this man perverting our nation, forbidding us to pay taxes to the emperor, and saying that he himself is the Messiah, a king' (23.2). Pilate finds no basis for the charges against Jesus (again – Jesus is innocent). Nevertheless, under continuing pressure from the Jewish leadership, and finding that Jesus comes from Galilee, Pilate decides to send Jesus to Herod (Antipas) who is in Jerusalem for the Passover (23.6-12). Luke alone records this meeting. It serves to underscore his emphasis on the innocence of Jesus, for Herod sends Jesus back to Pilate without charge (cf. 23.15). Finally, Pilate calls together the Sanhedrin again, and again declares Jesus' innocence. Despite this, under consistent pressure from the Jewish leadership, now joined by the crowds, Pilate hands Jesus over for execution (23.13-25). On his way to the cross, Jesus continues to act as a prophet concerned more for others than himself. In another encounter unique to Luke, he speaks to the women of Jerusalem and warns them of the destruction that is coming (23.27-31). In the same way, as Jesus hangs on the cross, in yet another brief encounter unique to Luke, Jesus declares God's forgiveness to the bandit on his left in response to the sinner's faith (23.40-43). The whole account is thick with irony. Three times, as Jesus hangs on the cross, the Jewish leaders, the soldiers, and one of the bandits crucified with him call on him to demonstrate that he is the Messiah, the King of the Jews, by save himself (23.35, 37, 39). The truth, which is hidden from these three groups is, however, plain to the repentant bandit and to the Roman centurion: Jesus is an innocent man, the one righteous Servant of the LORD, who dies to bring salvation to others (23.41, 47). The account closes, like those in the other Synoptic Gospels, with Joseph of Arimthea arranging for Jesus' burial (23.50-54). The women see the tomb, and then return to prepare spices and ointments to be applied to Jesus' body after the Sabbath rest (23.55-56).

The Resurrection and Ascension of the Saviour (24.1-53)

The final chapter of the Gospel narrates the discovery of the empty tomb, two appearances of the risen Jesus to his disciples, and Jesus' ascension to the right hand of the Father. Luke 24.1-12 provides an account of the discovery of the empty tomb by the women early on the morning of the first day of the week after Jesus' crucifixion. This account has much in

common with those in the other Gospels. Luke 24.13-35, however, the account of Jesus' revelation of himself to the couple on the road to Emmaus, is unique to the Third Gospel. This remarkable encounter echoes the incident at the beginning of the Gospel when Joseph and Mary searched for Jesus near Jerusalem and found him after three days in remarkable circumstances (2.40-52). Here, Clopas and his companion are met by Jesus on the road to Emmaus, but are kept from recognising him. They express their disappointment: Jesus, who they had hoped would be the one to redeem Israel, has been crucified. Their hopes have been dashed. Jesus, however, gently rebukes them for their lack of faith and understanding of the Scriptures. He teaches them that his crucifixion occurred in fulfilment of all the Scriptures which speak about him. And then, as so often in Luke's Gospel, he reveals himself to them as they break bread together. Jesus then disappears, and Clopas and his companion rush to Jerusalem to find the disciples rejoicing in the same news: Jesus is risen! (24.33-35) Jesus then appears to all of the disciples together (24.36-49). Even more than the other Synoptics, Luke here emphasizes the bodily nature of Jesus' resurrection. Jesus shows them his hands and his side, and eats a piece of broiled fish. As they enjoy fellowship together, Jesus teaches them, confirming two key themes that run throughout the whole of Luke's Gospel. First, Jesus' life, death and resurrection are the great climax of the whole of the Scriptures. Second, now is the time for the good news to go out beyond the orders of Israel: repentance and forgiveness of sins must be preached in Jesus name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. Luke's Gospel closes with Jesus' ascension (only here amongst the Gospels). This version is shorter than the longer account in Acts 1.1-11, but it serves the same purpose. Jesus, now exalted to the right hand of God, rules over all things and directs the mission of his people as they take the good news of the kingdom to all the nations of the world.

PART 3. THE GOSPEL OF LUKE IN THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: DISTINCTIVE THEMES

1. Jesus' life and work as the climax of the story of Israel

Luke emphasizes the continuity between the story of God's dealings with Israel in the Jewish Scriptures/OT. Jesus is the one through whom God's promises to Abraham and David are now reaching their fulfilment. Especially in the angel to Mary, Mary's song, Zechariah's prophecy, Nazareth Manifesto, all scriptures about Jesus.

2. Jerusalem and the temple

Jesus' life begins and ends in the heart of faithful Judaism, in Jerusalem. He repeatedly denounces the destruction of Jerusalem, it becomes as a city under God's judgement. The significance grows and becomes ironic, being the salvation point but also under judgement.

3. The kingdom of God

Jesus announces this, teaches about the kingdom in parables, enacts and embodies the kingdom (healing, exorcisms, table fellowship).

It is inextricably tied to Jesus' activity and identity. Jesus I the Messiah, Saviour, Son of God, Son of Man. Casting out demons, kingdom of God has come to you.

4. Holistic salvation for people from all nations

Universal horizon and significance of the story of Jesus. Luke draws upon traditions in the Scriptures//OT to show that the salvation Jesus brings is rooted in the story of Israel but designed for all people.

Setting of the Graeco Roman world, Simeon's song, ministry of John prepares for 'all flesh' to see God's salvation (3.4-6, Isa 40.3-5).

The salvation Jesus is to bring is holistic, it envisages the reconciliation between humans and God as its central characteristic. Jesus' ministry is fulfilment of the OT. The salvation he brings involves healing of body and soul, release from sin and sickness, forgiveness and renewal in the fullest sense (see refs above). He gives sight to the blind (Luke 7:21; 18:35-43), he restores the lame (Luke 5:17-26), he cleanses lepers (Luke 5:12; 17:11-19), raises the dead (7:11-17; 8:40-56)

5. Discipleship in the kingdom of God

Symbolised by the journey to Jerusalem, requires repentance and faith, is costly, involves faithful stewardship of material possessions (significant blocks of teaching on wealth).

6. The Holy Spirit

Luke emphasizes the role of the Spirit in Jesus' ministry. Compare Luke's 17 references to Matthew's 12 and Mark's 6.