



## Durham E-Theses

---

### *The community of salvation in the theology of St. Luke*

Giles, Kevin Norman

#### How to cite:

---

Giles, Kevin Norman (1974) *The community of salvation in the theology of St. Luke*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/10048/>

#### Use policy

---

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

A B S T R A C T:

THE COMMUNITY OF SALVATION IN THE THEOLOGY OF ST. LUKE.

KEVIN NORMAN GILES:

This thesis is an attempt to understand Luke's own thought on the community who enjoyed the salvation found by faith in Jesus Christ. Recent Lukan studies have shown that our estimation of Luke's eschatology determines our estimation of the nature of the salvation proclaimed and of those, who considered collectively, embrace it.

In both the Gospel and Acts Luke enhances the eschatological significance of the present. In the Gospel, the Kingdom of God is present in a dynamic way through the ministry of Jesus and His disciples. In Acts the Holy Spirit inaugurates the new age and enables Luke to continue to speak of Christ as the present Lord. Thus salvation, a basic motif, is understood by Luke as the gift of "the last day" in the present. In the Gospel, salvation is found in fellowship with Jesus, in Acts, in fellowship with the Spirit. In both books Jesus' disciples are to be recognized as the historical eschatological community of salvation.

The second half of the study concentrates attention on the titles Luke gives to this community. In the Gospel the only title he develops is "the disciples." His development of this title shows mature thought and suggests wide usage in the early Church. Not only is this term a "church idea," it is also used to bring before our attention what it means to be a Christian in the age after Easter. In Acts many titles are found, most of which tell us something about the community of salvation. Again, "the disciples" is the most important and most developed one. The word *ἐκκλησία*, on the other hand, is not developed. It only refers to a specific group of people who actually assemble together: it is not used in the catholic sense. Acts 9:31 is interpreted as the individual members of the Church of Jerusalem dispersed throughout Judea Samaria and Galilee, and Acts 20:28 as revealing Pauline theology.

The resultant picture suggests that Luke's eschatology and views on salvation are theologically mature and very similar to those of St. Paul. His theology of the community of salvation, on the other hand, is not theologically developed. "The Church" is not an ontological reality, it is not the body of Christ. Individual relationship to Christ retains a primacy in Lukan theology. Those who are saved are "true Israel," not "new Israel," -"a third race."

THE COMMUNITY OF SALVATION

IN

THE THEOLOGY OF ST. LUKE:

KEVIN NORMAN GILES

Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Submitted to the  
Faculty of Divinity  
Durham University  
DURHAM  
ENGLAND.

Presented June 1974.

C O N T E N T S : -

<u>GENERAL INTRODUCTION:</u>	1
<u>PART I . Theological Foundations : Eschatology and Soteriology in</u>	
<u>LUKE/ACTS.</u>	
Chapter 1. Eschatology and Ecclesiology in the Teaching of Jesus.	4
Chapter 2. Eschatology in the Gospel of Luke.	9
The Kingdom of God.	9
The Supremacy of the Kingdom of God over the Kingdom of Satan.	13
Jesus and the Eschaton.	15
Present and Future Eschatology.	18
The life of Jesus - A past Epoch?	25
Chapter 3. Eschatology in the Book of Acts.	35
Acts and Eschatology.	35
The King Exalted : The centrality of the ascension in Luke/Acts.	36
Acts 2:14-42 : The "raising up" of Jesus.	39
Other passages which speak of the Davidic Messiah.	
Acts 4:24-30.	41
Acts 13:16-41.	42
Acts 15:16-18.	43
Pentecost - The Coming of the New Age.	44
The Holy Spirit.	48
The Kingdom of God.	52
Future Consummation.	53
Chapter 4. Salvation in Luke/Acts.	69
Salvation in the Gospel of Luke.	69
Salvation means the forgiveness of sins.	71
Salvation is encountered in the divine Word.	72
Salvation can be found now.	74
Salvation is by grace.	75
Enacted Salvation : The Divine Visit.	76
Salvation in the Book of Acts.	78
Salvation, a unifying theme.	79
Salvation by grace.	81
Unmediated Salvation.	82
Eschatology and Soteriology in Luke/Acts.	85

PART II. The Lukan understanding of the Community of Salvation as  
revealed by the titles given to it.

Chapter 5.	Collective titles for the community of salvation in the Gospel of Luke.	94
	The problem - no technical titles.	94
	The Markan teaching on the disciples.	95
	Discipleship in Luke's Gospel.	97
	The disciples are now a large group.	98
	The distinction between the disciples and the crowd is weakened.	99
	The faults of the disciples are minimised.	100
	The call to become a disciple is radicalized.	101
	Discipleship becomes a journey.	103
	The apostles are distinguished from the disciples.	105
	The meaning of Discipleship.	108
	Concluding thoughts on Discipleship in the Gospel of Luke.	110
Chapter 6.	Collective Titles for the Community of Salvation. in the book of Acts.	121
	Names we can omit.	121
	Names used by opponents.	122
	τῶ Πληθῶς.	123
	The Saints.	124
	The Way.	126
	The People.	127
	The Believers.	128
	The Saved.	129
	The Brethren.	129
	The Disciples.	130
	Concluding generalizations.	134
Chapter 7.	The word ἐκκλησία in the book of Acts.	143
	The background to Luke's use of the word.	144
	The uses of the word in Acts	
	A) of a gathering of Christians.	146
	B) of a community.	147
	C) not of the catholic Church.	149
	1) it always refers to a local group	149
	2) it is not a universal idea.	150

3) it is not theologically developed.	151
Paul's vision .	153
Acts 9:31, A problem text.	155
Acts 20:28, A Pauline text.	157
Concluding Summary .	167
Appendix : Determining Lukan Theology.	170
A Select Bibliography.	175

## ABBREVIATIONS:

- A & G A Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature, W.F. Arndt & F.W. Gingrich, Cambridge, E.T. 1957.
- Beginnings, The Beginnings of Christianity, F.J. Foakes-Jackson & K. Lake, Vol. 1-5, 1920-1933.
- B.J.R.L. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.
- Bib. Zeit. Biblische Zeitschrift, Freiburg.
- B.Z.N.W. Beihefte zur Z.N.W., Giessen-Berlin.
- C.B.Q. Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Washington.
- E.N.T.T. Essays on New Testament Themes, E. Kasemann, London, S.C.M., 1964.
- Ev. Th. Evangelische Theologie, Munchen.
- Exp. Times. The Expository Times, Edinburgh.
- H.T.R. Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Interp. Interpretation, Richmond, Virginia.
- I.D.B. Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G.A. Butterick, 4 Vol., Nashville, 1963.
- J.B.L. Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- J.T.S. Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford.
- Nov. Test. Novum Testamentum, Leiden.
- N.T.Q.T. New Testament Questions for To-day, E. Kaseman, London, S.C.M., 1969.
- R.G.G. Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. K. Galling, Tubingen, 1957, 3rd. ed.
- S & B. Kommentar zum Neuen Testamentum aus Talmud and Midrasch, H.L. Strack & P. Billerbeck, 5 Vols. in 6, Munchen, 1922ff.
- S.E. Studia Evangelica, (Texte und Untersuchungen), Berlin, ed. F.L. Cross.
- St. Th. Studia Theologica, Lund.
- S.J.T. Scottish Journal of Theology, Edinburgh.
- T.D.N.T. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. G. Kittel & G. Friedrich, E.T. Grand Rapids, 1964 --.
- Th. Studies. Theological Studies, Woodstock, Md.
- T.Z. Theologische Zeitschrift, Basle.
- W.M.A.N.T. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Neukirchen.
- Z.K.G. Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte, Stuttgart.
- Z.N.W. Zeitschrift fur die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
- Z.T.K. Zeitschrift fur Theologie und Kirche, Tubingen.

I N T R O D U C T I O N : -

This thesis began as a study of the Church in the theology of St. Luke.<sup>1</sup> This goal has never been lost sight of but as work progressed it became obvious that any adequate outline of Lukan thought on the Church would demand discussion of many aspects of Lukan theology and particularly a careful study of Lukan eschatology. The result has been that the final draft of the thesis is in two distinct sections. The first deals with eschatology and salvation in the Gospel and Acts and the second with the titles given to the followers of Jesus which we argue reveal Luke's own thought about them. A study of the disciples gathered around Jesus and of "the Church" in Acts cannot in itself explain Luke's ecclesiology. At every point his eschatological views determine his theology about the disciples of Jesus. These disciples are for Luke men and women who enjoy the salvation bestowed by Jesus, and as such occupy an identifiable and privileged position so that in the Gospel and Acts they can be called "those who are being saved" (Lk. 13:32, Acts 2:47) or, as they are titled in this work, "The Community of Salvation." This descriptive title is deliberately chosen.

Already we have used the word "Church" several times but in the rest of this study the word is avoided wherever possible. It is avoided because the term cannot be used with any precision. It has a whole spectrum of meanings in current thought which go far beyond the possible meaning of the Greek word *ἐκκλησία* which it normally translates. To reiterate the word "church" on every page without defining it would not serve the cause of accurate exegesis, or further our understanding of Lukan theology. Definition however escapes us, for we must choose either to list the ways it can be used and then state each time what sense is meant, or decide for one of its possible meanings and insist that this is what Luke meant. We cannot even adopt F.J.A. Hort's solution to this dilemma and use the word "ecclesia."<sup>2</sup> Luke himself does not call the disciples in his Gospel or in the early or later part of Acts by this name and for us to do it, either using the Greek or English form, would not be helpful. A neutral description, consistent with Luke's own thought and usage, is therefore adopted. The followers of Jesus are "The Community of Salvation" - a band of men and women Luke explains by his eschatology,



his soteriology, and by the names with which he describes them. This particular title also determines for us the scope of this study. It is not a general discussion of every aspect of "the Church" in Luke/Acts but of the Lukan theology of the community of salvation. This means that the practices of Luke's "Church" are incidental to our main argument. Such matters as ministry, sacraments and community life are only discussed as they bear on a particular issue under discussion. All the time we are endeavouring to understand Luke's own thought about the community who enjoyed the salvation brought by Jesus. To accomplish this purpose of determining the theology of Luke the insights and methods of redaction criticism are employed. <sup>3</sup>

N O T E S:

- 1) The name "Luke" is used throughout this study for the author of Luke/Acts but no discussion is given on the authorship of these two books. The conclusions offered stand in their own right whoever wrote these books.
- 2) The Christian Ecclesia, P. 1-2.
- 3) Our methodology is discussed in an appendix at the end of the thesis P.170 f.

P A R T I :

THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS: ESCHATOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY IN LUKE/ACTS:

C H A P T E R I:

ESCHATOLOGY AND ECCLESIOLOGY IN THE TEACHING OF JESUS:

"Jesus foretold the Kingdom, but it was the Church which came." <sup>1</sup> These somewhat cynical but often quoted words of Alfred Loisy raise the question of the connection between eschatology and ecclesiology in the thought of Jesus. If Jesus Himself understood that the Kingdom of God was an apocalyptic reality in the imminent future, and He was but its final herald, then it is impossible that the disciples He gathered were the historic eschatological community of salvation. If on the other hand Jesus understood that His ministry ushered in the eschatological events themselves then the first disciples He made must have been for Him the first members of the community of the end time in His day and age. Although this particular study is not directly concerned with attempting to discover the actual words of Jesus, but with the thought of Luke himself, we must say something about the basic issues in general before we look at them in particular through the eyes of St. Luke. Only in this way can the ground be prepared and the questions formulated.

There is a long and distinguished list of New Testament scholars who have thought that Jesus' own eschatological teaching was directed solely to a future and imminent event. This opinion has been called "Consistent Eschatology." <sup>2</sup> Albert Schweitzer, its most famous exponent, insisted that Jesus Himself had no interest in an organized society - "the Church." He not only denied any "realized" element in Jesus' eschatological teaching but also argued that the word "Church" should only be given to the future "supernatural community of the elect to the Messianic Kingdom." <sup>3</sup> In a similar vein Maurice Goguel, who has written extensively on the ministry of Jesus and the early Church, maintained that for Jesus the Kingdom was exclusively futuristic and catastrophic. Thus he concluded, "Jesus did not foresee the Church, He proclaimed His return in glory to establish the Kingdom of God, and He believed His return was so near, that He gave no instruction to his

disciples concerning the interval which had to elapse until His return." <sup>4</sup>  
C.K. Barrett raises the same problem in his stimulating discussion  
"Jesus and the Gospel Tradition." He asks "whether in the earliest state of  
the gospel tradition, and in the teaching of Jesus Himself, the continuing  
existence of a historical community is contemplated?" <sup>5</sup> The evidence offer-  
ed by certain scholars in the affirmative is found wanting by Barrett. <sup>6</sup>  
The texts in question which allow for an interval are the work of the  
evangelists who are forced by the delay to modify the tradition. He writes,  
"the great achievement of those who transmitted and edited the Gospel  
tradition was so to reconstruct the eschatological framework of the  
teaching of Jesus as to make room for the continuing existence of a  
community between the resurrection and the coming of the Son of Man." <sup>7</sup>

W.G. Kummel in one of the most important studies <sup>8</sup> on  
Eschatology in recent years accepts the premise on which consistent  
eschatology is based, namely that the Kingdom of God is by definition  
the future eschatological age. Kummel however, takes a decisive step  
beyond this by allowing firstly that, the eschaton was already present  
in Jesus' person and that secondly Jesus anticipated a delay, though very  
short, before the Kingdom would be fully realized. As Professor Kummel  
strictly limits the manifestation of the eschaton to the person of Jesus  
he cannot allow either that the disciples share in this manifestation  
or that they are the first members of the eschatological community. <sup>9</sup>  
The "Messianic Acts" of Jesus only show that God was active in and through  
Him. <sup>10</sup> We are thus left with a gulf between the Christ event and its  
fulfilment at the parousia, which once more does not allow that the first  
disciples are the eschatological community of salvation. This point  
has been explicitly asserted by Kummel in his essay "Jesus und die Anfänge  
der Kirche." <sup>11</sup> The resultant picture of the disciples is rather  
disconcerting. He writes:- "So sicher diese Erwartung einer  
Zwischenzeit zwischen Auferstehung und Parusie durch Jesus auch ist,  
so eindeutig ist es aber auch, dass Jesus für diese Zwischenzeit  
keinerlei Vorsorge getroffen hat. Gewiss hat Jesus damit gerechnet,  
dass die Junger sich auch ohne ihn zum gemeinsamen Mahle versammeln  
würden (Mk. 14:25); gewiss hat Jesus damit gerechnet, dass seine  
verlassenen Junger verfolgt wurden und leiden mussten (Lk. 17:22,  
Mt. 10:28, Mk. 8:34,); und ganz gewiss erwartet Jesus, dass die  
Junger auf sein Kommen werden warten müssen (Mk. 13:33-36, Lk. 12:36-38).  
Aber das alles bedeutet ja keineswegs, dass Jesus mit einem irgendwie  
gestalteten Zusammenschluss der Junger zu einer Sondergemeinde rechnete.." <sup>12</sup>

This brief exposition of certain interpretations of the eschatological ideas of Jesus and their consequences for understanding the role of the first disciples not only sets the stage for our whole discussion, it also introduces us to the thought which permeates the most influential treatment of the theology of St. Luke - that by Professor Hans Conzelmann. Conzelmann also believes that Jesus expected the end almost immediately. The writings of St. Luke are an attempt to deal with the problem raised by this expectation.<sup>13</sup> Since for Conzelmann, Luke did not believe that the ministry of Jesus bore the marks of the eschatological event itself, he cannot allow that Luke taught either that in Jesus' ministry the Kingdom had come, or that the first disciples were the eschatological community of salvation. "The Church" is a major topic in Conzelmann's book, but, because of his interpretations of Lukan eschatology, the resultant picture of the Church is an emaciated one.

Dr. Conzelmann tells us that in Luke the Kingdom of God "is removed into the metaphysical realm" and the end "is now far away."<sup>14</sup> The teaching emphasis falls not on the imminent advent of the Kingdom but "on the nature of the Kingdom."<sup>15</sup> Jesus is not a prophet announcing an imminent catastrophic climax but the one who brings "the message of the Kingdom,"<sup>16</sup> the manifestation of which "belongs to the future."<sup>17</sup> The tradition with its apocalyptic orientation is transformed by Luke into an historical sequence of events. A three epoch schema of salvation history thus emerges in Lukan theology.

The period of Israel

The period of Jesus' ministry

The period of the Church<sup>18</sup>

Though these epochs are related to each other, the emphasis falls on their distinctiveness. Each period has its own part to play in the unfolding "Heilsgeschichte."

The ecclesiology resulting from this presentation of Lukan eschatology is naturally an impoverished one. The Church is neither intimately connected with Jesus since it comes into existence only in the third and final epoch, nor has it profound theological vitality. As Conzelmann does not think Luke understood that the eschaton had broken into history in and through the ministry of Jesus, "the Church" is for him not the eschatological community of salvation but simply "the mediating factor in salvation."<sup>19</sup> Without the Church the believer would "sink either into speculation or into eschatological resignation."<sup>20</sup> It is a kind of stop gap measure which exists until this third period comes

to an end sometime in the distant future. Thus the definition is given - "The Church is the third phase, the provision made for the in-between time which is the present, and which makes it possible to endure the time of waiting." <sup>21</sup>

Conzelmann's book has had a tremendous influence. Despite any failings it may have, it is to be acknowledged that it is one of the most important theological works of the nineteen fifties. It immediately aroused interest in Luke as a theologian in his own right, and began a debate on the content of his theology which has not ended to this day. One failing is that it concentrates too much on the Gospel of Luke. This has been compensated by another influential book Die Missionsreden in der Apostelgeschichte by Ulrich Wilckens. He deals specifically with the missionary speeches in Acts which are taken to be the primary source of Luke's theology in this book. The conclusions reached on Lukan eschatology, and on Luke's understanding of the nature of the salvation enjoyed by the disciples, are strikingly similar to those of Conzelmann. How far this is due to the actual texts and how far it is due to a common mentor in the person of Rudolf Bultmann, and a common philosophical theology must be answered by the evidence as it unfolds.

In this study an attempt will be made, to give equal weight to both volumes of Luke's work. As far as possible, however, they will be considered separately, for by taking the two books together we could easily distort and confuse Luke's own views. <sup>22</sup> It is quite clear that the settings are different. In the Gospel Jesus is on earth and proclaims the Kingdom. In Acts He reigns in Heaven and has Himself become the content of the proclamation. The impact of these details may turn out to be not so great, but they must not be ignored as we proceed.

NOTES :

- 1) A. Loisy, L'Evangile et L'Eglise, P. 111. Jésus annonçait le royaume, et c'est l'Eglise qui est venue." E.T. The Gospel and the Church, P. 166.
- 2) For a detailed, though critical discussion of Consistent Eschatology see G.E. Ladd, Jesus and the Kingdom, P.4ff. Professor Ladd gives a good bibliography listing the scholars who have held, or hold, this position or modifications of it. Another work dealing with this issue, again critically, is A.L. Moore, The Parousia in the New Testament, passim.
- 3) A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, P. 103. His arguments for the apocalyptic nature of the *ἐκκλήσια* are expounded in detail in "Die Frage nach der Echtheit von Mt. 16:17-19," Theologische Blätter, 1941, P.273 ff. He defends the authenticity of Jesus' pronouncement in Matthew 16:18-19 but maintains that this saying has nothing to do with the empirical Church.
- 4) M. Goguel, The Birth of Christianity, P. 3.
- 5) C.K. Barrett, Jesus and the Gospel Tradition, P.73.
- 6) *ibid.*, P. 74-76.
- 7) *ibid.*, P. 100.
- 8) W.G. Kummel, Promise and Fulfilment.
- 9) P. 126.
- 10) P.105 ff.
- 11) W.G. Kummel, "Jesus und die Anfänge der Kirche," St. Th. 7, P. 1-27, 1954.
- 12) *ibid.*, P. 15-16.
- 13) H. Conzelmann, "The Theology of St. Luke." P. 96.
- 14) *ibid.*, P. 113.
- 15) *ibid.*, P. 132.
- 16) *ibid.*, P. 114.
- 17) *ibid.*, P.119 .
- 18) *ibid.*, P. 16 and P. 150.
- 19) *ibid.*, P. 208.
- 20) *ibid.*, P. 208.
- 21) *ibid.*, P. 209.
- 22) S.G. Wilson, "The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts, outlines the differences between the Eschatology of the Gospel and Acts and warns us against expecting the same teaching in both," P.86.

CHAPTER 2:

ESCHATOLOGY IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE:

The message of Jesus according to Luke, as with the other synoptic evangelists, may be most concisely summed up as "the Kingdom of God" (c.f. Luke 4:43). The innumerable studies of this subject reveal its theological importance. If we can discover Luke's own understanding of the Kingdom we will be well on the way to understanding his total eschatological perspective. Several passages, in which we would suspect that Luke's own theology can be detected, show that for him the Kingdom of God was, in part at least, a present reality manifesting itself and making claims upon men from the beginning of Jesus' ministry.

LUKE 10: 9 and 11:

We will begin with a text which both Kummel and Conzelmann believe is important. In the mission instruction the seventy (or seventy-two) Luke records Jesus' command to preach, saying -  $\epsilon\phi' \upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \eta \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  (10:9), and adds the proviso that if they are rejected they are to announce -  $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron \gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon, \acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \eta\gamma\gamma\iota\lambda\kappa\epsilon\upsilon \eta \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  (10:11).

Kummel points out that the literal meaning of  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$  in the New Testament, denotes "nearness in space" and correspondingly the verb  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  declares that "one has come nearer to a place than before but has not reached it." He thus concludes that when these words are used temporally they denote "an event which is near, but has not yet taken place."<sup>1</sup> It is at the point of application that issue can be taken with Professor Kummel. Kummel simply assumes that in this passage the verb is used temporally as he believes it is in Mark 1:15. The case that  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  is being used literally, that is spatially, in Luke 10:9 & 11 is not given due consideration. If this were the case it would mean that the Kingdom was near to men in its proclamation by Jesus or His disciples. The verb in question is used more by Luke than all the other New Testament writers combined and in almost every case he uses it spatially.<sup>3</sup> This may well be its meaning in Mark 1:15 as well.<sup>4</sup>



Luke's normal usage cannot determine conclusively how it is used in these texts but it does make the spatial meaning a distinct possibility. There are other pointers in this direction as well.

Luke adds the words <sup>ἐφ' ὑμᾶς</sup> which are also found at 11:20. This addition gives an "individualistic existential twist to the statement."<sup>5</sup> In this very instant the Kingdom of God is present event for the individual in the witness of the seventy. It is the local nearness of a present reality. The spatial meaning in this personal nearness is confirmed by the context. The words of warning and judgement are pronounced not simply because the message of the seventy is rejected, but because they themselves, as bearers of the Kingdom, are not received (v10). Rejection of them is the same as rejection of Jesus which is in turn the same as rejection of God (v10). The seventy, like the twelve, are for Luke representatives of the new age. They are heralds not of a Kingdom which will come in the future, but of one which is evident here and now. In gathering the eschatological harvest (v2), the powers of the age to come break into history (v19). Men are healed, the devil is cast down (v17), Messianic peace is bestowed (v5). It is more than "the message of the Kingdom"<sup>6</sup> which is present, it is the reality itself.

16:16b. ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ  
εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται

The consensus of critical opinion is that -

A) The Lukan version of this saying is secondary.<sup>7</sup> Evidence for this is two-fold. Firstly, the Matthean wording (11:12) is more difficult. Luke has simplified it by substituting "εὐαγγελίζεται", and secondly, it is more likely that Matthew's form of the saying stems from an Aramaic original.<sup>8</sup>

B) Despite the continuing debate whether the voice of βιάζεται is middle or passive in Matthew 11:12, we may conclude it is middle in Luke.<sup>9</sup> The undecided question is whether it should be taken "in bonam partem" or "in malam partem"? Frederick Danker has shown that the former was the majority opinion of the Fathers.<sup>10</sup> It is represented today by T.W. Manson who translates Luke's words, "The Kingdom of God is proclaimed as good news and everyone presses into it."<sup>11</sup> The latter view, advocated by Danker himself, takes the verse to mean "the Kingdom is to be understood as a victim."<sup>12</sup> It is under attack. This he says is more likely, for Luke emphasises the opposition against the proclamation of the Kingdom<sup>13</sup>, and it would

harmonize with what appears to be Matthew's understanding of the words which we presume Luke is trying to interpret. The opponents of the Kingdom are, says Danker, on the basis of Luke's context, the Pharisees, <sup>14</sup> but it could refer to demonic forces. <sup>15</sup> In either case, whether taken "in bonam partem" or "in malam partem," the verse reveals that in Luke's mind the present was a time when the Kingdom could be encountered in the arena of history. It is not just being proclaimed, men are actually able to oppose it (we may presume this means to oppose those who proclaim it and embrace it) or to enter into it. <sup>16</sup>

The expression "preaching, (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι) the Kingdom of God" is uniquely Lukan. It appears here (16:16) and at 4:43 and 8:1, or with the verb κηρύσσειν at 9:2 or διαγγέλλειν at 9:60. The parallel expression in Mark and Matthew is to preach or announce the gospel (εὐαγγέλιον). <sup>17</sup> Conzelmann and Ellis both discuss the Lukan redaction of these sayings but give contradictory interpretations. For Conzelmann it only means "the message of the Kingdom is present." <sup>18</sup> In contrast Ellis claims that these statements should be understood in relation to the Old Testament ideas about "the word of God." He writes - "Like the creative word of God in Genesis (1:3) the word of the Kingdom contains within it the reality of the new creation itself." <sup>19</sup> What then does Luke mean by this expression which he coins?

What we have just concluded about the verb βλάπτειν immediately calls into question Conzelmann's statement. It is more than the message which is preached, it is the reality which in proclamation becomes event. This is further substantiated by the way Luke closely associates the preaching of the Kingdom with the work of exorcism (8:1-2) and healing (9:2, 9:11, c. f. Acts 4:9-10) both of which announce that God's kingly reign is operative and powerful in the lives of men and women. The impression given throughout the Gospel is that the miracles and the proclamation are inextricably bound together. The proclamation of the Kingdom can transform both a man's body and his relationship with God.

It is significant that in Luke 16:16 the preacher is not specified. <sup>20</sup> The new age is characterised by the preaching of the Kingdom of God. We may take this statement as thematic of the period covered both by the ministry of Jesus on earth and his ministry after his ascension. Luke in his gospel does not limit preaching the Kingdom to Jesus, as does Mark, but allows that the disciples can also be its heralds (9:2, 9:60, 10:9). In Acts the same verbs of preaching (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι and κηρύσσειν) are used and the Kingdom of God

can still be their object (8:12, 19:8, 20:25, 28:23, 28:31), though it is more commonly Jesus as the Christ. Here the proclamation of the Kingdom and of Jesus can be taken as synonymous (Acts 8:12, 28:23, 28:31). By allowing the disciples to be preachers of the Kingdom in both Gospel and Acts Luke is contemporising the Gospel narrative to prefigure the universal mission, and by associating Jesus and the Kingdom in Acts he shows that both are creative present possibilities. Jesus the preacher and Jesus the preached both make the Kingdom of God present reality. We thus endorse the words of Professor Ellis and agree, when he adds that to preach the Gospel means for Luke, "That in the events produced by the Spirit in Jesus' pre- and post - resurrection missions the Kingdom itself is being manifested." <sup>21</sup>

17:21: ἡ <sup>1</sup>σοὺ <sup>2</sup>ἰσὺς <sup>3</sup>ἡ <sup>4</sup>βασιλεία <sup>5</sup>τοῦ <sup>6</sup>θεοῦ <sup>7</sup>ἐν τῶν  
ὑμῶν <sup>8</sup>ἐστίν.

This much disputed verse can be approached in two ways. It may be considered as an isolated logion, perhaps with the view of establishing what Jesus may have meant by it, <sup>22</sup> or as the introduction to a corporate group of sayings carefully arranged and edited by Luke for a particular didactic purpose. <sup>23</sup> With our aim to understand Luke's own thought the second approach must be used here. The section is introduced by the question, When is the Kingdom of God coming? (v20) All that follows is given in answer to this query. The first thing that is said in reply is that the Kingdom is not coming with visible signs and men will not be able to detect its arrival by physical sight. Rather "it is in your midst" or just possibly "within you." <sup>24</sup> This allows, when taken in isolation, either a present or a future meaning; the futuristic, <sup>25</sup> when the Kingdom comes it will be suddenly among you, or the present - it is already in your midst. <sup>26</sup> Luke's own meaning is discovered by looking at the sayings which follow. He goes on not to speak about the Kingdom but about the <sup>27</sup> ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου of the Son of Man (v30). Unlike the coming of the Kingdom this will be unmistakably evident to all. It will be like lightning which lights the whole sky (v24) It will be like the flood that engulfed Noah's generation (v26). It will be like the fire and brimstone which came upon Sodom (v28). We must assume then that Luke has placed in juxtaposition two related concepts. <sup>27</sup> There is the invisible coming of the Kingdom and the visible coming of the Son of Man. How can these be reconciled?

In 17:22ff Luke speaks of both "the days of the Son of Man" (17:26) and "the day of the Son of Man" (17:24, 30).<sup>28</sup> The days of the Son of Man are analogous to the days of Noah (26) and the days of Lot (v28). It is a period in history in which human activity continues although final judgement has been decreed.<sup>29</sup> "The days of the Son of Man" is therefore that epoch in which the Son of Man reigns in Heaven and is recognised as Lord only by the eye of faith. It is that period which Luke calls in Acts 2:16 "the last days." The period which corresponds to the Messianic age envisaged by the intertestamental writers and by many of the Rabbis.<sup>30</sup> "The day of the Son of Man" is the last day - the equivalent of the Old Testament "the day of Yahweh" (c.f. Acts 2:20).

Luke has thus answered the question with which he began. The Kingdom has come and is present in the Son of Man. "The days of the Son of Man" is that age when the Kingdom is present but invisible to the physical eye. There will however also be a consummation of the Kingdom, which will come in the way the Pharisees expected. It will be sudden and catastrophic. This Luke calls "the day of the Son of Man." Professor Ellis takes this whole passage as an example of Luke's aim to interpret eschatology in the context of a present/future contrast.<sup>31</sup>

#### THE SUPREMACY OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD OVER THE KINGDOM OF SATAN.

Because the Kingdom of God is even now breaking into history Luke maintains that the Kingdom (*Satania* 11:18) of Satan is under siege. Satan has fallen (10:17) and his subjects have been liberated (13:16).

#### THE RETURN OF THE SEVENTY : LUKE 10:17-20.

This Lukan passage implies that the arrival of the Kingdom of God extended beyond the person of Jesus.<sup>32</sup> The disciples (all seventy) announce joyfully to Jesus, "even the devils are subject to us in your name" (v17), to which Jesus replies, "I saw satan fall like lightning from Heaven (v18). The future is not simply announced by the arrival of Jesus, the end is itself anticipated."<sup>33</sup> The successful mission of the seventy is evidence of Satan's defeat. It is not that the disciples overthrow satan, but that by the power of Jesus' name (v17) the Kingdom of God triumphs over the Kingdom of Satan. In their success over the demonic powers the victory of God is revealed. Foerster writes, "with this fall, Satan loses his right of accusation in respect of all men.

Judgement is now committed to Christ." 34

LUKE 11:14-23: THE CONTROVERSY OVER JESUS' POWER.

This passage has some relationship with Matt. 12:22-27 and Mk. 3:22-27. The non-Markan context and the variation in wording show however, that Luke's source is not Mark. On the other hand Luke and Matthew, though revealing a common source, still show important differences. Luke's version heightens the conflict motif and introduces the thought that Jesus' exorcisms are signs that the Kingdom has come. Frequently Luke 11:20 (Matt. 12:28) is treated as a separate saying,<sup>35</sup> but in the study of Lukan theology it is important to interpret it in the context given to it by Luke.

Luke suggests that Jesus' exorcism arouses in his opponents' minds two expressions of unbelief.

- A) He is working in league with Beelzebul the prince of demons (v15).
- B) Exorcism is not a satisfactory sign (v16).

The first accusation Jesus answers by showing the illogical character of the charge (v17-18). It would mean that Satan was at war with himself. To which he adds "And if I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast them out?" (v19). The same charge must be made against any Jewish exorcist.

That these deeds of exorcism are in fact powerful signs of his Messianic dignity and of the arrival of the eschatological Kingdom is now claimed -

εἰ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω  
 τὰ δαίμονα, ἅρα ἐφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς  
 ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. (11:20)

It is obvious that Luke does not consider that to allow that others can exorcise is an obstacle. Apparently Jesus' exorcisms aroused attention because of their extraordinary power and because of their frequency.<sup>36</sup>

In regard to 11:20 we may note:-

- A) the verb *ἐβόησεν* in the aorist cannot be understood except as "has actually come."<sup>37</sup> Conzelmann, faced with such an unambiguous statement about the presence of the Kingdom, avoids its impact by saying we do not know its Hebrew equivalent.<sup>38</sup> This is of little interest in understanding Luke.
- B) The casting out of demons is an important sign that the Kingdom has come. The conditional clause with *ἅρα* posits an actual fact and its proof.<sup>39</sup>

G.E. Ladd describes this verse as "one saying in which the Kingdom of God is unambiguously affirmed to be dynamically present among men in this age." <sup>40</sup>

The saying enunciating the principle is then expanded by the story of the strong man who is overcome by the stronger man.

"When a strong man fully armed guards his own palace, his goods are in peace but when one stronger than he assails him and overcomes him, he takes away his armour in which he trusted and divides his spoil." (Luke 11:21,-22, c.f. Matt. 12:25-30).

In Luke the domain of the strong man is an "צ'דק", which could be translated "the courtyard of a prince." <sup>41</sup> He is fully armed and prepared, yet the stronger one - Jesus, overcomes him, takes his armour and divides his spoil (c.f. Is. 49:22-26). The division of spoil refers to the capturing of Satan's subjects for the Kingdom of God. <sup>42</sup>

Whereas Luke 10:18 suggests the complete overthrow of Satan the figure of "the strong man bound" calls to mind that his power continues and his final destruction has not come. <sup>43</sup> Luke is well aware of this, and at no time considers Satan as finally removed, not even during the ministry of Jesus. Otto describes Luke's thought on the matter when he writes - "Satan has already fallen from heaven, but still rages with the remnants of his power here on earth." <sup>44</sup>

Luke's development of the tradition about the overthrow of Satan can only be adequately appreciated against the backdrop of current Jewish thought. The defeat of Satan, as an eschatological event, reappears throughout Israel's religious literature. It can be found in the Old Testament prophets (Is. 24:21-23; 49:22-26), in the intertestamental writings (Test. of Levi 18:12, Test. of Zeb. 9:8, Jub. 10:8, Ps. of Sol. 5:3) and most noticeably at Qumran. <sup>45</sup> The Dead Sea Sect longed for that day when "the epoch of wickedness" (C.D. 6:10, 14; 12: 23, 14:19), or the time of "the dominion of Belial" (1QS 2:19) would be broken. The present was for them a time of waiting, for "Satan would increase in hostility until the time of divine intervention." <sup>46</sup> Luke announces that in Jesus the time of waiting has ended. The Kingdom of God has dawned and the Kingdom of Satan is being driven out as certainly as the light of day drives away the darkness of night.

#### JESUS AND THE ESCHATON.

Luke's eschatology is inseparable from his Christology. What Jesus

does and who Jesus is, are related ideas for Luke. We need not discuss all the titles that Luke gives to Jesus but simply comment on two important ones which especially help us to understand Luke's ideas on the significance of the age of Jesus. Luke stresses that Jesus is both the Davidic Royal Messiah and the Eschatological Prophet.

### JESUS THE KING:

Jesus as the King is one of the continuing themes throughout Luke's Gospel. <sup>47</sup> In the early chapters it is made abundantly clear that the dignity Jesus enjoys is due to his relationship with David. <sup>48</sup> His genealogy is traced through David's son Nathan (3:31) and through Zerubbabel (3:27). Just before his conception Mary is told by Gabriel that God will give to her Son :-

"The throne of his father David,  
And he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever  
and of his Kingdom there will be no end " (Lk. 1:31).

When Jesus enters Jerusalem the crowds exclaim, "Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord" (19:38). At the last supper, whereas Mark and Matthew link the noun *Σαβῶκη* with the shedding of Jesus' blood, Luke links the cognate verb *Σατιθεοθαλ* with Jesus' reign (Lk. 22:29). <sup>49</sup> The theme of vindication for the King is to be seen in Luke's parable of the rejected King (19:22-27). <sup>50</sup> The story sets up three stages in the chain of events.

- 1) The nobleman's departure to receive kingly power;
- 2) The period of trading by his servants;
- 3) The return as King and his judgement of his servants and his enemies.

The nature of this Kingship is further brought out by the titular use of *Χριστός*. <sup>51</sup> From the time of his birth onwards he is openly proclaimed as "the Christ" (2:11, 2:26, 4:4, 19:20, 20:41, 23:2, 35, 39). The meaning of this title is carefully explained by Luke. The reception of the Spirit by Jesus is an anointing (3:22 c f. 4:18; Acts 4:46, 10:38). The connection between "Anointing", "Spirit" and "Kingship" was well established in Judaism (1Sam. 10:1, 6:9, 16:13, Ps. of Sol. 17:32). <sup>52</sup>

Luke's special interest in describing Jesus as the Davidic royal Messiah is not political, it is eschatological. There is clear evidence to-day that the word "Messiah" had become a terminus technicus for God's deliverer in the days of final divine intervention. <sup>53</sup> At

Qumran the Davidic Messiah, is, says Fuller, "given the eschatological dominion over the earth. He has charismatic endowments, and his reign is to last forever." <sup>54</sup> This finds parallels in the oldest Tannaitic stratum of the Rabbinic literature for here "the days of the Messiah bring about the dawning of a new aeon, the consummation of eternal salvation." <sup>55</sup> Luke boldly affirms that Jesus is that awaited kingly Messiah, God's agent in this day of eschatological fulfilment.

#### THE ESCHATOLOGICAL PROPHET:

Anointing by the Spirit was also the mark of the prophet (1Kings 19:16, 1Chron. 16:22, Ps. 105:15). Twice Luke takes over passages from Mark in which Jesus is called a prophet (Mk. 6:15, Lk. 9:8; Mk. 8:28, Lk. 9:19); and once, a passage in which Jesus likens Himself to a prophet (Mk. 6:4, Lk. 4:24). In Luke's special material the crowds at Nain say of Jesus, "A great prophet has arisen amongst us" (7:16), and Simon the Pharisee has such an estimation of Jesus in mind when he considers Jesus' lack of discrimination as inconsistent with His being a prophet (7:39). Luke 13:13 equates the fate of Jesus to that of a prophet slain in Jerusalem, and the disciples on the road to Emmaus describe Jesus as "a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people" (24:19). This prophetic portrayal of Jesus is however most significant in the story of Jesus at Nazareth. Here he takes the mantle of prophecy and announces that He Himself is the fulfilment of prophecy. <sup>56</sup>

In this last instance Jesus is not just a prophet but "the prophet." He is the eschatological prophet, the agent of the eschaton. This has been taken as the meaning of Luke 7:22 <sup>57</sup> and some M.S.S. have  $\delta \text{ προφητης}$  at 7:39 <sup>58</sup>. The anticipated redemptive activity of the prophet in 24:49 may point in this direction as well. In the book of Acts, Luke twice says that Jesus is the prophet foretold by Moses in Deut. 18:15, (Acts. 3:22, 7:37). These last references prove the case. At Qumran, Deut. 18:15 had been interpreted unambiguously in eschatological terms. <sup>59</sup> At times this idea was fused with that of Elijah the prophet who would prepare the way but Luke does not himself confuse the two ideas. <sup>60</sup> Jesus is "the prophet", raised up in the last days to effect a redemption infinitely greater than that by Moses.



The idea that holds these two descriptions of Jesus, as Davidic Messiah and Eschatological Prophet together, for Luke, is the Holy Spirit. Jesus' relationship with the Spirit is shown to be far closer than that of any prophet or King before him. He is conceived by the Spirit (1:35), He is Spirit baptized (3:22), He proclaims His message through the Spirit (4:18, 10:21); He effects cures by the Spirit (5:17)<sup>61</sup>, He casts out demons by the Spirit (11:20), and after the resurrection He bestows the Spirit (24:49, Acts 2:33). He is, as Lampe says, "virtually identical with the Spirit as far as his words and deeds are concerned."<sup>62</sup> Here we must remember that the Spirit was to be the pre-eminent gift of the last days.<sup>63</sup> In making Jesus the unique man of the Spirit Luke is again insisting that Jesus is God's eschatological agent. He is the prophetic- King of the last days.

#### PRESENT AND FUTURE ESCHATOLOGY:

So far we have been concerned to elucidate the Lukan emphasis on "realized eschatology." Lest it be thought that this is the only perspective to be found in the third Gospel the question of the future aspect, which has been mentioned several times already, must now be expounded. This will fill out our presentation of Lukan eschatology and also help us to appreciate more fully Luke's understanding of the earthly community of salvation called into being by the ministry of Jesus.

The place of futuristic eschatology in Luke is a topic that has been at the forefront of Lukan studies for many years. P. Vielhauer's essay on "The 'Paulinism' of Acts," first published in 1950,<sup>64</sup> set the stage for this debate. He stated that in Luke's portrayal of Paul's theology "Eschatology has been removed from the centre of the Pauline faith to the end and has become a section of "the last things."<sup>65</sup> This, he says, is Luke's theology not Paul's. Conzelmann develops this train of thought in his Theology of St. Luke. He argues that in the Lukan writings the note of imminence has been lost. He writes - "Luke has definitely abandoned belief in the early expectation."<sup>66</sup> It is wrong to say Conzelmann has eliminated futuristic eschatology from Lukan theology, but when Conzelmann combines his presentation of Lukan eschatology with his interpretation of the Lukan writings in terms of a three epoch "Heilsgeschichte" schema the resultant picture appears static and lifeless. U. Wilckens, who agrees that the note of imminence is lost, is however, more cautious in his wording. For him "the eschatological

parts of the older tradition are present," but for Luke, "this factor simply does not dominate." <sup>67</sup> Professor Barrett, after a survey of current interpretations of Luke, while again admitting that the note of imminence has been played down, asserts that "Luke insists as strongly as any New Testament writer on the second coming of Christ." <sup>68</sup>

Despite important differences, all these writers think that Luke has toned down the note of imminence. If this is so what remains? It is at this point that the above authors seem to diverge. Before we consider this, mention must be made of the recent treatment of Lukan theology in which it is claimed that, at least in the Gospel, Luke maintains a strong note of imminence.

S.G. Wilson, The Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts, argues that Luke deliberately develops both the ideas of a delay in the parousia and of its imminence. <sup>69</sup> The passages he offers in support of this imminent expectation are - Luke 10: 9 & 11, 12:38-40, 12:54-13:9, 18:8, 21:32. <sup>70</sup> These passages when examined do not bear the weight that Professor Wilson suggests. Most of them have nothing to do with imminence. Without a detailed exegesis the following points should show the weakness of his case.

10:9 & 11:

It has already been argued that these verses are best interpreted as referring to the arrival of the Kingdom.

12:38-40. 12:41-48:

Both these passages are addressed to believers and are exhortations <sup>71</sup> to be watchful during the absence of Jesus. The unifying theme is the necessity for preparedness despite "the delay in coming" (12:45). <sup>72</sup>

12:54-13:9.

Four separate pericopes are in this section, which we may presume are related in the mind of Luke.

12:54-56 and 12:57-59. Both passages affirm the critical nature of the present time. Men can predict the weather from the observance of natural phenomena but they fail to see the importance of the present hour. The second illustration about a legal conflict states that when faced squarely with one's predicament every effort should be made to achieve a settlement out of court. <sup>73</sup> The present again is the moment of opportunity.

13:1-5. These verses emphasise the need to repent now. They are another

exhortation which fill the present with existential significance. Those who fail to repent can only expect future judgement.

13:6-9. Judgement has been passed, but by the mercy of God, men are given time to respond. The end is not yet.

21:32.

The key words  $\eta \text{ γενεα } \nu\upsilon\tau\eta$  have been interpreted as :-

- a) Jesus' generation, <sup>74</sup>
  - b) "mankind in general," <sup>75</sup> or
  - c) those who belong to "the last phase in the history of redemption." <sup>76</sup>
- Whatever interpretation we adopt the most difficult, and most unlikely for Luke to intend, is that the verse refers to Jesus' own generation. When Luke wrote many, perhaps all, of Jesus' own generation had passed away.

18:8A. This is the weightiest text in Dr. Wilson's case. The meaning of the parable itself (18:1-7) is that men and women should continue instant in prayer. The idea of perseverance in the face of difficulties fills the screen. The final verse, which is probably Lukan, asserts the certainty of vindication for the faithful. Even if the words  $\sigma\upsilon\nu \tau\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota$  mean "soon" as Cranfield has carefully argued, <sup>77</sup> it remains an isolated saying which is mitigated by the note of perseverance in the text of the parable and by the other half of the final verse which implies delay and wide-spread apostasy before the coming of the Son of Man.

Wilson has not proved his case. A future dimension is part of Luke's eschatology but the note of imminence is not a major theme in his theology. The exhortatory nature of several of these passages may in themselves imply that men must reckon with a delay in the parousia. <sup>78</sup> Several of them also insist that when it comes it will be sudden but this is a different idea from imminence. But we need not go as far as Conzelmann and conclude that "the end is far away," <sup>79</sup> or imply that the future dimension does not significantly influence Lukan theology.

We may accept, then that, at least to some degree, the note of imminence is secondary in the Lukan writings. This is accepted by E.E. Ellis who has made a very important contribution to our appreciation of Lukan theology by insisting that a present/future tension underlies the thought of St. Luke. <sup>80</sup> Indeed, he thinks Luke can only be properly understood when the tension between these two polarities is maintained. He concludes - "the relationship of present and future eschatology forms the framework of Luke's "history of salvation" theology. Luke

accentuates and elaborates this framework." <sup>81</sup> In his commentary on the Gospel of Luke he mentions the following passages in which this can be seen - 3:16 present; 3:17 future; 9:26 future; 9:27 present; 11:2 future; 11:3, 13, 20 present; 11:31f; power present, judgement future; 12:37-46 future, 12:49-52 present; 16:16 present, 16:19-31 future. <sup>82</sup> Individual texts may be disputed but overall Professor Ellis has made his point. Both realized eschatology and futuristic eschatology play an important part in the Gospel of Luke.

Three concepts form the essence of Luke's futuristic eschatology: the Son of Man, judgement and resurrection. These we will now consider.

THE SON OF MAN. Recent research has shown that Luke not only retains the tradition about the future ministry of the Son of Man but he also develops it within his own theological framework. <sup>83</sup> Here we should note -

A) Luke's "central thought" <sup>84</sup> on the Son of Man relates to his heavenly reign. This is illustrated by his treatment of Mark 14:62. This has been discussed in numerous studies <sup>85</sup> and we need only note the three significant alterations Luke makes in his use of this text at 22:69.

1) Luke adds the phrase *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*. These words, in the Lukan writings, mark a decisive time change. <sup>86</sup> The important change is that "from now on the Son of Man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God."

2) Mark has *καὶ ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* which Luke changes to *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν σὲ ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. In Mark it is a case of "seeing" in Luke a case of "being." Conzelmann puts it succinctly, "a permanent state is now described." <sup>87</sup>

3) Thirdly, Luke omits the words "and coming with the clouds of heaven". The apocalyptic imagery from Daniel 7:13f. of the parousia of the Son of Man has at this point been removed by Luke. <sup>88</sup> The "sessio ad dexteram Dei" has taken its place. The background to the saying is now only Ps. 110:1. This Psalm was in Jewish minds closely associated with the reign of the Davidic Messiah (c.f. Mk.12:35-37).

B) The Son of Man is also expected to make a future visible return. He will execute judgement on the unbeliever and vindicate the faithful. The latter is Luke's special interest. He prefers to depict the Son of Man as "the intercessor, the advocate, the guarantor for the Christians." <sup>89</sup>

(12:8f, 18:1-8). No text actually calls the Son of Man the judge but Todt's claim that this is no part of Luke's thought is simply not true. The following passages are important:-

LUKE 9:26. This verse is found in a pericope which is addressed  $\pi\rho\sigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  (v23) (c.f. Mk. 8:34). He, says Jesus, who is "ashamed of me and of my words, of him will the Son of Man be ashamed when he comes in glory" (9:26). This passage, not considered by Todt, is, says Hahn, "concerned with the motive of judgement." 90

LUKE 17:22. Here the audience is the disciples but the teaching given has universal application. The second apocalypse, though not mentioning the word judgement or calling the Son of Man the Judge, presents him in this light. "The day" on which Noah entered the ark (17:27), and "the day" Lot left Sodom (17:29), are taken as analogous to "the day" of the Son of Man (17:30). In each case "days" of sensuous living are followed by "a day" of judgement.

C) Thirdly, it should be observed that Luke uses reference to the coming Son of Man "to emphasise the primitive Church's exhortation" 91 (c.f. 17:22ff, 18:1-8, 21:27-28, 21:36). The important thing to note is that in doing this Luke makes these sayings exhortations with present existential significance. This is particularly evident in 17:22ff. It is not imminence but suddenness which should make men respond now. This one notion is made sharper and sharper verse by verse, metaphor by metaphor. Judgement will come like lightning (v24) like a flood (v26) like the fire and brimstone on Sodom (v28-33). The present are "days" of opportunity. Salvation can be found, judgement has not been exercised. The day "when the Son of Man is revealed" (v30) will bring all this to an end. Some will lose their life; others will gain it (33-34). It will be a day of division.

## II JUDGEMENT:

Judgement in the future is consistently emphasised in Lukan material. It stands in contrast to the salvation which is present and available now. This theme is obvious in the following passages:-

LUKE 3:16-17. E.E. Ellis has drawn attention to this text in which he

believes the Baptist predicts a two fold ministry by the coming Messiah. John foretells a cleansing of Israel by a baptism of the spirit, and fire and destruction for "the chaff..... with unquenchable fire." "Luke's altered wording interprets the first aspect of Messiah's work to be present and the second future." <sup>92</sup>

LUKE 10 :13-15.

The mission of the seventy is related to the eschatological harvest (10:2). The objective is first and foremost the offer of salvation but Luke does not fail to point out that rejection of the message of the Kingdom will entail judgement. This judgement is in the future as Luke's use of the future tense in v12-14 & 16 shows. This judgement will be worse than that which befell the men of Tyre and Sidon (v13-15).

LUKE 12:4-5.

After death Luke asserts that God has power to cast men into Hell. This will be the fate of the hypocrites (12:1-3) on the day of judgement. This judgement is future because it<sup>is</sup> "after he has killed."

LUKE 13: 1-3.

The necessity for repentance now as the only way to avoid future judgement, is again Luke's topic.

LUKE 13:6-9.

The cursing of the Fig tree in Luke is modified so as to teach that "God's mercy goes so far as to grant a reprieve from the sentence already pronounced." <sup>93</sup> The point is that judgement is due now but held in abeyance to give men time to respond. Execution of the sentence is still in the future.

LUKE 13:23-30.

The Lukan parable of "the closed door" teaches that when the Kingdom is consummated the status of many will be reversed (v30). Some will share in the future Messianic banquet, others will be excluded and this judgement will cause them "to weep and gnash their teeth." (v28).

LUKE 19:11-27.

The return of the King, after his throne has been established, will be a time of reward for the faithful but judgement for others.

LUKE 20:9-18.

The parable of "the wicked Husbandmen" is taken over from Mark but the note of judgement (Luke 20:16, Mk. 12:9) is heightened by the changed ending. Luke omits Mark 12:11 (Ps. 119:23) and adds a verse (v18) which echoes Dan. 2:34, 35, 44, Is. 8:14-15. "Everyone who falls on that stone will be broken to pieces, but when it falls on anyone it will crush him."

T.F. Glasson's claim that future judgement is only found in Matthew's Gospel<sup>94</sup> becomes patently inadequate in the face of this evidence from Lukan material. The pictures are different it is true, but that is not Glasson's point. It is doubtful whether any of the<sup>95</sup> New Testament writers thought that men "judge themselves in the present," and it is certainly not held by Luke. In the third Gospel salvation is now available; judgement is in the future.<sup>96</sup>

### III RESURRECTION:

In the synoptic Gospels very little is said about the resurrection of the dead. C.F. Evans in fact, thinks that the doctrine of resurrection was "largely absent from the teaching of Jesus."<sup>97</sup> It is only developed "into a precise, confident and articulate faith" after the resurrection of Jesus Himself.<sup>98</sup> These observations make the special Lukan references to resurrection particularly significant. Two passages are important.<sup>99</sup> The first comes at the conclusion of the parable of the choice of places at table (Luke 14:7-14). The conclusion of both the parable itself (v11), and of the appended saying, refer to "God's eschatological activity, the humbling of the proud and the exaltation of the humble in the last day."<sup>100</sup> The very last words of the appended saying specifically mention *ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν σικδίων* (v14b).<sup>101</sup>

Belief in a future resurrection is also evident in the story of the woman who had seven husbands, a story which is given in answer to a conundrum posed by the Sadducees "who say there is no resurrection" (Luke 20:27, Mk. 12:18). Luke's handling of the tradition reveals his special interest in the future resurrection, for the two significant changes in the story both deal with this idea. Mark's comments on the resurrection are covered by 16 Greek words (12:25) but Luke elaborates these so as to need 33 words (Lk. 20:35-36) to describe virtually the same phenomena.

In both texts (14:4 and 20:35-36) it is possible to find either the doctrine of two resurrections - of the just followed by the unjust,<sup>102</sup> or of one resurrection, for the righteous alone,<sup>103</sup> but in neither case is this explicit. It may be that "the resurrection of the just is alone in question."<sup>104</sup> Luke may not think of the future judgement on unbelievers as a resurrection in the true sense at all.

Luke's continuing interest in a future consummation shows that he saw no conflict in believing that the eschatological age had dawned and yet was still to come in a more dramatic way. This is clearly evident in his use of the term the Kingdom of God. He stresses that it is even now irrupting in the world and yet at the same time continues to speak of it as something in the future (11:2, 13:28-29, 21:31, 22:18, 22:30). It would seem therefore that the two manifestations of the Kingdom are complementary. The Kingdom now known to faith and the King now reigning in the heavenlies inaugurate the new age, but its consummation awaits the return of the King as the Son of Man, resurrection and judgement.

#### THE LIFE OF JESUS - A PAST EPOCH?

Finally, we must comment on Conzelmann's three epoch structure in Lukan theology which makes the period of Jesus' ministry, for Luke, one that is over and done with in contrast to the theology of Paul which makes his own time the eschatological age. Conzelmann writes - "When Jesus was alive was the time of salvation; satan was far away, it was a time without temptation. Since the passion, however, satan is present again and the disciples are subject to temptation." <sup>105</sup> The period of Jesus' ministry is "the centre of history, it now is an ascertainable historical fact." <sup>106</sup> "That another period has intervened between Jesus and the present gives rise to a problem." <sup>107</sup> This clear distinction between the epoch of Jesus and "the epoch of the Church" pre-determines much of what Professor Conzelmann says throughout his book and in particular what he says about Lukan eschatology. Appealing as it may appear, and despite its widespread acceptance, the question remains, Is it true to Luke's own thought? Exegesis must decide the answer.

The first pivotal point in Conzelmann's three epochs is the transition between the ministry of John the Baptist and the preaching of Jesus. The key verse taken by Conzelmann to prove his case is Luke 16:16. He writes "John does not proclaim the Kingdom of God as is made plain in 16:16 as a point of principle." <sup>108</sup> He is not "an authentic eschatological figure." <sup>109</sup> "He does not represent the arrival of the new age." <sup>110</sup> Paul Minear's comment on the use of this verse is worth quoting. "It must be said that rarely has a scholar placed so much weight on so dubious an interpretation of so difficult a logion." <sup>111</sup>



The place of John in the theology of Luke is carefully examined in W. Wink's redactional-critical study, "John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition".<sup>112</sup> He finds that the geographical interests of Luke place John and Jesus side by side and not in contrast,<sup>113</sup> that John is not excluded from the period of salvation,<sup>114</sup> and that John is "the inaugurator of this decisive period."<sup>115</sup> It may be said, therefore, that from a linguistic point of view it is better to take  $\alpha\pi\delta\ \tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$  not as exclusive of John but inclusive of him.<sup>116</sup>

The second pivotal point, the one of most interest to us, is Luke 22:35-36. To stress the separation of epochs marked by this text Conzelmann refers to it no less than seventeen times.<sup>117</sup> Again "he places tremendous weight upon an uncertain interpretation of an extremely difficult verse."<sup>118</sup> The text admittedly makes a separation between two periods but they are not epochs in the history of salvation. The distinction is between the period of Jesus' ministry and the trials of the passion. The latter time is to be one of opposition and physical violence against Jesus. There is no indication however that the era of fulfilment has come to an end; in fact the reverse is the case for what follows is specifically said to be in fulfilment of prophecy. "For I tell you that this scripture must be fulfilled in me, " "And he was reckoned with the transgressors," for what is written about me has its fulfilment" (22:36b).<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, when we consider what is supposed to be the distinctive element in the period of Jesus - "the absence of Satan" - we find the very opposite to what Conzelmann asserts. Schuyler Brown has made a detailed study of this question and he concludes, "Jesus' own ministry and also the work of the disciples on mission is represented (by Luke) as a victorious battle against Satan."<sup>120</sup> There is "no Satan free period."<sup>121</sup>

Minear believes Conzelmann presents this erroneous framework because he has overlooked the opening chapters of the Gospel, which he says, "are pervasively eschatological" and "contemporise" the gospel.<sup>122</sup> Minear's observations on Luke 1 and 2 are correct but he does not go far enough, this is true of the whole Gospel. What is more, Professor Minear is too kind. Conzelmann's schema is predetermined and then imposed on the text. More is involved than mere oversight of two chapters. The epoch theory rests on the belief that Luke, in presenting his work in the framework of "Heilsgeschichte," has historicised the kerygma and abandoned primitive eschatology. These points are however not conceded, at least in Conzelmann's form, and the pivotal texts

Conzelmann uses to support his epoch schema have not stood close examination. We will return to these issues again but we must now turn to the book of Acts to see how Lukan eschatology is developed there.

NOTES:

- 1) W.G. Kummel, Promise and Fulfilment, P. 19.
- 2) *ibid.*, P. 23.
- 3) Twenty four times. In Luke 21:20, 21:28, 22:1 and Acts 7:17 it is used temporally.
- 4) C.E.B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to St. Mark, P. 67.
- 5) H. Flender, St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History, P. 149.
- 6) H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 114. Conzelmann's treatment of this whole passage is difficult to follow. In a footnote (P. 114 note 3) he says Luke omitted "this section about the nearness of the Kingdom" from his account of the mission charge to the Twelve but retains it here because at this point the instructions concern the future." But for Luke, both the mission of the Twelve and the mission of the Seventy are envisaged as taking place during the ministry of Jesus.  
c.f. I.H. Marshall, Luke: Historian and Theologian, P. 133
- 7) T.W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus, P. 134.  
P. Schnackenburg, God's Rule and Kingdom, P. 130.  
G.E. Ladd, Jesus and the Kingdom, P. 160.  
W.G. Kummel, *ibid.*, P. 122.  
G. Schrenk, T.D.N.T., Vol. 1, P. 609 f.  
However, M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, thinks that both Matthew and Luke are attempts to interpret the original saying. P. 84 note 2 and P. 262 Note 3.
- 8) G. Schrenk, *ibid.*, P. 613 develops this point.
- 9) G. Schrenk, *ibid.*, P. 612. He adds "βιάζεται εἰς" does not mean "to exert force against," but "forcefully to press into." A list of classical references is given in note 15. The opposite view can be found in B.S. Easton, The Gospel according to St. Luke.
- 10) Frederick Danker, "Luke 16:16. An opposition logion, J.B.L., 77, 1958 P.234f.
- 11) The Sayings of Jesus, P. 134. So also R. Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, P. 108-112.
- 12) F. Danker, *ibid.*, P. 236.
- 13) See Luke 4:16-20, "The visit to Nazareth", which introduces the theme of rejection.
- 14) F. Danker, *ibid.*, P. 236.
- 15) J. Kallas, The Significance of the Synoptic Miracles, P. 73.
- 16) Pace, H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 112. In his later work, An outline of the Theology of the New Testament, he says, this verse in Luke

means that "people attempt to bring in the Kingdom with force." Thus he concludes it presupposes that "the Kingdom had yet to come." (P.112). Luke, himself, is however, emphasising that now (ἀπό τῶτε) the Kingdom of God is preached and men respond to it violently.

17) c.f. Matt. 4:23, 9:35, 24:14, 26:13, Mk. 1:14, 13:10, 14:9.

18) H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, P. 122.

19) E.E. Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, P. 14.

20) On this verse see p. 25

21) E.E. Ellis, *ibid.*, P. 14.

22) e.g. T.W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus, P. 142.

23) e.g. E.E. Ellis, *ibid.*, P. 210.

24) For the arguments that it means "amongst you" ("in your midst") see W.G. Kummel, *ibid.*, P. 33f.

25) R. Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, P. 121.

J.A.T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, P. 72.

H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 122.

26) W.G. Kummel, *ibid.*, P. 35.

R. Schnackenburg, *ibid.*, P. 137.

R. Otto, *ibid.*, P. 132.

The difficulty of deciding the issue is admitted in Conzelmann's later work, An outline of the Theology of the New Testament, (P. 112). Here he revises his earlier categorical future interpretation and admits the question is complex.

27) That Luke thought that the future manifestation of the Kingdom could be equated with the coming of the Son of Man is also suggested by his handling of Mark 13:28f. In Chapter 13 Mark does not mention the Kingdom of God but only the coming of the Son of Man. Thus the parable of the fig tree in Mark apparently refers to the coming of the Son of Man. Luke changes this to a remark about the future coming of the Kingdom (Luke 21:31).

W.G. Robinson, The Way of the Lord, P. 98.

28) He also speaks of "one of the days of the Son of Man" (v22). This is difficult as it has no parallels but it is probably best equated with the day of the Son of Man - See Ellis, *ibid.*, P. 211 and A.J.B. Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, P. 84.

The end which came in the flood, the destruction of Sodom and is to come at the parousia are all to be preceded by a group of days which end in "a day." This contrast must be kept in mind when interpreting the passage.

T.F. Glasson, The Second Advent, P. 83-88.

29) E.E. Ellis, *ibid.*, P. 211.

A.J.B. Higgins, *ibid.*, P. 84ff.

E. Ashby, "The Days of the Son of Man," Exp. Times, 67, 1955-56, P.124

For another view see A.R.C. Leaney, Luke, P. 68ff.

30) On the relation of this passage to Acts 2:17f., and the dependence of these ideas on current Jewish eschatological expectations see P.49

31) E.E. Ellis, *ibid.*, P. 210.

32) Kummel, *ibid.*, P. 113f, avoids this conclusion by holding that Luke 10:18 is an independent logion having no connection with its present context. Against this see G.E. Ladd, *ibid.*, P. 253. This debate about the original setting of the saying is not an issue when expounding Luke's theology. For Luke the fall of Satan is tied to the mission of the seventy.

33) O. Cullmann, Salvation in History, P. 206.

34) W. Foerster, article *Σαββατος*, T.D.N.T., Vol. 2, P. 79.

35) W.G. Kummel, *ibid.*, P. 105.

R. Bultmann, *ibid.*, P. 11f and P. 174.

36) The pericope is introduced by the miracle of the casting out of a single *Σαλμοὺν* (11:14). The accusation (v15) is against his whole ministry of exorcism (*τῷ Σαλμοῦν*). c.f. John 11:47.

37) W.G. Kummel, *ibid.*, p. 124.

38) H. Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, P.112

39) R. Schnackenburg, *ibid.*, P. 124.

40) G.E. Ladd, *ibid.*, P. 135.

41) A & G., P. 120.

42) R. Otto, *ibid.*, P. 102.

G.E. Ladd, *ibid.*, P. 147.

43) O. Cullmann, *ibid.*, P. 195.

44) R. Otto, *ibid.*, P. 101.

On the role of the devil during Jesus' ministry see P. 16 and note 120, where Conzelmann's assertion that the Devil is far away is discussed and rejected.

45) J. Kallas, *ibid.*, P. 22, has a different interpretation. He believes that the conflict between Jesus and the demons is the period of woe before the arrival of the Kingdom. He refers to Dan. 12:1. In Luke it is not a period simply of conflict but of victory over Satan.

46) J. Pryke, "Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in The Scrolls and Christianity, ed. by M. Black, P. 50.

- 47) A.R.C. Leaney, The Gospel of Luke, P. 34.
- 48) Sherman E. Johnson, "The Davidic royal motif in the Gospels," J.B.L., 87, 1968, P. 144.
- 49) A.R.C. Leaney, *ibid.*, P. 74. Leaney argues for the shorter text of Luke 22:15f. which omits both the word  $\sigma\alpha\theta\rho\gamma\kappa\tau\eta$  and the redemptive interpretation of Christ's death (P. 72-75). However, J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, prefers the longer text (P. 87-106). What must be noted is that the longer text does not reflect Lukan theology on the death of Christ. Thus, if the longer text is adopted it cannot be taken to deduce Luke's own thought. It most likely a liturgical passage which has been included unreflectively.
- 50) Sherman E. Johnson, "King Parables in the Synoptic Gospels," J.B.L. 74, 1955, P.38.
- 51) On this see H.J. Cadbury, Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 358 .
- D.L. Jones, "The title Christos in Luke-Acts", C.B.Q., 32, 1970, P. 69f.
- 52) W.C. Van Unnik, "Jesus the Christ", N.T.S., 8, 1961-62, P.114.
- 53) This is stressed by R. Longenecker, The Christology of early Jewish Christianity, P. 63ff. See also, O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, P. 114.
- It is modified somewhat by M. De Jonge, "The Use of the Word "Anointed" in the Time of Jesus," Nov. Test., No. 8., 1966. P. 132-148.
- 54) R.H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology, P. 28.
- 55) F. Hahn, The Titles of Jesus in Christology, P. 154.
- J. Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, P. 388ff.
- 56) This is more fully discussed on p.71f.
- 57) I.H. Marshall, *ibid.*, P. 126.
- G. Friedrich argues that the deeds described in Luke 7:22 are those of the prophet who restores the paradisaical conditions of the wilderness period. T.D.N.T., Vol. 6, P. 847.
- 58) At 7:39 Codex Vaticanus has the article  $\delta$  before  $\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ . This reading is accepted by W. Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Lukas, P.171.
- 59) R.H. Fuller, *ibid.*, P. 50ff., appendix "The Eschatological prophet at Qumran."
- 60) On these two ideas see Fuller, *ibid.*, P. 46.
- I.H. Marshall, *ibid.*, P. 125f.
- 61)  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$  in 5:17 is taken as synonym for the Holy Spirit.
- C.K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition, P. 76.
- 62) G.W.H. Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke," Studies in the Gospels, P. 172.

- 63) C.K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit, P. 152 insists that the Spirit was thought of in eschatological terms in pre-Christian Judaism. This was certainly the case at Qumran. So F.F. Bruce, "The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles," Interp., 27, 1973, P. 172.
- 64) P. Vielhauer, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts," Studies Luke-Acts, P. 33f. Originally published as "Zum Paulinismus der Apostelgeschichte," Ev. Theol., 10, 1950-51, P. 1.-15.
- 65) *ibid.*, P. 45.
- 66) H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 135.
- 67) U. Wilckens, "Interpreting Luke-Acts in a period of Existentialist Theology," Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 79, note 37.
- 68) C.K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study, P. 66.
- 69) S.G. Wilson, The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts, P. 67f. He believes that Luke as a pastor was fighting "not merely on one but two fronts," P. 85. The idea of these two strands is also found in Charles C. Talbert, Luke and the Gnostics, P. 107. For Talbert, they are in response to two forms of Gnosticism.
- 70) Wilson, P. 72ff.
- 71) Conzelmann makes the point that "the suddenness of the thief's coming brings out the urgency of being watchful." Theology of St. Luke, P. 108.
- 72) Wilson, P. 74, admits that this verse explicitly envisages that a delay has occurred.
- 73) G.H.P. Thompson, The Gospel of Luke, P. 192.
- 74) W.G. Kummel, *ibid.*, P. 59-61.
- 75) H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 105. Note 2. Conzelmann also thinks Luke's omission of  $\tau\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha$  from Lk. 13:29 is significant (P. 131). The words in Luke refer to the whole divine plan and not the matters which have just been mentioned.
- 76) Ellis, Luke, P. 246. He points out that in the Qumran writings the term "last generation" (1Qp, Hab. 2:7, 7:2) includes several generations.
- 77) "The Parable of the Unjust Judge and the Eschatology of Luke-Acts," S.J.T., 16, 1963, P. 297f. Against this see J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, P. 116, and E.E. Ellis, *ibid.*, P. 224.
- 78) H. Todt, The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, has made the point that the coming of the Son of Man is used by Luke to give weight to exhortation, (P. 109).
- 79) Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 132.
- 80) E.E. Ellis, "Present and Future Eschatology in Luke," N.T.S. 12, 1965-66, Pages 27-41.

E.E. Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, P. 12f, 161, 202f.

81) Ellis, N.T.S., 12, 1965,-66, P. 41.

82) E.E. Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, P. 210.

83) A.J.B. Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, P. 76ff.

H.E. Todt, The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, P. 94f.

Conzelmann on the other hand says Luke's use of Son of Man is largely determined by his sources." ibid., P. 171, Note 2.

84) Higgins, ibid., P. 96.

85) H. Conzelmann, ibid., P. 116f.

H. Flender, ibid., P. 98f.

S.G. Wilson, ibid., P. 67f. etc.

86) G. Stahlin, art. v̄v̄ T.D.N.T., Vol. 5, P. 112f.

See Luke 1:48, 5:10, 12:52, 22:18, Acts. 18:6.

87) H. Conzelmann, ibid., P. 116.

88) J.A.T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, P. 54f, argues that the two halves of Mark 14:62 are synonymous and both point to Jesus' exaltation. But H. Todt, The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, P. 102, refutes this.

89) H.E. Todt, ibid., P. 102.

90) F. Hahn, ibid., P. 28.

91) H. Todt, ibid., P. 109.

92) E.E. Ellis, "Present and Future Eschatology in Luke," ibid., P. 30. but see C.K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit, P. 26ff.

93) J. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, P. 170.

94) T. F. Glasson, The Second Advent, P. 129f.

95) ibid., P. 135.

96) On present salvation see P. 74 ff.

97) C.F. Evans, Resurrection and the New Testament, P. 39.

98) ibid., P. 40.

99) The details in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (16:30) Could also be included, although the parable is not discussing life after death as its main theme. The words "though one rises from the dead" is probably an allegorical detail referring to Jesus.

100) J. Jeremias, ibid., P. 193.

101) C.F. Evans, ibid., P. 33 says, "This semi-technical term may be due to Luke, who alone of the New Testament writers has anything like it."

102) c f. 1 Cor. 15:23, 1Thess. 4:16, Rev. 20:5-6.

103) 2 Macc. 7:9, 12:43, 14:46, perhaps Dan. 12:2. For a detailed discussion of this whole subject and further references both Biblical



- Rabbinical see S & B, Vol. 4, excursus "allgemeine oder teilweise Auferstehung der Toten," P. 1116ff.
- 104) J.M. Creed, *ibid.*, P. 249 .
- 105) H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 17.
- 106) *ibid.*, P. 151.
- 107) *ibid.*, P. 151.
- 108) *ibid.*, P. 120.
- 109) *ibid.*, P. 101.
- 110) *ibid.*, P. 185, N.2.
- 111) P.S. Minear, "Luke's Use of the Birth Stories," Studies in Luke/Acts, P. 122.
- 112) Published in 1967.
- 113) P. 50.
- 114) P. 51.
- 115) P. 51.
- 116) I.H. Marshall, *ibid.*, P. 146.
- 117) *ibid.*, P. 13, 16, 36, 50, 80f, 91-92, 103, 170, 187, 199, 201, 232, 234.
- 118) P.S. Minear, *ibid.*, P. 124.
- Also, P.S. Minear, "A Note on Luke 22:36," Nov. Test., 7, 1964, P. 128-134.
- 119) I.H. Marshall, *ibid.*, P. 120.
- 120) S. Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke, P.6.
- 121) The majority of the Lukan sayings about Satan are found within the period of Jesus' ministry (4:33-37, 4:40-41, 10:17-20, 11:17-23, 13:11-17). The devil's departure at 4:3 is not therefore to be taken "as a suspension of all satanic attack on Jesus." (Brown, *ibid.*, P.7).
- 122) P.S. Minear, Studies in Luke Acts, P. 125.

C H A P T E R 3:

ESCHATOLOGY IN THE BOOK OF ACTS:

C.H. Dodd's incisive study The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments,<sup>1</sup> showed that the speeches in the first part of the book of Acts unanimously affirmed that "the decisive thing had already happened.... the eschaton had already entered history."<sup>2</sup> Somewhat later A.G. Hebert<sup>3</sup> sought to extend Dodd's work by studying the use of the Old Testament within these speeches. He found that they reveal a belief in "a clear continuity with the Old Testament messianic hope"<sup>4</sup> and emphasise that in Jesus "The throne of David" has been re-established. Both men took the speeches as examples of very early Christian preaching which could be used to establish the primitive kerygma. In both cases the conclusions reached have been widely accepted<sup>5</sup> but not the foundation on which they were built. To-day the consensus of opinion is that the speeches in Acts are, by and large, the work of Luke and as such reveal his own theology.<sup>6</sup> Even the use of the Old Testament within these speeches has been used to elucidate Luke's own thought.<sup>7</sup>

In this essay the points we have just mentioned as being established by Dodd and Hebert will be developed as we look at the way Luke paints the eschatological backdrop in his second volume. The modern view of the speeches as largely evidence of Luke's own theology is however accepted, though not in its most radical form. The speeches are an important source for establishing Lukan theology but they are not entirely Lukan and they are not the only place in Acts where Luke's own thought can be discovered. All the time as we study the book of Acts we must be looking for dominant motifs which reveal Luke's abiding interests and be checking our deductions made from particular passages for their consistency with the rest of the book.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the numerous messianic figures that were part of Jewish eschatological hopes the dominant messianic expectation was for a Davidic King.<sup>9</sup> The promisory covenant spoken to David by Nathan was never forgotten -

"I will raise up your offspring after you  
Who shall come forth from your body and I  
will establish His Kingdom. He shall build  
a house for my name, and I will establish  
the throne of his Kingdom for ever." (II Sam. 7:12-13)<sup>10</sup>

This hope finds expression time and time again in the Old Testament, (Ps. 78:47-62, 89:1-4, 28, 34, 132:11-18, Is. 55:3, Jer. 23:5, Ez. 21:27, Amos 9:11-12 etc.). At Qumran the Davidic Messiah ranked below the priestly Messiah but the hope for the restoration of David's throne was still cherished.<sup>11</sup> It gained new vigour at the beginning of the period of Roman domination. This is seen in the Psalms of Solomon where the hope that the Davidic Messiah would arise to meet the people's need in this crucial time is very strong.

"See Lord, raise up for them a King, the Son of David, In a time when thou knowest O God that he may reign over Israel." Ps. of Sol. 17:8 (see also Ps. of Sol. 17:23f, 32-36).

This abiding hope finds expression in almost every New Testament writer, but it is in Luke's theology, particularly in the book of Acts, that it becomes dominant. In fact it may be said that the eschatological perspective of this book cannot be understood correctly unless this motif is given the importance it deserves.<sup>12</sup>

A good case can be made for seeing Acts chapter two as the most important chapter in the whole book.<sup>13</sup> The first chapter prepares for it and everything that follows is dependent on it. Although the actual ascension takes place in chapter one it is in Acts two that its theological significance is expounded. This chapter focuses on the two fundamental concepts in Luke's theology, the ascension and the Holy Spirit. The giving of the Holy Spirit is described before the ascension but we will discuss the ascension first because for Luke it is chronologically prior to the giving of the Spirit and is dependent on it. The ascension is for Luke "the raising up" of Jesus to the throne of David. With this in mind we will consider, in order, the importance of the ascension in Luke's thought, its theological interpretation in Acts two, and the subsequent use in Acts of Davidic prophecies before returning to the meaning of Pentecost, Luke's doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the Kingdom of God and the future consummation.

**THE KING EXALTED:** The centrality of the ascension in Luke/Acts.

Jesus is introduced in the Gospel as the Davidic Messianic King but it is only in Acts that this motif is brought into the very weft and warp of the narrative. The basis of Luke's developed thought on this matter is the ascension. In this event Jesus the King,

is exalted to the right hand of God to exercise dominion for ever. Although the idea of Messianic Kingship only becomes dominant in Acts the ascension with which it is related is always in Luke's mind as he develops his story from the birth of Jesus onwards. It has been said correctly that in the third Gospel - "the whole narrative is so written as to lead through successive phases in Galilee and Samaria, to a climax in Jerusalem which culminates in the ascension."<sup>14</sup> It is not just a matter of preparing for, or frequently alluding to the ascension, the ascension is foundational to Lukan theology. It is more important to Luke than the parousia. The present glory of Jesus in Heaven rather than the future glory of Jesus at the parousia fills Luke's mind as he writes both books. The point is that the ascension and the coming of the Holy Spirit in themselves introduce the last days as far as Luke is concerned. To put it another way the ascension in Acts is an eschatological event or to be even more precise, the decisive eschatological event. Luke's insistence on this leads him to modify the tradition at many points, either to introduce the ascension or to make it central.

A) J.G. Davies<sup>15</sup> has established that whereas in Mark the transfiguration prefigures the parousia, in Luke the event prefigures the ascension. Jesus exhibits the same glory (δοξα) as that of Moses and Elijah with whom he speaks (9:32), a glory which for Luke is gained by Jesus at the ascension (Acts 3:13, cf. 7:55). The topic of conversation is Jesus' ἔξοδος (9:31) "which he was to accomplish at Jerusalem." Jesus' "exodus" probably includes both His exit from this world and His entry into glory, but Jerusalem is essentially for Luke the place of Jesus' resurrection and ascension. In Luke nine, Jesus enters a cloud only to reappear whereas at the ascension "he enters into the cloud and remains."<sup>16</sup> To these observations could be added the redactional addition of the phrase "two men" (9:32) which parallels the story of the ascension (Acts 1:10).<sup>17</sup>

B) In Matthew and Mark the faithful disciple will be vindicated at the parousia when the Son of Man comes in glory (Matt. 16:27, Mk. 8:38). In Luke the idea that this takes place at the parousia is omitted (12:8f). He can neither allow that Jesus will only attain glory at the parousia or that the faithful believer must wait for the parousia to be vindicated. Jesus attains his glory at the ascension (Luke 24:26, Acts 3:13) and the faithful are welcomed at the moment of death (Acts 7:55-56). It is with some persuasiveness that C.K. Barrett has argued that "the use of

the Son of Man in this context is part of the Lucan rewriting of the primitive Christian eschatology." <sup>18</sup> The death of each Christian is marked by "a private personal parousia." <sup>19</sup>

C) Jesus' apocalyptic discourse takes place in Mark (13:3) on the Mount of Olives - a location filled with eschatological significance (Zech.14:4). When dealing with this material Luke omits the location. It is reserved by him for the ascension (Acts 1:12).

D) When Mark writes of Jesus' *ἔαχόμενον ἐν νεφέλῃ* (13:26) he is thinking of the parousia. The Lukan parallel however, introduces the singular *νεφέλη* (21:27), which reminds us of the cloud which veiled Jesus' departure into glory. <sup>20</sup> The implication is that Luke's conception of the ascension has influenced his description of the parousia. But this can be taken further for when Acts one is considered the same thing reappears. The ascension is said to be the pattern or archetype of the parousia (1:11). Luke in both instances has made the ascension the primary category which determines the description of the parousia.

E) Luke's redactional handling of Mark 14:62 has already been mentioned. <sup>21</sup> By omission of the allusion to Daniel 7:13 Luke has made the saying focus all attention on the Heavenly session of Jesus at the right hand of God. This dignity attained by the ascension is such that it neither needs nor can allow any other event to supplement it.

These observations do not lead us to completely endorse E. Franklin's thesis that "Luke found the full eschatological act of God... in the ascension." <sup>22</sup> They do however allow us to say that the ascension (with the subsequent bestowal of the Spirit) was the decisive eschatological event in Luke's mind. It cannot be called "the full eschatological act of God" because Luke holds firmly to a future consummation. The point is that the ascension is more important to Lukan theology than the parousia. It is Jesus' present glorified reign which determines the whole outlook of the book of Acts. This should be taken with the distinctive Lukan treatment of the death of Christ. <sup>23</sup> The crucifixion does not make satisfaction for sin but is the necessary prelude to the resurrection and ascension. Salvation is guaranteed not by the cross but by the present Lordship of Christ to which men are called to respond. Thus the cross as well, is considered strictly in relation to the ascension and subsequent

reign. The ascension is at every point to the fore and without doubt the foundational doctrine in Luke's own theology. The only extended theological exposition of the ascension is in Peter's inaugural sermon in Acts two.

ACTS 2:14-42. THE "RAISING UP" OF JESUS:

The speech has three distinct sections.<sup>24</sup> It is in the middle one (2:22-36) that the theological interpretation of the ascension in terms of the "raising up" of the Davidic Messiah is made. The Old Testament texts on which the argument rests and their exegesis are of particular interest. The key passages are Ps. 68:8-11 and Ps. 110:1 with the underlying allusion throughout, but explicit in v30, to the prophecy of Nathan II Sam. 7:12-13<sup>25</sup>. The selection of these Psalm texts was due to an agreement that firstly, David was their author, and secondly, David had the gift of prophecy. This latter point is made in v30, as it is in the Psalm scroll from Qumran which says of the Psalms,

"All these he (David) composed through prophecy which was given him from before the most high." (IIQ Ps. 17:11)

There could be no more authoritative words about the expected eschatological Messiah, than those spoken by David himself. The argument follows the same pattern with both texts. Neither prophecy was literally fulfilled by David himself therefore he was anticipating one greater who would literally fulfil them. The great claim in the sermon is that these words have been fulfilled in the life, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus of Nazareth.

At first reading we might think that Luke utilizes Ps. 16:8-11, to show that Jesus' resurrection was foretold by David and his ascension in Ps. 110:1. But the distinction is not so clear. The ascension is central throughout. The point that is made from Ps. 16 is that Jesus "was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption." (v31) Victory over the grave is but the prerequisite for a second phase in the ministry of Jesus. The connection with the thought of ascension may however be even closer. Lindars has argued that the importance of this passage in Acts 2 is that Ps. 16 goes on to speak of an exaltation to the right hand of God.<sup>26</sup> The words following those quoted read  $\tau\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\nu \tau\eta \sigma\epsilon\beta\lambda\acute{\eta} \sigma\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (Ps. 16 :11e). This idea appears in v33 but is explicitly made by the quotation of Ps.110:1. The centrality of the

ascension is also seen in the use of ἀνάστασις (2:24, 32, and ἀνάστασεως (2:31). Luke's special use of ἀνάστασις with God as the subject has aroused scholarly debate<sup>27</sup> but the reason for this has been missed in the recent discussion. It is due neither to Lukan subordinationism<sup>28</sup> nor to literary variation.<sup>29</sup> Luke is using the word in relation to the ascension. It was agreed both in the Old Testament and intertestamental literature that the Davidic Messiah was to be "raised up" by God (II Sam. 3:10, 7:12, Ps. 131:11, 132:11) Jer. 23:5, Amos 9:11, II Chron. 7:18, Ps. of Sol. 17:21, etc.). In all of these texts the LXX uses ἀναστήσει/ἀναστήσεται<sup>30</sup> with God as the subject. Through using this verb Luke is able to hold the resurrection and ascension together but put more weight onto the latter. The close connection between the ideas of resurrection and ascension in this speech, which resembles Luke 24:44ff, raises one of the most difficult critical questions in the Lukan writings. In Acts one these two events are separated by forty days. The comments just made on Acts 2 explains, to some extent, why Luke does not separate them here - his main interest is in the ascension.<sup>31</sup>

Psalm 16 is only explicitly quoted in the New Testament here and in Acts 13:35 but the second text Ps. 110:1 underlies much of the Christology of the New Testament and appears in numerous places. It is used says Hahn, as the most "authoritative statement regarding Jesus' Heavenly dignity and function."<sup>32</sup> Luke was well aware of its importance as can be seen by his full quotation of the text in this sermon and by his frequent allusions to it ( Luke 20:42f, 22:69, Acts 2:34f, 5:31, 7:55)<sup>33</sup>. It is for him the text which unambiguously foretells "the raising up" of Jesus in terms of the exaltation of the Davidic Messianic King. David's descendant, by his ascension, has attained everlasting dominion.

Up to this point Luke has been able to call Jesus the King, ascribe to him royal lineage, and bestow on him a Kingly anointing with the Spirit, but he still lacked one essential characteristic to perfectly fulfil prophecy.<sup>34</sup> He needed to ascend the throne of David and gain eternal dominion. This we are told in Acts 2 took place in the ascension. In the "Heavenly realm" he assumed the dignity that was rightfully his.<sup>35</sup> To connect the heavenly reign with the ascension is a distinctively Lukan contribution to New Testament Theology.

The grand climax to this section of the sermon comes when it is declared in v.36 -

"Therefore know assuredly that God has made him both Lord and

Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified." Because he literally fulfils Ps. 110 he is *Κύριος* and <sup>36</sup> because he literally fulfils Ps. 16 he is *Χριστός*. These two titles which Luke has already introduced in the Gospel become the dominant ones throughout the book of Acts. Consistently Luke uses *Χριστός* as a title <sup>37</sup> and, with the possible exception of Heb. 1:9, alone speaks of Jesus being anointed thereby showing he understands the etymology of the word. <sup>38</sup> Luke's intention is to prove that Jesus is "the Messiah" (5:42, 9:22, 17:3, 18:5, 28 etc). The Old Testament is utilized to make this point. But he is not just "Messiah" he is the Davidic royal Messiah. His Messiahship is openly declared on the basis of his exaltation. With Cullmann we would agree that "it is no accident that in this passage (2:36) the title KYRIOS comes before the title Christ. Jesus can be designated Messiah King, only in view of his invisible Lordship as KYRIOS." <sup>39</sup> In fact, for Cullmann the title *Κύριος* is only a variant of the title *βασιλεύς*. <sup>40</sup> With far less frequency several other titles are given to Jesus but as this is not a study of Christology they will not be discussed. However, in one of the most detailed studies of Lukan Christology so far produced, the conclusion is reached that all the titles Luke uses are "merely different ways of calling Jesus the Christ." <sup>41</sup>

The actual ascension (1:9-11) and its theological interpretation in Acts 2, is as has been said, foundational to Lukan theology. It is the prerequisite for his Pneumatology, it gives his Christology its peculiar character, it affects his ecclesiology and it is at the centre of his eschatology. The eschatological interpretation of the ascension and the exposition of its meaning in terms of "the raising up" of the Davidic Messianic King has now been considered. Before we go further we must see how the Davidic argument is used in the rest of Acts. It appears in three other places -

ACTS 4:24-30:

Once more David as a prophet speaks through a Psalm to interpret the events at hand (4:25-26). The text is Ps. 2:1-2. In spite of the archaic *Σέσποτα* and *τὸν ἕγιον Πῦρσά σου* the passage is probably entirely Luke's own construction. <sup>42</sup> The Psalm is however, one of the catena of texts which were utilized by the early Church, and as such is not peculiar to Luke. <sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, its use here, and in particular how it is used, is interesting. In pre-Christian Jewish literature the Psalm had been interpreted in reference to the coming deliverer of David's line, a thought taken



up in Heb. 1:5 where the text is associated with II Sam. 7:14.<sup>44</sup> When interpreted Messianically in Jewish writings "God Messiah and Israel are closely related."<sup>45</sup> In this pericope the text is applied to Jesus but the context shows that the attack, which evoked the prayer, was against the disciples. Luke has thus closely connected the sufferings of the Messiah and the Messianic people in this passage in a way common to its Jewish usage. Further to this it should be noted that the same two titles which appeared at the climax of Peter's speech in Acts two, *Κύριος* and *Χριστός*, reappear in this passage.

ACTS 13:16-41.

Paul's inaugural sermon at Antioch gives the Davidic argument in its "purest form."<sup>46</sup> The speech begins with a compressed summary of Israel's election, growth in Egypt, wanderings in the desert and settlement in Canaan. Then in contrasting fullness comes the account of God's gift of judges up to Samuel the prophet, who then appointed a King at the people's wish. This King was removed to be replaced, says the Divine voice, by "David the son of Jesse, a man after my heart" (13:22). From this point onwards the case is made that Jesus is David's posterity and the fulfilment of God's promise.

This time Luke brings forth three Old Testament passages to substantiate his case. These are Ps. 2:7, Is. 55:3 and Ps. 16:10. It has been often stated that the Nathan oracle lies behind the first part of Paul's speech,<sup>47</sup> but recent discussion has suggested that these O.T. passages are to be understood as part of a "pesher" on II Sam. 7:10-12. The discovery of just such a pesher on this passage at Qumran makes this suggestion well worth considering.<sup>48</sup> Even if it is not a pesher on II Sam. 7 dependence on this passage in both parts of Paul's speech is beyond dispute.<sup>49</sup>

The use of Ps. 2:7 also demands comment. It reads "Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee (13:33). Here it is implied that Jesus became God's son on being raised up (*ἁρτάνωαις*) by God. The context suggests that this "raising up" once more refers to the resurrection - ascension complex. Elsewhere Luke holds that Jesus "became" the son of God at his conception (Lk. 1:26-28).

Is this then a passage where Luke has utilized traditional material without reflection or without worrying that it differs from other parts of his material?<sup>50</sup> This could be so but it seems preferable to understand this text as referring only to the open declaration of Jesus'

sonship. This would then follow the same pattern as his use of *Κύριος* and *Χριστός*. Jesus has these titles before the ascension but their full meaning is not seen until the ascension.

The quotation of Is. 55:3 (v 4) introduces the idea of the promissory covenant to David. This promise was that David's heir would exercise eternal dominion. In Is. 55 the words immediately preceding those quoted speak of "the everlasting covenant" and the words which follow, as used in this speech, are simply the prophet's description of that covenant. This passage is intimately connected with the text that follows - Ps. 16:10<sup>52</sup>. As in Acts 2 this text is not primarily related to the resurrection. It is only because Jesus did not see corruption that his eternal dominion is imperishable, and indestructible. Lest the point be missed the argument concludes by speaking of Jesus as "he whom God raised up" (v32). From what has been said we must understand that for Luke this meant, "raised up" by God to the throne of David to exercise eternal dominion.

ACTS 15:16-18.

That the Jewish Christian James could quote in a speech in Jerusalem words from the LXX text of Amos 9:11-12 (with some introductory words from Jer. 12:15) is so unlikely that commentators have concluded that at the least his words "have been thoroughly reworked"<sup>53</sup> or at most "are a composition of the Hellenistic Gentile Christian Luke."<sup>54</sup> The interpretation of the passage is disputed. Haenchen takes it to refer to the resurrection which causes the Gentiles to seek the Lord.<sup>55</sup> Bruce on the other hand finds a double fulfilment. The first half of the quotation is fulfilled in the resurrection, exaltation and reconstitution of the New Israel and the second in the presence of "believing Gentiles as well as believing Jews in the Church."<sup>56</sup> A third possibility is that it refers simply to the restoration of Israel, an event which would lead to the inclusion of Gentiles.<sup>57</sup> This view fits the context best and does greatest justice to the text. The debate is not a Christological one but one about the inclusion of Gentiles into the community of salvation. There is no reason to mention the resurrection or ascension. If Luke had the resurrection ascension in mind he is unlikely to have omitted the previous line of the Amos quotation which uses the key word *ἀνελκτᾶν* (Amos 9:11A) in reference to God's action in fulfilling his promise to David. In Luke's mind it was not only the promise to David to restore his throne that mattered,

this promise included the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom. It is the latter idea that is present in this passage. The advent of the eschatological age meant the "raising up" of David as ruler, the restoration of Israel and the inclusion of Gentiles.<sup>58</sup> The first took place at the ascension, the second has taken place in the successful Jewish mission which is well nigh completed (for Luke) by the time of the Jerusalem council,<sup>59</sup> and the third is now opportune and in accord with scripture.

#### PENTECOST - THE COMING OF THE NEW AGE.

Traditionally Pentecost has been described as "the birth of the Church",<sup>60</sup> but as Luke does not use the word *ἐκκλησία* in this narrative some caution must be taken with this description. It is perhaps better to think of Pentecost as the beginning of the new age of the Spirit. Despite debate on other issues it seems clear that Luke understood the coming of the Spirit as the natural consequence of Christ's ascension. The "raising up" of Jesus to exercise dominion in "the heavenly realm" had as its earthly counterpart the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. But the reason why Luke connected the first (Christian) bestowal of the Holy Spirit with the feast of Pentecost is by no means self-explanatory and remains a point of contention. Nevertheless we must attempt to determine why they are connected if we are to discover the ideas present in Luke's own mind and the ones he wished his readers to infer. We have the following evidence.

- 1) Although Pentecost originally was purely a harvest festival (Lev. 25:15f., Deut. 16:9), well before the time of Christ it became the festival at which the ceremony of covenant renewal took place. The book of Jubilees (2nd Century B.C.) sets the celebration of the giving of the covenants (to Noah, Abraham and Moses) at the feast of Pentecost (Jub. 1:1, 6:17-21, 15:1-24). At Qumran the same calendar as that followed by the book of Jubilees was kept. The feast of Pentecost<sup>61</sup> with its ceremony of covenant renewal was at Qumran "the most important" festival of the year. The idea "covenant" does not necessarily imply Law or Sinai,<sup>62</sup> but that such an association did eventually come about in regard to the feast of Pentecost is not surprising when we remember that for many Jews covenant and Torah were very closely related.
- 2) Philo does not connect the giving of the law at Sinai with the feast of Pentecost. However, the supernatural phenomena that he associates with the giving of the law do show a striking remembrance

to the phenomena Luke mentions in connection with the bestowal of the Holy Spirit. For instance we read in Philo's account of the giving of the Law.

"God wrought on this occasion a miracle of a truly holy kind by bidding an invisible sound to be created in the air more marvellous than all instruments....." it "sounded forth like the breath through a trumpet, an articulate voice so loud that it appeared to be equally audible to the farthest as well as the nearest." (De Dec. 9:33).

Later in this same work, in a passage beginning "For when the power (*ΣΥΝΙΜΕΝΩΣ*) of God arrives" (11:44), he says, "Then from the midst of the fire that streamed forth, to their utter amazement, a voice from the flame became articulate speech in the language familiar to the audience." (De Dec. 11:46)<sup>63</sup>.

There can be no mistaking the similarity in imagery. We must conclude that either Luke had read Philo,<sup>64</sup> or that he knew a common tradition on which both he and Philo drew. This means that while Philo may not connect the feast of Pentecost and the giving of the Law, Luke does make this connection in some way. If nothing else, he is saying, the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost parallels the giving of the Law at Sinai.

3) The tradition which associated phenomena similar to those seen in Acts 2 with the giving of the law is also found in the Rabbinic literature. The most striking example is in the Midrash Tanhuma 26C which reads -

"Although the ten commandments were promulgated with a single voice.... all people heard the voices; it follows then that when the voice went forth it was divided into seven voices and then went into seventy tongues, and every people received the law in their own language."<sup>65</sup>

This must be dated much later than the book of Acts but it is evidence of a continuing tradition in Jewish circles in which the giving of the law and miraculous events are connected. The parallels between this passage and the story of Acts 2:5-13 is particularly close if it is thought the story of Pentecost in Acts is meant to prefigure the Gentile mission.<sup>66</sup>

4) The earliest evidence that the feast of Pentecost had become the feast in celebration of the giving of the law is in R. Jose be Chalaphtha (Circa 150 A.D.). From this point on the Rabbinic literature

frequently makes this connection.<sup>67</sup> It is said that this "new understanding only came after the fall of Jerusalem when the annual pilgrimage could not take place."<sup>68</sup> This assertion can neither (at this point of time) be proved or disproved to the satisfaction of all. However, the Rabbis certainly did not create the idea de novo and the evidence listed so far suggests that there was a growing body of opinion that linked Sinai and Pentecost well before 70 A.D.

5) One final piece of evidence, again inconclusive, must be mentioned. It is possible that the tradition about strange phenomena at Sinai and the association of the Mosaic covenant and/or Law with Pentecost in these different writings (Philo, Luke, Rabbis) is due to the Jewish lectionary, the principle reading at the feast of Pentecost being Exodus 19. A.R.C. Leaney believes this was why the feast of Pentecost and covenant renewal were connected at Qumran,<sup>70</sup> while Norman Snaith in an important essay, unnoticed by the commentators, cogently argues that all the strange phenomena in Luke's description of the Pentecost event could be explained as allusions taken from the reading appointed for that day. (Law, Prophets, Psalms). The common theme being "a display of the tremendous power of God."<sup>71</sup> The date and uniformity of these lections remains however unsettled. They may have been fixed well after the book of Acts was completed.<sup>72</sup>

That Luke intends to relate Sinai and the outpouring of the Spirit by placing it on the day of Pentecost seems from this evidence to be well nigh conclusive.<sup>73</sup> It is however another thing to state that it means "the Holy Ghost replaces Torah."<sup>74</sup> Luke has the most conservative attitude to the Law of all the New Testament writers.<sup>75</sup> He never suggests at any stage that the Law has been abrogated. Probably the connection is meant to establish no more than the point that the giving of the Holy Spirit is of equal epochal significance as the giving of the law which was "the birthday" of the nation under the old covenant. If we wish to bring in the word "Law" it is better to think that Luke understands the coming of the Spirit" as the writing of the Law upon the heart."<sup>76</sup>

Turning to the text of Acts these preliminary ideas are confirmed and expanded. At every point Luke affirms that Pentecost was the beginning of a new epoch - the last days. Following the brief account of the initial coming of the Spirit (Acts 2:1-4), Luke recounts that these happenings drew a crowd of "devout men from every nation under Heaven" (2:5). It is very likely that these men in the tradition Luke develops were diaspora Jews in Jerusalem for the festival.

The Jewish nature of the crowd is allowed in Peter's words of address (2:22, and 36), but the impression is given that these men were in fact Gentiles in Jerusalem or if not Gentiles representatives of the Gentile nations.<sup>77</sup> We would agree with Wilson that, "While Acts 2 is not directly concerned with the Gentiles, Luke probably intended it to be prophetic of the future universal extension of the Church's mission."<sup>78</sup> Now the gathering of the nations in Jerusalem to hear a proclamation from God was an eschatological expectation in Jewish thought. It announced the arrival of the golden age predicted by the prophets (Is. 2:2, 66:18f., Micah 4:1, and cf. Test. of Zeb. 9:8).<sup>79</sup> Even the expectation of a single language on this day was anticipated (Test. of Jud. 25:3). The meaning of these events is further developed by Luke by his use of Joel 2:28-32. We may conclude that he meant the following points of fulfilment to be seen -

A) The last days have arrived. The reading *ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις* is to be preferred in Acts 2:17. Haenchen accepts the reading in B *μετὰ ταῦτα* which avoids the explicit statement that Pentecost introduces the end time,<sup>80</sup> but it is unlikely that a secondary reading which assimilates to the text of Joel is to be preferred.<sup>81</sup> The expression "the last days" was a technical term in Jewish writings for the period of bliss brought in when the golden age of prophecy dawned. This idea can be found in the Old Testament (Is. 2:2, Micah 4:1), but grew in importance during the intertestamental period (1 Enoch 90:28f., Test. of Lev 18:12, Test. of Dan. 5:10),<sup>82</sup> and became well nigh dominant in the rabbinic writings.<sup>83</sup> When this idea is present we are to understand a particular interpretation of the two ages of Jewish eschatology. The "last days" are that period before the final consummation. The actual words "the last days" do not appear either in the LXX or M.T. text of Joel.<sup>84</sup> Luke has introduced them to make the juxtaposition between "the last days" (i.e. the messianic age) and "the day of the Lord v20 (i.e. the last day).

2) The universal gift of the Spirit was also very much an end time expectation. It was believed "that the Holy Spirit had ceased altogether from Israel."<sup>85</sup> Deeply entrenched in the prophetic literature is the hope of a future supernatural outpouring of the Holy Spirit (Is. 32:15, 34:16, Ez. 11:19, 36:26f., 37:4-14, Zech. 12:10).<sup>86</sup> This is very much related to Prophecy. The cessation of the Spirit in

Israel meant the end of Prophecy (Ps. 74:9, 1 Macc. 4:46, 9:27, 14:41). Its revival would come only in the days of the Messiah (Joel 2:28-29, Zech. 1:3-6, Mal. 4:5-6, Test.<sup>of</sup> Lev. 8:14, Test. of Benj. 9:2). Luke's interest in showing that Pentecost brought with it the gift of prophecy is seen by his addition of the words "καὶ προφητεύουσιν" (v18) to say nothing of his interest in this phenomenon throughout Luke/Acts. <sup>87</sup>

3) Clear and unambiguous signs (σημεῖα) were also thought to anticipate the arrival of the last days. Luke modifies the Joel text with three words to make his point. He adds the words ἄνω, κάτω and σημεῖα. The actual text of Joel refers to physical phenomena in the skies and on the earth but we may infer that the real signs for Luke are the Spirit "below" and Christ on the throne "above". It is the ascension and the giving of the Holy Spirit which are at the heart of Luke's eschatology.

Finally, we note that Luke interprets the bestowal of the Holy Spirit as the fulfilment of all God's promises. This can be seen in the repeated use of the quasi-technical term ἐπαγγελία (Luke 24:49, Acts 1:4, 2:33, 2:38f.). <sup>88</sup> The goal of all religion and in particular the covenant religion of Israel is relationship with God. <sup>89</sup> The prophetic hope which drew its inspiration from the covenants made to Israel is, says Luke, fulfilled on the day of Pentecost with the ascension of Jesus and the coming of the Holy Spirit. From this point on we are supposed to understand that a new quality of relationship with God summed up in the word σωτηρία (21) is possible. Though neither the word covenant nor the prophet Jeremiah are mentioned the thought that Pentecost marks the inauguration of the new covenant is implied. <sup>90</sup>

#### THE HOLY SPIRIT:

These remarks about the Pentecostal bestowal of the Holy Spirit must be extended to a wider consideration of the Spirit in the Book of Acts. Two diametrically opposed interpretations have been given. So different are they that it is hard to believe that one body of material is under examination. One school of thought <sup>91</sup> sees Luke's doctrine of the Holy Spirit as part and parcel of his "early catholicism" (Fruhkatholizismus). <sup>92</sup> It is said that for him the spirit is restricted to the laying on of hands by a member of the Una Sancta. <sup>93</sup> He is not the blessing of salvation but the

"provisional substitute" <sup>94</sup> for it, and only one gift among others which makes it possible to endure." <sup>95</sup> The opposing interpretation <sup>96</sup> maintains that the Spirit is for Luke "the already" of the Kingdom of God, that is "God's eschatological reign in history is both mediated and characterized by the Holy Spirit." <sup>97</sup>

In part it is a terminological debate, but only in part. Those who interpret Luke in the former sense will not allow that the Spirit should be called "the eschatological gift", while those who interpret Luke in the latter sense insist on this expression. It is said that the word "eschatological" should be restricted to the events connected with the divine conclusion of world history, <sup>98</sup> - the final days in the strictest sense. It is obvious that the ascension and Holy Spirit are not in that category so they are not eschatological phenomena. In answer it can be said that Luke's addition to the Joel text; "in the last days" (2:17) does suggest that the term is in accord with Luke's own thought. He adopts, as seen in Acts two and Lk.17:22ff., a major Jewish tradition which distinguished between the Messianic age and the end of human history. The Messianic age is in his terminology, "ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις", it introduces the end time in the present.

The real issue is however, not the term but our estimation of Luke's attitude to the present. For the former school it is a problem. Luke is trying to overcome the difficulty which has arisen because Christ has not returned as soon as was expected. The latter school, on the other hand, think that Luke saw the present as something highly positive. The present was the golden age of prophecy, the promised Messianic Kingdom of David, the age of fulfilment. This brings us to the heart of the problem. It is basically the question whether Luke is essentially at one with the earliest New Testament writings, notably Paul, or represents a later stage which has much, or more, in common with post New Testament documents. The answer lies in appreciating Luke's own thought on the Holy Spirit.

First of all the Lukan pre-occupation with the Holy Spirit should be highlighted. There are 21 references to the spirit in his Gospel, (that is, three times as many as Mark) and 41 in Acts. In the more theologically orientated first half of Acts there is, as Schweizer has observed, "the greatest frequency of references to the Spirit to be found in the New Testament." <sup>99</sup> Arnold Ehrhardt has spoken of the book of Acts as "The Gospel of the Holy Spirit", <sup>100</sup> and describes the Spirit as "the formative principle in the Lukan writings." <sup>101</sup>



This pre-occupation with the Holy Spirit, as says Bultmann, "characteristic of the primitive community." <sup>102</sup> It clearly separates Lukan theology from early catholicism where "the church" becomes the formative principle. It in fact places Luke/Acts, whenever it was written, in a direct line of continuity with the early Pauline literature where a similar interest in the Spirit can be seen.

Secondly, we should note that Luke says far more about what the Spirit does than who he is and how he works. We might imagine that if Luke represented a later theology of the Spirit his doctrine would be somewhat systematised and controlled by Church order. This, however, is not the case despite special pleading to the contrary. <sup>103</sup> Although certain patterns can be seen emerging <sup>104</sup> if we take Acts as a whole, the truth remains that Luke presents the Spirit as sovereign and free. Usually conversion and the reception of the Spirit are connected (2:28, 10:44, 19:56), but at least once (8:14f., cf. 9:3ff.) they are separated. Sometimes people are baptized and then receive the Spirit (2:38, 19:5f.) at other times the Spirit comes before baptism (10:44, cf. 9:17f.). In some passages the laying on of hands seems to be an important medium (8:17, 9:17, 19:6) but in others it is not even mentioned. It appears that any Christian can perform this symbolic act (9:17). Rather than the Spirit being tied to baptism and the laying on of hands as actions of the organized Church" <sup>105</sup> the overall Lukan perspective is, as Professor Barrett has said, the Spirit "works ahead of the organized community. The Spirit falls on Cornelius and his associates before their baptism (Acts 10:44) and Apollos is already burning in the Spirit (18:25) before he receives official instruction." <sup>106</sup> Luke has no doctrine of ministerial order. <sup>107</sup> There are no successors to the Apostles. Prophets appear as the most important leaders in the Church next to the Apostles. The elders though important are very Jewish in character (11:30, 14:23, 15:2, 4, 6, 22, 23, etc. ). <sup>108</sup> He is happy to leave open the nature of "the breaking of bread in homes" (2:46, 18:35, 20:7). We will never know with certainty whether it was the Eucharist or a simple fellowship meal. <sup>109</sup> The *ἐκκλησία* is for Luke but a local assembly of Christians. <sup>110</sup> As he has no "theology of the church" (in the formal sense); the Spirit remains essentially an individual gift as are its expressions of prophecy and glossolalia. <sup>111</sup> This fluid unsystematic presentation of the Spirit could be explained by saying that Luke lacked theological acumen but it seems better to explain it by maintaining that it is

evidence of an abiding awareness of the Spirit's dynamism which kept Luke's attention on what the Spirit did.

And thirdly, Luke's insistence that the Spirit is the great new dimension in human existence must be remembered. The charge that Luke radically altered primitive eschatology by presenting his material in the framework of "Heilsgeschichte" <sup>113</sup> suggests that Luke is battling with a problem: that he is struggling to find some meaning for the present. This meaning is found, Conzelmann tells us, in "the Church" which is "the provision made for the in between time... which makes it possible to endure the time of waiting." <sup>114</sup> In answer two things must be said. Firstly, if Acts is supposed to describe an epoch then that epoch is the epoch of the Spirit and not the Church and secondly, simply to term Lukan theology Heilsgeschichte theology is not necessarily to accept that it is a secondary and late form of New Testament theology. The charge has been made that Conzelmann's three epoch Heilsgeschichte was gained from a work which argued that this was basic to the whole of the New Testament - even to Jesus Himself. <sup>115</sup> This argument, made by O. Cullmann in Christ and Time, has since been developed by him especially in relation to Pauline and Johannine theology. <sup>116</sup> Cullmann insists that the present has meaning because of the Spirit. <sup>117</sup> Speaking of the coming of the Spirit he says "these events anticipating the end were so overwhelming that the delay of the Kingdom of God could not become a tormenting problem. The disciples experienced daily, in almost an uninterrupted sequence of events, the fact that the Kingdom of God had already dawned." <sup>118</sup>

That Luke interpreted the Spirit as the present manifestation of the Kingdom, as did Paul, <sup>119</sup> may be suggested in the Gospel <sup>120</sup> and is to be seen in Acts Chapter one. In Acts 1:3-8  $\pi\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\eta\mu\alpha$  appears in association with  $\beta\alpha\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$  twice over. In both cases there is a pattern of "complementation" <sup>121</sup>. In Acts 1:3 Luke sums up Jesus' teaching during the 40 days he was with his disciples as  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\pi\epsilon\alpha\iota$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\beta\alpha\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ , which in 1:4-5 is immediately followed by the specific command to wait in Jerusalem for "the baptism with the Holy Spirit." This, says Dunn, "sums up Jesus' teaching from another angle." <sup>122</sup> The importance of this connection between Spirit and Kingdom is seen by the immediate reappearance of this same pattern. In 1:6 the disciples ask Jesus about the time of restoration of the Kingdom of Israel. Jesus replies that the time is only known by the Father (v7), "But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you" (v8). Dunn comments that Luke draws their attention away from the "when" of the Kingdom to

the "what" of the Kingdom. <sup>123</sup> He fails however to see that if this is true then the "what" and the "when" are connected. When the Holy Spirit comes to the disciples the restoration of Israel has begun. <sup>124</sup>

Luke's theological interpretation of the Spirit, as the present element of the Kingdom, is however secondary to his discussion of the practical consequences of the Spirit's arrival. He insists that the Spirit has ushered in a new world, a world in which the impossible becomes possible. The miraculous plays a very important part in Acts but the magical, characteristic of the sub-apostolic period and later, is minimal. <sup>125</sup> The Apostles, when filled with the Spirit, preach with such supernatural endowment that thousands believe (2:41, 4:44). Their timidity of former days is gone. Even in the face of direct opposition the disciples can speak the word with *παρρησία* (2:29, 4:13, 29, 31, 9:27). Prophecy, long silent, becomes vocal (2:17-18, 13:1-2). Men speak in strange tongues (2:4f., 10:46, 19:6). The future is unveiled (11:28, 20:23, 21:4, 11). Instantaneous judgement is announced (5:1-11, 13:9-11). The apostles perform *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* when the Holy Spirit comes upon them (2:43), something which has been called - "a pledge of the certainty of eschatological occurrence." <sup>126</sup> The atmosphere throughout is one of joy - a joy that the prophets said would fill men's hearts in the Messianic eschatological Kingdom. <sup>127</sup> All these things take place for Luke because the Holy Spirit has filled the present with meaning. His presence is to be understood "as nothing less than the anticipation of the end in the present." <sup>128</sup> With St. Paul Luke depicts the early Christians as men "upon whom the ends of the ages have come" (1 Cor. 10:11).

#### THE KINGDOM OF GOD:

The primary eschatological term in the Gospel of Luke, the Kingdom of God, is far less prominent in the book of Acts. Its importance is still nevertheless considerable, for when it appears it comes at important junctures in the material. <sup>129</sup> The heightened importance of the present in Acts, taken with the interest in the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy could have led Luke to equate the Kingdom of God with "the Church," to make it entirely immanent. He has been charged with this but he carefully avoids this pitfall. <sup>130</sup> Nor does he over-react and make the actual phrase refer purely to a future, other-worldly, expectation.

Jesus is the Messianic King, and to some degree the triumphant march of the Gospel establishes the Kingdom of God. Luke, however, shows that Jesus' Kingship is not of this world. He is not a competitor for the crowns and empires of men. Jesus' opponents may call Jesus King (Lk. 23:27, Acts 17:7) but Luke does not endorse their particular understanding of that Kingship. This is the importance of Ps. 16:8-11 in Luke's apologetic (Acts 2:24, 13:35). It is used to show that even death could not detract from His Kingship. Indeed it was the pre-requisite for His "raising up" to David's throne. Even his active rule over the world, which Luke maintains at all points, <sup>131</sup> does not take from this world's rulers their apparent powers. It is an invisible lordship over all creation known to the eye of faith and in most cases exercised by human agents and by apparently natural events. <sup>132</sup> The subjects of this Kingdom experience "the powers of the age to come" but are not delivered from this world. They are to obey earthly rulers, unless their decisions are contrary to the commands of God (4:19-20). The mission brings men under the sway of Jesus the King and into His Kingdom, and men are to be its agents on earth (8:12, 9:8 etc.) but the restoration of <sup>the</sup> Kingdom of Israel is never depicted as the sum total of the divine plan for mankind. Christ's *βασιλεία* extends over the whole world, it is always greater than its human subjects, and it awaits a supernatural consummation.

The Kingdom can be spoken of as something entirely in the future (14:22) as is often done in the Gospel, but it is not the case that in Acts it is always a futuristic idea. <sup>133</sup> The Kingdom of God is both present and future; it is here in certain ways and yet it is still to come. This present/future tension is explained, to some degree, by those texts in which the proclamation of the Kingdom of God and Jesus Christ are held together as virtually synonymous (8:12, 28:23, 28:31). These passages also show that the Kingdom of God and the community of salvation can never be equated, but that Jesus, who is now *βασιλεύς-Κύριος*, and the Kingdom can be.

#### FUTURE CONSUMMATION:

Although Luke in Acts stresses that these are "the last days"; that the beginning of the end has come, he still maintains that the end of the end-times is yet to come. <sup>134</sup> The wonder of the present somewhat minimises the basic hope of a future consummation as does the historical format of the material, <sup>135</sup> but the three aspects of futuristic eschatology found in the Gospel are firmly maintained in Acts. The

Parousia, resurrection and judgement are still to come. They underly everything that takes place.

The parousia hope is highlighted by its prominent place in the first chapter. The angelic messengers tell the disciples - "This Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven." (1:11) This idea having been stated so emphatically seems to be taken as understood throughout the rest of the book. Allusions to it are however present. The prophecy from Joel makes the distinction, as we have seen, between "the last days" (2:17) and "the day of the Lord" (v20). For Luke this is, as with Paul, "the day of our Lord Jesus Christ." (cf. 1Cor. 1:8, 5:5, II Cor. 1:14 etc.) The exegesis of Acts 3:20, 21 is difficult,<sup>136</sup> but however we take the passage we must agree with Cadbury that Christ's return is to be understood by "the temporariness of his being in heaven."<sup>137</sup> The unique reference to Jesus, the Son of Man, standing at the right hand of God (7:55, 56) is also difficult. One interpretation has already been given, another is that "Jesus has risen from His throne and is poised to return."<sup>138</sup> Stephen's gaze into heaven is reminiscent in the strongest way of the disciple's pose as Jesus ascended (Acts 1:10-11).

Luke also shares the common New Testament expectation of the resurrection of the dead. The resurrection of Jesus is an accomplished fact and on this basis a general resurrection can be confidently expected. Paul is said to preach Jesus as "the first to rise from the dead" (Acts 26:23, cf. 1 Cor. 15:20, 21, Col. 1:18, Rom. 1:23). Peter speaking to the crowd assembled in Solomon's porch names Jesus as "the author of life" (3:15). The resurrection is called by Luke "God's promise to the fathers" (26:6) and "the hope of Israel" (26:6-7, 28:20). It is mentioned frequently, but becomes most noticeable, in Paul's final cycle of speeches (chapters 22-28). Dibelius thought that the interest in the resurrection in these speeches was part of Luke's apologetic which sought to make Christianity the successor of Jewish piety at its best.<sup>139</sup> This may be true in part but Jervell has shown that it is basic to Luke's hope for the restoration of Israel.<sup>140</sup> The consummation of Jesus' messianic work is to be a resurrected, restored Israel including both Jew and Gentile and ruled by the twelve apostles on their thrones (Luke 22:28).

Judgement is intimated in the phrase "the resurrection of the just and the unjust" (Acts 24:15). The verb *ἀνίστηναι* appears three times (10:42, 17:31, 24:24f.). The idea is also present at 3:23

and is within the complex of ideas present in the prophecy of Joel (2:20). The very idea of salvation for those who repent and believe is in itself a reminder that there is life for some and judgement for others. <sup>141</sup> The climax of Peter's Pentecostal sermon is the appeal - "Save yourselves from this crooked generation" (2:40). The fearful cry of the Philippian Jailer - "what must I do to be saved?" (16:30) is answered by Paul, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and you will be saved." Those who reject the message we are told" will be destroyed from the people" (3:23).

The actual consummation of all history suggested by these ideas is never considered by Luke as something far off and of no concern to the present. The urgency of the hour is maintained. The tribulations that the Christians are passing through now (14:22) are the *olivos* of the last days. The preaching of the Gospel also heralds the climactic act of God. This is clearly seen in the closing words of the book. The fulfilment of the Isaianic prophecy (Is. 49:6) and of the words of Christ (Acts 1:8) which are the theme of Acts, means that with the proclamation of the Gospel in Rome, the condition laid down for the consummation has been met. The book ends with this thought echoing in our minds. Although this eschatological tension is basic to the theology of Acts and is not to be overlooked it is still true to say that very little is made of the future consummation by Luke. He does not adopt vivid apocalyptic imagery to impress his hearers of the urgency of the hour or reiterate the opening promise that Christ will return. In a way similar to that seen in the Gospel he uses sermonic material to give the work its cutting edge. The whole book and each speech in particular draws those who hear to the brink of decision. Luke is not content to write history, no matter how interesting. He writes a special kind of history - "kerygmatic history." Luke's interest in history neither excludes the eschatological, however interpreted, nor plays down the existential urgency of the hour. In a profound way he has produced a work which is probably the most evangelistically orientated in the New Testament Canon.

Luke has enhanced the importance of the present by his understanding of it as "the last days" and by developing the picture of Christ the ascended King who pours out the eschatological gift - the Holy Spirit. But at the same time he maintains that the present

only has meaning because it looks forward to future consummation. Cadbury has captured this eschatological perspective with great sensitivity - "The book of Acts does not spiritualize away the concrete eschatological hopes of Christianity nor on the other hand does it emphasise their imminence and urgency with the vivid details of apocalyptic. It retains I am persuaded, the old and literal expectation, but is satisfied to leave the time to God's ordering." <sup>142</sup>

Our study of Eschatology in the Gospel of Luke, and in the book of Acts is now completed. When taken together the two studies reveal a degree of overlapping. In both works Luke stresses the eschatological significance of the present hour. In the Gospel, the presence of Jesus is the radical new factor; in Acts it is the Holy Spirit. The result is that both books can stand on their own for both affirm that those who respond to the Word of God are the eschatological community of salvation. In fellowship with Jesus or through the gift of the Spirit the disciple is caught up in the age to come. With this attempt at defining Lukan eschatology concluded it is now time to say something in more detail on what exactly Luke understood when he spoke of men being saved. To this we now turn.

NOTES:

- 1) C.H.Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments, first published in 1936.  
The 1966 Hodder and Stoughton edition is quoted here.
- 2) *ibid.*, P. 32.
- 3) A.G. Hebert, The Throne of David.
- 4) *ibid.*, P.127.
- 5) Especially in English speaking circles. cf. T.F. Glasson, The Second Advent, P. 154ff.  
J.A.T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming. Robinson preferred the term "inaugurated eschatology," (P. 101) rather than Dodd's "realized eschatology."
- 6) see appendix I, p. 170 f.
- 7) An example of this is seen in Martin Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas. Here Luke's use of the O.T. is taken as the important factor in determining Luke's own Christology.
- 8) These points are discussed more fully in appendix I, P.170 f.
- 9) F. Hahn, The Titles of Jesus in Christology, P. 147.  
O. Cullmann, The Christology of the N.T., P. 117.  
R. Longenecker, The Christology of early Jewish Christianity, P. 109.
- 10) On the interpretation and History of this passage see M. Noth, The Laws in the Pentateuch and other Studies, - Essay 5, "God King and the Nation in the Old Testament," P. 145ff.  
Essay 10, "David and Israel in II Sam. VII," P. 250ff.  
R.A. Carlson, David, the Chosen King, argues that the promise to David in Ps. 89 is far older than the promise in II Sam. 7, P. 118f.
- 11) 4Q Flor. col. 1, lines 1ff, C.D. 7 : 16f., 4Qp. Is.<sup>a</sup>, fragment D, etc. See F.F. Bruce, This is That, P. 76f.
- 12) Sherman E. Johnson, "The Davidic Royal Motif in the Gospels," J.B.L., 87, 1968, P. 144. "The book of Acts shows just how important the Davidic concept is for Luke's theology."
- 13) Paul S. Minear, Studies in Luke/Acts, P. 129-130, says that just as the first two chapters of Luke's Gospel set the stage "for all subsequent speeches and actions so in the Acts it is the story of Pentecost which plays an analogous thematic role."  
Also, E. Lohse, "Die Bedeutung des Pfingstberichtes im Rahmen des Luk. Geschichtswerkes." Ev. Th. 13, 1953, P.422ff.
- 14) C.P.M. Jones, "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Lucan Writings," Studies in the Gospels, P. 125.



- 15) J.G. Davies, "The Prefiguration of the Ascension in the Third Gospel," J.T.S., 6, 1955, P.229-31.
- 16) *ibid.*, P. 232.
- 17) Davies himself adds (P.203f.), that the interpretation of the transfiguration as a prefiguration of the ascension is even more clearly made in the Apocalypse of Peter.
- 18) C.K. Barrett "Stephen and the Son of Man", Apophoreta: Festschrift for E. Haenchen, P. 35.
- 19) *ibid.*, P. 35.
- 20) C.P.M. Jones, *ibid.*, P. 126.
- 21) P. 21.
- 22) E. Franklin, "The Ascension and the Eschatology of Luke-Acts," S.J.T., 23, 1970, P. 192.
- 23) In almost every study of Lukan theology the disinterest in the soteriological importance of the cross in Luke/Acts is mentioned. The most detailed study of this matter is by W.E. Pilgrim, The Death of Christ in Lukan Soteriology. He concludes that "Luke does not attribute any atoning significance to the death of Christ.... The locus of God's saving activity in Christ is the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus as Lord and Messiah." Dissertation abstract in the front of the Thesis page 2.  
Another less extensive but equally important study is R. Zehle, "The Salvific Character of Jesus' death in Lukan Theology," Theol. Stud., 3, 1969, P. 420f. He says that for Luke Jesus' death is important in God's plan of salvation, but he does not explain it by "the doctrine of satisfaction."
- 24) Acts 2:14-21, 2:22-36, 2:38ff. Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, P. 36.
- 25) E. Schweizer, "The concept of the Davidic Son in Acts and its Old Testament Background," Studies in Luke Acts, P. 186ff., particularly P. 191.
- 26) B. Lindars, *ibid.*, P. 42-43.
- 27) See I.H. Marshall, "The Resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles," Apostolic History and the Gospel, P. 92-107, particularly pages 101-103. Marshall gives a good bibliography listing the scholars in the debate.
- 28) U. Wilckens, Die Missionsreden in der Apostelgeschichte, P. 137-140.
- 29) I.H. Marshall, *ibid.*, P. 103.
- 30) The divergent form of the verb is not significant. The "μλ" verbs suffered from the process of gradual extinction which began as early as Homeric Greek.

- J.H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. 1, Prologomena, P.55.
- 31) The different accounts of the ascension in Acts continues to be a source of perplexity to New Testament scholars. For surveys of the debate see C.F. Evans, Resurrection in the New Testament, P. 92ff. S.G. Wilson, The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke Acts, P. 96f.
- 32) F. Hahn, *ibid.*, P. 129.
- 33) This text should be understood whenever the motif of sitting at the right hand of God appears. So Hahn, *ibid.*, P. 130.
- 34) The Jewish mind of the 1st century thought of the Messiah as the mighty representative and vice-regent of God. Ps. of Sol. 17, Test. Judah 24:5 ff, Test. Levi 18:9f., Eth. Enoch 45:3, 46:4f., 51:3, 55:4, etc.
- 35) John H. Hayes, "The Resurrection as Enthronement and the Earliest Church Christology," Interp., 22, 1968 P. 333ff. It is shown in this article that there is the understanding in pre-Christian Judaism that the Messianic King would be enthroned in a "Heavenly sphere," P. 344-345. Evidence is cited from the Testament of Levi. Chapters 1 to 3. This passage also draws on Ps. 110:1 and II Sam. 7:12-13.
- 36) So Lindars, *ibid.*, P. 46.
- It has been questioned whether this Christological affirmation is Lukan (Hahn, *ibid.*, P. 106-107) but when it is recognised that these two titles are the basic categories for Luke's own Christology any debate on the issue becomes trivial. With Wilckens, *ibid.*, P. 172f., we would agree that it is essentially an affirmation of Luke's own belief.
- 37) H.J. Cadbury, "The Titles of Jesus in Acts," Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 354 ff.
- J.C. O'Neill, The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting, P. 117ff.
- J.L. Jones, "The Title Christos in Luke Acts", C.B.Q., 32, 1970, P.69-76.
- 38) D.L. Jones, *ibid.*, P. 74 .
- H.J. Cadbury, *ibid.*, P. 358.
- W.C. van Unnik, "Jesus the Christ," N.T.S., VIII, 1961-1962, P.116.
- 39) O. Cullman, Christology, P. 216.
- 40) *ibid.*, P. 220ff.
- 41) D.L. Jones, *ibid.*, P. 76, note 38, tells us that this is the conclusion of his doctoral Thesis, The Christology of the Missionary Speeches in the Acts of the Apostles, presented at Duke University in 1966
- 42) B. Lindars, *ibid.*, P. 142.
- E. Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 228.
- 43) C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, P. 31f, outlines its use in the New Testament.

- 44) A detailed study of the use of this Psalm in Jewish writings is found in E. Lovestam, Son and Saviour, P. 15ff.
- 45) *ibid.*, P. 24.
- 46) B. Lindars, *ibid.*, P. 201.
- 47) Dale Goldsmith, "Acts 13:33-37: A Peshar on II Samuel 7," J.B.L., 87, 1968, P.321.
- 48) 4Q Florilegium. The reconstructed text and translation is given by J.M. Allegro, J.B.L., 75, 1956, P. 176ff, and J.B.L., 77, P.350ff.
- 49) Dale Goldsmith strengthens his case by showing the closeness of wording between the LXX version of the promise in II Sam. 7 and that of the relevant parts of Paul's speech.
- 50) Various answers to this problem have been offered. C.F.D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," in Studies in Luke Acts points out that the title in both places it is used in Acts appears in a Pauline context (9:20, 13:33) and thus Luke "may have represented Paul quite correctly," (P. 174). For John H. Hayes it is so inconsistent with Luke's own thought that it must "represent a pre-Lucan tradition," *ibid.*, P. 340.
- 51) R. Longenecker, *ibid.*, P. 80.
- O. Cullmann, Christology, P. 181.
- In this sense it parallels Paul's words in Rom. 1:3f. The Sonship of Jesus is openly declared by the resurrection. However, see P.Vielhauer "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts" in Studies in Luke-Acts, P.44, where it is claimed that Luke's idea of divine sonship is adoptionistic and completely unlike Paul's.
- 52) It is added directly to the words from Is. 55:3 by means of the formula: "ΣΙΟΤΙ ΕΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΩ ΛΕΓΕΙ"
- 53) J. Munck, The Acts of Apostles, P. 140.
- 54) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 459
- 55) *ibid.*, P.448.
- 56) F.F. Bruce, The Book of Acts, P. 310.
- 57) J. Jervell, Luke and the People of God, P. 51-53.
- J. Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, P. 235.
- R.J. McKelvey, The New Temple, P. 89 .
- 58) Amos 9:11-12 was also used in the Qumran community (C.D. 7:15-16' 4Q Flor. 1:12). The application of the text in these two passages and Acts are all different but they all share a common eschatological interpretation. At Qumran they look forward to fulfilment, in Acts it is used to show this has taken place. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Old Testament, Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament,"

- N.T.S., 7, 1960-61, P. 297-333, particularly pages 328f.
- 59) J. Jervell, ibid., P. 41f.
- 60) F.F. Bruce, The Book of Acts, P. 28.
- W. Neil, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 71.
- 61) R. De Vaux, Ancient Israel, P. 494, also  
A.R.C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning, P. 95ff.
- 62) H. Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte, P. 27, wishes to minimize this evidence. He says that at Qumran Pentecost was celebrated more as a "sign" than as a renewal of the covenant.
- 63) Quotations taken from Loeb edition. The key passages are De Dec 9: 33-35, 11:44-47, Spec. Leg. 2:34.
- 64) J.H.E. Hull, The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles, P.54, argues that Luke actually knew Philo's account. He makes his case by listing the verbal similarities.
- 65) K. Lake, "The Gift of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost," Beginnings, Vol. 5, P.111ff. The translation is given on P.115.
- 66) See P. 47.
- 67) S & B, II, P. 601f.
- 68) E. Lohse, article Πεντηκοστή, T.D.N.T., Vol. VI, P.49. Also, J.C. Rylaarsdam, article "Weeks, feast of" I.D.B., Vol. IV, P.827.
- 69) b. Meg. 31.
- 70) A.R.C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran, P. 97f.
- 71) N.H. Snaith "Pentecost, the Day of Power," Exp. Times, 43, 1931-32, P.380.
- 72) A critique of all arguments about New Testament phenomena based on Jewish lectionaries is found in L. Morris, The New Testament and the Jewish lectionaries. But for the arguments supporting an early (pre N.T.) date for these lections see The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue, by Jacob Mann, particularly the prolegomenon of the 1971 edition by Ben Zion Wachholder.
- 73) This is also maintained by E. Schweizer article "Πεντηκοστή" T.D.N.T., Vol. VI, P.407f.
- J.D.G. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit, P. 485.
- G. Kretschmar "Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten" Z.K.G., 66, 1954-55, P. 222-229.
- But S.G. Wilson, The Gentiles in Luke-Acts, P. 122, concludes "When Luke dates the first outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, it does not appear to have any special significance."

- 74) W.L. Knox, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 81.
- 75) J. Jervell, Luke and the People of God, P. 133f.  
E. Lohmeyer, The Lord of the Temple, P. 56ff.
- 76) J.D.G. Dunn, *ibid.*, P. 49.
- 77) A) Ἰουδαῖοι with  $\aleph$  and Vulg. should be omitted.  
Grammatically and contextually it is difficult and textually it is doubtful.  
Omitted by F. Blass Grammar of N.T. Greek, P. 153, note 1.  
K. Lake, Essay "The gift of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost," Beginnings, Vol. V, P. 113.  
F.F. Bruce, The Book of the Acts, P. 58, note 13.  
C. Sleeper, "Pentecost and Resurrection," J.B.L., 84, 1965, P.391.
- B) The universalistic phrases in the surrounding narrative are positive evidence for this view -  $\pi\alpha\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\alpha$  (v17 of Luke 3:6)  
 $\pi\alpha\varsigma\ \omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  (v21)  
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\upsilon\upsilon$  (v39)
- 78) S.G. Wilson, *ibid.*, P. 124.
- 79) S & B, 11, P. 200f.
- 80) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 179.
- 81)  $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$  is read by  $\aleph$ , A, Tert., "and the great body of authorities." So J.H. Ropes, Beginnings, Vol. III, P. 16.  
H. Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte, also accepts this reading and not the one read by Haenchen.
- 82) On the idea in the intertestamental period see D.S. Russell, The Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, P. 286ff. On the whole idea W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, P. 285ff.
- 83) On the Rabbinic literature see the full discussion with numerous references in Rabbinic Theology by R.A. Stewart. He writes that in this literature, "In general the Messianic age is regarded as an era in this world, quite distinct from the world to come", (P.50), "it is an era radically different from the existing one, though still mundane" (P.51). The idea is pursued through the religious literature of the Jews in J. Klausner, The Messianic idea in Israel. See especially P. 384ff. and 420ff.
- 84) This and the following alterations to the text of the Joel prophecy are taken from the list given by F.F. Bruce, The Book of the Acts, P. 68, note 47, but the conclusions drawn from them are my own.
- 85) W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, P. 208.

86) S & B, 11, P. 128.

G.W.H. Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke," in Studies in the Gospels, P. 162, says "The bestowal of the Holy Spirit is the primary characteristic of the age of final redemption."

87) The word προφήτης appears 29 times in Luke and 30 times in Acts against 13 references in Paul (this includes three in Ephesians). It is interesting to note that in this passage Luke seems to equate prophecy and Glossolalia as could be the case in Acts 19:6. On this see E.E.Ellis, "The Role of the Christian Prophet in Acts," P. 55, Note 1, in Apostolic History and the Gospel.

88) J. Schneiwind and G. Friedrich, T.D.N.T., Vol. 11, P. 576 ff., article ἐπαγγελία/ἐπαγγελία. They, conclude ἐπαγγελία in Luke (except in Acts 23:21) is always the ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Θεοῦ, whether the whole phrase is used or not. (P. 582). That this is the covenantal promise to David is seen in Acts 13:23 where it is said to have been fulfilled in Jesus.

In four places Luke brings together the Abrahamic and Davidic covenants (Luke 1:68-75, Acts 2:22-41, 7:47-50, 13:16-41,) but we agree with Dahl that for Luke there was only one promise which was first given to Abraham and then to David.

"The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts," Nils A. Dahl, Studies in Luke/Acts, P. 139ff, especially P. 148. Recent studies of the O.T. covenant idea show that the Davidic and Abrahamic promisory covenants, which were both covenants of grace, were related. R.E. Clements, Abraham and David, P. 50 to 60.

D.J. McCarthy, Old Testament Covenant, P. 48-49.

D.R. Hillers, Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea, P. 119.

McCarthy (P.81) says that in several instances in the O.T. where we are accustomed to speak of covenant the actual word ברית is not used (P.81). When the emphasis is on future fulfilment the idea of "promise" is to the fore.

89) G. Von Rad, The Message of the Prophets, P. 228ff.

90) Jeremiah does not use the word Spirit but as Von Rad (ibid., P.184) says the New Covenant "is Jeremiah's way of speaking of a future outpouring of God's spirit for what he thinks of is nothing other than spiritual knowledge and observance of the will of God."

91) The beginnings of this school to some extent are to be found in R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, see especially P.111ff, Vol. 2, but it developed more by P. Vielhauer's article "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts," ibid., by Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke

and in E. Kasemann's collected Essays, New Testament Questions of Today and Essays on New Testament Themes.

- 92) Kasemann claims that he was the first to use the term in regard to Lukan Theology, N.T.Q., P. 236. He explains what he means by the expression, P. 236 note 1. On the word and its history see also John H. Elliott, "A Catholic Gospel: Reflections on Early Catholicism in the New Testament," C.Q.B., 31, 1969, P. 213-223.
- 93) E. Kasemann, E.N.T.T., P. 136ff., N.T.Q., P. 253.
- 94) H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 230.
- 95) *ibid.*, P. 208.
- 96) Here we have taken O. Cullmann as the chief exponent. See Christ and Time, and Salvation in History. A very similar interpretation is also to be found in R. Schnackenburg God's Reign and Kingdom. In relation to Lukan studies specifically see W.C. Van Unnik "The book of Acts The confirmation of the Gospel," Nov. Test., 4, 1960, P.26ff. It is adopted by numerous English speaking scholars.
- 97) O. Cullmann, Salvation in History, P. 305, cf. Christ and Time, P. 72f.
- 98) On this discussion of the words eschatology/eschatological see O. Cullmann, Salvation in History, P. 78f.
- I.H. Marshall, *ibid.*, P. 107, Note 3.
- G.K. Barrett, "New Testament Eschatology," S.J.T., 6, 1953, P.136-155.
- 99) E. Schweizer, "The Spirit of Power," Interp., 5, 1952, P. 264, cf. Article πνεῦμα T.D.N.T., Vol. VI, P. 404.
- 100) A. Ehrhardt, The Framework of the New Testament Stories, P. 89.
- 101) *ibid.*, P. 89 .

On the Holy Spirit in Luke/Acts see C.K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition.

G.W. Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the writings of St. Luke," Studies in the Gospels, P. 159-200.

F.F. Bruce, "The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles," Interp. 27, 1973, P. 166-183.

J. Navone, "The Holy Spirit," Scripture, 20, 1968, P. 80-95.

Navone gives a comprehensive bibliography which includes important discussions in the more general works on Luke/Acts mentioned elsewhere in this study.

- 102) R. Bultmann "The Transformation of the idea of the Church in the History of Early Christianity," Canadian Journal of Theology, Vol. 2, 1955, P. 73-81, especially P. 74, cf. His Theology of the N.T. Vol. 1, P. 37f. But against this is M. Goguel, The Primitive Church, P. 49f, and The Birth of Christianity, P. 95f.

103) Notably by E. Kasemann, E.N.T.T., P. 136ff.

104) There have been worked out by J.D.G. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit, P. 90ff.

105) E. Kasemann, ibid., P. 141.

106) C.K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study, P. 75.

107) C.K. Barrett, ibid., P. 72.

108) J. Jervell, Luke and the People of God, P. 95.

The fact that Luke repeatedly refers to Jewish elders (4:5, 8, 23, 6:12 23:14, 24:1, 25:15), and does not prepare for the initial mention of Christian elders (11:30), shows that the title was not peculiarly ecclesiastical. cf. Barrett, ibid., P. 72.

109) A.M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors, P. 74, stresses this ambiguity. But see J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic words of Jesus, P. 119f. There is no ambiguity for R. Schnackenburg however, it is the Eucharist, The Church in the New Testament, P. 40.

110) see p. 149f.

111) I have not seen any study of Lukan theology which takes up this point. It is however mentioned by C.F.D. Moule in "The Individualism of the Fourth Gospel," Nov. Test., 6, 1962, P. 171f. Not only are prophecy and glossolalia in no way connected to a local assembly, neither is baptism. In almost every thing written on baptism it is stated that Baptism incorporates the believer into the Church, but this cannot be supported from the text of Luke/Acts. If we wish to think of Baptism "incorporating," then it is for Luke "into Christ."

But as Christ is not mystically present in Luke as he is for Paul, then no extension from this can be made.

But S. Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke, P. 114ff insists that Luke knows nothing of an individualistic doctrine of Salvation.

112) In this brief discussion little has been said about the difficulty to interpret incidents of Acts 18:24 - 19:6 on which Kasemann bases his interpretation of Luke as a representative of early catholicism. To survey the debate and offer our own tentative conclusions would take a study in itself. The real question that Kasemann raises is: Does his interpretation of these verses present a picture which harmonizes with the rest of Acts? We argue that it doesn't. This must therefore call into question Professor Kasemann's conclusions on Acts 18:24 - 19:6.

See E. Kasemann, E.N.T.T., P. 136-149.



For another interpretation see H. Preisker, "Apollos und die Johannesjunger in Acts 18:24-19:6," Z.N.W., 30, 1931, P.207-223.  
J.D.G. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit, P. 83ff.

113) On the term and the idea see

J. Reuman, "Heilsgeschichte in Luke : Some remarks on its background and comparison with Paul" S.E., Vol. IV, 1968, P. 86f.

J.W. Drane, "Eschatology, Ecclesiology and Catholicity in the New Testament Exp. Times, 83, 1971-72, P. 180ff.

I.H. Marshall, Luke : Historian and Theologian, P. 77-79.

R.H. Smith, "The Eschatology of Acts and Contemporary Exegesis," Concordia Theol. Monthly, 39, 1958, P. 641f.

114) H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, P. 209.

115) This charge is made by O. Cullmann in the 1962 introductory chapter to Christ and Time, PXXII and in Salvation in History, P. 46f.

See also I.H. Marshall, ibid., P. 82f.

116) Salvation in History, P. 248ff.

117) ibid., P. 243.

118) ibid., P. 243.

119) N.Q. Hamilton, The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul, P.21-25.

J.D.G. Dunn, "Spirit and Kingdom," Exp. Times, 82, 1970-71, P.36f.

120) If Luke 11:13f. and 12:31f. are compared it is seen that the Kingdom of God and the Spirit and God are alternative ways of speaking of God's highest good for men.

121) S. Smalley, "Spirit, Kingdom and Prayer," Nov. Test., 15, 1973, P. 63.

122) J.D.G. Dunn, ibid., P. 38.

123) ibid., P. 38.

124) J. Jervell, Luke and The People of God, P.51f.

125) G.W.H. Lampe, "Miracles in the Acts of the Apostles," in Miracles, ed. by C.F.D. Moule, P. 163.

126) K.H. Rengstorf, article ὄψιμος T.D.N.T., Vol. VII, P. 241.

The connection of "ὄψιμος καὶ τέρατα" which is found nine times in Acts only appears elsewhere in Mk. 13:22 = Mt. 24:24.

G.W.H. Lampe, ibid., P. 173, calls the miracles in Acts "the visible evidence of the new age."

127) J. Navone, "Lucan Joy Scripture," 20, 1968, P. 49-62.

128) Christ and Time, P. 72.

Salvation in History, P. 305.

129) 1:3 (1:6) 8:12, 14:22, 19:8, 20:25, 28:23,31.

On their importance despite the infrequent use see W.C. Van Unnik,

"The Book of Acts, the Confirmation of the Gospel," Nov. Test., 4, 1960, P. 45.

130) This has been common in Catholic exegesis but is rejected by R. Schnackenburg, God's rule and Kingdom, P. 262f, as it is by H. Kung, The Church, P. 88f. But see David M. Stanley "Kingdom to Church," Th. Studies, 16, P.1-29, 1955. It is not unknown in Protestant circles cf. R.B. Rackham, The Acts of the Apostles PXXXVIII and P4. Beginnings, Vol. IV, P.4.

131) On this see, H. Conzelmann, Theology of St. Luke, P. 151ff.

132) H. Flender, St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History, P.142ff.

133) E.E. Ellis, Luke, P. 13.

E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 141, N.2.

H. Conzelmann, ibid., P. 113ff.

134) C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching, P. 23 held that the parousia was one of the six basic elements in the early speeches. T.F. Glasson however, in The Second Advent, P. 154f. omits the parousia from his reconstruction of the key elements of the speeches on the basis of numerical inferiority. He only finds two references to it. The methodology of this approach has, not surprisingly, been questioned. See A.L. Moore, The Parousia in the New Testament, P. 58f.

J.A.T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, overcame these two references by an exegetical re-evaluation of them (3:20, & 10:42), P.28ff.

On 3:20 see note 136 below.

135) H.J. Cadbury, "Acts and Eschatology" in The Background to the New Testament and its Eschatology, ed by W.D. Davies & D. Daube, P. 300ff.

W.C. Van Unnik, ibid., P. 45f.

R. Schnackenburg, ibid., P. 273f.

136) That this text refers to the "second coming" of Christ is questioned by J.A.T. Robinson who takes it as evidence of a primitive belief that Jesus was fore-ordained to become the Messiah at the Parousia. See Twelve New Testament Essays, P. 139ff., and Jesus and His Coming, P. 28, 143, 148, 154.

In answer it has been said,

A) There is no mention in the passage of the time that the Messiah is "appointed." It is easier to interpret the text as speaking of the fore-ordained Messiah who will come again.

B) Luke is made to appear incredibly naive on this view by placing two distinct and opposing Christologies side by side, for in Acts 3:18 the one who suffered is identified as God's Messiah.

So. R. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity, P.78.

C.F.D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," in Studies in Luke/Acts, P.168f

137) H.J. Cadbury, *ibid.*, P. 311.

138) R.H. Smith, "History and Eschatology in Luke/Acts," Concordia Theol. Monthly, 1958, 29 , P.896.

H.P.Owen, "Stephens Vision in Acts - 7:55-56", N.T.S., 1, 1954. P.224f.

139) M. Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, P. 173, 213,

E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 657.

140) J. Jervell, Luke and the People of God, P. 89f., 163f.

141) C. Ryder Smith, The Bible Doctrine of the Hereafter, P. 195.

142) H.J. Cadbury, *ibid.*, P. 315.

C H A P T E R 4.

SALVATION IN LUKE / ACTS :

Already we have had cause to mention ideas which are taken as basic to Lukan theology. For some, the most important is the Kingdom of God, for others it is the Holy Spirit, and for still others it is Salvation. That Salvation is the primary category for understanding Lukan thought is given its most thorough exposition by I.H. Marshall who categorically affirms that it is "the central motif in Lukan theology."<sup>1</sup> Those who understand Luke as an evangelist in the popular sense of the word, and there is an impressive body of opinion that does this, naturally (implicitly or explicitly) lend support to such an interpretation.<sup>2</sup> It hardly needs to be said however, that Kingdom, Spirit and Salvation are not three opposing ideas clamouring for ascendancy in the Lukan writings, but three interrelated concepts which must be considered as a whole.

The necessity to discuss Luke's doctrine of salvation arises because, as we have seen, Conzelmann's interpretation of Lukan eschatology leads him to depict Luke's doctrine of salvation in non-eschatological terms. Because the disciples are not men of the last days, the Church cannot be the eschatological community of salvation. If our presentation of Lukan eschatology is closer to Luke's own thought than Conzelmann's, then there is the distinct possibility that a totally different doctrine of salvation will emerge when we turn to those texts which speak on this subject. In this study the whole matter of "epochs" becomes very important. It is frequently said, not only by Conzelmann, that salvation was for Luke, present in Jesus, but now men stand in a totally different position,<sup>3</sup> - now only a mediated form of the reality is available. Wilckens endorses this conclusion, but develops it by arguing that Luke does not answer the fundamental question of how a past event, or series of events, can effect salvation in the present. This, says Professor Wilckens, is a grave weakness in Lukan theology.<sup>4</sup> As we consider these issues we will again examine the Gospel material before turning to the book of Acts.

SALVATION IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE:

Luke's interest in salvation is most obviously seen in the

prominence he gives to salvation terminology. Besides the seven references to *σωζειν*, taken over from Mark, Luke uses the word in ten other places in which there are no parallels in the other synoptic Gospels. Furthermore, Luke uses *σωτηρ* twice, *σωτηριον* twice, *σωτηρια* four times, *λυτρωσθαι* once, *λυτρωσις* twice, *απολυτρωσις* once and *σωσωζειν* once, all of which have no parallels in the other synoptics.<sup>5</sup> The early Chapters of Luke's Gospel, which H.H. Oliver<sup>6</sup> has shown introduce the main themes of Lukan theology, make salvation so prominent a topic that we would agree with I.H. Marshall that we are being led to understand that this is "the theme which is to be elaborated in the ensuing symphony of salvation."<sup>7</sup> We are told that "the horn of salvation" has arisen in the house of David (1:69) so that men may be saved (1:71) and find knowledge of salvation... in the forgiveness of their sins (1:77). The long awaited "saviour" is Christ the Lord (2:11). Foerster comments that in these early chapters the words for salvation are used in "a strictly religious sense."<sup>8</sup> But we can go much further than this, for it is the religious or spiritual meaning of these words that Luke always brings to the fore. This can be seen in his redactional handling of his material.

A clear example of this is found in Luke's treatment of the combined pericopes about the healing of the woman with a haemorrhage and the raising of the Jewish elder's daughter (Mk. 5:24-43). Twice Luke omits the word *σωζειν* when Mark's version suggest nothing more than physical healing (Mk. 5:23 and 28). Mark's third usage which reads. *Θυγατηρ, η πιστις σου σεσωκεν σε. υπαγε εις ερανην, και ισοθ υγιης απο της κωστιδος σου.* (Mk. 5:34.)

Luke alters to *Θυγατηρ, η πιστις σου σεσωκεν σε. πορευου εις ερανην.* (Lk. 8:48.)

Besides the two omissions and one alteration Luke also adds the word once. Mark includes a summons to believe on the part of the little girl's father which Luke extends to read *μονον πιστευσον, και σωθησεται* (Lk. 8:50). The alterations are consistent. Luke has transformed a composite healing story in Mark into a story which now focuses our attention more on salvation (in the spiritual sense) through faith, than on the physical miracle of the little girl's cure.

Luke's ideas on salvation are however best seen in the account of Jesus' sermon at Nazareth. The word-group does not appear but the idea pervades. It is an important passage to consider for the incident has been carefully molded by Luke to introduce the themes which will reappear throughout the Gospel.<sup>9</sup> As J.M. Creed wrote some years ago, "its real function is to introduce the motifs which are to recur throughout the Gospel and Acts,"<sup>10</sup> or as Professor Tannerhill has said more recently, "to reveal certain fundamental aspects of the meaning of the ministry as a whole."<sup>11</sup> It is to be seen as a model which is intended to be taken as characteristic of the work of Jesus. It resembles certain of the sermons in Acts such as those by Paul in Pisidian Antioch or Athens which are ideal scenes having significance beyond the particular time and place in which they are set.

The following motifs appear -

Salvation means the forgiveness of Sins.

Luke's use and adaption of the key passage Isaiah 61:1-2 indicates his particular interests most clearly. For instance he omits the words "ἐλάσσοθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῆς καρδίας" and inserts from Is. 58:6 the words ἀποστεῖλαι τὸ θραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει "This insertion allows him to emphasise the word ἀφέσις which he has already used in the preceding line, and to avoid the word "λάσσει" which he consistently reserves for physical uses. The alteration means that the metaphorical extension of the text, implicit in its original context, has been made explicit. It now speaks primarily of spiritual release and liberty.<sup>12</sup> True, physical freedom is part of this ἀφέσις in Lukan thought, but even the healing miracles are in his Gospel "symbolic demonstrations of God's forgiveness in action."<sup>13</sup>

Luke's insistence that the heart of the salvation offered by Jesus is the forgiveness of sins is evident elsewhere in the Gospel, to say nothing of the book of Acts where it is consistently maintained. Luke takes over from Mark the story of the four men who brought their sick friend to Jesus (Mk. 2:1-12, Lk. 5:17-26) only to find that the sick man's forgiveness is proclaimed before healing takes place. Forgiveness of sins appears also in the Lukan story of the sinful woman who anointed Jesus' feet in the home of Simon the Pharisee (7:36-49). There is a certain overlapping of themes in this story which suggests redactional handling of the material.<sup>14</sup>

The "real life story" is given a moral at the end which seems to say that the woman's loving actions are evidence of her awareness of sins forgiven.<sup>15</sup> The point of the story is driven home by repeating the words for forgiveness four times.<sup>16</sup> The pericope is rounded off by adding the statement "your faith has saved you go in peace." (v50).

The possibility of forgiveness here and now is the essence of the parable of the prodigal son (15:11-24). The restoration of the lost son is only possible because forgiveness is freely given.<sup>17</sup> That forgiveness can be had by undeserving men is also the point of the Lukan parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (18:9-14). The announcement that the tax collector is justified (δικαλοῦν) introduces the Pauline word for acquittal into the Gospel tradition. The Gospel concludes with words which prepare for the period of missionary preaching in which "repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached" (24:47).

In relating salvation and the forgiveness of sins Luke shows that he is imbued with the eschatological hopes of the Jewish prophets. They proclaim that on the day of His visitation God will be found "pardoning iniquity and passing over transgression (Micah 7:18-20, Is. 33:24); that the foremost blessing of the new covenant would be the forgiveness of sins (Jer. 31:31-34 cf. Ez. 18:31f, 36:22-28), and "on that day there shall be a fountain opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to cleanse them from sin and uncleanness (Zech. 13:1). Luke declares that this day has arrived.

#### SALVATION IS ENCOUNTERED IN THE DIVINE WORD.

Luke's one over-riding concern is to proclaim the word of God. The Gospel he wrote, which was intended for public reading, had as its aim the proclamation of the good news. It must never be thought of as a scientific historical record with the simple aim of just recording what had happened. Again Luke's own ideas are seen in his alteration of the text from Isaiah. In 4:19 Luke alters the LXX which reads καλέσαι to κηρῦσαι. The passage now introduces his basic preaching terminology (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι and κηρῦσαι). The passage is about Jesus the preacher but in itself it is a sermon with an abiding captivating message. It is a word to be heard and believed (v21).

We only understand the Gospel of Luke correctly when the whole

work is understood in this light. The whole book is a sermon. History is utilized in the service of evangelism. Luke believed that by stressing the historical character of the coming of Jesus, his Gospel would be even more effective in proclaiming the Word. The modern depreciation of the Lukan material, and Luke's doctrine of salvation in particular, stems from a failure to understand this fact. Marxsen, like Conzelmann insists that Luke's Gospel, unlike the other three, "is meant to be part of an historical account. The story of Jesus is now told as something belonging to the past."<sup>18</sup> The natural corollary is to affirm that although Luke believed salvation was present in Jesus, in the period of the Church it is not available any longer in the same way.<sup>19</sup> Just the opposite is the case. In writing both the Gospel and Acts Luke declares a belief in the continuing availability of salvation through the proclamation of "the Word of God."<sup>20</sup> Every point of doctrine that he thought was essential is carefully introduced into the Gospel narrative as it unfolds. The necessity of faith and repentance, the availability of forgiveness, the presence of many witnesses, the promise of the Holy Spirit, the vindication of Jesus in the resurrection and ascension are all expounded and emphasised. Jesus himself is never drawn as a man of the past: a vague historical figure. Many of the sayings of Jesus are contemporised<sup>21</sup> and every attempt is made to present Jesus' words and works in such a way as to speak with existential potency whenever they are heard.<sup>22</sup> There is no suggestion left with us at the close of the Gospel that the departure of Jesus finishes the story or even introduces a radically new period which offers less than that in which Jesus was present. The impression is rather that Jesus' exaltation has introduced an even more wonderful period in which the limited physical presence of Jesus is replaced by the unlimited dynamic presence of the Spirit that He Himself had promised (24:49).<sup>23</sup> Both the Gospel and the Book of Acts stand in their own right. Both are to be read as history in the service of evangelism. The word proclaimed at Nazareth or the word proclaimed in Acts by Peter or Paul is intended by Luke to be heard as the Word of God for me now. Luke's introduction of the word *κηρυγμᾶς* allows us to call Luke's doctrine of salvation - "kerygmatic salvation." The framework of his thought is the Old Testament understanding of the creative power of the Word of God (Is. 55:10f). Proclamation makes the eschatological salvation brought by Jesus a present possibility.



SALVATION CAN BE FOUND NOW.

Luke omits the natural ending of the passage taken from Isaiah which speaks of "the day of vengeance of our God" (Is. 61:2b) so as to finish with the words which "proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" (Lk. 4:19). Luke's desire is to focus attention on salvation not judgement.<sup>24</sup> The full meaning of this concluding phrase is appreciated by reference to the Qumran writings.<sup>25</sup> The Teacher of Righteousness could describe his own ministry in terms of Isaiah 61:1-2. He claimed to bring good news to the poor and joy to the contrite (Hymns 18:14), but for him full liberation and the forgiveness of sins were still the subject of hope. This would only come with the final Jubilee, the acceptable year of liberation and atonement of sins. Then God's agent would overthrow Satan's dominion and salvation would be found by the pious. The proclamation of this heavenly victory when it occurred would be made by the eschatological prophet, anointed by the spirit who would "proclaim good tidings, publish salvation, and say to Zion.... the heavenly one is King."<sup>26</sup> Luke is saying Jesus is that eschatological prophet anointed by the Spirit, and the eschatological year of Jubilee has arrived. Salvation, that is the forgiveness of sins, is no longer a hope but an event. As Gerhard Friedrich says, Jesus "proclaims like a herald, the year of the Lord, the Messianic age....The preaching of Jesus is such a blast of the trumpet. Its result is that the word proclaimed becomes reality."<sup>27</sup>

The fact that the age of promise has dawned is again made by the words of Jesus which are meant to sum up the significance of all that has preceded. "To-day this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing" (Lk. 4:21). The one of whom the prophet spoke, and the blessing of salvation which he foretold has, says Luke, in the person of Jesus arrived and is here to stay. The perfect tense of the verb (πεπλήρωται) shows that this is what is meant. The Lukan "to-day" has past, present and future content.<sup>28</sup> First of all it rivets the Christ-event to history. Jesus is the fulfilment of the Old Testament Messianic hope. The beginning of Jesus' ministry means that the Old Covenant has reached its goal. Secondly, Luke concentrates our attention on the impact of the Word proclaimed in its actual setting. The "to-day" actually occurred in the ears of the audience (4:21). "Each one present was individually gripped by the Word and compelled to make a decision."<sup>29</sup> And thirdly, Luke's "to-day" speaks to the present. It is actualized whenever it is

heard. It cannot be objectified as a static thing, it cannot be bound to the past.<sup>30</sup> It is the "to-day" of encounter. It is the "to-day" of salvation (cf. II Cor. 6:2).

SALVATION IS BY GRACE:

The words of Jesus are described by Luke as *τῶν λόγων τῶν* *Χαρίτων* (4:22). We miss the point if we think Luke is simply saying Jesus' words were "winning words."<sup>31</sup> The way he uses the term *Χάρις* elsewhere (Acts 14:3, 20:24, 20:32) shows that we have here a technical expression meaning that his sermon was a message of grace. The idea of grace is very important to Luke. He alone of the Synoptics uses the noun *Χάρις* (8 times. It only appears 3 times in John and all of them are in the prologue) and the verb *Χαρίζομαι* (3 times; it is not in John at all). True, the words do not necessarily carry the full theological meaning basic to the Pauline usage but the idea of unmerited favour does dominate. The salvation that came in Jesus is neither earned as a reward nor won by effort. It is a divine gift.

Luke's insistence on this point is obscured by Conzelmann who talks about the "stages" Luke describes by which "one becomes a Christian" and by saying that he emphasises "man's part."<sup>32</sup> For Luke, the only necessary prerequisite for salvation is encounter with Jesus, personally or in His word, to which an existential decision must be made. In the Gospel this can be called either faith or repentance. Both words are particularly important to Luke and are developed by him.

Luke's interest in, and understanding of faith is easily detected. Besides taking over two Markan pericopes which connect faith and salvation (Mk. 5:34, = Lk. 8:48, Mk. 10:52 = Lk. 18:42) Luke makes this connection three times himself (7:50, 8:12, 17:9). In the parable of the sower he calls the sower's seed *ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ* (8:11) and makes the addition about those whom the devil thwarts "lest they believe and be saved" (8:12). In the story of the healing of the ten lepers (17:11-19) all of them are healed. The word used is *ἰάθη* but only the one who returns gains the true blessing for to him it is said, *Ἄριστος πρῶτος ἢ πλείους σου θέλω κεν δεῖ* (17:19). Luke's desire to affirm the volitional aspect of faith is seen in his preference for the aorist tense of the verb. It is a definite once-for-all commitment. In Mark 5:36 the present tense is used, - the worried father is exhorted by Jesus "to continue to believe." Luke changes the tense to the aorist so that now he is called on "to make an act of faith."<sup>33</sup> It has become an evangelistic appeal.

The other commitment words are *μετάνοια* and *μετανοεῖν*. The words are characteristically Lukan. The word statistics are impressive but by themselves they don't do justice to Luke's pre-occupation with this idea.<sup>34</sup> The concept is present in many places even though the word is not. Repentance is the theme of several Lukan parables (e.g. The parable of the lost son 15:11-32, Dives and Lazarus 16:19-31, The Pharisee and the tax collector 18:9-14). Luke alone gives details of John's teaching in which it is explained what is meant by "the fruits of repentance" (3:8, 10:14). Mark and Matthew record Jesus as saying, "I have not come to call the righteous but sinners" (Matt. 9:13, Mark 2:17), but only Luke adds "to repentance" (5:32). Finally, the Gospel concludes with the command that "repentance should be preached in his (Jesus') name to all nations" (24:4). As with faith, it is a once-for-all decision. It is the initial response to God's grace. It is unhelpful to say Luke has moralized the term.<sup>35</sup>

Mark's explicit connection of faith and repentance is omitted by Luke (Mk. 1:15). Luke neither attempts to relate the two terms nor distinguish them. Both are existential response words: both carry with them the promise of the forgiveness of sins. No subdivision into stages in the process of salvation can be found.<sup>36</sup> In fact, as we will see in a moment, and as is evident in the story of the sermon at Nazareth, Luke is just as happy not to mention either word at certain points. The triumph of grace appears to swallow up any thought of man by his own initiative contributing to his salvation. It is by God's grace that men find themselves within the fellowship of the community of salvation. Faith or repentance are only considered as appropriate response.

#### ENACTED SALVATION: THE DIVINE VISIT.

Closely allied to the proclamation of salvation is the Lukan interest in the idea that table fellowship with Jesus "means forgiveness of sins and newness of life."<sup>37</sup> The frequency of this idea in the third Gospel is striking. It explains the numerous "visits" that Jesus makes to people's homes.<sup>38</sup> There is Simon the Pharisee, (7:36-50), Mary and Martha (10:38-42), another Pharisee (11:37), and the scenes in which Jesus eats with tax collectors and sinners (5:29, 15:1-2, 19:1-10). The picture of the "Messianic Banquet" merges with this theme. Table fellowship with Jesus now, is a foretaste of that perfect fellowship to be had in the future.

In Jewish thought entry into a person's home and in particular table fellowship involved mutual acceptance and recognition. Professor Jeremias writes - "Orientals, to whom symbolic actions mean more than to us, immediately understood that the admission of the outcast to table fellowship

with Jesus meant an offer of salvation to guilty sinners, and the assurance of forgiveness." <sup>39</sup> Thus all these stories pictorially proclaim inclusion "in the community of salvation achieved in table fellowship," <sup>40</sup> and are used by Luke to emphasise the unity of word and deed in the ministry of Jesus. <sup>41</sup> What Jesus does, and what He says, are not to be separated.

The symbolic bestowal of salvation in table fellowship with Jesus, is most clearly seen in the story of Zacchaeus. Here there is a play on the word *οἶκος*. In v5 Jesus visits the home (*οἶκος*) of Zacchaeus, while in v9 the climax of the story is reached when Jesus declares - *Σήμερον σωτήριά τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο* <sup>42</sup>.

This pericope found only in Luke shows many distinctly Lukan traits. Joy (v6), detachment from material possessions (v8), present salvation (v9) and Jesus as the one who seeks and saves the lost (v10). The hand of Luke is patent, but to think of the whole story as a Lukan fabrication is unjustified. <sup>43</sup>

The availability of salvation in the present is also the meaning of the Lukan version of the parable of the great supper (14:15-24). While Jesus is eating, another at table with him is innocently made to remark - "Blessed is he who shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God." In answer to this future hope (*φάγεται*). Jesus replies that the Messianic banquet is now being gathered. The invitation is *Ἔρχεσθε, ὅτι ἡ σῆ ἐσθλα ἐστίν* (v17). The theme of the Messianic banquet dominates this chapter and because of this it has been called "the Lukan symposium." <sup>44</sup> The same idea is to be understood as the background to all the accounts of the last supper. The eschatological element is however deliberately stressed by Luke in his special material. <sup>45</sup> Thus the full force of Jeremias' words is to be seen when they are applied particularly to Luke. "Every meal with Jesus," was for the disciple, "an actual anticipation of the eschatological meal," and the last supper was but part of this though "a special one among all the other messianic meals." <sup>46</sup>

Although table fellowship with Jesus is meant to depict the bestowal of salvation in the present and as such testifies to the triumph of grace, it is not allowed by Luke to assume a magical quality. The true disciple must live up to the dignity bestowed. In corresponding pictures of the last judgement the words of rejection "I never knew you, depart from me you evil doers," which in Matthew (7:22-23) are addressed to those who claim to have done mighty works in Jesus' name, are in their

Lukan form, addressed to those who claim acceptance on the basis - "We ate and drank in your presence" (Lk. 13:26). The Lukan insistence on perseverance in the life of discipleship is obviously implied. The bestowal of salvation through table fellowship with Jesus carries with it the responsibility to continue with Jesus as one's Lord. All these stories are to be read both historically and metaphorically. Luke is telling us something about Jesus. He was infinitely forgiving, personally involved with men and women, concerned for the outcasts. They are however, at the same time, "parables about salvation." Because Jesus is always present, in Luke's thought, the essence of their application is that salvation can be found in fellowship with Jesus even now. Jesus still forgives: Jesus is still involved with men and women: Jesus is still the friend of the outcast. They are timeless proclamation about the availability of eschatological salvation. They are characterised by joy because "they symbolise the accomplishment of God's plan of salvation." 47

We have now reached the point where we must conclude this section. It is, however, important to see how this study refers back to our conclusions on Lukan eschatology. Again the emphasis has been seen to fall on the present time. This is the really significant age. The thought that the historic life of Jesus is separate from or unrelated to his own day is foreign to Luke. In Jesus the eschaton irrupted into this world and in Jesus "the fullness of God's salvation was truly present," 48 and we add, is still present. But the relation extends beyond this for just as Lukan eschatology had a future orientation, as well as a present one, so too does Lukan soteriology. Participation in the Messianic banquet through fellowship with Jesus is but a foretaste of an even better banquet waiting in the heavenly realm (22:30). There is a final redemption (21:28) just as there is a present one. The point in both cases is that the disciples are not men waiting for the eschaton or hoping for a future salvation, they are the recipients of eschatological salvation in the present, an eschatological salvation effected and complete in this world, but still awaiting a future consummation. They are in Luke's own words "those who are being saved" (13:23). 49

#### SALVATION IN THE BOOK OF ACTS:

To complete our study of Luke's doctrine of Salvation we turn to the book of Acts. Rather than contrast in thought between the Gospel and Acts we find consistency despite the changed status of the person of Christ. Luke's own mind does not appear to be that the two books he writes

approximate to two epochs: they depict one unfolding drama of redemption. The full force of Acts 1:1 must be appreciated. The use of "ἤρξατο" has been taken as an example of Semitic redundancy<sup>50</sup> but it is better to take it as emphatic.<sup>51</sup> Luke is emphasising that Jesus continues to be active although he has ascended from earth to heaven. "The Gospel tells us what Jesus began to do and teach, so Acts tells us what he continued to do and teach!"<sup>52</sup> Luke alone of the New Testament writers consciously attempts to relate the earthly ministry of Jesus and its subsequent continuation.<sup>53</sup> The continuity of the two periods is emphasised by Luke. One of the most important ways he does this is by showing that the salvation present and available when Jesus was on earth is still present and available in the post-Easter age.<sup>54</sup>

Luke's interest in salvation is observable in Acts, as it is in the Gospel, by the prominence given to salvation terminology,<sup>55</sup> and by the frequent appearances of the idea. The sermons which form such a large part of the book have, says Professor van Unnik, one theme.... "the need of salvation, the Man of salvation, the way of salvation."<sup>56</sup> Any limitations set on the offer of salvation in Luke's account of Jesus' own ministry in the Gospel are now overcome.<sup>57</sup> The proclamation of salvation now goes out to all men. The good news which came in and with Jesus cannot and must not be restricted to Jews. It is for Jew and Greek, it is to be proclaimed in Jerusalem, Judea and to the utmost parts of the world (Acts 1:8). Luke's thought on salvation is consistent in both books. The difference lies not in the content of this salvation but in the extent of its availability. In this latter way the book of Acts has a richer doctrine of salvation than the Gospel.

In Acts the spiritual or religious sense of σωζειν, which Luke stressed in the Gospel, is maintained and the two apparent exceptions are not really exceptions on close examination. In Acts 4:9 Peter asks the Jewish leaders before whom he and John stand "if we are being examined to-day concerning a good deed done to a cripple, by what means this man has been healed?" (οὐκ ἔστι τι σπουδαίον). Luke uses the ambivalence of the word for a double answer. The first part which deals with the cure of the crippled man does not use the word σωζειν (4:10) but the second part of the answer which speaks of the salvation brought by Christ repeats the word three times.<sup>58</sup> Another possible exception to the normal (spiritual) use of the word is in the account of Paul's shipwreck. Twice (27:20 & 31) σωζειν seems to be used of physical deliverance. This is however explained, to some degree at least, by the nature of the story. We may not wish to thoroughly endorse M. Goulder's<sup>59</sup> thorough-going typological

interpretation of this chapter but the possibility of a secondary symbolic meaning of the deliverance wrought by God cannot be excluded.

Salvation can also be thought of as "eternal life" (  $\zeta\omega\eta$  ).<sup>60</sup> Just once this is suggested in the Gospel in a passage taken over from Mark (Lk. 10:25f = Mk. 10:17f.). In Acts it is more common. Jesus makes known "the ways of life" (2:28) and he is "the author of life" (3:15). As with salvation, eternal life is related to repentance (11:18) and faith (13:48). Although Luke himself does not appear to know Aramaic the fact that the one Aramaic word can be translated either "life" or "salvation" is probably the best explanation for this overlapping.<sup>61</sup> Luke confuses the terms because they were often used synonymously in his own Christian milieu. The distinction is not doctrinal.

The essence of the salvation proclaimed is, as in the Gospel, the forgiveness of sins. Luke has prepared us to expect this (24:47) and he makes it abundantly clear in the early missionary speeches (2:38, 3:19, 5:31, 10:43, 13:38). In one of the later speeches Paul sums up his commission in the words of Christ, "in order that they might receive forgiveness of sins and a lot among those sanctified by faith in me." (26:18). Those forgiven are a collective entity - they are in Luke's thought "the community of salvation."

It is said that forgiveness of sins is the content of salvation for Luke and that the Holy Spirit is a gift which comes as the result of being saved,<sup>62</sup> but such a distinction is over precise. How Luke connects salvation and the Spirit has aroused a lot of discussion because of the unusual incidents in Acts Chapters 8 & 9 but the whole matter has been carefully examined by J.D.G. Dunn who argues that in Acts (as elsewhere in the New Testament) the gift of the Holy Spirit is of the essence of becoming a Christian.<sup>63</sup> In Acts 2:38 he points out, "two things are offered, forgiveness of sins and the Holy Spirit,"<sup>64</sup> the positive element" being the Holy Spirit, without which says Dunn, "Luke does not consider a man to be saved."<sup>65</sup> It is this gift which "ushered men into the new age."<sup>66</sup> His arguments are to be given due weight. The eschatological interpretation of the Spirit is basic to Lukan thought. It is that gift which transforms a man's existence so that he enters "the proleptic atmosphere" of the last days. As the Spirit is one way in which Luke thinks that Christ is still present<sup>67</sup> this means the content of the salvation proclaimed is not considered to have changed. In the Gospel those who are saved are in fellowship with Jesus as they are in Acts by the Spirit (16:7). In both instances forgiveness and

divine presence are of the essence of the salvation now enjoyed.

SALVATION BY GRACE:

The gift of salvation is rooted in a demand for repentance and faith. Forgiveness and the Spirit are not given to all mankind but only to those who respond to the proclamation which must be heard to be believed.<sup>68</sup> We can call repentance and faith the conditions for receiving salvation but it is better to think of them as the appropriate response of man to the grace of God. Lukan insistence on grace must be recognised. The word group again is important.<sup>69</sup> In opposition to the idea that "unless you are circumcised.... you cannot be saved" (15:1), Luke's own view is expressed by Peter's word - "But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus" (15:11). The content of Paul's missionary preaching is described as "the Gospel of the grace of God" (20:24). It is only through grace that men believe (18:27). The human response is at times shown to be entirely the work of God. Those who believed at Pisidian Antioch were "ordained to eternal life" (13:48). Lydia's heart was opened by the Lord (16:14). At Corinth Paul is assured of a successful mission for he is told by Christ "I have many people in this city" (18:10). Luke's particular use of the verb *σωζειν* is in itself evidence of his insistence on salvation by grace. The characteristic voice of the verb in Acts is the passive. E. M.B.Green suggests this emphasises that "salvation is done for us; we are recipients, not contributors."<sup>70</sup>

The human response is especially represented by the idea of repentance. Two words are used *μετανοειν* and *επιτροφεειν*. They appear together (3:19 and 26:20) and separately. There is no ground for saying that this means that by Luke's time the event of becoming a Christian has been divided "into a change of mind and a change of conduct,"<sup>71</sup> or that the latter is a comprehensive term for faith and repentance.<sup>72</sup> By New Testament times either word could be used to translate the Hebrew *יָשׁוּב*.<sup>73</sup> Thus Luke probably took them as synonyms and used them both in a way consistent with his own stylistic liking for terminological duplication.<sup>74</sup> Both words describe man's decision to forsake disobedience to God's Word and commit himself to Christ. This has of course a moral aspect and a moral outcome but the initial act which appropriates salvation is an existential decision as far as man is aware, but at the same time a gift of God when seen from the divine side (5:31, 11:18)<sup>75</sup>. We agree with Conzelmann who states "both *μετανοειν* and *επιτροφεειν* refer to a once-for-all event."<sup>76</sup>

Another way Luke describes man's response is by the words *πιστις*-



- πιστεύω. The prevailing use of this word-group in Acts is to describe the act of becoming a Christian. Brown finds that twenty-nine occurrences of πιστεύω designate the initial acceptance of the Christian kerygma.<sup>77</sup> In addition we should remember that frequently the substantive aorist participle is used to describe Christians collectively. They are those who have believed or to use Brown's words "those in a condition resulting from the past act of belief." (18:27, 19:18, 21:20, 25). The decisive and divisive nature of such faith is obvious. In Luke's mind it is the positive choice to say yes to Jesus as Lord and Christ.

Just once Luke connects faith and repentance (20:21) in a summary of Paul's preaching.<sup>79</sup> Normally however, he considers it sufficient to mention one or the other. Sometimes faith and forgiveness are connected (10:43, 13:38-39) and at other times repentance and forgiveness (Lk. 24:47, Acts 3:19, 5:31).<sup>80</sup>

If a difference is to be detected it would be that repentance is directed towards God (11:18, 20;21, 26:20) and faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ (5:14, 9:42, 10:43, 11:17, 14:23 etc.). Water baptism appears to be the normal visible demonstration or sign that those who have repented or believed are now beginning a new life.<sup>81</sup>

#### UNMEDIATED SALVATION:

The contrast between the epoch of Jesus and the epoch of the Church leads both Conzelmann and Wilckens to insist that salvation after Jesus' departure into Heaven was only a mediated form of the reality once enjoyed and in no way a confrontation with the person of Jesus.<sup>82</sup> This means that what is had now, in Luke's thought, is not the gift of the last days in the present, it is not eschatological salvation. It is obvious that there is a difference in the ministry of Jesus before and after Easter but the difference is not between a present and an absent Christ<sup>83</sup> but between a Christ present in the flesh and one who is present in a dynamic spiritual way.<sup>84</sup> The continuing presence of Jesus is just another way Luke joins the two eras together and ensures that both books speak with one voice and proclaim that salvation is found in fellowship with, and by commitment to, Jesus. With B. Reicke we agree that in Acts "Christ is predominantly regarded as being the present Lord of the Church."<sup>85</sup>

One way men may have fellowship with Jesus is through the Spirit. The Spirit cannot come until Christ ascends into Heaven and then the Spirit "proceeds" from the Father (1:4, 5:32) through the Son (2:33).<sup>86</sup> When he is given His complete title He is either "the Spirit of the Lord"

(5:9, 8:39) or "the Spirit of Jesus" (16:7) . It is Luke's view that the Spirit is the divine presence active in the world and that his activity corresponds to what Jesus himself did while on earth.<sup>87</sup> Here we should note the interest in personifying the Spirit. The Spirit directs Philip to join the eunuch in his carriage (8:29); the Spirit tells Peter to go with the messengers sent by Cornelius (10:19f, 11:12); while the *ἐκκλησία* at Antioch is "worshipping the Lord" the Holy Spirit commands them to set apart Barnabas and Paul for a special work (13:1f.); when Paul and his companions are passing through Phrygia and Galatia they are "forbidden by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia" (16:6) and the Spirit of Jesus "did not allow" them to go into Bithynia (16:7). Helmut Flender remarks that "Christ and the Spirit are interchangeable, so far as the guidance of the community is concerned."<sup>88</sup> This same personification is seen in Luke's confusion of the Spirit and the Angel of the Lord.<sup>89</sup>

Closely related to the presence of Jesus by the Spirit is His presence "in His name."<sup>90</sup> The Apostles heal in the name of Jesus (3:6, 16, 4:10, 30, 19:13), they preach in His name (4:12, 5:28, 40), they suffer for His name (5:41, 9:16, 21:13), into His name believers are baptized (2:38, 8:16, 10:48, 19:5) and Christians are those "who call upon the name" (2:21, 9:14, 21, 22:16). It is the Old Testament concept of the name as representing the person himself which Luke is utilizing.<sup>91</sup> For Luke the Name of Jesus " epitomises His personality as known. "<sup>92</sup> It is far more than a religious formula, it is indicative of the living power of Jesus still present and able to save.<sup>93</sup>

Luke also thinks that Jesus is present in the proclamation of the Word.<sup>94</sup> It is as the Word goes forth that entry into the Kingdom of God becomes immediate possibility. In other words, the Word makes Jesus present in salvation. Because salvation is actualized in this dynamic way Luke can hold together past and present without any apparent tension. A tension can only be discovered when we force upon the Lukan writings a three epoch schema. Indeed the epoch theory is in itself challenged by Luke's unified use of the concept - "the Word of God". In the Gospel he introduces it to describe the message of Jesus and in Acts it is the most common designation of the disciples' message. Haenchen comments, "It is the Word of God which fills the time after Pentecost, this Word is furthermore the message concerning Jesus,

belief in whom brings forgiveness of sins and deliverance in the judgement. Here then is the clamp which fastens the two eras together and justifies, indeed demands, the continuation of the first book." <sup>95</sup>

That Jesus and the Word are virtual synonyms is shown by the fact that either can be associated with the following verbs. The disciples may either preach (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι) Jesus (8:35, 11:20) or the Word (8:4, 8:35); proclaim (καταγγέλλειν) Jesus (4:2) or the Word (13:5, 15:36) teach (διδάσκειν) about Jesus (18:25, 28:31) or about the Word (15:35, 18:11) bear testimony (συνμαρτυρεῖσθαι) to Jesus (18:5) or the Word (8:25). Those who respond are said either to believe in Jesus (9:42, 10:43, 11:17, 14:23, 16:31 etc.) or in the Word (4:4, 4:31-32, 13:48, 15:7). Acceptance of the message about Jesus involves commitment to the person of Jesus. As Bultmann says, "faith in the kerygma is inseparable from faith in the person mediated thereby." <sup>96</sup> His evidence for this is Acts 14:23, "they committed them to the Lord in whom they had believed."

It is in fact Luke's interest in the preached Word which determines the character of the book. Luke put pen to paper a second time not to objectify the past or historicise the kerygma but to further his one all-embracing ambition to proclaim the availability of eschatological salvation in the present. O'Neill is absolutely right when he says that Acts "like all true apologies had a burning inner purpose of bringing men to faith.....," "Luke's primary aim was to present the Gospel to unbelievers." <sup>97</sup> This he does by sermon after sermon. Dibelius who noted certain similarities in these sermons or speeches with those seen in the Greek historical writings <sup>98</sup> also noted that the ones in Acts differed radically from their pagan counterparts on one issue. In Acts the speeches are in oratio recta not obliqua. They are not so much records of what was said; they are a direct message. As Dibelius wrote, "The Gospel is proclaimed to the readers in the same way as the apostles once preached to their hearers." <sup>99</sup>

Luke's special doctrine of unmediated salvation explains his disinterest in the redemptive aspects of the death of Christ. We agree with Wilckens when he concludes that "Der Tod Jesu hat keine Heilsbedeutung", <sup>100</sup> but we disagree when he calls this a failure in Lukan theology. <sup>101</sup> Detailed research into this whole question by

W.E. Pilgrim has in fact shown that "Luke deliberately avoids atonement motifs" <sup>102</sup> because for Luke "the saving gifts flow to men from the exalted Lord." <sup>103</sup> Luke knows nothing of the problem of how an event or events in the past can have present significance. For him past and present form a continuum beginning with the ministry of Jesus and ending at the parousia. At every point, despite changing forms, Jesus is present and reaches out to usher men into the eschatological Kingdom, the community of salvation.

The emphasis in Acts, as in the Gospel, is on the blessings of the salvation now experienced. This is to be understood in relation to Luke's eschatological thought. In both eschatology and soteriology his one ambition is to heighten the wonder of the present. Men can now experience the last age in this age. But, as with his eschatology, the present does not swallow up the future. Salvation is a present reality but it is also a future hope. It is the guarantee of deliverance on "the great and terrible day of the Lord" (2:20, 21), when this "crooked generation" will be judged (2:40), by the one ordained for that work on the last day (10:42-43). The gift of the Spirit means that the Kingdom of God can be experienced in this world but men must also persevere in the Christian life if they are to experience the fullness of that reality (14:22). Once more Luke sums up his own doctrine of present and future salvation by the use of the present participle of σωζειν as a descriptive title, the community of salvation are "those who are being saved" (2:47). The salvation found in fellowship with Jesus begins in confrontation with Him in a moment in the past, continues in this life and will be consummated in the future.

SALVATION NOTES:

- 1) I.H. Marshall, Luke: Historian and Theologian, P. 81. So also W.C. van Unnik, "The Book of Acts the Confirmation of the Gospel," Nov. Test., 4, 1960, P. 26ff.  
E.M.B. Green, The Meaning of Salvation, P. 125f.
- 2) See particularly E.E. Ellis, Luke, P. 169f. Also J.C. O'Neil, The Theology of Acts, P. 169f, who makes this estimation of Luke/Acts.
- 3) H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, P. 207 etc.  
E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 98.  
W.C. Robinson, "On Preaching the Word of God," Studies in Luke/Acts, P. 135.  
W. Marxsen, Introduction to the New Testament, P. 156.
- 4) U. Wilckens, Missionsreden, P. 216f. Also in Revelation as History, P. 96f.
- 5) E.M.B. Green, ibid., P. 125.
- 6) H.H. Oliver, "The Lukan Birth Stories and the purpose of Luke/Acts," N.T.S., 10, 1963-4, P. 202-206. H. Conzelmann stated that the early chapters of the Gospel played no part in Luke's economy of salvation and so he virtually ignored them in his discussion of Luke's theology.  
Theology of St. Luke, P. 16, N.3, P. 172.
- 7) I.H. Marshall, ibid., P. 97.
- 8) W. Foerster and G. Fohrer, article σώζω, T.D.N.T., Vol. VII, P. 990.
- 9) H. Anderson, "Broadening Horizons - The rejection at Nazareth Pericope of Luke 4:16-30 in light of recent critical trends," Interp., 18, 1964, P. 259ff.  
E. Grasser, A. Strobel, R.C. Tannehill, W. Eltester, Jesus in Nazareth.
- 10) J.M. Creed, Luke, P. 66.
- 11) R.C. Tannehill, Jesus in Nazareth, P. 51.
- 12) R. Bultmann, article ἐφ' ἑσθλῆς, T.D.N.T., Vol. V, P. 509,  
H. Ridderbos, The Coming of the Kingdom, P. 213, but see I.H. Marshall, ibid., P. 121.
- 13) A. Richardson, The Miracle Stories of the Gospels, P. 62. This is said of the miracles of Jesus in general but the point is exemplified in Luke.
- 14) S. Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke, P. 38.
- 15) E.E. Ellis, Luke, P. 125.
- 16) Vs. 47-49.

- 17) The present aspect of salvation is particularly evident says Foerster in the Lukan "sayings about that which was lost and is found", T.D.N.T., Vol. VII, P. 992.
- 18) W. Marxsen, Introduction to the New Testament, P. 156. He describes Mark's aim as to preserve the character of the work as proclamation," but allows that "the process of historicising has begun." P.144.
- "  
W.G. Kummel, Introduction to the New Testament, P. 31, in contrast says that none of the gospels "are written for the sake of remembrance of Jesus... the leading interest is that of awakening faith and strengthening faith."
- See also F.F. Bruce, "When is a Gospel not a Gospel?" B.J.R.L., 45, 1962-63, P. 319ff. Bruce argues that one basic essential for a genuine Gospel is that it "maintains contact with the Jesus of history, affirming that this same Jesus who came in the flesh and died is the vindicated and exalted Lord."
- 19) U. Wilckens, in Studies in Luke/Acts, P. 66, Missionsreden, P. 197-198.
- H. Conzelmann, *ibid*, P. 207f.
- 20) The phrase "Word of God" is one of Luke's key terms. It occurs twenty-five times in Acts as against six occurrences in the universally accepted Pauline epistles. In the Gospel it appears in four thematic passages (5:1, 8:11 and 19; 11:28) and the related  $\rho\eta\mu\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\sigma\upsilon$  is common in the infancy narratives (Lk. 1:37 f. and 65; 2:15-19, 29, 50f., 3:2).
- P.S. Minear, "Dear Theo," Interp., Vol. 27, 1973, P. 141, says "Luke is as much a theologian of God's word as John, although these two diverge in their concept of the logos."
- 21) The consistent application of this premise is the great strength of the commentary on Luke by E.E. Ellis see especially P.9.
- 22) e.g. H.D. Betz. "The Origin and Nature of Christian Faith according to the Emmaus legend," Interp., 23, 1969, P. 32ff. The "legend" says Betz, "raises the question as to what makes Christian faith possible" in the present" (P.39). He concludes that Luke is saying Christ is present "in scripture interpretation" and in "the common meal" which implies the Lord's supper (P. 41).
- 23) See p. 82f.
- 24) This stands in contrast to prevailing Jewish idea which saw the day of God's visitation essentially in terms of judgement. This is particularly evident at Qumran.

e.g. C.D. 7:9 "All who despise these commandments will be judged and annihilated when God visits the earth to take vengeance upon the wicked." See also IQS 9:23, IQH 2:24, IQM 11:14, 16, 12:5, 14:15 etc.

25) A. Strobel, "Die Ausrufung des Jubeljahres in der Nazarethpredigt Jesu, Zur Apokalyptischen Tradition Lc. 4:16-30, " in Jesus in Nazareth, P. 38ff.

26) M. de Jonge and A.S. van der Woude, " II Q Melchizedek and the New Testament," N.T.S., 12, 1965-66, P. 301ff.

27) Article Κηρὺς - Κηρὺσω T.D.N.T., Vol. 3, P. 706.

28) H. Flender, St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History, P. 151f. Pace H. Conzelmann who says it "refers entirely to the time in the past," ibid., 187 also P. 36 Nl.

29) H. Flender, ibid., P. 151.

30) H. Conzelmann makes the Lukan "today" entirely a thing of the past. E. Fuchs, on the other hand makes it entirely a thing of the present. He writes, "He who would hear scripture must "today " see Jesus so that in encounter with Him there is definite division and decision concerning salvation or perdition." Article ὁ ἡμερῶν, T.D.N.T., Vol. VII, P. 274.

31) A. Plummer, I.C.C. Luke, P. 125. Flender is helpful for he says that on one level this is how Jesus' words were heard externally but he adds that to leave it here is "a superficial understanding of the text." ibid., P. 153.

32) H. Conzelmann, ibid., P. 29, and P. 226.

33) A. Plummer, ibid., P. 236.

34) κεταβολα Mk. 1, Luke 5, Acts 6.

κεταβολειν Mk. 2, Mat. 5, Lk. 9, Acts 5.

35) So H. Conzelmann, ibid., P. 100.

U. Wilckens, Missionsreden, P. 181. It is unhelpful because, firstly it is difficult to see how repentance could not have a moral element and secondly because it disparages the existential element which is basic to Luke's use. cf. I.H. Marshall ibid., P. 191f.

36) Pace Conzelmann, P. 229 and U. Wilckens, Missionsreden, P. 178ff.

37) H. Flender, ibid., P. 81.

38) H. Flender, ibid., P. 81. "Here the Christological aspect of the guest motif stands out clearly . In Jesus God visits His people, entering into fellowship with them. "

- 39) J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, P. 136,  
See also S. & B. , Vol. IV, P. 1154.
- 40) J. Jeremias, New Testament Theology, Vol. 1, P. 116.
- 41) G. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, P. 81.
- 42) The noun σωτηρία is in Luke found elsewhere only in the  
Messianic prophecies of Zechariah (1:69, 71, 77). These sayings  
also present messianic salvation as present in and through Jesus. The  
absolute use of the word σωτηρία in these four places has  
been taken however as a Messianic title by W.H. Brownlee, "Messianic  
Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament" in N.T.S. 3, 1956-57, P. 196.
- 43) R. Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, P. 33-34,  
believes that Luke is expanding one of the brief notices in Mark 2:14-17.  
The many details in the Lukan story make this unlikely. It is  
better to see it as a Lukan elaboration of a living tradition.
- 44) W. Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Lukas, P. 290.
- 45) This is evident by his introduction of the theme of the  
Kingdom, 22:15, 18, 29, 30.
- 46) J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, P. 136-137.
- 47) J. Navone, "Lukan Joy", Scripture, 20, 1968, P. 55.
- 48) U. Wilckens, Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 66.
- 49) While Mat. 7:13, and Luke 13:23 both have the saying by Jesus  
about the narrow gate only Luke introduces it with a question about  
the number of the σωζόμενοι . This is the only occurrence of  
the participle in the Gospels and when it reappears in Acts 2:47 and  
in I Cor. 1:18 and II Cor. 2:15, we suspect that it had become, in  
the early Church, a descriptive title for Christians.
- 50) K. Lake and H.J. Cadbury, Beginnings, Vol. IV, P. 3.  
E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 137, N.4.  
H. Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte, P. 20.
- 51) F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 66.  
W.C. van Unnik, "The Book of Acts, the Confirmation of the Gospel,"  
Nov. Test. 4, 1960, P. 49.  
I.H. Marshall, ibid., P. 87, Note.2.
- 52) F.F. Bruce, ibid., P. 66.
- 53) C.K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study, P. 55.
- 54) Professor van Unnik's essay (ibid.,) pursues this particular  
point - see especially P. 49. Another particularly important  
connecting motif is the twelve Apostles. These are the guarantors  
of the Word.



G. Klein, Die Zwölf Apostel, P. 210.

- 55)  $\sigma\omega\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  13 times  
 $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\omega\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  5 times  
 $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha$  6 times  
 $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$  2 times  
 $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\alpha\nu$  once  
 $\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\omega\delta\iota\varsigma$  once

56) *ibid.*, P. 53.

57) On this limitation found in all the Gospels see J. Jeremias, Jesus' Promise to the Nations. On Luke in particular see Mission in the New Testament by F. Hahn, P. 128f. N.Q. King, "The Universalism of the Third Gospel" in S.E., 1959, P. 205, speaks of Luke's "partial kryptis of his universalism while he is writing the gospel."

58) W.C. van Unnik, *ibid.*, P. 51.

59) M. Goulder, Type and History in Acts, P. 36-40 .

60) H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 230 - "We do not possess eternal life but the hope of it." This is identical to his statements about salvation, P. 208 etc.

61) F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 109.

E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 249, Note. 3.

62) W.E. Pilgrim, The death of Christ in Lukan Soteriology, P. 345, Nl.

63) J.D.G. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit, passion.

64) *ibid.*, P. 91.

65) *ibid.*, P. 93.

66) *ibid.*, P. 92.

67) See p. 82f.

68) Luke especially draws attention to the fact that men hear the Word that is preached to them. Acts 2:37, 4:4, 8:6, 10:33, 13:44, 48, 17:32, 18:8, 19:5, 10, cf. Rom. 10:14.

69)  $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$  17 times  
 $\chi\rho\iota\zeta\alpha\nu\tau\iota$  4 times

70) E.M.B. Green, The Meaning of Salvation, P. 151, note 1.

71) H. Conzelmann, Theology of St. Luke, P. 100.

U. Wilckens, Missionsreden, P. 180f.

72) A. Schlatter, Der Glaube im Neun Testament, P. 144f.

73) E. Würthwein, T.D.N.T., Vol. III, P. 989.

74) H.J. Cadbury, "Four Features of Lukan Style," Studies in Luke/Acts, P. 88f.

R. Morgenthaler, Die Lukanische Geschichteschreibung als Zeugnis, Vol.1, P. 18-19.

- 75) H. Flender, *ibid.*, P. 9, N1, correctly stresses the dialectical nature of repentance.
- 76) H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 100.
- 77) S. Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke, P. 41.
- 78) *ibid.*, P. 41.
- 79) That Luke may be using the words synonymously must not be overlooked. Just how closely the words are related is seen by the fact that both nouns are placed under one article in Acts 26:18. Wurthwein maintains that in the prophetic writings turning to Yahweh (as expressed by  $\text{I}^{\circ}\psi^{\circ}$ ) demanded unconditional trust in Him. T.D.N.T., Vol. IV, P. 986.
- 80) H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 100 and Wilckens, *ibid.*, P. 181 both think that for Luke repentance and forgiveness have much the same meaning. In contrast it has here been maintained that Luke considered repentance and faith as the natural prelude to forgiveness.
- 81) Baptism is not considered by Luke as necessary for salvation. The example of the thief on the cross is commonly noted (Lk. 23:43) and should not be forgotten. The coming of the Spirit is not inseparably linked to Baptism (8:14f.), though the gift of the Spirit is the essence of being a Christian. When faith or repentance are present baptism follows (2:38, 8:34, 18:8). Wilckens' assertion that faith follows baptism in Luke is incorrect (Missionsreden, P. 183). He is also incorrect in stating that only Luke connects repentance and baptism (P. 183). He overlooks Heb. 6:2 and the baptism of John (Mk. 1:4).
- 82) H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 207f. Wilckens *ibid.*, P. 193f, 205-216, also in Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 66, and in Revelation as History, P. 93. This thesis is widely accepted and is repeated in many discussions of Lukan theology.
- 83) C.F.D. Moule calls Luke's an "Absentee Christology." "The Christology of Acts," Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 180.
- 84) There are times however, when Luke allows Jesus to speak or appear on earth after his ascension into heaven. Paul's encounter with Jesus on the Damascus road immediately comes to mind (9:4f.). Later, Jesus appears to encourage Paul at Corinth (18:9) and yet again at Jerusalem (23:11). Pointing in the same direction are those prayers addressed to Jesus in person to person imagery (e.g. 7:59-60, 9:10-17, 23:17-21).

85) Bo Reicke, "The Risen Lord and His Church," Interp., 13, 1959, P. 161. Also G.W. MacRae, "Whom the Heavens Must Receive Until the Time," Interp., 27, 1973, P. 160ff.

86) H. Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, P. 38.

87) Pace H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, P. 178, N.2, and H. Flender, ibid., P. 135.

Evidence that the Spirit and Jesus can be complementary ideas for Luke is given by E. Schweizer, T.D.N.T., VI, P. 406 where he notes how in Luke 12:12, 21:15, and Acts 10:14/ 10:19 and 16:7 the spirit is parallel to the risen Lord.

See also G. Stahlin, Christ and the Spirit in the New Testament, ed. by B. Lindars and S.S. Smalley, P. 229-252. Stahlin argues that in Acts the work of God, the work of Jesus and the work of the Holy Spirit form an indissoluble unity (P. 237f.). He insists that the Spirit is in Acts the personal power whereby Jesus is present and active in the Church.

88) H. Flender, ibid., P. 142. This contradicts Flender's earlier denial that Jesus is present by the Spirit in Acts. cf. P. 135.

89) In the story of the evangelization of the Ethiopian Eunuch, Philip is sent by "the Angel of the Lord" (8:26), but at 8:29 the Spirit is named as the guiding agent. In Acts 12:3 and 7 it is the angel of the Lord which speaks to Peter while at 11:2, in the re-telling of the story, Luke says it was the Spirit who spoke with Peter.

90) It is often noted that *Σύναμις* and *πνεῦμα* are virtually synonymous in Luke. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, P. 76. In Acts 4:7 *Σύναμις* and *ὄνομα* are parallel concepts.

H. Beitenhard article *ὄνομα*, T.D.N.T., Vol. 5, P. 277.

91) H. Flender, ibid., P. 139.

H. Conzelmann, ibid., P. 178.

R. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity, points out that at Qumran "the name" was possibly a messianic title. P. 42-43.

92) R. Abba, article "Name," I.D.B., P.507.

93) H.N. Ridderbos, The Speeches of Peter in the Acts of Apostles, P. 29, says, "the constant reference to the name is not intended to dissociate the ascribed salvation from the person of Christ but indicate Him as the one who in the fullness of His power and fellowship is the author of the *συνήγορον* which He causes to be preached."

- 94) Luke's concern with this idea is shown by the frequency with which it appears. Barrett (Luke the Historian) finds thirty-two references, P. 68. He says that for Luke "the prime agency by which the Spirit extends the sovereignty of Christ is the Word of God."
- 95) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 98. On Luke's use of the concept the Word of God see note 20.
- 96) T.D.N.T., VI, P. 211.
- 97) J. C. O'Neill, The Theology of Acts, P. 173.
- 98) M. Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, P. 138ff.
- 99) Ibid., P. 166.
- 100) Missionsreden, P. 216.
- 101) ibid., P. 216f, also Revelation in History, P. 96.
- 102) W.E. Pilgrim, The Death of Christ in Lukan Soteriology, helpfully stresses this point. He says it is not a careless oversight for Luke is well aware of the idea (e.g. Acts 20:28). The point is that Luke offers another interpretation of the death of Christ, and on how salvation is now available. P. 365.
- 103) ibid., P. 380.

P A R T II:

THE LUKAN UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMUNITY OF SALVATION AS  
REVEALED BY THE TITLES GIVEN TO IT.

C H A P T E R 5 :

COLLECTIVE TITLES FOR THE COMMUNITY OF SALVATION IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE:

Our conclusions so far are that Luke is interested in enhancing the eschatological content of the present in both the Gospel and the book of Acts so as to show that the salvation bestowed is the gift of the last days in the present. Those who participate in this Messianic deliverance can be described as "those who are being saved" (Lk. 13:23, Acts 2:47), but this is only one descriptive title and an infrequent one at that. We must now look for others. The Gospel should give them, if we are correct in believing that Luke meant it to be read as a complete work in itself, a kind of extended sermon addressed to the Christian community of his day and age. The titles given to the community should be recognised as extremely important in understanding how "the Church" of St. Luke understood itself. Like the Christological titles they are a medium through which a particular theology can be discerned.

As we turn to the text of Luke we find that the number of descriptive titles for the community of salvation in no way corresponds to the wealth of Christological titles. At first sight the cupboard seems almost bare. The community is not called Israel or the New Israel,<sup>1</sup> it is not called the people of God.<sup>2</sup> Just once in a traditional phrase the word *ἐκλεκτοί* appears (18:7),<sup>3</sup> but it is not taken up in Acts. The saints (*οἱ ἅγιοι*) is not used in the Gospel as a title although it appears in Acts.<sup>4</sup> Just once Luke calls the disciples "little flock" (12:32). A great deal has been made of this solitary collective metaphor<sup>5</sup> but it may well be that it is nothing more than a homely turn of phrase.<sup>6</sup> The little flock to whom the Kingdom is given stand in contrast to "the many thousands of the multitude" (12:1) who only hear but do not receive the Word.

There is some use of the family imagery. Jeremias believes that Jesus' own favourite image for describing the community of salvation was "the eschatological family of God." <sup>7</sup> If this is correct then Luke does not reflect such a dominant interest. Only once he introduces the idea that God is "your Father" (12:32) and although he also adopts it twice in "Q" passages (6:36, 12:30), his few uses stand in contrast to Matthew's 14 references. <sup>8</sup> The expression sons of God (*υιὸι*) occurs twice in Luke (6:35, 20:36), once in Matthew (51:9). The disciples are twice called children (*υιῶν*) by Matthew, but only once by Luke in a "Q" passage (Matt. 11:25 = Lk. 10:21). <sup>9</sup> A fellow Christian can be called a brother (17:3), as he can in all the Gospels, and just once we find the collective term "the brethren" (22:32). This last reference is important for it prefigures a major title in the book of Acts. <sup>10</sup> But overall the family imagery is not a pre-occupation of St. Luke.

The only title Luke develops is *οἱ μαθηταί*. We could easily pass over this expression as being devoid of theological or ecclesiological significance but on careful study it is shown to have great importance in both regards. In Mark the disciples are closely related to the historic person of Jesus. This is seen by the fact that they are normally termed "*οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ*". In the few places where the pronoun is omitted, the omission can often be explained by the context, and thus be taken in the same sense as the longer designation. <sup>11</sup> In Luke however, *οἱ μαθηταί* in the absolute, appears frequently and is to be understood as a title for the community of salvation. Luke often adopts the longer Markan expression, and can use it himself, but Luke's special contribution to the tradition is the absolute form. <sup>12</sup> It envisages that period after Easter when "a disciple" was a title for an individual Christian and "the disciples" a title for Christians viewed collectively. This one alteration from Mark's Gospel is not the only one that Luke allows in his handling of the material. In fact, the term "the disciples" and the idea of "discipleship" are both developed in ways which suggest profound reflection on the whole matter both by Luke's community and by Luke himself.

Before we turn to Luke's Gospel to consider these changes, we must say something more about Mark's use of the term "the disciples" with which Luke's text can then be compared and make a brief comment on Matthew's ideas. The following observations are important:-

Mark's characteristic  $\text{οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ}$  refers to a limited and clearly defined group. Unlike Luke and John, Mark never speaks of many disciples (Lk. 6:17, 19:39, John 6:60ff.), and when he mentions the audience to which Jesus' teaching is addressed the disciples are carefully distinguished from the crowd (e.g. 2:18, 3:7, 9, 6:30-33, 35-37). Bultmann suggested that Mark intended  $\text{οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ}$  to be equated with the Twelve,<sup>13</sup> a point R.P. Meye has taken up and argued in detail.<sup>14</sup> Both scholars point out that when Mark does define this group they are seen to be the Twelve (6:35, 9:31, 35; 11:11, 14; 14:32, 17, 20). What is more, at no point does Mark ever specifically give the title  $\text{μαθητῆς}$  to anyone but one of the Twelve.<sup>15</sup> The nearest he goes to extending the title beyond the Twelve is seen in his use of the less specific language of following ( $\text{ἀκολουθεῖν}$ ).<sup>16</sup> Twice the call to follow goes beyond the Twelve. Once to an individual (10:21), and once to the multitude (8:34). In neither case are we told that the invitation was accepted. Just once, in the case of Bartimaeus, does someone who is not one of the Twelve, begin following in a specific way (10:52). The point is, however, that Mark restricts the title  $\text{οἱ μαθηταὶ}$  to a small specific group which when defined is equated with the Twelve. Another special feature of Mark's Gospel is that  $\text{οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ}$  are the special recipients of private teaching by Jesus. In Mk. 4:34 we are told that "privately, to his own disciples Jesus explained everything." The expression  $\text{κατ' ἰδίαν}$  which appears here is found in five other places in Mark in connection with the disciples. Four times it includes the complete number of disciples (4:34, 6:31, 32, 9:28), at 9:2 only Peter, James and John, and at 13:3 these three plus Andrew.<sup>17</sup> Again, Mark cautiously extends this limited picture. In Mark 4:10-11 three groups can be seen  $\text{οἱ δὲ ἑσθλὰ, οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ}$  and  $\text{οἱ ἐξ ἑω}$ <sup>18</sup>. The second group Minear argues correspond to the  $\text{ὄχλος}$  which is usually drawn by Mark as a sympathetic audience (2:4, 13, 3:9, 20, 4:1, 36 etc.), but this term is not a definite title for Christians. Mark also uses it of those hostile to Jesus (14:43, 15:8, 11:15). The special didactic privileges of the disciples however remain. It is to this group alone, R.P. Meye argues, that the Messianic secret is disclosed.<sup>19</sup> They are commanded not to openly reveal it till after the resurrection (9:9) and although others break this rule Mark never allows the disciples to fail

on this issue. The ὄχλος may be given some teaching but for Mark οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ are set apart from all other men by Jesus' unique interest in them.

Mark also makes the disciples the object of persistent criticism.<sup>20</sup> They are drawn as dull witted (7:18, 8:21). If they seem to understand they then oppose Jesus (8:32, 9:10). At the moment of greatest stress they all desert Jesus (14:49). Judas betrays him (14:17-21, 42,). Peter denies Him (14:60-72). This has been read as a deliberate polemic against the disciples. Recently this idea has been taken up by two scholars. J.B.Tyson<sup>21</sup> takes it as an attack on the historic Jerusalem Church, while T.J. Weedon sees it as a corrective for an inadequate Christology which the disciples are made to espouse.<sup>22</sup> Both authors think that Mark intends his readers to identify not with the disciples but against them.<sup>23</sup>

Neither the terminology (οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ) nor the ideas on discipleship in Mark suggest that he intended this to be a title for, or a prefiguration of, "the Church." His interest lies elsewhere. Matthew has certain similarities and certain differences.<sup>24</sup> Very briefly we may note that as in Mark, "the Twelve" are the disciples. In fact, οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ is a stereotyped and definitive expression for Matthew (10:1, 11:1, 26:20).<sup>25</sup> Just once he allows the verbal form μαθηταῖς to be used of one outside the Twelve (Joseph of Arimathea 27:57). The thought that the Twelve are the recipients of a private revelation is also present (14:13, 17:1, 19). In addition, a very clear ecclesiastical trend appears. The followers of Jesus form an ἐκκλησίαν (16:18, 18:17) Peter is given "the office of the keys" (16:18), as are the Twelve (18:18).<sup>26</sup> When Christians are assembled, Christ is mystically present (18:20).<sup>27</sup> In the post-Easter period the command is to "make disciples..... baptising them" in the threefold name. If we are to appreciate Lukan thought in its own right Matthew's developed ecclesiology must be kept in mind just as much as Mark's distinct usage of the term "His disciples."

#### DISCIPLESHIP IN LUKE'S GOSPEL.

Luke's distinctive contribution to the idea of discipleship is seen in that -



- The disciples are now a large group
- The distinction between the disciples and the crowd is weakened
- The faults of the disciples are minimised
- The call to discipleship is radicalized
- Discipleship becomes a journey
- The Apostles are distinguished from the disciples

THE DISCIPLES ARE NOW A LARGE GROUP:

In several places this is made absolutely clear. In Mark 3:13-19 "the Twelve" are chosen from an unspecified group whereas in Luke 6:12f the Twelve Apostles are chosen from "his disciples!"<sup>28</sup> A few verses later (6:17) Luke speaks of "a great crowd of his disciples". In chapter ten Luke alone tells of the mission of 70 of the disciples. The term, the disciples, while not appearing in the mission charge, does appear in the account of their return (10:23) which is closely connected to what precedes by the phrase  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta\ \tau\eta\ \omega\sigma\alpha$  (10:21). As Jesus enters Jerusalem Luke says that "the whole multitude of disciples began to rejoice" (19:37). When another Apostle is to be appointed to replace Judas the selection is a wide one for there are at least one hundred and twenty "disciples" (Acts 1:15)<sup>29</sup> gathered in an upper room. The frequent mention of "the disciples" (7:11, 11:1, 12:1, 22, 16:1, 17:1, 22, 20:45), can therefore be taken in the light of this wider usage. The term includes all those who are saved and are in fellowship with Jesus.

Because the word disciple can be used by Luke for this wider group he is able to address his invitation to the crowd as a call to become "a disciple." Thus in 14:25f, Luke makes Jesus address the multitude ( $\acute{\omicron}\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ) and tell them what it means to be "my disciple".<sup>30</sup> The call to follow Jesus is also extended. Whereas Mark's one universal invitation to follow is addressed to "the multitude with his disciples" (8:34), Luke's corresponding passage is addressed "to all" (9:23). It is not just a particular message to a particular group, it is timeless proclamation. In addition passages outlining what it means to be a disciple are multiplied by Luke (9:57f, 14:25f etc) and descriptive accounts of what is involved abound (7:1-10, 7:36-49, 8:26-39, 14:15-25, 16:19-31, 19:1-10).

Luke's extension of the use of the term "disciple" and of

related ideas is part and parcel of his often noted universalism. Jesus is drawn as the evangelist of outcasts and sinners, Jews and Gentiles in the pre-Easter period. Those who respond to his universal invitation are "the disciples," "the community of salvation." There is no hint that this privilege is restricted to the elect few as it is in Mark.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE DISCIPLES AND THE CROWD IS WEAKENED.

"The us and them" mentality basic to the Markan story is removed. In no instance does Luke directly parallel the Markan picture of a small band of disciples as the sole recipients of a secret disclosure.<sup>31</sup> Luke's handling of Mark 4:10-11 is important. It is softened in several ways.

- In Mark 4:10 it is the Twelve who ask about the parable while in Luke 8:9 it is "His Disciples."
- In Mark it is a question about "the parables" while in Luke it is about "this parable".
- In Mark the question is put in secret ( *κατά κώλυος* ), a comment Luke omits.

But Mark's liking for private scenes with the disciples and Jesus is not only omitted in this text. Six times Mark uses the expression *κατ' ἰδιάν* (4:34, 6:31, 32, 9:28, 13:3, 7:33), but only once Luke takes it up (Mk. 6:31 = Lk. 9:10) and in this instance changes the entire meaning by adding that Jesus also welcomed the crowds (9:11).

Throughout the Gospel the people flock to hear Jesus' teaching and see His miracles (6:17, 7:1, 11, 8:47, 15:1, 18:43, 19:47-48, 20:1 etc.). Often there is no clear-cut separation in the audience.<sup>32</sup> In the sermon on the plain Jesus begins in the presence of "a great crowd of disciples" and "a great multitude" (6:17) but at 6:20 He addresses "the disciples," which is then relativized to become "you that hear" and finally it is said the whole sermon was "in the hearing of the people" (7:1). This same change of audience appears again in Chapter 12. In 12:1 the disciples are addressed, in 12:13 one of the crowd, at 12:20 the disciples and in 12:54 the crowd again.

Those who hear Jesus' teaching and see his miracles are *οἱ ἀκούοντες*. Usually the term specifies those who are well disposed towards Jesus and listen intently to His words (7:1, 8:47, 19:48, 20:1, 20:9, 20:45, 21:38). In the Jerusalem narrative (19:28-53) *ἀκούοντες* distinguishes those Jews who are sympathetic

to Jesus and His teaching from the Jewish leaders who are plotting His death.<sup>33</sup> The word can be used of pious Israelites (1:68, 77, 2:10, 2:32, 3:15, 7:16, 21:23, 24:20) but, as we said in the beginning, it never becomes a terminus technicus for Christians as such.<sup>34</sup> Luke's motivation for affirming affinity between the crowd and Jesus is largely due to his desire to show that the Christians are loyal Jews, but the resultant picture means that discipleship is no longer the special privilege of a few. The sympathetic crowds "lack only one thing" - the recognition of Jesus as "the Christ" (9:18-20).

THE FAULTS OF THE DISCIPLES ARE MINIMISED:

There are traces of "Messianic reticence"<sup>35</sup> in the Gospel of Luke, but the idea of a strictly kept Messianic secret disclosed only to an incomprehending circle of twelve men is rejected. The Messianic status of Jesus is openly declared (2:11, 2:26, 3:22, 4:16-21, 7:18-19). The disciples seem to recognize Jesus as the Messiah from the moment of their call (5:8) although the understanding of a suffering Messiah is kept from them until after the passion. The confession of Jesus as "the Christ of God" (9:20) does not come as an abrupt transition, as it is in Mark.<sup>36</sup> It is rather a stage in an unfolding apprehension of the person of Jesus which culminates after the resurrection in a final and definitive climax (24:7f, 26).

Passages in Mark which speak of the dullness of the disciples are usually omitted by Luke (e.g. Mk. 7:18, 8:21, 9:20). The passion predictions which in Mark lead either to opposition or gross misunderstanding are all modified by Luke. Peter's rebuke of Jesus is omitted (Mk. 8:32-33). Mark's statement that the disciples did not understand Jesus' second prediction (Mk. 8:32) is altered by Luke so that it becomes the result of divine ordering (Lk. 9:45).<sup>37</sup> The third prediction in Mark (10:33f) is followed by the story of James and John who ask for pre-eminence and so illustrate the spiritual darkness in which the disciples still stand. Luke omits this story at this point and explains the disciples' inability to comprehend as due to the fact "it was hid from them" (18:34).<sup>38</sup> At no point does Luke imply any criticism of those who are disciples.

During the passion the disciples are for Mark weak and treacherous: for Luke they are pillars of rectitude.<sup>39</sup> Mark records the failure of Peter, James and John in the garden of Gethsemane. They disobey Jesus and fall asleep (14:32-42). In this crucial hour they fail to support Jesus. After His arrest "they all forsook Him" (14:50).

In Luke (22:39f.) it is the disciples as a group who sleep not through weakness or indifference but "for sorrow" (v45). When Jesus returns, there is no note of rebuke but a simple question about why they are sleeping (v46). Luke then tells how the disciples rush to Jesus' assistance as the arrest takes place (22:49-50). The desertion "by all" is omitted.

In Mark Jesus predicts that when the shepherd is struck "the Twelve" (14:17) "will all fall away" (14:27). Peter reacts vehemently in protest to which Jesus replies that "You will deny me three times." In Luke the prediction that the disciples will fall away is omitted, but it is said that Peter will deny Jesus. This is weakened, however, for the promise is given by Jesus, "I have prayed for you that your faith may not fail" (22:32). Peter's denial (22:54-62) can thus be taken not as a denial of Jesus' Messiahship but simply of knowing Jesus.<sup>40</sup> Finally, Judas' betrayal takes place under the divine *Sei* (Acts 1:16),<sup>41</sup> and it is said to be the fulfilment of prophecy (Acts 1:16, 1:20).

THE CALL TO BECOME A DISCIPLE IS RADICALIZED:

For each of the Evangelists discipleship is a costly matter but for none so much as for Luke. He makes the demands the most stringent. He takes over the story about the call of James and John (5:10-11) and of Levi (5:27-28) who "left everything and followed" Jesus. He also records the Markan story of the rich young man who came to Jesus asking how he might inherit eternal life (Lk. 18:18-30) only to be told that you must "sell all that you have and distribute to the poor." Mark's one pericope dealing specifically with the demands of discipleship is also adopted but with three important alterations. The introductory address, as we have already noted, is changed to the more general and timeless expression "And he said to all" (Lk. 9:23, cf. Mk. 8:34). To the first injunction he adds the word "daily" - "let him take up his cross daily." The life of discipleship, a challenge to all, involves not one act of heroic self sacrifice but continually "being crucified with Christ." The reason for this is made clear in the third alteration. Mark reads "For whoever would save his life will lose it; and whoever loses his life for my sake and the Gospel will save it." (Mk. 8:35). Luke omits "and the Gospel" (9:24). He wants to make it perfectly clear that it is personal allegiance to Jesus which is the basis for

such utter self giving.

The radical nature of discipleship is also brought out by Luke in the story of the three enquirers (9:57-62). Part of the story is found in Matthew (8:18-22), but Luke makes important additions and alterations. The Matthean account uses the word "disciple" (8:21), but Luke avoids it. For Luke only those who literally forsake all and come with Jesus can bear this lofty title. The thought of a literal journey with Jesus is brought out by Luke's introductory redactional "Reisenotiz," "and as they were going along the road" (9:57). In Matthew there are only two men involved, in Luke there are three. The more structured and developed account, in Luke, teaches that to be a disciple one must become like one's Master (6:40). It means becoming a homeless wanderer in this world (9:58), forsaking important human responsibilities "to proclaim the Kingdom" with Jesus (9:60), and, once having begun, to allow no-one or nothing to distract one from the task (9:61-62).

Another Lukan passage dealing with discipleship is found at 14:25-35. It places words on the lips of Jesus as severe as any to be recorded. The first part of the passage has partial parallel with Matthew (10:37f. and 5:13), but the two parables about counting the cost are only in Luke, and the similitude about salt, though finding parallels in Mk. 9:50 and Matt. 5:13, is given a different meaning by its Lukan context. Jesus addresses "a great multitude" and says that no-one can be His disciple unless he "hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes even his own life." Matthew gives a "softer" version by speaking about "loving more than" (10:37). Jeremias believes that Luke's *οὐκ ἔστιν* is a literal rendering of the original Aramaic. <sup>42</sup> By leaving the harsh Semitic idiom unchanged Luke makes it serve his own theology. The saying which follows about "cross bearing," this time suggests a literal consequence of being a disciple. The verb *βαρταζειν*, used here, appears only at one other place in the Gospel tradition (John 19:17), where it is used of Jesus bearing His own cross on the way to Calvary. These demands are so costly that men must count the cost before responding. This is stressed in the two little parables which "discourage hasty enthusiasm". <sup>43</sup> The final saying in this section about salt seems to mean that a man is only a disciple when totally committed to Jesus and His way, just as salt is only salt when it has its taste. The demands made are to be taken as they stand. This is made clear by the threefold refrain. Unless a man obeys, says Jesus, "he cannot be my disciple"

(v25, 27, 33).

Luke also stresses that the life of discipleship is one of material deprivation. This is particularly apparent in "the reversal motif" so common in his Gospel.<sup>44</sup> This can be seen in "The Sermon on the Plain" where Luke sets out a series of blessings and woes in which Jesus promises to those who are needy and down-trodden a reversal of their present lot and an equally drastic reversal for the rich and prosperous (Lk. 6:20-26). The influence of Luke's own thought on the matter is seen when comparison is made with Matthew's "Sermon on the Mount" (5:3-12), where the teaching is more concerned with spiritual virtues and their rewards.<sup>45</sup> This motif appears in a number of other passages. In the parable of the rich fool (12:13-21) the prosperous man loses all, whereas the disciple is promised God's protection (12:22-34). Again in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, it is suggested that riches and security in this world are no guarantee of the same in the world to come. The reversal of roles is explicitly stated "Son, remember that you in your life time received your good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things, but now he is comforted here and you are in anguish" (16:25). The radical transformation in attitude to possessions which is demanded, is illustrated by the case of Zacchaeus (19:1-9), who on entering into fellowship with Jesus declares, "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have defrauded anyone of anything I restore it four-fold." (19:8). At every point discipleship is a costly matter. Luke makes the demands as radical as possible.

#### DISCIPLESHIP BECOMES A JOURNEY:

The journey imagery appears in many places in the Biblical record.<sup>46</sup> It is prominent in the Old Testament: in the wanderings of Abraham in search of the promised land, in the Exodus saga, in the march into exile and in the prophecies of restoration. It reappears in the Gospels and Acts and finds classical expression in the epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>47</sup> It is not the creation of St. Luke, but it is an idea which he takes up to illustrate what it means to be a Christian disciple. The disciple like his Master is a pilgrim<sup>48</sup> and wanderer in this world on a path which leads through suffering and humiliation into glory.

Luke depicts Jesus as an inveterate traveller. Bultmann draws attention to this by noting that frequently the third Evangelist creates connecting pericopes which speak of Jesus on a journey.<sup>49</sup>

"Throughout the ministry," says Ellis, "Jesus is presented always without a home, always on mission, always on the move." <sup>50</sup> He is on route from 4:42 onwards, but the so called "travel narrative" (9:51- 19:10) accentuates this idea. <sup>51</sup> It takes up nearly 40% of the Gospel as it tells of Jesus' decisive journey from Galilee to Jerusalem. It consists mainly of didactic material. Besides short proverbs more than twenty parables occur throughout these chapters. Several recent studies have found the unifying theme, in this didactic material, to be instruction on discipleship - its nature and cost. <sup>52</sup> If this is so it becomes both an example of what is involved in being a disciple, and an extended sermon on discipleship. It is a unity in word and deed.

The journey that Jesus takes is one that is essential for the true disciple as well. Luke cannot use the word disciple of anyone who does not actually accompany Jesus. <sup>53</sup> The traditional use of ἀκολουθεῖν is adopted to describe discipleship, but it is not developed. Luke seems a little uneasy about the spatial separation that is implied in the word. <sup>54</sup> Twice when taking over material using this word Luke alters the text. In Lk. 9:49 he changes Mark's οἱ οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν (Mk. 9:38) to οὗτοι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' ἡμῶν. Discipleship, for Luke, must be related to the person of Jesus. He also changes Mk. 15:41 which reads, αἱ ὅτε ἦν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ to καὶ συνεχῆες αἱ συνακολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας (Lk. 23:49). Here Luke not only introduces the journey motif, - the women as faithful disciples had actually travelled with Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem, he also introduces his distinctive emphasis that the true disciple is one who is in the actual presence of Jesus (συνακολουθεῖν). It is in fact, the preposition σύν which sums up Luke's own ideas on discipleship (8:1, 8:38, 9:32, 22:14, 22:56, 24:44, Acts 4:13). <sup>55</sup> Luke's distinct term for discipleship is not ἀκολουθεῖν but σύν αὐτῷ. As the life of discipleship can begin when Jesus "visits" a man <sup>56</sup> so a man continues a disciple while he remains in the presence of Jesus. The faithful disciple only departs from his master's presence at his express command to carry out his will (5:14, 24-25, 8:38-39, 9:60, 19:29-32, 22:8, cf. 22:13). <sup>57</sup> At all other times the disciple journeys with Jesus on the way. In view of this spatial imagery we would agree with

S. Brown that the departure of Judas from the presence of Jesus (22:4) has far deeper significance than it has in Mark (14:10). He says, "it represents a definite rupture in the bond of discipleship." <sup>58</sup>

The fact that Luke places no soteriological weight on the death of Christ has already been mentioned. In Acts the saving gifts flow from the exalted Christ. In the Gospel, on the other hand, the life of Christ exemplifies the life of discipleship and the cross becomes the symbol of supreme sacrifice. Discipleship involves daily metaphorical cross-bearing (9:32), and actual cross-bearing (14:27). Thus the death of a Christian can be described in terms reminiscent of Jesus' own death (23:24, Acts 7:60). As the path of suffering and death for Jesus led to glory (13:32f), so too will it lead to glory for the disciple (12:1-12, Acts 14:22). "The fate of Jesus is the fate of His followers." <sup>59</sup> Flender speaks of Luke "individualising the passion in his own peculiar way." <sup>60</sup> Jesus' journey is a type of the Christian life. It shows what is involved and gives a rationale for the difficulties inherent in being a disciple. <sup>61</sup>

Conzelmann argued that Luke's geographical allusions in regard to Jesus' journeys were governed by the theological significance which Luke attached to these locations. <sup>62</sup> In highlighting the theological implications of the Reisetiz redactions Conzelmann opened up the question. His conclusions, however, have been challenged by W.C. Robinson who maintains that Luke's primary interest in mentioning localities is to depict the journey of Jesus in terms of a journey through the world. <sup>63</sup> The continual movement of Jesus and His disciples, Robinson suggests, can be presented under the terminology of "the Way." The various uses in Luke/Acts of *ὁ δὲ* and related vocabulary form a unity. <sup>64</sup> In Acts Luke calls the beginning of Jesus' ministry an *ἐξουσία* (Acts 13:24), while in the Gospel its termination and Jesus' entry into glory is called an *ἐξουσία* (9:31). Robinson seems to make too much of the word *ὁ δὲ* which does not have the prominence in Lukan material that he suggests <sup>65</sup> but the argument in general is an important contribution towards understanding Luke's own thought. A disciple is, for Luke, one who is on the way with Jesus on a journey that leads through tribulation into glory.

#### THE APOSTLES ARE DISTINGUISHED FROM THE DISCIPLES:

In Mark the term "the disciples" seems to be restricted to the Twelve. In Luke "the Twelve" are "the Apostles." <sup>66</sup> It is Luke's



distinct contribution to regularly call the Twelve by this title (6:15, 9:10, 11:49, 17:15, 22:14, 24:10). Klein's statement that this is an "epochale Neuerung"<sup>67</sup> because Luke is the first to give this status to the Twelve is however unjustified. Already in Mark the Twelve have been called Apostles (6:30)<sup>68</sup> and they are given this title in Matthew as well (10:2). Luke's contribution lies in his extension of this title and the theological significance he attaches to the Apostles.

We must begin by considering Luke's redactional handling of Mark 3:14-16, as discussed by Gunter Klein in his study "Die Zwölf Apostel."

- 1) Luke adds that Jesus was at prayer before he chose the Twelve and he stresses the point by mentioning it twice and by giving it extended duration (Lk. 6:12).<sup>70</sup> We agree with Klein that this increases the solemnity of the choice.
- 2) The second major alteration Klein finds in the Lukan account is the change in regard to the group from whom the Twelve are chosen. In Mark, Jesus calls "to him those whom he desired" (3:13) while Luke says Jesus "called His disciples" (6:13). Klein sees the importance in this alteration as an attempt by Luke to bind the Twelve Apostles "mit der historia Jesu."<sup>71</sup> His conclusion is inadequate. Mark equally binds the Twelve to the "historia Jesu." In fact, Mark makes the call of the disciples the first act of Jesus' ministry, which Luke doesn't. No, the significance of this alteration lies in Luke's distinction between "the Twelve Apostles" and "the disciples." It makes the Twelve the inner core of a larger group.
- 3) The duties of the Twelve given in Mark (preaching and casting out demons) are omitted by Luke. He transfers this to the actual moment of mission (9:2). This says Klein, means that the Twelve are for Luke, Apostles in the absolute sense and not simply in relation to their mission.

The other key text dealing with Apostleship is Acts 1:21f, which Klein calls the "lukanischen Magna Charta des Zwölferapostolats."<sup>73</sup> This story affirms the absolute importance for Luke of the number Twelve. The apostasy of Judas had broken the sacred number and this had to be put right. So vital was this issue that Luke inserts the story of the election of Matthias in between the ascension of Jesus and the giving of the Holy Spirit, two events which according to Acts 2:33 belong

together. It does not seem to overstate the case to say that Luke believed that the Spirit could not be given until the number twelve was restored.

Luke's interest in the number twelve can be seen elsewhere. Mark 14:10 and Matthew 26:4 both describe Judas as "one of the twelve" which Luke changes to the more elaborate "ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δωδεκά (22:3)". This suggests that Judas belonged to a group for which the number twelve was constitutive. <sup>74</sup> Probably the same idea is implied in Acts 1:17 where the wording resembles Lk. 22:3. Here Judas' membership is described as, ὅτι κατηριθμημένος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ εἰλαχεν τὸν κληῖρον τῆς σακουλάς ταύτης.

This time the number twelve is not actually mentioned, though it is implied by the context, but the essential numerical factor again appears. <sup>75</sup>

The status of the Twelve, Luke insists, is given by God and their existence is in agreement with scripture. The night of continuous prayer we have already claimed suggests this (6:12f.). In Acts 1:2 it is said that Jesus chose (ἐξελέξατο) the Twelve "ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ." Judas' apostasy is the fulfilment of scripture (1:16-20). The actual election of his successor takes place only after prayer and is finalized by the casting of lots, which Professor Beardslee says, accents "divine sovereignty which expresses itself in the unfolding of a determinative plan." <sup>76</sup> Finally, Peter's speech in Acts 10:36ff makes the same point. According to v41 the Twelve have been chosen in advance by God (προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ). The "προ" may suggest that the choice of the Twelve goes back further than the action of Jesus. <sup>77</sup>

The role of the Twelve Apostles is not elaborated in the Gospel although we are told that they are to be "witnesses" (24:48). The Gospel narrative, however, carefully qualifies them for the requirements laid down for an Apostle in Acts 1:21f. They must have accompanied Jesus during the time he "went in and out amongst as "and specifically be a "witness of his resurrection." This is the most emphasised role of the Twelve Apostles - They are Christ's witnesses (μαρτυρες) who bear witness (μαρτυρίαν) to everything about Him, particularly His resurrection. <sup>78</sup> In Acts 4:20 (cf. 26:16) we read in terms of common Jewish legal usage that the Apostles, as reliable witnesses,

only bear witness to what they have seen and heard.<sup>79</sup> In the early preaching Luke repeats the claim that all that is proclaimed is based on Apostolic witness (2:22f, 3:12f, 4:8f, 5:29f, 10:34f). But this is not the only function the Twelve Apostles have in Lukan theology.

Luke's emphatic interest in the number twelve suggests a secondary typological role for the Apostles.<sup>80</sup> The community of Salvation is Israel - if we must use an epithet - "true Israel," and the Twelve are "the founding fathers." In Luke 22:30 the twelve are especially related to Israel as its eschatological rulers and judges.<sup>81</sup> They primarily witness to the resurrection (1:21-22, 2:32, 3:15, 4:20, 33, 5:32, 10:40-41, 13:31), and the resurrection is called by Luke, "God's promise to the fathers" (26:6), and "Israel's hope" (26:7). It is a doctrine held by the most pious Jews (23:6-8, 26:5, 28:20). At every point Luke underlines the Jewishness of Jesus, his adherence to the Law, his affinity with the *Idols*, the piety of the early disciples and the common ground between Christian and Jew.<sup>82</sup> The community of salvation never becomes for Luke "the new Israel," a separate "tertium genus." The Twelve Apostles symbolise what is true for Luke at every point - the community of salvation is "true Israel."

Once the continuity between the "historia Jesu" and the word proclaimed in the age of missionary expansion had been univocally affirmed, and once Luke could show that Israel had been reconstituted (15:16f.), the importance of the twelve Apostles ceased. They fade from the picture after the council of Jerusalem (15:2, 4, 6, 22, 16:4). In fact, they cease to be prominent after Acts 6.

#### THE MEANING OF DISCIPLESHIP:

The question naturally arises in our mind once we become aware that the term "the disciples" is the primary category to delimit the community of salvation in the Gospel of Luke, why this is so? The answer must explain why other titles were not chosen and why this particular one was.

Other titles which would have marked out the community of salvation as a distinct sect separate from Judaism are deliberately avoided. Luke's insistence that the Christians are true Jews and faithful to nation, temple and Law must be remembered. Luke never allows that Jesus or the early disciples broke with Israel.<sup>83</sup> How

could they if they are Israel? Conzelmann's assertion that the law is replaced by the apostolic decree and that the law belonged to old Israel is unacceptable.<sup>84</sup> The law is honoured both before and after the council of Jerusalem (16:3, 21; 15-26, 24:10-21). The Jewish accusations that the Christians had broken the law are repeatedly denied throughout the book of Acts (6:11, 13, 14, 21:21, 28, 25:8, 28:17). Jesus and His followers are consistently shown to be on good terms with *Levites* and with the Pharisees, the strictest of orthodox Jews. The community of salvation is neither sect nor separate "Church". Luke's insistence on the Jewishness of the Christian movement explains why distinctive theological titles are avoided.

Why then the title "the disciples?" The answer to this question lies in the content of the discipleship to which Jesus called men, particularly as seen in Luke's developed form. The disciple - Master relationship in Luke (and to some degree in all the Gospels) is sui generis.<sup>85</sup> It is not explained by the Greek schools or by anything in the Semitic world of Jesus' own day and age. The Rabbis bound men to the Torah; Jesus bound men to Himself. The Rabbis pointed men away from themselves; Jesus pointed men to Himself. He demanded unqualified personal allegiance and complete surrender to His will (Lk. 12:35, 42). "Discipleship, therefore, means to be totally bound to Jesus' person and mission."<sup>86</sup> The meaning of discipleship for Luke lies in the person of Jesus. This, however, cannot be separated from the eschatological thought of Luke, as has been stated already. The Christology and the eschatology in both the Gospel and Acts form a unity. The significance of Jesus is determined by the significance of the new age which irrupts into history with the commencement of His ministry. Jesus is the Messiah, the agent of God's visitation, the prophet of the eschaton, the Servant who bestows eternal salvation. As Jesus moves across the stage of history salvation becomes event. It is bestowed in word and deed. The last days become present reality for men and women through repentance and faith. The saved are for Luke "the disciples." It is only against the backdrop of the Lukan emphasis on realized eschatology and his lofty estimation of Jesus that his ideas about the disciples are understood. The radical demands Jesus makes can be made because the Word of Jesus is the Word of God (10:16). With the coming of the Messianic age every tie with the past must be broken.

Discipleship means leaving one's occupation (5:11, 27-28), family (14:26) and possessions (18:22). The call is so urgent that it must be obeyed immediately (9:57-62).

Those who respond, "the disciples," are for Luke the men of the last days. They actually share with Jesus in mission (5:10, 9:1f, 9:60, 10:1f). Their word is the Word of Jesus, and the Word of Jesus is the Word of God (11:16). Not the twelve but all Jesus' disciples are blessed "above many prophets and Kings" in what they see and hear (10:23-24). The ministry of the disciples actually is instrumental in the overthrow of Satan (10:17-18). The promise of the supreme eschatological gift, the Holy Spirit, is uniquely given to them (24:49). Their hearts are filled with joy because even now in this transitory and lost world they are partakers in the blessings of the age to come (10:17, 24:52). In calling Jesus' followers "disciples," Luke has said all that could be said, and yet avoided a breach with Israel.

#### CONCLUSIONS:

Luke's treatment of the idea of discipleship shows that the whole matter has been the object of his own personal reflection and that it was an important idea within the Christian community to which he belonged.<sup>87</sup> It is evidence of a line of thought, stemming from the teaching of Jesus, which goes behind the Pauline theology of the *ἐκκλησία* which eventually comes to dominate Christian thought about the followers of Jesus.<sup>88</sup> This is a line of thought that places all emphasis on the personal relationship of the believer with the Lord Jesus Christ, and excludes the possibility of objectifying the collective whole or exalting it above the one who gives it life which so readily happens when the word "Church" is used.

An objection could be offered to what has been argued so far, by saying that Luke does not use the title *ἐκκλησία*, or exclusive terminology, in the Gospel, because he wishes to be faithful to the tradition. This objection is to be over-ruled. Luke writes later than Mark and is well aware of the history that has taken place between the earthly ministry of Jesus and his own day and the consequential development in theology. Even if he did not wish to use a particular word or words regularly on the lips of Jesus, we would imagine in the light of his overall work that he could have at least introduced it or them into the Gospel record at an appropriate

place (or places) if he had so wished. He is aware that the Holy Spirit was not given until the ascension, but he carefully prepares for that event by developing sayings about the Spirit in his Gospel.<sup>89</sup> It is believed that most of the Christological titles were given to Jesus after His exaltation, but Luke introduces many of them into the Gospel period,<sup>90</sup> one of them, *ὁ κύριος*, he uses much more freely than the other synoptic evangelists.<sup>91</sup> No, Luke's avoidance of certain terminology and development of just one term in particular to describe the community of salvation is deliberate and theologically motivated.

In his development of the idea of discipleship and of the title "the disciples" he achieves the following things -

A) He makes the title "the disciples" and the sayings about discipleship applicable to the post-Easter period. As the actual word "disciple" is used of all those who respond to the gracious words of Jesus during His earthly ministry, it implies that all those who respond to His Word after Easter can still have that same personal fellowship with Him. The stylization of the life of discipleship as a journey means that discipleship is still to be experienced as a pilgrimage with Jesus on the road to glory. The difficulty of identifying with the disciples in Mark is no longer present.

The disciples are now exemplars of the faith.

B) The sayings about the cost of discipleship are radicalized in the light of the passion and through the growing awareness of the difficulties involved in living as Jesus commanded. The historic call to share one's destiny with Jesus as His companion on the way is now expressed in terms reminiscent of Jesus' own self-giving (9:23, 14:27). To live with Jesus now means to suffer with Him and even to die with Him. "Until Easter the denial of self and suffering were only possibilities, from Easter on, however, these are the only true marks of discipleship."<sup>92</sup> The disciple once he has begun must not turn back (9:62), he is to persevere in prayer (11:5-13, 18:1-7) and diligently get on with the work entrusted to him by His master (12:35-40, 12:41-48, 19:11-27).

C) By making a distinction between "the Twelve Apostles" and "the disciples" Luke is able to have the best of both worlds. He can maintain Mark's theology of the Twelve as those who are the special recipients of Jesus' attention and teaching and at the same time by his extension of the term disciple transform the tradition so that it

speaks more forcefully to the present situation. The Twelve Apostles, in Luke, are the authenticating witnesses which help bind the period before and after Easter together and the founding nucleus of the restored Israel.

D) The adoption of the neutral term disciple means that no break with Judaism is suggested. The followers of Jesus are not marked out by name, nor by a specific creed, nor special place of assembly, nor common rule of life. "There is nothing to distinguish His group of disciples from other people, except the fact that they have been reached by His Word." <sup>93</sup> Although a breach with Israel is shown to have taken place in Acts, Luke is able by his insistence on the Jewishness of the Christians to maintain an openness to Israel unequalled by the other evangelists. An open-minded Jew who studies the scriptures should see the light, Luke implies, without much difficulty (Acts 17:11-12).

E) Luke carefully avoids by this idea the "ecclesiastification" of the tradition. We find in his Gospel no mention of Church officialdom or synagogue type assemblies. The disciples are envisaged as a close fellowship but there is little interest in Church discipline, the ministry or in the sacraments. Christ is present with the disciples but there is no thought of mystical union with Christ as implied in Matthew and John and basic to Paul. To be a disciple does not mean objective membership of an association or acceptance of a creed, it is a way of life. It means to step out on a journey with Jesus, to be willing to give up all and suffer daily, to be a pilgrim and wanderer in this world, to suffer humiliation knowing that this is the only path to glory.

1) P. Richardson, Israel in the Apostolic Church, P. 161.

J. Jervell, Luke and the People of God, P. 43.

In discussing this Conzelmann's conclusions are unsatisfactory.

Theology of St. Luke, P. 145f.

2) Luke 2:10 is not an exception, see S.G. Wilson, Gentile Mission, P. 34. Acts 15:14 and 18:10 will be discussed when dealing with the Acts material.

D.J. Degenhardt, Lukas -Evangelist der Armen, however, argues that *ἄδεις* represent church members while *ἐκκλησιαστικὸν* are church leaders P.27-41. This will be answered as we proceed and specifically on P.116 and note 34.

3) S. Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance, P. 92. He says, "(18:7) is simply a standard cliché for the suffering Christians."

H. Conzelmann, *ibid.*, P. 155, note 1.

4) see p.124.

5) R. Newton Flew, Jesus and His Church, - "the little flock is regarded as the true Israel inheriting the promises made to Israel of old - It is an eschatological idea." P. 39.

F.M. Braun, Neues Licht auf die Kirche, P. 61f.

F.F. Bruce, "The book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative," B.J.R.L., 43, 1960/61, P. 346ff.

6) In Acts 20:28 the same word is used as a synonym for *ἐκκλησία* but this text is not usually taken to-day as characteristically Lukan in thought, - see page 157.

7) J. Jeremias, New Testament Theology, Vol. 1, P. 169.

8) J. Jeremias, The Prayers of Jesus, P. 38.

9) On the use of *ἐκκλησία* in the New Testament see W. Grundmann, "Die *ἐκκλησία* in der urchristlichen Paränese," N.T.S., 5, 1958/59, P. 205ff.

10) This verse is frequently taken to mean that Peter is to strengthen the other apostles after the crucifixion. N. Geldenhuys, Luke, P. 567.

A.R.C. Leaney, Luke, P. 270, But the use of *στρυψίω* (cf. Acts 14:23, 15:2, 15:41, 18:23), suggests a wider meaning. It refers to Peter's pastoral ministry in the early Church.

S. Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke, P. 72.

O. Cullmann, Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr, P. 190f. In three passages, Matt. 16:10f, Luke 22:31f, and John 21:15f, Peter is charged with special obligation towards his brothers.



- 11) C.H. Turner, "Marcan usage: Notes, Critical and Exegetical, on the second Gospel," J.T.S., 1925, Vol. 26, P. 236.
- 12) 9:16, 18, 10:23, 16:1, 17:22, 18:15, 19:37, 22:39, 22:45, cf 19:29, 14:26, 27, 33.
- 13) R. Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, P. 344.
- 14) R. P. Meye, Jesus and the Twelve: Discipleship and Revelation in Mark's Gospel, Passim. Where Bultmann and Meye differ is on the question of the historicity of the Twelve. For Bultmann it is due to Mark's editorial work, *ibid.*, P. 192ff. The view that the Twelve are the creation of the Church rather than Jesus is as old as F.O.Schleiermacher, Über die Schriften des Lukas, (1817). Recently argued by G. Klein, Die Zwölf Apostel, P. 34f, and W. Schmithals, The Office of Apostle in the Early Church, P. 66ff. Among those arguing for the historicity of the Twelve, besides Meye are H. Rengstorf, article *SÜSSEN* T.D.N.T., Vol. 2, P. 325-328, G. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, P. 150, B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, P. 221, Note 2.
- 15) Meye, *ibid.*, P. 137-172, gives a detailed exposition of those texts in the second Gospel which have been taken to suggest that Mark allows that others than the Twelve can be called "disciples" (e.g. Mk. 2:14, 2:15-16, 2:18-28, 3:13ff, 3:33-35, 4:10-11, 9:38, 10:17-22, 10:32, 10:52, 14:70, 15:43, 15:40-43). We need not endorse all Meye's conclusions but he does establish two points. Firstly, none of the texts in which the word "disciples" appears need be taken to refer to more than "The Twelve," and secondly, the texts in this list which allow other people than the Twelve to be closely associated with Jesus never call these people "disciples." Their status is usually not defined. Mark 2:13ff, in which Levi is called, is difficult. He is not listed as one of the Twelve in Mark 3:13-14. Meye discusses several answers to this problem which show that it need not be taken as a definite exception. Taylor (Mark, P. 203) believes Mark thought that Levi was one of the Twelve, but Mark's desire to be faithful to his sources kept him from altering his list of the Twelve at 3:13ff.
- 16) It is important to note that the word does not always imply discipleship in Mark. See Mk. 2:15, 3:7, 5:24, 5:37. See also Mk. 14:13, 54, contra C.H.Turner, *ibid.*, P. 227, and W.Michaelis article *o s o s* T.D.N.T., Vol. 5, P. 67.
- 17) R.P. Meye, *ibid.*, P. 133.

- 18) So P.S. Minear, "Audience Criticism and Marcan Ecclesiology" in Neues Testament und Geschichte, ed., H. Baltensweiler and B. Reicke, P. 83. Minear also argues that the disciples in Mark are the Twelve. However, on Mark 4:10 R.P. Meye maintains that only one group is in mind. Those around Jesus are the Twelve, ibid., P. 110ff and "Those about Him with the Twelve," S.E., Vol. II, part 1, P. 210ff.
- 19) R.P. Meye, Jesus and the Twelve, P. 125-132.
- 20) In its starkest form this has been expressed by saying - "Mark hates the disciples."
- 21) J.B. Tyson, "The Blindness of the Disciples," J.B.L., 80, 1961, P. 261-268.
- 22) T.J. Weeden, "The Heresy that Necessitated Mark's Gospel," Z.N.T.W., 59, 1968, P. 145ff, and in more detail T.J. Weeden, Mark Traditions in Conflict, passim.
- 23) Against this view D.J. Hawkin, "The Incomprehension of the Disciples in the Marcan Redaction," J.B.L., 91, 1972, P.491-500. J.J. Vincent, "The Disciples in Mark," an unpublished paper read at Studiorum Novi Testamentum Societas 28th General Meeting 1973 which Dr. Vincent kindly sent me. Dr. Vincent maintains that the disciples in Mark illustrate what it means to be a Christian. "It is Mark's whole theology that the Twelve are the exemplars and typical imitators of the whole incessant drama whereby in human existence a man following this Jesus is always successively and dramatically under judgement and under mercy, successively accepted and rejected, successively being invited and being rejected, successively in faith and in unfaith " P.11. In answer the following must be said:-
- A) While the disciples have an unquestioned theological importance for Mark he never suggests that this importance is found in them being a prefigurement of "the Church" or as "a Church idea."
- B) If Mark is seeking in part to answer the question, "Why men did not recognize Jesus as the Messiah before Easter," then it is correct to see the disciples in Mark's Gospel as men of the twilight period and not exemplars of post-Easter discipleship. Mark is affirming that only the resurrection could allow men to fully comprehend Jesus. If this is so, then the disciples in the Gospel are meant to be pitied not copied. They stand in contrast to Mark's own experience and that of his Church.
- C) Dr. Vincent's description of Christian discipleship may describe "the little faith" of many modern Churchmen, but the question remains does it describe the faith Mark wished to proclaim? Such a description

would be rejected by many pious Christians in to-day's world and I suspect it is antipathetic to Mark's own thought. It certainly is antipathetic to Paul's ideas on the Christian life.

24) There is a lot of important information on Matthew's views on discipleship in Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew by G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H.J. Held, P. 39f, 42f, 105ff, 119ff, 181ff. D. Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship, while mainly on Matthew is essentially devotional.

25) C.H. Turner, *ibid.*, P. 233.

26) R. Schnackenburg, The Church in the New Testament, P. 74, calls Matthew 18:1-20 "a community rule."

27) *ibid.*, P. 77.

C.H. Dodd, New Testament Studies, P. 60ff. He speaks of "the high Matthaean doctrine of the Church."

28) There is further discussion of this passage on page 106.

29) The one hundred and twenty are obviously meant to be understood as disciples and they are called this in Acts 1:15 S. Most manuscripts however, read <sup>2</sup> *ἑαυτῶν* which is the preferred reading.

30) This text shows the complete inadequacy of D.J. Degenhardt's, (Lukas-Evangelist der Armen) thesis that the disciples who are called on to make great sacrifices are Church leaders while *ἱερός* and *ὄχιος* are ordinary Christians. These stringent demands are made to all who would be a disciple. P. 27 to 41. On this text P.31.

31) Luke 10:21f, speaks of a revelation to any "one to whom the son chooses." It is in the context of the mission of the seventy.

32) A.W. Mosley, "Jesus" Audiences in the Gospel of St. Mark and St. Luke," N.T.S., 10, 1963, P. 139-149. H. Flender, *ibid.*, P.23ff.

33) J. Kodell, "Luke's use of *ἱερός* People," Especially in the Jerusalem Narrative (Lk. 19:28-24, 53,)." C.B.Q., 31, 1969, P. 327-343. H. Strathmann, article *ἱερός*, T.D.N.T., Vol. 4, P. 50-57.

34) Contra D.J. Degenhardt, *ibid.*, P. 27-41. A study of Luke's uses show that when it is not used of pious Israelites it is normally used of those who hear the Word. Luke usually depicts them as friendly hearers but *ἱερός* can be used of those in opposition. (Lk. 23:13, Acts 4:27, 6:12, 14:4, and 11, 21:30, 36, 26:17).

It is only when *ἱερός* accept Jesus as Messiah that they become *μαθηταί*.

35) J.C. O'neil, The Theology of Acts, P. 125.

36) In Mark 8:27-30 the disciples see the light even as the blind man in the preceding story did (v22-26).

- 37) A. Plummer, Luke, P. 256. "Luke alone states that this ignorance of the disciples was specially ordered for them. The <sup>idea</sup> here has its full telic force."
- 38) *ibid.*, P. 429. The story appears, in a modified form at 22:24-30.
- 39) S. Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance, P. 66ff.
- 40) S. Brown, *ibid.*, P. 71
- 41) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 159, Note 8. He writes - "Even the betrayal is encompassed in this almighty will, it loses, in Luke's eyes, all character of scandalous outrage."
- 42) J. Jeremias, New Testament Theology, Vol. 1, P. 224.
- 43) J. Creed, Luke, P. 193.
- 44) I.H. Marshall, *ibid.*, P. 141f.
- 45) *ibid.*, P. 141.
- H.J. Degenhardt, *ibid.*, P. 43-53.
- 46) F.V. Filson, "The Journey Motif in Luke-Acts," Apostolic History and the Gospel, ed. W. W. Gasque and R.P. Martin, P. 68ff.
- J.J. Navone, "The Journey theme in Luke-Acts," The Bible To-day, 1972, P. 616-619.
- 47) See E. Kasemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk, (Göttingen 1957).
- 48) B. Reicke, "Instruction and Discussion in the Travel Narrative," S.E., 1, 1959, P. 211, suggests that ἀναλημνός in Lk. 9:51, may be understood by Luke as a counterpart for the Hebrew "pilgrimage," ( הַלְוָה ) which is used in the titles of Ps. 120-134 and the LXX translates ἀναβαθμός.
- 49) R. Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, P. 336.
- 50) E.E. Ellis, Luke, P. 148.
- 51) B. Reicke, *ibid.*, does not like the title for he argues that its character is determined by its content which is didactic not geographical.
- 52) So B. Reicke, *ibid.*, and even more specifically D. Gill, "Some observations on the Lukan Travel narrative and some related passages," H.T.R., 63, 1970, P. 199-221. Also, W.C. Robinson, "The Theological context for Interpreting Luke's Travel Narrative (9:51ff)," J.B.L., 79, 1969, P. 31.
- 53) Lk. 9:57-62.
- 54) G. Kittel, article ἀκολουθεῖν, T.D.N.T., Vol.1, P.213, speaks of the custom for the rabbinical student of "following behind at an appropriate distance."
- 55) W. Grundmann, article οὖν, T.D.N.T., Vol. 8, P.706ff.
- 56) see page 76f.

- 57) S. Brown, *ibid.*, P. 82.
- 58) *ibid.*, P. 82.
- 59) E.E. Ellis, Luke, P. 12.
- 60) *ibid.*, P. 159.
- 61) D. Gill, *ibid.*, P. 214.
- 62) *ibid.*, P. 27ff.
- 63) W.C. Robinson, The Way of the Lord, *passim*.
- 64) *ibid.*, P. 53.
- 65) I.H. Marshall, *ibid.*, P. 153.

E. Best has shown that "Way - theology" is also important to Mark. See "Discipleship in Mark 8:22 -10:52", S. J.T., 23, 1970, P.323ff.

- 66) C.H. Turner, *ibid.*, P. 233. The evangelist's special terminology is seen in comparing the parallels Mk. 14:17 = Matt. 26:20 = Lk. 22:14 which read in order οἱ δώδεκα, οἱ δώδεκα ἀποστόλοι, οἱ δώδεκα
- 67) G. Klein, Die Zwölf Apostel, P. 203.

68) This is frequently taken as merely a participial rendering of ἀποστόλων (6:7). So V. Taylor translates it "the missionaries", P. 318, but Cranfield rejects this P. 214. For its full titular meaning see R.P. Meye, Jesus and the Twelve, P. 177f.

He also thinks that the title in Mark 3:14 should not be too quickly rejected P. 189f.

- 69) *ibid.*, P. 202ff.
- 70) P. 203, Klein also sees special symbolic meaning in the locale. In Luke the mountain is a "mythischer Ort" where Jesus remains apart from the people to enact a Heavenly transaction. How the mountain mentioned in Mark (3:13) differs we are not told.
- 71) *ibid.*, P. 204.
- 72) *ibid.*, P. 204.
- 73) *ibid.*, P. 204.
- 74) J. Jervell, Luke and the People of God, P. 84.

S. Brown, *ibid.*, P. 95. The omission of the number twelve before thrones (Lk. 22:30) is not evidence to the contrary. It suggests that Luke has not let the pericope pass unaltered for he is conscious of the problem of Judas' apostasy. The promise is to Twelve Apostles but not the Twelve which includes Judas.

- 75) J. Jervell, *ibid.*, P. 85.
- 76) "The Casting of Lots at Qumran and in the Book of Acts," Nov. Test. 4, 1960, P. 249.

- 77) J. Jervell, ibid., P. 88.
- 78) Their role as authenticating witnesses is stressed by B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, P. 221 ff.  
C.H. Talbert, Luke and the Gnostics, Chapter 1.  
U. Wilckens, "Kerygma und Evangelium bei Lukas," Z.N.W., 49, 1958, P.228ff., W.C. Robinson, The Way of the Lord, P. 56-61.
- 79) B. Gerhardsson, ibid., P. 222.
- 80) This is J. Jervell's special emphasis - see his essay "The Twelve on Israel's Thrones," in Luke and the People of God, P. 75ff. Without discussing the unique Lukan emphasis on the Twelve the symbolic meaning of this number is elaborated by W.G. Kummel, Kirchenbegriff und Geschichtsbewusstsein in der Urgemeinde und bei Jesus, and in Promise and Fulfilment, P. 47.  
By K.H. Rengstorf, article ΣΩΣΕΝΑ, T.D.N.T., Vol. II, P. 326.  
G.E. Ladd, Jesus and the Kingdom, P. 247.
- 81) There is some disagreement whether κρίνειν means "to judge" or "to rule". For the first view see K.H. Rengstorf, T.D.N.T., II, P. 327, and for the second R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. I, P. 37,  
W.G. Kummel, Promise and Fulfilment, P. 47, etc.
- 82) E. Lohmeyer, The Lord of the Temple, P. 57ff.  
J. Jervell, ibid., P. 41ff, P. 133ff.
- 83) Empirical Judaism may break with the Christians but not the Christians with Judaism. Israel only ceases to be Δαός by deliberate rejection of the Gospel (Acts 3:23).
- 84) H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, P. 145f, 212f.
- 85) E. Schweizer, "Discipleship and Belief: Jesus as Lord from Jesus to the Hellenistic Church," N.T.S., 1955/1956, 2, P. 88.  
K. Rengstorf, article μαθητῆς, T.D.N.T., Vol. 4, P. 442f.  
F. Hahn, "Pre-Easter Discipleship" in The Beginnings of the Church in the New Testament, P. 15f.  
W.D. Davies, The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, P. 421.
- 86) F. Hahn, ibid., P. 21.
- 87) The science of Form-Criticism has reminded us that sayings were preserved because of their abiding interest in the early Church. Lukan interest in discipleship shows how important this had remained within his own Christian milieu. See M. Dibelius, Jesus: A study of the Gospels, P. 13ff. On form criticism D. Guthrie, New Testament Introduction: Gospel and Acts, P. 178ff.

- 88) It is important to remember that the word *ἐκκλῆσια* does not appear in Mark, Luke or John's Gospel. It is not in the Petrine epistles, and only appears in Hebrews in two O.T. allusions. Its use in Acts is quite unlike Paul's usage.
- 89) C.K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition, P. 114ff.
- 90) R.H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology, passim. E. Schweizer, Jesus, P. 13ff.
- 91) But on this see C.F.D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 160.
- 92) A. Strobel, "Discipleship in the Light of the Easter Event," in The Beginnings of the Church, P. 73.
- 93) E. Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament, P. 21.

C H A P T E R 6:

COLLECTIVE TITLES FOR THE COMMUNITY OF SALVATION IN THE BOOK OF ACTS:

The numerous names given to Christians in the book of Acts are one of its special features. H.J. Cadbury in an important study "Names for Christians and Christianity in Acts" lists and discusses nineteen titles.<sup>1</sup> Like the many titles given to Jesus they reveal something of the writer's understanding of the reality they designate. They have been called "special titles for the Church"<sup>2</sup> which, as long as we don't simply equate Church with ἐκκλησία, no doubt they are. Not all of them, however, are of equal interest to us. Some of them on examination are not really titles for the community of salvation, others don't represent Luke's own ideas for they are but passing historical comments, and still others have such limited usage that little can be deduced from them. Unlike Professor Cadbury's study, our primary interest is Luke's understanding of the terms and how he develops them. Historical background is only discussed in order to elucidate our author's thought.

The word ἐκκλησία and its one direct synonym προμνησθῆναι (Acts 20:28) are left to a separate study. Of the list given by Cadbury we can immediately omit four without discussion. Three of them (εὐαγγελίου, λόγος and πίστις) are but impersonal designations of the Christian message and as such do not interest us. The fourth οἱ δὲ σὺνδολοὶ only appears once in a doubtful textual variant at 14:2.<sup>3</sup> The enigmatic ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό not listed by Cadbury, which is sometimes translated "in Church"<sup>4</sup> or "in the fellowship,"<sup>5</sup> is taken neither as a title nor the reflection of an Aramaic title<sup>6</sup> but as a prepositional phrase, probably drawn from the Psalms,<sup>7</sup> which affirms the oneness of the early believers.

Two other titles which do not warrant detailed comment are οἱ φίλοι and ἡ κοινωσία. The former is discussed in a separate excursus by Harnack in The Mission and Expansion of Christianity.<sup>8</sup> He maintained that its one occurrence in Acts 27:3 should be given full titular content and be taken as an equivalent to οἱ ἀδελφοί.<sup>9</sup> The only possible parallel to this in the New Testament would be III John 15 which Harnack himself minimised. Harnack's case cannot be disproved, but the solitary use,



and the fact that it can be correctly rendered "his friends" <sup>10</sup> despite the absence of the possessive pronoun, means that its claim to be a definite title is brought into dispute.

ἡ Κοινωνία : The chief problem with this suggested title is what is actually meant by the word in this text. One of the numerous suggestions offered <sup>11</sup> is that it translates the Hebrew חֲבֵרֵי which refers to a group of companions, partners and sharers in a common life. <sup>12</sup> This may be disputed on linguistic grounds for the word κοινωνία means having a share, giving a share or sharing. <sup>13</sup> It thus may refer to the inner life of the community but not to the community itself. In addition, the requirements basic for a "Haburah" to be formed are, as Dugmore has shown, not fulfilled by Jesus and the Twelve or the earliest community and therefore the title "cannot be correctly applied" to them. <sup>14</sup> Harnack rightly omitted the word from his list of names and Cadbury allocates it but a few lines. <sup>15</sup>

Χριστιανοί, Ναζωραῖοι, Γαλιλαῖοι, αἰρεῖος

These four titles form a group as they are all used by the opponents of the Christian faith and all imply a note of scorn. Luke records them as historical background to his story but never suggests they are for himself chosen titles for the earliest Christian community.

Χριστιανοί : F.F. Bruce points out that not once in the New Testament is the name "Christian" used by Jesus' disciples to identify themselves. <sup>16</sup> In Acts 26:28 it is Agrippa II who employs it rather mockingly and at 11:26 Luke comments "in Antioch the disciples were for the first time called Christians." The verb χρηματίζω, though active in form, takes a passive meaning, the disciples did not call themselves Christians, they were given the name. Indeed, this verb can mean to be given a title officially. <sup>17</sup>

Ναζωραῖοι : As a title for Christians <sup>18</sup> it is found only once in the New Testament at Acts 24:5 where it is on the lips of Tertullus at the beginning of his anti-Christian polemic. In post-New Testament writings it is used as a Jewish term of abuse for Christians. <sup>19</sup> It may be taken as the Hebrew counterpart of χριστιανοί for no Jew could have called Jesus' disciples by this loaded term.

Γαλιλαῖοι : Cadbury includes this on his list of titles and

quotes Acts 1:11 and 2:7. Elliott-Binns takes it as the very earliest title for Christians.<sup>21</sup> Its status as a title must, however, be questioned. These two texts on examination only seem to be using the word to denote the geographical origin of the first disciples. The men of Jerusalem recognized them as Galileans by their accent<sup>22</sup> and, Harnack believes, by mentioning their origin heap scorn on them as semi-pagans.

ἑταῖροι : The word, unlike its modern English counterpart "sect" can be used quite neutrally. It is used in Acts of the Sadducees (5:17) and of the Pharisees (15:5). Luke, however, gives it "an unfavourable nuance"<sup>24</sup> when he allows it to be used of Christians (24:5, 14, 28:22). Others may see Christians in this light, but for Luke, the disciples are not just one of the many ἑταῖροι within Judaism.<sup>25</sup>

τὸ πλῆθος : It is commonplace to point out that there are two uses of τὸ πλῆθος in Acts,<sup>26</sup>

- a) a crowd, a large number of persons and
- b) congregation.

In this second sense Lake and Cadbury mention Acts 6:2, 5, 15:12, 30 and 21:22D, other commentators often add 4:32. This usage in Acts, the authors of "the Beginnings" commentary tell us, "is practically synonymous with ἐκκλησία."<sup>27</sup> That a special titular usage, is to be found here has been given added weight by the wide use of  $\text{קָהָל}$ ,  $\text{קְהָל}$  and  $\text{קָהָלִים}$  in the Qumran literature as a designation of that community. Although it would now seem that  $\text{קָהָלִים}$  can correctly be taken to refer to the full members of the community of Qumran as they met in session, this word would hardly be translated by τὸ πλῆθος.<sup>28</sup> It corresponds more closely to the Pauline οἱ πᾶσις (Rom. 5:15, 5:19) or οἱ πᾶσις (II Cor. 2:6, cf. I Cor. 9:9)<sup>29</sup>. Josephus uses οἱ πᾶσις (Ant. 18:1, 5:22) and οἱ πᾶσις (J.W. 2:8, 9:146) of the Essene community as a whole. On the other hand  $\text{קָהָל}$  and  $\text{קְהָל}$  seem to designate the Essene assembly distinct from the priests,<sup>30</sup> although Driver argues that the Hebrew can refer both to the whole company of full members and the priests assembled by themselves.<sup>31</sup> The relationship between Luke's use of τὸ πλῆθος and these possible parallels at Qumran remains in the area of conjecture. There do seem to be interesting connections, but they are not so clear as to determine, in any definite way,

what Luke meant by the term.

Luke uses the word  $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$  in many contexts. He can use it in reference to Jews (Lk. 6:17), Christians (Acts 14:1), Angels (Lk. 2:13), fish (Lk. 5:6) or sticks (Acts 28:3). When used absolutely its usage is almost as wide. It can refer to a devout group of Jews (Lk. 1:10), to a hostile Jewish mob (Lk. 23:1, Acts 21:36), to the Sanhedrin (Acts 23:7), to a synagogue (Acts 19:9),<sup>32</sup> or to a group of Christians (Lk. 19:37, Acts 4:32, 6:2, 5, etc.). When used of Christians it can refer either to the whole group of Christians (Acts 4:32), or the community as distinct from their leaders (Acts 6:2, 6:5, 15:30),<sup>33</sup> or the leaders in assembly by themselves (15:12, cf. 15:6).

This wide variation in the meaning of  $\tau\omicron\ \pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , even when used of a Christian group, shows that Luke's use is quite unspecific. The context in each of these five texts must determine the English word chosen to translate the expression. Most translators choose several different words while the Revised Standard Version translators think that Acts 4:32, 6:2, 5, 15:12, 30, demand five different English words to bring out what is meant by Luke.

Our only conclusion can be that for Luke  $\tau\omicron\ \pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$  is neither a theological nor a quasi-technical term for Christians actually assembled. It can refer to a Christian congregation but when it does, Luke must carefully show that this is what he means. It never appears in Acts as a definite title for Christians in its own right.

The next three terms  $\omicron\iota\ \alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\eta\ \omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\omicron\delta\alpha\varsigma$  have certain similarities and can thus be grouped together. In each case the term has a basic limited meaning for Luke, but one which he tentatively extends so that it is used hesitatingly for Christians in general. We could call them terms in the process of becoming titles.

$\omicron\iota\ \alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ : This is one of Paul's favourite titles for Christians (39 times). In many places in his writings "it is equivalent to the Church of God."<sup>34</sup> If the passages in Acts where this title is used give this meaning then we have here a title for the community of salvation which has more theological content and is more particularistic than any either title in the book of Acts.

Luke's understanding of the term  $\omicron\iota\ \alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  was no doubt conditioned, at least to some degree, by Jewish usage. In the LXX  $\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  is almost always a translation of the Hebrew  $\text{קְהִלָּה}$ .

When used of men and women it can refer to

- A) All Israel as God's people, Ex. 12:6, Lev. 23:2-44, Deut. 7:6, Ps. 50:5 etc.
- B) Pious Israelites, Ps. 16:3, 34:9, 106:16, Hos. 12:1, etc. cf. Matt. 27:52.
- C) Angels, Deut. 33:2, Job 5:1, Ps. 89:5, 89:7. etc.
- D) Members of the Messianic Kingdom, Dan. 7:18, 22, 1 Enoch 51:5, 8, 62:6, 8, etc.

Its use in relation to pious Israelites is common in the Rabbinical writings (Tanch 31, 37b, Shu 20:7, b Meg. 27b, b Jeb. 105b etc.)<sup>35</sup>

When used in this way it stands very close to the use of  $\tau\omicron\delta\eta\tau$  which is translated by  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . In the days of Maccabean revolt the faithful took this term as a self designation. It is commonly suggested that these "Hasidim" were the spiritual ancestors of the Pharisees of the first century.<sup>36</sup> The name Essene on the other hand may be a deviation from the Greek  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .<sup>37</sup> In any case both the Pharisees and the Essenes called themselves "the holy ones". The Essenes in a more selective sense than the Pharisees.<sup>38</sup> There are texts which show that some who called themselves  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  anticipated a day when they would become  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , the later status being an eschatological hope.<sup>39</sup> This may be true of some Jews in the intertestamental period, but it must not be taken as a generalization. These details show us that the term  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , in itself, is not a claim to be Israel at the exclusion of others. It is a claim to special status even special privilege, but its use by loyal Jews shows that to claim the title  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  does not necessitate a complete break with other Jews.

When we turn to Luke's use in the book of Acts we find  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  only appears four times, in each case, of Judean Christians (9:13, 32, 41, 26:10).<sup>40</sup> This has led some to conjecture that this term was originally the special title for the earliest Jewish disciples in Jerusalem.<sup>41</sup> Support for this is found in the Pauline epistles where, in passages speaking about the collection,  $\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  is almost a technical term for the Christians in Jerusalem (I Cor. 16:1, 2 Cor. 8:4, 9:1, 12, Rom. 15:25, 31). Later, it is said Paul extended the title to cover all Christians irrespective of origin or race. The theory has not been without its critics<sup>42</sup> but the use in Acts, we must note, is limited to Jewish Christians and as such is supportive of this argument.

A wider usage is, however, anticipated by Luke for twice he puts the participial form of  $\alpha\gamma\lambda\alpha\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  on the lips of Paul (Acts 20:32, 26:18). In both texts there is an allusion to Deut. 33:3 and in both the passive form is used. It is by Divine activity that men are sanctified through faith. Faith, not race, nor even obedience to Torah places men in this position of special privilege. That Luke only uses plural forms of the participles and of the adjectives brings out the collective implications. The disciples are for Luke, those who through the sanctifying grace of God, appropriated by faith, have become a holy community in this present day and age.

$\tau\epsilon\ \delta\omicron\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ :

Despite several important studies in recent years on this expression it remains one of the most perplexing. It has been interpreted ecclesiologicaly, as "the oldest designation of the Christian Church",<sup>43</sup> moralistically, as referring to "the mode of life" of the early Christians,<sup>44</sup> and Christologically, as a title for Jesus (cf. John 14:6).<sup>45</sup> The origin of the absolute use is still disputed although the discoveries at Qumran have shown that it is quite Jewish. The Jewish antecedents suggest a moral meaning. "The way of the Lord" or "the way of God" are common expressions in the Old Testament where they normally signify the manner of life God requires from men (e.g. Deut. 5:33, Mic. 12:14 etc.) At Qumran the absolute appears in texts related to Isaiah 40:3 and refers to the "mode of life" which the Essenes believed was the only life style pleasing to God.<sup>46</sup> These uses in the Old Testament and at Qumran are important, but they must not be the last word in understanding Luke's usage. The last word must be spoken by the texts of Luke/Acts.

William C. Robinson's redactional study of the journey motif and of  $\delta\omicron\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$  and related vocabulary in Luke/Acts attempts to show that the idea of "the way" was one which Luke himself developed.<sup>47</sup> Robinson does not adequately discuss the differences between the Gospel and Acts in dealing with this motif, but he has reminded us of its importance.<sup>48</sup> In the Gospel, salvation is found when Jesus "visits" a man, and only those who follow Jesus on the way are counted worthy of final redemption (Lk. 21:28). In Acts, Luke attempts to maintain this imagery, but because of the changed status of Jesus, it is done less effectively. Salvation is had in fellowship with Jesus, now found in the gift of the Spirit, and the path of discipleship is a journey "through many tribulations" (Acts 14:22).<sup>49</sup>

This picturesque way of thinking about discipleship must be taken into consideration when we turn to those texts which use ἡ ὁδός absolutely in Acts.

In Acts the absolute ἡ ὁδός appears at 9:2, 19:9, 23 and 24:22, with these should be taken 22:4 ταύτην τὴν ὁδόν and 24:14 τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἀπέσπειραν αἰρεῖται. In Acts 16:7 Luke speaks of "the way of salvation," at 18:25 of "the way of the Lord" and at 18:26 of "the way of God."<sup>50</sup>

There is little reason to find a distinction between the absolute forms and the fuller designations<sup>51</sup> in the light of Luke's interest in the journey motif. "The way" is the way of salvation decreed by the Lord. In this sense it is not a title for Christians, but a figurative expression referring to the nature of discipleship. This is Luke's primary meaning, but in two references (9:2 = 22:4) it is extended to refer to those who follow in this way.

When the primary meaning of ἡ ὁδός is seen to refer to the nature of the Christian life, the suggestion that the term sets apart the Christians, "as a separate religion existing side by side with the Jewish and heathen religions,"<sup>52</sup> becomes patently unconvincing. Luke, in fact, tells us that Jewish opponents thought of ἡ ὁδός as but an αἰρεσις (24:14). Although Luke takes these two terms in antithesis,<sup>53</sup> he shows that, as far as Jewish opponents were concerned, they did not claim that the Jewish Christians had broken with their ancestral heritage.

### ὁ λαός :

Conzelmann believed Luke's advanced ecclesiology could be seen in "the taking over of the traditional terminology of "the people"<sup>54</sup> to apply to the Church. This revealed, said Conzelmann, "the extreme sharpness of polemic" between Jews and Christians.<sup>55</sup> Luke's actual use of the word λαός does not substantiate this view, for it always remains the special prerogative of Israel.

The word λαός is undoubtedly one of Luke's favourite words. It appears thirty-six times in the Gospel and forty-eight times in Acts. It does not always carry the full theological meaning of "the people of God" for in many places Luke uses it as a synonym for ὄχλος. But, this "vulgar usage" as Strathmann<sup>56</sup> calls it should not be overstressed for in every case the crowd in

question is a Jewish one. Luke carefully avoids the word in narratives located outside Palestine, if not in direct speech and referring to Jews. <sup>57</sup> This usage continues in Acts, but with two possible exceptions.

In Acts 15:14 and 18:10 the first tentative steps are made to include Gentiles within this term of privilege. The importance of these two passages is disputed. Wilson thinks they are little more than a slip of the pen - "linguistic imprecision" he calls them. <sup>58</sup> Luke's consistent usage brings this solution into question, however, and a theological answer is to be sought. This is offered by N.A.Dahl who takes "ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ" (15:14) to mean that Gentiles are now admitted to share in the hope of Israel as was promised in Zechariah 2:15. <sup>59</sup> Gentile Christians are grafted into the one people of God - Israel. This parallels Lukan thought elsewhere in that the conversion of Gentiles is taken as the fulfilment of God's promise to Israel (Lk. 2:20-32, Acts 2:39, 3:25-26, 13:47 etc.). <sup>60</sup> Acts 18:10 is far less definite, but obviously allows that Gentiles are to be included in the term *λαός*. <sup>61</sup> Again the emphasis falls on God's activity in choosing His people which corresponds to the call of the ancient people of God. Dahl believes it is to be interpreted in the same way as 15:14 - "God has made provision to take a group of people out of the Gentile nations and make them His own." <sup>62</sup>

These two verses do not justify Conzelmann's claim that Luke believed that the Church had taken the place of Israel. Luke's usage shows that for him *λαός* is essentially Israel. Acts 15:14 and 18:10 do not depict Christians as a tertium genus who are neither *λαός* nor *ἔθνος*. Luke only knows of the one people of God, Israel, which is being sifted by the proclamation of the Gospel (Acts 3:23) and which will, according to prophecy, include believing Gentiles. We agree with Schweizer - "The early Catholic point of view, which refuses to allow the name Israel to Judaism and regards the Church as the only true Israel, is therefore not yet reached." <sup>63</sup>

ὅς τιτυχευκότες etc. :

The normal use of the verb *τιτυχευεῖν* in Acts is in reference the initial acceptance of the Christian kerygma. <sup>64</sup> This Luke develops by using the participial form to designate those who have made this response. It is found once in the present tense at

22:19, at least once in the aorist 4:32 (possibly also 2:44,<sup>65</sup> 19:18), and most commonly in the perfect (18:27, 21:20, 25, 19:18). The adjective ὁ πιστός is also used (10:45, 16:1, 5 and perhaps 12:3). The variation in forms weakens the claim that it is a definite title. It seems best to think of these uses as descriptive of what was essential, in Luke's thought, in being a disciple. Believing, as an act in the past, made men disciples while continuing belief was the mark of the disciple in the present. The community of salvation is for Luke, amongst other things, "the household of faith."

ὁ σωζόμενος :

This is another descriptive expression for Christians which is used once in Acts (2:47) and once in the Gospel (13:23). It is to be considered in close association with ὁ περιτεμνόμενος for Luke often connects the verbs (Lk. 8:12, 48, 17:9, 18:42, Acts 4:9, 15:11, 16:31 etc.), the difference being that whereas believing is characteristically thought of as that which makes a man a disciple, the gift of salvation is most adequately described by Luke as a continuing process. The community of salvation are those "who were being saved." Paul also uses the same expression on two occasions ( I Cor. 1:18, II Cor. 2:15).

The full significance of this participial description is seen when it is taken with the indicative form of the same verb used at 2:21 and 2:40 which are both drawn from Joel 2:32.<sup>66</sup> Those who call on the name of the Lord are the believing "remnant",<sup>67</sup> who will escape the judgement that will fall on the rest of mankind.

ὁ ἄσελφος :

All told ἄσελφος occurs fifty-six times in the book of Acts. Its usage is varied. Four times it is used of physical relationship.<sup>68</sup> When used as an address in the vocative (18 times), often using Luke's characteristic "ἄσες ἄσελφοί",<sup>69</sup> it is always in reference to Jews whether they be Christians or not.<sup>70</sup> In this usage it means fellow Israelites. Thus in Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch there is a two-fold address appropriate to the mixed audience, "Brethren sons of the family of Abraham, and those among you who fear God (13:26). A similar double address also appears at 13:16, "Men of Israel and you that fear God." At every point the national/spiritual kinship of the sons of Abraham conditions this usage. The use of the absolute ὁ ἄσελφος (25 times) introduces



a third and distinctive Lukan usage. <sup>71</sup> In this form it becomes a title for the Christian community and virtually synonymous with *οἱ μαθηταί* (11:29, 18:27). It can be used by Jewish Christians, of non - Jewish Christians (15:23), or by Gentile Christians of themselves (18:27). Acts 22:5 and 28:21 may be exceptions in Luke's use of the absolute *οἱ ἀδελφοί* as a title for Christians. These two texts are normally taken to refer to Jews, <sup>72</sup> but a Christian meaning is not impossible. Luke may mean by *πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς* (22:5) "concerning the (Christian) brethren" (in the synagogue at Damascus.) In Acts 28:21 two sources of information are mentioned. The first refers to letters from Jews in Judea, the second may refer to "Christian brethren" who have come to the city. <sup>73</sup> In neither case has Paul been personally attacked, thus the Jewish leaders in Rome want to know Paul's views about this sect (28:22).

That Luke calls Christians *οἱ ἀδελφοί* shows that for him the old Jewish national/spiritual kinship had given way to a new kinship which transcended national loyalties. Faith in Christ draws the disciples into such a personal bond of fellowship that Luke thought of them as a brotherhood. The terminology does not suggest an empirical break with Judaism, but it does suggest a growing inner awareness in the mind of Luke (and of his Christian community) that the new allegiance to Christ was more important in determining who was one's spiritual brother than any other allegiance.

*οἱ μαθηταί* :

The absolute *οἱ μαθηταί* is the most frequent, most developed and most instructive of all the titles Luke adopts in the book of Acts. There are at least twenty-two occurrences of the absolute *οἱ μαθηταί* as a title for Christians and three times he speaks of "a disciple" (9:10, 9:36, 16:1) one of these being a woman (9:36). These are the only uses of the term outside the Gospels. Paul never calls Christians "disciples." Rengstorf believes that "when Acts has the word for Christians it is following a special usage, which for its part, derives from the way Palestinian Christians described themselves." <sup>75</sup> That Luke does not invent the term or the idea is obvious, and that it continued to be used in the early Church in the Apostolic period is equally obvious, but that Luke is simply

following Palestinian usage and nothing more is not the whole story. In Acts, as in the Gospel, Luke develops a current idea in his own way, and makes discipleship an ideal to which all men should aspire.

The title is given to Christians in general and not just to personal disciples of the historic Jesus. Paul and Barnabas are said to make disciples (13:52, 14:20f, 18:23) and Timothy is called a disciple (16:10). That a few men were remembered as disciples of the earthly Jesus is suggested at Acts 21:16 where Mnason is described as an ἀρχαῖω μαθητῆ but this is no more than an historical comment. No attempt is made to distinguish between original disciples and others. The personal relationship with Jesus, which was the essence of discipleship while Jesus was on earth, is obviously thought to be still possible by Luke in the post-Easter age.<sup>76</sup> This we have suggested was primarily possible through the presence of the Holy Spirit. Thus in Acts a man cannot be a true disciple unless he has the Holy Spirit (8:14ff, 9:17, 13:52, 19:1f ).

The essential factor in becoming a disciple is faith. In Acts 18:27 the disciples at Achaia are described as "those who through grace have believed." The mark of a disciple in Acts 6:7 is ὁπῆκουον τῆ πίστις. In 9:26 Jerusalem disciples doubt if Paul is a disciple, which means in context, whether he has believed. In Acts 14:22 Paul and Barnabas strengthen the disciples by exhorting them ἐκτρέφειν τῆ πίστις. These references confirm our earlier comment that the participial forms of πιστεύειν are not so much titles in their own right but descriptive expressions which bring out what it means to be a disciple. This connection between faith and discipleship shows close resemblances to the Gospel of John (John 8:31, 20:24f). In John 6:60ff to leave Jesus is an expression of unbelief which means the end of discipleship.

This title in Acts shows clear signs of use as a "church idea." It is taken beyond its basic individualistic and relational origins to be used in a way similar to some uses of the word "Church" to-day. It is not used however, of the universal company of all those who believe, nor is it given ontological significance. But, it is a "Church idea" in as much as it is used to cover Christians in a given locality so that they can be considered as a corporate whole.<sup>78</sup> That it is a local body of disciples in a given city or area is always brought out by Luke. Often this is quite explicit as when we find at 6:7

τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλῆμ, 9:19 τῶν ἐν Δαμασκῶ μαθητῶν  
21:16 τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ Καισαρίας, at other times it is  
made plain by the context. If Luke wishes to speak of a smaller  
group than the whole body of disciples he carefully qualifies the  
term, it is "a disciple" at 9:10, 9:36 and 16:1, and "some  
disciples" at 19:1 and 21:26. When, on one occasion,  
he wishes to speak of disciples of several towns it becomes  
πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς (18:22). As a church idea it is  
further developed by Luke for he can envisage "the disciples"  
acting or being acted upon as a collective entity. At 15:10  
Peter speaks of those who put a yoke (singular) around the neck  
of the disciples. In 18:27 and 19:30 "the disciples" are summoned  
as a group while at 20:30 it is said that false teachers can draw  
away "the disciples" (as one man) from the Apostolic teaching. In  
these places the term is being used almost in the way many people  
speak to-day of "the Church" as a corporate unit.

A keen interest in the idea of discipleship is also to be  
seen in Acts. The stringent demands found in the Gospel of Luke  
and the universal invitation to begin as a pilgrim on the way are  
brought out in ways appropriate to the material Luke is using in the  
book of Acts. The result is, however, far less effective than it is  
in the Gospel. Luke has to battle with the problem that the unique  
exemplar, Jesus of Nazareth, is no longer the one who personally calls  
men to be disciples, and the authoritative demands which flowed from  
His lips cannot be placed on the lips of others who are but mortal  
men. Luke attempts to make the same points by idealising the life  
of the earliest disciples in Jerusalem so as to make it an ideal for  
the community of his own day, and by the example of his main characters  
Peter, Paul and to a lesser extent Stephen and one or two others.

Luke's statements about the practices of the first  
disciples in Jerusalem with regard to property, are not to be  
dismissed as romantic idealization.<sup>79</sup> On the contrary they are for  
Luke a timeless ideal which is intended to challenge the community  
of salvation in his own day and after. We are told that, "all who  
believed were together and had all things in common, and they sold  
their possessions and goods and distributed them to all, as any had  
need" (2:44ff). Later, we read "the company of those who believed  
were of one heart and soul, and no one said that any of the things  
which he possessed was his own, but they had everything in common."  
(4:32).<sup>80</sup> This summary statement is amplified by the account of how

those who were rich sold their property and gave it to the poor (4:34-37). In Acts 6:1f it is explained that the work of distribution had become so time-consuming that the Apostles asked that other men be appointed to care for the poor. These statements are to be read as "serious theological formulations",<sup>81</sup> they are for Luke one way in which he presents in Acts the same costly demands as he made in the Gospel. To be a disciple means adopting a completely new attitude to one's own possessions. Hopwood reminds us that this so-called communism of Acts is but an expression of spiritual vitality.<sup>82</sup> It is this factor which distinguishes Luke's picture from the judicially fixed forms of joint ownership practiced at Qumran (e.g. 1QS. 6:18-25). It is incorrect to suggest that Luke restricts these demands to a few individuals. It is the community of salvation as a whole (4:32 τῶν δὲ πλῆθους τῶν πιστευόντων) who have one heart and mind and express this attitude in a general willingness to renounce all property for the sake of others. The readiness of all disciples to renounce their property corresponds to the actual renunciation of all property in the age of Jesus. The historic realities of life force Luke to modify the demands.

These scenes which depict the early social life of the community of salvation are secondary to Luke's main biographical-historical approach which dominates the book of Acts.<sup>83</sup> Professor Barrett says, "The Acts of the Apostles is the story of Peter and of Paul, with Stephen, Philip and James in supporting roles."<sup>84</sup> Luke writes history by means of biography, and so preaches both by word and deed. What "the stars" in Luke's cast actually do is meant to be taken as sermonic as is what they say. We are led to believe that the Spirit of Jesus can so transform a man that he becomes like the One who is his Master. Peter, Paul and Stephen in certain details recapitulate the life of Jesus. They, in their own right, exemplify the Christian life. Stephen asks that his executioners be forgiven in the words, "Lord do not hold this sin against them" (Acts 7:60, cf. Lk. 23:24). Peter and Paul are consistently drawn as on the move as was their master. Both of them perform miracles (Acts 3:1-10, 12:11 etc.) and even raise the dead (9:40, 20:10). Paul's final journey is like that of his Lord, it is a journey to martyrdom (20:18).<sup>85</sup> Indeed suffering is the hallmark of Paul's life (9:16, 20:23 etc).<sup>86</sup> Inspiring as the example of these great Christians may be, the appeal is not as compelling as that evoked by the life of Jesus. Luke has

attempted to use the same method that he used in the Gospel, but, whereas Jesus could be presented as the perfect model, the unique exemplar, the figures Luke must use in the book of Acts are mortal men beset with natural failings. Nevertheless, both the idealization of the early community and the example of the leading men in Acts has been a source of inspiration for those who would be disciples ever since the book of Acts was written. Luke has not failed, it is just that no-one can make the call to be a disciple so compelling and yet so costly as the person of Jesus.

CONCLUSIONS:

The large number of terms that needed to be discussed means that our argument has been somewhat disjointed. Our discussion has eliminated some as titles, and attempted to elucidate what Luke understood by the others, but it is now time to try and bring together our thoughts by making whatever deductions we can from this mass of material. The following points are important -

- 1) On a practical level the multiplicity of titles given to Christians is evidence of a growing sense of identity and of a growing de facto separation of Christians from Judaism. The number of titles also suggests that Luke is reflecting a period and a situation in which eccesiological terminology was fluid. No one title had pushed out other titles. This last point should be remembered when attempting to date the book of Acts.
- 2) On the other hand, on a theological level, none of the titles discussed so far contains an unequivocal claim to be the new people of God, "a third race" who are neither Jew nor Gentile. Steps in this direction are nevertheless apparent in the terminology used. Gentiles are tentatively included within *ἀδελφοί*, the Jewish brotherhood is equalled by the Christian brotherhood, a wider usage for the title *οἱ ἀγαπῶντες* is hinted <sup>at</sup> by the statements that it is faith that sanctifies, and <sup>by</sup> the language of salvation. None of them, however, reflects the early catholic point of view which presupposes a complete break between "the Church" and Judaism.
- 3) The wealth of titles means that Luke has left us with many avenues through which we can travel as we seek to understand Luke's own thought on the community of salvation. Each of the titles he uses contributes something to the total picture. One group of titles (*Χριστιανός, Ναζωραῖος, Ταλιταῖος, ἀγαπῶντες*) tell us of how the opponents of Christianity saw it. Other titles such as *ἀδελφοί* and *οἱ ἀγαπῶντες* stress the privileged position in which the disciple

stands with God, while the dominant titles  $\text{οἱ ἀδελφοί}$  and  $\text{οἱ μαθηταί}$  are basically relational. The first stresses the oneness that exists between believers, and the second the oneness that exists between Jesus and His followers.

4) Although all titles are important and all tell us something about the Lukan understanding of the Christian community, it is as we have seen, the title  $\text{οἱ μαθηταί}$  which is numerically and conceptually most developed. This corresponds with what we found in the Gospel, although different and more advanced ideas appear in Acts in association with it. The title confirms earlier arguments in which it was claimed that Luke believed in a continuing presence of the person of Jesus. Discipleship is only possible after Easter because Luke understood that the relationship of Jesus to His followers, and they to Him, was as real as it had been in the pre-Easter period. It was this unique relationship with Jesus, who Luke understands as Lord and Messiah, that gave to the disciples their special dignity. Lofty theological names for them are avoided because this would have meant a break with Israel by the Christians themselves. Their relationship to Jesus, and the nature of the salvation bestowed, meant that when Luke called Christians  $\text{οἱ μαθηταί}$  (meaning the disciples of Jesus) he had said all that could be said, for it was a veiled claim to be the eschatological people of God.

NOTES :

1) Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 375-392.

See also A Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, Excursus III, P. 399-418.

The Constitution and Law of the Church, P. 1-30.

P.G.S. Hopwood, The Religious Experience of the Primitive Church: The Period Prior to the Influence of Paul, P. 212ff.

More Generally P.S. Minear, Images of the Church in the New Testament, Passim.

2) P. Richardson, Israel and the Apostolic Church, P. 162.

3)  $\sigma\lambda\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\lambda$  appears in the Codex Bezae reading of 14:2 but Cadbury says that it cannot be read with certainty at this point for the text is obviously conflated. Beginnings, Vol.5, P. 382.

See also E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 420, Note 3.

4) This was the conclusion of A. Vazakas "Is Acts 1-15 a literal translation from an Aramaic Original?" J.B.L., 37, 1918, P. 105f.

5) This is the translation given by M. Wilcox, The Semitisms of Acts, P.100.

6) C.C. Torrey, The Composition and Date of Acts, said this was "the most interesting of all phrases which suggested translation," P.10. This has been taken up again since the discoveries at Qumran where the root  $\Gamma\ \Pi^s$  appears frequently and is used as a designation for the community. In the Psalms the Hebrew is normally translated by  $\sigma\tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ . M. Wilcox, *ibid.*, P.93ff gives the whole matter careful consideration but concludes that there is little to support the translation theory.

7) This is a simpler suggestion than the translation theory. The expression frequently appears in the Psalms, a favourite book for Luke, Ps. 2:2, 4:9, 19:10, 34:4, 37:38, 48:5, etc.

See E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 192, M. Wilcox, *ibid.*, note 4, P.99.

8) P. 419ff.

See also P.S. Minear, Images of the Church in the New Testament, P. 158-159.

9) Mission and Expansion, P. 421.

10) F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 452.

Translated "his friends" by Revised Version, Revised Standard Version, The New English Bible.

Moulton and Milligan, Vocabulary of the New Testament, P. 671, give examples of the article used as a possessive pronoun.

- 11) R. Newton Flew, Jesus and His Church, P. 109ff, lists and discusses six possible meanings of *κοινωνία* in Acts 2:42.
- 12) This was popularised by C. Anderson Scott, in The Spirit, ed. by B.H. Streeter, P. 142f, and "The Fellowship" Exp. Times, 35, 1923-24, P. 56-57.
- 13) F. Hauck, article *κοινός* and its cognates, T.D.N.T., Vol. III, P. 809.
- A.R. George, Communion with God in the New Testament, P. 132ff.
- 14) C.W. Dugmore, J.T.S., 47, 1946, P. 108ff.
- 15) Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 389.
- 16) The Acts of the Apostles, P. 238. Besides the two references in Acts it appears in IPeter 4:16 where *ὡς χροστῆρος* represents the language of accusation.
- 17) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 368, note 1. He believes the title was given by the Gentile population but could it have been the local Governor who used this title to distinguish them from other Jews? Its use by Tacitus (Ann 15:44) and Seutonius (Vit. Caes Nero 16) may suggest this.
- 18) In addition to the general studies mentioned in note 1 see also P. Winter, "Nazareth and Jerusalem in Luke Chs. 1 and 11" in N.T.S., 1956-57, P. 138, Note 2.  
Beginnings, Vol. 1, article "Nazarene and Nazareth," by G.F. Moore, P. 426ff.
- 19) Ta'an 27b and the twelfth section of the "Eighteen Benedictions" (Palestinian recension).  
O. Cullmann article, "Nazarene" I.D.B., P. 523.
- 20) Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 387.
- 21) L.E. Elliott-Binns, Galilean Christianity, P. 12.
- 22) F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 59, cf. Matt. 26:73.
- 23) A. Harnack, Mission, P. 401, N 1.
- 24) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 653.
- 25) For the distinction between Christianity and one of the Jewish "sects" see K. Stendahl, The Scrolls and the New Testament, edited by K. Stendahl, P. 7f.
- 26) Beginnings, Vol. 4, P. 47.  
F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 129.  
E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 230, note 1.
- 27) Beginnings, Vol. 4, P. 48. In Vol. 5, P. 389 Cadbury explains it is the equivalent of "*ἐκκλησία*" as the actually gathered assembly."



- 28.) Pace S.E. Johnson, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline and the Jerusalem Church of Acts," The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. by K. Stendahl, P. 135, and J.M. Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls, P. 144.
- 29) J.A. Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity in Acts in Light of the Qumran Scrolls," Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 256, Note 35.
- 30) *ibid.*, P. 246.
- H. Huppenbauer, "𐤀𐤓𐤌𐤀, 𐤌𐤀, 𐤌𐤀 in der Sektenregel 1QS," Th.Z., 13, 1957, P. 136-137.
- 31) G.R. Driver, The Judean Scrolls, P. 58ff, and P. 521.
- 32) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 230, note 1, takes Acts 19:9 to refer to a Jewish/Christian congregation.
- 33) G. Dellling, article  $\pi \lambda \eta \theta \omicron \varsigma$ , T.D.N.T., Vol. 6, P. 279.
- 34) L. Cerfaux, The Church in Theology of St. Paul, P. 118.
- But, D.W.B. Robinson, "Who were the Saints?" The Australian Reformed Theological Review, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1963, P. 45ff, points out that in "many texts in Paul 'the saints' mean something other than the faithful in general," (P. 45).
- 35) O. Procksch, article,  $\alpha \gamma \iota \omicron \varsigma$ ,  $\alpha \gamma \iota \alpha \zeta \omega$ , T.D.N.T., Vol. 1, P.100.
- 36) M. Black, article "Pharisees," I.D.B., P. 775.
- 37) G.R. Driver, The Judean Scrolls, P. 100.
- 38) L. Goppelt, Apostolic and Post Apostolic times, P. 27.
- 39) L. Cerfaux, The Church in the Theology of St. Paul, P. 124.
- He quotes Ps. of Sol. 17:26, 27A, 30-32, Sib. 3:49, 3:573.
- In this sense the use of  $\alpha \gamma \iota \omicron \varsigma$  of the elect of the Messianic age must also be considered. Dan. 7:18, 22, 1 Enoch 51:5,8, 62:6, 8, cf. 1 Thess. 3:13.
- 40) Cadbury's comment that it appears only "in accounts of Paul's conversion and adjacent scenes," Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 380, is not particularly important. Luke no doubt connects the idea with Paul and uses the term appropriately in scenes where Paul is present or as a participle on Paul's lips (20:32, 26:18). In Acts 9:41 the absolute is in a Petrine complex.
- 41) K. Holl, "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu dem der Urgemeinde," Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte: 2 Der Osten, P. 44-67.
- R. Asting, Die Heiligkeit im Urchristentum, P. 133-189.
- L. Cerfaux, The Church in the Theology of St. Paul, P. 130-140.

D.W.B. Robinson, "Who were the Saints?" A.R.T.R., Vol. 22, No.2, 1963, P. 45ff.

42) A. Harnack, Mission, P. 404 note 1, dismisses the idea and O. Procksch article  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma, \alpha\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\omega$ , T.D.N.T., Vol. 1, P. 107, gives it no support.

43) H.L. Ellison, article "The Way", N.B.D., P. 1318. Beginnings, Vol.4, P. 100.

44) W. Michaelis, T.D.N.T., article  $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , Vol. 5, P. 93. J.A. Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity," Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 240. F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 197.

45) E. Repo, Der "Weg" als Selbstbezeichnung des Urchristentums. Repo attempts to interpret the Acts passages in the light of John 14:6, (P. 183). He points out that Christ approaches Paul and asks why he is persecuting Him (9:4), whereas Paul says he was persecuting "the Way" (22:4) (P.182). Repo would paraphrase  $\tau\eta\varsigma \acute{\omicron}\varsigma\omega\bar{\omega} \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  (9:2) as members of the Hodos Christ (P.184). The question of the relationship between John 14:6 and the Acts use of  $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  remains very doubtful however. On the significance of Christ's words to Paul see p.153.

46) J. Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity" Studies in Luke/Acts, P.240-241.

S.V. McCasland, "The Way", J.B.L. 60, 1958, P. 224ff.

Professor McCasland argues that the absolute usage both at Qumran and in the book of Acts comes by derivation from Is. 40:3.

47) W.C. Robinson, The Way of the Lord, and "The Theological Context for Interpreting Luke's Travel Narrative (9:51ff)", J.B.L., 79, 1960, P. 20-31.

48) In his doctoral thesis The Way of the Lord, there is virtually no discussion at all about the difference between the journey motif and the term "way" in the Gospel and <sup>in</sup> Acts.

49) S. Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance, P. 139. Brown (P. 131) speaks of a "unity in diversity" in the use of the  $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  concept in Luke/Acts.

50)  $\tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$  is omitted by D,d,g, . J.H. Ropes, Beginnings, Vol. III, P. 178, takes the absolute in this verse as the correct reading.

51) Brown, Apostasy and Perseverance, P. 137-138, and E. Repo, Der Weg, (P. 27) maintains that the longer forms are Lukan clarifications of the absolute usage.

It should be noted that the absolute usage in 24:22 and "the way of

God" in 18:26 both appear with the adverb ἀκρῆβέστερον

52) R. Bultmann, Theology, P. 116.

E. Grasser, Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung, P. 116.

53) As H. Conzelmann, Theology of St. Luke, P. 227, N 1, rightly points out.

54) *ibid.*, P. 162.

55) *ibid.*, P. 146.

56) Article ἄος, T.D.N.T., Vol. 4, P. 56.

57) Thus it does not appear in the travel Narrative of Luke's Gospel. The reason for this must be that Jesus is here supposed to travel in Samaria outside the area where ἄος is to be found.

58) S.G. Wilson, The Gentiles, P. 225.

59) N.A. Dahl, "A People for His Name: Acts 15:14," N.T.S., 4, 1957-58, P. 319-327. The conclusion quoted is on P. 326.

60) *ibid.*, P. 327.

So also Wilson, The Gentiles, P. 224.

61) P. Richardson, Israel in the Apostolic Church, P. 161, seems to over-emphasise the indefiniteness of Acts 18:10 when he says it simply "refers to an incomplete and therefore future entity without prejudice to origin."

62) N.A. Dahl, *ibid.*, P. 326.

63) E. Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament, P. 63.

64) P. 82.

65) The case for reading the aorist at 2:44 following B and Ἀ is very strong. J.H. Ropes, Beginnings, Vol. III, P. 24. It parallels Luke's use of the aorist at 4:32 so as to appear in both passages dealing with the community of goods.

66) F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 102.

67) Luke does not use the word "remnant", and in its strictest sense he would reject it, yet at the same time he is conscious that the Gospel is sifting Israel, and only those who believe in Jesus as the Messiah will be saved. That the idea need not necessarily be strictly particularistic is maintained by B.F. Meyer, "Jesus and the Remnant of Israel," J.B.L. 84, 1965, P. 123ff.

68) 1:14, 7:13, 7:23, 12:2.

69) 2:29, 2:37, 7:2, 13:15, 13:26, etc. Luke's peculiar

δις ἄος ἀσέλφοι finds its only parallel in pre-Lukan material in 4 Mac 8:19. It probably originates with Luke who has a liking for double vocatives (Master, Master; Martha, Martha; Simon, Simon; Saul, Saul;). Pace von Soden, article ἀσέλφοι, T.D.N.T.

Vol. 1, P. 144, who says it is a Jewish expression.

70) J. Jervell, Luke and the People of God, P. 50. Jervell is correct in noting that as an address Brethren refers to Jews, but he fails to notice that the absolute is especially used of Christians whether Jew or Gentile.

71) Acts 1:15, 9:30, 10:23, 11:1, 12:17, etc.

72) F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 401 and P. 477.

73) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 723, Points out that the verse definitely envisages a twofold communication, one in writing, one by word of mouth, although he takes them both to come from Jews.

74) 6:1, 27, 9:10, 19, 38, 11:26, 29, 13:52, 14:20, 22, 28, 15:10, 18:23, 27, 19:1, 9, 30, 20:1, 30, 21:4, 16, It is unlikely that 9:25 and 19:1 are exceptions to the normal meaning.

At 9:25,  $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\bar{\nu}$  is difficult, but has strong textual support. Haenchen, Acts, P. 332 Note 3 and Ropes,

Beginnings, P. 89, Note 89, both suggest that the inferior reading  $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\upsilon\tau\omega\bar{\nu}$  be read, which they say would

be more appropriate in this context. Christians are never called disciples of anyone but Christ elsewhere in the N.T.

At Acts 19:1 the expression " $\tau\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ " may imply something a little less specific than Christians in the full

sense of the word - so J.D.G. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit, P. 84.

75) K.H. Rengstorf, article  $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , T.D.N.T., Vol. 4, P. 458.

76) It is at this point that H.J. Degenhardt's thesis (in Lukas Evangelist der Armen) is most severely strained. As he argues

"the disciples" in the Gospel of Luke are Church leaders, when he turns to the use of the term "the disciples" in Acts (p.33ff) he has to argue that the title is now used in a different sense.

The difference in the meaning he tells us is due to Luke's faithfulness to his source material. When the redactional alterations in relation to discipleship in the Gospel are fully acknowledged, as Degenhardt does (P. 27ff), this explanation becomes absurd.

77) Rengstorf, *ibid.*, P. 458ff, argues for a relationship between discipleship and the Spirit and discipleship and faith in John and Acts. The latter is clearer in John than the former.

78) J.D.G. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit, P. 84.

79) H. Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte, P.31.

- 80) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 231, and P. 233 says that the idea in Acts 4:32 is incompatible with Acts 4:34. The same point is made by Degenhardt *ibid.*, P. 169-171. It is however possible to see the first as a personal ideal (v32), and the second as the actual case (v34). The Essene parallels and the relationship between obligation and ideal are helpfully discussed by J.A. Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity," Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 242-243.
- 81) S. Brown, Perseverance and Apostasy, P. 101 .
- 82) P.G.S. Hopwood, The Religious Experience of the Primitive Church, P. 216f.
- 83) A. Ehrhardt, The Framework of the New Testament Stories, P.75ff argues that Luke is a biographical not a social historian. C.K. Barrett, Luke the Historian, endorses this thesis, P. 61. However, H.J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts, P. 132, does not like the suggestion that Luke writes as a biographical historian.
- 84) C.K. Barrett, *ibid.*, P. 61.
- 85) H. Flender, St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History, P. 131. In note 3, P. 131, Flender says "Paul's willingness to die in Jerusalem takes the place of the fact that he was only arrested in Jerusalem (21:13). "
- 86) G. Klein, Die Zwölf Apostel, P. 148ff, and especially note 713.

CHAPTER 7:-

THE WORD ἑκκλησία IN ACTS :

In an essay read in 1948 Dr. J.Y. Campbell summed up the "established result of investigation" into the meaning of the word ἑκκλησία as that "the source of the name ἑκκλησία for the Christian community is the Greek Old Testament. There ἑκκλησία translates the Hebrew word  $\text{לְיִשְׂרָאֵל}$ , which in the Old Testament is the usual term for Israel as the people of God.... so in calling themselves the ἑκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ or simply the ἑκκλησία the early Christians were claiming to be the true people of God, the true successor of ancient Israel." <sup>1</sup> Campbell questioned the assumption that the term was drawn from the LXX, and that it originated in Christian circles as a universal idea. The consensus of opinion, that Campbell speaks about, has now been broken as other scholars have come forward and made the same points or similar ones, <sup>2</sup> but, by and large, scholars continue to affirm that the word ἑκκλησία is a claim to be the people of God, Israel. <sup>3</sup> In a moment we will briefly consider the evidence for rejecting the old opinion but this is only introductory to our consideration of Luke's actual usage of the word.

The common understanding of the word ἑκκλησία to mean the people of God, and its fundamental importance in Christian theology as the primary title for Christians considered collectively, means that this one word, though not used of Christians in Acts as often as the title "the disciples," <sup>4</sup> deserves extended treatment. We must determine not only what its use implies in relation to Israel, but also how much it explains Luke's understanding of the community of salvation; does it reveal a catholic doctrine of the Church?

The vast majority of references in which ἑκκλησία appears in Acts can be taken with confidence to reflect Luke's own theology. Mostly they appear either at the beginning of a pericope or at the end, where Luke is either introducing or concluding a story. The word only appears in the main section of a narrative in Acts 15 and 19. <sup>5</sup> The word also appears once in Stephen's speech (7:38) and once in a Pauline speech (20:28). There seems no good reason to treat Acts 7:38 separately <sup>6</sup> but Acts 20:28 is distinct in many ways and must be considered exceptional. It is not consistent with Luke's normal usage. This reference, and Acts 9:31

which is textually difficult will be given separate exposition at the conclusion of the main argument.

The background to Luke's use of the word ἐκκλησία :

The Hebrew  $\text{קָהָל}$  is translated by ἐκκλησία some 73 times out of a total of 123 occurrences in the Old Testament.<sup>7</sup> The word  $\text{קָהָל}$  means "assembly" and can be used of any group of people brought together, e.g. an army (I Sam. 17:47), a band of criminals (Gen. 49:6), a gathering for worship (Ps. 22:22, 25, ), or of those who heard the law of Sinai (Deut. 5:22, 9:10, 10:4). The word is found most frequently in a religious context for Israel's assemblies were normally of this nature, but as Kung reminds us, the word is itself "a secular term."<sup>8</sup> It stands very close to another Hebrew word  $\text{קָהָל}$  which is never translated by ἐκκλησία but is frequently translated συναγωγή. The two Hebrew words are often taken as synonyms but this needs to be carefully qualified. The word  $\text{קָהָל}$  always stresses more the idea of assembly whereas  $\text{קָהָל}$  more the idea of community.<sup>9</sup> Proverbs 5:14, which is often quoted to show the words can be synonyms, is translated by Dumbrell, "in the midst of the congregation in assembly."<sup>10</sup> At Qumran  $\text{קָהָל}$  almost exclusively denotes the Israelite national community, while  $\text{קָהָל}$ , though not appearing very often, is mainly used for groups of the wicked and enemies of God,<sup>11</sup> though it is found used of assemblies of the Essenes.<sup>12</sup>

The basic meaning of the Greek word ἐκκλησία is "an assembly duly summoned."<sup>13</sup> It was normally used of an assembly of citizens but could be used of any assembly. It referred to the meeting as such and not to the body of people which assembled or met together. A Greek-speaking Gentile reader turning to the LXX would notice little difference in the use of ἐκκλησία there, from that which he was familiar, except that the assemblies in the Hebrew state were mainly religious whereas in the Greek states they were mainly political.<sup>14</sup> Its use in the LXX is almost as wide as the far more common  $\text{קָהָל}$  which it translates. It is used of a gathering of evil men (Ps. 25:5), frequently of an assembled army ( I Sam. 17:47, II Chron. 28:14, I Mac. 3:13), of a group of prophets (I Kings 19:20) and most commonly of some form of religious gathering (worship I Kings 8:14, 8:22, II Chron. 1:3, 5, etc., hearing the Law Deut. 4:10, 9:10, decision making Jud. 20:2, II Chron. 23:3). The nature of the group is usually defined, often by the use

of the genitive. It is an assembly of the people (Jud. 14:6, Ps. 106; 32), of Judah ( II Chron. 20:5, 30:35), of Israel (Deut. 31:10, Jos. 9:2, I Chron. 6:3 etc.), of prophets ( I Sam. 19:20), or of evil men (Ps. 25:5). In three passages it is *ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ* (Deut. 23:2-8, I Chron. 28:8, Micah 2:5) and once *ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ* (Neh. 13:1). It is to claim too much to maintain that these latter expression determine the meaning of the word *ἐκκλησία*, the usage throughout the LXX must be considered. In the book of Ecclesiasticus (where it occurs twelve times) it can be used of a mob (26:6), or of a group of worshippers in the temple (1:13, 20), but it is most frequently used of a group gathered for instruction as Jews would do in a synagogue (15:5, 21:17, 23:24 etc.). There is in addition the suggestion that "successive meetings of the same group of people are really the same *ἐκκλησία*" (cf. 31:11).<sup>14</sup>

Josephus' usage of *ἐκκλησία* is also important in understanding the ideas present in Luke's mind when he used the word. Both men were at home in Jewish culture, both had an extensive knowledge of the Greek language and both wrote at about the same time. Josephus uses the word *ἐκκλησία* 48 times, usually of a gathering of Jews.<sup>15</sup> It is however also used by him of a completely secular mixed gathering (Ant. 13:114, 14:232 Wars 1:666, 1:654).<sup>16</sup> Those who gather are frequently called *τὸ πλῆθος* (Ant. 3:188, 4:63, 7:730, 12:164 etc.). Of the 48 occurrences in Josephus at least 18 are drawn directly from the LXX but in nine places Josephus deliberately substitutes *ἐκκλησία* for an original *συναγωγή*.<sup>17</sup> The word *συναγωγή* which appears only 8 times is used in six of these references for the actual building for Jewish worship (Ant. 19:300, 305, Wars 2:285, 289, 7:44). The evidence from Josephus would suggest that the word for him retains the primary meaning of assembly, that no universal or technical theological content was seen in the word *ἐκκλησία*, and that *συναγωγή* had become the name for a centre of Jewish worship.

With this background we approach the New Testament use of the word *ἐκκλησία* and in particular Luke's usage. The often affirmed claim that the word *ἐκκλησία* stands for Israel and bears inherent catholic thought is not supported by the evidence from the Hebrew Old Testament, nor the Greek Old Testament, nor by the contemporary usage. Its meaning, if it is



to be more than an assembly, must come from the context and overall usage of the writer who uses the word.

THE USES OF ἑκκλησία IN ACTS.

a) Of a gathering of Christians: Cadbury does not believe that the word ἑκκλησία is used in Acts of an actual gathered assembly of Christians.<sup>18</sup> There is no verse which is beyond dispute, but at several places this may be what is meant, and Luke does show he is well aware of the basic meaning of the word (e.g. Acts 19:32, 39, 41). The first occurrence of ἑκκλησία in Acts 5:11 is most easily understood as an actual assembly of Christians. The word refers to those Christians who actually saw the enacted judgement on Ananias and Sapphira, and who can be contrasted with "all who heard of these things."<sup>19</sup> These are of course those who were not present, for those present not only heard the words of judgement, they saw them fulfilled. The use of the word at 12:5 may also be in reference to an actual gathering of Christians. In Luke's introduction to the story of Peter's imprisonment he says - "Peter was kept in prison, but earnest prayer was made for him by the Church" (12:5). Later in the story the ἑκκλησία in continuous prayer may be the "many who were gathered together and were praying" (12:12). The periphrastic construction (ἡν ... )ινομένην, at 12:5, emphasises the continuousness of the praying and sets the stage for the action proper which is about to take place.<sup>20</sup> When Luke returns to the ἑκκλησία continuously praying, though he does not use this name, he does reintroduce the periphrastic construction to show that prayer was still being made when deliverance was achieved. The identical constructions obviously refer to the same activity and we may presume by the same group. An actual gathering is probably in mind at 15:4 and 15:22 as well.<sup>21</sup>

The two passages in which ἑκκλησία is used of non-Christians show that Luke was familiar with the basic meaning of the word. In Acts 7:38 the word is used of the actual assembly of Israelites who received the Law at Sinai. This was, for the author of Deuteronomy, the most important assembly in the nation's history and so he calls it "the day of assembly" (4:10, 9:10, 10:4 18:16). These references which stand behind the use in Acts are not to be overemphasised in importance.<sup>22</sup> They don't refer to the

establishment of "the  $\text{ἡ ἑκκλησία}$  or covenant community," but simply to an important assembly of the people of Israel.<sup>23</sup>

In the Hebrew Bible, in the Greek translation, and in Acts 7:38 an actual gathering is depicted. The secular uses of  $\text{ἐκκλησία}$  in Acts 19:32, 39, 41 also refer to a group of people in assembly.

b) Of a community: The second use of the word  $\text{ἐκκλησία}$ , which Cadbury discusses, is that which refers to a local community of Christians. This is Luke's most common meaning. We do however differ from Cadbury in our understanding of what Luke understood by the local  $\text{ἐκκλησία}$ . Cadbury believes that it refers to the Christians of a given area because they are Christians.<sup>24</sup> It may however be that the  $\text{ἐκκλησία}$  of a given city is for Luke those Christians who actually assemble. The difference may seem slight but to settle this issue is important in determining Luke's meaning of the word. The history of the word does not dispose us to adopt Cadbury's interpretation and the text of Acts may well direct us away from it.

It is agreed that the word for Luke normally refers to a given group of people. In Acts 14:27 we are told that Paul and Barnabas " $\text{συναγαγόντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν}$ ," a definite group of people, were brought together. A parallel phrase in Josephus would be  $\text{καὶ συναγῶν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος}$  (Ant. 3:188, 4:63, 4:142, 5:72, 8:368 etc.). Josephus cannot speak of gathering the  $\text{ἐκκλησία}$  as such, for in his usage it does not exist when not assembled. The word can only refer to those actually assembled at a given time and only of those people while they form that particular assembly. It is never used of an ongoing reality. In contrast Luke's usage shows that the word can refer to a reality with ongoing existence, as does the fact that his  $\text{ἐκκλησία}$  can have officers (14:23, 20:17), and that it can be the object of persecution even when not assembled (8:3). The question remains, however; In what way does Luke define this reality? The usual answer, based on the old consensus that  $\text{ἐκκλησία}$  translates  $\text{ἡ ἑκκλησία}$  and therefore means Israel, is that one belongs to the  $\text{ἐκκλησία}$  because one is a Christian. This meaning of the word  $\text{ἐκκλησία}$ , we have argued, is unproven; and that Luke can still use the word in a non-technical way (Acts 19:32, 39, 41).

further questions this widely accepted answer.

The solution is to be found in considering Luke's own usage. An important text is Acts 12:1, where we read that Herod, the King, laid violent hands upon  $\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omega\nu\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ <sup>25</sup>. A parallel is found in Acts 15:5  $\tau\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omega\nu\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  (cf. the use of  $\epsilon\upsilon$  at 10:45 and 11:2). The meaning in both Acts 12:1, 15:5 is that some men could be recognised as a distinct group by their membership of a particular human association. When Luke speaks of Herod persecuting "some from the Church" he means that certain men in Jerusalem were known to assemble with other Christians. Their status in this verse is not that they are Christians (this is of course true) but that they belonged to the Jerusalem  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ . Luke's use of  $\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  with  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$  at 5:11 and 15:22 must also be noted. It is true that Luke likes using inclusive adjectives but that he can use one of them with  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$  is significant. The natural conclusion would be that the word  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$  is a quantitative term. You can have the whole  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$  of a particular city assembled, or you can have part of it assembled. Individual men and women form an  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ , it is not a reality separate and distinct from those who belong to it. Thus Luke does not speak of men being added to the  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ <sup>26</sup> or being baptised into the  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ . Man's primary relationship is with Jesus who is now Lord and Christ which is stressed in the title "the disciples" and only secondarily do they belong to an empirical association called an  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ .<sup>27</sup>

Could it be then that Luke's main use of the word  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$  is but a development of the primary meaning of the Greek word? J.Y. Campbell argued that such a development is suggested in the book of Ecclesiasticus where the word appears to be used of the group of people who met regularly in one particular place.<sup>28</sup> This development would follow the development seen in the use of the word  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ <sup>29</sup>, and it would make sense of almost every reference to the word  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$  in the book of Acts. If this is so an  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$  is for Luke a group of Christian people whose membership is defined simply in terms of group participation, they are those Christians who actually assemble together in a particular location.

c) Of the catholic Church?

Most commentators tell us that Luke holds a catholic doctrine of the Church.<sup>30</sup> What this means we are not told. Three possible meanings could be in mind.<sup>31</sup> Luke uses the word *ἐκκλησία*

- 1) To refer to the universal brotherhood of Christians throughout the world.<sup>32</sup>
- 2) As a universal idea so that every local *ἐκκλησία* is representative and part of the one true *ἐκκλησία*
- 3) As a developed theological idea so that every *ἐκκλησία* is, in some way, the body of Christ, a living unitary organism.

On examination it is difficult to see how any of these ideas can be found in Luke's use of the word

1) THE WORD *ἐκκλησία* ALWAYS REFERS TO A LOCAL GROUP OF CHRISTIANS:

Although in the early period, described by the first nine Chapters of Acts, there is only one *ἐκκλησία* - the *ἐκκλησία* in Jerusalem, this need not deter us. This period is soon passed, and what is more Luke is well aware of the spread of the Christian faith throughout the world when he writes. We may presume therefore that his use of the word is consistently governed by the historical perspective from which he writes and does not develop or change as his story unfolds.

In every reference to *ἐκκλησία*, Luke makes it plain that the assembly in question is a local entity. In most cases he finds it sufficient to show this by the immediate context.<sup>33</sup> Only on three occasions does he use the full localising definition. At 8:1 and 11:22 it is "The Church in Jerusalem." At 13:1 it is "The Church at Antioch." When Luke wishes to speak of assemblies of Christians he can use the plural *ἐκκλησιασται* (15:41, 16:5). The distributive phrase in the singular (14:23) *κατ' ἐκκλησίαν* implies the plural. Luther rendered this "in the congregations".<sup>34</sup> There is also the distinct possibility that the plural should be read at 9:31, though this reading is disputed and cannot be offered as conclusive evidence one way or the other. In a discussion of this text at the end of this chapter it will be suggested that it is to be understood as referring to a specific *ἐκκλησία*. When this verse, Acts 9:31, and Acts 20:28, which appears to be more Pauline than Lukan, are not brought into the debate the case is conclusive, - Luke only uses the word *ἐκκλησία* of local assemblies.

2) THE WORD ἑκκλησία IS NOT USED BY LUKE AS A UNIVERSAL IDEA:

The most widespread understanding of the word ἑκκλησία in Protestant theology is that it is a sort of pre-temporal idea which manifests itself in empirical local assemblies. Every ἑκκλησία is representative of and part of the one true eternal ἑκκλησία. The widespread acceptance of this theory is due to the work of Rudolf Sohm, who, at the turn of the century, published several works lucidly and forcefully presenting this position.<sup>35</sup> He said the word ἑκκλησία was not first applied to local assemblies and then extended to embrace the whole but was from the beginning a comprehensive idea which became manifest wherever two or three were gathered together in Christ's name. Harnack was quick to take up his pen against Sohm for these ideas challenged the sociological and legal view of the Christian Church which Harnack held. Harnack said - "The bringing together in the world of those who call upon the name of Christ is not something secondary or unessential in relation to the concept of the Church, but the concept of the Church demands it, and is not realized until such an aggregate is formed."<sup>36</sup> But Harnack's protests were in vain for Sohm's arguments gradually won the day.<sup>37</sup> Sohm's view now dominates Protestant thought so that the whole teaching of the New Testament on "the Church" is read in the light of this principle. In the field of Christian Dogmatics it may well be a helpful construct to interpret the varied phenomena of the New Testament, but as far as Lukan ecclesiology is concerned it must be read into a given reference before it can be found. Luke's use of the word ἑκκλησία is far simpler than Sohm and his followers would lead us to believe.

Sohm's own case rested on the belief that the word ἑκκλησία meant "the people of God...the true Israel, God's chosen people of the new covenant."<sup>38</sup> He concluded from this that every Christian, by the fact of being a Christian, "must be a member of the ecclesia, of the Church."<sup>39</sup> If the word ἑκκλησία does not mean what Sohm believed it did, and we have argued that it doesn't, then his case has failed. There is however the suggestion that Luke's use of the present participle of the verb to-be with ἑκκλησία shows that the word did have this universal meaning for Luke. This usage is found at Acts 11:22 τῆς ἑκκλησίας τῆς οὐρανόθεν and Acts 13:1 κατὰ τὴν οὐρανὸν ἑκκλησίαν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Thus Knowing says on Acts 13:1, "A new stage in the history of the Christians at Antioch is marked - no longer a mere congregation but the Church that

was there." <sup>40</sup> The importance of this construction is however not to be overrated. The identical construction is used of the Sadducees (5:17) and of Zeus (14:13D). Luke hardly thought that the local group of Sadducees was a temporal manifestation of a universal reality or the local Zeus temple a copy of the one true Zeus temple! Nigel Turner in fact maintains that Luke's articular use of the participle is not significant. He says, "it is conclusive from the papyri that the *ὡς* is somewhat redundant and means little more than current or existent." <sup>41</sup>

3) THE WORD *ἐκκλησία* IS THEOLOGICALLY UNDEVELOPED:

The most profound interpretation of "the Church" in the New Testament is that it is the body of Christ. It is often assumed or stated that this is basic to the whole New Testament. Thus Bishop Nygren, to quote just one example, says:- "It is the unanimous view of the New Testament that the Church is the body of Christ. Even though the name itself is not encountered uniformly throughout the New Testament, nevertheless the substance of the idea is always present." <sup>42</sup> This could be called the catholic doctrine of the Church. The *ἐκκλησία*, wherever it is found is, in some sense, a manifestation of Christ, a unitary organism which can be personified. In this interpretation of the Church, ecclesiology and Christology are brought together. The individual Christian's status is found primarily through his relationship to "the Church." His individuality is "swallowed up" by the importance of the *ἐκκλησία* itself, which is Christ's body. Whenever this view of the Church appears the *ἐκκλησία* can be thought of as both subject and object. It can be the subject of activity in the world and the object of activity against itself.

Lukan ecclesiology is not developed in this way. Christology and ecclesiology are never confused. C.P.M. Jones, while discussing Luke's distinct Christology, with its emphasis on Christ as the ascended Lord in Heaven says, "we are left with the impression that Christ is one thing and the Church is another" <sup>43</sup>. In a similar vein Professor C.F.D. Moule distinguishes between Paul's "inclusive" Christology and Luke's non-inclusive" individualistic Christology." <sup>44</sup> Christ is present through His Spirit, in His name and by His Word but an *ἐκκλησία* can never be the body of Christ for Christ is always thought of by Luke as in Heaven.

That an *ἐκκλησία* is not an "organism" which can be personified is seen in Luke's use of the word. His use of plural verbs

after the singular ἑκκλησία is interesting. At 8:1 he tells of Paul's persecution of the ἑκκλησία in Jerusalem which had the result that "they were all scattered (πάντες <sup>ἔσπευσαν</sup> ) except the apostles." Then in Acts 11:22 we are told that the Church in Jerusalem sent (ἐβασίλευσαν ) Barnabas to Antioch. It could also be that the plural verbs and plural participles found in some manuscripts after a singular ἑκκλησία at Acts 9:31 are original. These references suggest that Luke's understanding of a local ἑκκλησία is more readily understood as "collective" than unitary. The individual members are always more important in Luke's mind than the association to which they belong. Further to this, we might note that Luke never speaks of an ἑκκλησία itself as the subject of any activity which, when "the Church" is understood as the body of Christ, it can be. Frequently we are told, for instance, that the task of the Church is to preach the Gospel. Luke's use of ἑκκλησία does not allow him to speak in this way. For Luke an ἑκκλησία can :-

- Stand in fear 5:11, 9:31,
- be persecuted or at peace 8:1, 8:3, 9:31,
- be built up, or experience the comfort of the Holy Spirit 9:31,
- hear news 11:22,
- send or choose representatives 11:22, 15:3, 15:22,
- be taught or strengthened 11:26, 15:41, 16:5,
- pray 12:5,
- have leaders 14:23, 20:17,
- welcome people 15:4,
- be greeted 18:22.

These references show that an ἑκκλησία is in Acts but a group of Christian people, and for this reason can only <sup>be</sup> thought of in the same way as any other group. Thus it can experience certain things (fear, peace, teaching etc.), it can pray (12:5), welcome someone (15:4), or send representatives (11:22, 15:3 etc.). Because it is not organically understood, it never does anything as a body. When Luke does allow the ἑκκλησία to be the object of some activity (i.e. persecution 8:1 and 3) he carefully shows that this involves individuals, as has been seen. The task of preaching the gospel is strictly an individual ministry. If the preachers in Acts represent anyone they represent Christ, and their prime concern is to bring men and women into a relationship with God, not with an ἑκκλησία.

PAUL'S VISION:

The account of Paul's conversion in Acts has been taken as the basis of Paul's developed ecclesiology, and as such to suggest an incorporative doctrine of "the Church," at least in incipient form, in Lukan theology. This claim must therefore be examined. The dialogue on the Damascus Road in all three versions, despite other divergences,<sup>45</sup> identifies the risen Christ with those whom Paul is persecuting. The sequence of the dialogue is as follows:-

Heavenly voice - "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?"

Paul/Saul - "Who are you Lord?"

Voice - "I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting." (Acts 9:4, and 5; 22:7 & 8) 26:14 & 15).

The view that this is the origin of Paul's doctrine of "the Church" as "the mystical body of Christ," long ago suggested by Augustine, has been revived in recent years.<sup>46</sup> J.A.T. Robinson has argued this point with particular force. He writes of the Damascus Road events - "The appearance on which Paul's whole faith and apostleship was founded was the revelation of the resurrection body of Christ, not as an individual but as the Christian community."<sup>47</sup>

That this is the origin of Paul's theology of the Church as the body of Christ, or that it suggests Luke was aware of this view of the Church, is to be rejected for the following reasons:-

- 1) Methodologically the argument is dubious, for it is an attempt to interpret a Pauline idea on the basis of evidence drawn from Acts which may well reflect Lukan theology. If Luke is recording words that he himself has reflected upon<sup>48</sup> then the claim that the vision presents Christians as the risen body of Christ is, to say the least, very doubtful for it is inconsistent with Luke's usual way of thinking.<sup>49</sup> The account seems to suggest nothing more than a personal dialogue between Christ and Paul as takes place elsewhere in Acts (e.g. 18:9, 23:11).
- 2) It is also important to note that not once in any of the three accounts of this conversation between Paul and Christ is the word *ἐκκλησία* used. The narratives state that Paul had been persecuting "the Lord's disciples" (9:1), "the way" (9:2, 22:4), "the name of Jesus of Nazareth" (26:9), "the saints" (26:10), but never the *ἐκκλησία*. There is thus no foundation for asserting an explicit awareness in the mind of Paul, from this point onwards, that "the Church" is the body of Christ.



3) The most likely interpretation of the dialogue is that the identification intended is representative not organic. The Synoptic Gospels affirm that whoever persecutes Christians persecutes Christ (Lk. 10:16, Matt. 18:5). R.A. Cole, who mentions these texts, says that it would be just as plausible to say, "Pauline theology stemmed from this point as to say it comes from the voice from heaven on the Damascus Road."<sup>50</sup> In Acts 4:24-30 Luke also connects the sufferings of the Messiah with the sufferings of the Messianic people, but the two, the Messiah and His People, are not confused.

4) Even if these words were taken to mean that the Church is the body of Christ, which they cannot, it would not follow that this vision is the origin of Paul's developed thought on the subject. If it were the basis of what is allegedly a master idea in his theology we would suspect this would be mentioned by him. Instead when discussing the events of the Damascus road in his epistle to the Galatians (1:13-24) he explicitly mentions persecuting the *ἐκκλησία* (1:13) and the revelation of "His Son" (1:16). They are not confused. Furthermore, if the origin of the idea stems from Paul's conversion experience, it would be expected that the body imagery would have been applied more definitely in his earliest epistles. The epistles in fact reveal an evolution of the idea. The simplest forms are early, and the more complex ones late.

It thus appears that in the texts in which Luke's own thought can be read, the word *ἐκκλησία* is only used of Christians actually assembled or of the same group of Christians when not assembled. We have found no evidence which leads us to believe that Luke used the word *ἐκκλησία* as a specific title for Christians as such, or that by using this word he was claiming that Christians were the new Israel, or that the word "from the first was potentially universal."<sup>51</sup> We agree with Jervell who in a footnote says, "Luke's ecclesiology is unique, within the New Testament."<sup>52</sup> This distinctive use of the word *ἐκκλησία* in the book of Acts has not been adequately acknowledged by commentators. The Lukan texts have been read all too often in the light of a theology of "the Church" which originates in the Pauline corpus.

Having considered the textually reliable and genuinely Lukan references in which the word *ἐκκλησία* appears we must now turn to Acts 9:31 and Acts 20:28, which have been left out of the discussion so far.

ACTS 9:31:- That the singular of ἑκκλησία is almost universally read by editors of the Greek text at 9:31 should not lead us to think that the textual tradition is heavily tilted in that direction. This is far from the truth. The whole verse has a complicated textual history. Not only is ἑκκλησία found in the singular and plural but so too are the verbs and participles which follow, which we will argue is important. The possible readings are

1) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἑκκλησία καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Συμαρίας εἶχεν εἰρήνην οἰκοδομούμενη, καὶ πορευομένη τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπληθύνετο.

Read by A, B, C, 5, 13, 14, 15, 18, 27, 29, 36, 40, 61, 68, 81, 105.

2) ἡ ἑκκλησία ... εἶχον ... οἰκοδομούμενοι καὶ πορευόμενοι ... ἐπληθύνετο (sic)

Read by Ψ  
3) αἱ ἑκκλησίαι ... εἶχον ... οἰκοδομούμενοι καὶ πορευόμενοι ... ἐπληθύνοντο

Read by H.L.P.S. 049, 056, 0142, 104, 326, 330, 436, 451, 614, 629, 630, 1241, 1505, 2127, 2412, 2492, 2495, by Lect, Aug. Vg. (D) pm., =g, sy<sup>h</sup>, boz.

4) αἱ ἑκκλησίαι πᾶσαι εἶχον ... οἰκοδομούμενοι καὶ πορευόμενοι ... ἐπληθύνοντο

Read by E, it<sup>e</sup>

On the textual evidence alone, the singular and plural readings for ἑκκλησία are fairly evenly balanced. Lake and Cadbury, while reading the singular, add that "the plural reading may be the original."<sup>53</sup> Theologically, the plural has a lot to commend it. As has been seen, Luke normally uses the plural when he speaks of ἑκκλησίαι of more than one location, as does Paul. In Galatians it is "The Churches of Christ in Judea" (Gal. 1:22, cf. 1:22) to the Thessalonians it is "The Churches of God in Christ Jesus which are in Judea" (I Thess. 2:4). The main objection to the plural reading is that the singular reading is the more difficult and for that reason should be preferred.<sup>54</sup> Thus the singular reading gains widest acceptance. When this is read three interpretations can be offered.

1) C.K. Barrett says that the verse is scarcely an exception to Luke's

local use of the word *ἐκκλησία*. He states "the dimensions of the Church are strictly limited.... it is in fact a local church on a large scale." <sup>55</sup>

2) F.J.A. Hort popularised the idea that the verse depicts a kind of "regional catholicism". He writes, here "the Ecclesia has assumed a wider range. It is no longer the Ecclesia of Jerusalem nor is it several Ecclesia..... and yet it is one." <sup>56</sup> This interpretation finds ready supporters among those who wish to formulate a doctrine of a national Church.

3) The most common interpretation is that this is a definite example of Luke's use of *ἐκκλησία* in the catholic sense, of the Church universal. Professor Lampe commenting on this verse does not mention the textual alternatives but says "Luke used the singular here in the sense of the universal Church." <sup>57</sup>

None of these interpretations is very convincing. Nowhere else, in the New Testament do we find the word *ἐκκλησία* in the singular, used of Christians scattered over a large but clearly defined area. The doctrine of the local Church on a large scale, or the catholic church on a small scale, is only to be discovered in this one verse. That Luke uses the word at 9:31 in the full catholic sense is also doubtful. When Paul uses the word *ἐκκλησία* in a universal way he never gives it geographical location. If Paul or Luke wish to speak of the Churches of more than one city they always use the plural.

It is here suggested that the answer lies in returning to the textual problems of Acts 9:31 to consider the verse as a whole. By concentrating simply on the choice of the singular or plural of the word *ἐκκλησία* our discussion has been myopic. What we need is a reading which "best explains the origins of the others" <sup>58</sup> and produces a doctrine of the Church which harmonises with Luke's own use of the word *ἐκκλησία*. Just such a reading can be offered. It would read *ἐκκλησία* in the singular and be followed by a plural verb, two masculine plural participles and another plural verb. The reading given by  $\Psi$  largely follows this pattern except for the final singular verb. There is however ample textual evidence to read the plural at this point (E, it<sup>o</sup>, H, L, P, S, 049, 056, 0142, 104, 326, 330, etc). The textual history would thus be -

- 1) Some scribes changed the singular *ἐκκλησία* to the plural to bring it into line with the plural verbs and participles.
- 2) Other scribes changed the masculine endings of the participles to

agree with the feminine ἑκκλησία

3) In conflating manuscripts different scribes adopted different solutions to solve the problems. The singular ἑκκλησία followed by singular verbs and singular feminine participles was preferred by some. The plural followed by plural verbs and feminine participles was preferred by others. The most difficult reading the singular ἑκκλησία followed by plural verbs and masculine plural participles was excluded.

If this conjecture is accepted an easier exegesis of the passage is readily at hand, one in fact that is congenial to Lukan theology. The ἑκκλησία of 9:31 is the ἑκκλησία of Jerusalem. The word appears at the beginning and the end of the persecution narrative which begins at 8:1 and ends at 9:31. It is taken that the same entity is in mind in both texts. In 8:1 the ἑκκλησία in Jerusalem comes under attack so that individual members of it are scattered (note the plural *διεσκοπήθησαν*). These men spread throughout Judea, Galilee and Samaria as they seek to escape persecution. Later, when Luke wishes to speak of them again and tell us of their more positive experiences during their time of absence from Jerusalem, he says that; "they had peace, they were built up, they walked in the fear of the Lord and they were multiplied."

This interpretation solves two other problems.

- A) It makes sense of the distributive *καθ' ἑαυτῶν*.<sup>59</sup> The members of the Jerusalem Church were scattered through the land of Palestine.
- B) It explains why no mention is made of the founding of "the Church" in Galilee. It isn't mentioned because Luke does not know of it. He only knows that some members of the Jerusalem ἑκκλησία travelled there because of the persecution.

#### ACTS 20:28:

In any exposition of the soteriology or the ecclesiology of Acts this verse raises special problems.<sup>60</sup> The interpretation of the death of Christ in redemptive language and the more developed doctrine of the Church sets it apart from the rest of the book. Acts 20:28 is, says Dr. W.E. Pilgrim, "a unique exception to what is found elsewhere in Luke/Acts."<sup>61</sup> The non-Lukan doctrine of the Church is seen in that -

- A) Only in this text in Acts is the extended designation ἑκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ to be found.<sup>62</sup> This title appears nine times in the New Testament, the other eight references being found in the epistles traditionally ascribed to Paul.<sup>63</sup> In addition Paul speaks of "the Churches

of God" three times. <sup>64</sup> It is impossible to discover any special reason for the fuller expression in any particular passage. <sup>65</sup>

Even when it does not appear it is implied. Paul can equally speak of persecuting τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ (Gal. 1:13) or simply τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (Phil. 3:6). He can write either to ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς γαλιτίας (Gal. 1:2) or to τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆ οὐοῦν ἐν κορίνθῳ (1Cor. 1:2).

For Paul the epithet only makes explicit what is always in his mind when he uses the word ἐκκλησία, it is God's Church.

B) Although the context demands that the ἐκκλησία mentioned in Acts 20:28 be a local Church <sup>66</sup> the word is given deeper significance. That it is primarily a local congregation is seen in that the words of exhortation are addressed to a particular number of ἐπιόκοτοι who are "to feed" a particular number of people who can be called "a flock." That something more is implied in the word is however suggested by the qualifying clause. The Church of God is that ἣν πλετολήθητο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος. <sup>67</sup> This must have a universal meaning for Christ did not die just for this particular Church. There is thus much to commend R.H. Fuller's paraphrase of these words, - "Feed that local embodiment of the universal Church which Christ purchased." <sup>68</sup>

c) Luke's "collective," understanding of ἐκκλησία is replaced by an organic one. The ἐκκλησία now stands above the individual for the redemptive activity of Christ is for τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ

<sup>69</sup>. The Church is here given significance in its own right; it is a definite entity in the purposes of God. Elsewhere Lukan soteriology concerns the individual, salvation is found through the response of repentance or faith to the proclaimed word of God. The thought that Christ's death makes universal provision for salvation is characteristically Pauline. <sup>70</sup> The closest parallel to Acts 20:28 is Ephesians 5:25-27, where the death of Christ is also for τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

#### How then do we explain Acts 20:28?

In an important essay, which anticipated recent discussion of the speeches in Acts, P. Gardner said that Paul's speeches in Acts are made up of three factors - 1) The Pauline 2) The Lukan and 3) The conventional (by this he means what is called today "the traditional" ) <sup>71</sup>. We may exclude number two. The theology of Acts 20:28 is not Lukan. Does the verse then reveal Paul's theology or is it a traditional logion that Luke has unreflectingly included?

Cadbury, who has done much to further the idea that the speeches in Acts largely reflect the mind of St. Luke, admits that "the supposition of some authentic written or oral information is most attractive in the case of Stephen's speech and the speeches of Paul at Athens and Miletus," <sup>72</sup> while P. Gardner maintains that the speech at Miletus "has the best claim of all to be historic". <sup>73</sup> More recently F.F. Bruce, in his review of the English edition of E. Haenchen's commentary on Acts, takes issue on this particular speech. <sup>74</sup> Professor Haenchen says "Dibelius finally proved the speech to be Luke's work." <sup>75</sup> It is to be understood as a timeless exhortation to presbyters and clergy. Bruce, in answer, makes the following points -

- 1) It is the only Pauline speech in Acts which can be paralleled extensively with the Pauline epistles of which otherwise Luke betrays no knowledge. This suggests strongly that it is primarily Paul's thought not Luke's.
- 2) The speech is set in the context of one of the so called "We" sections. Bruce holds that the most probable explanation of this is that the author of Acts chooses this means of indicating that he was present.
- 3) Shorthand was not an unknown device in the first century A.D. and the author of Acts, is for Professor Bruce, just the sort of man who would be able to make use of this craft.

The most telling point, if proven, would be the first one. Although there are clear parallels with the Pauline epistles, <sup>76</sup> this fact has to be balanced by the obvious unity the speech has within Luke's overall argument. <sup>77</sup> There may well be Pauline influences here and there within the speech, but the speech is constructed by Luke to proclaim his own theology.

Our conclusions therefore on Acts 20:28 must be inconclusive. It is impossible to determine if this logion is an exact record of words spoken by St. Paul or simply a traditional statement <sup>78</sup> included by Luke because it sounded like Paul. Indeed there seems little purpose in arguing one way or the other. The verse does not reflect Lukan thought, it does bear closest resemblances to Pauline thought. If it is traditional, the tradition bears the mark of Pauline influence.

NOTES:-

- 1) J.Y. Campbell, "The origin and Meaning of the Christian use of the word 'ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ', J.T.S., 49, 1948, P. 130-142, reprinted in and cited from Three New Testament Studies, Leiden, 1965, P. 41-45. Quotation from P. 41.
- 2) W. Schrage, "Ekklesia and Synagogue Zum Ursprung des urchristlichen Kirchenbegriffs," Z.T.K, 60, 1963, P. 179-192.  
W.J. Dumbrell, "The Meaning and Use of Ekklesia in the New Testament, with special reference to its Old Testament Background," Unpublished M.Th. Thesis, London University, 1966.  
I.H. Marshall, "New Wine in Old Wine Skins: The Biblical Use of the Word Ekklesia," Exp. Times, 134, P. 359-364.
- 3) So F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 136, N 1.  
K. Stendahl, "Kirche, Im Urchristentum," R.G.G. III, 1297-1304.  
H. Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, P. 35ff.etc.
- 4) In Acts ἐκκλησία is used of Christians 19 times while there are at least 22 uses of οἱ μαθηταί in the absolute.
- 5) It is interesting to note that many of the references to the word ἐκκλησία appear in editorial connecting passages: e.g. Acts 5:11, 8:1, 3, 9:31, 11:22, 12:1, 15:41, 16:5.
- 6) Most commentators acknowledge that Stephen's speech is somewhat different from the other speeches in Acts. There are stylistic and linguistic peculiarities which, suggest that Luke is using some source material but this allusion to the ἐκκλησία in the desert does not deserve to be treated separately, for it is not theologically significant.
- 7) On the Old Testament use, F.J.A. Hort, The Christian Ecclesia, P.1-21.  
K.L. Schmidt, T.D.N.T., III, P. 527-529.  
G. Johnson, The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament, P. 35f.  
Especially W.J. Dumbrell, ibid., P. 1-30.
- 8) H. Kung, The Church, P. 82.  
J. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, P. 124.
- 9) I.H. Marshall, ibid., P. 359.  
F.J.A. Hort, ibid., P. 4.  
W.J. Dumbrell, ibid., P. 1-30.
- 10) ibid., P. 11.
- 11) so IQM 11:16, 14:5, 15:10 IQH 2:12, 2:30.
- 12) C.D. 11:22, 12:6.
- 13) J.Y. Campbell, ibid., P. 44.
- 14) ibid., P. 50.

- 15) A Lexicon to Josephus, Henry St. John Thackeray and Ralph Marcus, The evidence from Philo is virtually the same. He uses the word ἐκκλησία 30 times, always in the sense of an actual assembly. Five times in a secular sense, 25 times in quotations from the LXX. Only once does he use συναγωγὴ and then he says it is the name given to the sacred places of the Essenes (Prob. 81). For a list of Philo's references see G. Johnston, *ibid.*, P. 38 N 1.
- 16) I.H. Marshall is incorrect when he states Josephus "uses ekklesia some 48 times to refer to Israel, " *ibid.*, P. 360.
- 17) G. Johnston, *ibid.*, P. 40.
- 18) Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 389.
- 19) E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 238-9. It cannot be decided whether "those who heard" is meant to be taken to refer to other Christians or simply other men.
- 20) On this construction and its use in Acts see E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 149, N 7.
- 21) In both verses three groups are mentioned. The apostles, the elders, and "the Church" which has certain similarities with the community structures at Qumran. See B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, P. 245-246.
- 22) L. Cerfaux, The Church in the Theology of St. Paul, P. 100-103, P. 116, P. 203-204. He suggests that Stephen's use of the word ἐκκλησία reveals affinity with Deuteronomic thought and can be taken as the foundation of both Lukan and Pauline ecclesiology.
- 23) J. Barr, *ibid.*, P. 125.
- 24) Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 388.
- 25) The only comment I found on this expression was Harnack's statement that "this construction appears here for the first time." Mission, P. 407, Note 4.
- 26) It is found however in Acts 2:47 D. But the use of πρὸς θεόν should be noted (2:41, 2:47, 5:14, 11:24). At 5:14 and 11:24 the indirect object is "the Lord," (cf. 11:21). That the indirect object should be understood as "the Church" (Lake and Cadbury, Beginnings, Vol. 4, P. 27) is unlikely. The other references suggest that, if an indirect object is to be postulated, it should be "the Lord." cf. H. Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, P. 215, N 1.
- 27) This explains why Luke does not say that men belong to an ἐκκλησία. The word does not appear until 5:11. It is ignored in the story of the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:26-40). Luke does



not mention that Paul forms an ἐκκλησία at Cyprus (13:4-12), Antioch of Pisidia (13:14-30), Philippi (16:12-40), Thessalonica (17:1-9), Beroea (17:10-13), Athens (17:16-34), Corinth (18:1-21), Troas (20:7-12) or Rome (28:17-31). The founding of the ἐκκλησία at Icononium (14:1-5), Lystra (14:6), Derbe (14:6), and Ephesus (19:1-20), is not mentioned but an ἐκκλησία is mentioned in these places at a later date. These observations call into question Haenchen's idea that Luke's failure to mention the Church at Rome is theologically motivated. He wants to imply that Paul is its founder ( Acts, P. 726 ff.)

28) *ibid.*, P. 44.

29) It was used first of the gathering, then of those who gathered, and then of the building in which the gathering took place. See W. Schrage, article *συνάγωγη* T.D.N.T., Vol. 7, P. 798-841.

30) Including J.Y. Campbell, *ibid.*, P. 52.

31) The word is derived from the Greek adjective καθολικός - ἡ - οὐ which means general or universal. The expression ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία is first found in Ignatius (Smyr.8:2) about A.D. 112. Here it appears to mean the "true Church" which has kept the Apostolic doctrine in contrast to the heretical Church. I don't think anyone suggests that Luke uses the word in this sense. Ignatius appears to be arguing that <sup>the</sup> universal Church because it is universal must be right while the sects because they are only small, local ἐκκλησίαι must be wrong if they differ from the majority of Christians.

32) So Cadbury, Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 388.

33) E.g. 5:11, 8:3, 11:26, 12:5, 14:27, 15:3, 15:4, 15:22.

Acts 18:22 is not really an exception for no one questions that it is a local ἐκκλησία. Which one it is, has however, perplexed commentators. The immediate context would suggest Caesarea. So B.H. Streeter, J.T.S., 34, 1933, P. 237. Most commentators prefer Jerusalem.

34) Quoted in T.D.N.T. article "ἐκκλησία", Vol. 3, P. 504, by K.L. Schmidt.

35) R. Sohm, Kirchenrecht I Die geschichtlichen Grundlagen, (1892) and Wesen und Ursprung des Katholizismus, (1909).

In translation Outlines of Church History, (1895). Chapters 10 and 38 particularly.

36) A. Harnack, The Constitution and Law of the Church, P. 101.

37) The whole debate is set out in O. Linton, Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung, (1932). He shows that from the enlightenment

Protestant theologians depicted the Church as a loosely-knit band of Christians. The result was that the Church was posterior to the individual. Christians come together, as already saved, for practical purposes, particularly mutual edification. The whole idea, says Linton, was "atomistic" (P8). The position was clearly presented in Hatch's "The Organization of the Early Christian Churches" (Bampton Lectures 1885), which by way of interest Harnack himself translated into German. The first big step away from this view was taken by Sohm. His views were assailed from many sides and he did overstate his case, but gradually the new idea prevailed. Subsequent Protestant ecclesiology has followed his lead. Linton says, "In der neueren Kirchenliteratur ist das ganz anders geworden: die Kirche entsteht nicht durch Zusammenschluss von Menschen her, entsteht nicht vom Einzelnen aus, sondern ist vor dem Einzelnen da, der Einzelne tritt in die Kirche ein. Die Kirche ist eine Schöpfung vom oben her," P. 133.

38) R. Sohm, Outlines of Church History, P. 31.

39) *ibid.*, P. 32.

40) R.J. Knowling, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 281, Vol. II, in The Expositor's Greek Testament, Ed. W. Robertson Nicoll.

41) Nigel Turner, Grammar of New Testament Greek, Syntax, Vol. III, P. 152.

42) A. Nygren, Christ and His Church, P. 97.

43) C.P.M. Jones, "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Lucan Writings," Studies in the Gospels, P. 127.

44) C.F.D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," P. 180 in Studies in Luke-Acts.

45) These differences are listed and discussed in "The Conversion of Paul and the Events Immediately Following It," Kirsopp Lake, Beginnings, Vol. V, P. 188f.

46) The modern emphasis has been attributed to the Roman Catholic scholar E. Mersch, The Whole Christ, (E.T. 1949).

47) J.A.T. Robinson, The Body, P. 58.

48) G. Lohfink, "Eine alttestamentliche Darstellungsform für Gotteserscheinungen in den Damaskusberichten Apg. 9:22:26," Bib. Zeit. 9, 1965, P. 246-257.

Lohfink argues that the three accounts of Paul's conversion are adapted by Luke from the LXX translation of certain theophany dialogues. A comparison with Cornelius' vision (Acts 10) is given as additional evidence for Lukan redaction, for in both visions the structure and vocabulary are similar.

49) The only other place such a doctrine could be found is in Acts 4:2 where  $\xi\upsilon$  is used in "a mysterious way". C.F.D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," in Studies in Luke/Acts, P. 181. But Professor Moule says it is only "a hint" of a more corporate understanding of Christ." It more probably means that "the resurrection had come to pass in the person of Jesus." So Haenchen, Acts, P. 214.

50) R.A. Cole, The Body of Christ, P. 25.

51) G. Johnston, The Church in the New Testament, P. 57.

52) J. Jervell, Luke and the People of God, P. 111, N 78.

53) Beginnings, Vol. 4, P. 107.

54) Thus E. Haenchen, Acts, P. 333 N 3, rejects the plural reading for he says "an alteration to the singular seems improbable."

55) Luke The Historian, P. 74, N 89.

56) The Christian Ecclesia, P. 55-56.

57) G.W.H. Lampe, Peake's Commentary of the Bible, ed. by Matthew Black and H.H. Rowley, P. 889 Also A. Richardson, Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, P. 289, N. 1.

W.M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, P. 127.

58) B. Metzger, The Text of the New Testament, P. 207.

This, says Metzger, is "the basic criterion for all textual criticism."

59) A characteristic Lukan phrase e.g. Lk. 4:14, 8:39, 23:5, Acts 9:42, 10:37, 13: 49.

60) In both cases the theology is non Lukan. Acts 20:28 would be the only reference in Acts to depict Christ's death in redemptive language. The other possible parallel would be Luke 22:19-20 which is textually doubtful, and, if original, may reflect liturgical language rather than Luke's own Theology .

See W.E. Pilgrim, The Death of Christ in Lukan Soteriology, P. 167ff.

61) W.E. Pilgrim, *ibid*, P. 175.

62) Whether  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  or  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\upsilon\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$  should be read remains an open question. The textual alternatives are fairly evenly balanced. But preference may be given to  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  on the following grounds. It is the more difficult reading, for, taken with the following clause  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , it raises the question does God have blood? Furthermore, support for its acceptance can be offered on theological grounds as it corresponds with Pauline terminology. The title  $\tau\eta\upsilon\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\upsilon\ \tau\omega\ \kappa\upsilon\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$  would be unique in the New Testament though not in the LXX. For a lucid discussion see B. Metzger, The Text of the New Testament, P. 234f.

- 63) I Cor. 1:2, 10:32, 11:22, 15:9, II Cor. 1:1, Gal. 1:13,  
I Tim. 3:5, 3:15.
- 64) Plural ICor. 11:16, IThess. 2:14, IIThess. 1:4.
- 65) Cerfaux, *ibid.*, P. 108f, holds that the title was originally used by Paul of the Church of Jerusalem (I Thess. 2:14) and then later given to other Churches. His case is not convincing for the extension is made as early as II Thess. 1:1.
- 66) This is stressed by Cerfaux, *ibid.*, P. 114, N 39.
- 67) Whether the ambiguous *διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου τοῦ αἵματος* is rendered "through his own blood" or "through the blood of his own" is difficult to decide. See F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 381.
- 68) R.H. Fuller, article "Church", P. 48 in A Theological Word Book of the Bible, ed. A. Richardson.
- 69) This wording may possibly reflect Ps. 73:2 and Is. 43:21. The underlying Hebrew of Ps. 73:2 is *יְהוָה יְהוָה*. H. Kosmala, Hebraer - Essener - Christen, argues that the very common *יְהוָה יְהוָה* at Qumran lies behind the New Testament word *ἐκκλησία* (P. 63ff.) He writes "Trotz aller andersartigen Konstruktionsversuche kann es keinen Zweifel unterliegen, daß dem Begriff der nt -lichen ekklesia die essenische Bezeichnung 'edah zugrundeliegt und nicht das Wort qahal," (P. 65). An interesting thought is that the characteristic Lukan usage of *ἐκκλησία* is but a development on the secular meaning of the word whereas the more developed *ἐκκλησία* = the people of God, originates in the word *יְהוָה יְהוָה*. This could explain the different meanings of the word *ἐκκλησία* in Matthew 16:18 and 18:17.
- 70) Rom. 5:18, 11:12-15, IICor. 5:14, 5:19.
- 71) P. Gardner, "The Speeches of St. Paul in Acts," P. 384, In Cambridge Biblical Essays, ed. H. Swete.
- 72) H.J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke Acts, P. 189.
- 73) *ibid.*, P. 401.
- 74) F.F. Bruce, "A Review of the Acts of the Apostles by A. Haenchen," P. 48-49, Evang. Quart., Vol. 44, No. 1, Jan./March 1972.
- 75) Acts, P. 509.
- 76) H. Schulze, Theol. Studien und Kritiken, No. 73, 1900, P. 119-125. He gives a large number of parallels with IThess. P. Gardner, *ibid.*, P. 402f, and F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 377ff give comparisons with all the Pauline epistles.
- 77) This is shown by P. Schubert, "The place of the Areopagus Speech in the Composition of Acts," P. 235ff, in Transitions in Biblical

Scholarship," ed. by J.C. Rylaarsdam.

78) So, Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, P. 201.

CONCLUDING SUMMARY:

New Testament ideas on eschatology and "the Church" have been two of the foremost topics of study for theologians in the twentieth century. At first it was thought that if the teaching of Jesus himself could be recaptured then Christians of the present would be able to understand themselves in the way that Jesus intended. In recent years, however, the focus of study has altered as it has been realized that the only record of Jesus' words and deeds we have is that found in the New Testament in books which were written by men in the fullness of faith. Thus to-day, the emphasis lies on seeking to establish the theology of those who interpreted the Jesus event. One result of this changed approach in New Testament studies is that we no longer set out to directly establish what is the New Testament teaching on a particular matter. Each theologian, Paul, John, Luke, Peter, Mark etc, must be allowed to speak, and only then can the answer, with its many facets, be put together. In this study we have sought only to grasp Luke's mind on one topic - the community of salvation, by which we mean what is usually called "the Church." The importance of establishing the Lukan understanding of this reality cannot be overemphasised for Luke alone gives us a continuous record from the time of Jesus' birth until the community called into existence by Him is firmly established "in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8).

We have considered Luke's teaching on eschatology, salvation and the Christian community, for it has been maintained that these three are intimately connected and the last cannot be understood apart from the former two. The result has been, however, that the emerging picture has been one of contrast. In part one we found that Luke's teaching on eschatology and salvation is theologically developed and quite adequate to explain the nature and destiny of Christian existence. Despite important differences, Luke's eschatology and views on personal salvation are not discordant with those found in the writings of St. Paul. Luke maintains that in fellowship with Jesus or with the Holy Spirit men can experience "the last days" in the present. Those who are saved enter a realm which enables them to transcend earthly realities, to be blessed with the Divine presence, and to become God's agents in the world for the salvation of others. Nevertheless these men still await a final redemption. For both Luke and Paul salvation is past, present and future: we are saved, we are being saved, and we shall be saved: for both salvation is by grace. This means that Luke

stands nearer to Paul than he does to any representative of early catholicism. It also means that Luke's theological foundations would allow him to present an ecclesiology as developed as any found in the epistles traditionally ascribed to St. Paul.

It is at this point that a difference emerges. Part one and part two of our study present contrasting pictures. Luke does not develop his doctrine of "the Church". Those who enjoy the salvation found by faith in Christ are unquestionably, for Luke, the eschatological community of salvation in this world, but he does not extend this idea so as to make further theological deductions from this premise. We are reminded of this by Luke's favourite name for Christians considered collectively, "the disciples." True, Luke develops ideas on discipleship and makes the title "a church idea" but the essentially individualistic basis of this name is never erased. "The disciples" are but a group of those men and women of whom each would call himself "a disciple of Jesus." Luke can also call the disciples "the brethren," which is one way he brings out that those who are saved form a close-knit community, but however he stresses this point, the unity always remains one of common allegiance and mutual love, it is never ontological. Luke's *ekklesia* is not the body of Christ, nor is it a reality to which men belong simply by the fact that they are Christians. Luke's theology is basically individualistic.

The preference for this title, "the disciples" and the way he uses other titles, (the brethren, the believers, the saved, the way, the saints) shows that for Luke no clear break with Judaism is envisaged. We see that a hardening in Jewish attitudes has taken place by the time Luke writes, and his eyes are set more on the Gentile mission than on the Jewish one (Acts 13:46, 28:24-28), but he does not claim that the community of salvation is "new Israel." As far as Luke is concerned, salvation has come to Israel and it is Israel that is summoned and responds in great numbers (Acts 2:41, 4:4, 5:14, 6:7, 21:20). Those Jews who reject the offer of salvation cease to belong to the people of God (3:23). Only when Israel has heard the word can the evangelization of the Gentiles begin. They are then added to Israel (15:14). Here we note Luke's attitude to the law which is one the most conservative in the New Testament. He never suggests that the law is the way of salvation for anyone, but on the other hand he never suggests that its precepts are abrogated. If anything, he seems to argue that when a Jew

becomes a Christian he becomes more zealous for the Law than he was before (21:20). Luke's collective titles and his regard for the Law show that in Luke/Acts the community of salvation is not "a third race," it is true Israel. Continuity not epochal distinctions are basic to Lukan theology.

In highlighting these special features in Luke's theology of the community of salvation we are not suggesting that Luke's theology is defective. At this point it is quite different from St. Paul's, and it is also quite unlike anything found in the post-New Testament writers. It is a valuable contribution in its own right to our overall picture. In fact it offers much for the Christian of to-day who is confused by the failures of the institutional Church which theologians, Protestant and Catholic, want to identify with the body of Christ and to make the locus of salvation. Luke, with Paul, agrees that Christians are the eschatological community of salvation in the world, but avoids the possibility of exalting the corporate reality so that it becomes more important than the Lord who gives it life and meaning. This is the particular danger basic to the theology of "the Church" found in Colossians and Ephesians. In Luke's theology the community of salvation has a noble place in the purposes of God but individual relationship with Christ always retains its primacy. Lukan theology is the theology of an "evangelist."



DETERMINING LUKAN THEOLOGY:

The aim of this study has been at all times to establish Luke's own theology. We are not directly concerned with what Jesus may have said, or what the early Church may have believed or practised. It is only Luke's interpretation of these things that is of interest to us. The methodology used to further this specific goal has been that of redaction criticism.<sup>1</sup> This relatively new discipline in Biblical studies is firmly established but not finally defined in scope or approach. It has been used with greatest success in the study of Matthew, and Luke's Gospel but can be used with Mark, John and Acts. When studying Matthew's or Luke's Gospel the methodology has a certain objectivity which makes it most appealing. We have at hand the major written source from which they both draw (Mark) and we can conjecture a second source (Q) with some degree of accuracy. The way these two evangelists handle these sources reveals their special interests. Other avenues in establishing an evangelist's theology are the way he handles Old Testament texts, particularly the modifications he makes to them, and the predominant themes in which he shows interest. These three factors are all used in establishing Luke's own thought on the community of Salvation as it can be seen in his Gospel.

When we turn to Acts the application of this method poses more of a problem. We can still look for predominant themes, and at his use of Old Testament texts, but we cannot compare the text as we have it with anything else for we have no record of any written source material which he may have used. As we may presume that Luke is freer in composing Acts than he was when writing the Gospel, where he knew there were parallel accounts,<sup>2</sup> there is the possibility that Acts is a richer field than the Gospel for determining Lukan thought.<sup>3</sup> If this is so the importance of careful study of Acts becomes all the more compelling as we seek to establish Luke's theology. How then do we proceed?

One solution has been to take the speeches as essentially Lukan compositions. Thus H.J. Cadbury, who has done much to bring about this modern estimation of the speeches said - "the presumption is strong that his (Luke's) speeches are generally without basis of definite information."<sup>4</sup> Dibelius, who has been equally influential in this regard, likewise said "all the preaching" in Acts.... has Luke as its author."<sup>5</sup> These conclusions though widely accepted have by

no means been universally adopted. There are still many scholars who would endorse F.F. Bruce's estimation that the speeches are "summaries giving at least the gist of what was really said on the various occasions."<sup>6</sup> The final answer to this debate<sup>7</sup> may well be that both views are oversimplifications. It is neither true that all the speeches are Lukan constructions nor that all the speeches are careful summaries of what was said. If this is so, and we will argue that it is, then the speeches cannot be taken as they stand as clear indications of Luke's own thought.

The danger of emphasising either the free composition of the speeches or their authenticity lies in the fact that they are so numerous and so diversified in nature that no one estimation can cover them all. This is seen by considering three of the longest speeches in Acts, that by Stephen (Acts 7:2-60), and those by Paul at Athens (Acts 17:22-31) and Miletus (Acts 20:18-35). It has been in regard to these sermons that the debate has waxed strongest, and the most radical exponents for the composition of the speeches have conceded that some written or oral information "may lie behind these passages."<sup>8</sup> In addition the radical view must face the fact that it is often in the speeches that markedly non-Lukan theology can appear. We have discussed this in relation to Acts 20:28,<sup>9</sup> and so has C.F.D. Moule, in more detail, in relation to Christology.<sup>10</sup> He argues that the use of "  $\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  " in the Petrine speeches of Acts 3 and 4 presents a recognizably distinct conception of Jesus,<sup>11</sup> as does the use of  $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , which is only found twice in Acts, both times in speeches by Paul (13:38-39, 26:18).<sup>12</sup> On the other hand the conservative estimation of the speeches cannot adequately explain the uniformity in structure and detail in the missionary speeches in Acts 2-13 which are supposedly spoken by Peter and Paul,<sup>13</sup> nor can it explain that by and large the theology and the argument of the speeches is consistent with Luke's overall presentation.<sup>14</sup>

Another solution, in the quest to establish Luke's own theology, has been to take Acts in its entirety as the creation of its author. This is essentially the position taken by E. Haenchen in his monumental commentary on Acts. He refuses to be side-tracked by historical questions on particular incidents, but all the time asks; What did Luke intend by this pericope or that?<sup>15</sup> The great strength of this position is that it fully acknowledges that the topics Luke chooses, the material he selects, the way he presents it and the themes he emphasises are entirely his own responsibility.

Haenchen is also correct in maintaining that Luke must not be taken as a scientific historian who writes down facts because of his love of accurate recording, but rather be seen as a Christian preacher who puts pen to paper to proclaim the good news.<sup>16</sup> The weakness of the position is that it assumes that because Luke is a preacher he is not interested in accuracy in detail and that "he makes free with tradition."<sup>17</sup> This negates fifty years of critical study of Acts which has tended to show that Luke, despite some failings, is a careful historian.<sup>18</sup> Haenchen in particular does not do justice to the historical element which is basic to a proper appreciation of Acts.

The question therefore remains: Where do we discover Luke's own theology in Acts? Our solution is to take Luke as both historian and theologian: to acknowledge that the speeches are an important source of Lukan theology, and that the work as a whole is heavily indebted to Luke's own pen, but at the same time recognise that Luke is using source material, and that he can and does allow these sources to speak on their own at times. Thus to establish Lukan thought, our basic approach must be to look for dominant motifs, and then test them for consistency with the rest of the book. No particular passage or text, whenever it is found in Acts, can be taken with confidence to reveal Lukan theology unless it reappears at other places and seems to harmonise with other conclusions reached on Lukan theology.

NOTES:

- 1) General studies on this are J. Rohde, Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists.
- N. Perrin, What is Redaction Criticism?
- 2) So M. Dibelius, Studies in Acts, P. 3.
- 3) This is explicitly maintained by P. Vielhauer, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts," in Studies in Luke / Acts P.33, and W. Marxsen, Der Evangelist Markus, P. 141.
- 4) Beginnings, Vol. 5, P. 406.
- 5) Studies in Acts, P. 183.
- 6) F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 21.  
So also I.H. Marshall, "The Resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles," in Apostolic History, P. 92ff, and in Luke Historian and Theologian, P. 72ff.
- H.N. Ridderbos, The Speeches of Peter in the Acts of the Apostles, P.1ff
- 7) The debate is outlined by C.S.C. Williams, The Acts of the Apostles, P. 36-47.
- 8) So H.J. Cadbury, The Marking of Luke/Acts, P. 189. On particular speeches, a conservative view is argued for Stephen's speech by M.H. Scharlemann - Stephen; A Singular Saint; for Paul's speech at Athens by B. Gartner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation, P. 33f and P. 249f, and for Paul's speech at Miletus by F.F. Bruce in The Evang. Quart. 44, P. 48ff.
- 9) P. 157f.
- 10) "The Christology of Acts," Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 166ff.
- 11) *ibid.*, P. 170.
- 12) *ibid.*, P. 174.
- 13) As shown by E. Schweizer, "Concerning the Speeches in Acts," in Studies in Luke-Acts, P. 208-216, and particularly by U. Wilckens, Missionsreden, *passim*.
- 14) This unity is argued with particular force by P. Schubert in his essays, "The final cycle of Speeches in the book of Acts," <sup>J.B.i.</sup> ibid., 1968, P. 1-16, and "The Place of the Areopagus Speech in the Composition of Acts," in Transitions in Biblical Scholarship, ed. J.C. Rylaarsdam P. 235-261.
- 15) Haenchen's method is perhaps most clearly seen in his treatment of Acts 15, see pages 455-472.
- 16) *ibid.*, P. 90ff.
- 17) *ibid.*, P. 110.

18) The whole debate is set out in W. Ward Gasque, A Study of the History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles. Unpublished PhD. thesis Manchester University 1969. He is very critical of Haenchen's commentary and staunchly upholds the historical value of Acts.

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Allegro, J.M. The Dead Sea Scrolls, London, Pelican, 1956.
- Anderson, H. "Broadening Horizons - The Rejection at Nazareth Pericope of Luke 4:16-30, in Light of Recent Critical Trends", Interp., 18, 1964, P.259ff.
- Ashby, E. "The Days of the Son of Man", Exp. Times, 67, 1955-56, P.124ff.
- Asting, R. Die Heiligkeit im Urchristentum, Göttingen, 1930.
- Barr, J. The Semantics of Biblical Language, Oxford, 1961.
- Barrett, C.K. The Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition, London, S.P.C.K., 1954.
- Jesus and the Gospel Tradition, London, 1967.
- Luke the Historian in Recent Study, London, Epworth Press, 1961.
- "Stephen and the Son of Man," in Apophoreta: Festschrift für E. Haenchen, Berlin, 1964.
- "New Testament Eschatology", S.J.T., 6, 1953, P.136ff.
- Best, E. "Discipleship in Mark 8:22 - 10:52", S.J.T., 23, 1970, P.323ff.
- Betz, H.D. "The Origin and Nature of Christian Faith According to the Emmaus Legend", Interp., 23, 1969, P.32ff.
- Bietenhard, H. article <sup>'</sup>ovoud, T.D.N.T., 5, P.277ff.
- Black, M. An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, Oxford, 1967.
- (ed.), The Scrolls and Christianity, London, S.P.C.K., 1969.
- Blass, F. and Debrunner, A. A Greek Grammar of the N.T. and other Early Christian Literature, E.T. by R.W. Funk, Cambridge, 1961.
- Bornkamm, G. Jesus of Nazareth, London, Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1963.
- Barth, G. and Held, H.J., Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, London, S.C.M./E.T., 1963.
- Braun, F.M. Neues Licht auf die Kirche, Einsiedeln-Cologne, 1946.
- Brown, S. Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke, Rome, 1969.
- Brownlee, W.H. "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament", J.B.L., 3, 1956-57, P.12-30, & P.195-210.
- Bruce, F.F. The Speeches in the Book of Acts, Tyndale Press, 1942.
- The Acts of the Apostles, London, Tyndale Press, 1951.
- The Book of the Acts, London, Marshall Morgan and Scott, 1965.
- This is That, London, Paternoster Press, 1968.
- "The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles", Interp., 27, 1973, P.166-183.

- "The Book of Zechariah and the Passion Narrative",  
B.J.R.L.; 43, 1960-61, P.346ff.
- "When is a Gospel not a Gospel?" B.J.R.L., 45, 1962-63,  
P.319ff.
- "A Review of the Acts of the Apostles by E.Haenchen",  
Evangelical Quarterly, 44, 1972, P.48ff.
- Bultmann, R. Theology of the New Testament, Vol. I, S.C.M. Press,  
London, 1952.
- Theology of the New Testament, Vol. II, S.C.M. Press,  
London, 1955.
- The History of the Synoptic Tradition, Oxford,  
Basil Blackwell, E.T. 1963.
- "The Transformation of the idea of the Church in the  
History of Early Christianity", The Canadian Journal  
of Theology, 2, 1955, P.73ff.
- article Πιστεύω , T.D.N.T., 5, P.174-228.
- Burrows, M. More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, New York, Viking, 1958.
- Cadbury, H.J. The Making of Luke-Acts, London, Macmillan & Co., 1927.
- "Acts and Eschatology", The Background of the New Testament  
and its Eschatology: In honour of C.H. Dodd, edited by  
W.D. Davies and D. Daube, Cambridge, 1956.
- & K. Lake, An English Translation and Commentary on the Acts  
of the Apostles, Vol. 4, Beginnings.
- "The titles of Jesus in Acts", Beginnings, Vol. 5, P.354ff.
- "Names for Christians and Christianity in Acts", Beginnings,  
Vol. 5, P.375ff.
- "The Speeches in Acts," Beginnings, Vol. 5, P.402ff.
- "Four Features of Lukan Style", Studies in Luke/Acts,  
ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn, P.88ff.
- Campbell, J.Y. "The Origin and Meaning of the Christian Use of the Word  
> ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ", J.T.S., 49, 1948, P.130-142, reprinted in  
Three New Testament Studies, Lieden, 1965.
- Carlson, R.A. David, the Chosen King, Stockholm, E.T., 1964.
- Cerfaux, L. The Church in the Theology of St. Paul, London, Herder  
and Herder, 1959.
- Clements, R.E. Abraham and David, London, S.C.M.; 1967.
- Cole, R.A. The Body of Christ, London, Hodder and Stroughton, 1964.
- Conzelmann, H. The Theology of St. Luke, London, Faber & Faber, 1961.
- Die Mitte der Zeit, Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 5th edition, 1964.
- An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, London,  
S.C.M., 1969.

- Die Apostelgeschichte, H.N.T. 7, Tübingen, 1963.
- Cranfield, C.E.B. The Gospel According to St. Mark, Cambridge, 1963.  
"The Parable of the Unjust Judge and the Eschatology of Luke-Acts", S.J.T., 16, 1963, 297ff.
- Creed, J.M. The Gospel According to St. Luke, London, Macmillan & Co., 1930.
- Cullmann, O. Christ and Time, London, S.C.M., Revised edition, 1962.  
Salvation in History, London, S.C.M., 1967.  
Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead - The Witness of the New Testament, London, Epworth Press, 1958.  
Peter: Disciple, Apostle and Martyr: A historical and theological study, London, 1953.
- Dahl, N.A. "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts", Studies in Luke-Acts, ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn, P.139ff.  
"A People for His Name", N.T.S., 4, 1957-58, P.319ff.
- Danker, F. "Luke 16:16: An Opposition Logion", J.B.L., 77, 1958, P.234ff.
- Davies J.G. "The Prefiguration of the Ascension in the Third Gospel", J.T.S. 6, 1955, P.229ff.
- Davies, W.D. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic elements in Pauline Theology, London, S.P.C.K., 1948.  
The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, Cambridge, 1963.
- Degenhardt, Lukan-Evangelist der Armen: Besitz und Besitzverzicht in den lukanischen Schriften, Stuttgart, 1965.
- Delling, G. article  $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , T.D.N.T., 6, P.279ff.
- De Vaux, R. Ancient Israel: Its life and Institutions, London, Darton Longman & Todd, E.T. 1961.
- Dodd, C.H. The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, London, Hodder and Stroughton, 1966.  
According to the Scriptures, London, 1953.  
New Testament Studies, Manchester Press, 1953.
- Downing, F.G. The Church and Jesus: A Study in History, Philosophy and Theology, London, S.C.M., 1968.
- Dibelius, M. Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, London, S.C.M., 1951.
- Drane, J.W. "Eschatology, Ecclesiology and Catholicity in the New Testament", Exp. Times, 83, 1971-72, P.180ff.
- Driver, G.R. The Judean Scrolls, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1965.
- Dumbrell, W.J. The Meaning and Use of Ekklesia in the New Testament with Special Reference to its Old Testament Background, Unpublished M.Th. Thesis, London University, 1966.



- Dunn, J.D.G. Baptism in the Holy Spirit, London, S.C.M., 1970.  
"Spirit and Kingdom", Exp. Times, 82, 1970-71, P.36ff.
- Easton, B.S. The Gospel According to St. Luke, New York, 1926.
- Ehrhardt, A. The Framework of the New Testament Stories, Manchester, 1964.
- Elliott, J.H. "A Catholic Gospel: Reflections on Early-Catholicism in the New Testament", C.B.Q., 31, 1969, P.213ff.
- Elliott-Binns, L.E. Galilean Christianity, London, S.C.M., 1956.
- Ellis, E.E. The Gospel of Luke, The Century Bible, London, T.Nelson & Son, 1966.  
"Present and Future Eschatology in Luke", N.T.S., 12, 1965-66 P.27-41.  
"The Role of the Christian Prophet in Acts", Apostolic History and the Gospel, ed. W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin, P.55ff.
- Evans, C.F. Resurrection and the New Testament, London, S.C.M., 1969.
- Filson, F.V. "The Journey Motif in Luke-Acts", Apostolic History and the Gospel, ed. by W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin.
- Fitzmeyer, J.A. "Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament", N.T.S., 7, 1960-61, P.297ff.  
"Jewish Christianity in Acts in light of the Qumran Scrolls", Studies in Luke-Acts, ed. L.E. Keck & J.L. Martyn, P.233ff.
- Flender, H. St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History, London, S.P.C.K., 1967.
- Flew, R. Newton, Jesus and His Church, London, Epworth Press, 1945.
- Foerster, W. Article Σάββατος, T.D.N.T., 2, P.79ff.  
" " & G. Fohrer, article σάββατον, T.D.N.T., 3, P.965ff.
- Franklin, E. "The Ascension and the Eschatology of Luke-Acts," S.J.T., 23, 1970, P.192ff.
- Friedrich, G. article ἐναρξάντων, T.D.N.T., 2, P.707ff.
- Fuller, R.H. The Foundations of New Testament Christology, London, Lutterworth Press, 1965.
- Gardner, P. "The Speeches of St. Paul in Acts", Cambridge Biblical Essays, ed. H. Swete, London, 1909.
- Gasque, W. Ward A Study of the History of Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Manchester University 1969.
- Geldenhuys, L. Commentary on the Gospel of Luke, London, Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1950.
- George, A.R. Communion with God in the New Testament, London, Epworth Press, 1953.

- Gerhardsson, B. Memory and Manuscript, Copenhagen, C.W.K. Gleerup, 1964.
- Geysler, A.S. "The Earliest Name of the Earliest Church", in De Fructu Oris Sui: Essays in honour of Adrianus Van Selms, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1971, P.58-68.
- Gill, D. "Observations on the Lukan Travel Narrative and some Related Passages", H.T.R., 63, 1970, P.199ff.
- Glasson, T.F. The Second Advent: The Origin of the New Testament Doctrine, London, 1947.
- Goldsmith, D. "Acts 13:33-37: A Peshar on II Samuel 7," J.B.L., 77, P.350ff.
- Goguel, M. The Birth of Christianity, London, George Allen & Unwin, E.T. 1953.  
The Primitive Church, London, George Allen & Unwin, E.T. 1963.
- Goppelt, L. Apostolic and Post Apostolic Times, London, A.& C. Black, 1970.
- Goulder, M. Type and History in Acts, London, 1964.
- Grant, Robert M. A Historical Introduction to the New Testament, London, Collins, 1963.
- Grasser, E. A. Strobel, R.C. Tannehill, W. Eltester, Jesus in Nazareth, Berlin, B.Z.N.W., 1972.  
Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung, B.Z.N.W., 22, Berlin, 1959.
- Green, E.M.B. The Meaning of Salvation, London, Hodder and Stroughton, 1965.
- Grunxmann, W. Das Evangelium nach Lukas, T.H.Z.N.T., Berlin, 1971.  
"Die ἐπιτομή in der urchristlichen Paränese", N.T.S. 5, 1958-9, P.205ff.  
article οὐ T.D.N.T., 8, P.706ff.
- Guthrie, D. New Testament Introduction: Gospel and Acts, London, Tyn<sup>v</sup>dale Press, 1965.
- Haenchen, E. The Acts of the Apostles, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, E.T.1971.
- Hahn, F. "Pre-Easter Discipleship", The Beginnings of the Church in the New Testament, Essays by F. Hahn, A. Strobel and E. Schweizer, St. Andrew Press, 1970.  
The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity, London, 1969.  
Mission in the New Testament, London, S.C.M., 1965.
- Hamilton, N.Q. The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul, London, 1957.
- Harnack, Adolf, Luke the Physician - The author of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, London, Williams & Norgate, E.T. 1907.

- Harnack, Adolf, The Acts of the Apostles, London, Williams & Norgate, E.T. 1909.  
The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the first Three Centuries, N.Y.; Harper Bros., 1961 edition.  
The Constitution and law of the Early Church, London, E.T. 1910.
- Hauck, F. article *κοινοὺς* and its cognates, T.D.N.T., 3, P.809ff.
- Hawkin, D.J. "The Incomprehension of the Disciples in the Markan Redaction", J.B.L., 91, 1972, P.491ff.
- Hayes, J.H. "The Resurrection as Enthronement and the Earliest Church Christology", Interp., 22, 1968, P.333ff.
- Hebert, A.G. The Throne of David: A study of the fulfilment of the Old Testament in Jesus Christ and His Church, London, 1941.
- Higgins, A.J.B. Jesus and the Son of Man, London, S.C.M., 1964.
- Hillers, D.R. Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea, John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1969.
- Holl, K. "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu dem der Urgemeinde", in Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte: 2 Der Osten, Tübingen, J.C. Mohr, 1928, P. 44-67.
- Hopwood, P.G.S. The Religious Experience of the Primitive Church: The period prior to the influence of Paul, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1936.
- Hort, F.J.A. The Christian Ecclesia, London, 1908.
- Hull, J.E. The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles, London, 1968.
- Hunter, A.M. Paul and His Predecessors, London, S.C.M., 1961.
- Jeremias, J. The Prayers of Jesus, London, S.C.M., 1967.  
Jesus' Promise to the Nations, London, S.C.M., 1958.  
The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1955.  
The Parables of Jesus, London, S.C.M., 1963.  
New Testament Theology, Vol. 1, London, S.C.M., 1971.
- Jervell, J. Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts, Ausburg Pub. House, Minnesota, 1972.
- Johnston, G. The Doctrine of the Church in the New Testament, Cambridge, 1943.
- Johnson, S.E. "The Davidic Royal Motif in the Gospels", J.B.L., 87, 1968, P.140ff.

- Johnson, S.E. "King Parables in the Synoptic Gospels", J.B.L., 74, 1955, P.36ff.  
"The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline and the Jerusalem Church of Acts", The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. K. Stendahl, London, S.C.M., 1957.
- Jonge De M. & A.S. Van der Woude, "IIQ Melchizedek and the New Testament", N.T.S., 12, 1965-66, P.301ff.  
"The Use of the Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Christ", Nov. Test., 81, 1966, P.132ff.
- Jones, C.P.M. "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Lucan Writings", Studies in the Gospels, ed. by D.E. Nineham, P.113ff.
- Jones, D.L. "The title Christos in Luke-Acts", C.B.Q., 32, 1970, P.69ff.
- Kallas, J. The Significance of the Synoptic Miracles, London, S.P.C.K.; 1961.
- "  
Kasemann, E. Essays on New Testament Themes, London, S.C.M., 1964.  
New Testament Questions of To-day, London, S.C.M., 1969.
- King, N.Q. "The Universalism of Third Gospel", S.E., 1, 1959, P.205ff.
- Kittel, G. article ἀνοδοῦθῆναι, T.D.N.T., 1, P.212ff.
- Klausner, J. The Messianic Idea in Israel, London, George Allen & Unwin, E.T. 1956.
- Klein, G, Die Zwölf Apostel, Gottingen, 1961.
- Knox, W.L. The Acts of the Apostles, Cambridge, 1948.
- Knowling, R.J. The Acts of the Apostles in The Expositor's Greek Testament, Vol. II, 1900.
- Kodell, J. "Luke's use of Laos, People, Especially in the Jerusalem Narrative (Lk. 19:28-24, 53)" C.B.Q., 31, 1969, P.327ff.
- Kosmala, H. Hebräer - Essener - Christen, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1959.
- Kretschmar, G. "Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten", Z.K.G., 66, 1954-55, P.222-229.
- Kümmel, W.G. Kirchenbegriff und Geschichtsbewusstsein in der Urgemeinde und bei Jesus, Zürich, 1943.  
Promise and Fulfilment, London, S.C.M., 1961.  
Introduction to the New Testament, London, S.C.M. 1966.  
"Jesus und die Anfänge der Kirche", ST. Th. 7, 1953, P.1-27.
- "  
Küng, H. The Church, London, Burns & Oates, E.T. 1968.
- Ladd, G.E. Jesus and the Kingdom, London, S.P.C.K., 1966.
- Lake, K. "The Gift of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost", Beginnings, Vol. 5, P.111ff.

- Lampe, G.W.H. "Miracles in the Acts of the Apostles", Miracles: Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History, ed. C.F.D. Moule, London, A.R. Mowbray, 1965.  
"The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke", Studies in the Gospels, ed. by D.E. Nineham.  
St. Luke and the Church of Jerusalem, Ethel M. Wood Lecture, 1969, London, The Athlone Press, 1969.  
Commentary on Acts in Peake's Commentary on The Bible, ed. by M. Black and H.H. Rowley, London, 1963.
- Leaney, A.R.C. The Gospel According to St. Luke, London, A. & C. Black, 1958.  
The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning, London, S.C.M., 1966.
- Lindars, B. New Testament Apologetic: The doctrinal significance of the Old Testament quotations, London, S.C.M., 1961.
- " & S.S. Smalley, (Editors), Christ and the Spirit in the New Testament: Studies in Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule, Cambridge, 1973.
- Linton, O. Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung, Uppsala, 1932.
- Lohmeyer, Ernst, The Lord of the Temple, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1961.
- Lohse, E. "Die Bedeutung des Pfingstberichtes im Rahmen des Luk. Geschichtswerkes". Ev. Th., 13, 1953, P.422ff.  
article πνευματικότητα, T.D.N.T., 6, P.44-53.
- Lohfink, G. "Eine alttestamentliche Darstellungsform für Gotteserscheinungen in den Damaskusberichten Apg., 9: 22: 26, Bib.Zeit., 9, 1965, P.246-257.
- Loisy, A. L'Evangile et L'Eglise, ET. The Gospel and the Church, 1908.
- "  
Lovestam, Son and Saviour: A study of Acts 13: 32-37, with an appendix Son of God in the Synoptic Gospels, Gleerup, Lund, 1961.
- Longenecker, Richard N. The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity, S.C.M. 1970.  
Paul, Apostle of Liberty, New York, Harper & Row, 1964.
- MacRae, G.W. "Whom the Heavens Must Receive Until the Time: Reflections on the Christology of Acts", Interp., 27, 1973, P.151ff.
- Mann, Jacob The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue, Vol.1, New York, KTAV Publishing House, 1971.
- Manson, T.W. The Servant Messiah, Cambridge, 1953.  
The Teaching of Jesus, Cambridge (2nd Ed.), 1953.  
The Sayings of Jesus, S.C.M. London, 1949.  
"The New Testament Basis of the Doctrine of the Church", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 1, 1950, P.1-11.

- Manson, W. The Gospel of Luke, Moffatt New Testament Commentary, 1930.
- Marshall, I.H. Luke: Historian and Theologian, London, Paternoster Press 1970.
- Kept by the Power of God, Epworth Press, London, 1969.
- "The Resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles", in Apostolic History and the Gospel, ed. by W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin, P.92ff.
- "New Wine in Old Wineskins: The Biblical Use of the Word Ekklesia, Exp. Times, 134, P.359-364.
- Marxsen, W. Introduction to the New Testament, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1968.
- McCarthy, D.J. Old Testament Covenant: A Survey of Current Opinions, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1972.
- McCasland, S.V. "The Way", J.B.L., 60, 1958, P.224ff.
- McKelvey, R.J. The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament, Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Metzger, B. The Text of the New Testament: its transmission, corruption and restoration, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Meye, Robert P. Jesus and the Twelve: Discipleship and Revelation in Mark's Gospel, W.Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1968.
- "Messianic Secret and Messianic Didache in Mark's Gospel", in Oikonomia : Heilsgeschichte als Thema der Theologie, Hamburg, 1967, P.57-68.
- "Those about Him with the Twelve", S.E. Vol. II, Part 1, P.211-218, 1964.
- Michaelis, W. article ἑσῶς, T.D.N.T., 5, P.93ff.
- Minear, P.S. Images of the Church in the New Testament, London, Lutherworth Press, 1961.
- "Luke's use of the Birth Stories", Studies in Luke/Acts, ed. by L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn.
- "A note on Luke 22:36", Nov. Test., 7, 1964, P.128ff.
- "Dear Theo: The Kerygmatic Intention and claim of the Book of Acts", Interp., 27, 1973, P.131ff.
- "Audience Criticism and Markan Ecclesiology", in Neues Testament und Geschichte, ed. by H. Baltersweiler and B. Reicke, Zürich, 1972.
- Moore, A.L. The Parousia in the New Testament, Leiden, 1966.
- Moore, G.F. "Nazarene and Nazareth", Beginnings, Vol. 2, P.426ff.

- Morgenthaler, R. Die lukanische Geschichtesschreibung als Zeugnis, Vol. 1, Zürich, 1949.
- Morris, L. The Cross in the New Testament, London, Paternoster Press, 1965.  
The New Testament and the Jewish Lectionaries, London, Tyndale Press, 1964.
- Morton, T. Ralf, The Twelve Together, Glasgow, The Iona Community, 1956
- Mosley, A.M. "Jesus" Audiences in the Gospel of St. Mark and St. Luke", N.T.S., 10, 1963, P.139ff.
- Moule, C.F.D. "The Christology of Acts", Studies in Luke/Acts, ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn, P.159ff.  
"The Individualism of the Fourth Gospel", Nov. Test., 6, 1962, P.171ff.
- Moulton, J.H. A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol.1, Prolegomena, Edinburgh, T. & T.Clark, 1929.  
& G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and other Non-Literary Sources, London, 1914-29.
- Mowry, Lucetta, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early Church: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962.
- Munck, J. Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, London, S.C.M., 1959.  
The Acts of the Apostles, Anchor Bible, 1967.
- Navone, J. "The Holy Spirit", Scripture, 20, 1968, P.80ff.  
"Lucan Joy", Scripture, 20, 1968, P.49-62.  
"The Journey Theme in Luke-Acts", The Bible To-day, Feb. 1972, P.616-619.
- Neil, W. The Acts of the Apostles, The Century Bible, London, T. Nelson & Co., 1973.
- Noth, M. "The Laws in the Pentateuch and other Studies", London, Oliver and Boyd, 1966.
- Nygren, A. Christ and His Church, London, S.P.C.K., 1957.
- Oliver, H.H. "The Lukan Birth Stories and the Purpose of Luke/Acts", N.T.S., 10, 1963-64, P.202-206.
- O'Neill, J.C. The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting, London, S.P.C.K., 1961.
- Otto, Rudolf, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, London, Lutterworth Press, E.T. 1943.
- Owen, H.P. "Stephen's Vision in Acts 7:55-56", N.T.S., 1, 1954, P.224ff.

- Pilgrim, W.E. The Death of Christ in Lukan Soteriology, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Princeton Theological Seminary 1971.
- Plummer, A. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1901.
- Preisker, H. "Apollos und die Johannesjünger in Acts 18:24-19:6", Z.N.W., 30, 1931, P.207ff.
- Procksch, O. article Ἐπίοδος, T.D.N.T., 1, P.100ff.
- Pryke, J. "Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls", The Scrolls and Christianity ed. M. Black, London, S.P.C.K., 1969.
- Rackham, R.B. The Acts of the Apostles, London, Methuen & Co., 10th ed. 1925.
- Rad, Gerhard von, The Message of the Prophets, London, S.C.M., E.T. 1968.
- Reicke, B. "The Risen Lord and His Church", Interp., 13, 1959, P.160ff.  
"Instruction and Discussion in the Travel Narrative", S.E., 1, 1959, P.206ff.
- Rengstorf, K.H. article Ἰωάννης T.D.N.T., 2, P.325ff.  
article μαθητῶν T.D.N.T., 4, P.390f.  
article σημεῖον T.D.N.T., 7, P.241ff.
- Repo, E. Der "Weg" als Selbstbezeichnung des Urchristentums, Helsinki, 1964.
- Rese, Martin, Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gerd Mohn, 1969.
- Reuman, J. "Heilsgeschichte in Luke: Some Remarks on its Background and Comparison with Paul", S.E., 4, 1968, P.86ff.
- Richardson, Alan, The Miracle Stories of the Gospels, London, S.C.M., 1941.
- Richardson, P. Israel in the Apostolic Church, Cambridge Uni. Press, 1969.
- Ridderbos, H. The Coming of the Kingdom, Pennsylvania, Presb. & Reformed Pub. House, 1962.  
The Speeches of Peter in the Acts of the Apostles, Tyndale Press, 1961.
- Roberts, H. Jesus and the Kingdom of God, London, Epworth Press, 1954.
- Robinson, J.A.T. The Body, London, S.C.M., 1957.  
Jesus and His Coming, London, S.C.M., 1957.  
Twelve New Testament Studies, London, S.C.M., 1962.
- Robinson, D.W.B. "Who were the Saints?" Australian Reformed Theological Review, 22, 1963, P.45ff.
- Robinson, W.C. Jnr. The Way of the Lord: A study of History and Eschatology in the Gospel of Luke, privately printed, 1962.



- "The Theological Context for Interpreting Luke's Travel Narrative (9:51ff)", J.B.L., 79, 1960, P.20-31.
- "On Preaching the Word of God Luke (8:4-21)", Studies in Luke/Acts, ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn, P.131ff.
- Ropes, J.H. The Text of Acts, Beginnings, Vol. III, London, Macmillan & Co., 1926.
- Russell, D.S. The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, London, S.C.M., 1964.
- Rylaarsdam, J.C. article "Weeks feast of", I.D.B., 4, P.827.
- Schlatter, Adolf Der Glaube im Neuen Testament, Stuttgart, 5th ed. 1963.  
The Church in the New Testament Period, London, S.P.C.K., E.T. 1955.
- Schmidt, K.L. article ἐκκλησία, T.D.N.T., 3, P.501-536.
- Schnackenburg, R. God's Rule and Kingdom, London, Herder & Nelson, E.T. 1963.  
The Moral Teaching of the New Testament, London, Herder & Herder, E.T. 1971.  
The Church in the New Testament, London, Burns & Oates, E.T. 1965.
- Schniewind, J. & G. Friedrich, article ἐπαγγελία/ἐπαγγελίῳ  
T.D.N.T., 2, P.576ff.
- Schrage, W. "Ekklesia und Synagoge Zum Ursprung des urchristlichen Kirchenbegriffs", Z.T.K., 60, 1963, 178-202.  
article συναγωγή T.D.N.T., 7, P.798-841.
- Schrenk, G. article ἄρα, T.D.N.T., 1, P.609f.
- Schubert, Paul "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24", in Neutestamentliche Studien Für Rudolf Bultmann, Berlin, 1954, P.165-186.  
"The Place of the Areopagus Speech in the Composition of Acts", in Transitions in Biblical Scholarship, ed. J.C. Rylaarsdam, London, 1968.  
"The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts", J.B.L., 87, 1968, P.1-16.
- Schweitzer, A. The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, A. & C.Black, 1931.  
"Die Frage nach der Echtheit von Mt. 16:17-19", Theologische Blätter, 1941, P.273ff.
- Schweizer, E. Lordship and Discipleship, London, S.C.M., 1960.  
Jesus, London, S.C.M., 1971.  
"Discipleship and Church", The Beginnings of the Church in the New Testament, Essays by F. Hahn, A. Strobel and E. Schweizer. St. Andrew Press, 1970.

- "The Concept of the Davidic Son in Acts and its Old Testament Background", Studies in Luke/Acts, ed. by L.E. Keck & J.L. Martyn, P.186ff.
- "Concerning the Speeches in Acts", Studies in Luke/Acts, ed. by L.E. Keck & J.L. Martyn, P.208ff.
- article Πνεύμα , T.D.N.T., 6, P.407ff.
- "The Spirit of Power", Interp., 6, 1952, P.262ff.
- "Discipleship and Belief in Jesus as Lord from Jesus to the Hellenistic Church", N.T.S., 2, 1955-56, P.88ff.
- Scott, C.A. Anderson, The Fellowship of the Spirit, James Clark & Co., 1921.
- "The Fellowship", Exp. Times, 35, 1923-24, P.56-57.
- Sleeper, G. "Pentecost and Resurrection", J.B.L., 84, 1965, 389ff.
- Smith, C. Ryder, The Bible Doctrine of the Hereafter, London, Epworth, 1958.
- Smith, R.H. "The Eschatology of Acts and Contemporary Exegesis", Concordia Theological Monthly, 39, 1958, P.641ff.
- Smalley, S.S. "Spirit Kingdom and Prayer", Nov. Test., 15, 1973, P.63ff.
- Snaith, N.H. "Pentecost, the Day of Power", Exp. Times, 43, 1931-32, P.379ff.
- Sohm, R. Outlines in Church History, London, 1895.
- Stählin, G. article πνεύμα T.D.N.T., 4, P.112ff.
- "τὸ πνεύμα ἡμεῶν (Apostelgeschichte 16:7)", Christ and Spirit in the New Testament, ed. by B. Lindars and S.S. Smalley.
- Stanley, David M. "Kingdom to Church", Th. Studies, 16, 1955, P.1-29.
- Stendahl, K. "The Scrolls and the New Testament": An Introduction and a Perspective", The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. by K. Stendahl, London, S.C.M., 1958.
- "Kirche II: Im Urchristentum", R.G.G., III, 1297-1304.
- Stewart, R.A. Rabbinic Theology : An introductory Study, London, Oliver & Boyd, 1961.
- Strathmann, H. article λαός , T.D.N.T., 4, P.50ff.
- Strobel, August "Discipleship in the light of the Easter Event", The Beginnings of the Church in the New Testament, Essays by F. Hahn, A. Strobel & E. Schweizer, St. Andrew Press, 1970.
- Talbert, C.H. Luke and the Gnostics, Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1966.
- "The Redaction Critical Quest for Luke the Theologian", Jesus and Man's Hope, Vol. I, Pittsburgh Theol. Seminary, 1970, P.171ff.
- Taylor, V. The Gospel According to St. Mark, London, Macmillan & Co., 1973.
- Thompson, G.H.P. The Gospel according to Luke, London, New Claredon Bible, 1972.

- Tödt, H. The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, London, S.C.M., 1965.
- Torrey, C.C. The Composition and Date of Acts, Cambridge, Mass, 1916.
- Turner, C.H. "Marcan Usage: Notes Critical and Exegetical on the Second Gospel", J.T.S., 1925, 26, P.230ff.
- Turner, N. A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Syntax, Vol.III, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark.
- Unnik, W.C. Van "Jesus the Christ", N.T.S., 8, 1961-62, P.112ff.  
"The Book of Acts, the Confirmation of the Gospel",  
Nov. Test., 4, 1960, P.26-59.
- Vazakas, A. "Is Acts 1-15 a literal translation from an Aramaic Original?"  
J.B.L., 37, 1918, P.105ff.
- Vielhauer, P. "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts", Studies in Luke/Acts, ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn, P.33ff.
- Vincent, J.J. "The Disciples in Mark", unpublished paper read at Studiorum Novi Testamentum Societas, 28th general meeting, 1973.
- Weeden, T.J. "The Heresy that Necessitated Mark's Gospel", Z.N.T.W., 59, 1968, P.145-158.  
Mark - Traditions in Conflict, Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1971.
- Wilckens, U. Die Missionsreden in der Apostelgeschichte, (W.M.A.N.T.5) Neukirchen, 1961.  
"Interpreting Luke/Acts in a Period of Existentialist Theology", Studies in Luke/Acts, ed. L.E. Keck & J.L. Martyn, P.60ff.  
"The Understanding of Revelation within the History of Primitive Christianity", Revelation as History, ed. W. Pannenburg, London, 1968.  
"Kerygma und Evangelium bei Lukas", Z.N.W., 1958, P.223ff.
- Wilcox, M. The Semitisms of Acts, Oxford, 1965.
- Wilson, S.G. The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke/Acts, Cambridge 1973.
- Winter, P. "Nazareth and Jerusalem in Luke Chs. 1 & 2", N.T.S., 3, 1956-57, P.137ff.
- Wuellner, W.H. The Meaning of Fishers of Men, Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1967.
- Würthwein, E. article ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ T.D.N.T., 3, P.989.
- Zehle, R. "The Salvific Character of Jesus' Death in Lucan Theology", Theol. Stud., 3, 1969, P.420ff.