



# Course Companion

for A Level Year 2 Edexcel  
Paper 3: New Testament Studies

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# Teacher's Introduction

This resource provides comprehensive, student-friendly coverage of the A Level Year 2 Edexcel material for Paper 3: New Testament Studies.

The material is covered in the order given in the specification:

- **Ways of interpreting scripture**
- **Texts and interpretation: the Kingdom of God, conflict, the death and resurrection of Jesus** (The Kingdom of God in Luke: parables of the kingdom and eschatology; Why did Jesus have to die?; The crucifixion and resurrection narratives in Luke's Gospel)
- **Scientific and historical-critical challenges, ethical living and the works of scholars** (Faith and history: the death and resurrection of Jesus in modern scholarship; How should we live?)

For the first three topics of the New Testament, see ZigZag Education's AS / A Level Year 1 resource (POD 9798).

At the beginning of the resource, a list of '**Key Terms**' is provided for the three main areas of study to help students to better understand important terms before learning about them.

Each subtopic starts with an introduction that includes '**Learning Objectives**' and '**Key Thinkers**'. Throughout, there are a variety of '**Starter Activities**', '**Activities**' and '**Discussion Activities**', which are designed to consolidate knowledge and stimulate class discussion.

Also included are '**Quick Quiz**' sections throughout each topic, which should provide a fun way to check comprehension and help students remember key information. **Answers** for the Quick Quiz sections are also provided at the back of the resource.

*February 2023*



## KEY TERMINOLOGY IN WAYS OF INTERPRETING THE SC

<b>Hermeneutics</b>	A discipline that focuses on the theory and methodology particularly of religious or literary texts.
<b>Source Criticism</b>	A form of criticism that seeks to identify and detail the particular text.
<b>Form Criticism</b>	A form of criticism that attempts to classify and trace original oral or written traditions with the aim of discovering the historical context from which it arose.
<b>Redaction Criticism</b>	A form of criticism that focuses on how the author of a text has altered or edited it to suit their theological goals.
<b>Narrative Criticism</b>	A form of criticism that focuses on analysing a biblical story as a connected story with a particular goal.
<b>Literary Criticism</b>	A form of criticism that analyses texts based on their literary qualities and the number of literary techniques the interpreter can observe.
<b>Allegory</b>	A story, teaching or other literary text that can be interpreted to have a deeper meaning.
<b>Liberal Theology</b>	A form of theology that emerged during the Enlightenment, emphasizing the primacy of reason when interpreting and understanding the Bible.
<b>Natural Theology</b>	A form of theology that attempts to discover truths about God through reason and reasoning on the external world.
<b>Revelation</b>	The truths that God is supposed to have delivered or revealed to the world to human beings.
<b>Bibliolatry</b>	Barth's term for the false worship of scripture, which is the idea that Christians hold the Bible to be the inerrant 'Word of God'.
<b>Kerygma</b>	The Greek word for the preaching and proclamation of the Gospel. It argues that the most essential part of the Bible and Christianity is the message of the Gospel.
<b>Demythologisation</b>	The process of stripping myths from the biblical text in order to separate its historical or cosmological claims from its other philosophical or theological teachings.
<b>Existentialism</b>	A field of philosophy that deals with questions about the meaning of human existence.
<b>Rational Approach</b>	An approach to biblical interpretation that focuses on reason and scientific knowledge.
<b>Historical Approach</b>	An approach to biblical interpretation that focuses on the historical background and context detailed by a particular text.
<b>Sociological Approach</b>	An approach to biblical interpretation that focuses on the social views and patterns of human activity to understand the particular text.
<b>Literary Approach</b>	An approach to biblical interpretation that focuses on the literary methods and techniques found within its text.

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## KEY TERMINOLOGY IN TEXTS AND INTERPRETATION

<b>Eschatology</b>	A field of theology concerned with matters of death, judgement and end times.
<b>Kingdom of God</b>	A term used extensively by the Synoptic Gospels to talk about the relationship between God and the world and the methods by which God's Kingdom is brought about.
<b>Parousia</b>	A term used when referring to beliefs and anticipation of the return of Jesus Christ.
<b>Futurist Eschatology</b>	A form of eschatology that analyses the Kingdom of God as a future reality yet to come.
<b>Realised Eschatology</b>	A form of eschatology that analyses the Kingdom of God as a reality brought about by the arrival of Jesus.
<b>Inaugural Eschatology</b>	A form of eschatology that analyses the Kingdom of God as a reality and a future reality yet to come.
<b>Covenant</b>	A special agreement between God and humankind for a specific period throughout history.
<b>Law of Moses</b>	Also called the Mosaic Law, this consists of the first five books of the Bible (also known as the Torah) and was routinely used as the basis of Jewish law throughout history.
<b>Two-level Drama</b>	The ways in which the author of John potentially communicates with his audience for internal narrative purposes and to address key social issues of the Johannine community.
<b>Sabbath</b>	The seventh day of the week in the Jewish calendar, a day of rest and worship.
<b>Pharisees</b>	A Jewish religious and social movement that was particularly influential during the Second Temple period in Jewish history.
<b>Sanhedrin</b>	A council of elders appointed to sit as religious authorities in Jerusalem and throughout Israel.
<b>Salvation History</b>	A key concept in Luke that refers to the ways in which God's plan to achieve salvation as part of an overarching historical process.
<b>Atonement</b>	The Christian belief that Jesus' death on the cross was necessary to enable the possibility of salvation for humankind.
<b>Ecclesiology</b>	The branch of theology that deals with matters of the church, its structure and its relationship to the Bible.
<b>Universalism</b>	The view that Christian salvation is not limited to one specific group of people.
<b>Prophecy</b>	A prediction about what will occur in the future, often based on divine revelation throughout history.
<b>Fulfilment</b>	A theme in the Gospel of Luke which states that Jesus' life and death fulfil Old Testament prophecy and God's plan for human salvation.
<b>Martyr</b>	A person who is killed due to their religious or theological beliefs.

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## KEY TERMINOLOGY IN SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL-CRITICAL

<b>Empty Tomb</b>	A term used to refer to the mystery surrounding Jesus which it was interred after his death.
<b>Myth</b>	A story that holds a particular importance in a society in beliefs in supernatural beings or events.
<b>Miracle</b>	An event which appears to transgress the known laws of the intervention of God.
<b>Joseph of Arimathea</b>	The member of the Council who after the death of Jesus his body to the empty tomb.
<b>Mary Magdalene</b>	A follower of Jesus who was one of the main figures to the first resurrection appearances.
<b>Enlightenment</b>	A seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophical movement argued for the importance of reason over adherence to tradition.
<b>Sermon on the Plain</b>	A set of important ethical teachings given by Jesus in Luke 9:1-17.
<b>Sermon on the Mount</b>	A set of important ethical teachings given by Jesus in Matthew 5-7.
<b>Reversal</b>	A theme in the Gospel of Luke which emphasises how God will see an overturning of spiritual and material fortunes.
<b>Repentance</b>	The act or process of expressing sincere regret or remorse.
<b>Forgiveness</b>	The act or process of letting go or changing one's feelings of offence committed towards oneself.
<b>Parable</b>	A simple story used by Jesus throughout the Gospels to convey a theological or ethical message.

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## 4.1: WAYS OF INTERPRETING SCRIPTURE

### What you will learn in this section

The different ways of interpreting scripture in Christian tradition and academic scholarship.

- Examining traditional views on biblical inspiration, including the literal, allegorical and typological approaches to scripture.
- A comparison of the thought of two key twentieth-century theologians, Karl Barth and Rudolf Bultmann, looking at key concepts such as the Bible being a 'witness' to revelation and biblical interpretation.
- An overview of four modern perspectives on biblical interpretation, including historical, sociological and literary approaches.
- The strengths and weaknesses of different approaches to interpretation and the continuing importance and relevance of scripture for Christians today.

### Starter Activity

Revisit your work from Year 1 on the different forms of biblical criticism. Did a historicist approach help give it more meaning and relevance? Or did it obscure the fundamental teachings of the Bible? Take some notes on your thoughts and compare them to the different approaches studied in this section.

### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	Karl Barth
<b>Born</b>	1886
<b>Died</b>	1968
<b>Key text</b>	<i>Church Dogmatics</i> (1932–1967)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	Barth is one of the most important and controversial theologians of the twentieth century, whose work has inspired (and been criticised by) scholars across the world. He is notable for his Christocentric approach to theology and the development of his thought from this approach.

### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	Rudolf Bultmann
<b>Born</b>	1884
<b>Died</b>	1976
<b>Key text</b>	<i>New Testament and Mythology</i> (1941)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	Bultmann was one of the leading theologians of the twentieth century, known for his process of demythologisation and existentialist analysis of the New Testament. His work is influential and deeply controversial within modern biblical scholarship.

### Introduction: How Should We Interpret Scripture?

As you are likely to now be appreciating after a year of study, the Bible is an incredible one that has been pored over and interpreted in countless ways. Yet, this presents a challenge for scholars. How exactly should we be interpreting the Bible? Should it be seen primarily as a historical document from which we aim to reconstruct the life of Jesus as he truly lived? Or should we see it as a text that is flawed in its historical claims and instead attempt to mine theological meaning from its pages? The historical elements of the Bible may only be meaningful if they add depth or understanding to the theological message.

Beyond looking at the words of the Bible, there are countless debates around the interpretation of scripture. A common term you may encounter within these debates is **hermeneutics**. This is the study of the interpretation of texts in the humanities, and it is considered essential for scholars to at least justify their approach to interpretation and why it is important when looking at the Bible. Now, hermeneutics can be quite a difficult field to initially learn about. The challenge is to judge what is the right objective interpretation of a text. Instead, scholars are often faced with a range of interpretation against our overall goals for interpretation.

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Think for a moment about how we use the Bible in different contexts. Does the Bible help us understand the life of Jesus? Does it examine scripture in the same way as the lay Christian? The answer is this is not likely. While their interests might overlap at times, there are different ways of interpreting a religious text. Many would even argue the historical details are less important than the underlying moral and spiritual teachings! So, immediately we encounter deep and complex questions as we approach the Bible and what our goals should be when we do approach it.

At the minimum, we can begin by thinking about the different levels of understanding a biblical narrative. From these we can get a clearer sense of the different styles of hermeneutical thinkers. For in comparison to the letters or other books in the New Testament, the Gospels are not as clear. Are they meant to be primarily a historical account of the life of Jesus, or do they have a more theological interpretation? In the former, we might examine the Gospels from a historical perspective. This is where we treat the narratives as 'plain history', with implicit meaning and context in time. Second, there is an 'authorial' level of understanding. This is looking at how the authors may have shaped the story to bring out a particular theological meaning and make sure it is addressed to.

Let's dwell on the authorial level for a moment. Authorial influence might be present in a number of ways. First, it may just be the way historical sources are edited and arranged into a narrative. Second, the author was working with multiple sources and there would be no clear way to judge what historical order they should be in and whether or not they should be worthy of being included in Jesus' life. Remember that the first Gospel is likely to have been composed decades after the events it describes. Third, authors may well have been more radical in their approach, adding background or creative storytelling to join up these sources. Maybe even further still, they might have included elements that have no basis in history whatsoever.

But does all this matter? The third level of understanding we should consider is the perspective of the reader, who may gain impressions, ideas, and insights that none of the others. These may well be valid insights all the same that should not be discounted just because they are not the original authorial intention. This level is particularly important when we consider the Bible, which may present itself very differently depending on the background and context of the reader with it.

## Different Forms of Biblical Criticism

Before we go further into how we should engage with scripture, it is worth delving into the history of hermeneutics (even if it might seem to be a little dry at first!). In particular, a number of hermeneutical methods, known as the **historical-grammatical method** and the **historical-critical method**, are useful for distinguishing between what are more conservative and liberal approaches. While they often share certain scholarly tools, but diverge in their goals, assumptions and ideologies.

**Historical-grammatical:** This method is primarily concerned with discovering the original meaning of a Christian text. However, it does so with a few background assumptions. The most important is that if a passage is clearly intended to be poetic or metaphorical, it should be taken to deal with symbols. If words, it should be interpreted as *literally* true. However, this doesn't mean that it is the only way to value a text. It is important to develop an understanding of the **historical context, grammar, and style** of scripture in order to gain a full appreciation of its authorial meaning. Thus, the method is concerned with language, history and the culture of the author when interpreting it, even if the text presents direct history throughout.

**Historical-critical:** In comparison, this method is concerned with a variety of aims. Like the historical-grammatical method, it wants to discover the text's original meaning. However, it is also concerned with the author, but also the world behind the text. Thus, those using this method want to understand how a text would have been received by different communities. They want to reconstruct those communities and recipients and how we might learn about the world as described by a Christian text. In other words, there is no assumption that scripture is a direct history.

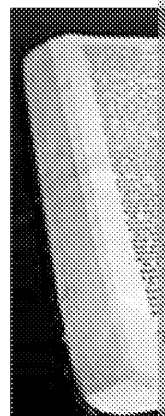
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And we may well adopt various perspectives and critical tools that initially challenge the meaning of Christian texts. Let's take a quick look once again at some of these tools of the historical-critical method:

- **Source Criticism** – This focuses on the search and analysis of different sources of a particular Christian text. The most well-known result of source criticism is the studies have shaped our understanding of the Synoptic Gospels.
- **Form Criticism** – This involves breaking down a Christian text into different parts and examined according to the kind of genre or concept they embody. From this, we can see how this genre or concept might have been interpreted within a particular setting and how it might have been used by communities within this setting.
- **Redaction Criticism** – This involves analysing how a particular author or party has compiled, edited and modified their sources. A key aim of this is often to see how a particular text was aimed towards a particular audience and what the intentions of the author affected the context of this community or situation.
- **Literary Criticism** – In contrast to the other kinds of criticism defined, literary criticism primarily uses tools from literary theory to analyse the narrative and rhetoric of a text, examining it as a story first rather than a historical record. The aim is to uncover what meanings and teachings the author attempted to convey by their retelling and to break down the nature of a historical community or text.

Out of all of these, literary criticism is the only one not contained in either the historical-grammatical or the historical-critical method. For what is key to note is that although both these major forms of biblical criticism emerged during the Enlightenment period, they began to break down at the beginning of the twentieth century for modern scholars. In many ways, what was once formalised as the historical-critical method has been refined into numerous individual forms of criticism, such as source, form and redaction criticism. Moreover, historical methods of biblical analysis more generally have given way to literary methods as it became increasingly recognised that individual bias easily taints historical interpretation of a text, especially one written so many years ago.



In a sense, what Albert Schweitzer once classified as the 'quest for the historical Jesus' once had in theology. However, this does not mean that theologians don't still reflect and provide new insights into how Christian texts might reflect historical facts about Jesus, who was written within and what kind of person Jesus might have been. What it instead represents is a **pluralistic** approach to interpreting the Bible, where using different tools, methods and perspectives provides insights into one of the most studied texts throughout history.

However, you may well disagree! Throughout this section we will delve into some of the methods and aims of biblical criticism. In doing so, you will hopefully gain a greater understanding of key perspectives on biblical hermeneutics and come to some of your own ideas about how to interpret Christian texts.

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#### Discussion Activity:

What do you believe is the most effective form of biblical criticism in deriving meaning from the Bible? Discuss in pairs or small groups.

## The Different Senses of Scripture

We have covered a lot of ground in the introduction, so don't worry if you're feeling a bit overwhelmed. The debate around biblical hermeneutics is vast and individuals spend their lives studying it in university or at a seminary. For the moment though, we can take a step back from considering different approaches and simply consider the different broad approaches we might adopt towards the Bible. For as even while scholars might disagree on the right way to interpret scripture, there are still common ground. The different levels of understanding we can assume when talking about a biblical text. The different levels broadly correspond to distinct approaches which attempt to analyse the text. So, let's take a look at one of the first commonplace approaches to scripture in Christianity.

### The Literal Approach

The literal approach to the Bible is at heart quite simple. The texts are treated as if they are direct accounts of detail events and teachings that are factually correct. Whether we look at the virgin birth, the resurrection, the underlying sense of the literalist interpretations is that one has to take the text at face value. Having actually occurred, the teachings also being taken at face value. The approach is, in other words, as treating the Bible as a true historical account of various events and teachings. Thinkers give us an easy route to understanding its meaning and how we should live today.

Take the concept of **prophecy**, for instance. Throughout the Gospels, a common theme is Jesus as the Son of God, but the endpoint of prophecies made throughout the Old Testament is the Baptist. Under a literal approach, we can take the fulfilment of such prophecies as evidence that prophets who foresaw the coming of Jesus were graced with supernatural foresight. The literalist predictions about the coming of a messiah who arrived in first-century Palestine. The literalist approach of interpretation also is that it is likely the disciples and early Church perceived the fulfilment of these prophecies. Although there were different spiritual meanings projected onto his teachings and actions, the literalist approach to the Gospels under a literal interpretation is that Jesus definitively is the Messiah and the fulfilment of prophecies about his coming.

We've seen this kind of literal approach in action in the introduction as part of the **method**. Here, despite a variety of interpretative techniques being used, the emphasis is on the text directly representing historical events. We don't have to try to second-guess why the author might have included various elements while writing. If an event is in the Gospels, it is assumed that the event occurred and so was necessary to include in any proper account of Jesus' life. The literalist approach to considering more abstract Christian concepts such as heaven and hell. If Jesus spoke of punishment, these words should be accepted as literally representing states of being rather than symbolic or allegorical speech.

### Assessing the Literal Approach

So, why should we question the literal approach to scripture? Well, the most obvious problem is the degree of figurative and metaphorical language used within the Bible. Take the Gospel of John, where Jesus makes a series of figurative statements about his identity, including 'I am the Bread of Life'. Should we interpret that Jesus is bread? The answer is of course no. The literalist approach to grammar and syntax is that interpreters still accept that some language is figurative and should be interpreted accordingly.

But how exactly do we tell what language is intended to be interpreted literally and what is intended to be interpreted figuratively? Certainly, there may be grammatical clues, but if Jesus is routinely speaking in metaphors, could not the author of the Gospels be doing the same? Why should we interpret Christian texts literally when so much of their content may be figurative? The literalist approach to accept that there are some elements which should not be interpreted literally, but the literalist approach to about any portion of scripture.

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This problem is exacerbated also by the many contradictions between Christian texts. The Bible contains many contradictions, whether they be about the teachings Jesus uttered or the actions he took during his ministry. We can't make easy sense of these contradictions on a literal approach to the Gospels, and some critical insight may be needed about the authors and how they were arranging their sources. There are times also when the authors simply get historical facts wrong. Think again about the virgin birth narratives. Are these really historically credible? Or is it just a sense to interpret factually wrong statements in a literal manner?

Finally, we arrive at the conflicts between our modern understanding of the world and the Bible itself. Take miracles, for instance. Should we really be interpreting events such as the resurrection as literally true when science now would hold such actions to be impossible? In one sense, we can just accept the miracles as supernatural events caused by Jesus possessing divine power. But if we stick to our scientific guns and say that a literal approach to interpreting the Gospels is wrong, with our modern knowledge of the world, then it may be that a different approach is needed to fully grasp how the Gospels and other Christian texts might be meaningful.

### The Allegorical Approach

In contrast to the literal approach, the allegorical approach to interpreting scripture involves looking for and occurrences to have a deeper symbolic or metaphorical meaning. While such an approach is more in modern times, it certainly isn't controversial. For as we noted, there are many instances (e.g. Jesus' 'I am' sayings in John) where it does appear as if the authors of the Gospels are writing with a view to creating symbolic meaning through the images and concepts they use. Similarly, Jesus used many parables, concepts and symbols during his ministry in an attempt to generate deeper understanding among those who were listening to him.

But a key part of an **allegory** is that it is something that does not just have a symbolic meaning, but its nature is to some degree *hidden*. This means that the allegorical meaning of the text cannot be revealed through a straightforward literal reading of their text. Consider, for example, the sheep and goats in the Gospel of Matthew:

*'When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, he will sit on his throne. All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate them as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. He will put the sheep on his left.'* (Matthew 25:31–33 NRSV)

Here, if we take a literal approach to the passage, we might hold that there will be a separation of people into two groups, one on the left and one on the right. But is this exactly what is intended by the text? By comparison is likely to argue that there are hidden meanings about judgement. The image of a shepherd and a flock represents some deeper symbolic meaning about the nature of the actions that will impact our experience of the afterlife. Either way, what is key is that an allegorical approach to scripture is required to potentially uncover these *hidden* meanings, rather than a simple reading of the text.

### Assessing the Allegorical Approach

One of the key troubles with the allegorical approach is that it isn't always clear what the particular passage or text might have. Although Jesus often takes in parables, or other figurative language, his teachings often appear straightforward. Thus, we arrive at two of the key troubles with the allegorical approach. The first is how we can tell whether a passage does in fact possess an allegorical meaning, and second how we can tell whether we are in fact extracting the meaning from the passage.

The first problem to some extent is easy enough to overcome. Where we encounter figurative language, we are likely to be encountering a conceptual discussion which is intended to convey the deeper kinds of spiritual meaning intended by the text. For example, the parables of Jesus don't make much sense when we examine them literally, so the natural conclusion is that they are intended to be interpreted allegorically.

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fact be looking for an allegorical meaning. Furthermore, we might even say that in history or factual content, we might be served best by looking for allegorical meaning. The events throughout the Gospel may highlight some deeper meaning to Jesus' ministry, but the miracles actually occurred.

So, although it may not always be exactly clear what is allegorical, we are not completely analysing scripture. But how exactly do we know we've got the right allegorical meaning? The question, especially when we are so far removed from the original communities, is how the Gospels were written. The work of the **historical-critical method** is thus often linked in order to understand the deeper meanings behind the Gospels and other biblical texts, to reconstruct who they were written for and how these texts might have been understood.

The trouble is of course that this process is far from objective. Bias and subjectivity creep in. No matter how careful we are with our reconstruction, we are still imposing our own understanding or meaning onto the text. Therefore, the allegorical approach always faces the problem of those favouring more literal approaches. The argument is no matter what we do, we are imposing our biases and interpretations onto the Bible, many of which the author may not have intended through a literal interpretation.

### Discussion Activity:

Is it ever possible to avoid bias when searching for allegorical meaning? Or can we find an objective meaning of a passage using the right kind of biblical criticism? Discuss in groups.

## The Moral Approach

The final broad approach we can use instead is the moral approach. This eschews the idea of the Bible as a historical document but also does not take an allegorical understanding of its teachings. Instead, it sees the Bible as a practical document or guide to life, which is primarily examined in order to understand how it can help us live. At times this might encompass a kind of literal or allegorical understanding, but the overall commitment to either kind of interpretation where moral teaching is not the focus. For example, the miracle event the feeding of the five thousand:

*Then ordering the crowd to sit down on the ground, he took the seven loaves and giving thanks he broke them and gave them to the disciples, and the disciples gave them to the crowds. And all of them ate and were filled; and they took up the broken pieces of the baskets full. (Matthew 15:35–37 NRSV)*

Here, the literal approach might interpret this as a historical event, a demonstration of Jesus' power. The allegorical approach might well look for deeper meaning in what such feeding might represent, such as the fulfilment of earthly and spiritual desires. However, the moral approach would focus on how guidance can be gathered from this miracle event. Simply put, we could derive a moral principle from it, such as 'with others, even when it might result in yourself having less'. Or we might interpret it as a call to compassion and faith to be essential for a Christian moral life. In either case, the focus is on the moral teaching or interpretation of biblical passages, rather than a theological search for deeper meaning.

## Assessing the Moral Approach

The strengths of this moral approach are arguably clear. We abandon the often arduous search for theological meaning or interpretation and focus on how the Bible can help us live in the present. On interpreting moral principles, Christians can gain valuable moral guidance in the present. However, the question whether this focus is too narrow. Is it enough to read these kinds of moral teachings without asking might we risk missing important theological elements that lend context and meaning to the text? For instance, while the feeding of the five thousand illustrates the importance of charity, it might explain why these acts are good or important. Rather, the critic might contend that without a understanding of judgement, atonement and the afterlife, these moral concepts aren't rich or meaningful.

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Moreover, as we noted when discussing the literal approach, the Gospel writers do not to have interpreted scripture or Jesus' ministry in this manner. Instead, their and as a community they probably did believe that Jesus' arrival held more than humanity. Moreover, like the allegorical approach, we risk making interpretation the moral meaning of certain passages isn't always clear. If we take the example of Samaritan, on the face of it we might simply hold it declares we should help others. In the historical context, where the Samaritans were often looked down upon by Jews, the meaning of the passage is transformed to 'one should help others regardless of their ethnicity'.

However, as we move towards the end of this section, it is important to note that these approaches in different contexts. For the theologian seeking historical or theological truth, the literal approach may be necessary, but for the biblical scholar, it may prove too restrictive. Today, the literal or allegorical approaches may not be useful or pertinent, with the historical-critical method required in order that proper moral guidance can be derived from biblical passages. We shall see how these approaches informed the work of two thinkers and how they have proved deeply important to modern biblical interpretation when considering how we should interpret the Bible.

### Activity:

Read the short parable the parable of the mustard seed, detailed in Matthew 13:31-32. Using the main approaches listed above, detail how you believe they'd interpret this parable. Which do you think is most accurate?

## What Value Does Scripture Have?

In the last section, we analysed some broad approaches to scripture, each of which has its own strengths. However, each of these still relies on examining the Bible as an authoritative document that contains deep and revealing truths about the world. In other words, the Bible is automatically true to Christians and to others seeking a spiritual understanding of the world. But what if this is not the case? In what place? Is the Bible not just another document written by human hands? Might it be flawed?

Think for a moment about the **historical-critical method**. Often it is closely tied to the idea of the Bible as a human document which attempts to recontextualise and understand the Bible from the vantage point of modern scholarship of the world. Yet, considering the deeply mythological nature of the Bible, this perspective may be problematic for Christians. For at what point does our modern understanding of the world start to undermine the Bible? Is interpretation of the Bible? If miracles cannot occur, what importance can the miracles of the Bible have for us today? If we can question the existence of concepts such as the soul, heaven, hell, and the afterlife in which our essence as human beings is preserved?

In other words, historical criticism of the Bible seems to undermine its value for Christians. We face a fork in the road. Do they continue to assert the truth of the Bible and its teachings despite the conflicts with our modern scientific knowledge (the **literal approach**)? Do they seek to find a deeper meaning behind its passages which can coexist with this understanding (the **allegorical approach**)? Or do they give up on such a search and instead focus on the practical benefits the Bible can offer to individuals (the **moral approach**)?

In this section, we will turn to the thought of two major thinkers who sought to provide a way forward for modern biblical interpretation. And although their origins were different, how they arrive at very different conclusions and what implications these conclusions have for the Bible.

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## Karl Barth and Scripture as 'Witness'

Karl Barth was a Swiss theologian and perhaps one of the most influential Christian thinkers in the twentieth century. Yet, ironically, there is still extensive debate about where Barth actually stood on issues of biblical interpretation. This is partly because his views cannot be neatly slotted into any of the approaches we've analysed so far. Nor can they be easily understood from Barth's work itself. His most well-known work, *Church Dogmatics*, is four volumes and thousands of pages long, making grappling with his ideas an exercise in extreme patience! But despite this inaccessibility, we can detail the foundations of his approach to scripture and why he thought it necessary to readjust contemporary methods of biblical analysis.

At the time Barth became involved in academic life at the start of the twentieth century, becoming increasingly poor in Germany, German universities where Barth studied, theology tended to criticise or recontextualise the more mythological or supernatural as the miracle of history. Due to such criticisms, it often emphasised a more allegorical Bible. As a consequence, liberal theologians also often tended to endorse **natural theology**, the idea that God and religion are shaped more by human reason than faith in the Bible or other texts. What tended to emerge was a much more rationally constructed picture of God that was in line with contemporary scientific knowledge and historical knowledge of the Bible.

Although Barth was enmeshed in this intellectual environment, he came to find it lacking. In this sense, this was due to the historical events happening around the Christian Church at the time, the First World War, in which many liberal Christians ended up supporting German military and political actions. Barth also came to believe that in a theological sense, liberal Christianity had become complacent on spiritual issues and had become wholly concerned with the human world. Such was his disillusionment with liberal Christianity that in his 1919 *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, which warned that a 'time of crisis' was coming, liberal theology was becoming complacent. So, let's dig into Barth's attitude here and how his disillusionment with liberal Christianity informed his views on the nature and value of scripture.

### Natural Theology, Idolatry and Revelation

We've noted that Barth rejected not only **liberal theology**, but also **natural theology**. He did so in this latter field in many guises. Famously, the cosmological and teleological arguments for God are examples of natural theological reasoning. But why did Barth oppose such exercises? The answer is in the question. For Barth, natural theology was a transparently *human* theology. It is not one which truly reflects his being, especially if God is transcendent, as is the commonly claim. For if God is actually transcendent, there must be a deep divide between the human world, one which human intellect cannot reasonably or reliably bridge.

In this sense, Barth is attempting to express how 'incomprehensibly alien' God must be to say God can't communicate with human beings. Rather, it is pointing out that this is due to the gulf in being and understanding between God and human beings. God is omniscient, powerful, eternal, and so on. How can human rational minds actually comprehend even to capture the foundations of our world, let alone a being outside of it? For Barth, the use of natural theology to capture God as **idolatry**. For the process of conceptualising God doesn't result in truly understanding God himself, but rather in creating a human construct of what we wish God to be. Thus, natural theologians are arguing against the Second Commandments and worshipping a false God (see Exodus 20:1–17).

This might appear strange at first, for surely human reason exists due to creation. But if we follow liberal and natural theology to its natural conclusion, we end with a new perspective on the Bible and a God divorced from traditional Christian concepts. We are essentially crafting a new God that is just a product of our intellect or imagination. Yet this still leaves the question: if we can't know God through reason, intellect or imagination, how could we ever possibly know God through scripture?

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Barth's Calvinist roots show themselves. For like Calvin, Barth argued that God is known through his **grace**. It is God alone who reveals himself to human beings and this revelation cannot be replicated through any kind of human endeavour.

Moreover, this revelation is not a universal enterprise. It is concentrated in a single individual who holds that despite the protests of many Christians, there is no true revelation outside of Jesus. We can truly learn about God is through Jesus. In this way, Barth's theology is deeply rooted at the centre of all proper theological enquiry, and it is God alone who reveals himself. We cannot come to revelation by historically researching and interpreting Jesus' 'real life'. It is a kind of allegory. Think for a moment about passages such as Luke 10:22:

*'All things have been handed over to me by my Father; and no one knows the Father, or who the Father is except the Son and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him.'* (Luke 10:22 NRSV)

Here, Jesus' teaching seems to completely support Barth's interpretation if taken at face value (there are of course other interpretations of this passage). But if this is the case then a purely scriptural perspective is in jeopardy. Most importantly, we are left with a dilemma when we can't go back in time and observe Jesus' teachings and life ourselves, but neither can we try to reconstruct what we believe is the 'historical Jesus'. Here is where Barth's idea contends that ultimately human beings should give up searching for God. Instead, they should allow themselves to be *found* by God.

### The Value of Scripture as Witness

Barth's theology, as we've analysed to this point, is not a far cry from traditional Christianity. Many critics have characterised Barth as conservative when analysing his thought. However, he revealed theology over natural theology. Yet, this categorisation also misses a great deal of his work, especially around the value of scripture. For unlike conservatives, or even traditionalists, he holds that scripture is inerrant. True to form, he ultimately insists that the Bible is not the Word of God. It is a witness to the Word of God. It was written by human beings, and he accuses Christians who view it as inerrant as they are still idolising human work rather than searching for God himself.

Yet, the problem is, if the Bible is inherently flawed then how can it be a good witness to the Word of God? Barth argues that although the Bible is not revelatory itself, it is a witness to Jesus Christ and his **proclamation** to the world. In this sense, the Bible becomes a witness to the Word of God.

Let's spell this out a bit more. What the notion of medium means for Barth is that the Bible is not itself revelatory. However, they become revelatory when it is read by a human being with faith and grace. They, in a miraculous sense, temporarily transform and allow God to come through them to human beings. This might sound a little strange and Barth himself often illustrates this point with the example of the one below:

*The Bible is God's Word to the extent that God chooses it to be His Word, to be His Word through it; CD I/1, 109*

What this means is that the Bible is not itself as an object the 'Word of God'. Rather, it is the reader, through the **Word of God** when read. It is God who searches for human beings through the Bible (and the Church) and who chooses to reveal himself through it. The Bible preserves the one-way relationship between human beings and God, while also acting as a witness to the Word of God for Christians. For it is only the Bible that is a witness to Jesus Christ, and it is only the Bible that is capable of mediating revelation between God and human beings.

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## The Implications of Barth's Thought

It is perhaps easier to see now why Barth's thought has a bit more of a radical edge. If this idea of scripture as witness, we arrive at some pretty interesting implications. Barth's views affect interpretation of the Bible. For what becomes apparent is that it is not only on its words but how a reader engages with those words. Barth has much to say about the good **exegesis**; the process of discovering the right meaning of the Bible. Consider Torrance, a well-known scholar on Barth, that details his attitude towards interpretation:

*Biblical exegesis takes place therefore in a strenuous disciplined attempt to let the Word of God speaking to us, to read what the Word intends or denotes without interrupting it or confusing it with our own speaking, for in faithful exegesis we are to be told what we cannot tell ourselves.*

(Torrance, *Karl Barth: Introduction to Early Theology*, 2004, p. 22)

The idea as before is not to read our (human) ideas into scripture. That is why Barth's natural theology in the first place. Rather, Barth almost encourages a childlike approach to the reader and a degree of humility when engaging with it. One key example is the story of Jesus at the Pool of Bethesda, a key story in John 5. In this chapter, Jesus goes to a pool, believing it has healing powers. However, contrary to his expectations, Jesus heals him. The traditional interpretation of this story holds it to demonstrate the power of Jesus. It points out the crippled man wouldn't have been healed at all if he had not gone to the pool. The possibility of being healed. In a similar manner, the Bible is a medium or place for the encounter with Jesus if they too approach it with openness.

But how should we deal with the many historical inaccuracies in the Bible? Well, Barth argues that we shouldn't discount them, nor should we wholly endorse them. We should read the Bible as if it were a story, rather than a strict historical account. Barth is trying to adjudicate as to what parts of the Bible are human and which are a witness to the divine. Barth's focus on reading its stories receptively, trying to acknowledge and understand the encounter with the divine. For we are not trying to historically reconstruct Jesus' life, but to communicate with God himself. The Bible is thus not meant to be treated as a kind of unique theological document with the power to reveal God.

In fact, Barth notes that there are two distinct events in scripture which might be called 'history'. These are the creation of the universe and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Barth's point when using this phrase is that neither of these events is comprehensible to the human mind. They can be meaningfully imagined by the human mind. Thus, they cannot be dealt with by weighing up textual evidence or testimony. There simply is no way of rationally proving their existence beyond our intellectual capabilities. But despite such issues, the challenge for Barth is that these events happened all the same, even if they seem impossible to grasp.

## Evaluating Barth's Thought

From our analysis of Barth's ideas, it's clear that his world view doesn't fit neatly into a traditional approach to the Bible, and in many ways rejects each as unsatisfactory. What Barth prevents what he saw as Christianity's descent into idolatry. This is clearest when he criticises earlier nineteenth-century critics of religion such as Ludwig Feuerbach, who Barth saw as a danger to his students. For what Feuerbach argued was that God was not a reality, but a way for human beings to give their own desired qualities and characteristics to a deity. The true way to study religion in human beings was through an anthropological approach, not a kind of human abstraction.

Feuerbach might seem a strange character for Barth to cite, but he saw his approach to theology. If we draw upon our human reason to talk about the Christian God, then we are making ourselves known to human beings. The only way to avoid this for Barth was to develop a form of theology that recognises the divine as something that makes himself known to human beings. It is then up to human beings to study the

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revealed himself to them, not to try to reconstruct God based upon what human can't be reduced to an allegory or a set of morals. Nor can we develop a literally have to locate a new kind of Christian theology with the witness to revelation that

So, what are the problems with Barth's thought? Well, for the liberal theologian, is speculative than theirs. For one of the central claims of liberal theology is that if is nature, then it is coherent to suggest that God would have made himself at least faculties such as reason, which are by most Christian's standards the faculties that animals. The task of the liberal theologian is thus not to make God human projection of the true essence of God using the faculties that God gave us. In fact, one can suggest that revelation hinges upon a philosophical argument based on the nature of divine truth and the ramifications of theorists such as Feuerbach!

But these considerations are unlikely to free Barth, who is based in the tradition of naturalism, from the problem of explaining how human beings can come to know the revelation of the Bible in a way that does not violate the epistemic gap between the natural and the transcendent world. Let's break this thought down a bit. If God is the only source of revelation and God has to communicate this revelation to human beings, then how does God do it in a way that is understandable for our fallible minds? For traditional Calvinists, this is the principle of accommodation, the view that God naturally reveals himself in a way that is understandable to our minds and does not truly reveal himself.

But if this is true, then the revelation we are getting from the Bible is not really revelation at all, it still seems to be a kind of human projection, albeit one that God controls through the Holy Spirit. Barth hasn't really solved the problems that liberal theology grapples with. What he has done is to assert that in some important way, revelation and God were identical. So, when we see Jesus in Jesus Christ, we are in fact getting an unobstructed view of what God really is. This has strange implications, the most prominent being that the life of Jesus Christ isn't a revelation of God but rather a kind of performance or representation of God. Altogether this defies the way we traditionally view the Bible, and theologians today are struggling to understand exactly what Barth meant when he talked about God in this way.

Perhaps most importantly though, it reinforces a kind of mystical approach to God that is difficult to understand from our modern perspectives. Whether or not you agree with Barth's radical position on the Bible, it is difficult to deny that it is hard to square with either a traditional or a critical approach to its underlying message. We are constantly having to choose between treating our understanding of the Bible as a real understanding of God or as the product of human thought and its shortcomings. Altogether, while Barth might have made some good criticisms of liberal theology, his implementation of his view when analysing biblical teaching itself.

### Discussion Activity:

Does Barth succeed in establishing the Bible as a 'real', accessible witness to God? Discuss the problem of biblical interpretation and how it prevents Christians from developing a 'Word of God'? Discuss in pairs and then in groups.

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## Rudolf Bultmann and Demythologising Scripture

Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) was a German Lutheran theologian and perhaps one of the most important figures in biblical studies in the twentieth century. Although he was a very radical and controversial figure to begin with, many of his texts are now recognised as foundational when analysing the Bible. Yet, his writings can be difficult to work out at the beginning and easy to get wrong, especially when it comes to his famous detailing of the process of ‘**demystification**’, which will be central to understanding his overall beliefs about the value of scripture.

What’s key to note though when comparing Barth and Bultmann is that they both had different views on the nature of theology. Bultmann in fact was greatly influenced by Barth’s early critiques, and as they later grew apart, partly due to their differing theological opinions. For like Barth, Bultmann believed that liberal theology was effectively a demystification. If we follow through with a rational approach to Christianity, we effectively end up with a religion possessing little to no substance, leaving us with a somewhat shallow, unconvincing whatever cultural opinions the reader possesses.

However, Bultmann didn’t really want to do away with liberal theology like Barth. He needed somewhat refocusing. It had to end an obsession with discovering the historical Jesus, instead on what the Gospels actually proclaim and how it can be related to modern life. As advances in historical and sociological knowledge of the world of Jesus, Bultmann wanted to arrive at a true account of what happened during Jesus’ life. The Gospels by their nature, locations or dates, vary wildly in their reports, and are not corroborated by other sources. In this important sense, historical analysis of the Bible is important to a degree when dealing with it as an end in itself.

However, Bultmann also just thought the quest for the historical Jesus was unnecessary. He wanted to build a new way to interpret scripture, built partially upon his fascination with the

## Existentialism, Mythology and Christianity

Bultmann was deeply influenced by the work of the philosopher Martin Heidegger, who was influencing the field of philosophy generally known as **existentialism**. It is a broad philosophical approach, which focuses on the dimensions and nature of human existence as a whole in the world. Most importantly, existentialists tend to view the human person as free in the world, with every person a free (though often unwilling) agent who has the ability to choose their course of life. A basic principle for an important later existentialist, Jean Paul Sartre, is ‘existence precedes essence’. It emphasises that the nature of human beings is less important than their choices.

So why is this important to understand Bultmann? Well, as soon as we begin to focus on the individual, quite frightening realisations emerge. If we are fundamentally thrown into the world without any guidance or purpose to our lives. And as self-aware beings, such freedom is quite daunting. The struggle with our freedom is one of the most significant parts of living, such that many people choose to let their freedom and allow their lives to be governed by elements of their nature, culture, or religion. In other existentialist terms, Christianity can be a real and meaningful answer to the human condition.

The problem is that liberal theology, in its state at the time, could not provide the answers that we possess what can be characterised as a **modern scientific world view**. We have moved away from naturalistic explanations of phenomena and analyse the world in light of these explanations. We have lost the **ancient mythological world view** of the authors of the Bible. Theirs was a world in which beliefs about supernatural forces were commonplace and expected. The trouble is that the mythological beliefs provided comfort, especially around religious topics such as the afterlife. As audiences cannot take such comfort from these beliefs, ensconced as we are in our modern world, we are perhaps made even more anxious when dwelling on our existence and have to find the material comforts we can find.

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Moreover, whatever we do, we can't force the mythological world view of scripture on to us. So, what should we do instead? Bultmann argued that we have to find the essential meaning of the philosophical teachings and stories which we scientifically minded people can understand. We can find its meaning through mistranslations or misunderstandings. This, Bultmann argues, is the process he termed **demythologisation**.

## Demythologising the Bible

So far, we've seen how we're at a bit of a crossroads. If we are firmly stuck within a mythological world view, we cannot make proper sense of a text written by those with a mythological world view. So, what can scripture have for modern audiences? Trying to find the historical Jesus or a rationalistic approach can only either distort its message or reflect our own rationalising attitudes. The **historical-critical approach** to scripture. But we also can't do what Kant does and just read the Bible on its own terms. Our minds cannot reconcile the myths of the Bible with our search for naturalistic explanations. It is impossible to interpret the Bible with any kind of **literal** or straightforward approach.

So Bultmann offers a kind of allegorical approach to the Bible instead. He holds that the process of **demythologisation**, whereby we strip scripture of its antiquated myths, makes its underlying messages transparent and relevant to modern audiences. This is not about looking for moral messages. Bultmann is always keen to stress that demythologisation is about making theologically rich ideas, particularly those which give guidance and wisdom on how to live. Christianity can provide a proper answer or response to existentialist issues, without attachments to material things and identities.

*Myths express the knowledge that man is not master of the world and his life, in which he lives is full of riddles and mysteries and that human life also is full of riddles and mysteries.*  
Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology*, 1958, p. 19

Yet, Bultmann's ideas about demythologisation have been difficult to grasp for many. Bultmann is not arguing we should get rid of myths in the Bible, in the way that literalists have sought to. In fact, Bultmann holds that myths are deeply important to human life. It is the meaning behind myths, not take them at face value. So, demythologisation does not mean the quest for the historical Jesus nor a strict historical reconstruction of the community. It is a process that aims to make the messages or meanings of a text relevant to audiences, regardless of which the text was composed.

So how does this relate to Christian scripture? Well, Bultmann holds that the central message of the Bible is contained in Jesus' teachings and proclamations, which Bultmann appropriates as the word for preaching. While the Bible is a basic record of this preaching, its clarity is obscured by Christians creating myths around the figure of Jesus (such as his divinity), which is not the key to accessing the true meaning of the kerygma in the Bible. However, this doesn't mean Bultmann is wholly concerned with mythologising. At times the Bible is the exact opposite, such as the apocalyptic expectation of Christian followers, represented in the theological difficulties of the eschatological works in the New Testament. The **eschatological** promises, Bultmann believes, are the result of the church downplaying the possibility of the Second Coming.

*Demythologising has its beginning in the New Testament itself, and therefore the process of demythologising today is justified',* Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology*, 1958, p. 19

But how does this process of demythologisation work in action? Does it not require us to regard most of what we read in scripture as false? For Bultmann, balancing our perspective on myth is a difficult and careful process. Take the resurrection, for example. We are not doubting that such a supernatural event could have occurred. However, for the purpose of understanding the meaning of the resurrection act and what it means for our lives, we should read it as if the resurrection did occur. However, this is not the same as trying to somehow believe it happened historically!

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So, the resurrection is not a literal event. Yet it occupies an important part of the meaning to Jesus' teaching throughout, showing that if we live like Jesus, we will and, most importantly, **authentically**. To live life authentically is the aim of the exegesis according to one's own choices and purpose and not according to the roles, characters. The story of Jesus' resurrection, therefore, represents a deeper victory over **inauthenticity**. Christian teaching can be a meaningful answer to our existentialist problems. If we live a Christian life, we can't simply discard elements of the Bible due to historical problems. We can't simply pretend that the resurrection literally occurred and base our lives on this.

However, it would be wrong to also suggest that Bultmann is advocating some kind of arbitrary choices. Bultmann's approach is fundamentally different in scope and aim. For him, we draw out theologically rich kerygma that is relevant and accessible to modern audiences. It is not simply identifying moral messages Jesus conveyed for us. Recognising the goodness of the overarching moral message behind events such as the resurrection, atonement and other *theological* events that carry a deeper meaning for Christians beyond what is approached with Bultmann's approach of demythologisation to find what this deeper meaning is for religiously minded people in the modern world.

### The Implications of Bultmann's Thought

Compared to Barth, the implications of Bultmann's thought are perhaps a bit clearer. He is directly denying we should endorse a literal interpretation of the Bible. Equally, his approach, whereby we eliminate myth completely and simply look for underlying meanings, also can't simply be equated with an allegorical approach to the Bible. For the purpose of this, simply looking for an underlying meaning, a correct form of exegesis that gives us the meaning of scripture. What Bultmann requires is that the meanings we unearth become relevant to modern audiences. They have to serve a specific theological purpose in connecting the kerygma of the Bible to modern audiences.

Let's spell this out a bit more. Say I suggest that we take an allegorical approach to the Bible. The underlying message is that God is the spiritual saviour of humankind. It's a bit abstract, but we assume it's correct for the purpose of this argument. What Bultmann might argue is that this is ultimately still not appropriate for modern audiences with their scientific world view. If we take this interpretation, they might simply say 'well that makes no sense because there is no spiritual realm'. Such an interpretation still rests on the old myth that there is a spiritual world which are connected in our daily lives. As such, it cannot be truly relevant to modern audiences.

So, it's clear that a direct allegorical approach doesn't quite hit the mark when we are trying to argue. At the same time, it is uncertain what kind of kerygma taken from the Bible can be relevant to modern audiences. We will explore this problem a little more in the next section, but Bultmann rejects both a mythological and a scientific world view, and instead tries to carve out a new perspective that can address the existential questions other world views cannot. He is charting a similar course to Barth. Both are attempting to find a new way forward for Christianity in a modern world. For Barth of course this is to reaffirm the centrality of revelation in Christ, but for Bultmann it is the importance of a contemporary kerygma relevant to modern audiences.

Bultmann's arguments are just as controversial as Barth's in many ways. For him, to demythologise the kerygma, we also seem to imagine a very different way of interpreting and implementing it in our daily lives. For example, we might abandon traditional liturgical practices, or we might endorse such a mythological world view or perhaps just transform them into a form that is relevant to modern audiences. In many ways, the development of Christianity arguably reflects such transformation. The interpretation of the Eucharist, different denominations have changed the form of the sacrament to reflect the beliefs of their congregations, often because it is perceived as being meaningful in light of contemporary beliefs. But naturally, this creates a tension, and it is more when we evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of Bultmann's thought.

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## Evaluating Bultmann's Thought

One problem that we've seen emerge from Bultmann's approach is how to reconcile the Bible with ones that grant a central role to demythologisation. For we can reason the world views of modern people? For scholars such as Bultmann, the ways in which we often very different from ordinary people. Moreover, there are still just as many as there is a spiritual dimension to the world, which is at least partially mythological in nature. We actually need demythologisation to make the stories and teachings of the Bible relevant to modern people.

The general continuing popularity of religion across the world might suggest not. If science now plays in our everyday lives, there are millions of Christians across the world who find meaning in the traditional myths of the Bible, and in this sense, perhaps do not reject their world views. Of course, there are plenty of more scientifically minded Christians who might support Bultmann's argument. The most we might be able to say is that for certain groups demythologisation might be an important process to help them connect with the Bible, but perhaps not a universal requirement to create a modern kerygma.

Equally, Bultmann faces another problem from supporters of a historical approach. To recall, Bultmann argued that the quest for a historical Jesus was ultimately fraudulent and could never be truly recovered. Yet, the last century since Bultmann's first statement of this has seen progress in understanding the historical and sociological background of first-century Palestine. We have been like and how his message might have been received. Naturally, there are still many questions, but in the view of many New Testament scholars, researchers really have a much better understanding of who Jesus really was.

If this is the case, then the argument can be made that Bultmann's specific process of demythologisation is necessary. Instead, we can embrace a scientific world view and look for the Jesus of history. Bultmann would say, rather than just his 'thatness'. We can look for the Jesus who lived, who taught important moral and spiritual teachings that modern Christians can embrace, not just the Jesus who preached and was crucified. Altogether, Bultmann may have just jumped the gun. Perhaps searching for the historical Jesus was a fruitless endeavour. Even if we can't arrive at a picture that not only coheres with a scientific world view but also retains the importance of Jesus' teachings. In this sense, Bultmann's focus on kerygma might be a better way for the Bible can retain its relevance for modern audiences!

### Discussion Activity:

Do you believe demythologisation is capable of making the Bible relevant to modern people? Could it result in the Bible becoming a text devoid of Christian identity? Discuss in pairs or groups.

## Modern Approaches to Biblical Interpretation

So far, we have looked at three broad ways of approaching the Bible and the work of the figures who attempted to craft new ways of interpreting Christian teaching. As pointed out, there are some key drawbacks with each approach, but it's worth noting how each might not fully reject the traditional. And dwell upon when we read scripture. Moreover, it appears that the complexity and deep variation and inconsistency seem to indicate that there might not be a straightforward answer to its essential nature, whether it be mythological, allegorical or even just moral. Bultmann faced this problem, with both attempting to chart a new path forward while never quite abandoning the traditional issues associated with biblical exegesis.

While many modern scholars still find themselves inspired by the work of these two, they do not endorse a broad **pluralism** when it comes to biblical interpretation. This term acknowledges that in the present, there cannot be a wholly authoritative approach to analysing scripture. Instead, there is a variety of approaches, all of which carry the possibility of generating new insights. In this section we will examine four different modern approaches, picking out key points of significance and relevance for Christians today. Furthermore, we will look at how they relate to each other and whether they support and refute other methods for analysing scripture.

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## Rational Approaches

We begin first by talking about **rational** methodologies for examining the Bible. We analysed these in part in our discussion of Bultmann and Barth, both of whom were responding to the spiritual crises they believed had been caused by the rising prominence of **liberal theology**. For a rational approach to the Bible is one of the defining marks of liberal theology, both past and contemporary. It holds that biblical interpretation should always be made to cohere with our rational, scientific understanding of the world. In practice, this usually means discarding elements of biblical narratives that affirm the existence of supernatural elements, powers and events.

## The Role of Philosophy and Science

It is important to note that liberal theologians do not usually perform such a process. Their approach is informed by a mixture of contemporary philosophy and science which we will explore in the other sections of your Religious Studies course. For example, the problem of evil is not necessarily benevolent in the traditional sense, or at least does not in the manner suggested by traditional Christians. Similarly, the theory of evolution calls into question creation in six days and the belief that God created human beings directly in his image. In such problems, the rational theist recognises that the strength of these philosophical and scientific arguments means they are fundamentally required to re-evaluate the way they interpret the Bible.

So, what does the rational theist look for in scripture? Well, there are various perspectives depending on the beliefs held by the scholar in question. In the Enlightenment period it was much more fashionable to believe in **deism**, the view that although God exists and created the world, he does not intervene in creation nor is his continual power or action required to maintain it. In terms of scripture, this means that events in the Bible where God directly appears to individuals cannot have happened, and perhaps most importantly, the resurrection of Jesus did not occur either. If we thus strip out such supernatural forms of intervention, what remains is a set of moral and philosophical insights into the nature of God and his being.

Importantly, liberal theologians may still have a strong belief in salvation and life after death. They may develop accounts that cohere with a modern scientific perspective. For example, John Hick argues that life after death involves God creating a 'replica' of our earthly material bodies. This assertion that the afterlife requires the existence of souls. Hick also argues that this leads us to **religious pluralism**, the recognition that Christianity does not hold the exclusive claim to salvation. Other religions may be experiencing the same God in different forms. Hick's assertions are seen as too radical, instead asserting that human beings may enter an afterlife at death which is inaccessible so long as we remain in our physical bodies.

## Reason in Biblical Analysis

It is not always the case that such philosophical and scientific considerations extend to biblical interpretation. We've talked a bit about the 'quest' for the historical Jesus to locate what Jesus' life actually looked like. This quest usually involves the assumption that Jesus was a human life. In other words, we must initially assume that history is uniform to what we know of human life. Simply put, if Jesus was a divine figure then it would hardly be surprising if he did not die! Thus, in the rational approach is tied to the quest for the historical Jesus. For biblical scholars practising Christianity, for the purposes of their studies they may not see Jesus as divine as part of this quest. The rational approach, therefore, may be methodologically philosophical or scientific.

We will explore this discussion further when we look at historical approaches to the Bible. For the moment it is useful to see here how these two approaches may overlap. If we read the Bible then we are also arguably trying to understand the actual historical events it describes. A necessary means to uncover the real **universal values** given by scripture that cohere with our scientific and philosophical beliefs. Otherwise, supernatural elements might still obscure the Bible and its underlying message.

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## Problems with the Rational Approach

For those scientifically minded, it might appear as if the rational approach is the one looking for an interpretation of the Bible that doesn't contradict the evidentially recognised throughout the scientific community? Well, this potential strength of some issues with a stringent focus on reason, many of which we've partially explored with Bultmann. For, as both these thinkers noted, the project of liberal theology is a version of religion once one follows it through to its natural conclusions. Either we strip the Bible down to a set of moral messages that could be taught outside the Christian faith, or a God that reflects what we psychologically wish God to be, not what he actually is.

We can think about this in a few ways. The first might be to look at Christian tradition today, which still largely adheres to the rites, rituals and beliefs held by Christians. This tradition is often what is thought of as Christianity in itself. If we strip the supernatural away, we also strip away much of this tradition, and along with it many of the truths from the Bible. This doesn't mean that the rational approach is wrong, just that we end up with a Christianity at the end of the process that might be closer perhaps to the beliefs and practices of the early church.

Yet if we take Bultmann and Bultmann as examples, this stripped-back version of Christianity is for example, in part that it is the challenge of the Christian faith to open ourselves to God through the Bible as a witness to revelation. As such, one has to suspend one's understanding of the world to understand its message. For Bultmann, on the other hand, the rational approach to the Bible is the real existential questions of life, which the Bible and its kerygma is uniquely equipped to answer. We refashion its myths for a modern audience. In both cases the rational approach to the Bible is to question the importance of Christianity and its myths are for religious audiences.

We can also question the rational approach in a similar manner when we look at a perfectly rational view to believe in the existence of a deistic God that does not interfere with the world. This is exactly the point of scripture which details a wide variety of cases where God is active in the world. If we are only looking for naturalistic explanations of the world, how can we understand scripture? Science is much better equipped? The rational approach may not really give a method to understand scripture at all, instead just making it obsolete altogether! For the atheistic or agnostic it is, but for the Christian it is probably not.

## Historical Approaches

Let's take a step back now. We saw how the rational approach can be considered as a scientific and philosophical vantage point, where our pre-existing world view informs how we interpret scripture. However, the second was much more methodological, taking a different view of scripture that naturally sidelined theological questions in favour of objective historical analysis. The rational approach did not explicitly deny the possibility that supernatural events occurred, but it did assume that these events occurred from the outset when studying the Bible, in order to remain unbiased when trying to locate the actual, historical events of scripture.

This is the kind of thought pattern that underlies the historical approach. Those for whom the Bible is a historical document, rather than a source of divine revelation. Through a variety of methods, many of which we will explore throughout your studies. Some key examples include form criticism, redaction criticism, and source criticism. Each of these cases, though, the scholar is typically attempting to strip the theological from the Bible to not only identify what the actual historical events were but also how these were communicated throughout the Bible. Different sources and compositions. Thus, one is not seeking to identify the events that occurred but also trying to understand what the actual world of the Bible looked like. The historical approach to develop deeper insights into the teachings and events of scripture.

You will perform this historical approach yourself throughout this course comparing the historical events of the crucifixion and resurrection, or ethics in the Gospels. Even in Christian preaching, the historical approach is used to strengthen the understanding and meaning of Christian teaching. As such, the historical approach is of great importance of the historical approach, at least in a broad sense. Yet for all its strengths, the historical approach has been criticised those who develop an over-reliance on historical analysis, and in the next section we will take a look at some of the issues with prioritising history in biblical interpretation.

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## Problems with the Historical Approach

One major issue with the historical approach is what we might call the **epistemic rejection** of the quest for the historical Jesus for a moment. He noted that ultimately Jesus and the relative paucity of historical sources about his life means we'll never know what his life was actually like. This is a sincere problem for biblical scholars, even to this companion, the biblical authors weren't exactly objective historians trying to tell the life as accurately as possible. They were writing with a religious purpose in mind, that served a theological purpose for their respective communities. In fact, through the notion that we should try to capture history objectively was barely considered. Retelling of historical stories, it was often to serve some present motive the historians.

Now, we can of course use the texts themselves to discern the motives of the Gospel authors, but this is always subjective. Essentially, we are trying to discover the motives of unknown individuals 2,000 years ago and then use this understanding to uncover historical events. If the character of a person we also know very little about. This is why Bultmann said the quest for the historical Jesus is a fruitless endeavour. We're never really going to understand who Jesus was. What is really important for Bultmann instead is that we capture the meaning of his preaching, or **kerygma**.



But is this so bad? Can't we just get closer towards a historical understanding of Jesus by understanding his life? Well, even this process carries a few problems. A quick survey of the Gospels reveals that while there is some agreement about the basic circumstances of Jesus' life, the authors also fundamentally disagree profoundly about many key aspects of his ministry and teachings. This is a problem with the historical approach. Without good historical sources, we cannot separate our own beliefs, wishes and desires onto the Gospel texts. In one sense, we will always be imposing a natural imposition of modern ideas onto very different historical eras.

But we will also be guilty of favouring particular interpretations of history that we might be the strict Christian favouring a conservative, traditional understanding of Jesus, or a political, secular individual favouring a radical understanding instead. But the other problem linked to this issue is that even if we do discover the real historical Jesus, how can we, living as we are today, enmeshed in a very different mindset and set of circumstances? As Bultmann argued, we are fundamentally separate from the mythological perspectives of first-century Judaism. We just may not be able to develop compelling narratives and teachings which inspire and instead may produce an accurate, but bland and irrelevant, account of Jesus.

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## Sociological Approaches

We can now turn to some more intriguing approaches to the Bible. One of these is the sociological approach, which, although similar to the historical approach in many ways, uses a different set of methodologies to analyse the development of Christian tradition. For the starting point to the Bible is to look at the structures, views, and patterns of human activity at the time and use these to develop a deeper understanding of both the texts themselves and the people they were written for. The aim thus is not to uncover who the historical Jesus was but instead to explore how they acted as a distinctive group and what their social relationships were.

This very much fits the natural remit of sociology, which at heart attempts to be a science of human behaviour. Initially, sociological approaches to the Bible proved popular in the early 20th century, but arguably been since the 1970s that the discipline has been somewhat discredited. What proponents of this approach claim is that in light of researchers having so few real historical sources about the life of Jesus, it is better to study what communities were like and how they operated in the first century, rather than trying to figure out how the natural religious impulses within human beings responded to the message of Jesus. This religion was able to spread so fast in particular communities.

Such study is important because much of religious life back in the first century was lived out in communal spaces. The academic study of texts such as the Bible. There was much more emphasis on public worship and traditions, where individuals learnt of new ideas and beliefs in communal spaces. The study of the everyday life of people in the first century through social analysis can give greater insight into how the historical approach is often seeking to understand. This means that in some cases, the sociological and historical approaches can work in tandem. But the sociological approach is often used to provide a broader picture of the emergence of Christianity and how this emergence conformed to the social behaviours and structures.

## Problems with the Sociological Approach

For all its virtues, the sociological approach is limited in a number of ways. Although it provides good explanations for why Christianity grew so quickly in certain communities and the social behaviours of early Christians, it faces similar epistemic issues to the historical approach. We know we're not projecting a modern understanding of the human religious impulse onto the past. We assume people have a similar world view back then to now, we might well make the same kinds of structural analysis onto communities they do not belong to. On the other hand, because of the kind of shared connection between the present and the past, we might well struggle to understand religious social behaviours that enabled Christian communities to grow so fast.

But there are also specific problems with sociological analysis. Often the discipline attempts to use patterns of behaviour in certain communities to draw conclusions about the influence of specific texts or in the growth of religious ideas. Yet, it may well be that it is specific historical circumstances that better explain the actual growth of Christianity rather than some universal principle. For instance, scholars debate greatly the degree to which the sacking of Jerusalem in 70 AD had an impact on the growth of Christianity and its theological direction, as it split the church into two main branches. These kinds of historical factors are often easily accommodated within sociological analysis, but it is a problem when analysing the composition of the Gospels within early Christianity.

The other problem similar to this is that it can also tend to overlook the importance of individual figures in Christianity. By focusing on communities, we potentially obscure the impact that individuals like St Paul had on the early Church and the composition of the Gospels. This is particularly true when analysis begins with a set of principles or ideas that exist outside of scripture itself. The sociological approach directly to Christian texts to resolve issues and are potentially stuck with an approach that makes many generalities about what were the most important influences on early Christianity. As noted, most taking a sociological approach to biblical interpretation are aware of these limitations, but such rarely claim that sociology can provide complete answers to difficult historical questions.

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## Literary Approaches

The final approach we shall consider is the literary approach to the Bible. While it appears in other kinds of approaches, it has grown significantly since in the 1970s heart, it analyses the Gospels and other texts as if they were pieces of literature. This is interesting first and foremost when we think about the fact that it is likely that the Gospel writers were not intending their books to be just objects of academic study or manuals of ethics. For the 'news', they were specifically telling a story about Jesus' life, and it is significant that they fundamentally seek to tell the same core narrative in different ways. This implies that only a small amount of important material was missing from their sources, but they had the ability to tell it in a way that had not been heard before.

So, what does the literary approach involve? Well, first and foremost, it analyses the composition and writing of the Gospels. This can range from looking at the narrative of a particular Gospel to looking at specific literary concepts such as drama, irony and metaphor used within all the canonical Gospels. One specific method that has often proved useful is **narrative criticism**, which analyses the stories in the Gospels and how different parts are connected to form a story. This method of criticism we shall see proves particularly useful in analysing the conflicts in the Gospel of John later on in this companion.

But for the moment, let's think a little bit more about how literary analysis can give us a new perspective. For one important thing that may well have been on the Gospel writers' minds is that what occurred in Jesus' life but a meaningful portrayal of these events. In other words, they just want to tell a story, but a *good story*. For if your intention is to convert people or educate them on it, then a sure-fire way to keep their attention is by writing something that is more than boring. In fact, one might say the growth of Christianity and its persistent influence is partly due to the story of Jesus being told in such an arresting manner by the Gospel writers. The ministry, death and rebirth is a motif now found in plenty of stories, not just because of its appeal but because it has such precedent in Christian literary tradition.

Thus, if we use literary analysis to examine different parts of the Gospel, we can try to form a bigger narrative or idea. Moreover, there are specific parts of the Gospel that are particularly suited to this kind of analysis. Most notably, the **parables** are essentially stories that use the rhetoric, structure and metaphors employed in parables, we can look for narrative and the message of the Gospel they are contained within. Moreover, it can help us understand how the Gospels are so different. For it may not be that the Gospel writers used fundamentally different sources, but each tried to shape the events of Jesus' life to a story which they thought would be most appealing to their audiences.

## Problems with the Literary Approach

The appeal of the literary approach is easy to see. It's flexible and can potentially give us a new perspective on the writers composed their works and how their narratives could impact a reader. However, much of the Gospels, if not the whole Bible, is written in a narrative form, it is not always clear how to examine them as pieces of literature. For one, the literary approach has some drawbacks. Once we dig a bit deeper into it, we implement methods such as narrative criticism, which is important, but the Gospels are also much more than a story. They are intended to convert people to the audience, and we have to assess to what degree these truths take precedence over the story.

Think for a moment about the Gospel of Luke. As we shall see later on, there is some debate as to which Luke can be thought of as the 'historian' he self-identifies as at the beginning of his Gospel. If we give this label to Luke, then the literary approach may only carry us so far. For the historical story but to relay information about historical events to their audience. The specific details of the story can be debated, but at some level we will have to assess what sources the Gospel writers assessed these sources and to what extent a particular passage is representative of the author's storytelling powers. Of course, we can still cast doubt on Luke's self-identification as a historian may well be a kind of rhetorical flourish used to give legitimacy to his story.

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Nonetheless, this example illustrates the complexities in using the literary approach to question the degree to which Christians can find meaning in assessing the Bible as literature. Christians are interested in discovering both the historical truths behind biblical texts and their understanding of God and the world. If we think about Barth for a moment, then since Christ is the ultimate mediator of God's revelation, we cannot treat the Bible as literature, rather have to view it as a real witness to revelation itself. In other words, what we are doing when interpreting the Bible are the real truths behind it and so establish a relationship with God. This simply may not fully accommodate this desire if we end up treating scripture as a literary text.

## How Should We Interpret the Bible Today?

By now, you should be swimming in interpretative possibilities. When thinking about the Bible, you will come into play throughout the rest of this companion and you may even recognise some of the themes from Year 1 studies. But the primary questions that we end of this section are 'What are the different approaches to biblical interpretation?' and 'Should we adhere to just one approach?' Both these questions are not merely conceptual. They have a deep impact on how we understand the Bible. Of the schisms that have occurred between groups of Christians find their roots in different ways of interpreting the Bible. In fact, one of the greatest differences between the Catholic and Protestant churches is their level of adherence to variable kinds of biblical interpretation and the importance of tradition.

Yet, when we looked at the modern approaches to biblical interpretation, we noted both strengths and weaknesses to each. While denominations often hold strong beliefs about the Bible, the same is not always true of biblical scholars. While their work often involves a specific method to interpret the Bible, recent trends have seen scholars recognising the value of multiple methods, thus at least implicitly endorsing a **pluralistic** perspective on biblical interpretation. We can see this if we analyse historical and literary criticism together. While it may be useful to look at the context behind figures and events in the Bible, this can obscure the overall literary pattern of the text. On the other hand, only looking for literary techniques and concepts can equally obscure the historical investigation into the meaning of particular passages.

Simply put, the strengths of one approach might help solve the weaknesses of another. For example, such as literary and sociological interpretations of the Bible don't often find their roots in the Christian tradition. While throughout the Christian world, reason and history have been used to support the faith, it takes time for academic inquiry to filter down into the lives of everyday Christians. Yet, they may well have insights that ultimately change the dimensions of how Christians understand the world. If, for instance, literary criticism shows that there isn't a harmonious interpretation of the Bible, which Gospel should be preferred for its overall meaning and message? Should we even question the importance of religious texts at all?

In any case, our analysis of approaches to biblical interpretation can and should be used to challenge Christianity, whether it be the role of tradition or literary criticism. At heart, most Christians view the Bible as a single text, and more often than not the Gospels and the Pauline letters. Debates about these approaches should always be coherent with whatever Christians believe. One favours and how these are interpreted as spiritual and ethical guidance for the church.

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### Discussion Activity

Should we use one approach to biblical interpretation above others? Or is a pluralistic perspective towards understanding scripture? Discuss in pairs or small groups.

## Quick Quiz

1. What is the allegorical approach to biblical interpretation?
2. How does the allegorical approach differ from the moral approach?
3. What does Barth mean by describing the Bible as a 'witness' to revelation?
4. What is demythologisation?
5. What is the most important aspect of the Bible to Bultmann?
6. What is existentialism?
7. Within what approach to biblical interpretation do some followers often endorse irony and narrative?
8. What approach to biblical interpretation often focuses on analysing technique, irony and narrative?



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## 5.1: TEXTS AND INTERPRETATION THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN LUKE

### What you will learn in this section

The theological discussion around eschatology and the Kingdom of God in the Gospel of Luke

- What Jesus taught about the Kingdom of God during his ministry, and the message throughout Luke.
- The different scholarly perspectives on the arrival of the Kingdom of God in relation to realised and futurist eschatology.
- The meaning and importance of eschatological beliefs to early Christian communities and how this influenced the growth of the Christian faith.

### Starter Activity:

Revisit your work so far on the world of the first century and the different religious groups. How do you think different religious groups thought about life after death and the interaction with the world? Make some notes and compare them to early Christian perspectives on eschatology through this section.

### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	Ian Howard Marshall
<b>Born</b>	1934
<b>Died</b>	2015
<b>Key text</b>	<i>Luke: Historian and Theologian</i> (1970)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	Marshall was a well-regarded theologian whose work in the second half of the twentieth century focused extensively on the New Testament. He is known as a historian against excessive redaction criticism, which often became obsessed with rewriting traditional eschatology and ethics with modern perspectives.

### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	A Schweitzer
<b>Born</b>	1875
<b>Died</b>	1965
<b>Key text</b>	<i>The Quest of the Historical Jesus</i> (1906)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	Schweitzer was a prominent figure in early twentieth century biblical scholarship during the first quest for the historical Jesus, arguing that Jesus was an eschatologist in the context of the eschatology and apocalypticism common to the first century CE.

### Introduction: The Kingdom of God, and the Death and Resurrection of Jesus

Throughout your studies so far, you have studied a wide array of events in the Bible, from the miracles to the big guns and look at matters of theology, specifically with an emphasis on the Gospel of Luke. You may well be familiar with a field of theology that is concerned with death, judgement and the afterlife, with 'things to come'. And at least one source of information we have about these subjects in the teachings, death and resurrection of Jesus himself.

Yet, when we compare the four Gospels and Jesus' teachings on eschatological issues, problems emerge. For while each Gospel presents a similar overall view on what is to come, there are marked differences, especially when comparing the earlier written Gospels (Mark and Matthew) with the later ones (Luke and John). More developed and widely different narratives and theories on why these differences have emerged. We can systematise a coherent and complete eschatology from the Gospels then, but we must delve into some of these debates and analyse key passages in Luke which are often used to argue for and against conflicting theories for different forms of eschatology.

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First, though, it is necessary to give some background on the Gospel of Luke, and present throughout all four Gospels: the concept of the **Kingdom of God**. For this against which we measure different theories on eschatology in the Gospels and the harmonisation of these theories into a single coherent narrative about Jesus' history and the afterlife.

## The Gospel of Luke

The Gospel of Luke can be said to quietly stand apart from the other synoptic Gospels. It is quite similar to Matthew, both in how it uses Mark as a source and its concordance with the birth narrative. But beneath these similarities, Luke is a quite radically different starting point when considering eschatological issues.

We can see this immediately at the beginning of the Gospel itself. It starts with the statement that affirms how the Gospel is a carefully compiled source material of Jesus' life and death. And while this introduction does not state directly who the author's intentions towards 'Theophilus', which means 'Lover of God'. In this sense, one can see that Luke is, however, addressing his readership to understand his role as author and his aims. When we are separated in time from the date of authorship, we still have to be honest here. Is he really being the careful historian in compiling his Gospel? Or are there other motives? **Redaction criticism** is arguably more key than ever when thinking about the Gospel and whether his stated aims agree with the tone, style and historical accuracy.

For instance, reading Luke 1:1–4, one can be tempted to infer that Luke is of the view that the other Gospels are somehow incomplete and that, with his insight, a better and more rounded narrative can be formed. We might bolster such an inference by looking at how Luke adapts material from the other Gospels and includes others as he sees fit. These kinds of actions certainly fit the view that Luke's editing was performed to take out more mythological elements and those established by proper eyewitness accounts. But without observing Luke's role and beyond Luke's role as historian, there can be equally observed to be many differences present in the other Gospels. Moreover, these ideas fit a much later date of authorship, which is more appropriate for a more Gentile audience. Therefore, we should consider whether Luke can appear to be the competent historian in order to give weight to his overall theological message.

Take, for instance, Jesus' ethics in Luke, which we shall study later in this comparison. While there are many similarities with Matthew and Mark, there is a greater emphasis on Jesus' outreach to the poor, as well as a focus on the extension of his ministry to those traditionally exiled from the Jewish community. For example, the parable of the good Samaritan, only present in Luke's Gospel, presents a message of outreach to other groups beyond a Jewish audience. Similarly, the parable of the lost coin shows a distinct care by God for those who are marginalised or dispossessed. This is also seen in Luke as in Luke there are far more female characters, and Luke 7:36–50 in particular emphasises women regarded as unclean by the Pharisaic laws of the time.

Would not such radical ideas be perhaps more rounded if they were considered in the context of the Gospel? The same is true of the main theme of Luke, which is to show Jesus to be the one who fulfils the promises of the Old Testament. He uses common titles such as Messiah, Son of Man and Son of God to demonstrate his identity. He also weaves these titles into a 'salvation history' divided into three prehistorical periods of Jesus, described in Luke 1:4–3:1, which extends from the genealogy and circumstances of the virgin birth. The second is the ministry of Jesus in Luke 3:1–9:50, beginning of the proclamation of John the Baptist and ends with the final ascension. The third is the period of the Christian Church, of which the beginning is detailed in Acts, which is the continuation of the Gospel.

Therefore, beyond Luke simply being a compiler of historical material, one can identify distinct themes and concepts. Consequently, it remains a lively area of discussion among scholars as to whether one should interpret Luke as consistently aiming for historical accuracy, or whether they embellished their Gospel to present a specific picture of Jesus to a first-century Jewish and Gentile audience.

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## Date and Authorship

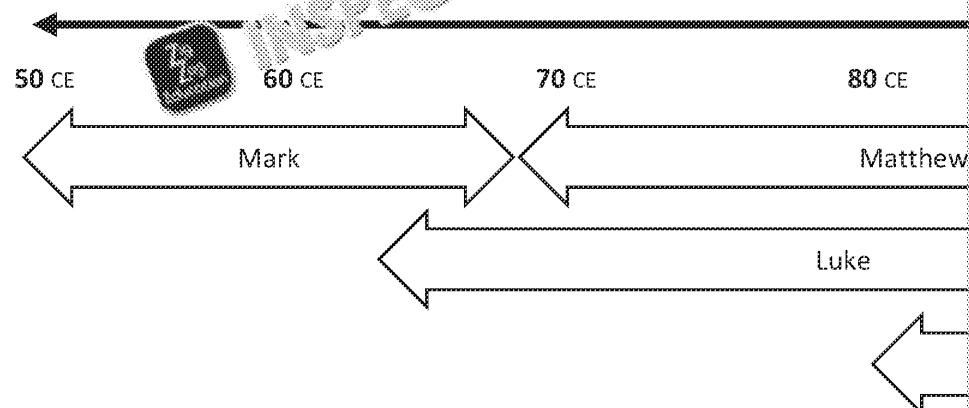
The question of who authored Luke's Gospel has become considerably more wide. It is generally taken for granted that both Luke and Acts in the New Testament were written by the same person. Not only do they both share similar linguistic characteristics (for example, in the address to Theophilus) but the preface of Acts directly references the Gospel of Luke as 'my former book'. Many of the theological themes are consistent between the two books, particularly the view of Jesus as part of a 'salvation history', with Acts describing the age of fulfilment after the ascension of Jesus.

However, one particular issue has been whether the dual authorship of these books was by 'the physician' as described in Colossians 4:14 and 2 Timothy 4:11. This was the traditional view, put forward by early church theologians such as Origen, Eusebius and Tertullian. The idea that a travelling companion of Paul fits the style of what are often called the 'we' passages in Acts is supported by the fact that plural accounts are given rather than individual accounts (for example, Acts 16:10-17). This view arguably makes the most sense of the author of Acts was a travelling companion of Paul. If the author is identified as Luke, a companion of Paul, then it would be a natural fit for him to be regarded as 'Luke' in the Gospel letters to the Romans and Colossians.

Nevertheless, despite this initial good evidence, there is still reason to question whether Luke is truly the author. Colossians and 2 Timothy are now regarded to not necessarily be written by Paul. This has led into question whether the identification of Luke the physician of both is a credible one. Some scholars have argued that the 'we' passages are best understood as another document inserted into the narrative of Acts as a whole by the author as a historical effort. Many New Testament scholars in this view in particular make note of the fact that there is little of Pauline theology in the Gospel of Luke. It is strange if Luke were Paul's companion and was witness to historical events such as the trial and execution of Paul. Thus, any attempt to identify the author with Luke the physician should be taken with a grain of salt.

There are even more problems, however, in giving the Gospel a date of authorship. Traditionally, surrounding Luke the physician, the Gospel is often dated according to whether it was written by a companion of Paul or not. Acts ends fairly abruptly with the imprisonment of Paul, being sometime between 62 and 63 CE. And Luke is generally thought to be written after Acts (though scholars disagree) due to the reference in the preface of Acts to 'my former book'. An early date of sometime between 60 and 65 CE is given to the date of Luke's authorship.

However, as traditional accounts of the authorship of Luke have been challenged, alternative dates have often been given. This is firstly often based on the dating of Mark, which is generally given as between 65 and 70 CE. Considering that Luke uses Mark as his primary source, it has to be concluded that Mark had to be in circulation for some time before Luke composed his Gospel. The second problem is that the Gospel of Luke is often called into question, with many of its sources unknown. While it can be considered as eyewitness testimony, there are notable differences in the way it presents the Christ's teachings, and it has a number of notable omissions, such as the story of Paul and James's conversion. As a mark of an incomplete document, it still doesn't give weight to the view that it was written by a companion of Paul or testimony. Therefore, Luke is more commonly given a later date of composition, though some New Testament scholars contend it could even be as late as 100 CE.



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## Luke as Historian or Theologian?

We will be spending quite a lot of time with Luke throughout your A Level studies, so before we move on to examining the Kingdom of God it is useful to quickly take a look at some of the key concerns with his Gospel and how they are reflected in modern biblical criticism.

One early problem to note is that there is still an extensive debate on how to analyse and comprehend Luke's (the author's) purposes in writing the Gospel. **Albert Schweitzer** in his well-known work *The Quest for the Historical Jesus* (1906) argued that Jesus' views reflected common Jewish expectations in the first century CE, namely that the talk of the coming Kingdom of God reflected an **imminent** eschatological event. Thus, Jesus' death was meant to inaugurate an immediate intervention by God in our world, and the lack of such an intervention represented the failure of Jesus' mission. Altogether, what Schweitzer argued was that the real Jesus eschewed a **futurist eschatology**, which emphasises the coming Kingdom of God to be a specific event that is yet to occur at some (indefinite) future time. The opposing view to this is that Jesus presented a **realised eschatology**, the idea that his ministry was itself the inauguration of the Kingdom of God and it is not some definite future event yet to come.

Schweitzer's claims here ran counter to trends in biblical research at the time, with reconstruction of Jesus' life based on an analysis of the Gospels and how they were written. There is here the idea that each Gospel author was in some way thinking of himself as a historian, but it is a controversial notion when the concept is applied to Luke as historian, but it is a controversial notion when the concept is applied to Luke as historian. Whereas we commonly think of history as we aim to uncover historical truths, ancient historians often compiled accounts for theological reasons which are hard to discern from our modern perspective.

Schweitzer leaned into these problems in his research, arguing that the later writings reflect Jesus' actual eschatological views. Instead, the problems with **Parousia**, the Second Coming, meant Christian writers had to adjust their stances on Jesus' teachings and re-evaluate when intervention by God had occurred after Jesus' death. This led to a confusion of eschatology which began to diverge more and more from the Jewish futurist eschatology that Jesus represented. Thus, in the Gospel of Mark we encounter more passages that represented a futurist eschatology. In the Gospels, more passages that represent other forms of eschatology. The central implication is that Luke was not writing as a 'historian' in the conventional sense. He was documenting instead of reporting, supported his communities' views on the death of Jesus after the Second Coming.

In the following years, there was much less of a focus on the historical Jesus and more on the church. Schweitzer's example and looked at how the text of Luke might have represented the community he might have been writing for. However, by the second half of the 20th century many were beginning to fight back against the criticisms of Luke as historian. Notably, the 1970 work *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, claimed that previous analysis of Luke as a historian was flawed and that it was necessary to re-evaluate how scholars had viewed the composition of Luke/Acts. As he writes:

*Luke ... was a historian who wished to give a faithful portrayal of the ministry of Jesus and the early church. He did not, therefore, write a work of creative imagination controlled by his sources. (Luke: Historian and Theologian p. 9)*

Within this broad claim are three important aspects. The first is that Luke's theology is not purely a theologian aim, but in an important sense matches the historical sources he is using. Second is that the focus of his theology arises out of history, not the other way around. Second is that the focus of his theology is not on salvation matters but instead what Marshall identifies as 'salvation', the opportunities for de-

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by the good news of Jesus Christ. The third aspect, though, is perhaps the most key – something had gone wrong in biblical analysis of Luke throughout history. As we noted, one of the problems for scholars was that Luke's claims to be a historian were a kind of lie intended to prop up his Gospel.

But why should we not take the author's claims seriously when there often appear to be no other sources? In order to evaluate this difficult question, we need to first have a look at how God is represented in Luke's Gospel.

### Discussion Activity:

Do you believe that Luke could have been trying to accurately record historical events? Or do you think the Gospel writers inevitably prioritised theological motives? Discuss in groups.

## Analysing the Kingdom of God in Scripture

Now we've considered some of the debate around the composition and purpose of Luke, let's go more in-depth into it, focusing around **eschatology**. It was noted that Luke presented **salvation** throughout his Gospel and this larger arc is important to consider Jesus' teaching about death, judgement and the afterlife within. For a clear implication of his ministry (one often stated explicitly) is that his time on Earth is part of a wider plan wrapped in due to their **covenant** with God. In fact, Luke can be seen as the Gospel of the Kingdom with such conceptions of salvation. The theologian Joel Green, for example, claims that *salvation more than any other New Testament writer* (*The Theology of the Gospel of Luke*). We even turn to Marshall once again for a fuller explication of this idea:

*We have seen that the ultimate source of salvation is God the Saviour, that he was born into the world as Saviour to bring men peace and to lead them to glory. His salvation is for God's people but also reaches to the Gentiles, that salvation is in accordance with the promises of the Old Testament... It is our claim that these are the ideas that underlie Luke as a whole and constitute its main theme.*

(I H Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, p. 102)

But what does salvation mean here exactly? Well, one key aspect is that Jesus' mission is the arrival of the Kingdom of God. It is this arrival which guarantees in some sense the future of those who follow Jesus, so understanding exactly what this term means can help reveal what Jesus was endorsing. We've recognised already that there are a variety of views on the eschaton, so to analyse key passages, we necessarily have to look out for parts that stress whether the Kingdom represents a future event yet to come, something that has been inaugurated, or something that has been realised by the arrival of Jesus.

Yet, what is also important to recognise is that the meaning of passages may not be straightforward, endorsing differing interpretations depending on what pre-existing beliefs we have when we analyse the passage. We may even have to keep in mind that the author, if a historian, was not presenting a coherent theology, but just a direct recording of what Jesus said. If this is the case, we need to be right interpretation at all!

For example, we noted that some scholars have argued that there are strong indications (as Mark) that there was a strong expectation that Jesus would return within people's lifetimes. When we read through the Gospels, such expectations are potentially more muted, with the **Second Coming** being a personal or different kind of reality. These alternative readings will be more detail after our analysis of key scriptural passages, but as you work through the text, be aware of interpretations that conflict with each other.

Such conflicts deeply affect our reading of concepts such as the Kingdom of God. Is the Kingdom the birth of Jesus and has never left? Or is it something that is still yet to come in the future? Or is it even something in a constant process of development, building or changing as we live? As we shall see, different readings are possible, and even our basic understanding of God can radically change depending on what reading we believe to be the most accurate.

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## The Teaching of Jesus on the Kingdom of God

The previous sections outlined how the **Kingdom of God** can be seen to be an elusive interpretation we endorse, it is not an idea that is given a direct translation or definition conceptually developed by Jesus through his ministry through parables. Yet, we can identify elements that it is worth thinking about before we get stuck into some important questions.

First, the term Kingdom of God naturally supports the metaphor of God as **King**. This is an important distinction when we think about the nature and justification of God. If God is in effect our ruler, then he does hold the sovereign right to judge us and act on our behalf. So, when Jesus uses the Kingdom of God, he is in some way designating this separate realm and God to be key in understanding his eschatological teaching.

Second, it is key to note that Kingdom of God is not a term that would have necessarily been used among Jewish communities. The notion of God as king is present throughout the Hebrew Bible through the Hebrew word *melekh*, which refers primarily to the reign or rule of a king in a particular context. What's interesting though, is that throughout the Gospels, Jesus sometimes uses the Kingdom of God differently from that of his Jewish audiences. For example, he does not associate such an idea with pre-existing messianic expectations, and as you will have seen, he often seeks to distance himself from the traditional notions of a Jewish messiah.

Third, the term Kingdom of God has potentially been loaded by the variety of meanings it has taken. In an important sense, it is difficult to interpret the concept without a certain degree of ambiguity, especially if Jesus was seeking to develop the concept in light of Jewish expectations. However, this, it is clear that throughout the Gospels, the arrival of Jesus is held to be connected to the Kingdom of God.

*After John was put in prison, Jesus went into Galilee, proclaiming the good news, 'The Kingdom of God has come near. Repent and believe the good news!' (Mark 1:14-15 NRSV)*

*At daybreak he departed and went into a deserted place. And the crowds were so large that he could not get into a boat. When they reached him, they wanted to prevent him from leaving them. But he said to them, 'I must proclaim the good news of the Kingdom of God to the other cities also; for I have been sent for this purpose.' (Luke 4:42-43 NRSV)*

This is where the crux of the issue often lies for theologians. For even if we aren't sure what the Kingdom of God exactly means, we can infer that it is the inauguration in some sense of a new era on Earth, one that reflects the renewed **covenant** between God and human beings established through the work of Jesus Christ. But what form does this arrival or inauguration take? Has it been inaugurated yet to come? At heart, it is unclear at first glance whether the Kingdom of God is something that has already begun, or is yet to come, and similarly whether it refers to this world or another world to come.

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## The Kingdom of God in Parables

So, let's turn now to some key scriptural passages in the Gospel of Luke. Following three key parables as given below:

- **The parable of the sower (8:1–15)**
- **The parable of the great banquet (14:15–24)**
- **The parable of the ten minas (Luke 19:11–27)**

As you may well be aware, most parables present a simple situation or circumstance with a deeper message or understanding about an aspect of ethics that cannot be immediately grasped. However, many biblical scholars have contended that parables are perfect for considering eschatological issues, especially the notion of the Kingdom of God.

It is easy to see why when we think about the basic properties of the concept. If we have an idea that is to some degree far beyond the realms of human reason and imagination, it may be a more complex method developed in order to transmit a deeper understanding. A simple definition may just risk inaccuracy or misinterpreting it! Moreover, parables can cloak the ethical message expressed within them. In this way, the realities of people's lives are directly tied to a deeper understanding of what these choices mean in light of the Kingdom of God.

Accordingly, the three parables in the anthology primarily deal with Jesus' expectations of the Kingdom of God. These relate to the Kingdom of God in his preaching. Before we delve into them, let's first take from the first parable, **the parable of the sower**:

*He said, 'The knowledge of the secrets of the Kingdom of God has been given to you. I speak in parables, so that, though seeing, they may not see; though hearing, they may not understand.'* (Luke 8:10 NRSV)

This passage has parallels in both Mark and Matthew, but in all the Synoptic Gospels, the parables are used to reveal truth to some, but equally hide it from others. This theme of selective revelation is present particularly within the Synoptics but is key when thinking about the way the Kingdom of God is revealed throughout scripture. For it means that conflicting interpretations may arise, but it is a very feature of parables themselves and the way Jesus intended to reveal the Kingdom of God.

### The Parable of the Sower (Luke 8:1–15)

The parable of the sower is perhaps one of the more straightforward parables where the meaning of the parable is immediately followed by a direct explanation of its meaning. At the same time, the teachings have to be met with an open, honest and good perspective, for only then can they be fully understood.

*'But as for that in the good soil, these are the ones who, when they hear the word, receive it with an honest and good heart, and bear fruit with patient endurance.'* (Luke 8:15 NRSV)

But this straightforward explanation also contains some underlying ambiguities and complexities. The analogy of a seed means that human spiritual progress can be charted as if it were a plant. This would imply that the Kingdom of God is not another kind of world, but something that exists within the human being as they spiritually mature. Yet, we could also advocate a reading which stresses the importance of human beings maintaining the correct reception of the word. Importantly, the arrival of a future Kingdom of God which has yet to be inaugurated.

Both interpretations are possible, but if we look at the parallel descriptions of the Kingdom of God, we might well lean towards the second reading. Both emphasise the conclusion that the Kingdom of God in Jesus' teachings is essential. Furthermore, consider once again Luke 8:10. This passage may be outlining the right kind of method for understanding not just the parable of the sower but all the parables. And, like the second reading, it seems to imply that there is a correct starting point from which to understand Jesus' teaching and, more importantly, the Kingdom of God. The passages thus could be weighed up when considering the explanation given by Jesus.

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## The Parable of the Great Banquet (Luke 14:15-24)

This parable focuses on a similar theme to that of the sower. Yet it has its own nuances that are worth exploring. The central message of the parable focuses on the importance of the audience being ready to accept or receptive to the 'invitation' of the Kingdom of God, regardless of their own affairs. However, even Jesus stresses that there are many who will not accept this invitation, notably stressing that those who are wealthy and preoccupied with their own material affairs are likely culprits. And, more notably, the invitation is extended to *'the poor, the crippled, the blind, and the lame'* (NRSV), the same people who Jesus had urged the leader of the Pharisees to invite to the dinner they are sitting at (see Luke 14:13).

This parable fits Luke's general emphasis on Jesus' ministry being for the poor and marginalised, a theme that runs throughout the Gospel but is most pointedly made during the mission statement at the beginning of Jesus' ministry (see Luke 4:18-20). However, another key idea expressed here, and which forms an important part of Luke's eschatology, is **reversal**. This is the idea that the coming Kingdom of God will see the earthly fortunes of people's lives reversed. So, those who were poor and suffering during their time on earth will be rich and blessed in the afterlife, whereas those who were obsessed with wealth and material goods will be poor and suffering. There is great debate as to the extent of the theme of reversal in Luke and how it is expressed, but in the context of this parable it is important to consider.

*And the slave said, 'Sir, what you ordered has been done, and there is still room for more. Go out into the roads and lanes, and compel people to come in, so that the house may be filled. For I tell you none of those who were invited will taste my dinner.'* (Luke 14:21-24)

For reversal implies that there will be some point in the future when the changing of fortunes occurs. Is this at some future general judgement of all humankind? Or does it occur to each individual? And it is important to consider the relationship of Jesus to the person in the parable. At what point should we consider Jesus to have sent out the metaphorical 'invitation'? Does he think that the arrival of the Kingdom of God will occur at some point in the future, or is it something that can happen at any other interpretations.

## The Parable of the Ten Minas (Luke 19:11-27)

Finally, we can turn to the third parable of the ten minas. This one is slightly harsher than the others, primarily because it occurs just before the **passion** narrative, where Jesus is tried and crucified. It still upon receiving Jesus' message the right way, but a key inclusion is verse 11, where Jesus is speaking to people who were of the view that the Kingdom of God was to be arrived at in the future. From the parallel parable of the bags of gold in Matthew, and it might well hint to the audience who are disillusioned about the lack of a second coming. Equally, it may also stress the importance of repentance now, rather than at some distant point in time!

*'I tell you, to all those who have, more will be given; but from those who have not, even what they have will be taken away. But as for these enemies of mine who did not believe in me, they will be brought here and slaughtered in my presence'* (Luke 19:26 NRSV)

The ending of the parable is also important to consider. For the parable as a whole suggests that it is needed to follow Jesus' teachings and **repent** is difficult and arduous. However, it also has to be noted that in the end the king does return, even when many suspected he would not. This justifies a strong eschatological reading of this passage for it perhaps reinforces, for the audience, that Jesus' teachings on the Kingdom of God carry weight and its arrival is inevitable, even for those who did not have faith. Thus, we may well be tempted to read this parable as suggesting that the Kingdom of God is at least partially a future event yet to come.

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## Other Key Eschatological Passages in Luke

The parables are the most mysterious passages to study when thinking about eschatology. Sometimes Jesus' teaching on death and the afterlife appears to be much more direct. The key verses included in the Edexcel anthology.

### Jesus and Evil Spirits / Beelzebub / The Sign of Jonah (Luke 11:14–32)

Throughout his ministry in Luke, Jesus regularly interacts with the crowds, and the exorcism of a mute person. Thus, the focus of the passage is on the nature of evil coming Kingdom of God. However, it is the final section, 'The Sign of Jonah', that is discussing the eschatological issues in Luke. Pay attention in particular to the passage.

*'The men of Nineveh will stand up at the judgment with this generation and condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and now something greater than Jonah is here.'*

The teachings within this passage refers to Jonah of the Old Testament, who was three days before dying and became a sign to the Ninevites, who sought the resurrection. It seemed to be a sign of that length of time. But here it appears that Jesus is reinterpreting the message of his own arrival. What it seems to suggest is that Jesus' mission is the Kingdom of God revealing itself to the crowds, although they have failed to recognize the exorcism and teaching in the previous passages.

But is this the only way of interpreting this passage? The theme of Jesus' discourse is a reference to Jonah might just be a way of explaining how Jesus' teaching should be received. The Ninevites were receptive to the Sign of Jonah and Jesus may well just be drawing a parallel that the crowds should be equally receptive. Equally, the fact Jonah was in the whale for three days is an allusion to the three days between the crucifixion and the resurrection. If this is the case, the events are the real inauguration of the Kingdom of God. Either way, while there is no explicit eschatology, it highlights an imminent eschatology in Luke, there are other possible interpretations.

### Luke 13:22–30 – The Narrow Door

The bulk of this passage, similarly to the last, occurs in the context of Jesus interacting with the crowds on his journey to Jerusalem. Here, the discourse is in response to a member of the crowd asking, 'few people going to be saved?' Thus, one might be initially surprised to find out that the passage is more focused on the timing of a future eschatological event. Read through the passage.

*'Make every effort to enter through the narrow door, because many, I tell you, will not be able to. Once the owner of the house gets up and closes the door, you will stand knocking and pleading, "Sir, open the door for us."*' (Luke 13:24–25 NIV)

The whole passage does seem to imply at first glance an imminent eschatology, with the eschatological event at that. The symbol of the narrow door is not expanded on in the discourse but is instead used as a basic metaphor to highlight the difficulty of getting into the Kingdom. The initial reading seeming to favour an imminent eschatological perspective, it is not until the end of the outline specifics when it comes to salvation. There is no direct mention of a time when the Kingdom will be saved other than the present.

Moreover, in the final section, Jesus talks of people coming from the 'east and west' to take their places at the feast in the Kingdom of God. But who exactly are they? Luke here appears to be appealing to both Gentile and Jewish audiences, but this is not a specific commitment to any kind of imminent or futurist eschatology. Instead, it is that a future Parousia is something that will have to be presented to all humanity. The fact that people are hearing Jesus' words, and may as such be evidence of a realised eschatology instead.

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## Luke 17:20–37 – The Coming Kingdom of God

This passage is perhaps one of the most discussed when it comes to analysing eschatology. There are two major parts it is necessary to analyse, but out of all the excerpts in this section, it is worth focusing on the most. Jesus' teachings here are not set against a blank canvas of Jewish history, and it is the appeal to this history which arguably reveals the confusion of the Pharisees and the disciples about the timing of the Parousia. Consider the opening:

*Once, on being asked by the Pharisees when the Kingdom of God would come, Jesus replied, "The coming of the Kingdom of God is not something that can be observed, nor can it be pointed out as 'There it is,' because the Kingdom of God is in your midst.'* (Luke 17:20–21)

The key phrase here is of course 'in your midst', for the original Greek 'entos hymon' can be translated in different ways. Some scholars translate it as 'among you' or 'within your reach', but this suggests that the Kingdom of God already existed in some fashion in the world, whether it began before or after it occurs with Jesus' arrival or perhaps even in the minds of those who can comprehend his words. In many ways, this latter possibility with the idea that the Kingdom of God is something that can be observed is the idea that the Kingdom of God could be something with a psychological or subjective quality, a concept difficult to reconcile with the other passages which seem to

Instead, we might be tempted to read Jesus' words here as suggesting that the Kingdom of God is an event. This means we can't point to a particular time or date and say, 'this is when it will come.' Rather, we could say that the Kingdom of God is a process that perhaps began with Jesus' arrival and so could well be the focus of this passage, considering Luke is often very precise about the connection to personal repentance.

We can analyse this suggestion in the context of the next part, where Jesus explains the signs of such a specific event. Look at the excerpt below for a moment:

*Then he said to his disciples, 'The time is coming when you will long to see the Son of Man, but you will not see it. People will tell you, "There he is!" or "Here he is!" and you will off after them. For the Son of Man in his day will be like the lightning, which flashes from one end of the sky to the other. But first he must suffer many things and be rejected by this generation.'* (Luke 17:22–25 NRSV)

There are two ways to read this passage. One is as a straightforward foreshadowing of the resurrection. Luke is perhaps suggesting that the resurrection appearances to the disciples and that the resurrection itself will be the true sign of the coming Kingdom of God. This is unusual, and this passage can be potentially read as Luke appealing to audiences of his Gospel. For as we noted when discussing the idea of Luke as historian, the audience of his Gospel was likely to be posing a problem for followers by the time Luke was written. The Second Coming hadn't perhaps arrived as promised and it is possible that passages like this were included to ease the worries of early Christian followers.

Luke in this sense may represent the midpoint between the more futurist eschatology and the realised eschatology of the other Gospels. The ambiguities as such might well represent the tension of the early Christian audiences to ensure how to evaluate their eschatological expectations. It is worth reading this passage closely because while it potentially coheres with such a view, one can also see both a realised and futurist eschatology depending on what words are given the

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## Luke 18:18–30 – The Rich and the Kingdom of God

The final passage we will take a brief look at contains one of the most famous parables. Jesus responds to a wealthy audience member that *'it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the Kingdom of God.'* Harsh words indeed, and we will look at Jesus' ethical teaching in Luke later on in this companion. However, what we will look at with this section of Luke are the final verses, featured below:

*'Truly I tell you,' Jesus said to them, 'no one who has left home or wife or brothers or sisters or parents or children for the sake of the Kingdom of God will fail to receive many times as much more in this age, and in the age to come eternal life.'* (Luke 18:29–30 NIV)

What's interesting here is that throughout Luke there is a strong focus on **reversal**. The Kingdom of God will see an overturning of wealth, with the neediest being most blessed and the rich condemned. Yet, what Jesus seems to suggest here is that this process has already begun. Those following Jesus are not promised a reward necessarily at some future event but in the present. This might be a bit confusing as Jesus is presenting here a **realised eschatology**, which is an ambiguous time between the near future and an imminent future Parousia. We will explore the ambiguities though (and much more) in the next section as we turn to the interpretation of eschatology in Luke.

### Activity:

Read through each of the parables given throughout this section and create a score for each. Are you a futurist or do you read the eschatology to be. At the end add up your score and explain what you think the eschatological landscape of Luke as a whole. Does your mark reflect your general view of eschatology and if not, why?

## The Different Views Surrounding the 'Arrival' of the Kingdom

From our investigation of Luke so far, it should be clear that there is a bit of a mystery surrounding Jesus' eschatological teachings in its passages. In many cases, Jesus does not present a clear account of when the Kingdom of God will arrive, whether it has already arrived or is yet to come in a future Parousia. This may be partly due to the teachings around the Kingdom of God in the various parables, which may have complex allusions and meanings. Yet, many scholars believe the author of Luke (who we shall call Luke for ease) made specific edits to his source material about Jesus' teachings on eschatology, perhaps in response to the delayed Parousia and the community's disappointment at its delayed instantiation after the death of Jesus.

We talked about this a bit at the beginning of this section, where we detailed how the historical Jesus presented a strongly futurist eschatology throughout his ministry. However, the Coming Naturally led later accounts of his life to downplay the futurist elements, perhaps not being the true Messiah or even just misinterpreted. In his proclamations, Jesus seems like speculation, but there are good reasons for presenting such a position in Christian history and theology, especially when one compares the content of Luke and Matthew.

Take, for example, the parable of the sheep and goats in Matthew 25:31–46. Here Jesus claims that a final judgement will be undertaken by Jesus sometime in the future, resulting in eternal reward for some and eternal punishment for others. Similarly, Mark 1:15 seems to suggest that the Kingdom of God is 'near' while Mark 13 spells out a rather detailed vision of the Second Coming, finishing with Jesus stating in Mark 13:30 that *'Truly I tell you, this generation will not pass away until all these things have happened.'* (NIV) How else should one interpret this as a futurist eschatology?

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Yet if Luke was written between 70 and 90 CE, this is around two generations after eyewitnesses to his ministry would remain and so these words would surely ring if employing Mark as a source, would potentially make changes to better reflect the visions of his community. Moreover, when one looks at John, the latest Gospel to be written, there is a definite change in eschatology compared to the Synoptics, where salvation is a matter of time and any references to a Second Coming are very muted. However, despite the neat narrative constructed over the last century about whether it is too simplistic and the degree to which it differs from other interpretations of Luke's eschatology. Thus, we shall turn to analysing a number of its according strengths and weaknesses.

## Consistent Eschatology

Schweitzer was not the last theologian to propose what we can term the **consistent or classical** eschatological account of Luke. In 1960, Hans Conzelmann published his famous work *The Theology of St Luke*, where he argued that the delay of the Parousia meant by the time Luke was composed, the author had abandoned hope of it ever occurring. Instead a futurist eschatology was replaced by the concept of **salvation history**, which we will explore in greater detail when we turn to look at the crucifixion and resurrection. What this meant in practice, though, was that when it came to detailing Jesus' eschatological teaching, Luke purposely made any mention of timing ambiguous and instead focused Jesus' teaching on matters of redemption, forgiveness and salvation. Thus, an evasiveness pervades any talk of eschatology throughout the Gospel, and questions about the Parousia are answered by talking of any Second Coming occurring a long time in the future.

As such, eschatological teaching is also focused more on who will receive salvation rather than when it will come. Conzelmann, just like Schweitzer before him, identifies Luke's response as not necessarily individual but rather a response to the Lukan community, who may have been preoccupied with the lack of arrival of the Kingdom of God. By refashioning Jesus' ministry to focus more on ethics and salvation, Luke avoids the pitfalls of discussing the Parousia in a time of disappointment and recontextualises Jesus' teaching to focus on a broader theological discussion of Jesus' role as part of a wider divine plan for humanity. Thus, the author of Luke also has an important concern with the future of the Church and details this in great detail also within Acts.

However, Conzelmann develops Schweitzer's view in a much more interesting way. Exactly what we could call the classical view, it does echo his work in understanding the response to Parousia in the Christian community. Schweitzer held that Jesus put forward an eschatology, where a Parousia was imminently due after his death. However, Conzelmann, endorsing this picture, does not say that Luke is being evasive but, as mentioned, presents an eschatology that recognises the significance of Jesus' inaugurating a new Kingdom. To a future Parousia, this salvation history in Luke proceeds in three stages.

1. The Old Testament age of Israel – the Kingdom of God here was given to a covenant people.
2. The arrival of Jesus inaugurates a new age of the Kingdom of God, where it is offered to all people, not just the Jews.
3. The ascension of Jesus marks the beginning of the third age, where Christians are called to anticipate the eventual Parousia.

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We've seen some evidence for the classical view already in comparisons of Luke with the other Gospels. What can we draw upon in terms of textual evidence from Luke itself? Well, we've seen that in the parables and teachings on eschatology, more than one interpretation is possible. It is possible that this ambiguity is not a product of Luke being just a historian of Jesus' words. So, for example, when Jesus in Luke 18:29–30 talks of the Kingdom of God coming, it is intentionally evasive so that any realised or futurist interpretation is possible. In the parables of the narrow door and the great banquet, most of Jesus' teaching is present, not future, salvation, not when it will come. As a final piece of evidence, we can also point to Luke 21:36, which says, *'It is not for you to know the times or dates the Father has set by his own authority.'*

## The Issues

This all looks like quite strong support for the classical view, and a lot of scholars have changed between Mark and Luke. But is this really the favour of an evasive stance? Think for a moment about our discussion of Luke as the historian. Could it not possibly be more diligent in recording the original eschatological teaching of Jesus, while early on for a futurist eschatology, Jesus' ministry shortly after his death? It's a possibility, but remember that the possibility of an account only carries so much evidential weight. Luke and the other Lukan community and so can never be sure what their priorities were.

Which is where a lot of criticism comes into the classical view. Many New Testament scholars have argued that it was far from clear that early Christian thinking was completely dominated by eschatology. There was debate about the return of Jesus. In fact, much of the surviving discourse of the Bible can be seen to be about life and teachings beyond anything else. This point was made by W C van Unnik, who argued that Jesus did not seem to set particular dates or intervals for Jesus' return and that there was no need to cease if this return did not occur. Certainly, it may have been a present issue, particularly in the face of facing criticism by Jewish communities, but the delay of the Parousia was not necessarily a problem.

Similarly, Marshall, who defends the role of Luke as historian, points out that assuming a consistent outlook to Jesus' teachings isn't something that can be assumed. It requires a difficult analysis of each Gospel and certain interpretative decisions to frame the intention of the author. In any case it is difficult to ever know exactly whether the passages simply reflect the intentions of the early Church. But our views on Luke should be slightly different if we view him as a historian in good faith. Compared to the other Gospels, he is the only author to be seen to have intentions, yet if we take Conzelmann's view, we are automatically supposed to be wrong, despite having some potential insight into Luke's editing process.

Finally, should we view Luke's intentions as so simplistic? Perhaps the ambiguities in his teachings are not representative of some basic editorial decision by Luke but rather reflect a more complex (maybe Jesus') theological vision. This has often been the claim from more recent scholarship. Forward new accounts of Luke's eschatology that try to outline a more detailed account of the 'evasiveness'. First, though, let's take a look at a different view of Luke from the classical view.

### Discussion Activity:

Do you think that Schweitzer was right in those favouring the consistent eschatology perspective of Parousia in the first-century communities? Or is it a projection of scholars' views onto a small group?

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## Realised Eschatology

Realised eschatology, at heart, is the idea that Jesus' arrival represents the present aspects. Thus, after Jesus' death, there is essentially no future event left to come. The present moment by having faith in Jesus and repenting. Within Luke, we've seen this played up throughout the Gospel. Whether it be throughout his ministry or even at his crucifixion, he is trying to persuade people to repent in the here and now, not at a later date. This at least potentially suggests that Luke was framing Jesus as claiming that the Kingdom of God was present reality.

What's notable, though, is that this depiction doesn't sound too different from the classical view. Yet, those in favour of an interpretation of realised eschatology claim that the evidence suggesting otherwise, wasn't being evasive or equivocating over eschatology. They should favour a direct reading of the text and draw out the clearest interpretation. This view was popularised by the well-known biblical scholar C. H. Dodd in the 1930s. What Dodd argued was that this kind of eschatology was a major factor of Luke and John altering their views. Rather, realised eschatology was present throughout the Synoptics, but most clearly in the Gospel of John.

Dodd offered a number of arguments in favour of this view, but overall he contended that the Church, contrary to Schweitzer, were not overly preoccupied with the Parousia at Jesus' arrival had realised the Kingdom of God. Thus, when we observe what seems to be the Gospel writers making small mistakes and not properly contextualising Jesus' teachings. Throughout his ministry, Jesus differentiated himself from Jewish tradition and presented a new eschatology to that which his audience expected. In this sense, for Dodd, it is understood that realised eschatology in the Gospels because ultimately that partially defined Jesus' unique mission.

So, we can see that the classical view is not a given, and it is possible to give a very different view of eschatology in Luke depending on how we contextualise Jesus' teachings within it. For example, in the parable of the sower, where Jesus states 'to you it has been given to know the secrets of the Kingdom of God' (NIV) or the story of Luke 17:20–21 where Jesus states 'the Kingdom of God is in you'. These are direct statements about the presence of the Kingdom of God in the here and now. There are also allusions in parts of Luke we haven't covered, such as the story of Zacchaeus in Luke 19:9 where the protagonist has already been saved by his actions, or when Jesus is casting out demons in Luke 11:20 'the Kingdom of God has come among you' (NIV). Altogether there is a case to be made that we should take these words seriously and do not have to assume his teachings were coherent with a specific Jewish tradition prevalent in first-century Judea.

## The Issues

Dodd's work was very influential and, in many ways, dominated the first half of the 20th century. However, many were more moderate in their analysis of realised eschatology in the Gospels. They squared the preoccupation with this form of eschatology with the actual content of the Gospels. As such, although many still recognise that realised eschatology perhaps formed a part of Jesus' teaching, it might not be the be all and end all, especially when we analyse the more futurist aspects of the Gospels.

For example, let's look at Luke 18:29–30 once more. Here Jesus explicitly says that the Kingdom of God is just in the here and now but also in the 'age to come'. While this might not explicitly support realised eschatology, it does suggest that at the minimum there is some future to the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom realised in the present. The same is true of Luke 17:22–25, which seems to suggest that events will come after Jesus' death which bring about the realisation of the Kingdom of God. For if the Kingdom of God was essentially fully brought about by the life of Jesus, there would be no need for a broader theological understanding of Jesus' death and resurrection, and the future.

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This is an important question that Dodd could never quite address. The mixture of eschatology in Jesus' teachings might not be some clever rhetoric composed by the shortcomings and problems in the early Church, but do we equally have to pretend that the kinds of mistakes made by that same author? If we are taking Jesus' words in a serious way, we must be that Jesus himself endorsed a kind of mixture of futurist and realised eschatology. This appealed to early Christians, who could have accepted Jesus' call to repentance by looking forward to the Kingdom of God being realised in new ways. Moreover, it was the early Church, which in preaching and evangelising could help bring about the Kingdom fully anticipated by the resurrection. Unsurprisingly, this view has been endorsed and we shall explore it further in the next section.

### Inaugurated Eschatology

The final main view we have to consider is often termed **inaugurated eschatology**, a mixture of realised and futurist eschatology. In Luke (and, to differing extents, in the other Gospels), this was a distinct possibility. In the last section, but we can investigate this claim, which is quite a popular view among modern scholars who want to give credence to the eschatological thought in the Gospels while avoiding many of the pitfalls of the classical and realised views.

For instance, to some extent we can see Conzelmann as exemplifying a kind of inaugurated eschatology. But Conzelmann's view still places the Parousia front and centre of Luke's eschatology. This kind of salvation history is built off the lack of a Second Coming, while the textual evidence does open the possibility of a Parousia in the near future. The trouble with this is not just that it is very calculating, but we can question whether it really harmonises the two contrasting views of Luke. Do we have to accept that the Parousia is a central issue when talking about Luke's eschatology? There is room for a view closer to Dodd's?

This is a big question, but we've seen that there are numerous passages that not only contain futurist elements but can be interpreted to fit a number of contextual backgrounds. It may well be trying to refine a pre-existing early Christian belief in realised eschatology, responding to issues about the Parousia in the early Church. For example, the theme of the Parousia, which others have often pointed to Luke's belief in the importance of the foundation of the Church throughout and at the end of his Gospel leading into Acts. In this sense, Cullmann and Schweitzer that the Gospel writers were obsessed with the Parousia.

Instead, across the Gospels we see a variety of eschatological views that present a more consistent eschatology, but it is perhaps most easily observed in Luke. Here, it is clear that Luke recognised the importance of the views of the early Church, which likely were developing after the decisive victory of Jesus' resurrection. Yet, at the same time, he also recognised that it was not the final victory. This would occur with the evangelism and foundation of the Church, which would carry forth Jesus' message into the future age and trigger a new realisation of the Kingdom. We can note an interesting nuance. The author of Luke could not necessarily have known what the final realisation would look like. So, Jesus' words are perhaps kept vague out of a wish to avoid setting boundaries.

But what Cullmann and others have ultimately carved is a path through consistent and inconsistent claims, which is one-sided, a view backed up also by Ian Marshall. Like Cullmann, he advocates inaugurated eschatology and a rejection of Schweitzer's claims about the Parousia. This is from careful examination of many of the eschatological passages in Luke, especially those that teachings such as the parables are some of the most accurate and representative of Jesus' teachings (which many scholars hold them to be) then it is clear we shouldn't oversimplify. When read in context, it becomes apparent that Jesus isn't advancing a simplistic eschatology. It is deep and nuanced and allows for an understanding of the Kingdom of God which is not just a future eschatological event.

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## The Issues

The issues with the inaugurated view are a little more complex than the other positions, with the wide variety of possible interpretations of this position and whether, in the end, it is around the message of Luke. For one advantage that both the consistent and the inaugurated views identify a clear theme around eschatology in Luke, linked to the beliefs and actions of Jesus. These hold intuitive appeal because it is easy to conceive of the author writing the Gospel not simply as a vague, semi-theological account of Jesus' life. While Marshall may be recognising Luke as a historian, this also means that we are forced to view difficult passages as struggling to compile different sources and words of Jesus in complex ways. Such a view, to some extent, but we noted previously that this process of historical analysis was not exacting in the first century, compared to the composition of works specifically intended for religious purposes.

Moreover, the inaugurated view is still often unclear about what parts it adopts of the other views. For instance, Robert Maddox favours a more **imminent** view of Luke's eschatology, arguing that Luke has shunted the Parousia or realisation of the Kingdom of God into the future, unjustified. Talk of the Kingdom come means for Luke the here and now, such that the Kingdom is not about a future realisation but genuinely believes that it is coming soon. As such, Luke is focused on the present reality of salvation, and he is not trying to impart to his audience that the Kingdom or experience will be delayed. In fact, it is quite the opposite, with Jesus regularly eschatological issues. For instance, a key example might be in the parable of the wicked servant where Jesus states 'the Son of Man is coming at an unexpected hour, be dressed for action'.

Moreover, this kind of view fits the way Jesus focuses on repentance through Luke. 'Why is Jesus stressing that individuals should repent now?' and the simple answer is that he wants to stress that the realisation of the Kingdom of God is imminent, not in some distant future. One can also go further than asking 'When?' and instead ask 'To who'? Case in point, C K Barrett, who perhaps more than any other scholar focused on the individual, has argued that in many ways Luke favours a kind of **individual eschatology**, exemplified by the parables of the lost man and Lazarus, where it is stated that each person receives their reward or punishment for the life they have led.

If this is true, then we can question equally whether the Kingdom of God is properly understood as an event at all. Perhaps it is something linked to each person that is inaugurated. One advantage intended to be stressed, though, by these examples is that there are so many possible interpretations of the 'inaugurated banner', it can potentially be crushed under the weight of its own complexity. One should ultimately try to find a unifying meaning or narrative in Luke, even if not all the details exactly cohere, because the difficulties in both recording Jesus' words and presenting them in a coherent eschatology may just make a completely harmonised view of Luke impossible.

Simply put, we might be expecting too much of the author in a wholly coherent interpretation. To recognise that a firmly consistent or realised eschatology is a stronger position to take in the evaluation of Luke's work is a thorny and difficult issue with no clear answer. Yet, the strengths and weaknesses of each position, seeing how they tie to the individual parts of the Gospel, the anthology. Beyond possessing a conceptual understanding of the debate, it is important to read these passages and decide for yourself what you believe to be the strongest interpretation of God in Luke.

### Discussion Activity:

Does the inaugurated eschatology perspective on Luke solve many of the interpretive problems of other approaches? Or does it fail to give a clear perspective on eschatology in the Gospel? Discuss in small groups.

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## Quick Quiz

1. What form of eschatology presents the Kingdom of God as an event in the future?
2. What form of eschatology presents the Kingdom of God as something seen in the life and death of Jesus?
3. What personal and ethical act is often emphasised in the eschatological teaching of Luke?
4. What form of eschatology did Albert Schweitzer argue was dominant in early Christianity?
5. Who argued that realised eschatology was more common in early Christianity?
6. What is meant by the term Parousia?
7. What does it mean to talk of imminent eschatology?
8. What form of eschatology acknowledges elements of both traditional preterist and futurist eschatology?

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## 5.2: TEXTS AND INTERPRETATION

### WHY DID JESUS HAVE TO DIE?

#### What you will learn in this section:

The different kinds of religious and political conflict in the Fourth Gospel, including:

- The various religious and political authorities opposed to Jesus and the arrests presented against him during his ministry.
- The reasons why these authorities were concerned with Jesus' teaching and practice, and Sabbath controversies in first-century Judaism.
- The narrative and historical context to conflict in Jesus' ministry and the role of the authorities in condemning Jesus to death.

#### Starter Activity:

Revisit your notes on the Gospel of John, particularly the 'I am' sayings. How did these sayings challenge the religious authorities, and how does this illustrate the function of conflict in the Gospel? Make some notes and refer back to them as you progress through this section.

#### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	Ellis Rivkin
<b>Born</b>	1918
<b>Died</b>	N/A
<b>Key text</b>	<i>What Crucified Jesus</i> (1984)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	Rivkin is a renowned scholar of Jewish life and history, particularly in reconstructing the life and thought of the Pharisees, who he argues were misunderstood by biblical scholars.

#### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	R Alan Culpepper
<b>Born</b>	1946
<b>Died</b>	N/A
<b>Key text</b>	<i>Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel</i> (1983)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	Culpepper is a well-known biblical scholar whose work has often been influential in analysing in particular their narrative and literary elements, and in contemporary historical research.

#### Introduction – The Death of Jesus in the Gospels

It is sometimes easy to forget that beyond the teachings and theology surrounding the overarching narrative about his life and ministry. From the birth narratives in Matthew and Luke to the passion narratives in all four Gospels, each author presents a unique version of the events of Jesus' ministry and how they reflect and interpret upon his teachings. Although this is a key preoccupation for authors, it is important to also consider other angles to the story. Political, social or historical context, for example, how we choose to interpret the events of the Gospel, affects the conclusions we draw about the purpose of the story. However, in another sense we might simply be interested in the Gospel as a literary story worthy of critical evaluation.

We saw this approach detailed in the first section of this course companion. But in different ways, we can ask questions which don't always easily present themselves to theology. One of these key questions will be the focus of this chapter as we ask the complex question, 'Why did Jesus have to die?' For example, if we take a historical perspective we might ask what important political and social forces contributed to Jesus being crucified. If we take a theological perspective, we might claim that Jesus' death was a necessary key act of atonement. Finally, if we take a literary perspective, we might question the psychology of figures such as Pontius Pilate or Caiaphas led to Jesus being condemned.

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Depending on how we answer these questions and what importance we give them, we can reach fundamentally different conclusions about why Jesus had to die. We can also examine the religious and political conflicts that led to Jesus' death. Was it in a sense inevitable that Jesus would have died in the conflict-prone first-century Judea, or are there specific reasons he had to die? These are deep and expansive questions, so for the purposes of our introduction, we are looking at the Gospel of John for answers. However, the next section will look at the Synoptic Gospels, Luke, and by the end of the Texts and Interpretation section you should have a good understanding of the narratives across both texts. To start, though, let us take another quick look at some key information on the Fourth Gospel.

## The Gospel of John

The Gospel of John (Fourth Gospel) has been one of the most difficult to decipher due to its markedly different tone from the Synoptic Gospels. Scholars have long struggled to grasp the theological reasons why it is so different, but there is a growing consensus on the author may be, what community it was written for and when it was composed. Traditionally, John's Gospel was written by the apostle John as identified within the Gospel narrative, but in the 19th century this view has been widely challenged, due to new critical analysis of both the text and the early church.

One of the most distinctive parts of John's Gospel is its highly developed Christology. There is a strong emphasis on the divine identity of Jesus (as you will have studied in the previous section) and the symbolism and significance surrounding this identity. This focus proves particularly important in understanding the reasons for Jesus' death. The Christological claims within the Gospel strongly influence the way the characters treat Jesus throughout his ministry and the reasons given for his arrest, trial and execution.

You may recall also that the Gospel is broadly divided into two main sections, with an epilogue John 21, surrounding these. The first book is titled the 'Book of Signs' and covers the miracles of Jesus in John 1:19–12:50. The second is the 'Book of Glory', covering Jesus' death and resurrection. This structure has often been the subject of much debate, with some New Testament scholars believing that the Gospel was arranged in this way to reflect aspects of John's theology.

Similarly, the content and style of John's Gospel is also radically different from the Synoptics. The material and tradition of John is written in Greek (although a few scholars have suggested it may be from an older Aramaic document) but the style and vocabulary of the Greek in John is very different from much of the Synoptic tradition. It has been noted that it has, in proportion to its length, the most unique vocabulary in the New Testament, and throughout the Gospel there are a number of favoured words that are often repeated. Particularly significant are verbs of revelation, commonly beginning with 'I have seen' or 'I have heard'. An example of this is John's use of 'I know', which occurs 141 times in the Gospel, with 'I have seen' occurring 33 times and 'I speak' 30 times. These are strongly connected to the themes surrounding Jesus' self-revelation and his relationship as Son to God, the Father.

This difference in language can also be linked to the differences in content. John's Gospel contains events common to the Synoptic Gospels, such as the exorcisms and the Sermon on the Mount and the Trial of Jesus, but it also contains many other small deviations from the Synoptic tradition. For example, Mary is never mentioned in the Synoptics, and John does list all of the 12 disciples of Jesus, even including Judas Iscariot, who is not mentioned in the Synoptics.

However, these omissions do not impact the overall flow of John's Gospel. Rather, the unique composition, and the heavy use of symbolism and narrative techniques such as the 'I have seen' and 'I have heard' Gospel intended to convey a distinct and developed theology. In this chapter, John also contains one of the most complete and detailed accounts of the Passion, elaborating on many key events only summarised in the Synoptics. This is where John's Gospel differs from the other Gospels and there is significant debate on how to interpret the passion narrative. Some scholars should be treated as another important historical source on the death of Jesus, while others believe the narrative is the result of artistic embellishment by the author.

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To a great extent, answers to these debates are affected by how we judge the historical reliability of the New Testament. New Testament scholars have routinely pointed out the errors and alterations in the length of Jesus' ministry in John. For example, the cleansing of the Temple in John occurs during Jesus' ministry whereas in the Synoptic Gospels it occurs just before the passion. In Chapter 5, Jesus is pictured as being in Jerusalem, but by 6:1 it is said he went to Galilee, which makes little geographical sense considering Jerusalem is located in the south of Judaea.

These errors could be due to unreliable historical sources the author was using or to authorial editing or inventing. It has been argued that John is a 'spiritual Gospel' and that it should be read as a theological presentation more than a specific account of events. If this is the case, then John may well have been written in response to problems specific to the Johannine community or as a theological elaboration upon the more historical and dry passages of the Synoptic Gospels. To be given further evidential support if, as many scholars argue, John was written at a later date than the other Gospels.

### Evaluating the Date of Composition

It is notable that John does not lay down a date at which the Fourth Gospel was composed. Most scholars place the date between 65 CE and 100 CE, depending often on how one interprets the narrative and the historical context. Unlike Matthew, where there can arguably be seen to be more overt references to the destruction of Jerusalem, John remains startlingly silent on what may have been the political, religious and social issues surrounding the composition of the Gospel. However, those favouring an early date argue that the silence on the destruction of Jerusalem is an indication that the Gospel was written before the time of writing. Supporting this view are potential allusions to Jerusalem pre-70 CE in John 5:2, which states details about Jerusalem that could only be reliable if the city was still standing.

However, these arguments are far from conclusive. John often uses the present tense for events that have already happened, so the details from John 5:2 aren't necessarily representative of a pre-destruction situation. The silence on an issue is not necessarily indicative that it has not happened. Rather, the issue of Jerusalem was not immediately relevant to the Johannine community at the time of writing. Those favouring a late date (typically the more common view) often take this position and point out the high Christology of John which display common characteristics with the theology of the late first century CE. Simply put, unless the author or community surrounding John had superior historical knowledge, the safer bet is to assume that the Gospel was written during times when Jerusalem had already been destroyed.

Thus, more conservative estimates tend to place the date of composition around 70–100 CE. However, it also remains that different parts of John might have been written or composed at different times. For example, John 1, such as the prologue, seem to contain more advanced theological concepts, which itself has parallels in the 'Christ-hymns' (for example, Col 1:15–20), which are likely to have been composed in the late first century. This could be that John was written and assembled over a long period of time, with some parts being more recent than others. This may indicate that some parts of John (e.g. the passion narrative) may be more reliable than others.

### The Authorship and Community of John

While the orthodox tradition of attributing John's Gospel to the apostle John has been maintained since the fourth century, it has not disappeared completely, with some scholars noting that John is a very old gospel, dating back to the reign of Trajan (98–117 CE). This means that a late date of composition is still possible, with John the apostle being the potential author. Furthermore, various orthodox writers, such as Irenaeus and Eusebius, support the belief that it was the apostle John, the son of Zebedee, who composed the Fourth Gospel. This was a key reason why by the end of the fourth century the belief that John the apostle was the author of the Fourth Gospel was a relatively common view.

However, despite this external evidence for the traditional view, this stance is often challenged by modern theologians. Many instead hold that the internal features of the Gospel paint a different picture. John states that the Gospel was composed by the 'disciple whom Jesus loved' (NIV), a phrase used throughout John. However, there is still no explicit connection within the Gospel between this figure and the son of Zebedee. It is only inferred through John's place at the Last Supper, where he is identified as the 'disciple whom Jesus loved'.

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an eyewitness to certain events. Yet the biggest criticism emerges from this assumption: John the apostle, how could his Gospel be so radically different from the Synoptic Gospels? This is especially considering important chronological details, such as the Temple being moved, or even the very different accounts of the Last Supper.

The question of authorship might seem unimportant, but it affects deeply how we think about the historicity of John. If the Gospel was composed over half a century after the death of Jesus by an individual (or individuals) removed from the events of Jesus' life, what trust can we reasonably put in its historical accuracy? One is often forced to take sides, with those favouring the Synoptic tradition often denouncing the historicity of John, with those favouring John having to make elaborate arguments to justify the inaccuracies, errors and changes in the Fourth Gospel.

These arguments often depend on secondary claims about the community John was writing for, which may be the reason why such changes were made from the Synoptic tradition. For example, one of the most popular suggestions for a Johannine community is in Ephesus, as tradition states that this is where John the apostle lived and taught during the first century CE. Thus, it may be that it was students of the apostle across Asia Minor who were responsible for writing and editing the Fourth Gospel, using the apostle as a source. However, other locations have been proposed, such as Antioch, and some New Testament scholars who place the date of authorship earlier than 70 CE even argue it may have been written somewhere in Palestine.

Similarly, one newer problem with the authorship and setting of John is whether it is a standalone text, or whether it forms one part of the Johannine works, which include the Epistles of John, and the Book of Revelation. Older Christian tradition states that John wrote all of these; however, this has been increasingly challenged throughout history. Some scholars argue that Revelation was more likely to have been written by John Patmos and that the Gospel is the product of a number of authors within the general Johannine community.

### The Historical Sources of John

Finally, let's have a quick look again at John's relationship to the Synoptics. For one of our studies is whether John was aware of the Synoptic Gospels while composing his Gospel. There are a number of common events and episodes with the other Gospels such as the feeding of the 5000, the water miracles, which display elements, structure and motifs similar to Mark 6:30-56 and the narrative of the passion. Yet, this does not necessarily mean that John directly used the Synoptics.

For example, based on form criticism, Rudolf Bultmann in 1941 suggested that John's Gospel is a 'Signs Gospel', a separate work from the Synoptic Gospels that contained accounts of Jesus' miracles and the passion. Similar models of independent sourcing have been proposed throughout history, with theologians such as Raymond Brown also suggesting that John does not have direct access to the Synoptics. Nonetheless, many theologians now do not argue that John was completely independent of the Synoptics, rather the author may simply have had an awareness of or partial access to them.

The other question we should consider is what other sources might have influenced John. Some scholars thought that John was Hellenistic in origin, due to the perceived animosity to Judaism in the Gospel, which is being indicative of a community separated from Jewish tradition and culture. However, the Gospel is full of references to the Old Testament, and the narratives in the Gospel often echo elements of Jewish tradition. Furthermore, the discovery of the Qumran suggests that John may have drawn on Jewish apocalyptic literature of the first century. For instance, the prologue may have as much in common with the Book of Isaiah as it does with the Synoptics.



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wisdom (Sophia) as Greek philosophy, and the possible influence of later Gnosticism overstated. As such, there is still great debate as to how much the Gospel of John has various elements of Jewish and Greek tradition.

### Discussion Activity:

Do you think that John was writing his Gospel for a particular Johannine community? Is it reductive and misleading? Discuss in pairs or small groups.

## The Religious and Political Conflicts during Jesus' Ministry

With that overview of some of the key scholarly debates surrounding John, we can look at the background to the trial and death of Jesus. For it is clear from both the historical records and the Gospels that Jesus did not simply preach to a blank canvas of religion. In all the Gospels, there are conflicts between Jesus and the religious and political authorities of his time. In other Gospels, Jesus is typically portrayed as being the **Pharisees**, members of a Jewish social movement that emphasized strict adherence to Temple Judaism. This movement is typically portrayed in the Synoptics as being conservative and unwilling to hear out Jesus' calls for social, moral and religious change. This portrayal is generally fair. From the historical records we have, it is clear that the Pharisees were strict adherents to Mosaic Law and the rites and services of the Temple (although they differed in many other ways).

The other prominent group in the Synoptics is the **Sadducees**. These differed in many ways from the Pharisees in the way they interpreted the Law but, in the Gospels, they are usually portrayed as opposing Jesus' teachings. By the end of the Synoptics, the opposition of these groups to Jesus' teachings, with the **chief priests, elders of the people, the Sanhedrin** and the **high priests** plotting to arrest Jesus and kill him. Of course, these plots eventually come to fruition, leading to the handing of Jesus over to Pilate and pressuring him to execute him. Thus, the crucifixion of Jesus is the result of the opposition of the Jewish authorities.

This is a brief summary of course, but what is clear throughout the Synoptics is that the conflicts during Jesus' ministry are often confined to the Jewish authorities. Occasionally, there are instances where the crowds respond to his teachings, but certainly these crowds do not appear to exert a significant influence on the events of his arrest, even if they seem to remain silent about his eventual execution. Similarly, in the Gospel of Luke about the political and social radicalism of Jesus' message, the conflicts associated with his ministry. Where scholars such as Dominic Crossan argue that the conflict in the Gospels is either in the implications of Jesus' teachings within the context of first-century Judea or through extrapolations of certain passages that seem to hint at a more radical figure than previously thought.

For example, in his 1991 book *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant*, Crossan argues that Jesus' radical free teachings and healings directly conflicted with the hierarchy of the Jewish religion and Roman authoritarianism. When Jesus' life was set against this background, it is clear that his ministry would not have come under suspicion of the Roman authorities. Crossan argues that the Roman authorities were looking to crush any Jewish movement that might occur, and that Jesus' ministry was a direct challenge to this. In his book *God and Empire: Jesus Against Rome, Then and Now*, Crossan argues that the message of Jesus throughout the Gospels is effectively treasonous against the Roman emperor. If Jesus' ministry was seen as a threat to the Roman emperor, then it was inevitable that Roman backlash would ensue.

However, just because we can draw associations between the political climate of first-century Judea and the radical elements of Jesus' teaching doesn't mean that there was necessarily a political motive. It may well be that Jesus accidentally fell foul of the political authorities despite being a religious figure. Yet, there is something to suggest that Crossan might be on to something. Jesus was sentenced to death by a Roman authority, Pontius Pilate. While in the Synoptics, Pilate is portrayed as reluctant to sentence Jesus to death, arguing that he has committed no real crime, the historical records are more complicated. There is a potential case to be made that Pilate himself was ultimately responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. This possibility we shall explore in more detail as we progress throughout this section.

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## Conflicts in the Gospel of John

For the moment, however, it is first important to talk a bit about conflicts in the particular, the religious and political conflict is particularly pronounced. For a start the trial of Jesus, both by the high priest and later Pontius Pilate, and the narrative condemn Jesus to death is much more personal than the Synoptics. At the same time between Jesus throughout John with a group simply referred to as the 'Jews'. While the crowds to varying degrees often respond to Jesus' message (though not always in a positive way), there is a greater mix of conflicts in John between Jesus, the crowds, the Jews, the religious and political authorities. Yet, it is the figure of the Jews that has often drawn the most criticism, suggesting anti-Semitic overtones in John as a whole.

But the term 'Jews' cannot be taken too literally here. John is theologically not a Jew, he is regularly employing Old Testament and Jewish references throughout his Gospel. His teachings and sermons that are clearly intended for both a Jewish and Gentile audience. What reflects is the changing identity of early Christians at the time of John's writing, which is much later date than the Synoptics. This at least partially explains why the term 'Jews' is often different from other religious authorities such as the Pharisees.

So, we have three different questions emerging from this initial summary. The first question asks how the political conflict serves as a way to bring out different teachings by Jesus throughout the Gospel. The second asks how narratively the conflict is portrayed in John and who is given blame for it. The third asks how the religious and political conflicts in John potentially represent historical conflicts within the Johannine community at the time of John's composition. The first question about Jesus' teachings, such as the 'I am' sayings or the Signs, and won't be covered as extensively. We will look at the second and third questions in considerably more detail, analysing who is responsible for Jesus' death and the reasons why he both historically and narratively had to die with them.

## Jesus and His Enemies

The theologian Alan Culpepper extensively studied conflicts in the Gospel of John and the theology of the Gospel. But one initial and important observation he made, which is central to that for much of John the conflict is primarily fuelled by the Jews and the Pharisees over the identity of Jesus Christ. The moments in which Jesus self-discloses his identity to various groups questioning the nature and authority of Jesus, such as in John 5:16–47 after the healing of the man at the pool, what is important also is that his opponents here (as compared to the Synoptics) do not reject Jesus' words. They recognised he was identifying himself as being divine and having a unique relationship with God. As such their unbelief is contrasted with the belief of the reader and forms a central theme that continues throughout the Gospel.

In essence, therefore, one basic narrative function of the conflict in John is very simple. The discussion around Jesus' identity, allows John to develop his Christology and realise the role of his characters, both supportive and antagonistic, the tension of the claim that the 'Word' became flesh. Another basic narrative function of the conflict in John is its ability to progress the plot. Throughout John, there is a fairly linear escalation of tension between Jesus and his opponents. As Jesus makes more and more dramatic proclamations about his identity and performs miracles, the opposition grows stronger.

For example, in Chapter 5 it is simply stated that the Jews are beginning to oppose him as they are trying to stone him and by Chapter 11, shortly before the beginning of the trial, they are starting to plot to kill Jesus. But the plot in John also takes a number of interesting turns. For instance, in John 11:45–57, it is stated that the Sanhedrin believed Jesus had been plotting a political revolution among the Jewish people, leading the Romans to intervene and cause unnecessary deaths. The fact that this very event happened with the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE suggests that this plot point is potentially not far from reality.

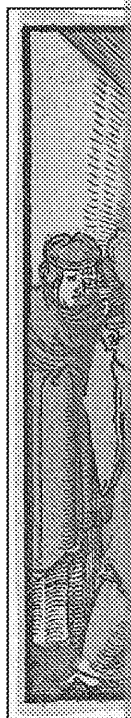
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Therefore, it is important to consider these plot points not just as authorial editing of historical facts embedded into the Gospel narrative. This argument is reinforced by the passion in John to be one of the more historically reliable parts of his Gospel Synoptics. The extra detail in the trial and execution of Jesus thus may well be the unavailable to the other Gospel writers. Yet, if we accept this to be the case, then it seems to place most of the blame for Jesus' death at the hands of the religious authorities, an almost sympathetic figure who is forced into ordering the crucifixion against his own face value here, or are there other reasons to suspect Pilate is not so innocent in

### The Pharisees and Conflict in John

Ellis Rivkin is a New Testament scholar well known for arguing that despite appearances in John, it is not actually the Jewish authorities who are truly responsible for Jesus' crucifixion. Why is this the case? Well, first we have to take a look at the depiction of the religious authorities in John. If we take the Pharisees as an example, they are often portrayed as being rigid, inflexible figures wholly concerned with legalistic issues and not real theological matters. Moreover, this picture is far from the one in the Synoptics. But what Rivkin argues is that this picture hasn't been readily challenged enough by New Testament scholars who have accepted the Gospel accounts of the Pharisees at face value.



In contrast to this picture, Rivkin contends that the historical evidence suggests that the Pharisees were not grossly concerned with strict maintenance of priestly aspects of the Law. Rather they stressed the correct religious life to be one which sought salvation in personal commitment to the general aspects of Law within a synagogue environment. This does not mean that they were completely beholden to the rules and regulations of this environment, though. Instead, they often sought reform to the Law, but through proper legislation and organisation. Rivkin thus identifies the real conflict in John as lying in Jesus' claim to utmost authority, the Law could change it as he saw fit. The Pharisees, being committed to a more structured Law, were naturally reluctant to accept this claim coming from what they perceived to be a

If we accept Rivkin's claims, then the conflicts in John become a bit more historically anticipated. For it suggests that the Pharisees were not idle opponents of Jesus but were actively engaged in a struggle over the Law. For example, the conflict over the adulterous woman in Chapter 8 in John perhaps exposes these kinds of divisions, and the Pharisees' position does not seem to want to engage them in serious discussion about reform of the Law. Rather, the Pharisees are portrayed as using questions about the Law as philosophical traps for

Thus, in John 8:5, the Pharisees use a poor understanding of Lev 20:10 in an attempt to trap Jesus. However, if we understand Rivkin correctly, then it may be the case that John effectively glorifies the authority of Jesus. If this pattern also holds true through John, then we can identify a consistent problem in the author heightening aspects of religious conflict. But how does this relate to the other figures of religious conflict? If the Pharisees have been misrepresented, how should we analyse the Jews, or even the Sanhedrin?

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## The Jews and Conflict in John

We've noted that the term 'Jews' is already a bit problematic in John, but we have not yet looked at it in detail. The Jews first and foremost can be contrasted with the Pharisees. Typically the Pharisees have more authority than the Jews, and as Culpepper notes, often emerge as the main antagonists of the Jews. As such, the Jews typically don't invite the same level of hostility as the Pharisees. In the most pronounced appearances earlier in the Gospels. They are sent to question Jesus, while in other passages, such as John 7:32 or 7:48, they are connected but distinct. However, Culpepper contends that from John 9 onwards, they largely cease to be connected with the other religious authorities as the plot progresses.

Regardless, more than any other source of opposition, it is the Jews who most consistently use the term. The term is used 70 times throughout the Gospel! Yet, most scholars don't typically see the Jews as a single group. In fact, the scholar Urban von Wahlde argues that John's use of Jews doesn't have racial connotations, instead just being used as a catch-all term for groups hostile to Jesus. He notes that apart from twice in John (see John 6:41 and 6:52), the Jews typically appear as another kind of crowd. It may be that 'Jews' then is a term used to denote religious authority, while specific groups such as Pharisees are used when hostile forces require identification.

Altogether, it becomes possible to trace growing levels of authority, hostility and understanding of the groups John identifies throughout his Gospel, beginning with the crowds, followed by the Pharisees, and finally the high priests. It is also notable that as the plot progresses the focus turns to the high priests who are plotting to kill Jesus and there becomes less focus on the Jews. In some sense, this is a theological move, allowing John to explore the different ways individuals responded to Jesus. This is an important narratively. The development of Jesus' ministry attracts hostility from his opponents, and these levels are the ones who at least partially orchestrate the trial and crucifixion.

### Discussion Activity:

Which group do you believe persecutes Jesus the most throughout the Fourth Gospel? Which small groups?

## The Role of the High Priests and the Sanhedrin in John

We've talked a bit about how the conflicts in John escalate throughout the Gospel, involving greater religious authorities as the plot progresses. The culmination of this conflict is with the high priests who conduct Jesus' trial, and the latter begins plotting to kill Jesus. However, the Sanhedrin are only introduced once by name at the same time Caiaphas is introduced. In the Synoptics, they do not reappear to conduct Jesus' trial. Rather, in John 18:24, Jesus is brought to Caiaphas, and then in John 18:28, it is stated he was brought from Caiaphas. Exactly why this is missing, but some have speculated that John may have regarded the Synoptics as unreliable considering the trial primarily derived from the Synoptics does not conform to his understanding of the trials the Sanhedrin carried out at the time. Instead, in John, Jesus simply has a brief dialogue with Annas.

This is flipped in comparison with the Synoptics, where the theologically intensive trial is conducted by the Sanhedrin or high priests, not with Pilate. Naturally, this can be seen as a theological move. Isn't it these religious authorities who have been persecuting Jesus throughout the Gospel? Are they responsible for bringing him in front of Pilate? In fact, throughout John, Caiaphas is portrayed as the one who brings about Jesus' death in order to bring political favour and peace for them. Despite taking issue with the reasons presented for Jesus' death often seem more political than theological. While Pilate, the religious authorities seem to ignore their commitments to the Jewish law, the reason possible Pilate should have to crucify Jesus.

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In an important sense, John wants to show the resolve and dignity of Jesus in confronting Jewish leaders who are willing to abandon all their principles to ensure Jesus' death. There is a climax of the belief/unbelief theme that Culpepper identifies as being one of the aspects of the conflict throughout John. If we take Culpepper's side, we are, then, saying that religious authorities are the ones primarily responsible for Jesus' death. It is their failure to find any political avenue to secure his death and is they who bring Jesus before Pilate. The Gospel shows how this conflict has evolved and the increasing frustration the religious authorities feel as Jesus preaches his divinity and authority in the face of their failing attempts to discredit him.

As part of this, though, we have to explore the more detailed dimensions of this conflict that matures across John's Gospel. For as we noted, although the same conflict is present throughout, it is more pronounced in John, and we are left with a dilemma about how much of it is historical and just how much it may have been added towards Jesus' death. We'll take a quick look at what is known as the **two-level drama** before analysing in more detail the conflict which drives the plot in John.

### Two-level Drama

We've noted how Culpepper looks primarily towards the religious authorities in his analysis. But Culpepper's interpretative approach needs to be outlined a bit more when talking about John. Culpepper favours what can be called a **narrative-critical** approach to John, which is the approach we analysed in 4.1. This means looking at John as if it were a piece of literature, examining how it is structured in order to reveal the overall theological message of the Gospel. In this sense, Culpepper is not wholly concerned with the historicity of John. John's Gospel isn't to convey specific historical events but to trace the outline of Jesus' life to give context to his divine nature.

This summary of course doesn't fully capture the nuances of Culpepper's approach, but it does recognise when looking at his claims. The late authorship of John means that it is likely that the traditions and documents already circulated among Christian communities. The Gospel as well as having had to be personal to a particular community or event within the early church, its purpose of John may be understandably very different from the Synoptics. At the same time, it gives us reason to question the historicity of John, as Rivkin does, and think about how the Gospel really reflects the conflicts that existed in Jesus' life.

These issues particularly arise when we consider John to be what has been called the 'Johannine drama' that John was not only written for a broad narrative and theological purpose, but also as a drama where the drama in the Gospel reflects the drama that existed in the Johannine community. There have been a strong focus of modern Johannine studies, popularised in particular by C.K. Barrett and Martyn, and there are key pieces of textual evidence to support such a view on John. One of the key pieces is where the blind man's parents are scared of being 'put out of the synagogue' (John 9:22). Not acknowledging Jesus to be the Messiah, a fate that later befalls the blind man himself. It's a bit odd in a Gospel preoccupied with Jesus, and it has been speculated that it is aimed at those Christians who have been themselves thrown out of the Synagogue.

For it is important to note that early Christians are most likely not to have labelled themselves as Jewish followers of Jesus, and it is likely that only by the late first century were the Christians properly forming a breakaway religion. Thus, later Gospels such as John are more likely to be kinds of confessions that would have emerged from such a split through narrative passion. Of course, being in the present era, we don't have full access to the original texts, so we can only guess by looking at their form, style and place in the New Testament.

But should we be a bit more cautious when examining the Gospel in this way? It's a project meaning where there is none, and scholars such as Gail O'Day have criticised the focus too heavily on the perceived two-level drama throughout the Gospel. Jesus ends up being seen as different religious groups, not just one, and it may be that the overall arc of Jesus' life is more of a secondary meaning to the Johannine community. Moreover, how do we understand where John does appear more historical, such as the passion narrative?

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Despite such problems, it is useful to consider these broader issues when analysing John and the religious authorities in John. While they exist in the same manner across different approaches to considering the unique elements of John. We might adopt focusing on John as a broad narrative, or Rivkin's more historical approach. We might conflict is heightened because of potential tensions in early Christian communities these approaches might have some merit, and the question of why Jesus dies in John has no conclusive answer!

### The First Battle – The Clearing of the Temple

With that in mind, let's think about the first major piece of conflict in John. This occurs in John 2:15–25, compared to the Synoptics, in which these events occur much later. It seems to suggest that John wants to fire forward with the drama between Jesus and the authorities as quickly as possible, or at least give an initial spark to set the train in motion. But it is quite ahistorical, not the least because John suggests that Jesus visited Jerusalem only once, returning later after his tour of Galilee and Judea.

Yet at heart, the conflict remains the same as in the Synoptics. The temple clearing is likely to have occurred in the outer Court of the Gentiles in the Temple where people would have been able to exchange currency, purchase animals for sacrifice and perhaps perform a variety of other mercantile endeavours. So, when Jesus shouts 'Stop turning my Father's house into a market' (NIV), his anger matches what could have been a real historical problem in the Temple. Yet, the clearest reason for the clearing in John appears in the next set of passages where the Temple authorities confront Jesus and question his own authority for throwing the money changers out of the court.

Moreover, we encounter the routine ignorance and confusion of these authorities that we will come to see again and again throughout John. When Jesus speaks of the Temple being raised in three days, they do not realise Jesus is talking about the resurrection, not the physical Temple itself. Thus, in this short passage, we see the two sides emerge in the conflict. Jesus is the voice of God and revelation, who recognises the path of his life and what is to come. On the other side, we have the religious authorities, who are ignorant about Jesus' divinity and the demands of their own faith. It has often been claimed by scholars that John's is not historical revisionism but something closer to what Culpepper argues, that it sets the themes of his Gospel from the outset and charts the reasons for the religious authorities' charges of **blasphemy** to the **threat to their power**.



### The Second Battle – Conflicts over Jesus' Identity

After this initial conflict, Culpepper points out that the rest of the conflicts in the Gospel follow a uniform structure. Typically, this formula goes as follows:

1. Jesus teaches or performs a miracle.
2. The Jews/Pharisees criticise Jesus' claims, authority or power.
3. Jesus elaborates on his actions, nature and purpose.
4. The Jews/Pharisees respond with disbelief and hostility.

We've seen this formula in action already in the clearing of the Temple, although not with teaching or miracle. Yet it shows that in some important sense the drama in John's Gospel is unlikely to be mirrored in actual historical events. Instead, we can see how John uses upon basic conflicts in Jesus' ministry to develop a broader theology and narrative. We don't have to discard John for being completely ahistorical but rather have to see how it reflects the broader arc of Jesus' life and the beliefs of the author.

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This means that the conflicts in John may well have existed historically, but we just don't know how they occurred, either because the author did not have good sources or more of a theological concern. But in this section we will take a look at this latter idea by exploring how often they revolve around Jesus' authority and his relationship to the **Law** and other important aspects of Jewish life, such as the **Sabbath**. As always, we will be drawing on anthology passages at times, and reading the Bible with a close eye to get a deeper sense of how this drama works in practice.

## John 5 and the Sabbath

But for the moment let's consider John 5, particularly John 5:16–47. Here, the real conflict with the Jews begins, with Jesus healing an invalid during the Sabbath at the beginning of the chapter. Jesus stated that the Jewish leaders 'began to persecute him' (NIV) due to them perceiving him as breaking the Sabbath. Jesus' response, which refers to God as his Father, doesn't do much to clarify the issue, instead they try to attack and kill him for 'making himself equal with God'. This forms the key plot points and themes that will continue throughout the rest of the conflicts in John, the unbelief of the Jewish crowd and Jesus' proposed authority over the Law.

However, there is also a specific emphasis on Jesus' power being part of a continuing revelation, trying to suggest that Jesus surpasses God or the prophets, since at the end of the passage he says 'do not believe what he wrote, how are you going to believe what I say?' (NIV). Since his opponents cannot understand his teachings and nature is not because he is going against the Law, instead because they do not truly understand the dimensions of their own faith. This is a theme amongst the Synoptics, particularly Matthew, where you see Jesus express similar ideas in the Sermon on the Mount. There Jesus, like in John, is expressing continuity with Jewish Law. It is only in the minds of his opponents that he is contravening the Law.

## The Hour Has Not Yet Come

These themes continue into John 7, 8 and 9 in different guises as the hostility between Jesus and the authorities ramps up. Yet, what emerges is not the strength of Jesus' opponents but rather Jesus foretelling the time of his death. In John 7:30 it is said 'they tried to seize him, but they did not, because his hour had not yet come'. It is hard not to see the strangeness of this passage, why could they not just physically do it? Later on in the chapter, Nicodemus asks Jesus a question, reason, talking the Pharisees out of arresting Jesus since it would be breaking the Law. The time for Jesus to die continues in John 8 where the Pharisees try to stone Jesus, but Jesus again evades death.

But throughout these passages the conflict also develops, with the reasons for the hostility becoming clearer. Nicodemus in Chapter 7 highlights what the reader is perhaps feeling as the opposition of the religious authorities to Jesus is not really predicated on his transgression of the Law, they are also willing to transgress the Law to attack him! What it reveals is that personal animosity motivates Jesus' opponents most of all. At the same time, Jesus stands in tension between his mission of necessary salvation history. Jesus is destined to die at a particular time, but why do his opponents act so comical in their attempts to arrest him again? Because the narrative dictates that they must.

## The Plot to Kill Jesus

We have to wait until John 11 for real progress to begin on this front. There are no explicit mentions of Jesus might have been randomly killed by his religious enemies until this point. John 11 does not talk about them. This in one sense can lend ammo to Rivkin's argument that the religious authorities are ultimately very misrepresented. They perhaps only exist for John's literary picture of Jesus' life and death, and in real life their opposition to his ministry cannot be as dimensional as his Gospel suggests. Yet by Chapter 11, we begin to really find that the death of Jesus was demanded by the religious authorities.

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The key passage, John 11:45–57, occurs after the seventh and final sign in the Book between this book and the first part of the Book of Glory, which deals with Jesus' journey to his eventual trial, crucifixion and resurrection. Here we see a meeting of the Sanhedrin. In real life, this would have consisted of 70 men along with the high priest (Caiaphas, not Moses (see Numbers 11:16–30). John's depiction is partly realistic in the sense that the Sanhedrin have been responsible for rule in Judea and actively looked for particular breaches in Mosaic Law (to be the Messiah). They did possess wide-ranging powers but at the same time they were wary of the Imperial Roman rulers, who ultimately were responsible for political law across the region.

Thus, the Sanhedrin were taken seriously in Judea but were limited in their powers. The chief priests in seeking the arrest of Jesus make sense. They wish to avoid an unnecessary Roman violence and oppression. The fact that they believe Jesus is anything but the Messiah leads them to seek some sort of punishment. Yet it is Caiaphas specifically who steps in and proposes that Jesus should be punished but ultimately should die, a sentence that could only have been made by the Roman authorities. It is within this intervention that the religious authorities become united in their purpose against Jesus. From this point on, they accept no second measure and will go to any lengths to see Jesus die.

### Evaluating Religious Opposition to Jesus

In some sense, we can see that the opposition to Jesus is manufactured as part of the narrative of the first half of the Gospel. As we shall see later, once Jesus' arrest has been performed, the religious authorities only properly emerge once Pilate talks to Jesus and questions him. As we shall see, they end up claiming that they unequivocally support Caesar and condemn any crime against Caesar himself. In a sense this matches the kind of hypocrisy the religious authorities show throughout John, but it also marks the greatest low for their characters as they betray their own religion and country just to see Jesus die.

But the big question is whether it is the religious authorities who are ultimately responsible for Jesus' death. Throughout the Book of Signs they present a laundry list of crimes that Jesus has committed, which all revolve around his contravention of the **Law of Moses**. Yet, there are plenty of other issues. On the religious side, Jesus is also accused of **blasphemy**, of claiming **false authority**. These issues certainly exist to some extent in the other Gospels, but often there is a focus on either Jesus claiming he is the Messiah or, like John, teachings that are misunderstood.

But the other key conflicts that emerge centre around the threat to power Jesus poses. Essentially, Jesus is claiming authority over the Sanhedrin, and as the Sanhedrin rules Judea, this results in a number of political and social issues. If people listen to Jesus, then they can no longer effectively rule. At the same time, if Jesus provokes a revolution, then he is also likely to be the religious authorities that are most punished. So, the Sanhedrin's primary concern is their worldly survival. Trying to see Jesus killed is a matter of **political expediency**, and as their myriad of personal problems disappear!

Overall, there is a strong narrative case to be made within John that the religious authorities caused Jesus' death. Yet we have also seen at times that the antagonism between Jesus and the religious authorities is a bit one-dimensional and even cartoonish. Jesus faces hostility from the religious authorities but never faces any real repercussions because he is not supposed to die at those points. In some sense, this can be read as prophecy, but in another sense, it can be seen to undermine the religious authorities in John. Were they really so opposed to Jesus or does John just use the religious authorities as a convenient villain? We think about the possibility also of a two-level drama where the religious authorities are the true villains to appeal to his community during a turbulent time in the Christian Church?

These are all possibilities, but we have missed out one key element so far: Pontius Pilate and the Roman authorities. If it wasn't entirely the religious authorities, then what role do these authorities play? Might they have had to kill Jesus? This will be the focus of our section.

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#### Discussion Activity:

How much do you think the religious authorities contributed to the death of Jesus?



## The Role of the Political Authorities

In John, the presence of the Roman authorities is primarily represented by Pontius Pilate, the governor of Judea during the ministry and crucifixion of Jesus. What is generally odd though and especially in John, Pilate is presented as somewhat of a sympathetic figure, who is reluctant to condemn Jesus to death. We see this in John 18:28–40 where Jesus is questioned by Pilate after being brought to him by the religious authorities. During this dialogue Pilate seems measured and a bit of a surprise when you look at the history of Roman occupation of Judea, which was marked by war and violence.

But could Pilate have been an oasis of calm among these rising tensions? If the Gospel of John is correct, yes, but we don't know much about Pilate's life or rule, and the few historians who do, like Tacitus and Josephus, generally present him as being sympathetic towards the Jews. Tacitus records by Josephus that Pilate did much to stir tensions between the Roman authorities and the Jews of the region, often acting in ways that they perceived as offending their religious beliefs. This is despite the fact that when the religious authorities seem desperate to collaborate with Pilate and the Roman authorities in Jesus' death.

The basic point to consider, though, is that even if throughout John the religious authorities are pushing for the death, does this effectively exonerate Pontius Pilate? If we accept the Gospel of John, then maybe so. But if we evaluate other historical evidence then our response may be different. First, though, we should take a look at the account of Jesus' trial and sentencing in John.

## The Trial of Jesus in John

We've noted before that a curious element of John is the absence of a trial by the Roman authorities. Instead, Jesus is questioned by the high priest, who asks what he had been teaching his followers. Jesus responds flippantly, noting that the question is pointless when the high priest already knows the answer. The point here is that this questioning is just for show, since the high priest has no real authority over Jesus, and the trial (led by Annas at this point) is somewhat flawed. There are no witnesses, no presentation of evidence against Jesus, the accused. They are effectively asking him to confess to a crime.

After this point at John 18:24, Jesus is sent to Caiaphas the high priest, but no denials are recorded. Instead, John focuses on the second and third denials of Peter and simply says that Jesus' arrest 'ended in the early hours of the morning'. Yet, in the Synoptics this is a key part of the passion narrative. This is the biggest deviation for John, who instead turns towards the end of the trial, which the religious authorities are notably absent because going inside 'would do nothing' (John 18:20). The obsession with the Law trumps any personal integrity they might have during the trial.

But here we see the issue the religious authorities face in full swing. They claim to be upholding the Law but they can't list any particular crime he has committed that contravenes Roman law. Instead, they wish to uphold. As such, they try to claim that Jesus is claiming himself the 'King of the Jews', a very obvious political connotation in threatening Roman rule. But Pilate perhaps is not convinced and when questioning Jesus gets no firm answer from him about the truth of this claim, he is not laying claim to the kingship of anything earthly, but instead his authority is over the 'world' (NIV). So, Pilate is not convinced. He even asks the religious authorities to release him as per tradition on Passover, where one prisoner is released each year. But the religious authorities insist on releasing Barabbas, who John explicitly notes is a revolutionary.

This is of course a bit ironic when the religious leaders are accusing Jesus effectively of claiming to be a king. However, Pilate eventually relents and sentences Jesus to be crucified at the beginning of the day. There are numerous times where Pilate stresses that he has found Jesus not guilty, but the bloodthirsty religious authorities who are demanding his death (see John 19:4 and 19:6). Pilate seems to get frightened by the situation, asking Jesus at John 19:10 why he is not a king. Jesus responds at 19:12 trying to release him personally. It is not until John 19:15, when the priest acting on behalf of Caesar, that Pilate relents and hands Jesus over to be crucified.

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## The Role of Pilate in the Death of Jesus

It is difficult to historically assess Pilate's role in the death of Jesus when all we have as sources are the Gospels. Yet, if we take John at face value, then Pilate almost seems like the voice of reason against the religious authorities. He doesn't want to kill an innocent man, yet his hand is forced by the priests, who are hell-bent on seeing Jesus crucified. However, this picture is a bit more complex in John than we might initially think. Pilate might be guilty of the same kind of politically expedient thinking that the religious authorities show throughout John. In a nutshell, Pilate might not have wanted to kill Jesus simply because this would have meant he was deferring to the authority of the priests, rather than acting of his own volition. As ruler, he simply didn't want to kill anyone the priests brought before him!

As Leon Morris and other scholars have pointed out, such a decision still implicates Pilate. Ultimately, Pilate can be seen to just be politically reluctant to execute Jesus on political grounds. If he defers to the priests, then he is becoming subordinate to the Jewish authorities. On the other hand, if he chooses not to execute Jesus, he is potentially letting a religious and political radical free with no repercussions. This could invoke further violence and rebellion from a crowd that clearly still has revolutionary sympathies with their request to release Barabbas instead of Jesus. Thus, Pilate is not truly innocent, just preoccupied with political affairs and ignorant to the wider truth Jesus is trying to bring to the world. If we take this view, then Pilate and the religious authorities are equally responsible for the death of Jesus. Pilate could have easily saved Jesus' life, but in effect was too self-serving or cowardly to do so.



### Assessing the Real Guilt of Pilate

This might seem to be a good conclusion to take, but let's think a little more about what we have. We've noted that the Roman authorities weren't exactly peaceful rulers and have been aware of this, writing his Gospel after the siege and sacking of Jerusalem (not hundreds of thousands of people died as a result of war, famine and enslavement, but a figure at a very unrealistic 1.1 million deaths). The tensions and violence which led to this grew throughout the first century CE. Would it really be the case that Pilate would execute someone accused of revolutionary activity?

Rivkin argues not. He holds that the trial of Jesus does not involve Pilate trying to execute Jesus but rather just seeking a quick end to a process which he cares little for. Thus, the charge of 'King of the Jews' upon Jesus is just an easy way to accuse Jesus of treason. It is this charge that prevents this easy charge from sticking. But there are plenty of other reasons why Pilate might have executed Jesus. His seeming popularity among many Jewish people would have been enough for a sentence, and this would have only been exacerbated by his triumphant entry into Jerusalem riding a donkey through the streets during the Passover celebrations, with the crowd shouting 'Hosanna to the King of the Jews'. Even if Jesus wasn't preaching violence, this would have been seen by the Roman authorities as a threat.

Moreover, think back a moment to the hierarchy of power in Judea. We noted that only the Roman authorities had the power to execute Jesus. Only the Roman authorities did, and it's their decision that results in Jesus' trial. Yet, if Pilate didn't want to lose face in front of the priests, he might view Pilate's questioning of Jesus in the same manner as the show trial conducted by the priests. It's just an excuse to try to execute Jesus as quickly as possible for whatever reason. Pilate asks Jesus why he does not want to be saved, he may just be hurt since Jesus is a revolutionary. Thus, Pilate's pride is on show during John 19, not any sort of compassion.

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But altogether, the historical circumstances of the Roman occupation of Judea show that there are plenty of reasons to think Jesus would have been seen as a threat by the Romans. If they were the only ones with the power to sentence Jesus to death, we might well claim Pilate was wholly responsible for the death. In the final section, we shall consider this from a theological angle than John.

### Discussion Activity:

Do you think Pilate should be held responsible for the death of Jesus? Or are the religious authorities to be innocent? Discuss in pairs or small groups.

## Who was Responsible for the Death of Jesus?

We've gone quite in-depth into a lot of the different conflicts within John, but the remaining question is: who actually was responsible for Jesus' death? We've broadly analysed this matter. The first draws on the work of Culpepper, who analyses the conflicts and looks at their narrative function. From this work, we can note that across all the Gospels, the religious authorities had a significant role in securing the death of Jesus. This conflict as a literary tool to give context to Jesus' ethical and Christological teaching. John's detailed discussion of Pilate gives reason to partially recuse him of responsibility. It may be that he was between a rock and a hard place in having to grant the religious authorities their demand.

Beyond narrative criticism, there may also be a basic historical case for this view. Christianity eventually split from Judaism, and the textual evidence to support so-called 'Jewish persecution' of Christians is weak. The religious authorities of the time as suggesting that they did play some role in Jesus' death, and pressing for his crucifixion. Moreover, we can note that the Sanhedrin, though not a court of law, would have had the means and ability to bring Jesus to trial and try him for transgressions of the Law. Simply put, it is far from inconceivable that Jesus was persecuted by his own community for his more radical teachings.

The trouble is, though, we can't really verify any of this historically. All we've got is what is presented in the Gospels and our historical knowledge of religious authorities at the time. If, however, we might note that by the time the Gospels were being written, Christianity was seen as a new sect or religion, and they may have even been persecuted by the Romans. This means there might have been authorial reasons for Mark and the other Gospel writers to lay the blame on the religious authorities. The conflict between Jesus and the religious authorities over Jesus and the political authorities is a complex one. We can imagine the Gospel authors to be politically or religiously motivated, but this may be a reflection of broader conflicts between early Christians and Jews.

Moreover, we can think of Rivkin's more nuanced analysis of the Pharisees and their depiction in the Gospels is clearly one-sided and one-dimensional, especially in John. We do have some evidence that the Gospel authors might not have been entirely impartial in their depiction of the conflicts in Jesus' ministry. This isn't to say there was no religious conflict, but it is to say that the Gospel authors. Moreover, the depiction of Pilate in the Gospels doesn't exactly match the historical knowledge of the figure. The crucifixion of Jesus would have potentially been an administrative decision for a Roman governor looking to stop Jewish rebellion, so his indecision is not necessarily accurate. Even Josephus, the first reference given to Jesus by a non-Christian author, mentions that Jesus was killed by the Jews, without referencing any religious conflict.

Thus, it seems wrong to fully exculpate Pilate of responsibility for Jesus' death. In the first half of John. So, why, if they had him already captured and had found him guilty, did they hand him over to the Romans, knowing there's a chance Pilate might not agree to his death? This is one of the issues with the Gospel narratives which mean we might lend a sceptical eye to the traditional view of the death of Jesus on the religious authorities alone. At the same time, we can be equally sceptical of views which lay the blame squarely at the feet of Pilate. There is evidence for both perspectives, and the reality may also be that Jesus' death was the result of a combination of social and political forces we might never be quite fully aware of.

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## Quick Quiz

1. What is the name of the high priest who plots to kill Jesus in John?
2. What is the catch-all term John gives to religious opponents of Jesus?
3. Who reluctantly condemns Jesus to death by crucifixion in John?
4. What title is Jesus given blame for during his arrest and trial?
5. During what event in John does Jesus show his opposition to Jewish tradition?
6. What scholar uses narrative criticism to analyse religious conflict in John?
7. What scholar uses historical criticism to examine the scholarly prejudices of other first-century Jewish groups?
8. What is the name for the Jewish Council of high priests and elders?



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## 5.3: TEXTS AND INTERPRETATION – THE CRUCIFIXION AND RESURRECTION NARRATIVES IN LUKE

### What you will learn in this section:

The different crucifixion and resurrection narratives throughout the Gospel of Luke

- Important crucifixion themes of Old Testament symbolism, prophecy fulfilment, forgiveness, salvation history, and the religious significance of these for first-century Jews and Gentiles.
- The continuation of these themes in the resurrection narratives, and analysis of discipleship and ecclesiology during the resurrection appearances.
- The nuances of the crucifixion and resurrection narratives in Luke, with a focus on the divergence from the other Synoptic Gospels.

### Starter Activity:

Revisit your studies on prophecy and the Messiah. What were the expectations for a messiah? What would they have expected one who would have died? Make some notes to inform your studies as you progress throughout this section.

### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	Ian Howard Marshall
<b>Born</b>	1934
<b>Died</b>	2015
<b>Key text</b>	<i>Luke: Historian and Theologian</i> (1970)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	Marshall was a well-regarded theologian whose work in the second half of the 20th century focused extensively on the New Testament. He is known for his work as a historian against excessive redaction criticism, which often led to an over-obsession with rewriting traditional eschatology and ethics with modernist assumptions.

### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	Frank Matera
<b>Born</b>	1942
<b>Died</b>	N/A
<b>Key text</b>	<i>Passion Narratives and Gospel Theologies: Interpreting the Synoptic Stories</i> (1986)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	A well-known biblical scholar who has written extensively on the Gospel of Luke. He focuses on his use and reinterpretation of Matthew against the background of the Jewish and Gentile worlds.

### Introduction – The Crucifixion and Resurrection in the New Testament

So far in section 5 we've looked both at eschatology in the New Testament and the death of Jesus. It is thus only fitting that we close this section by looking at two of the most important events in the Gospels, the crucifixion and the resurrection. Both play a different role in Christian theology, but both are also intimately linked. In Christian tradition, Jesus' death was not accidental but necessary for God's salvation of humankind. The crucifixion of Jesus is necessary in order to atone for our sins, and the resurrection represents at its most abstract a victory over death and the power of the devil, bringing life to individuals who might have previously been condemned.

But how exactly are these events represented in the Gospels? Is there a straightforward reading of each text to this tradition or are there subtleties and complexities lying beneath the surface? We will explore these questions by looking at the crucifixion and resurrection in Luke, a Gospel which offers a unique perspective on the meaning of Luke's crucifixion and its connection to the resurrection. For what might we call **atonement** is practically a non-existent theme in Luke. This lack of focus on the atonement has led New Testament scholars to argue that the death of Jesus, although bringing

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redemption, lacks a particular soteriological emphasis present in the other three simply held to be part of the divine plan before the resurrection; a particular form of innocent martyr; a demonstration of discipleship; or a mix of all these various redemptive themes.

It is worth keeping these themes in your mind as you read through the crucifixion. It is not even unfair to argue that Luke doesn't really care about the theological implications of the resurrection. It is a valid case to argue that Luke might have seen it merely as a necessary step in the event of the resurrection. Whatever your beliefs, though, it is key to analyse the themes within Luke's focus on repentance and redemption, and these concepts in the context of the history outlined through his Gospel. We will briefly look at these ideas before going on to what meanings we might draw from it.

## Luke, Atonement and Salvation

Hans Conzelmann was one of the first biblical theologians to not only identify the salvation history in Luke, but also to give it a specific structure and interpretation. He interpreted to be a three-part salvation history in Luke, starting with creation, through the middle of the church and Parousia at the end. Naturally, it is this latter part of the salvation history you will have already studied, from the birth of Jesus in the Gospel to the eschatological teachings of Jesus during his ministry. In each, you focus on the importance of repentance, but the meaning of this repentance in a historical arrival marks the coming Kingdom of God and a transformation in spiritual affairs. God's act of creation.

However, rather interestingly, Conzelmann regards Luke to be quite down to earth in his history. He argues there is none of the passion 'mysticism' present in the other Gospels or of the atoning importance of Jesus' death that is given by Paul in his letters. Rather, he sees the death as a necessity in accordance with a divine plan and as written in scripture. He considers that Luke was written relatively late as a Gospel compared to say Mark. Viewed as Christian history progresses into the later part of the first century, but we might also consider the perception of the author of Luke as a 'historian'. Simply put, we should not see the professed historian prioritises salvation history as a major theme of his Gospel over other themes.

But Conzelmann's argument is more than just conceptual. He makes a number of omissions and additions Luke makes within his Gospel that show Luke's focus on atonement matters. For instance, he notes the following:

1. Luke omits Mark 10:45, which states 'For even the Son of Man did not come to give his life as a ransom for many.' (NIV). This passage is included in Matthew's Gospel, but also the importance of it. By redacting this passage, scholars have argued that Luke omits the atoning aspects of Jesus' death.
2. The death throughout the final two chapters of Luke is referred to in general terms. In the resurrection appearances, Jesus describes his death as necessary, but does not accord it the significance that is the resurrection that is the demonstration of Jesus' divinity, authority, and his death truly significant. It is to be expected to be dwelt upon more.
3. Luke is the only Gospel to identify Jesus as similar to the suffering servant in Isaiah 53. He describes Jesus in 22:37, which echoes Isaiah 53:12. However, Conzelmann sees this as referenced as a part of the fulfilment narrative in Luke and leaves out the atonement, particularly the latter part of Isaiah 53:12, which states 'For he bore the sin of many.' This is included in Luke's account.

All these are instances where atonement theology is not only not considered, but also excluded from the narratives. But if Jesus' death is not for the purpose of atonement, then what purpose does it have? One option is to consider Jesus' death as a kind of sad necessity. For example, the Dibelius argues that Luke simply presents Jesus to be an innocent, suffering martyr.

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pop up during the actual crucifixion where Jesus is repeatedly stated to be innocent. Jesus still focusing on the importance of repentance and forgiveness. For example:

1. Throughout the passion narrative, Pilate proclaims Jesus to be innocent three times before his eventual crucifixion.
2. At Luke 23:34, Jesus calls for forgiveness for those persecuting and crucifying him, which influences a criminal next to him to repent, who in turn also proclaims Jesus innocent.
3. After Jesus dies, a centurion observing his death also proclaims his righteousness (see Luke 23:47).

All these characteristics can be said to fit a picture of Jesus as an **innocent martyr**; this portrayal fits with Old Testament **prophecy**, another theme that has been around since the crucifixion and resurrection in Luke. But first let us examine the relevant chapters and analyse some key scriptural components in more detail.

### Discussion Activity

Can you see any form of atonement mythology in Luke? Or is this absent from his narratives? Discuss in pairs or small groups.

## The Crucifixion and Resurrection in the Gospel of Luke

One interesting aspect to note initially is that, of all the Gospels, Luke has the longest resurrection narrative. Compared to the Synoptics in particular, Luke really delves into each of the appearances. Jesus' return is a fulfilment of both Old Testament scripture and his own prophesying of it. Luke is the only Gospel to provide a direct account of the ascension, which although very briefly, is surprisingly featured little within the actual Gospels themselves. There are a number of reasons for the case (one example being the author himself running out of papyrus at the end of the Gospel). It is worth remembering that the author of Luke also wrote Acts, which picks up the story after Jesus' death.

Yet this length only reinforces the slight strangeness of the treatment given to the resurrection. If, as Luke, does not carry a strict theological significance, then why is so much detail given to it? The answer is complex, but in short, we might initially speculate on three possible factors. The first is that Luke acting as the good historian, recording as many details as possible about the events. The second is that there is some deeper theological significance to Jesus' death which is not just the event itself, but the broader salvation history set out within the Gospel. The third is that the Gospel may carry details that were important to the community Luke was writing for. For example, the significant debate about the moral character of Jesus within first-century Jewish and Roman society. Portraying Jesus as an innocent martyr may have been a defence of Jesus in light of the charges against him.

Keep in mind all of these possibilities as we work through some key aspects of each of the resurrection narratives in Luke. All may be important in different ways to the author, but some might well be prioritised over others.

### Luke 23:26-43 The Crucifixion

The death of Jesus in Luke is portrayed as a rather protracted and cruel affair. After being condemned to death, there are plenty of people, such as the rulers (Luke 23:35) and the soldiers, who are sneering at him. Yet despite this focus, the actual event does not dwell on the agony of Jesus. Compared to Mark, for example, there is very little sign of the human Jesus, and he often seems to be quite a passive figure. What we do get instead is an emphasis on his martyrdom, plenty of final moral and eschatological teaching and a reaffirmation of his identity as the Son of Man.

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Yet, there is some mystery to Jesus' teaching here. For example, think for a moment

*'For the time will come when you will say, "Blessed are the childless women bore and the breasts that never nursed!" Then*

*they will say to the mountains, "Fall on us!"*

*and to the hills, "Cover us!"*

*For if people do these things when the tree is green, what will happen when it is dry?* (Luke 23:29–31 NRSV)

Here, Jesus seems to be imagining where women will be glad to be childless in light of the particular meaning of the passage is a bit of a mystery. Overall, it is likely that Jesus is warning what the fate of the guilty will be once he is gone, especially those who have treated him. The saying is deeply eschatological in tone, but the context of it is a bit puzzling as to how to interpret it.

However, the rest of the crucifixion narrative is clearer in its meaning. The first part of the narrative and insults directed at Jesus while he is being crucified. Above all, the emphasis is on Jesus' identity. While those mocking him are trying to claim that Jesus cannot be the Messiah (or even himself), the reader by this point is well aware of Jesus' nature and recognises that this is explicitly spelled out in Luke 23:34, where Jesus directly states about his persecutors that *they do not know what they are doing*. (NIV)

*The people stood watching, and the rulers even sneered at him. They said, "Save yourself if he is God's Messiah, the Chosen One."*

*The soldiers also came up and mocked him. They offered him wine vinegar and said, "King of the Jews, save yourself."*

*There was a written notice above him, which read: this is the King of the Jews.*

*One of the criminals who hung there hurled insults at him: "Aren't you the Messiah, the King of the Jews?" (Luke 23:35–39 NIV)*

This sets out a powerful contrast between Jesus and his persecutors, for it implies that Jesus' death was preordained, but precisely because it was preordained, those persecuting him are wrong. This ties in with the latter part of the crucifixion narrative, which is largely focused on forgiveness and repentance as the criminal next to Jesus asserts not only Jesus' innocence but also for his crimes. Jesus' response here is telling, as he indicates that the criminal's repentance is for his own salvation.

*But the other criminal rebuked him. "Don't you fear God," he said, "since you are under the same sentence? We are punished justly, for we are getting what our deeds deserve. But you have done nothing wrong."*

*Then he said, "Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom."*

*Jesus answered him, "Truly I tell you, today you will be with me in paradise."*

Thus, the most significant aspect of the crucifixion can be seen initially to assert that Jesus' death was preordained.

1. The necessity of Jesus' death in order to prove his status as the Messiah.
2. His innocence and martyrdom during the crucifixion.
3. The importance of forgiveness and repentance, even during times of great suffering.

These aspects will prove important when we turn to the resurrection narrative next. The author largely spells out narrative details necessary to understand the resurrection. Jesus' body taken down from the cross by Joseph and laid in a tomb before the burial. This process is also witnessed by the women who came with Jesus from Galilee and will witness the empty tomb.

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## Luke 24:1–52 – The Resurrection and Ascension

The account of the resurrection given in Luke is the longest of any of the Synoptics. The other two Gospels, Mark and Matthew, are not present in Mark or Matthew. Yet, this doesn't necessarily mean that Luke's account is a historically accurate depiction of the resurrection, and there are a number of passages that seek to reconcile Luke's additions with the other Gospels.

Let's start at the beginning. We will revisit the first section when we discuss the Ascension. Luke begins with the women discovering that Jesus is no longer in the tomb where he was crucified. Moreover, on finding the tomb empty, they are suddenly greeted by 'angels in white robes like lightning' (NIV). These can be understood to be angels when one looks at the other Gospels, but in addition the figures stress that Jesus foretold of this event during his ministry. The inclusion of a prophecy fulfilment passage is not present in the other Gospels and Luke is concerned with this theme from the moment Jesus' resurrection becomes apparent.

*'He is not here; he has risen' as he told you, while he was still with you. Remember how he told you, while he was still with you, that the Son of Man must be crucified and rise again. (Luke 24:6–7, NRSV)*

Various named and non-named women ('Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary the mother of James and the other Mary' (NIV)) then relay this information to the apostles, who search the tomb and find it empty. The major appearance of Jesus then occurs during Luke 24:13–35 where he appears to two disciples, Cleopas, who are downcast about the death of Jesus and, despite the rumours of his resurrection, lack faith in this event. As a result, Jesus berates them for not recognising his return and only when Jesus breaks bread with them in the evening that they comprehend who he is.

*He said to them, 'How foolish you are, and how slow to believe all that the prophets have said! You should have known that the Messiah has to suffer these things and then enter his glory.' And he opened their minds so they could understand the Scriptures. He told them, 'The Messiah must suffer and die before he enters his glory, and everything written in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled.' (Luke 24:25–27 NRSV)*

This appearance is wholly unique to Luke and its historicity has been doubted, especially as it appears to be an elaborate allegory for the problems of unbelief among Jesus' followers. It is understood the necessity of Jesus' death in order that prophecy might be fulfilled. This is a kind of revelation that is stressed throughout Luke, both as part of his salvation history and as a call for repentance.

The final appearance doesn't stray far from these themes either. The closest parallels to the appearance in Luke are still very different. Jesus shows himself to the eleven disciples after they have gathered in a room, and he proves himself to be truly resurrected by getting them to touch his wounds, which bear the marks of his crucifixion. Once more again, Jesus stresses that all this is in fulfilment of prophecy and that their minds should be open and understanding of what the Scriptures say.

*He said to them, 'This is what I told you while I was still with you: Everything written about me in the Law of Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled.' (Luke 24:44, NRSV)*

*Then he opened their minds so they could understand the Scriptures. He told them, 'The Messiah must suffer and die before he enters his glory, and everything written in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled.' (Luke 24:45–47 NRSV)*

So, the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy is used as a way to wrap up the overall message of Jesus' ministry. But Luke 24:47 also reveals another key aspect of the resurrection. This is unsurprising since the author of Luke is also the author of Acts, but it means that the beginning of Acts, which deals with the beginning of the Christian Church, is directly linked to the resurrection. Luke 24:50–52 and is very truncated, saying that Jesus was simply 'taken up into heaven'. The behaviour of the disciples is also worth mentioning, as they return to Jerusalem and continue their commitment after the resurrection.

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This chapter in many ways can be seen as an encapsulation of the disciples' experience. They begin with unbelief, only hearing the words of Jesus before realising his true nature and committing themselves to repentance in the process. It may also reflect the experience of the wider community, who would have heard of Jesus but not truly appreciated his divinity or fully recognised his miraculous works, including the resurrection. In this sense, the final chapter is an encapsulation of Jesus' life throughout the Gospel but also of the meaning of the Gospel for the early believers in Christ at the time of Luke's composition. It is these issues to which we now turn.

## The Meaning of the Crucifixion Narrative in Luke

Now we've performed a brief overview of major themes in Luke and examined some of the key passages, we can now turn and do a deeper dive on the meaning of the different narratives surrounding the crucifixion and resurrection. A lot hinges not just on what themes we might identify, but what themes we believe the author of Luke was most interested in stressing throughout his Gospel. As we noted at the beginning of this section that there was a significant theological problem in Luke. The crucifixion passages do not seem to focus at all on the atoning power of Jesus' death. If this is not a major theme, then what exactly is Luke trying to stress instead, and more importantly, why?

One idea is that the passion in Luke was partly written as an **apologetic**, a defence of the Christian faith in the face of critics. This is an intuitive idea to hold because so many of the initial themes we've identified, such as the innocent martyr picture of Jesus on the cross, his place in salvation history and the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, could arise as a kind of rebuttal to non-Christians questioning the nature and importance of Jesus' life. Yet, these could also just be Luke's way of giving Jesus' life a different vision and meaning, where we zoom out of particular theological problems to focus on Jesus and humankind. If Luke is the historian he claims to be then this could also be perfect.

At the same time, what Luke could also be doing is ensuring that his Gospel narrative resonates with as many audiences as possible. We can say for certain that Jewish audiences would be very interested in how Jesus' life relates to Old Testament prophecy, but we can't necessarily say the same for other audiences. On the other hand, might be much more interested in hearing how Jesus fits into a broader vision of the world, or how he can offer universal salvation for all human beings, not just those of a particular ethnicity. Luke might be trying to establish Jesus' credibility for as wide an audience as possible, so that anyone from any background could connect to.

It is worth keeping these ideas in mind as we progress through a number of key texts and resurrection narratives, for there are plenty of nuances and details that can feed into these broader themes and really bring out the overall vision Luke had for his Gospel.

## The Fulfilment of Old Testament Prophecy

We've analysed the last two sections how Luke is almost overly keen to stress the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. But what prophecy? Well, there has been significant scholarly debate over this question, but there are a few key passages that Luke is likely to be drawing attention to. At the same time, it is clear that Luke is not as specific as Matthew with references (which is consistent with the most 'Jewish' of all the Gospels), Luke instead makes a lot more general reference to 'the Law and the Prophets'. This is interesting, as it could well be Luke making sure this theme resonates with both Jewish and Gentile audiences as well. If the Old Testament references were too nuanced, they may not have reached people's heads!

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## The Suffering Servant

But let's dig into some of the key passages that Luke might be drawing connections to. One reference Luke seems to be making with the crucifixion narrative is with Isaiah 53, the 'suffering servant' of God. These passages in the Old Testament represent the fourth of four 'songs', or prophecies, Isaiah makes. Now, in Judaism, the servant is identified with the entire nation of Israel, but partly thanks to Luke, Christian tradition has identified the servant with Jesus and the trials he faces at the crucifixion. For instance, let's look at the verse that occurs just before the crucifixion narrative:

*'It is written: "And he was numbered with the transgressors"; and I tell you, it is true. Yes, what is written about me is reaching its fulfillment. (Luke 22:37)*

*Therefore I will give him a portion among the great, and he will divide the spoils with the strong, because he poured out his life unto death, and was numbered with the transgressors. For he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.'* (Isaiah 53:21 NIV)

As you can see, Luke is drawing a direct allusion between the events about to unfold and the suffering servant in Isaiah. However, it's an interesting allusion because in Isaiah, the emphasis is on the servant bearing the sins of many, as you can see in the final two verses. There aren't many atonement themes in Luke. So, what exactly is Luke trying to do with the two?

This is a difficult question, but it may be that Luke is just focusing on the image of the suffering servant prophecy. The other alternative is that Luke was aware of the atonement theme in Isaiah, but instead chose to include it as allusion rather than directly focusing on it as a major theme. This reference comes full circle during the crucifixion. Jesus is criticised for being a weak man, for bearing this abuse with a fortitude only a true martyr can possess. So, at Luke 23:42-43, Jesus, crucified there, along with the criminals, Jewish audiences are certainly very familiar with the fulfilment of this passage. It's a fulfilling and potentially the kind of theology Luke is developing with his crucifixion narrative.

The fulfilment of this passage also is echoed at other points throughout the crucifixion narrative. When Jesus intercedes and assures the repenting criminal that he will enter paradise, Jesus is making intercession for the transgressors next to him, fulfilling the final part of Isaiah's prophecy. Another reference occurs when Luke talks about how they bury Jesus in a rich man's tomb, which is another part of Isaiah 53, detailed below.

*He was oppressed and afflicted,  
yet he did not open his mouth;  
he was led like a lamb to the slaughter,  
and as a sheep before its shearers is silent,  
so he did not open his mouth.  
By oppression and judgment he was taken away.  
Yet who of his generation protested?  
For he was cut off from the land of the living;  
for the transgression of my people he was punished.  
He was assigned a grave with the wicked,  
and with the rich in his death,  
though he had done no violence,  
nor was any deceit in his mouth. (Isaiah 53:7-9 NIV)*

It is worth reading that passage in full a few times because, while we can draw specific connections, it's key to note the overall narrative and tone of Isaiah here. The crucifixion of Jesus is seen through and through. He is an innocent figure punished and oppressed and effective for his supporters. Yet, he suffers all this in silence, recognising it is his fate and is part of God's plan.

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themes echo so strongly that Luke's references would have been very effective, and of Old Testament prophecy cannot be viewed as an isolated theme but linked to what we will examine in this section. For the moment, though, let us consider a few other crucifixion narratives.

## The Crucifixion and Psalms

If we focus only on the major theme of the suffering servant we can miss some of what Luke makes throughout the passion narrative. For instance, when lots are cast for Jesus' clothes, Luke writes 'They divided up his clothes by casting lots'. This form is particularly important in Psalms 22 below:

*Dogs surround me,  
a pack of villains encircles me;  
they pierce my hands and my feet.  
All my bones are on display,  
people stare and gloat over me.  
They divide my clothes among them  
and cast lots for my garment.* (Psalms 22:16–18 NIV)

This is pretty weighty and relevant stuff as you can see, and it is unsurprising that Luke makes this reference. Yet, unlike Isaiah, there is no strict narrative to the Psalms. They are literary writings, hymns that are still chanted or sermonised on today in Christianity and praise of God, but Psalm 22 in particular is an appeal to a righteous God who appears as the protagonist. In this sense, it would have held a specific importance at the time of the crucifixion, with a similar aim and set of themes at times.

Similarly, when Jesus is offered wine vinegar to drink on the cross, Luke is making

*You know how I am scorned, disgraced and shamed;  
all my enemies are before you.  
Scorn has broken my heart  
and has left me helpless;  
I looked for sympathy, but there was none,  
for comforters, but I found none.  
They put gall in my food  
and gave me vinegar for my thirst.* (Psalms 69:19–22 NIV)

Again, Psalm 69 addresses similar themes to 22, the importance of maintaining one's faith. Thus, although we noted that Luke is often perhaps talking of prophecy in a general sense to Gentile audiences, this does not mean that at times he is also not drawing on details to lend meaning and gravitas to the crucifixion. The fulfilment of prophecy is not a theme that runs deeply through each verse.

### Activity:

Read through the entirety of Luke 22:52–53 (don't worry, it's not very long!). How does the depiction of Jesus as the suffering servant? Are there any major discrepancies? Have noted

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## God and Salvation

Let's move on, though, for a moment and consider another important concept in numerous ways: **salvation history**. Throughout the crucifixion narrative, various characters either help him or declare his innocence. At times, this all seems mightily ahistorical. For instance, after Jesus' trial in Luke 22, it is declared that Pilate and Herod found Jesus innocent. There are historical grounds to suggest these declarations, yet it is possibly stretching it to hold that this is due to Jesus. What is more likely is that in the resurrection and resurrection narratives, Luke is drawing together numerous narrative threads. In the darkest hour, is most concerned with peace and forgiveness, stressing that genuine repentance in any hour is the path to salvation.

This is seen in numerous other ways. In Luke 23, Simon of Cyrene, a Jewish man from Africa, is chosen to carry the cross, and it is a criminal on the cross who finally guarantees salvation by Jesus. The long list of characters, all from different backgrounds, all innocent and at times repentant, is an indicator that, for Luke, Jesus was offering salvation to all, not just a specific group such as the Jews. This notion of **universalism**, that salvation is available to all, is a prominent theme in the passion narrative as these disparate individuals recognise Jesus' innocence and importance.

Moreover, we see indications already that Jesus' death marks an important point in salvation history. We see that upon Jesus' death, 'the sun stopped shining. And the curtain of the temple was torn in two. This marks the decisive point at which Jesus' death has fulfilled the prophecies and a new era has begun, one in which the possibility of salvation becomes open and available to all. The response from the crowds watching, who 'beat their breasts', is telling here; it shows their grief over his critics and anticipates the glory of the resurrection. Moreover, we see the centurion who had come with Jesus and the Council member Joseph of Arimathea, who retrieves his body. It is clear in the context of the chapter ahead: they will soon be rewarded for their good deeds.

## Jesus as the Innocent Martyr

We've seen this theme play out in numerous ways already but it is important to note how it relates to the other two themes we've analysed. Jesus is stated to be innocent by almost everyone, and this innocence is stressed for a number of potential reasons. One is likely to be the fulfilment of prophecies referenced by Luke. The suffering servant and allusions to Psalms all point to a suffering or darkness through which faith in God is more important than ever. We see Jesus as he never doubts God or the necessity of his death, as unfair as it may seem to some.

The same is true when we think of salvation history. It is part of Jesus' destiny to die, and the beginning of salvation history can begin, one in which salvation becomes a possibility for all. Jesus is the divinely ordained martyr. It is unclear here to what extent this requires a particular theology, but Jesus' innocence is perhaps stressed here by Luke as a necessary part of the story. In the same way, we can see how the notion of martyrdom can be understood in light of Jesus' death and the salvation history of humankind.

However, the final part of this theme might be emphasising Jesus' behaviour as a martyr. It may have been that the early Christian community was facing persecution from various powers, and by emphasising Jesus' innocence it might have been a reflection on how the community should behave under oppression. Alternatively, it might be a call to be stoical or blameless under such persecution. Another possibility, as we noted before, is that it may be that Luke is defending Jesus against the claims of the Christian community that Jesus was in fact a criminal or fraud. By emphasising his innocence in the passion narrative, one is undeniably clear by the end that Jesus was faultless and innocent.

Matera in particular highlights this theme, noting that the author of Luke was likely influenced by how Jesus reflected the experiences of early Christian communities, considering the innocence motif, for example, may have been influenced by Luke's knowledge of the Acts, and as such, Luke may well be trying to draw connections and parallels between Jesus and the apostles who were martyred in the early Church. But Matera also recognises that the

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other important themes, such as Jesus' ethics. The martyrdom of Jesus may well have been how Christians perceived Jesus as a model for discipleship, for when one looks at the crucifixion narrative in Luke 23:2, one can easily find both the religious and political dimensions to his trial and the oppression of early Christians.

Let's dig into this a bit further. One dimension we can highlight is how Jesus' trial and death in Luke 23:2-49 frame the narrative of the Jewish people's rejection of Jesus and Israel's royal Messiah. Another dimension is the theme of Jesus as prophet and teacher, where the innocence motif frames Jesus' later resurrection and the prophecies associated with it. In this sense, the innocence motif grounds lots of the themes in the crucifixion, allowing readers to see what they want to see in his death depending on their backgrounds. But the key thing for Luke is that the innocence motif also helps to frame his Gospel and gives early Christians a model of how they should behave in the world. There is more to be said here, but we will revisit these themes in the next section. Luke 24:1-49 identifies later themes that come to look at Luke's ethics.

### Discussion Activity:

What do you think is the most important theme in the crucifixion narratives? Discuss.

## The Meaning of the Resurrection Narrative in Luke

In many ways the resurrection narrative doesn't present anything substantially new in Luke. Instead, we see the resolution of themes and narratives brought to a close. Whether it be the fulfilment of prophecy or the importance of salvation, we see their finality. Jesus' victory over death establishes the truth and validity of his teaching throughout his ministry. In the next section, let's see how these important themes manifest themselves in Luke's resurrection narrative.

## The Fulfilment of Old Testament Prophecy

In a previous section, we analysed Luke's detailing of the resurrection, noting how many passages were linked explicitly to the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. Now, layered into the crucifixion narrative, we can analyse the attention given to it in more detail. For what is strange about the fulfilment theme in Luke 24 is how different it is from the crucifixion. During the crucifixion, Luke takes pains to identify Jesus with the suffering servant of Isaiah and parallels with Psalms. Yet, in the resurrection narrative, such details disappear. Instead, Luke takes a stroke approach to fulfilment. The emphasis is not on what prophecies have been fulfilled, but on the failure to understand that they have been fulfilled.

*He said to them, 'This is what I told you while I was still with you: Everything written about me in the Law of Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms.'* (Luke 24:27)

This is made explicitly clear in Luke 24:44. At this point Jesus has appeared numerous times, but the disciples have failed to understand the meaning of his appearance. In essence, for the audience, this is the kind of conclusion for this theme. The only exception might be the general reference to the Old Testament. Here, Luke might be looking back to Hosea, which prophesied this timeframe.

*'Come, let us return to the Lord;  
He has torn us to pieces  
but he will heal us;  
he has wounded us  
but he will bind up our wounds.  
After two days he will revive us;  
on the third day he will restore us,  
that we may live in his presence.'* (Hosea 6:2 NIV)

But the continuity and completion of this theme is what Luke ultimately aims to show. The chapter of salvation history has begun, as prophesied by important Old Testament figures, and most importantly, Jesus himself. We can explore the continuity of this other theme of the resurrection in the next section.

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## Salvation and the Resurrection

Just as with fulfilment, the theme of salvation and salvation history is built upon an resurrection narrative. Yet, it is often expressed in interesting and subtle ways. For those who discover the empty tomb first and, given Luke often focuses on the spiritual life of the other Gospel, this element perhaps emphasises the belief that salvation is universal and available to all. Similarly, we can note that it is the inner disciples who are last to see Jesus, with the outer witnessing and understanding the significance of his resurrection first. Overall, what is clear is that access to salvation is available to anyone, not just those who have been typically privileged.

But even in the appearance to the full group of disciples, this message is spelled out. As a result of his victory over death a new chapter is beginning for humanity, one in which the forgiveness of sins will be preached in his name to all nations, beginning with Jerusalem. The Jewish people are privileged perhaps by location and proximity only. They are the first to receive the message of salvation, but they are far from the last, as it is the project of a new chapter to spread Jesus' teachings to all who might wish to receive them, whether they be Jew or Gentile. Jesus' victory and fulfilment of prophecy is for the benefit of all, even if Jesus is believed to be returning to heaven.

## The Physical Resurrection

One important aspect it is key not to overlook is how Jesus emphasises the physicality of the resurrection in Luke's resurrection narrative. In the major meetings with the disciples, Jesus breaks bread with them, shows them the wounds in his hands and feet and directly states that he is not a spirit. This is interesting, for in Jewish traditions at the time, belief in bodily resurrection was becoming more prominent, so Luke stressing that Jesus was physically resurrected is quite revealing. Neither Mark nor Matthew contains such passages, so scholars have speculated why Luke included these details, ones which later found their way also into John.

For instance, the biblical scholar Charles Talbert has suggested that Luke wrote his Gospel to combat heretical ideas such as Gnosticism and Docetism, which often viewed the resurrection spiritually rather than physically. But it also might be the case that Luke is defending the resurrection against early critics of Christianity. If you look at Matthew, the author there offers a lot of detail about the empty tomb prior to the resurrection, in what seems to be an attempt to fend off critics who held that Jesus' body might have been stolen away. In the same fashion, Luke might well be addressing critics who claimed that the disciples merely saw a spirit or hallucinated a resurrection.

## The Future of the Church

As a final note, we should mention that there is a strong eschatological focus to the resurrection narrative in Luke. We've seen this in part in Jesus' universal call to preach his teachings, but this a little further in the context of the composition of Luke and Acts. Both books were written by the same author and *Acts* essentially deals with the history of the early Church from the end of Luke nicely followed by the beginning of Acts, as Jesus commands his disciples to go and they agree with great piety, staying in the Temple and praying continually.

What this perhaps highlights is that Luke sees the Church as essential in the next chapter. The resurrection is not the final victory, but rather the most significant one as follows, which will serve to spread Jesus' teaching across the world. Thus, when thinking about the resurrection narrative in Luke, it is worth remembering the context and authorship, as Luke and Acts are connected in structure and theme.

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### Discussion Activity:

Are any major new motifs introduced in the resurrection account in Luke? Or does it simply summarise and wrap up the themes presented in the crucifixion narrative?

## What Theme is the Most Important?

Throughout this section, we've explored the crucifixion and resurrection in quite a bit of detail. It's clear that Luke doesn't have just one aim in writing his Gospel but aims to tie together a complete picture about the importance of Jesus' death and resurrection. Yet some themes simply are more important than others. For instance, the number of times the resurrection is mentioned directly fulfils prophecy perhaps indicates that above all, this is what Luke wished readers and listeners to understand most. In fact, the final resurrection narrative is so heavy-handed in the amount of times Jesus has to stress to his disciples (the figure of 11) how his actions are prophesied and in accordance with the Law and Scriptures.

But beneath this heavy-handedness, we see other complexities emerge as Luke's salvation history is woven into this fulfilment theme. Perhaps above all, Luke wishes to show that the world had occurred at Jesus' resurrection, but that his audience might only understand this through the lens of prophecy. Considering his focus on the Old Testament throughout the Gospel, this is a prophecy primarily serving a confirmatory function in emphasising the importance of the resurrection. The focus on the resurrection and the physical might also be another example of the emphasis on the physical world and the physical body.

Similarly, it would be amiss not to note Jesus' stressed innocence on the cross. This is a theme of fulfilment and salvation, but as we shall see in later sections, Luke also has a narrative here that might serve as moral guidance for the suffering and oppressed that his Gospel is written for. In any case, if you are unsure of your own position, the best solution is to read once again, focusing on each verse and how it ties into Luke's broader narrative. It is there that the complex text can be developed and reflected on as you progress through your studies.

### Quick Quiz

1. What theological concept is there an absence of in Luke's crucifixion and resurrection narrative?
2. What theological idea does Conzelmann argue replaces this concept?
3. What aspect of the crucifixion narrative does Matera argue is key to understanding the resurrection?
4. What two Old Testament books are primarily referenced during the crucifixion narrative?
5. What concept is present throughout Luke's interpretation of salvation?
6. What Old Testament concept is referenced through Luke's description of the crucifixion?
7. What is Luke potentially attempting to demonstrate with his extensive description of the resurrection narrative?

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## 6.1: SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL-CRITIC – THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

### What you will learn in this section:

The various historical and scientific challenges to the Gospel narratives around the Jesus, including:

- The different ways the resurrection has been interpreted throughout history and how this challenges the traditional Christian interpretation of the resurrection.
- An analysis of alternative explanations for the empty tomb in the Gospel narratives and the evidence for the resurrection.
- The strengths and weaknesses of historical and scientific critique, and how this impact other aspects of Christian belief.

### Starter Activity:

Read through the 'original ending' of Mark (Mark 16:1–8). Does this account by itself support the interpretation of the resurrection in Christianity? And if it is the earliest account of the resurrection, how does it affect the way we think about the resurrection? Make some notes and compare them with the rest of this section.

### Key Thinker

Name	Ian Wilson
Born	1941
Died	N/A
Key text	<i>Jesus: The Evidence</i> (1984)
Why are they important?	Wilson is a prolific author who has written books on a wide variety of historical topics. His book <i>Jesus: The Evidence</i> assesses the historical evidence for the existence and life of Jesus, analysing what we can know from the Gospels and other sources.

### Key Thinker

Name	Frank Morison
Born	1881
Died	1950
Key text	<i>Who Moved the Stone?</i> (1930)
Why are they important?	Frank Morison was the authorial pseudonym for Albert Henry Rees. He wrote many books but is best known for his Christian apologetics. <i>Who Moved the Stone?</i> is a defence of the resurrection, offering a defence of the resurrection and alternative historical explanations for the events surrounding it.

### Introduction – The Symbol of the Empty Tomb

The empty tomb is one of the most enduring symbols of Christian tradition. It appears in the Gospels and is the first major signifier of Jesus' victory over death through the resurrection. In the Gospel narratives, it is easy to note the major problem: from a basic outline of some disciples of Jesus finding an empty tomb after his death, there is disagreement about what happens next. This does not necessarily mean that the accounts are false. In fact, biblical scholars have often attempted to try to reconstruct the early Christian tradition that the Gospel authors might have used, with the aim of giving an explanation of the empty tomb.

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## The Empty Tomb in the Synoptics

Yet, despite the differences between the Gospels in their detailing of the resurrection, it is interesting that each does have at its centre the symbol of the empty tomb after the Sabbath ends. So why is there controversy over these accounts? Well, one issue arises from the fact that in each Gospel, different women discover the empty tomb. For example, in Mark, it is Mary Magdalene, Mary the Mother of James and Salome, and a third woman, unnamed, who discover the tomb occupied by a stranger in a white robe who tells them *'You are looking for the crucified. He has risen! He is not here. See the place where they laid him.'* (NIV) What happens after this discovery the women flee the tomb, and this small account forms the end of Mark's Gospel. The later part of Mark 16 is now recognised to be a later addition, perhaps added in the 9th century.

This is of course surprising because it seems that the Gospel of Mark contains no resurrection appearances at all! This discovery in particular has troubled modern biblical scholars. It seems to indicate that the empty tomb can accommodate a series of very different resurrection appearances. To the latter Synoptics, Matthew and Luke. For example, in Matthew, it is 'Mary Magdalene and the other Mary' who discover the empty tomb, where they are greeted by an angel who delivers the message of the resurrection. How the women then flee in joy and are suddenly met by Jesus himself. The author of Matthew found the Markan ending too ambiguous and maybe desired to emphasise the importance of the resurrection appearances by Jesus.

Alternatively, in Luke it is 'the women' (those who followed Jesus) who discover the empty tomb by two men in gleaming white clothes. Like in the other Synoptics, they tell the women to go and announce the resurrection in light of prophecy, including *'The Son of Man must be delivered up, and be crucified and on the third day be raised again.'* (NIV) After this occurrence, Luke's Gospel ends with the women giving the message to the apostles. However, they do not believe the women, and Peter himself goes back to the tomb and finds the strips of linen still lying there.

So, Luke here appears to give more details of the actual discussion about the empty tomb and the appearance of Jesus! How do we make sense of this? Well, one option is to consider each author's motives in editing their accounts of the empty tomb. Perhaps Luke included the elements he could verify about the encounters at the empty tomb, while stressing the resurrection in terms of fulfilling prophecy. Matthew, on the other hand, in including the appearance of Jesus to the Marys may well have just wanted to build upon the ambiguous ending of Mark, connecting the empty tomb and the direct resurrection of Jesus. For the final canonical Gospel and see how its account of the empty tomb differs from the Synoptics.

## The Empty Tomb in the Gospel of John

Compared to the Synoptics, John has little to say about any initial encounter between the women and the empty tomb. It begins with Mary Magdalene returning to the tomb and finding the entrance closed. She then runs back to 'Simon Peter and the other disciple, the one whom Jesus loved' to tell them that 'someone had removed Jesus' body'. They then go to the tomb and discover the empty tomb with the strips of linen and the cloth that was wrapped around Jesus' head. However, it is not until the end of the Gospel that Mary witnesses two angels and then Jesus, who tells her that he will be ascending into heaven.

This is of course a truncated summary, but in comparison to the Synoptics the account is very different, and it is still uncertain what sources the author of John used to compose his account of the empty tomb. Yet, the lateness of John's composition implies that by this point the symbol of the empty tomb was well established in Christian communities. Yet, at the same time, it is unusual to find the empty tomb mentioned anywhere in the Pauline epistles, which were written fairly soon after the death of Jesus. There is evidence that Mark invented the story of the empty tomb, knowing that pre-existing concepts of bodily resurrection meant that audiences would understand the lack of a body as evidence that Jesus himself had been resurrected. It's an intriguing idea that we will investigate through the course.

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The second text in the anthology is a chapter taken from Ian Wilson's book *Jesus*, a critical look at the historical events of Jesus' life. In comparison to Morison's work, Wilson is a bit more balanced in his analysis of the empty tomb. Although he does not believe a genuine miracle could not have occurred with the resurrection (adopting instead a more sceptical view to the Bible), he still attempts to impartially consider the evidence for different explanations. While it can be argued that ultimately Wilson is biased towards non-supernatural explanations, he is a useful counterpoint to Morison, and we will refer to both when considering different views on the empty tomb.

### The Different Views on the Resurrection

Finally, before we turn towards a deeper analysis of the empty tomb, it is worth considering the different stances we might take towards the resurrection. The traditional Christian view of the resurrection is that it is a **miracle**, where the empty tomb and the later appearances signify that Jesus was the dead, something that transgresses the laws of nature as we know them. While this is also the most controversial in many ways. It requires believing in something that goes against our instinct. As you may have studied already in Philosophy of Religion, David Hume is a philosopher who is ultimately sceptical of the reliability of testimony, especially from past cultures and societies. He argues that it is more rational to believe the laws of nature haven't been broken than hold that they have.

Hume's argument came on the back of the Enlightenment period, during which many people began to view what they viewed as reason above religious dogma. Thus, while it was taken for granted that Jesus had simply just resurrected, Enlightenment thinkers started to question this basic assumption. They began to read the Gospels and other religious texts with fresh eyes. The conclusions they often eventually reached, especially in the later periods of the Enlightenment, was that historically and scientifically, the resurrection was not verified. The simple existence of an empty tomb and some testimonials from 'witnesses' or 'nations' was not enough to suggest that the laws of nature had been broken and that a miracle had occurred. In fact, many began to adopt **deism**, believing that although there was an omnipotent God, he did not routinely intervene to maintain the order of the world or break the laws that they had established.

It's worth thinking about this as we progress through this chapter. For if we accept the traditional Christian view, there is no real rational argument for the empty tomb being genuine evidence for the resurrection. We have to accept that belief in such an extraordinary event is going to be a matter of faith. This is what Morison is fighting back against. His work attempts to show that there is a rational basis for the resurrection, it being the best possible explanation for the empty tomb when one looks at the evidence.

On the other hand, if we do adopt a generally sceptical position, then Morison has a harder time. He does not doubt that there are no good alternative explanations. Note, this does not mean that the resurrection occurred, just that it may be the best possible explanation given the evidence. But there are certain explanations it is very difficult to rule out, particularly when it comes to the testimony and experiences of other human beings. As such, there have been a wide range of explanations for the resurrection that spring from a general doubt about whether it could have occurred without a miracle. When we look at various explanations, we should consider these broad views on the resurrection that have been held throughout history.

### The Resurrection as a Miracle

We've had a look at the requirements for the resurrection to be considered as a miracle. Now we need to look at the requirements for the resurrection to be considered as a miracle. We've had a look at the requirements for the resurrection to be considered as a miracle. Yet, the idea that the resurrection is just a fiction is not the only one. Simply put, we have to consider what events might have reasonably occurred. Somewhere along the way, the disciples and others mistook the empty tomb to be the resurrection. When Jesus' body might simply have ended up somewhere else. In this sense, the resurrection is not a miracle, but in the sense that there were a series of errors that led to the disciples falsely attributing the resurrection to Jesus. It is events that had another perfectly reasonable explanation.

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What stands in the way of such views is that in accounts of the empty tomb, the goal was to eliminate other explanations. They were naïve in this sense; they understood, at the time, that just finding an empty tomb is not concrete evidence of someone's resurrection. For example, in Matthew the author includes a line about the Jewish authorities paying a body being stolen. This suggests that the belief that the resurrection was a fiction was common among early Christian and Jewish circles, with followers of Jesus having to spell out why it could not have been moved.

For such explanations are commonplace when thinking about the resurrection as a common idea, as we shall see, usually revolve around Jesus' body being taken so it was not found in the tomb. This could have been by the Roman authorities, the Jewish authorities, or even the disciples. There are plenty of reasons why each might desire to see Jesus' body disappear, and we have to wonder why no one later discovered the body or found out where it might have been. The Gospel accounts, such as Luke, we see the disciples being sceptical about the resurrection, but the Jesus' body might have been. As a result, there is not a straight line from the empty tomb to the resurrection. We have to think a bit deeper about whether such explanations are

The same is true when we consider another explanation for the resurrection as fiction: that the disciples and others simply lied about the resurrection appearances and that, in the process of thinking, the resurrection becomes a kind of conspiracy, where followers of Jesus were claiming Jesus had been resurrected after the humiliation of his death on the cross. Yet, such a conspiracy would have had to be clued in and someone would have still had to have believed in the possibility, but a lot of individuals looking at the resurrection as a fictional event caused the disciples to mistake the empty tomb to be a sign of resurrection, rather than conspiratorial thinking. Nevertheless, such arguments are still popular to a degree and are taken seriously academically.

### The Resurrection as Myth

We can, though, follow the conspiratorial line a bit further, by looking at the idea of the resurrection as a myth. This is a view that is sometimes professed by critics who see similarities between Jesus' resurrection and earlier pagan myths about God and his children. Now, because of the popularity of *The Da Vinci Code* or another popular twenty-first-century work, it is often thought that the idea stretches back much further than you might expect. The idea of the resurrection as a myth was first proposed by Greek critic Celsus, who often reserved a great deal of ire for early Christian

The basic idea that Celsus had was that the resurrection was a mythological story that Christians who couldn't face the fact that their spiritual leader was guilty of mere sorcery and magic. In developing this story, they made the mistake of drawing too heavily on Jewish traditions, particularly the suffering servant in Isaiah. Thus, it makes complete sense that authors of the New Testament couch their depiction of Jesus in terms of Old Testament prophecy, because the effect, ripped off these prophecies in constructing the accounts of Jesus' resurrection.

It's difficult to evaluate such accounts because they rely on a kind of joined-up thinking that is not from one perspective but riding on a kind of joined-up thinking from another. Jesus naturally would have taken on Jewish traditions during his life, simply because he was, in fact, Jewish. Similarly, his followers would have understood his teachings in the context of Jewish prophecies circulating at the time. The growing belief in a physical resurrection among Jewish communities. But these facts do not mean that the resurrection account was a pale imitation of Jewish myth. They do not support such a proposition.

At the same time, it is difficult to imagine how such a myth would occur when there were so many eyewitnesses and so many testimonies about the resurrection appearances. It would be as if the disciples were constructing a kind of elaborate lie. Yet, there is potentially another explanation: if, in the hysteria after Jesus' death, the disciples effectively hallucinated his appearance, then we shall consider before we move on to looking at explanations for the empty tomb.

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## The Resurrection as Experience

The final possibility we can consider was that after the body had been moved or effectively in their fervour hallucinated the resurrection appearances. In fact, we say that even finding the tomb itself and seeing figures within it was a kind of hysteria spread among other disciples and followers. This might seem a bit strange a first resurrection relies on us believing that there was not one sceptical or even rationalist who might question their unreliable senses. In the narratives around the empty tomb there are attempts to show that the disciples were not initially convinced by the claims. Jesus' pains during the resurrection appearances to demonstrate his reincarnated physicality.

Yet, these instances of **mass hysteria** do occur, and it is potentially the case that the resurrection appearances were from a particularly acute instance of **wish fulfilment**, with the disciples seeking a sign of Jesus and projecting this onto a series of experiences which confirm this wish. In other words, occurrences of such hysteria from previous religious experiences, or even experiences of modern miracles. It is often claimed that modern miracles are better explained as due to some psychological hallucination or wish fulfilment than God intervening in the world. If this is true, the resurrection appearances in the same manner.

Further evidence for this kind of approach might come from considerations about the view of the disciples. Back in the first century, there were no good naturalistic explanations for such phenomena. For instance, we know now that mirages are caused by displacement of light rays. But it is likely that individuals in the past would not have viewed such phenomena in this way. Mirages were more commonplace, and the kind of explanations people would have given for such experiences would have been much more religious or mythological as a result. The resurrection as an event purely in the experience of the disciples is perhaps bolstered by this.

At the same time, if such occurrences were commonplace, it is fair to ask what makes the resurrection appearances so special or particularly convincing to the disciples. There is still a need to explain why Christianity had the impact that it did. Still, with this possibility in mind, we can examine the different possibilities around the empty tomb and whether an alternative explanation against the resurrection based on an alternative explanation of the accounts given.

### Discussion Activity:

What position on the resurrection do you hold, and why? Discuss in pairs or small groups.

## Historical Explanations for the Empty Tomb

So far in our discussion of the resurrection we've broadly been covering what might be seen as challenges to Christian belief. In other words, we're not looking at the specific historical accounts of the Gospels but instead looking at broad philosophical reasons to doubt the possibility that the resurrection has occurred. These are convincing for many, but they do effectively rely on doubt about the reliability of the sources we have about the resurrection. Whether we regard these sources to be unreliable or just hallucinatory, we're not actually grappling with the Gospel narratives of the resurrection appearances.

This is important to note because a proper rebuttal of the empty tomb arguments is not just able to give another explanation for the events leading up to the resurrection. Simply put, it is able to mount a **scientific challenge**, but a **historical challenge** as well. If we can provide a plausible explanation for Jesus' missing body, then we can arguably meet biblical scholars' criteria for a historical explanation. If that Jesus' resurrection is likely to be more fiction than fact. If this is not possible, it is irrational for Christians to have faith in the Gospel accounts, even if they contradict each other.

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## Evaluating the Gospel Narratives

However, one major issue greets us when we try to mount a historical challenge to the paucity of historical sources about the events. We've noted some of these already, but let's look at some problems we should quickly cover again.

1. There are few historical sources about the resurrection and no witnesses to it. As we have put, we don't have much to work with. What happened in the three days between Jesus' death and the discovery of the empty tomb is unknown. As such, there are many good alternative explanations we could posit about the lack of a body and the disappearance. Rather, what we have is a series of somewhat conflicting accounts of the empty tomb and reported this event to the disciples. For instance, see the table below for a description of these differences.

	Matthew	Mark	Luke
<b>Jesus' body is removed from the tomb and placed in a new tomb.</b>	Joseph of Arimathea	Joseph of Arimathea	Joseph of Arimathea
<b>Women observe burial.</b>	Mary Magdalene and Mary	Mary Magdalene	Women of Galilee
<b>Pilate secures tomb.</b>	Secured with a seal and guard		
<b>The women find the tomb empty and have a vision of angels/figures and/or Jesus.</b>	Mary Magdalene and Mary	Mary Magdalene, Mary and Salome	Women of Galilee, Mary
<b>Bribing of the guards by the religious authorities.</b>	Guards bribed to circulate false story of empty tomb		

Let's look at key agreements first. What we can perhaps establish is that Jesus' body was placed in an empty tomb and this tomb was subsequently found empty by Mary Magdalene (and most likely others) three days later, accompanied by other women. However, if we take the Synoptics as our primary source, then we might conclude that only Mary Magdalene observed the burial and that other figures accompanied her at this moment. The accounts of the empty tombs and the appearances of an angel or angel-like figure. What we can establish is that the Synoptics are largely responsible for adding embellishments that are intended to provide a more complete narrative, such as the securing of the tomb and the bribing of the guards. As we have noted, these are likely to be in response to early critics of Christianity at the time of Matthew's writing.

2. So, what's the next issue? Well, what we might note is that the Gospel accounts of the empty tomb might not exactly be what you would call reliable. For one, they are all written by people who were not present at the time of the resurrection. In this sense, they are biased towards presenting a positive view of the event. This supports this conclusion that they might also well be leaving out information that would undermine their conclusions about the empty tomb.

But even when we consider the witnesses given in the Gospel accounts there is only one person to be agreed upon to witness the empty tomb and the first resurrection appearance: Mary Magdalene, a woman who was said to have been cured of 'seven demons' (Mark 16:7). This raises questions about the reliability of her testimony. She might not have examined the empty tomb carefully enough to be sure that the figures who appeared to her shortly after to be angels or divine beings. In the Synoptics there were other potential witnesses, none of whose names are mentioned in the accounts. This evidentially supported conclusions about the empty tomb.

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Finally, we can consider the fact that the earliest manuscripts of Mark do not have the ending in verse 16, which was added by a later scribe. This means the earliest Gospel has an abrupt ending in verse 8, where the women flee and do not tell anyone of what they have seen. This somewhat contradicts the longer accounts of Matthew and Luke, who are likely to have used Mark as a source. So, is this evidence that these authors embellished the original account? Or was the Gospel perhaps just unfinished, and completed by later Gospel writers? It's perfectly possible that the resurrection appearances were more robustly analysed by Matthew and Luke than the earlier written sources on the empty tomb to construct their narratives.

If we consider this possibility, it is worth briefly talking about the other New Testament resurrection appearances. The Pauline epistles, which often date earlier than the Gospels, mention a hugely vague number of resurrection appearances without stating the order or relative significance. Even Jesus appearing to Saul on the road to Damascus, which is a key event in Christianity, may count as a resurrection appearance! So, the early years of the church have not seen figures codify the resurrection appearances to disciples and the wider church. Resurrection appearances meant much broader religious significance.

### How do We Evaluate the Historicity of the Empty Tomb?

Considering the two major issues we just outlined, it is difficult to give an exact answer. Let's imagine for a moment that we are treating this issue like a court case. What is possible? Can we effectively prove that the empty tomb leads to the resurrection without any doubt? Under conventional historical standards, the resurrection is either a possible explanation for Jesus' body missing from the tomb. This does not mean that one necessarily believes in the resurrection was a real event. One can accept gaps and biases in the records that still allow that Christians can inherently trust the resurrection accounts in the Gospels as a historical fact. It is a mystery about the empty tomb to which naturalistic explanations cannot give an answer.

However, it is important to also question whether this question is meaningful. We can't really possibly treat the empty tomb as a kind of court case for Christianity, when the evidence is so uncertain, and the resurrection is such a weighty, important event in the context of the faith. It still seems as if human beings have a strong religious impulse in the twenty-first century, even in a sceptical one. It may just be impossible to meaningfully judge such a momentous event. The real access to the details and so much rests on it being true or false. However, we will do our best to scope out some alternative explanations for the empty tomb.

### Joseph of Arimathea Moved the Body

The first alternative explanation we shall consider is the possibility that Joseph of Arimathea moved the body between the time it was buried and when the empty tomb was discovered. We are unanimous in agreeing it was this figure who saw to Jesus' burial, and so both the Gospel accounts and the possibility of him moving the body is conceptually a strong possibility. Since the body had been laid to rest, he potentially had access to it even if it was secured, and he might well have had good reasons for wanting to ensure its safety (or even destruction).

But how do we judge the likelihood of this occurrence? Well, we can take a number of steps. Let's focus on evaluating these alternative explanations.

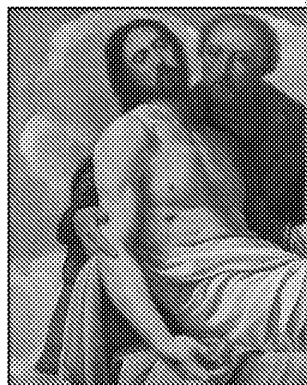
1. Examine an individual's actions in the context of cultural and religious practices.
2. Examine an individual's actions based upon their character and dispositions in the New Testament and other historical sources.
3. Examine an individual's actions based on the logistics, planning and time required.

So, let's think about these three methods when analysing the possibility that it was Joseph of Arimathea who moved the body. It is important to note, though, that each of these methods may well clash at times. We will adjudicate as to what we should prioritise when considering a person's actions in a particular difficult and dramatic time. We will see this throughout all of the alternative explanations.

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But let's turn to method one. From the start, we can say that Joseph as a high-ranking religious authority is likely to have been a devout Jew. This is perhaps bolstered by the Gospel accounts (e.g. Luke) often affirming his goodness. If this is the case, though, then it is in principle unlikely that Joseph would have wanted to perform actions that would contravene the Sabbath and the Law, least of all moving a dead body. In fact, it might be suggested it was rather hastily interred in a tomb to avoid having to perform this action over the Sabbath. So, in the context of religious practice, we might instantly say that Joseph would have been very disinclined to move the body.



Morison agrees with this proposal, but he claims that method two leads us to the man described by Matthew as a prominent member of the Council who goes boldly to Pilate even when the Council had not agreed to this action and Joseph was an outlier here. In mentioning the detail of the Council, simply saying that Joseph was a member of the Council, it appears Joseph did believe in Jesus, and Morison argues if this was the case then Joseph would not have wanted to move the body.

But this is perhaps stretching credulity here. Joseph may well have sought a temporary accommodation with Torah Law (see Deuteronomy 21:22–23) but could have also desired to follow the Talmud. Furthermore, the sceptic Richard Carrier suggests that Joseph could have been moved to a secondary graveyard reserved for serious criminals, due to the regulations of the Council. Moreover, although the women went to the tomb early after the ending of the strict times to work off. Maybe Joseph went earlier and had the body removed before the women arrived.

Thus, it's not clear from Joseph's character that he would have desired the body to be moved. It is still the third method that might sway this verdict. For what kind of resources might Joseph have had? It is true that he organised the burial, but Matthew states that the tomb was his own tomb. Would he have had access to another tomb, and if he did how would he have moved the body? Simply put, if Joseph was acting alone, then moving a body might have been a difficult task. If he had help, one would wonder why it was not more public knowledge that the body had been moved. As a member of the Council, Joseph might have had such resources, but he also did not want to condemn Jesus.

However, this reveals a more general problem that critical examinations of the evidence for the resurrection of Jesus' body had been moved, then how did the perpetrators hide this fact so effectively? It would require the collusion of a wide variety of people, none of which could have let it be known to Jesus that his body had been taken. Moreover, we can ask why this secret was kept so closely. If the resurrection was growing among early Christian communities, wouldn't someone have spread such rumours? One possibility of course is that they did but they were not believed. This could explain why Matthew details the actions of the guards, but it doesn't explain the complexity of the body being moved.

Now, in the case of Joseph, we might question whether such a conspiracy would have been possible with someone who seemingly was sympathetic towards Jesus. Unless Joseph was determined to follow the Law so much that he persisted with a lie throughout all his life, it seems unlikely that a high-ranking religious authority in the Gospels would have moved the body. Thus, we can perhaps think of the culprit might be among the communities who were antagonistic towards Jesus.

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## The Jewish or Roman Authorities Moved the Body

In contrast to Joseph, we can perhaps imagine a variety of reasons why other groups might have removed Jesus' body. Let's think about the Jewish authorities first. While we once thought that the Sabbath was a problem, many of the Gospel narratives tell of the hypocrisy of the religious leaders persecuting Jesus. While they pretend to uphold the Law in public, they are willing to break it to get rid of Jesus, and the same situation might have occurred with his body. For instance, the Gospel of Matthew argues that the Jewish authorities potentially wished to avoid Jesus' tomb becoming a place of pilgrimage for his body in an attempt to further disperse his followers.

However, we then have to contend with the problem that if the Jewish authorities had moved the body, the resurrection started to develop, then why didn't the Jewish authorities just reveal the body? This would arguably be proof against the physical resurrection and would seem to prevent the growth of the movement. It might seem that their seemingly be their professed aim in moving the body, in the first place. Morison in his book 'The Resurrection of Jesus' notes that while there obviously seems to be a concern about the resurrection in early Christianity, the Gospel of Matthew doesn't actively seem to focus on the location or place of Jesus' body, just the empty tomb. Matthew is more concerned with leading rumours or lies about the body, not that they had moved it. At the same time, perhaps this is Matthew being evasive about the location of Jesus' real grave. Once again, there isn't enough evidence to decide between the two explanations we have don't firmly support this alternative explanation.

## Pilate and the Empty Tomb

But what about the Roman authorities? Well, if Jesus' body was going to be removed, it would have to be on the orders of Pilate. He is likely to have known where it was interred, since according to the Gospel narrative, he gave permission to Joseph of Arimathea to move it. Moreover, the Roman authorities would have known the laws and rules of the Sabbath so they could have potentially quietly retrieved it within the three days. Finally, we should remember that Jesus was executed under the charge of sedition against the Jews'. We've noted the political overtones to this title and perhaps Pilate became concerned about the revolutionary fervour around Jesus' death. By moving the body, he not only removed the body from the cross and crucifixion but also prevents it being visited by his followers, where they might have been able to see Jesus was potentially a difficulty for Pilate, especially if he was seen to be martyred.

But the Romans were quite fastidious about keeping records of those sentenced to death. If Jesus' body had been moved, it is likely there was a Roman record of this taking place. Moreover, with belief growing in Jesus' resurrection, we might ask why would Pilate have moved the body in order to quell the very religious fervour that Pilate did not wish to stoke in the region. In the time, historians of the time such as Josephus and Tacitus have noted that Pilate did offend the religious sensibilities of Jewish people in the area. Perhaps Pilate was cunning about his actions and made a mistake?

But here we might well just be speculating. The death of Jesus really was a Jewish issue. The death of one more criminal was probably not a major issue for them. Consider, for instance, the Gospel of Matthew, supposedly at the entrance of the tomb, as detailed in Matthew 28. These are supposed to be the words of the angels. Biblical scholars have questioned the historicity of Matthew 28, noting it would be unlikely for the Romans to guard a Jewish person's tomb. Either Matthew here is embellishing the story or there were different kinds of guards posted, perhaps Roman soldiers. Scholar William Lane Craig has argued that Morison here also just notes there is little evidence for the involvement of the Romans. Simply claiming Pilate might have wanted the body removed is a speculation about his character.

Thus, in both cases we can see that there is no overwhelmingly strong case for either explanation. The body was moved, even if it is possible that they did. For the moment, we can move on to the next section, among critics, that Jesus did not really die on the cross.

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### Discussion Activity:

Do you think there is sufficient reason to believe some interested party might have moved the body? Or is this argument just complete speculation? Discuss in pairs or small groups.

## Jesus Did Not Die on the Cross

This might seem quite a radical suggestion at first, for surely it was clear to every crucified, and this was a punishment intended to kill him at the very least. Research into the Roman method of crucifixion also generally supports this conclusion. It was a cruel punishment that often resulted in death, even if a person was removed from the cross while still alive. However, it can occur, and some scholars have speculated about what is sometimes called the 'swoon hypothesis' – that Jesus was removed from the cross before death and then subsequently fled his tomb, with the intention of returning to his former life.

In the anthology, it is Wilson who deals with this hypothesis the most, primarily because the explanation is not readily apparent in the Gospel narratives. For the explanations are parts of our historical sources which potentially rebut or shed light on their likelihood of being true for the swoon hypothesis, so Wilson argues it is an explanation which needs to be tested. Therefore, draw on contemporary scientific knowledge as well as explore the logic of the hypothesis. Jesus not only escaped death on the cross but did not return to his former life.

So, how could Jesus have survived? The scholar Hugh Schonfield gives the suggestion that Jesus was given in the Gospel narratives wasn't soaked in vinegar but a drug to make it look as if he had died. However, Schonfield doesn't suggest that Jesus lived but instead was accidentally killed by the lance thrust into him. The person Mary Magdalene subsequently encounters later at the empty tomb is thus not an angel or divine messenger but the person who had been sent to revive him. Other explanations often invoke similar formulas – there is some mechanism by which Jesus survives the crucifixion and then is able to escape the tomb sometime between his burial and the end of the Sabbath.

There are two major issues with these kinds of explanations. The first is simply that faking death isn't exactly an easy endeavour to pull off, especially in societies less knowledgeable about drugs or human physiology. Some have suggested that natural sources of the drugs tetrodotoxin or reserpine could have been used. Both of these substances can induce states of paralysis or very slow breathing, but it is unlikely they could have been located by followers of Jesus or correctly applied. The time it takes to die from crucifixion can vary wildly, so it would have been a very fraught plan. Victims could be made to hasten death, and if Jesus was speared with a lance (as John 19:34 states) this certainly would have hastened death.

Wilson notes also that even if Jesus did survive, he could have hardly recovered without medical treatment, let alone broken out. Accordingly, it is possible that Jesus may have been taken away from Joseph of Arimathea, who could have discovered Jesus still alive and tried to help him. This then faces the problems of previous accounts in detailing why individuals would help him relocate. This isn't to suggest there isn't a faint chance Jesus survived, but typically have to invoke the collaboration of others to become plausible.

The second issue is that even if Jesus did survive, why did no one hear about this? If he survived for a bit but died soon after, it is perhaps more implausible to suggest he continued living. Unless he believed that showing himself would result in his death, then the purpose of his ministry, then it seems likely that someone would recognise him and his subsequent actions. Moreover, if we believe the former then we have to accept a radical ethical change. Needless to say, it would be highly strange to hold that Jesus himself was duplicitous from the accounts in the Gospel narratives.

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### Activity:

Using the information you've learnt so far about the empty tomb, note down what the resurrection would be. What problems can you observe with your timeline? How do the Gospel narratives fit?

## The Women Misunderstood the Events at the Tomb

So, what other options can we consider? Well, there are a number of alternative under the title above, all of which merit some consideration and some of which First, let's think about a key scene which occurs in all the Gospels, the visitation of and other women and their vision or witnessing of a mysterious person or angel. Here, we might ask a number of sceptical questions:

1. What if the women visited the wrong tomb, which was or was not occupied?
2. What if the women mistook a gardener or worker for a mysterious person or could explain the situation with the tomb and the body?
3. What if Jesus' body was taken by grave robbers or another party, hence the problem of the empty tomb?

Taking the first question under consideration first, we might be inclined to discount record Mary and the other women to be witnessed where Jesus was being buried, extraordinary considering that they were present at the crucifixion and had a vested interest in being buried properly.

So, let's consider question number two in a bit more detail. It's a tricky one to ask, as feasible that gardeners or other workers might be present at the tomb, we run into strain the credulity of these figures somehow being mistaken for angels or divine. That the women went to the tomb on the morning after the Sabbath. It could really be that they arrived, but then why would anyone be working in the dark? Alternatively, if the women have mistaken the gardener for someone else? Similarly, in many of the Gospels, they then come and access the tomb. Would they not have encountered the same gardener?

We can also ask, as Morison points out, why the chief priests, the Council, and any discrediting Jesus would not just produce the gardener as evidence against the resurrection. There is quite specific wording that the gardener is supposed to have said, wording which is not uttered if he were in fact just working around the tomb. Simply put, there does appear to be an encounter which would be odd even if the women just mistook the gardener or worker.

## Markan Primacy and the Problem with Mary

But let's take the other side for a moment. We've noted already that the original ending of the Gospel of Mark is shorter than the current canonical end and finishes with the women fleeing the tomb. Yet, in the Gospels, it is clear that they have at least partially based their accounts of the resurrection on the Mark. The same structure in particular pervades the Synoptics, from the discovery of the empty tomb to the meeting of the figures outside. Yet, this perhaps means we could question the Gospel of Mark as a whole. What if Mark got it wrong, and the rest of the Gospels simply copied his account? If the case, then the Gospels don't mutually support each other but instead just repeat the same story.

There are a few ways of seeing this in action. One might be noting that in Mark the gardener is just a man clad in a white robe sitting inside the tomb. Similarly, his words are just telling the women that he is not here and going ahead to Galilee. The parts which are most likely to be the women mistaking the gardener for an angel or divine. So, the empty tomb account may well be indicative of a difficult situation around the empty tomb. We could even imagine that if the gardener had moved his body, they might have spoken quite differently to them. Altogether, what this indicates is that if we take Markan primacy seriously, the figure who the women saw at the tomb become more difficult to understand.

The same is true when we consider that Mary Magdalene appears to be the core witness to the empty tomb. Yet, we have noted that Mary might have been afflicted with a mental condition and might have performed an exorcism on her. Yet, if this is the case, then in the fervour after Jesus' resurrection, she might have been the most reliable witness to the empty tomb, a problem exacerbated by the Markan priority. When one takes a very sceptical eye, all we have is one meaning, a potentially hallucinatory witness mistaking a figure in white's words for something. If we put up the dots, the case for a mistaken identity grows stronger by the second.

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## Grave Robbers and the Empty Tomb

We might add one additional element to this scenario. What if the empty tomb was being moved by authorities but rather grave robbers? If this was the case, we might think the tomb was perhaps intentionally frightening or mysterious to scare the women away. They wouldn't want to reveal the truth about Jesus' body to the authorities for fear of their beliefs in the resurrection to grow unabated. We might also imagine that Joseph of Arimathea's tomb beside Jesus which might be considered a good target for a robbery.

The difficulties with this additional element, though, are that we have no direct evidence of anyone interested in someone who didn't exactly cultivate wealth throughout his ministry. Grave robbers would have to potentially either have advance knowledge of where Jesus was buried or guess in deciding that his tomb was valuable to rob. But even all this is just speculation. We don't know whether grave robbers would take an interest in Jesus' tomb, let alone plan to rob it. Thus, it might just be a bit of a stretch to stretch in bringing unknown parties into the picture. It is a possibility that Jesus' grave was robbed.

### Discussion Activity

Is their dependency on Mark a good reason to distrust the other Gospels' accounts of the empty tomb? Are there reasons to believe all are based on historically accurate sources? Discuss in groups.

## Should We Believe the Gospel Accounts of the Empty Tomb?

So far, we've looked at some different positions on the resurrection accounts and explanations for the empty tomb. But should we really be believing any of this? Even on their own historical merits, we are taking their accounts of the empty tomb in faith. We should be a little more cynical and sceptical. These are writers with their own agendas. They are not the resurrection of Jesus being true. Without an objective or antagonistic witness, it is hard to know what is a good explanation and what is a bad one. For there are plenty of extraordinarily unlikely and incredibly strange causes. What are the chances that the empty tomb was just one of many such events?

Ignoring a sort of mass conspiracy for a moment on behalf of the disciples, let's just consider the accounts themselves. We haven't looked at, that there was no specific event where the women visited Jesus' tomb. One visited, nor that the disciples and women did not visit it altogether, but that they did visit it is just plainly erroneous. For as proclamations of faith, perhaps they were not correct. They might have just fashioned lots of hearsay, rumour and tradition into a narrative to support the resurrection. In other words, perhaps the resurrection appearances did happen (whether they be real or hallucinatory), but the empty tomb event did not. In this case, the resurrection is true, but instead the empty tomb was a narrative crafted out of an amalgam of experiences in the immediate aftermath of Jesus' death.

It is key to consider this because it is fair to imagine that the Gospel account of the empty tomb has been influenced by the resurrection appearances. Moreover, memory is unreliable. We can't go back to our mind where there were none and reconstruct other sequences of events that were not there. It is also that Mark is generally thought to have been written at least 20 years after Jesus' death. It is natural that the writers would create a narrative where there was none, a shorthand way of saying that Jesus was resurrected without simply talking about the experiences of the disciples.

Such an argument is hard to evaluate but it rings true with what we know of human memory. It is a problem that arises in criminal trials all the time, and if we think of it in a court case, perhaps we should be just as sceptical. Moreover, when we look at some of the accounts of the resurrection, it is one of the possibilities that they take most seriously, because ultimately it is a set of accounts that, at least from our basic instinct and reason, we should be sceptical of. It is not as reliable as many in the Christian faith take them to be.

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## Acts and the Resurrection

One way we can approach this problem is to look at sources other than the Gospels. This is a path taken by Wilson, who discusses in particular how the narratives in Acts should influence how we think of the empty tomb and the resurrection. For example, that over 500 people witnessed resurrection appearances (though Paul curiously doesn't say we assume that some of these were not real, we're left with an incredible amount of evidence after the death of Jesus. Wilson notes this in particular in the characters of the apostles. The conversion of Saul to St Paul and the actions of Peter lead them to speak with incredible authority about resurrection appearances.

What is perhaps interesting is that the empty tomb, although a convenient narrative for Jesus' body by all accounts was missing. This in some ways must have led people to believe it had occurred even if they could not account for how the body went missing and the explanations for its disappearance. For example, in Acts 13:29, Paul claims that 'he was crucified and laid in a tomb' (v. 29). Even without the frivolities of the Gospels, the problem that emerges is the burial of Jesus.

Now Acts is not necessarily very historically reliable at times, especially due to its late date (~90 CE). But if we take its narrative seriously, it appears that the disciples were not focused on resurrection appearances meant, rather than dwelling on the problem of the empty tomb, given that the resurrection is the miraculous act, not the disappearance of the body. However, conservative scholars such as N T Wright have claimed that the empty tomb, with Jesus' disappearance after death and the resurrection appearances being the focus of a critical look at the actions and words of early Christian communities.

Ultimately, there is potentially something to the zeal of the early Church when it comes to these events that reveals that even if it were focused on the meaning of the resurrection appearances, these events that triggered an outpouring of faith in Jesus despite his death. Thus, we can see the empty tomb, even if we might question the historicity of the Gospel narratives. Whether it was a set of alternative events, or a kind of mass hysteria among the disciples, there is no simple naturalistic explanations for the empty tomb narratives in the Gospels. Yet, we are left with the possibility that beneath this fervour, something extraordinary might be at work. It is always struggle to explain either scientifically or historically.

### Quick Quiz

1. What philosophical and scientific movement began to offer challenges to religious belief in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
2. Which philosopher criticised belief in miracles and in conceptual and empirical testimony?
3. What Greek philosopher argued that the resurrection was simply a refashioning of the body?
4. Who do the Gospel narratives agree moved Jesus' body to a tomb after his death?
5. Which Gospel narrative agrees was the main figure to discover the empty tomb?
6. What writer defends the empty tomb narratives, holding there are no other explanations for Jesus' missing body?
7. What writer remains sceptical of the resurrection, while recognising the need for a good alternative explanation for the empty tomb?
8. Give three potential figures or groups who might have moved Jesus' body to the tomb.

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## 6.2: ETHICAL LIVING: HOW SHOULD

### What you will learn in this section:

- The different interpretations and beliefs around ethics in the Gospel of Luke, including:
  - An analysis of key ethical passages and parables, including the Sermon on the Mount, the parables of the lost and the parable of the rich man and Lazarus.
  - The key ethical themes present within these parables and how Luke may have developed them through editing and selection of historical sources.
  - The relationship between Jesus and Judaism in the first century and how this influenced his teaching in Luke.
  - The impact and influence ethics in the Gospel of Luke has on Christian ethics today.

### Starter Activity:

Read through the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37). It is likely that you have heard of this passage before, but your understanding of this passage may not match your memory or expectations. Compare your understanding to your studies as you progress through this section.

### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	Ian Howard Marshall
<b>Born</b>	1934
<b>Died</b>	2015
<b>Key text</b>	<i>Luke: Historian and Theologian</i> (1970)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	Marshall was a well-regarded theologian whose work in the 20th century focused extensively on the New Testament. He is known as a historian against excessive redaction criticism, which often obsessed with rewriting traditional eschatology and ethics with

### Key Thinker

<b>Name</b>	Frank Matera
<b>Born</b>	1942
<b>Died</b>	N/A
<b>Key text</b>	<i>Passion Narratives and Gospel Theologies: Interpreting the Synoptic Stories</i> (1986)
<b>Why are they important?</b>	A well-known biblical scholar who has written extensively on the Gospel of Luke. He focuses on his use and reinterpretation of Matthew against the Gentiles.

### Introduction – Ethics in the Gospels

While the Gospels contain a great focus on the figure of Jesus and how his actions and teachings most part our everyday concern with the Bible is that we use the Gospels and their teachings as guidance on how to live our lives. In fact, the ethical teachings of the Gospels have proved most memorable. Whether it is the Golden Rule or particular parables, the Gospels have multiple reinterpretations of the Gospel narratives. It is fitting thus that the final part of this section will focus on how the Gospels impart ethical advice.

However, this is a more complex issue than you might imagine. Although on one hand we can understand the ethical teaching of the Gospels as the theological teaching, the ethical teaching of Jesus is easy to overlook. The way in which Jesus presents moral teaching throughout each of the Gospels and the subtext, or context even, of his ethical teaching is how we understand it. We will see this issue particularly when we come to look at the Gospel of Luke.

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But more broadly, there is the question of how Jesus frames his ethical teaching. If he appears to be quite radical moral laws or propositions, is he attempting to subvert the Law? Or is he seeking something closer to a renewal of Jewish Law, a reinterpretation that changes the Law of the Old Testament and the ethical guidance contained within it? These questions we shall return to later. But we sometimes forget that the ethics of Christian tradition didn't come to us fully formed. We have our own assumptions about the uniqueness of the Christian faith and the way theologians and scholars have distanced themselves from Jesus' Jewish roots.

Of course, trying to deal with biblical ethics in its entirety would be a task beyond the scope of this course. For the purposes of this course, we will be focusing on the Gospel of Luke, which, for many themes and issues, you may have gathered to be a Gospel also quite rich in ethics. So let's first perform a quick overview of Luke and how its passages reflect a rather unique view of ethics.

### The Gospel of Luke and Christian Ethics

Luke has often been regarded by many New Testament scholars to have a particular strength in that it contains large portions of original teaching that are not present in the other Gospels. It is also home to some of the most memorable ethics in Christian tradition. The Anthology and this course will focus on the particularly interesting passages as listed below.

- **Luke 10:25–37 – The parable of the good Samaritan**
- **Luke 15:1–32 – The three parables of the lost**
- **Luke 16:19–31 – The parable of the rich man and Lazarus**

These passages all occur during what is sometimes called the 'travel narrative' in Luke, a unique Lukan material from 9:51–19:47 that connects Jesus' travel to Jerusalem with his eschatological teaching along the way. Some of Luke's most distinctive ethics are found here. Many Testament scholars noting how Jesus' moral teachings in Luke display a universalism that is unique to the Synoptic Gospels, which tend to present Jesus' teachings as being focused on a particular group of people. We will also examine this theme in the context of the **Sermon on the Plain**, which compares to its counterparts in the Synoptics.

For example, in Matthew there is seen to be a strong focus on how ethics relates to the community as a whole. In the Sermon on the Mount (the longer equivalent to the Sermon on the Plain), Jesus states how he has not come to abolish the Law but to fulfil it, positioning his teaching as a continuation of that in the Old Testament (see Matthew 5:17–20). Luke doesn't have the Sermon on the Mount, but in the Sermon on the Plain the connection between Jewish Law and Christian ethics is clear. Luke often seems preoccupied with the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy through Jesus, and faith in Christ as a continuation of faith in Israel.

### Salvation, Repentance, and the Mission Statement

So, what does Luke stress with his ethics then? Well, throughout the Gospel, Jesus' teaching has a universal and inclusive atmosphere to it. The starting point for his ministry in Luke seems to be the mission statement, with the most key passage quoted below:

*'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me  
because he has anointed me  
to proclaim good news to the poor.  
He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners  
and recovery of sight for the blind,  
to set the oppressed free,  
to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor.'* (Luke 4:18–19 NIV)

You can see here that the initial focus of Jesus' ministry seems to be on those who are poor and oppressed. This focus continues throughout Luke and many scholars have detected certain patterns of teaching prevalent in the other Gospels. But this focus not on a particular group such as the Pharisees or the Jews betrays Luke's universalism, with the message ultimately being that salvation is for all.

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repent. We will see the complexities of this idea emerge as we progress through particular emphasises this theme, pointing out that Jesus in Luke primarily calls for a new, dawning age of salvation. This is in contrast with John and to some extent Matthew, who see the new age of salvation as springing from the coming of a new messiah, rather than from repentance. For Matera, Luke's eschatology emerges out of him using and reinterpreting the Old Testament source, while injecting his own focus on repentance. In other words, Luke's understanding of the Kingdom of God is intimately constructed around his ethics.

Thus, Jesus' interaction with the Old Testament Law is less important than how his teaching details creation and salvation history. Yet, it is also still a factor in Luke and we will see in more detail at the end of this section when we talk about Jesus' relationship to the Law. It is useful to note Luke's preoccupation with how individuals respond and react to the Kingdom of God in this in previous sections when exploring eschatology, the Kingdom of God and the resurrection, all of which are consistent with this theme. Many parables of the Kingdom of God focus on the individual rather than the community, rather than the group. For example, in the parables of the lost it is the lost individual who is found, not the group, and the rich man and Lazarus focuses on the fortunes of people in relation to the Kingdom of God. We can see this theme also emerge in Luke's description of smaller characters such as Zacchaeus in Luke 19:1–10 or Mary and Martha in Luke 10:38–42.

But let's turn back to the mission statement for a moment. What also emerges from Luke is his emphasis on Jesus' ministry serving those who were traditionally outcast or marginalised, or who were considered disreputable by all spheres of society in the first century CE, such as the Samaritans, the lepers, the women, the poor and the outcasts. What is also part of the non-judgement and forgiveness being part of the repentance act for Luke. For Jesus, one should not attempt to judge others, this being the sole reserve of God. As such, Jesus is present in the other Gospels. We can see this emerge particularly in Luke, where it be Mary or Martha, Mary Magdalene or even the sinner who anointed the feet of Jesus. These people are encouraged to participate in the spiritual life Jesus offers at a time when women were considered inferior and refused teaching by rabbis.

## Wealth and Reversal

However, perhaps the most radical element of Jesus' ethical teaching in Luke is his focus on the poor. It is explicitly stated in Luke 4:18 that the Gospel is preached for the material poor. Matthew, who refers to the 'poor in spirit' (Matt 5:3). This special interest in poverty is a key theme of the Gospel, with Jesus encouraging others – for example, at Luke 14:11–13 – to adopt a similar attitude. Equally, Jesus in Luke is often harsh towards those who are materially rich, as we see with the rich man and Lazarus. While wealth itself is not demonised, the Jesus of Luke often sees it as an obstacle to the fully realised spiritual life. Moreover, the idea of **reversal** is a key theme of the teachings, which refers to the overturning of the present order, where the poor are lifted up and the rich are brought down.

Similarly, thinking about Luke's eschatology a bit more, we can more keenly observe how it is connected to a particular vision of the Kingdom of God. The ethical demands Jesus places on his followers are all in anticipation of the coming Kingdom of God. Whether one interprets this in a literal or a metaphorical sense, Matera argues, the Kingdom of God is the horizon against which Jesus makes his teachings of Jesus, that is, the Kingdom of God, are not just a reflection of individual duty, but a reflection of the Kingdom of God. The kind of people who are destined to occupy it. This is the Kingdom of God, and those who are humble and who have freed themselves of material possessions are the ones who will experience good fortunes in the coming kingdom.

So, altogether we've seen four key ethical ideas emerge through our initial analysis: **judgement, forgiveness, and reversal**. We've also seen how these ideas connect to the Kingdom of God and how they are universally directed towards anyone who is willing to follow Jesus' teachings, especially if they are poor, outcast, marginalised or oppressed. Some of the tension between Luke's universalism and his preference for the poor but there is a key link between the ethical conditions for salvation and the cultural conditions. It can be seen that the strictest ethical conditions for salvation (as we shall see with the disciples), but

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Many scholars as such have argued that the author of Luke was attempting to appeal to a wider audience that includes the Jews and the Gentiles. As always, there is potentially a layering of meaning, so it's worth thinking about using redaction criticism when analysing the passages in Luke. What was the author attempting to impart by including this particular passage, and why was it important to his audience? For there are some very recognisable parables in this Gospel, and their meaning might still surprise you.

### Discussion Activity:

Does Luke's ethics appear to be more radical in tone than in the other Gospels? Consider the scripture more than scholars tend to emphasise? Discuss in pairs or small groups.

## Jesus' Moral Teaching

So far, we've noted some key elements of Jesus' ethics in Luke, but it's time to look at some in more detail and see how they reflect the themes of the Gospel. Not all are reflected in each parable, but we will also be taking a deeper look at the Sermon on the Plain, which, like the mission to the Gentiles, is seen as a bit of an expansion of Jesus' ministry. With that in mind, let's go ahead and look at it.

### The Sermon on the Plain

If you have read through the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew, it might seem a bit of a disappointment by comparison. There is no lengthy analysis of Jewish Law or features such as the Beatitudes, though they are changed and truncated in Luke. One of the main reasons scholars, though, is the fact that both Matthew and Luke have some version of the Sermon. The extensive discussions about whether Matthew and Luke were aware of each other's Gospel, the course that might vary depending on when each has been judged to have been written, and whether Luke to have been written later than Matthew, it could be that Luke is purposefully giving a summarised version of the Sermon that better fits his Gospel. Alternatively, both could be independent sources on Jesus' teachings.

But we can instantly see a major difference in the location Jesus chooses to teach. In Matthew, it's on a mountain, but in the set of passages that precedes the Sermon in Luke:

*He went down with them and stood on a level place. A large crowd of his disciples and a great number of people from all over Judea, from Jerusalem, and from the cities of Tyre and Sidon, who had come to hear him and to be healed of their diseases. Their spirits were cured, and the people all tried to touch him, because power was coming out of him and healing them all. (Luke 6:17–19 NIV)*

First, we can note that Jesus' ethical teaching is deeply connected to his works. He is depicted as ethics in practice. But the most important change is that Jesus does not descend to a 'level place'. This arguably indicates a more egalitarian picture of Jesus, one who is not the needy or sick but is equal among them, willing to come down to a human level. By placing Jesus on high, Matthew seems to be trying to present Jesus as the Messiah. It's possible, though, that Luke wishes to strip away the Jewish nationalistic overtones of the Sermon and focus more on a Gentile audience.

Nevertheless, after this descent that Jesus delivers his version of the Beatitudes. One of the changes is that the blessings in Luke are shorter than in Matthew and are much more material. For example, of the 'poor in spirit' whereas Luke talks of those who hunger, who are poor, who are wept, who are persecuted. These will be the ones to be blessed under the new Kingdom of God. But equally, what Luke often termed the 'woes', as he criticises those who are rich, well fed, and uncaring. Those who claim to be righteous will be condemned and suffer the same way as those who are poor and oppressed.

*'But woe to you who are rich,  
for you have already received your comfort.  
Woe to you who are well fed now,*

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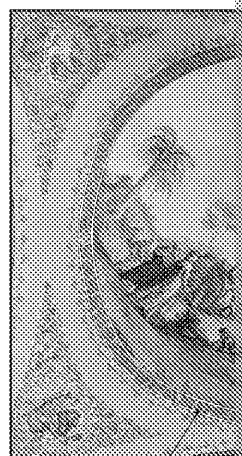
for you will go hungry.  
Woe to you who laugh now,  
for you will mourn and weep.  
Woe to you when everyone speaks well of you,  
for that is how their ancestors treated the false prophets.' (Luke 6:24–26 NIV)

This highlights Luke's focus on **reversal** and **wealth**. A good, righteous life is not just spirituality but acting to right the wrongs that currently exist in the world. Thus, to gather wealth while other people remain poor and hungry.

So how does the rest of the Sermon proceed? Well, actually rather differently. We move out of the way, Luke then focuses on more general ethical teachings of Jesus. We have a sermon on loving one's enemies, which mirrors the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew 5, although in Luke's teaching about turning the other cheek and being universally charitable.

'If someone slaps you on the cheek, turn to them the other also. If someone withhold your cloak, give them your tunic. Give to everyone who asks you, and if anyone takes from you, do not demand it back.' (Luke 6:29–30 NIV)

This is interesting as Jesus here is much more focused on worldly life than in Matthew. In particular, Luke 6:30 highlights the importance of charity and giving up one's wealth. In contrast, Matthew seems much more focused on loving one's enemies as an issue of interpretation of the Law. This is a point stressed by Matera, who argues that Luke takes a very different approach from Matthew for a variety of reasons. The first is that the ethics in Luke are largely built on a reinterpretation of Mark, where the author is refocusing Jesus' teaching onto the call to repentance, the reversal of fortunes, the correct use of material goods, loving one's neighbour and the arrival of the Kingdom of God.



Yet Matera also stresses that we see these differences between Luke and Matthew as interesting in presenting Jesus as a model for life, a person who Christians should look to in discipleship upon. This is a radical call, as we can see from analysing the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew, where Jesus is presenting Jesus as not just insisting on spiritual change, but real material change. The principle of reciprocity is not a scriptural issue but an ethical and eschatological one. People live not because it is the correct interpretation of the Law (although Luke is still interested in the Law) but because Jesus is emphasising the importance of a good ethical life in and of itself, in the Kingdom of God.

We can see this emphasis in the rest of the Sermon on the Plain, which mirrors the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew. We have a sermon on judging others for evil in Luke and Matthew both remain clear. Luke uses the parables of a tree and its fruit and the wise and foolish builders. These contain similar themes. We can note that Matthew's Sermon on the Mount begins with a small verse about Jesus' relationship to the Law. In fact, throughout the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew continually relates Jesus' teaching to the Law, whereas Luke's shorter summary largely chooses to overlook the Law.

### Activity:

Read through the Sermon on the Plain and the Sermon on the Mount side by side. Can you identify any contrasting or contradictory passages we haven't covered? How do they reflect broader differences between Luke and Matthew?

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## Parable of the Good Samaritan

Moving on, we can begin our examination of three key parables in Luke. The first undoubtedly heard of, the parable of the good Samaritan. It is often presented as a call to help one another, even if it seems to be an inconvenience. But analysing the great deal of nuance you might not have picked up before.

The parable begins with a lawyer, or 'expert in the law' (NIV) asking Jesus a question about the meaning of life. This is likely to have been a person with great expertise in the first five books of the Bible and other religious and legal affairs of the time, and we can see this expertise in his rhetorical question. Yet, the broader tone of the parable and Jesus' reply suggests the lawyer has failed to understand the overall meaning and message of the Law. In fact, simply following the Law has a rhetorical flourish to it. He is actually challenging the Law and practising the teachings he claims to know. The lawyer is forced onto the defence of his question, 'Who is my neighbour?' (NIV).

It is interesting to note that the word for 'neighbour' in Greek (*ho lesion*) was not simply someone who lives next door, but a person in the wider world. In this response is emphasising this particular meaning of the word, not just thinking about one's immediate neighbour. More importantly, though, for Jewish people at the time, the belief was that a neighbour was someone in the Jewish community. For many Jewish people are likely to have been concerned with the furthering of the fortunes of Israel, and not necessarily the wider world.

This is highlighted by Jesus' parable, which he uses to illustrate the notion that love is universal. Consider the two people who first pass the injured man on the road: the Pharisee and the Sadducee. These people would be expected to keep ceremonial purity, which they would treat as a person (see Leviticus 21:1). Of course, they don't know whether the injured man is a Jew or a Samaritan, but they don't want to risk this. Furthermore, the crowd may well have anticipated that an ordinary Jewish person would be the third person to come along and help the injured man. That Jesus was known at this point for attacking the religious authorities. In this sense, the parable has been thought by the crowd to be an attack on religious hypocrisy.

However, Jesus reveals that the third person to come along was a Samaritan, a radical, shocking reveal to the Jewish audience. Many Jewish communities resented the Samaritans, who despite their partially shared religious and cultural beliefs, were seen as pagans. Moreover, Jesus has the Samaritan escort the man on foot (the Samaritan was on a donkey) and paying two denarii (rations and accommodation have been estimated at one twelfth of a denarius) towards his recovery. In this way, Jesus counters the crowd's expectation that a neighbour is not someone who shares cultural or religious affinities, but someone who helps and cares for someone regardless of ritual or belief.

*'Which of these three do you think was a neighbor to the man who fell into the trap?'*

*The expert in the law replied, 'The one who had mercy on him.'*

*Jesus told him, 'Go and do likewise.'* (Luke 10:36–37 NIV)

Thus, we can see a number of important ethical sentiments at play in this parable. It is not simply about universal and not simply restricted to one's religious or cultural identity. It is also about Jesus' relationship to the Law. In the Sermon of the Plain, in particular Luke 6:27, '... Love those who hate you' (NIV). However, there are questions here also about Jesus' relationship to Old Testament Law. Is Jesus arguing the lawyer should reinterpret the Law in a new kind of Law altogether? While Jesus does not refute the importance of the Law, he suggests that the important aspects of it are the underlying moral principles, not its mere letters. In fact, scholars have detected a shift in Luke again away from recognition of the Law as a legal code, perhaps reflecting the author's attempts to appeal to a wider non-Jewish community.

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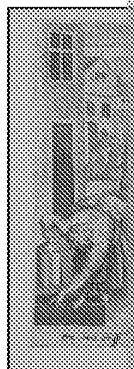


## Parables of the Lost

The parables of the lost consist of three parables Jesus delivers in a row to the 'thousands' gathered around him. It should be noted from the outset that tax collectors were despised by Jewish communities because they were viewed as enablers of Roman rule. The taxes they collected were for the benefit of religious authorities but the Roman governors, who would have used a large army of soldiers and guards garrisoned throughout Judea. Thus, the Jewish people saw these taxes as a symbol of oppression and as such it would be common for rabbis and other religious authorities to refuse to engage with them, let alone teach them as Jesus does in these parables. However, the audience for the parables focus on the joys and virtues of repentance, and who needs to repent? Importantly, Jesus overturns the irony of refusing to engage with people who are sinners.

Let's consider the first parable, the parable of the lost sheep. This employs a metaphor that most people would understand, and it can be understood as a teaching device used by Jesus in the Gospels. Through the parables of the lost, the overall message of the parable is Jesus arguing that the loss of his lost sheep is analogous to the joy God has on seeing a sinner repent. But there is a twist at the end, which focuses on the intensity of this joy that occurs at repentance. Here, Jesus states, 'I am rejoicing in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous people who do not need to repent.' Now, this does highlight the importance of repentance, but it shows that Jesus wants to help righteous people adhere to their good wills but to ensure salvation for people who are lost.

The same motif runs through the parable of the lost coin. For a poor person the loss of a silver coin would be a serious matter, and the search for repentance is painted as such. Similarly to the previous parable, the emphasis is that God actively searches for people to repent; he is not simply expecting observation of the Law as in Jewish tradition, but is wholly concerned with the salvation of human beings, of which repentance is the essential element.



We see this in the final parable, the parable of the lost son, which elaborates on the themes of love, redemption and repentance highlighted in the previous parables. It begins with two brothers, one older, one younger, with the younger asking his father for his share of his estate. The father gives him land or capital rather than income, which under Jewish tradition would be unusual. Thus, we naturally conclude that the younger son was given a large sum of money and squanders it immediately. This means when the famine arrives and his money is gone, he is forced to seek the kindness of strangers and becomes destitute, relying on the meagre offerings of a pig-keeper. For Jewish people at this time, pigs were considered unclean, so this job would be humiliating, and the fact he desired the pods the pigs were eating means there is a suggestion that the younger son was stealing to survive.

The expectation by the audience here, who may have largely been Jewish, is that Jesus would focus on living sensibly and morally. Yet, that is not the focus for Jesus, as foreshadowed in the previous parables. Instead, he focuses on the son's return to his father, where the son genuinely seeks forgiveness and to be a paid servant, relinquishing his status as son (see Luke 15:21). But the key is the father's reaction to the son's return, just like the sheep or silver coin parables. The father's joy at the son's genuine repentance takes precedence over the son's previous actions. Thus, the father's response is thus only that of love.

We can also contrast the father's response to that of the older brother, who angrily refuses to welcome back his younger brother. His stance here perhaps mirrors the Pharisees and scribes, who may be overly focused on justice and observance. But Jesus was focused on the virtues of repentance above all, stressing that salvation is far more important than material wealth. He states as much in his response to his older son, stressing that with his younger son's repentance, everything has been gained. Thus, we not only see the importance of repentance in the parables, but also a focus on the importance of a spiritual life over material wealth. The parables show that repentance is more important as one's connection and closeness to God.

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## Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus

The final parable we shall look at comes at the end of Chapter 16 and is perhaps the most eschatological and radical ethical parables. Although it is unique to Luke, scholars may be adapting an older story, as the theme of a sinful rich man and a virtuous poor man in either way the parable presents one of Jesus' strongest challenges to those who think that they necessarily have to use their wealth in an honourable and righteous fashion to avoid eternal punishment. In this sense, it's the clearest example of **reversal** in Luke.

But the picture Jesus draws of the rich man would have been a hyperbolic one for the most expensive dyes in first-century Palestine and this with the mention of fine linens is likely to have lived in very great luxury. This is in contrast to Lazarus, a name potentially meaning Eleazar, which means 'God has helped'. His misery is stressed by Jesus in his descriptions of sores and his hunger, such that he only dared to eat what fell from the rich man's table. It is said about the religious lives of either group, but it is implied at the end of the parable that the virtuous, as he is carried by angels to Abraham's side while the rich man is sent to Hades.

However, what is ironic is that even in Hades the rich man assumes the same position of power. He shows that, despite his torment, he still believes in the values of earthly life, where he was given him control over others. He cannot accept that his change in fortunes is permanent. He is told down by Abraham, who informs him that this reversal cannot be unreversed. The rich man's good while living his life of luxury, and the power it gave him, have now gone, and he is in poverty and prosperity. The second irony occurs when the rich man asks Abraham to send Lazarus to warn them of his fate. Abraham of course reminds him that Moses and the prophets have already given him principles of how people should live their lives, so what further education should he need?

This is an important ethical point in Luke, which is partially illustrated in other parables and questions about the continuity between Jesus and the Law. It's a relationship we see in other areas of Luke, but here it takes centre stage when considering the importance of wealth. The rich man obviously throughout his life thinks of wealth as a reward for good behaviour, and spending contravenes observance of the Law. If he did think so, he wouldn't have been able to have brothers in Luke 16:30. But Abraham points out to him that the Law has always demanded righteousness, and how can one embody these virtues if one lets a person starve and die? If one has all the means to intervene and help them?

There is a tension here perhaps between the last set of parables, talking about the end times, and the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, which talks entirely of condemnation for those who are not righteous. But there is an important link here because, even in his torment, the rich man is still of his own volition. Instead, he is focused on his agony and his thoughts about the future, and he doesn't understand that he has behaved unethically and so can't understand why he is being warned people. So, we see the same kind of idea emerge, that one's moral conviction, repentance, and observance, and repentance is a matter of personal rectitude, not simply doing what one is told.

Beyond this point, there is a further point to be made about the ethics of Luke and his eschatology. Ian Marshall in particular stresses that the themes of reversal and the end times are understood as being directly related to the individual calls to repentance and discipleship. He goes forward that the ethics of Luke are the ethics of the Kingdom of God, such that the teaching are directly responding to the arrival of the Kingdom of God. We've seen in other chapters that we've discussed eschatology in Luke; for instance, Luke 17:20–22 where Jesus talks about the Kingdom of God and ethics, the Kingdom of God is linked to teachings of repentance and reversal. This is the central theme in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus.

In this sense, Marshall notes the complexity of Luke's ethics and eschatology. As we have seen, eschatology, the ethical project of Jesus' ministry in Luke is aimed both at those who can repent in the future, who can embody the kind of discipleship shown in the parables. The Kingdom of God is not just a future reality but a ruling of God over individuals. Thus, Marshall argues that it is just a set of static moral principles, but a fundamental ethical outlook that will go on to shape the world and recognise the realisation of the Kingdom of God both in the present and the future.

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## The Relationship of Jesus to Judaism

Throughout our analysis so far, we've primarily looked at the key ethical themes. One of the broader questions is a broader question about how Jesus' ethics related to Judaism and Jewish tradition. In particular, we can ask the question, was Jesus seeking a renewal of the Jewish faith with a new faith? This can be a bit of a loaded question. Jesus was a Jew and, under his ministry in the context of Judaism at the time. Yet, as we saw with the discussion of the Sermon on the Mount, what degree Jesus was seeking a separation from Jewish traditions at the time. His teachings and the more radical elements of his teaching mean that in an important way, he was not an ordinary Jew. In fact, his persecution by members of his own faith should be evidence of this.

But each of the Gospels has a slightly different perspective on Jesus' ministry within Judaism. We've noted in this section how Matthew is the most 'Jewish' of the Gospels, often framing it within the context of Jewish tradition and Law. But Luke is more conservative in its interpretation of Jesus. Questions of ethics are more contained within the spiritual life and are not as readily drawn into issues of wealth or material inequality. However, how Luke is ready to address such issues and has a distinct concept of reversal tied to the Kingdom of God.

So which picture is right? Scholars such as E P Sanders have argued for a more Jewish Jesus, holding that the image of Jesus in Matthew is probably the most accurate. Others, more radical scholars such as Dominic Crossan have often pointed towards the more radical elements of Jesus' ministry, holding that Jesus must have been presenting some form of radicalism otherwise it would have made little sense for him to be persecuted. Moreover, it is hard to imagine more revolutionary Jewish figures emerging out of the occupation of Judea. Jesus holds more radical ethical ideas.

## Jesus' Ethics and the Gospel of Mark

At heart, the problem is one of context. Do we presume Jesus held views closer to the communities at the time, or do we emphasise him as a figure who transcended the boundaries of the time? Let's think about this problem against the background of Luke. Although more radical than Matthew, its depiction of Jesus is still likely to be as historically accurate. But when we look off Mark and a number of shared sources, otherwise we wouldn't have chapters 11-13. The Sermon on the Mount/Plain. Yet, it is clear that Luke is interpreting these sources in a way that is more likely that Luke is offering a reinterpretation of Mark rather than trying to reconstruct the original.

But what is interesting about Mark is that Jesus' ethics is not prominent throughout. Mark is portraying Jesus as the Messiah and the eschatological ramifications of his arrival. Mark is redeveloping Markan eschatology, but also weaving in a more fully realised version of the Kingdom of God narrative. The differences between Luke and Matthew are a matter of not only interpreting the sources into Mark but crafting a unified picture of Markan eschatology and Lukan ethics. The differences between Luke and Matthew can be understood better if we are drawing on similar sources. The different interpretations of Jesus' ethics and the way they connect to his eschatology isn't exactly possible if one is developing a theologically rich account of Jesus' ministry.

So, what we have are two different readings of Jesus' ethics. But this doesn't necessarily mean one is wrong. Rather, Jesus may well have taught parables that, gathered together, formed a unified world view. He might have taught things early on in his ministry that were more radical. Most importantly, his relationship to Judaism might have changed through his ministry. As he was oppressed by the religious authorities. If holding Jesus to be somewhat human, we can see a figure repeating the same ethical teaching to different crowds. We have to consider Jesus as a dynamic individual, responding to social conditions of the time and the people he was addressing. We have seen this in part by talking about how the ethical parables are crafted for the audience.

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## The Jewish Element in Jesus' Ethics

With that in mind, let's think about Jesus' ethics in Luke against his discussion of the Law. Jesus is not asking people to transgress the Law in Luke. The parable of the rich man in Luke 18:9-14 shows that Luke's Jesus is relating his ethics to Jewish ethical tradition at the time. But when Luke talks about the Law, it is less concerned with interpretation of the Law and more concerned with virtues underneath, which are key for repentance and living a righteous life. Matthew's Jesus talks about virtues, but also often takes pains to illustrate Jesus' observance to the Law and in the context of its teachings.

There are a few explanations for this. Perhaps Luke was writing to a mixed Jewish and Gentile audience and wanted Jesus' ethical teaching to appeal to a wider audience. The same is true of Matthew, who is writing for a primarily Jewish audience and so could have been more concerned with the Law as a continuation of Jewish tradition. But Luke as 'historian' emphasised by Marshall is seen correctly as a radical who did in some ways subvert Jewish expectations for a messiah about universal salvation. We can even draw from our analysis of the conflicts and tensions in Jesus' ministry may well have challenged both religious and political authority in first-century Palestine. If Jesus was seeking a renewal of the Jewish faith then perhaps it is more difficult to see how he plotted his ethics.

If this is the case, then maybe Luke is recording Jesus' ethics faithfully and Matthew is trying to reconcile them with Jewish Law. As such, Matthew might be responding to the needs of Jewish-Christian communities that Jesus was too much of a firebrand to be accepted. In any case, in any way, it is still important to note that both Luke and Matthew still root Jesus' teaching in the Law. Neither paint Jesus as being concerned with the beliefs of their communities, but rather trying to develop a deeper understanding of what the Law *means*, not just what it is. This can be potentially interpreted as a matter of degree rather than change; an attempt to show Jesus' teachings as of Jesus which hold a universal appeal beyond Jewish communities, while still rooted in the Law of Jesus' ministry.

### Discussion Activity:

Do you believe that Jesus in Luke is seeking a renewal of the Jewish faith? Or is he seeking a transformation? Discuss in pairs or small groups.

## The Bible and Modern Christian Ethics

We've analysed different views on the interpretation of Jesus' ethical teaching in Luke against Jewish traditions and beliefs during his ministry. But there are broader questions about how Luke's ethics affected Christian beliefs in the past and how we should interpret Luke's ethics today. An important aspect to focus on is the **universalism** present throughout Luke. For it is this universalism that is a key part of the cultural background is not an obstacle to salvation. Yet, as we've explored in the tensions between the Law and this was not always assumed, and early Christian communities may well have viewed the Law as Jewish and Christians second. Moreover, if Jesus was seeking a renewal of the Jewish faith, it does this mean that he would have continued to hold to the belief that the Israelites were the chosen people?

These are difficult questions to answer from our modern vantage point. However, the concept of universalism carries forth into John, the Gospel written latest out of all the Gospels. We can note over time that elements of universalism began to drift into Christianity as there began to be converts not just among Jewish groups but Gentile ones also. This is seen in Luke as endorsing a broadly **egalitarian** (focused on equality) and **pluralistic** perspective that potentially has a deeper interpretation for modern Christianity.

Let's think about this in a bit more detail. We've noted before that Luke greatly emphasises the poor, marginalised and oppressed throughout his Gospel. This has included even tax collectors, and the message of Jesus' ministry is arguably that salvation is available to all. Moreover, we've analysed on an authorial level how Luke appears to be writing to a mixed audience.

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but a non-Jewish one also. These factors indicate that Jesus' ethical teaching is for all. There are not any innate special characteristics that set apart some people compared to others, although such beliefs have been proposed in Christian view. That Luke is very concerned with equality, and if we extrapolate that idea to our world, we might well argue for a more radical egalitarianism than we typically find.

The same is true of pluralism. The fact that Luke attempts to perhaps distance Jesus from endorsing a kind of religious pluralism that doesn't focus on religious, political or social issues would be a radical reading indeed, but in Luke we might find the seeds of a stance of universal call to repentance rather than anyone having to follow the ethical codes of the Law of Moses). In other words, how we read Jesus' relationship to Judaism in Gospel of Luke we interpret the relationship of Christianity to other religions on a broader level.

Finally, we might think about Luke's idea of 'riches' and its focus on material inheritance in our understanding of the ethics of wealth and accumulation. If you think about the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, it is hard to think of anything else but an indictment of the wealthy who are considering the poor as beggars on their doorstep. Thus, in a modern context, we might see the importance of wealth when reading Luke, but broader ideas of redistribution and social justice. All these ideas of course are dependent on a particular reading of Luke, but to think about not just how the ethics in Luke reflect the context of beliefs in first-century Palestine but how that context should be interpreted when thinking about Christian ethics in our world.

### Quick Quiz

1. What three parables focus on the joys and virtues of repentance in Luke?
2. What theme is displayed in Luke throughout Jesus' ethical teaching, which is the theme of salvation for all people?
3. What is the equivalent in Luke to the Sermon on the Mount?
4. Which is the more 'Jewish' of the Synoptic Gospels, Matthew or Luke?
5. What theological field does Ian Marshall argue that the ethics in Luke should be read in the context of?
6. What theme is particularly highlighted in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus?
7. What ethnic group were the Jewish people often hostile to, which is featured in the famous parable in Luke?

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# ANSWERS TO QUICK QUIZ

## 4.1: Ways of Interpreting Scripture

1. The allegorical approach searches for the deeper, underlying meaning within biblical narratives.
2. The moral approach is not concerned with theological meaning, but instead discovers moral lessons beneath biblical narratives.
3. Barth's use of 'witness' refers not just to the Bible's recording of God's revelatory acts, but to how we communicate this revelation to the reader.
4. The process of stripping myths from the biblical text in order that its mythological content can be understood from its other philosophical and theological teachings.
5. Kerygma
6. A field of philosophy that deals with questions about the meaning and nature of human existence.
7. The rational approach
8. The literary approach

## 5.1: The Kingdom of God in Luke

1. Futurist eschatology
2. Realised eschatology
3. Repentance
4. Futurist eschatology
5. C H Dodd
6. It typically refers to beliefs concerning the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.
7. Imminent eschatology is used to refer to forms of eschatology that believe that a severe judgement will come in the very near future, if not immediately.
8. Inaugurated eschatology

## 5.2: Why Did Jesus Have to Die?

- |                     |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Caiaphas         | 5. The Temple Cleansing |
| 2. The Jews         | 6. R A Culpepper        |
| 3. Pontius Pilate   | 7. E Rivkin             |
| 4. King of the Jews | 8. Sanhedrin            |

## 5.3: The Crucifixion and Resurrection in Luke

- |                      |                              |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Atonement         | 5. Fulfilment                |
| 2. Salvation history | 6. The suffering servant     |
| 3. Innocence motif   | 7. The physical resurrection |
| 4. Isaiah and Psalms |                              |

## 6.1: Scientific and Historical-critical Challenges

- |                        |                                   |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. The Enlightenment   | 5. Mary Magdalene                 |
| 2. David Hume          | 6. Frank Morison                  |
| 3. Celsus              | 7. Ian Wilson                     |
| 4. Joseph of Arimathea | 8. Joseph of Arimathea, Sanhedrin |

## 6.2: How Should We Live?

- |                             |                |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| 1. The parables of the lost | 5. Eschatology |
| 2. Universalism             | 6. Reversal    |
| 3. Sermon on the Mount      | 7. Samaritans  |
| 4. Matthew 23               |                |

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