

# Notes for NTG716

## Acts & Pauline Epistles



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## I. Mediterranean Geography

### A. Physical Features

#### 1. Bodies of Water

a. Mediterranean Sea  
called "Great Sea" in OT, not named in NT,  
called "Mare Internum" by Romans

b. Black Sea

N of Asia Minor

c. Aegean Sea

between Greece and Asia Minor

d. Adriatic Sea  
today restricted to area betw Italy and Greece;  
in NT times, sometimes viewed extending to  
Central Med (Acts 27:27)

e. Ionian Sea  
sometimes lower part of Adriatic is so named

f. Tyrrhenian Sea  
triangular sea betw Italian boot, Sicilian football, Corsica and Sardinia



#### 2. Principal Islands

a. Cyprus  
NE corner of Med; Metal copper named for  
island; evangelized by Paul & Barnabas on  
1st mj, Acts 13

b. Crete  
S of Aegean Sea, below Greece and Asia  
Minor; home of ancient Minoan civilization  
before 1400 BC; Titus put in charge of Xn  
work here by Paul (Tit 1:5)

c. Sicily  
football being kicked by Italian boot

d. Malta  
S of Sicily; very small, but famous for Paul's shipwreck, Acts 27

e. Patmos  
about 50 mi SW of Ephesus; even smaller, hundreds of islands in Med this big; site of John's  
banishment when he wrote Revelation



## B. Political Features (1st cen AD)



### 1. Provinces of Roman Empire

- a. Syria
  - Palestine included for military purposes
- b. Egypt (Aegyptus)
  - almost a private preserve of Emperor, to guarantee supply of grain for Rome and its dole to poor
- c. Cilicia
  - Paul's native province
- d. Galatia
  - central Asia Minor
  - Paul's 1st mj in S part of province
- e. Asia
  - not continent, but western Asia Minor
- f. Macedonia
  - N of Greece
  - Paul visited on 2nd mj
- g. Achaia
  - Greece proper



h. Other Provinces

Brittania, Gallia, Hispania, Mauretania, Africa,  
Cyrenaica, Italia, Illyricum, Moesia, Bithynia,  
Pontus, Cappadocia

2. Cities of Roman Empire

NOTE: 1,2,3 are largest cities; A,B,C mark famous schools

- |                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| a. Jerusalem          | k. Miletus          |
| b. Caesarea           | l. Ephesus          |
| c. Tyre               | m. Troas            |
| d. Damascus           | n. Philippi         |
| e. Antioch (Syria)(3) | o. Thessalonica     |
| f. Tarsus (C)         | p. Athens (A)       |
| g. Pisidian Antioch   | q. Corinth          |
| h. Iconium            | r. Rome (1)         |
| i. Lystra             | s. Alexandria (2,B) |
| J. Derbe              |                     |

3. Roman Road System (see Yamauchi, NT World, 117)  
eventually a 1/4 million mi system of paved roads!

- a. Via Appia  
from Rome E to heel of boot
- b. Via Egnatia  
across Macedonia, sort of extension of Via Appia
- c. Old Route across  
central Asia Minor; used by Paul from  
Antioch to Ephesus
- d. Palestinian Roads  
many upgraded to Roman quality in 2nd cen  
AD



## II. The Chronology of the New Testament

### A. Origin of the Christian Era

#### 1. Problems of Ancient Chronology

- Destruction of records

- Use of differing calendars

- Use of regnal years of various rulers

#### 2. Various Ancient Eras

several attempts to solve problem of regnal years by using systems spanning centuries

##### a. Olympic Era (OI)

- by olympiads (units of 4 years), then numbering years w/in olympiad

- started approx July 1, 776 BC

- used by many Greek & Hellenistic historians

##### b. Roman Era (AUC)

- from year of founding of Rome (ab urbe condita)

- some disagreement on starting year until 1st cen BC

- finally settled on starting January 1, 753 BC

- used by most Roman historians

##### c. Seleucid Era (AS - anno Seleucidae)

- from year of founding of Seleucid dynasty

- started Oct 7, 312 BC (Macedonian calendar)

- or Apr 3, 311 BC (Babylonian calendar)

- most widely used ancient era: used in 1 & 2 Macc,  
Josephus, Eusebius

##### d. Jewish Eras

###### (1) Destruction of 2nd Temple

- occurred Aug 5, AD 70

- used in Palestine & some medieval Heb works

###### (2) Era of World (AM - anno mundi)

- measured from creation of world

- using Masoretic Text, no gaps, some guesswork

- starts Sept 21, 3761 BC

##### e. Era of Diocletian

- from accession of Diocletian as Roman emperor; starts Aug 29, AD 284

### 3. The Christian Era (AD - anno Domini)

- a. Dionysius the Little  
monastic scholar who devised AD system  
using information avail at his time (525 AD)  
identified AD 1 with AUC 754  
Xn era uses Roman calendar, year beginning Jan 1
- b. Resulting Synchronisms  
AD 1 = AUC 754 = Ol 194,4/195,1 = c312 AS

### B. Gospel Chronology

#### 1. The Roman Emperors

In practice, most inscriptions, coins, etc dated by rule of emperors, etc., rather than by AUC era; w/ thousands of such items, most Roman events can be dated closely

EMPEROR	DATE	BIBLICAL OR OTHER EVENT
Augustus	30 BC - AD 14	birth of Christ
Tiberius	AD 14-37	death & resurrection of X
Gaius	37-41	statue to temple
Claudius	41-54	famine in East, Ac 11:28 expels Jews, Ac 18:2
Nero	54-68	persecutes Xy; death of Peter & Paul
-----		
Galba, Otho, Vitellius	68-69	69: year of the 4 emperors
-----		
Vespasian	69-79	destruction of Jerusalem
Titus	79-81	
Domitian	81-96	2nd major persecution
-----		
Nerva	96-98	death of John Bar-Kochba revolt
Trajan	98-117	
Hadrian	117-138	

#### 2. Beginning of Jesus' Ministry: AD 26/27 or 28/29

- a. In reign of Tiberius (14-37) and Pilate (26-36)
- b. John B's ministry dated by Luke 3:1 as beginning in 5th yr of Tiberius:  
AD 28/29 if from beginning of sole reign  
AD 26/27 if from beginning of coregency

- c. Jesus cast out moneychangers early in ministry, when temple had been 46 yr in rebuilding:  
Josephus, Ant 15.11.1 gives starting date as 19/18 BC, so 46 yrs later = 26/27  
or if measured from completion of *naos* = 28/29

- d. Summary  
two choices; most presently favor earlier of two as better fitting accepted date for Jesus' birth

### 3. Length of Jesus' Ministry

for us who accept biblical data, choices are 2+ and 3+ years, depending on interpretation of John 4:35 and John 5:1  
results range from AD 29 to 33 for crucifixion & resurrection; commonest view is AD 30

### 4. Birth of Jesus: about 5 BC (or possibly 2 BC)

- a. Reign of Augustus (Luke 2:1), so betw 30 BC and AD 14
- b. Herod still alive, so no later than 4 BC by standard view; eclipse of moon mentioned by Josephus (Ant 17.6.4) calc for 12 Mar 4 BC; but Ernest L. Martin argues for a later eclipse in 1 BC
- c. Census of Quirinius (Lk 2:2): a point of much debate, as only recorded census in AD 6; prob Lk refers to an earlier ("first") census
- d. Jesus about 30 years old at beginning of ministry (Lk 3:23): works nicely for birth shortly before Herod's death: e.g., if born Dec, 5 BC, would have been 30 on Dec, AD 26; need to rework chron of Herod or take 30 yrs rather loosely to get later dates for Jesus' public ministry

## C. Apostolic Chronology

### 1. Relative Chronology of Acts and Galatians

#### a. Chronological References in Acts

- 1:3 Jesus appeared to disciples for 40 days  
betw resurrection & ascension
- 11:26 Paul & Barnabas in Antioch for 1 year  
before famine visit to Jerusalem
- 18:2 Prisc & Aquila recently from Rome because  
Claudius forced Jews to leave
- 18:11 Paul taught in Corinth 1-1/2 years

[2nd miss journey at least 2 years]

19:8 Paul preached in Ephesus synagogue 3 mo

19:10 Paul taught in sch of Tyrannus 2 years

20:31 Paul's summary to Ephesian elders: 3 yr

20:3 Paul in Achaia 3 months

[3rd miss journey at least 3 or 4 years]

24:27 Paul in prison Caesarea 2 years

28:11 Paul's group shipwrecked on Malta 3 mo

28:30 Paul under house arrest in Rome 2 years

[dates dense near end of Acts, rare at beginning]

#### b. Chronological References in Galatians

1:18 Paul's 1st visit to Jerusalem after conversion was 3 yr after

2:1 Paul made another visit 14 yr later

[ambiguity: 14 yr from when? what visit is this?]

#### c. Attempting a Relative Chronology from Close of Acts

EVENT	RELATIVE YEAR
Close of Acts	0
Paul reaches Rome	-2
Paul leaves Caesarea	-3
Paul arrested in Temple	-5
3rd m.j. ends	-6
begins	-9?
2nd m.j. ends	-10?
begins	-12?
Jerusalem council	-13?

d. Attempting a Rel. Chron. from Conversion of Paul

EVENT	RELATIVE YEAR
Paul's conversion	0
1st Jerusalem visit	+3
Jerusalem council	+14 or 17

2. Some Connections with Secular History

- a. Death of Herod Agrippa I: AD 44  
narrated in Acts 12:23 and Josephus, Ant 19.18.1
- b. Edict of Claudius: 49  
mentioned in Acts 18:2 and Suetonius, Claudius 25  
but no date given until Orosius (c415)
- c. Gallio, Proconsul of Achaia: 51-53  
Acts 18:12 and Delphi inscription
- d. Accession of Festus: 57-60  
Acts 24:27; ref to by Josephus several times, but  
date of accesssion not given  
of possible range given above, 59-60 seems more  
likely in view of Paul's remark to predecessor  
Felix in Acts 24:10
- e. Roman Fire: night of July 18/19, AD 64  
Nero later blames Xns, persecution begins
- f. Fall of Jerusalem: late Aug, 70
- g. Domitian persecution: AD 95-96  
probably occasion of John's exile to Patmos

3. Suggested Absolute Chronology of NT Events

YEAR BC/AD	EVENT
5 BC	Birth of Jesus
26/27 AD	Beginning of Jesus' Ministry
30	Resurrection of Jesus
32-37	Conversion of Paul

44	Death of James, son of Zebedee
48-50	1st Missionary Journey
50	Jerusalem Council
51-53	2nd Missionary Journey
54-58	3rd Missionary Journey
58-60	Paul imprisoned, Caesarea
61-63	Paul imprisoned, Rome
63ff	Paul's later travels
64	Roman fire; Xy becomes a crime
64-68	Deaths of Peter & Paul
70	Fall of Jerusalem to Romans
95-96	John on Patmos
after 98	Death of John; end of apostolic age

### III. Introduction to Acts

#### A. Title of Acts

- Titles vary between manuscripts, as in Gospels also.
- The shortest title occurs in Sinaiticus (□): ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ which means "activities" or "book of activities".
- This is probably too short to be original; typically need another name in genitive to show whose acts narrated
- A slightly longer form occurs in the subscription to □ and also in the title of B, D, Ψ, and a few others:  
ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ  
(like ancient titles for activities of indiv, city)
- Some longer forms, adding ΤΩΝ and/or ΑΓΙΩΝ, seem later.
- The longest is "The Acts of the Holy Apostles (by) Luke the Evangelist."
- Thus the title may not be original, but can hardly be later than 150 AD due to the divergence of text families.

#### B. Text of Acts

- Manuscripts available about the same as for the Gospels, though some (e.g., p<sup>29</sup>, E) contain Acts only (see Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek NT*).
- The main peculiarity is the difference between the Alexandrian and Western texts:
- The Alexandrian text (p<sup>45</sup> p<sup>74</sup> □ A B C Ψ 33 etc.) is shorter, less colorful, sometimes more obscure;
- The Western text (p<sup>29</sup> p<sup>38</sup> p<sup>48</sup> D syr<sup>h\*</sup> it<sup>h</sup> Cyprian Augustine) is almost 1/10 longer, more picturesque, circumstantial:

Some examples:

[N] = Nestle only lists variant; [U] = UBS also lists:

[N] 11:28 - "WHEN WE WERE GATHERED TOGETHER, one of them said"

- This extra we-section occurs with Agabus the prophet in Antioch and may imply that Luke was from Antioch.



-The Alex. and Byz. texts use "they" (3rd person) here.

[N] 12:10 - "they went out AND DOWN SEVEN STEPS and ..."

- As Peter is fleeing from the jail. Alex. omits.
- Western family adds a detail.

[N] 14:2 - "the brethren, BUT THE LORD QUICKLY GAVE PEACE"

- Alex. text does not explain how the stirred-up crowd was calmed so that v.3 would make sense: "therefore they spent a long time ..."
- Western addition smooths and adds detail.

[U] 15:20 - substitutes golden rule for "things strangled"

- This one affects the outcome of the Jerusalem council.
- Alex. text has "strangled, blood" which looks more like the ceremonial law.
- West. text has golden rule, blood (murder) which looks more like the moral law.

[U] 19:9 - "from the 5th to the 10th hour" (11 AM to 4 PM)

- Paul's teaching at the nearby school is specified to be during the time of day when the regular classes would not be in session.
- The Greeks normally took a "siesta" during the hot part of the day.

-Note the addition of historical details, smoothing, adding Luke's presence, and the golden rule substitute.

Theories offered to explain these variations:

- (1) Two editions by original author, Alex. later  
Jean Leclerc, J.B. Lightfoot, developed by F. Blass  
West - original, rough; Alex - refined
- (2) Two eds. by original author, West. later  
George Salmon  
Luke gave public readings, adding West material to explain, etc.
- (3) Western text interpolates

Westcott & Hort, W.H.P. Hatch, F.G. Kenyon, M. Dibelius  
Haphazard growth of text during 1st & 2nd centuries

(4) Alex. original, West. text a later revision (not by author)  
J.H. Ropes, R.P.C. Hanson

(5) West. original, Alex. a revision  
Albert C. Clark

Metzger, w/ Hänchen, think West. text secondary, but both (3) and (4) above involved, plus peculiarities of D alone

UBS, Nestle committees not agreed on which theory correct, so eclectic; generally favor Alex., but feel some West. readings are factually accurate.

### C. Authorship of Acts

#### 1. External Evidence: unanimous for Luke

##### a. Muratorian Canon - Italy - 170-190 AD

*"The Acts however of all the Apostles are written in one book. Luke puts it shortly to the most excellent Theophilus, that the several things were done in his own presence, as he also plainly shows by leaving out the passion of Peter, and also the departure of Paul from town on his journey to Spain."*

- "All the Apostles" appears strange as most are not followed in Acts. This term probably was used to distinguish Acts from the many heretical Acts of individual Apostles (Peter, Paul, etc.).

- The further comments look like a guess for why the book ends where it does: Luke wrote only what he saw.

- But Luke does not claim that all things recorded were done in his presence, only the "we" passages.

- Better to say Luke did not include the other events as they had not occurred yet.

##### b. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyon - France - c180 AD

*"Now, that this Luke was inseparable from Paul and his fellow-worker in the Gospel, he himself made clear, not vaunting, but guided by truth itself. For when both Barnabas and John, who was called Mark, had departed from Paul and had sailed to Cyprus, he says: 'We arrived at Troas.' And when Paul had seen a Macedonian man in a dream saying: 'Come over into*

*Macedonia and help us, Paul,' he says: 'Immediately we sought to proceed into Macedonia, knowing that the Lord had called us to proclaim the Gospel to them.'"*

*Against Heresies 3.14.1*

- Irenaeus student of Polycarp, student of John in Asia Minor.
- "Not vaunting" means not advertising his own name (does not say "I, Luke" anywhere).
- Refers to 2 of the we-sections.
- In *Against Heresies* he cites or mentions Acts over 50 times, referring to it as Scripture and as by Luke.

c. Clement of Alexandria - Egypt - 150-203 AD

*"... even as Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, makes mention of Paul, who said: 'O men of Athens, in all things I perceive that you are very religious.'"*

*Miscellanies 5.82.4*

- Cites Luke as author, names the work, quotes from Acts 17.
- In these 3 sources from before 200 AD, we find Luke called the author 3 times, the book's title given 2 times, and 3 quotations or allusions made which identify the text with that which we have today.

d. Tertullian - North Africa - (c200 AD)

- Many quotations as Scripture, says by Luke.

e. Eusebius - Caesarea - (c 270-340 AD)

*"But since we have reached this point, it is reasonable to sum up the said writings of the New Testament. Indeed, the holy quaternion of the Gospels must be arranged among the first books which the book of the Acts of the Apostles follows... Among the spurious must be placed also the book of the Acts of Paul... All these would be among the disputed writings; but nevertheless of necessity we have made a catalogue of these also... in order that we should be able to know these same writings and those produced by the heretics indeed in the name of the Apostles, as if containing the Gospels of Peter and Thomas and Matthias, or beside these, even of some others, or as if containing the Acts of Andrew and John and of the other Apostles; none of which anyone of successive generations of churchmen ever deemed worthy of mention in a*

*treatise."*

### *Church History 3.25*

- Eusebius had access to the largest Christian library in the world. Was started by Origen, had the Hexapla, etc.
- Notes there are no writings of early church fathers who mention as legitimate any Gospels or Acts beyond the canonical 4 Gospels and Acts.
- The unanimous testimony of the church at c200 AD is that the Acts we have today was written by Luke, Paul's companion. There is no external evidence pointing to anyone else.

#### 2. Internal Evidence: also points to Luke

- Writer does not give his name, but the internal clues are stronger than for any other NT book which does not explicitly name its author.

##### a. The "we" sections

- 16:10-17 Writer present with Paul on the journey from Troas to Philippi (2nd miss. journey, c51 AD).
- 20:5-15 Returning with Paul from Greece (end of the 3rd missionary journey, c57-58 AD).  
[break for Paul's sermon to Ephesian elders].
- 21:1-18 Continuing on to Jerusalem. Total trip is from Philippi to Jerusalem (3rd MJ).
- 27:1-28:16 Trip from Caesarea to Rome. (c60 AD).

- Luke may have spent the time in Palestine researching and writing the Gospel of Luke and early Acts.
- These sections give the impression that the writer was present on these 3 trips, but did not want to intrude himself strongly into the narrative.
- Liberals who want to avoid Luke as the author say some later editor used a diary.

-But even if it is the diary of an eyewitness, it records miracles and early agreements among the Apostles about theology, which liberals don't like.

- b. As the writer was with Paul in Rome, we can look at the prison epistles we assume were written from there and see who was with Paul.

Aristarchus	-All 4 are mentioned by name in Acts,
Mark	but in the 3rd person, whereas author
Timothy	refers to self in 1st person in
Tychichus	prologue to Acts

Demas        -Later deserted Paul so hard for him to write Acts.

Epaphras     -Delegates sent from Colosse and  
Epaphroditus Philippi to Rome. No evidence they traveled there initially with Paul.

Jesus Justus -Has a mixed Jewish and Latin name, implying he knew Latin and was probably a Roman, but otherwise we know nothing of him. A possibility.

Luke        -Is called a physician in Col. 4:14.

-Can more or less eliminate all these but the last two.

- c. Linguistic argument

-see William Kirk Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*.

-Finds that Luke-Acts contains an unusual amount of medical terminology characteristic of the Hippocratic school of medicine known from writings of Hippocrates (300 BC) and Galen (200 AD).

-The healing incidents show the use of more technical terms than the other Gospels.

-Also see the natural use of medical terms in narratives which reflect a medical influence (just as scientific terms ["data base," "model," etc.] tend to occur naturally in

these notes since they were produced by physicists).

Conclusion: Acts was written by a companion of Paul who had a detailed knowledge of NT-period medical terminology. As only one companion of Paul is called a physician, the author was most likely Luke.

#### D. The Destination (or recipient) of Acts

- "Theophilus" is cited as the recipient in Acts 1:1.
- Tho Luke probably wrote for a larger audience, he dedicated it to this person who might underwrite/encourage its publication (common in secular literature; Josephus' *Antiquities* was dedicated to Epaphroditus).
- Since Theophilus means "one who loves God," some take this as an allegorical name, like "Everyman" or "Christian"
- This may seem plausible to us, as few names in our culture make sense in English.
- But in Greek and Hebrew cultures, theophoric (deity-carrying) names were common; the Greek ones usually involved obviously pagan deities (in 3 John: Gaius, Demetrius, Diotrephes).
- Thus Theophilus is a valid Greek name, and such as might have been adopted by a Jew (since deity name not explicitly pagan).
- Greeks would not expect a name like this to be allegorical.
- Also the title κράτιστε (Luke 1:3) would hardly be used with an "everyman" figure, as it is a title of respect used for people with higher social status, governmental authority.
- Luke uses it 3 times when referring to the procurators of Judea (Acts 23:26, 24:3, 26:25).
- Since Luke does not use this title for Theophilus in Acts, some propose that Theophilus became a Christian between Luke & Acts; Christians didn't address each other with titles.
- Can't prove this.

-καηγέω in Luke 1:4, "so that you might know the exact truth about the things *you have been taught*," supports this idea, but Luke could be writing a further explanation to a non-Christian.

-Can reasonably conclude that Theophilus was a real person in a governmental or high social position. Luke may have known him from Antioch (Luke's probable home) or from one of the places he stayed.

## E. Date of Acts

### 1. Various suggestions

#### a. 2nd century AD

-This view was common in radical circles in the 19th cent. under F.C. Baur's influence.

-Baur applied Hegel's thesis-antithesis-synthesis theory to church history. Saw early conflict between Jewish and Gentile elements in James and Galatians; but since Acts has everything blended, it must be late => middle or end of the 2nd cent. AD, when the old catholic church formed.

-Such a late 2nd cent. view has been weakened by later archaeological findings; still, many liberals would date Acts at around 100-120 AD.

#### b. 94-100 AD

-Proposed by A.S. Peake at Univ. of Manchester.

-Noted common features in Acts and Josephus' Antiquities, so suggested that Luke borrowed from Josephus.

-This would date Acts after the Antiq. (pre-94 AD).

-Peake's evidence comes from 2 overlapping passages:

1) *Antiq.* 20.5.1-2 (20.97-100) and Acts 5:36-37.

-Gamaliel (Acts) mentions two revolts: by Theudas, and later by Judas of Galilee.

-Josephus lists them in reverse chronological order.

[Fadus, AD 44-46; Tiberius, 46-48]

-Sufficient details of Judas are given in Acts and *Antiq.* to identify them as references to the same event.

-Peake sees Theudas as a clear error by Acts.

-Actually three possible explanations:

a) Liberals say one author must be wrong, so it must be Luke.

-Peake says Luke copied from Josephus sloppily here.

b) But Luke as seen elsewhere is a careful historian, as was Josephus.

-Is more reasonable that Josephus made the mistake, as Luke is writing closer to the event.

c) There were two rebels named Theudas.

-Many Jewish rebels were from the same families, so there could be a grandson relationship here.

-The name "Theudas" was common enough that they could have been two independent men.

-In any case, no evidence of literary dependence here.

-Both refer to same names, but details are different.

## 2) *Antiq.* 19.8.2 (19.343-53) and Acts 12:19-23

-Death of Herod Agrippa I (c44 AD).

-His death contributed to the instability which caused the Roman war in 66 AD.

-He was a Jewish king (both a Herod and a Hasmonean) and liked by the Romans and most everyone.

-Acts: Was addressing the people of Tyre and Sidon at Caesarea, did not give glory to God; was struck by angel of the Lord, eaten by worms, and died.

-*Antiq.*: Was at spectacle at Caesarea, addressing a crowd, did not rebuke men who called him divine; saw an owl (bad omen), was overcome with abdominal pains; died in 5 days.

-As this event (death of a famous and pivotal Jewish leader) was rather well-known, there is no need for literary dependence, especially due to the unique features in each.

-These are very weak parallels to base a literary dependence theory upon.



c. 70-80 AD (after the fall of Jerusalem)

- Many liberals and some "conservatives" hold this view (e.g., Sanday, Zahn).
- Date Acts after Luke, but date Luke after the fall of Jerusalem in order to post-date the prophecy of its destruction given in Luke 21:20.
- Seems completely unnecessary, since God knows future.

d. 62-64 AD

- This is the standard conservative position, and is based on the events narrated in Acts (see below).

2. Positive date evidence from the scope of the book

a. Earliest date possible, c61 AD

- The last procurator mentioned is Porcius Festus; Paul then travels to Rome, stays there c2 years (book ends).
- The accession of Festus was not likely to have been before 59 AD.

b. Latest date likely

1) Paul's death is not hinted at or mentioned.

- Very strange if Acts was written after it.
- Liberals say Luke stopped there because his audience knew the rest of the story.
- But we don't know much.
- Tradition from a century later: Paul was martyred near Rome under Nero, who committed suicide in 68 AD.
- Eusebius dated Paul's death at about 67 AD.

=> Acts was written before 68 AD.

2) Attitude of Roman Empire to Christianity is favorable or neutral in Acts.

- Christianity was viewed as a sect of Judaism, so legal.
- But after July 64 AD, the attitude changed drastically.
- Disastrous 12-day fire in Rome burned much of the city.
- Nero's men were suspected of starting it.
- Nero shifted the blame to Christians; put many to death.
- Became illegal even to be a Christian (cf. Pliny's letter to Trajan) for the next 250 years.

- No hint of this hostile atmosphere in Acts.
- Luke does not react negatively to officials or vice versa.
- Christians had freedom to live in peace and spread views.
- How could hostile atmosphere not appear if Acts was written after these events?

3) Abrupt ending of Acts - suggests was brought up to date.

- Gives full descriptions until the closing sentence.
- Could be a summary sentence because he expected to write a 3rd volume (of which there is no known record).
- Not sure what volume would include unless it was written much later (c95 AD as some suggest).
- Zahn argues from Greek in Acts 1:1 that 3rd was planned.

πρωτον = first of several (in Classical Greek).

προτερον = first of two (like "former").

- This holds for Classical Greek, but in Hellenistic Greek, πρωτον can be used for either meaning.

- Although Luke uses the most Classical style in the NT, he is still very Hellenistic in general usage.

- Is most reasonable that Luke brings us up to date at the end of Acts and no time has elapsed between the last events and its writing.
- Luke knows nothing of the disastrous events which are soon to befall Christianity at this time.
- Thus the latest possible date for Acts would be c64 AD.

## F. Historical Accuracy of Acts

### 1. History of Opinion

- Among Christians until the Enlightenment, Acts was

considered very accurate historically.

- During Renaissance, some began to cast doubt on all ancient documents.

- Continued trend away from Acts' historicity until recently.

- Reached low point with work of F.C. Baur (c1850)

*Christianity and the Christian Church of the First Three Centuries* (1853).

- Baur thought Acts was a propaganda document which showed how the early church in the 2nd century liked to think of early Christianity: harmony between apostles, all enemies on the outside. Baur claimed strong division within Xy.

- But with the rise of archeology in these territories in the next generation, general opinion has risen greatly.

William M. Ramsay - Scots theologian trained in skeptical view of historicity.

- Became interested in archeology of Asia Minor.

- Studied inscriptions.

- Realized Baur's view of unreliability of Acts was incorrect.

- Became more and more conservative with time.

Some of his books:

*The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 1890.

*The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170*, 1893.

*St. Paul, The Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895.

*A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians*, 1899.

*The Cities of St. Paul*, 1907.

*The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, 1915.

Ramsay concluded that "Luke was an historian of the first rank." Not only was he an accurate chronicler (geography, places, names) but had a true historic sense (picked out significant events and important points for his purpose).

- Ramsay's work has not been overturned.

- Naturally, those who deny miraculous cannot concede that Luke is accurate in his reports of miracles, so there is still much suspicion concerning Acts.

- Complaints against the history in Acts are not from the data, but from those who dislike its historicity.

- Recent evangelical treatments:

F.F. Bruce, *New Testament Documents: Are They Reliable?*

I.H. Marshall, *Luke: The Historian and Theologian*.

A.N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*.

- Sherwin-White comments:

*"As soon as Christ enters the Roman orbit at Jerusalem, the confirmation begins. For Acts the confirmation of historicity is overwhelming. Yet Acts is, in simple terms and judged externally, no less of a propaganda narrative than the Gospels, liable to similar distortions. But any attempt to reject its basic historicity even in matters of detail must now appear absurd."* (189)

-Cannot discount historicity just because author was a Christian.

## 2. Testable data regarding historicity

### a. Official Titles

-Roman Empire was a patchwork of governments because parts were acquired at different times:

-Egypt: Emperor's private property.

-Imperial provinces: controlled by emperor if area was in danger at the present for some reason: revolt, at edge of the empire, etc.

-Emperor sent out rulers called procurators, propraeors, or prefects (name depended on the area).

-Senatorial provinces: "safe" areas controlled by senate.

-Senate sent out proconsuls.

-A province could (and did) switch back and forth between the two types.

-Significant to find Acts having the right title at the right time, since control sometimes switched.

-Acts is always right.

#### 1) πρὸς ἡγεμόνατος = proconsul (Greek equivalent to Latin term)

= head Roman official of senatorial province.

-was a common term.

derivation: Greek translation of Latin t.t.

πρὸς ἡγεμόνατος = previously, formerly (pro).

ἡγεμόνατος = consul.

Acts 13:7,8,12 - Sergius Paulus, *proconsul* at Cyprus.

- confirmed by inscription found in 1865 in Cyprus with his name, called it senatorial province.

Acts 18:12 - "Gallio was *proconsul* of Achaia"

- Achaia had switched: senatorial (27 BC - 15 AD)
  - > imperial (15-44 AD)
  - > senatorial (after 44 AD)
- Gallio was proconsul c51-53 (have inscription).

Rest of titles were not so well known from antiquity, as rarer.

- Some once suspected that Luke invented these names as general descriptive titles. Now seen to be technical terms.

2) πολιτάρχης = "city ruler"

Acts 17:6,8 - *city authorities* at Thessalonica.

- Now known from 19 inscriptions to be the proper technical title for leaders in Macedonian cities.

3) ἡσάρχης = "leaders of Asia" (province of Empire)

Acts 19:31 - *Asiarchs* befriended Paul at Ephesus.

- Technical term for leading men in Asia, several at Ephesus, elected by citizens from wealthiest and most aristocratic, in expectation they would personally finance public games and festivals; later were high priests of imperial religion, but not in 1st century (McRay, *Archaeology & the NT*, 255); friendship with Paul is evidence of early date of Acts (Bruce, *NT History*, 319).

4) πρ<sup>™</sup>τος = "chief" or "first" man

Acts 28:7 - *leading man* of the island Malta, Publius.

- Both Greek and Latin inscriptions show this was the proper title for the ruler of Malta.

## b. Geographical References

- Numerous and accurate: 32 countries, 54 cities, 9 islands in the Mediterranean Sea - all put in the right place.

-For example: Paul's voyage and shipwreck, Acts 27.

James Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, gives a very sophisticated account, including Greek and Latin inscriptions from various locations.

- Sailed the whole route and was amazed at Luke's accuracy.
- Shows it was consistent with the weather, the way the wind blows and how ancient ships were handled (to prevent being blown into North Africa).
- Felt he could fix the very spot on which the wreck at Malta occurred.
- Concluded Luke was not a sailor (as he didn't use technical terms), but was an experienced traveller, acquainted with seamanship, and able to convey details to common people.
- Is considered one of the most detailed and accurate accounts of a sea voyage from antiquity.

c. Problem passages: not claiming we know answer to everything.

1) Reconciliation of Luke and Paul concerning Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 and Gal. 2.

- Events are clearly similar, but differ on some details. E.g.,
  - private vs. public meeting,
  - didn't add anything to Paul vs. Jerusalem decision re/ Gentiles to abstain from food offered to idols, blood, etc.
- Evangelicals disagree whether Gal. 2 refers to Jerus Council.  
(Newman, et al, think it does; Bruce, et al, don't).
- Suggest Paul is writing to those who are already familiar with the Council and its letter (his opponents certainly knew of it) so he does not need to go over it again but just deals with particular problems, perhaps in answer to their claims.

2) Luke (Acts 12:20-23) and Josephus (*Ant.* 19:343ff) concerning the death of Herod Agrippa I.

*"(343) Now, when Agrippa had reigned three years over all Judea, he came to the city Caesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honor of Caesar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival, a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. (344) On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him; (345) and presently his flatterers*

*cried out, one from one place, and another from another (though not for his good), that he was a god; and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto revered thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." (346) Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their impious flattery. But, as he presently afterwards looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. (347) He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I whom you call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence allots as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." (348) When he said this, his pain was become violent. Accordingly he was carried into the palace; and the rumor went abroad everywhere, that he would certainly die in a little time. (349) But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. (350) And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign."*

Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 19.8.1-2 (343-350)

-Details vary: angel; owl, etc.; but no indication that Luke is mistaken on any point

#### G. Purpose of Acts: Why did Luke write it?

-Key verses in introduction give hints:

1:1 - former work "about all that Jesus began to do and teach".

-implies a theme of what Jesus continued to do and teach through the Holy Spirit and by means of the apostles.

1:8 Outlines the book, describing the progress of the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome.

-Empowering by the Holy Spirit is seen as continuing the ministry of Jesus after He was taken up.

-By extension from Luke 1:1-4: so Theophilus might know the certainty of the history of the early Christian church.

-i.e., this purpose of Luke is continued into Acts.

## H. Sketch Outline of Acts

Scale: "|" = approximately 1 chapter.

-Structure appears consciously to follow Acts 1:8:

Outline Verse:	1:8	-----
		The Gospel spreads in Jerusalem
At end of each section are Summary/ Transition Verses:	6:7	-----
		Through Palestine
	9:31	-----
		To Antioch
	12:24	-----
		To Asia (Minor)
	16:5	-----
		To Europe (Greece)
	19:20	-----
		To Rome
	28:31	-----
		(also a summary at close)

-Some of these transition verses are quite brief

-The idea common to all references is the increasing growth of the church.



## IV. Exegesis of Historical Passages

### A. Preparation for Exegesis:

Some features we need to continually build

#### 1. English (native language) Bible Knowledge

OT has 929 chapters, NT has 260, total 1189

Need to read several chapters/day

Once thru per year: 3.26 chs/day

4 chs/day: thru OT once, NT twice

#### 2. Biblical Language Competency

Keep up via regular translation, vocab review,  
grammar (Pastor Al Jackson: thru Metzger yearly)

TVT recommends verse/day from each testament

#### 3. Bible Background

Special study for specific passages

commentaries, encyclopedias

be realistic: don't overkill & then give up

Wide reading:

have read over 50 books/yr since 1968

over 100 for six of these

usually over 50 in religion

#### 4. Spiritual Insight

Gained thru experience w/ own problems, plus learning  
via helping others with theirs

Crucial to have a close communion, love for Lord

### B. Genres in Acts & Epistles

Genre: a type of literature

may be as broad as distinction between prose/poetry

may be as narrow as limerick, parable

Genres covered in class exegesis:

#### 1. Narrative:

Acts 15:22-29 combines both (1) and (2)

TP: Acts 10:34-46 combines (1) and Sermon

Frequent in Acts

#### 2. Letter:

see above  
some subgenres below in next major section

3. Diatribe:
  - 1 Cor 15:12-28 (eschatological)
  - TP: Rom 4:1-11 (soteriological)
  - James uses this genre
4. Controversy/Polemic:
  - Col 2:8-23 (Christological/soteriological)
  - TP: Gal 3:6-14 (soteriological)
5. Exhortation:
  - 1 Tim 6:11-21

Genres not covered in class:

6. Miracle Account:
  - Frequent in Acts: covered in Synoptics
7. Hymn, Poem:
  - TP: Col 1:15-20 may be such (Christological)
8. Sermon:
  - evangelistic in Acts
  - some think 1 John and Hebrews belong here
9. Discourse:
  - TP: Col 1:15-20 (Christological)
  - TP: 2 Thess 2:1-12 (eschatological)
10. Doxology:
  - Frequent at end of epistles
  - e.g., Rom 16:25-27
11. Thanksgiving:
  - Frequent at beginning of epistles
  - e.g., 1 Cor 1:4-9
12. Prayer (Report):
  - Frequent near beginning of epistle
  - e.g., Eph 1:15-23

### C. Historical Passages and the Genre "Narrative"

Not all historical passages are in the narrative genre, and not all narratives need be historical.

Due to inspiration of Scripture, non-historical narratives would only be found in parables, etc. But a historical passage might be a letter (as in Acts 15, above), or part of a hymn (Pss 105-06), or such.

1. Use the standard newspaper reporter's questions to sketch out what is happening: who? what? when? where? why? how? etc.
2. Be on the lookout for major terms, especially ones which are puzzling or ambiguous. Here we must look for the ambiguity of the word in the Greek, as translators into English or whatever can hardly be expected to preserve the ambiguities of the original language. Do each of the various possible meanings of the Greek word make any sense in this passage? If so, does it make any difference?
3. How does the event fit into the overall flow of salvation history? How does it fit into the immediate context that the author has given it? Does this help us to understand what is going on?
4. Check over some commentaries to see if the historical background sheds any light on the passage. If some particular activity, custom, etc., seems to be important in the passage, see if you can find out more about this in a Bible encyclopedia or such.
5. What features of the narrative does the author seem to be emphasizing? Look for repetition, positioning, etc.
6. Historical narratives are generally the easiest parts of the Bible to understand (with some definite exceptions!) but they are often the hardest to use for preaching and teaching. Some directions in which to investigate:

Exemplary (1 Cor 10:6): Are we to imitate or avoid imitating particular persons, actions, attitudes?

Salvation Historical (Acts 1:1): What does the narrative tell us about what God, Jesus, Holy Spirit, apostles, are doing in God's redemptive program?

Theological (Rom 1:21-2:16): What does the narrative show us about human nature, about wickedness, righteousness, and what sorts of things can happen in a fallen world which is yet in the process of being redeemed?

Typological (Heb 2:13-14): For OT narratives, how do they prefigure major themes in redemption, particularly the work of Christ?

## V. Paul's Early Epistles and His Eschatology

### A. The Early Epistles: 1-2 Thessalonians, Galatians

- About 1/2 of the NT is in the form (genre) of letters (including Revelation)
- 1 John and Hebrews may be sermon form, though sent as letters.

#### 1. Letters of the Hellenistic Period and Paul's Letters

##### a. Normal format of an ancient letter

- 1) Sender(s) -- nominative case. Like modern letterhead.
- 2) Recipient(s) -- dative case. To so-and-so.
- 3) Greeting -- infinitive (usually χαίρειν)
  - Meaning: Rejoice!
  - Usually translated as "Greetings."
  - may involve comments about health of either sender or recipient
- 4) Text of letter.
- 5) Closing -- takes various forms.

- In a business letter, may be omitted, or be
  - "Farewell"      ♂ρωσο - 2s perf. m/p impv.
  - (be healthy)"      ♂ρωσθε - 2p from ρώννυμαι
- An informal letter may include greetings from friends, etc. - ♂πάζομαι.

#### Biblical Examples:

- In the NT, we have 2 letters besides NT books themselves:

(1) Acts 23:26ff Letter sent with Paul from the Tribune to the governor at Caesarea.

Sender -- "Claudius Lysias"

Recipient -- "To the most excellent governor Felix"  
(Note: same title as Theophilus has)

Greeting -- "Greetings" (χαίρειν)

Text

Closing -- "Farewell" (in some manuscripts).

(2) Acts 15:23ff Letter sent by the Jerusalem Council.

Sender -- "The Apostles and brothers who are elders"

Recipient -- "To the brethren in Antioch and Syria ..."

Greeting -- "Greetings" (χαίρειν)

Text

Closing -- "Farewell" (κλρωσθε).

-Note this is also a business letter format.

Extra-biblical examples:

Loeb CL, *Selected Papyri*, 3 vol. set of secular materials:

v.1 Private - agreements, receipts, wills, letters, prayers.

v.2 Public documents.

v.3 Literary papyri.

We are interested in vol. 1. (#266 in LCL series)

-Same format in these letters, but sometimes give date also.

-Recipient's name was on the outside of the scroll.

-Remarks about health are common here (not so much in Paul):

e.g., 1:91, 93, 96, 104

-Letter no. 1:107 has personal closing salutations,

as do 1:110, 111, 112, 113.

-κλρωσθ/θε occurs in 1:89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 96.

b. Paul's modifications of standard letter format

1) Longer letters; all sections tend to be longer.

-Philemon is the exception, and is typical of the length of letters in Loeb.

-Example: Romans:

sender 6 vv.

recipient lengthened slightly

greetings lengthened slightly

text 15 chapters

closing 27 vv. with greetings

2) Greetings and closing were characteristically Christian.

- χαίρειν is neutral term and is sometimes used by Xians (cf. the Jerusalem Council).

- But Paul used χάρις (grace) and εὐοχήν (peace, from Shalom) and sometimes he added "mercy".

- Closing frequently has a benediction (a prayer for them or praise to God) instead of "be in good health."

- cf. Romans 16:25-27.

3) Text is often divided into didactic and hortatory sections.

- Could be a result of having a long letter.

- Is used as an argument against Pauline authorship of Hebrews where doctrine and exhortation alternate.

- Hebrews follows more of a sermon format, so this could explain the difference.

c. Dictation of Letters

- Rom. 16:22 "I, Tertius, who wrote this epistle" indicates that Paul dictated some of his letters to a "secretary."

- Some think this was because of an eyesight problem, but it was a common practice in this period.

- Non-biblical letter papyri (being autographs) show that most letters were written by professional scribes: handwriting of the main part is very nice (=> professional writer) but shifts to less neat hand at the end when the actual author wrote a note or signed his name himself.

- See R.N. Longenecker, "Ancient Amanuenses and the Pauline Epistles" in Longenecker and Tenney, *New Dimensions in NT Study* (1974) - a Festschrift celebrating ETS's 25th year.

- We know Paul often added a few words in his own hand,

- 1 Cor. 16:21 "The greeting is in my own hand C Paul."

- 2 Thess. 3:17 - Paul says this is his regular practice, even if he does not always explicitly mention it.

- Possibly done to guard against forgeries:

- 2 Thess. 2:2 - Don't be shaken by "letter as if from us."

- Presumably also indicates Paul had proofread his letter.

d. Suggested Chronology of Paul's Letters

1) 2nd Journey, 50-53

1 and 2 Thessalonians (written at Corinth, c52)  
-if any before this, not chosen to survive.

2) Between 2nd and 3rd Journeys

Galatians (Antioch, c53)

3) 3rd Journey, 54-58

1 Corinthians (Ephesus, c55)  
2 Corinthians (Macedonia, 57)  
Romans (Corinth, winter 57-58)

4) 1st Imprisonment at Rome, 61-63

Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon

5) Between Imprisonments, locations unknown, after 63

1 Timothy, Titus [Hebrews]

6) 2nd Imprisonment at Rome, 64-68, (date of death uncertain)

2 Timothy

e. Classification of Paul's Letters by Content

1) Eschatological: 1-2 Thessalonians

2) Soteriological: Galatians, 1-2 Corinthians, Romans

3) Christological (or Prison): Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon

4) Ecclesiological (or Pastoral): Titus, 1-2 Timothy

-Same as chronological order, but mainly a memory device  
-Some letters don't fit well into these categories:

Soteriology is poor classification for 1-2 Cor.  
Christology is poor classification for Philemon.

## 2. Thessalonian Epistles

### a. Background

1) City of Thessalonica was renamed at the time of Alexander for his step-sister.

- Hellenizers often 1) founded a new city in a good location (like Alexandria) or  
2) renamed an existing city.

-When Rome took over Macedonia in 146 BC, they made Thessalonica the capital.

-It was strategically located on Via Egnatia, the major east-west road from Rome to Asia Minor (w/ sea-links);  
see map of Roman Road system on p 8.

-Romans really improved road quality so travel much easier - nothing better till 20<sup>th</sup> century.

2) First visited by Paul on 2nd miss. journey, Acts 17:1-9.

-Although only 3 synagogue services (=> 2+ weeks) are mentioned (17:2),  
Paul's letters suggest his total stay was longer than this:

1 Thess. 2:9 "worked night and day" to set an example.  
- sounds longer than 2 weeks.

Phil. 4:15-16 - they sent a gift to Paul more than once  
while he was in Thessalonica.

=> at least 2 months.

3) Also fits with converts, Acts 17:4, which included:

- Jews
- devout Greeks (ones who had contact with the synagogue but were not proselytes)
- prominent women (probably Roman women, since Jews and Greeks had already been mentioned, but can't say for sure).

1 Thess. 1:9 - Apparently the majority of converts were pagans who came after Paul had preached in the synagogue, mostly former idolators.

1 Thess. 4:1-5 - Still had problems with fornication.



-Nucleus of church: Jews and Greeks from synagogue, some prominent women and many pagans.

-Eventually unbelieving Jews raise a mob and Paul is forced to leave city.

b. Place from which Paul Wrote

-Paul was probably in the same place for both letters.

-Corinth is most likely, although some late (400-500 AD) manuscripts (as in KJV) have a subscription saying "from Athens by Timothy [i.e. carrier]."

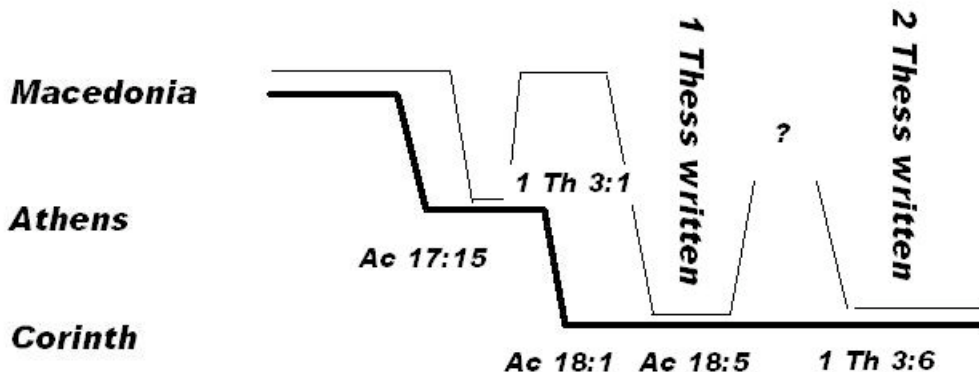
-Other texts say Corinth or Rome (?) instead of Athens.

-Have similar problem in Titus, where internal evidence disagrees with late subscription.

## Movements of Paul, Timothy & Silas

**Paul** —

**Tim & Silas** —



-Paul went from Thessalonica to Berea (both in Macedonia), but was soon forced to leave there also (Acts 17:10-15). Paul is taken to Athens (v.15), leaving Timothy and Silas behind. Paul requests them to come quickly while he waits in Athens.

-Berea to Athens: 1 Thess. 3:1 implies Timothy came to Paul in Athens but was sent back to Thessalonica before 1 Thess. was written. (Silas probably came also, but may have been sent to another church, probably Berea or Philippi).

-Athens to Corinth: In Acts 18:1, after little success in Athens, Paul goes to Corinth and meets Silas and Timothy from Macedonia (18:5).

-1 Thess. 3:6 (with 3:1) implies Timothy has come from Thess. twice at the time 1 Thess. was written.

-Since 2 Thess. deals with similar problems, it was probably written soon after 1 Thess. As Paul was in Corinth for 18 months, probably 2 Thess. was written from there also, perhaps after Timothy and Silas returned from delivering 1st letter.

c. Occasion of 1 Thessalonians

-Paul had been run out of Thessalonica by the mob.

-Jason was captured and forced to put up a bond (probably a peace bond, which he would forfeit

if further violence over this matter occurred in the city).

-On account of this bond on Jason, Paul probably feels he cannot return (cf. 1 Thess. 2:18).

-Timothy (3:6) and Silas (infer from 1:1 and 3:1) came from Thess. (perhaps with a delegation) with news of doctrinal confusion and persecution in the months-old church.

-Opponents apparently charging that Paul is an opportunist who has "abandoned ship" when things got rough.

-Since Paul cannot go and deal with the problems in person, he sends a letter to the church.

d. Contents of 1 Thessalonians:

-Huddleston, *Acrostic Bible*:

-NIV Study Bible (Leon Morris)

F = Faith of Thess. church

Thanksgiving for Thess (ch 1)

A = Apostolic labors in Thess.

Defense of Apos actions (2-3)

I = Investig. of ch's welfare

Exhortation to Thess (4:1-5:22)

T = True love betw Christians

Concluding Prayer, Greetings,

H = Hope in Christ's return

Benediction (5:23-28)

-The themes in 1 Thess. are scattered throughout the book, so this is a listing rather than an outline:

1) Persecution: Paul aware of their severe trials, exhorts them to remain steadfast, and is pleased with their endurance: 1:6, 2:14-16, 3:3-8.

2) Holiness: As many had come out of a pagan background, he encourages them against falling back into the pagan sins of immorality, fraud, laziness, etc.: 3:12-4:12, 5:14-23.

3) Slander: Paul defends self against charges raised by his enemies (the Jews?):

a) That he sponged off his converts: 2:1-12

(worked day and night to support himself, unlike the traveling philosopher-teachers).

- b) That he abandoned them when things got hot: 2:14-3:7  
(says he does not want to be away and sent Timothy instead).

4) Confusion regarding the 2nd Coming:

- 2nd coming mentioned in every chapter: 1:10, 2:19, 3:13, 5:23.
- Paul deals with specific problem of those who die before the 2nd Coming in 4:13-18.
- The early church did not know when the 2nd Coming would occur, whether in their lifetimes or not (nor do we!).

e. Occasion of 2 Thessalonians

- Less information on the motivation for the letter, but is probably due to continued confusion regarding the 2nd Coming.
- The source of the confusion seems to be a forged letter claiming to be from Paul, which produced anxiety and perhaps idleness, since it claimed the 2nd Coming had already occurred:
  - Note 2 Thess. 2:2: "spirit" - revelation  
or "message" - verbal report  
or "letter" - written note "as if from us."
- In 3:17 Paul says that he always writes the closing greeting himself, thus his handwriting serves as a distinguishing feature in all genuine letters from him.

f. Contents of 2 Thessalonians (Huddleston; NIV):

D = Descrip. of Thess. faith	Introduction (1)
A = Apostasy in last days	Instruction (2)
Y = Yield fruit through work	Injunctions (3)

- The themes are quite similar to 1 Thess.

1) Principally on the 2nd Coming.

- 1:6-10 is related to the present persecution.
- 2:1-12 Some say the Day already occurred.
  - In Rabbinic literature, persecutions were to be the "birth pangs of the [coming] Messiah."

-But other events which must occur first: apostasy and the appearance of "the man of lawlessness."

2) Comfort to those who are troubled by:

-Persecution: 1:4-7, 3:3.

-Confusion: 2:1-3, 13-17; 3:3, 16, 18.

3) Rebuke to the lazy and disorderly: 3:6-15.

-It may be due to sinful habits, or to waiting for the Lord's return (quitting job, etc.).

3. Galatians

a. Recipients.

Two major views:

North Galatian Theory

South Galatian Theory



1) North Galatian theory: Paul's letter was sent to the northern, "ethnic," region of the province.

a) This region in North Central Asia Minor was invaded by Gauls from Europe in 278 BC.

-Only "cities" in this area were: Ankyra, Pessinus, and Tavium. These were not Hellenistic cities, but were more like fortified camps.

-This region was little influenced by Hellenistic culture since Gauls entered the area after Alexander the Great had gone through planting Greek cities/culture.

-Were being "Romanized" through influence of Empire.

b) Paul **may** have visited here for the first time on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Missionary Journey (Acts 16:6 "and he passed through the Galatian region ...") and again on the 3rd journey (Acts 18:23 "he

passed through the Galatian and Phrygian regions"), but this is uncertain.

-Note we have no accounts that indicate that he did any work there. His earliest possible visit would have been on the 2nd MJ.

c) Proponents: The Northern theory has been the traditional view back to the 4-5th century commentators (but by this time the provincial boundaries had been changed) up till the late 19th cent. Lightfoot and Reicke are 2 moderns who hold this view.

2) South Galatian theory: Paul's letter was sent to the southern part of the Roman province, which was not ethnically Galatian.

a) When the Romans broke up Asia Minor into provinces, they included the southern cities of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe as well as the northern ethnic group in the province named Galatia.

b) Paul visited these southern cities once or twice (counting his return over same route) on the 1st MJ. He visited them a third time at the beginning of his 2nd MJ.

-These cities were all Hellenistic, having been under Greek culture and language for about 4 centuries.

c) Proponents: Since Ramsay (the first to do archaeology in Asia Minor) put forward his strong arguments, this view has been generally held. It does not divide liberals and conservatives. F.F. Bruce is a typical modern proponent.

3) Northern Arguments (Lightfoot):

a) The style of Galatians is similar to Romans.

-Paul is dealing with the same Jewish-works problem, but is more polemic in Gal.

-This may imply the two were written at about the same time on the same MJ (Ephesians and Colossians are an example of a pair written closely together, dealing with the same subject, where one is polemic and the other irenic).

b) The title "Galatians" was more popular as an ethnic term than as a provincial term.

-We would not call Scots "English."

c) The Hellenistic natives of Pis. Antioch, Iconium, etc. would be offended to be called "Galatians" since the ethnic group was considered barbaric.

d) Several comments in the epistle fit the known character of the ancient ethnic Galatians.

-According to other ancient authors, they were:

drunken (Gal. 5:21, but in a long list of other sins),

greedy (6:6-8),  
unstable (1:6-7),  
ritualistic (4:9-10).

#### 4) Southern Arguments:

- a) There were many more Jews in the southern region who would be nearer to and concerned (Acts 16:1-4) or influenced by Judaizing tendencies (the Seleucid kings imported them as stable citizens for founding new cities).
- b) Paul uses provincial names elsewhere when he writes (Macedonia, Judea, etc.) to label people in those places.
  - Luke apparently does not. (answer to 3b above)
- c) Ramsay notes that people of Antioch, etc., who were not Roman citizens derived their Roman benefits from inhabiting the Roman province, hence the title "Galatians" would not be an insult to them. (answer to 3c above)
- d) Note that Paul is not trying to be polite in addressing the Galatians: he omits the thanksgiving and calls them "fools" later. If the title "Galatians" had bad connotations, Paul might have used it anyway. (answer to 3c above)
- e) The cultural allusions in Gal. fit the Hellenized cities of the south better. (answer to 3d above)
  - The Gauls had only a tribal organization at this point.
  - Paul's comments regarding adoption laws, etc. presume a Hellenistic background.
- f) The Gauls were by now only a minority, even in northern areas, so the temperament evidence is not that significant (nor unique).
- g) The churches of Galatia were to be involved in the collection for the Jerusalem saints (1 Cor. 16:1).
  - In the list of people from local churches who went with Paul to Jerusalem, we find 2 from southern Galatia "Gaius of Derbe and Timothy [from Lystra]" in Acts 20:4, and none mentioned from northern Galatia.
  - Could argue that the list is not complete or the N. Gal. group joined them later, though.
- h) Barnabas is mentioned in Gal. 2:13 as if the Gal. churches were familiar with him.
  - "Even Barnabas was carried away" would draw surprise from a group who had been evangelized by Barnabas.
  - Yet Barnabas had only been on the 1st MJ in S. Gal.

i) The "you" reference in Gal. 2:5 most naturally refers to the Galatians: "so that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you."

-This reading presumes Gal. 2 is discussing the Jerusalem Council and implies that the Gal. were believers before it occurred (c50 AD). Thus the Gal. were saved during the 1st MJ and before the 2nd.

-But "you" could have a more general reference to "Gentiles" rather than to the Gal. in particular.

-Also, if Gal. 2 refers to the famine visit which preceded the 1st MJ, then the "you" would also be general.

## 5) Conclusion on Recipients

The evidence is hardly overwhelming, but the southern theory looks somewhat stronger.

### b. Date of Galatians.

-This, of course, depends on who the recipients were.

If northern view, then we can't date the letter before Paul was in No. Galatia at least once and probably twice (Gal 4:13).

If southern view, then we have the following possibilities:

#### 1) Before the Jerusalem Council (49-50 AD).

-Paul wrote from Antioch in c49 AD.

-This view is held by F.F. Bruce. His logic:

-Paul returns from 1st MJ to Antioch to find trouble there (Acts 14). Peter is there and Gal. 2 incident occurs.

-Paul learns that the Judaizers have also been up in the Gal. region.

-Paul writes this letter before he leaves for Jerusalem.

(F.F. Bruce is trying to harmonize Gal. 2 and Acts 15 by seeing them as 2 independent events. This is quite possible).

#### 2) Written on the 2nd MJ.

- Paul wrote from Corinth in c51 AD.
- This view is held by H. Ridderbos. His logic:
  - Paul is spending 18 months in Corinth, after Jerus. C.
  - He has founded Gal. church, given them Jerus. decree.
  - Gets word that Judaizers are still making gains in Gal.
  - Writes letter as he is too tied up to go personally.
- Ridderbos sees Gal. 2 and Acts 15 as different events at the Jerus. Council. Acts 15 shows the formal proceedings, while Gal. 2 shows some behind-the-scenes discussions.

3) Written between the 2nd and 3rd MJs.

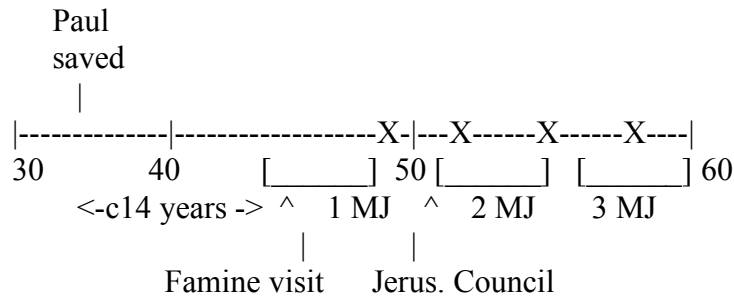
- Paul wrote from Antioch in c53-54 AD.
- This view is held by Ramsay. His logic:
  - Paul has just returned from the 2nd MJ, hears of the problem but is not able to go immediately, so writes.
  - Also sees Gal. 2 and Acts 15 as both Jerus. Council.
- All 3 of these views date Galatians before Paul could have visited the northern regions twice (if we take the Acts passages to imply a northern visit at all).
- Gal. 4:13 -- "the first time I visited you" is strong evidence that Paul had visited the recipients more than once.
- This is not possible (if we limit ourselves to Acts data for N. Galatia) until the 3rd MJ for northern view.

4) Written on the 3rd MJ.

- Earliest plausible date for No. view, but also possible for So. view.
- Lightfoot places Paul in Greece, writing in c57 AD.
- Most others place Paul in Ephesus, writing c55-57 AD.

**Note:** Views 2) through 4) all say Galatians 2 is describing same event as Acts 15.





-Note that if Gal. 2 is the famine visit (44-46 AD), then Paul is saved "too quickly" after the resurrection (30 AD).

This weakens Bruce's model (see time-line in the appendix of LaSor's commentary *Church Alive*).

-Newman feels that Ramsay's view is best, especially in light of the Gal. 1:1-2 greeting:

- The sender section says "Paul and all the brothers with me."
- In Paul's other letters, the co-senders have a connection with the recipient group in some direct way.
- The members of another mission church (Corinth or Ephesus) would not have this tie; but Antioch C the "mother" church which sent Paul out and which witnessed the Gal. 2 incident and the Jerusalem Council C would have this relationship.

-Since Bruce's date is too early, the only other time Paul was in Antioch was between the 2nd and 3rd MJs.

#### 5) Summary of Factors Involved in determining a date for Galatian letter:

- a) Relation of Acts 15 and Gal. 2 - same or different?
- b) Relation of Romans and Galatians - similar style.
- c) Identity of co-senders in Gal. 1:2 - Antioch?
- d) "You" in Gal. 2:5 - Galatians or Gentiles in general?
- e) 2 visits? - Gal. 4:13.

#### c. Occasion of Galatians

- The Galatians had been strongly influenced by "Christian" teachers of a Jewish background who were demanding conformity to the OT ritual laws (2:12ff; 3:2-5; 4:9-11,17; 5:1-6).
- These Judaizers apparently also attacked Paul as not being a "real" Apostle (Paul answers this charge in 1:1,12,15-16; 4:12-17; 6:17).
- Note that "apostle" meant "someone sent on a commission" in Greek and was not a special Christian term as yet.

- At the time of Paul's writing, the Galatians have begun to keep Jewish holidays and festivals (4:10), but most have not yet been circumcised (5:2).
- Since circumcision was such a big step (this made one a "Jew" in both Jewish and pagan eyes), perhaps the Gal. sent to Paul for his opinion before taking it.

#### d. Contents of Galatians

##### Introduction (1:1-10)

- See the standard sender, recipient, greeting, but ***no thanksgiving*** (this is Paul's only church letter without one).
- This probably indicates the seriousness of the danger in Paul's mind: the Gal. may fall for a different religion.

##### Historical Arguments (1:11-2:14)

- Apostleship (1:11-24): Paul is a true apostle by direct and independent appointment by Christ (key verse 1:12).
- Agreement (2:1-14): Paul's gospel agrees with other Apostles' gospel (key verses: 2:6-9, 1:8-9; also seen at the Jerusalem Council). The Judaizers' "gospel" doesn't.

##### Doctrinal Arguments (2:15-4:11)

- Justification (2:15-3:18) is by grace rather than by works (key verse 3:11).
- Purpose of the Law (3:19-4:11) is to demonstrate man's predicament (key 3:21-22).  
The Law should make men aware of sin and despair of their own efforts to keep it.

##### Exhortation (4:12-6:18)

- Sarah/Hagar illustration (4:21-31): based on Isa 54:1 ff in addition to Gen 16-21.
- Final charge (5:1-4): if you become circumcised, you are asking God to judge you by works. You will be condemned.
- Motives of the Judaizers (6:12-13):
  - Fear persecution (making converts to be Jewish proselytes would avoid such).
  - Desire to have a large following (to boast).
- Final sting: Those who are circumcised don't even keep the Law themselves, because they are unable to (6:13).

## B. Pauline Eschatology

-The doctrines concerning death, second coming, eternal state, etc.; i.e., doctrines relating to "last things."

-See Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free*, chap 27  
and Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology*, chap II

-Consider various topics of eschatology as sketched below:

### 1. **Downpayment/Earnest** - Holy Spirit within believer as "already" of glorified state

2 Cor 5:5: HS as deposit, guaranteeing what is to come  
Rom 8:23: HS as firstfruits; waiting redemption of bodies  
2 Cor 3:18: being transformed into His likeness w/ ever-increasing glory

### 2. **Nearness of End** - difficult to understand

On one hand: Soon

Php 4:5: Lord is at hand  
1 Cor 7:29: time is short  
Rom 16:20: God will soon crush Satan

On other hand: Time Unknown

1 Th 5:1-2: will come like thief  
Rom 11:12,25: when full number saved

Yet: Signs and Specific Events Precede

2 Th 2:2-3: rebellion & man of lawlessness  
1 Th 5:3-4: shouldn't surprise believers

This paradoxical presentation is often used by liberals to argue various strata in the NT, but it is present in both Gospels and epistles.

### 3. **Death & Intermediate State**

Death as Sleep

1 Cor 11:30: believers misusing Lord's Supper  
1 Cor 15:6,18,20: believers who have died (but note context of v 18)

Depart to Be w/ Christ

Php 1:20-26

At Home w/ the Lord

2 Cor 5:1-10

body as building, tent, garment (1-4)

intermediate state as unclothed? (3)

Jesus Will Bring Dead Believers w/ Him

1 Th 4:13-15

#### 4. **Israel** (Rom 11)

At present only small remnant believes (5,17)

Provides opportunity for salvation of Gentiles (11-12,15)

God able to restore Israel (23-24) and will do so when full number of Gentiles saved  
(12,15,25-26,29,31)

#### 5. **Man of Lawlessness** (2 Thess 2)

[Ridderbos makes considerable use of "apocalyptic imagery" to explain away detailed features]

He arises before Day of Lord (3)

Held back until proper time (6-8), the apostasy? (3)

Individual human (3) empowered by Satan (9)

Misleads unbelievers (10) thru miraculous power & deception (9-10)

Opposes & exalts self above all Gods (4)

Sets himself up in God's temple (4)

Destined for destruction (3) at Jesus' coming (8)

[Close parallels w/ Dan 11:36-12:3 (esp 36-37); 7:21-27; Matt 24:15-31 (esp 15);  
Rev 13:11-17]

#### 6. **Rapture** - gathering of believers to be with Lord

1 Cor 15:51-52: at last trump, dead rise, living changed

1 Th 4:13-18: at coming of Lord

[close parallels w/ Matt 24:26-35; see Waterman, *JETS* 18 (1975): 105-113]

## 7. **Parousia** - 2nd coming of Christ

Freq referred to as: parousia (coming), epiphany (appearance), revelation, or "the day"

1 Th 4:15-18: Jesus comes from heaven, loud command, voice of archangel, trumpet of God, resurrection & gathering of believers to meet Lord, be w/ Him forever

2 Th 1:6-10: punishment of persecutors & relief for persecuted when Jesus revealed from heaven in blazing fire w/ angels; unbelievers punished w/ everlasting destruction; Jesus glorified in & marvelled at by His people

2 Th 2:8-9: Jesus will destroy man of lawlessness by breath of mouth and glory of coming

## 8. **Resurrection/Transformation**

Of believers at Jesus' coming (1 Th 4:14-17; 1 Cor 15:51-52); not all die, but all changed (51)  
Resurrection body (1 Cor 15:35-49) glorious, spiritual (vs natural, not vs material)

## 9. **Millennium** - 1,000 yr reign of Christ; not explicit in Paul

Strongest passage is 1 Cor 15:22-28, which appears to picture 3 resurrections:

[1] Christ's (23)

[2] believers at His coming (23)

[3] end-resurrection when death destroyed (24,26).

[Fits most common Jewish eschatology at NT period; app based on Zech 14, Dan 7 and natural exegesis of Rev 19-20]

## 10. **Judgment**

Universal: Rom 14:10; 2 Cor 5:10; 2 Tim 4:1

Impartial: Rom 2:1-16

Of Works: Rom 2:6-10; 2 Cor 5:10

Believers vindicated: 1 Th 1:10; 5:9; Rom 5:9

## 11. **Eternal State**

Creation liberated from bondage: Rom 8:19-22

Death destroyed: 1 Cor 15:25-26

God all in all: 1 Cor 15:24-28

Unbelievers

perish (Rom 2:12)

everlasting destruction (2 Th 1:9)

shut out from God's presence (2 Th 1:9)

Believers

forever with the Lord: 1 Th 4:17; 1 Cor 13:12

share His image: 1 Cor 15:49; 2 Cor 3:18

## VI. Exegesis of Theological Passages

### A. What is a "Theological Passage"?

1. Not really a genre, "theological passage" is a description of the *content* of the passage.
2. The genre might be a speech in Acts (or the Gospels), describing the person and work of Christ; or a letter like Romans, with a systematic argument running many chapters; or a poetic passage like Col 1:15-20; or a controversy passage, as we will study in our next genre (Col 2:8-23); or even an exhortation passage like 1 Cor 13, where love is described.
3. A theological passage is one in which the main emphasis is to describe for us one of the following: what God is like (theology proper), what humans are like (anthropology), what Christ has done (soteriology), what the church should be (ecclesiology), what will happen when we die or at the end of the age (eschatology), etc. Obviously combinations of these are theological passages also.

### B. Recognizing a Theological Passage

1. In a typical NT letter, the letter genre is composed of several subunits (Ryken, *Words of Life*, 92):
  - Opening (sender, addressee, greeting)
  - Thanksgiving
  - Body
  - Exhortation
  - Closing (final greetings, benediction)
2. A theological passage is most likely to be located in the *body* of a letter, though Paul sometimes gets in some theological material even in the "sender" subunit! (Rom 1:2-6)
3. Paul, especially, tends to organize his letters with a more theological emphasis in the body, separating the practical material out into the exhortation section.

### C. Exegeting a Theological Passage

see Fee, *NT Exegesis*, 25-50

#### 1. Items shared with any NT genre

- a. Read the context.
  - best to read the entire document in one sitting if possible
- b. Try to figure out where the passage begins and ends.
- c. Make an initial translation, noting ambiguities in key words, and variant readings in the Greek text.
- d. How do the sentences fit together?
  - see the discussion in Fee, *NT Exegesis*, 60-77
- e. Analyze the grammar and significant words.
- f. Research the historical-cultural background.

2. Items more specific to letters

- a. Sender, receiver(s)
- b. What part of letter is passage in?
- c. What particular situation in view?
  - (1) letter as a whole?
  - (2) passage in particular?
- d. What do the details and key words and phrases in our passage tell us about what the author is saying?
- e. What seems to be the main point the author is making?
- f. What is the logical flow of the author's argument? How is he going about making his main and secondary points?

3. Back to more general items

- a. How does all this fit into the broader biblical and theological context?
- b. What do other commentators have to say about this passage?
- c. Now that you've done all this, how does this amend your original translation?
- d. What applications do you see for us today in this passage?
- e. Pull all this together for your sermon, Bible study,

## VII. Mid-Term Exam

No, this is not the exam. But we will try to give you some information on what to study and how. This material is especially designed for the mid-term, but should be helpful for the final exam as well (with suitable modifications), and more generally for studying other courses.

### A. How to Study

The following is a list of items which, if you do them, will surely improve your grade in this or any course. They are taken from the October 1994 issue of *The Teaching Professor*. Even if (due to other responsibilities) you don't have time to do all of these, there are some that take no extra time (## 3-7) and will pay real dividends.

1. I read the assigned reading before we cover that material in class.
2. I allow enough time for reading the assigned material so that I can read it slowly and thoughtfully.
3. I read to understand, because I really want to know the subject we are studying.
4. I attend class regularly and am rarely or never late.
5. I sit near the front of class, so that I feel like a participant, not merely an observer.
6. I take notes on virtually everything said or discussed in class.
7. I ask questions in class until the subject being covered is clear in my mind.
8. I get together with several others in the course to review readings and lecture notes 2 or 3 days prior to the exam.
9. I get a good night's sleep (7 or 8 hours) prior to the day of the exam.

### B. What to Study

1. Study the "Contents & Outline" pages in the front of the printed notes (pp 2-5). They were especially designed to give you an overview of the course.
2. Study the headings in the notebook below the level of those in the "Contents & Outline" above. They will help to fill in some detail on the framework provided by the outline.
3. Read over the notebook (sections I through VI) at least a couple of times, using a **highlighter** to mark what appear to be significant points. Don't mark everything;



that just wastes time!

4. About two-thirds of the exam points will be multiple-choice, short-answer, or matching, the other third will be essay. Try to see what sorts of material would make a good essay, and what is more likely to be short-answer or such. Here working with some other students in the class can be very profitable.
5. Regarding memorization, I don't think that is the best strategy for seminary-level courses. Try to understand what is being talked about in each section of the notes. Try to visualize the history, the arguments, etc. But don't assume just having a general idea of what the course is about will identify dates or persons for you!

## **VIII. Gentile Background to the New Testament**

### **A. Hellenism**

#### **1. The Greek Language**

Traceable back to before 1400 BC, the Greek language was spread all over the Middle East by the conquests of Alexander the Great, 333-323 BC, and by the subsequent colonization started by him and continued by his successors, the Seleucids (Syria and Asia Minor) and the Ptolemies (Egypt). Greek quickly became the language of international trade, and the language of the upwardly mobile, since it was the Greek city-states in this area that had the wealth, power, and influence.

With the Greek language came Greek culture, as sketched below. Since the Greek word for Greece is "Hellas," the Greek verb for "to live like a Greek" was "Hellenizein." "Hellenism" is the name for the Greek culture as it is appropriated by non-Greeks, and "Hellenist" is apparently the term used to designate non-Greeks who had adopted Greek culture to a significant extent.

#### **2. Greek Religion**

The Greeks believed in and worshipped many gods and goddesses, of whom the best known are probably Zeus, Apollo, Athena, Aphrodite, Artemis and Poseidon. The deities were viewed as immortal but not having always existed; as powerful, but not omnipotent. The gods knew everything about what humans were doing, but were capable of tricking and deceiving one another. Though they expected good behavior on the part of humans, they were also sometimes cruel and brutal.

Each god or goddess had certain realms in which they were especially powerful. Zeus was god of weather, Poseidon of the sea, Athena of wisdom and craftsmanship, etc. A human who has going to be involved in one of these realms had better be sure he was on the good side of the god or goddess who ruled it. Sacrifice was the way to get a god on your side; as one Greek proverb said, "Gifts persuade the gods." The various Greek city-states typically viewed one of the gods or goddesses as their own particular protector. Athena (naturally) was so viewed by Athens, Poseidon by Corinth, Artemis by Ephesus.

Morality was not typically a strong point with the Greek deities, and this came to be viewed as something of a scandal by some of the Greek philosophers. Given the sexual escapades reported of Zeus in Greek mythology, it is no wonder that the Greco-Roman world had such low standards of sexual behavior. Most worshippers of the Greek gods and goddesses seem to have viewed them as forces to be placated in order to get on with one's own life, rather than as models for behavior and beings worthy of dedication of one's whole being.

Syncretism, the mixing of elements between religions, is common among polytheistic religions, and those of Greece and Rome were no exception. The chief Greek god Zeus came to be identified with the Roman Jupiter (and the Syrian Baal), Aprodite with Venus, Artemis with Diana, etc. Other deities were being imported from Egypt and the East even during the first century AD.

The mode of worship in Greece (and Rome) seems to be quite ancient, sharing some features with OT worship, and so probably going back to the Flood at least. The temple is viewed as the god's or goddess' house; sacrifice is food offered to the deity; a special priesthood is necessary to take care of the temple and to see that rituals are performed properly.

### 3. Greek Philosophy

One of the unique features of Greek culture was their interest in philosophy, literally "love of wisdom." In actual usage the term meant an attempt to understand ultimate reality without recourse to religion. This activity may have had its roots in near eastern wisdom traditions, but the earliest known practitioners were the pre-Socratic philosophers in the Greek cities of Asia Minor (6th cen BC): Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes and Anaxagoras.

The best-known Greek philosophers are Socrates, his disciple Plato, and his disciple Aristotle (400s-300s BC). Plato founded the Platonic school of philosophy and Aristotle the Peripatetic, but by NT times these had been eclipsed by two other schools, the Stoics and the Epicureans, mentioned in Acts 17:18.

The ***Stoics*** inclined toward belief in a single God, who filled the universe with purpose. A spark of the divine existed in every person, so that all shared a common brotherhood, including barbarians, women and slaves. The Stoic ideal was to live a life of virtue no matter what misfortune should come one's way. Stoicism caught on at Rome, and became the dominant view among philosophically-inclined Romans.

The ***Epicureans*** were considered atheists by many of the ancients (though so were the Christians!). They believed that matter was the ultimate reality; that the soul dies with the body; that the gods exist, but are made of a special sort of matter, and have no interest in the affairs of humanity. The chief goal of Epicureans was to live a life untroubled by pain or worry, and they sought to achieve this by avoiding any desires that they could not satisfy.

### 4. The Greek City

Unlike most ancient societies, the basic political unit of the ancient Greeks was the city, each functioning as a separate state until the conquest of Greece by Philip and Alexander the Great. This was apparently due to Greece having no large agricultural areas or unify-

ing features like a major river and their having rejected kingship early in their history. The upshot was that rule was local, sometimes by an aristocracy, later by democracies or a small clique.

The population of a city consisted of full citizens (whose adult males had a voice in local affairs), other residents (whether local or foreign), and slaves. The idea of citizenship rights and responsibilities, and of local pride, became strong in such a context. Many cities, as their population became too large to be supported by the surrounding croplands, sent out colonists to start new cities elsewhere, and the home city became the metropolis (mother city).

The idea of the Greek city was spread into the East with the conquests of Alexander. The Seleucids, especially, founded cities as control points to unify their empire, and these quickly became the dominant commercial sites. With the Greek cities came numerous Hellenizing influences.

## 5. Greek Art, Rhetoric, Literature

The Greek "golden age" is commonly associated with Athens in the period 450-400 BC. Under the direction of the gifted ruler Pericles and with significant funds coming in from the Athenian-dominated Delian League, the arts reached a height in Athens almost unprecedented in world history. Gifted sculptors and painters abounded; the marvelous architecture of the Acropolis was built; historians, poets, and dramatists wrote; orators developed their skills to a high level. Their work came to be considered classic by the Greeks in the following centuries, and had great influence among the Romans at NT times, and among Europeans even to this day.

## 6. Greek Athletics

Greek athletics is somewhat familiar to most of us today as a result of the revival of the Olympic games at the end of the 19th century. Though most societies have used athletics as a way to train and maintain physical strength for warfare, the Greeks developed athletic contests to a high level.

By NT times, there were four main competitive meets which had been in existence for several centuries, two of which met every four years (Olympic and Pythian games) and two every two years (Isthmian and Nemean games). Besides these, most major cities held games every year or so, and there were many professional athletes who competed in them.

The main events were various types of footraces, ranging from a dash the length of the stadium (c200 yd) to a race of about 3 miles. [The marathon was not an ancient event.] Besides racing, there was the discus throw, the javelin, the broad jump, boxing (no gloves, more like brass knuckles!), (Greco-Roman) wrestling, the pankration (wrestling

with hitting), and the pentathlon (fr, bj, d, j, w). Paul on occasion makes use of figures drawn from athletics.

Rome developed the chariot race (see *Ben Hur*) and human combats (gladiators) as even more exciting spectator sports.

## B. The Roman Empire

### 1. The Emperor

The office of emperor as the chief executive officer of the Roman empire was developed by Augustus during his long reign (31 BC-AD 14). It was a position of absolute authority, though nominally much of the rule was conducted with the approval of the Senate (the old ruling council of elders for the city).

The Latin word "imperator" means one who has power of life and death, but the emperor could also delegate this power to his governors in the provinces.

Augustus was also called "Caesar," which at first meant nothing more than (adopted) son of Julius Caesar, but came to be one of the distinct titles of the emperor.

"Augustus" was also a title (his original name was Octavian) meaning "revered one." This came close to being a divine title, and the emperor was worshipped as a god in many of the provinces.

The Roman emperor was by far the wealthiest person in the empire.

### 2. The Empire

The empire consisted of Rome (the capital city), Italy (a rather privileged region), client states (that had allied themselves with Rome and were ruled by native rulers), and the provinces (literally, regions previously conquered). The provinces were ruled by governors sent out from Rome either by the emperor (if they were border regions or in danger of revolt) or by the Senate (if they were safe, interior provinces). Egypt was virtually the private property of the emperor because a safe supply of grain was necessary to feed the poorer classes in Rome.

### 3. The Army

The Roman army had originally been a citizen army, called up in emergencies to defend Rome. By NT times it was a full-time professional army made up mostly of non-Romans. But a veteran of 20 years' service was retired as a full Roman citizen, with a bonus of more than 10 years' pay and a plot of land. His descendants would thereafter be Romans.

In AD 23, the Roman army consisted of 25 legions (4800 infantry and 120 cavalry each), for a total army of less than 125,000 men (plus auxiliary units), rather small for the size of the empire they controlled. The discipline, training and organization of the army was superb and there were no armies that could match them during the first three centuries of the empire.

#### 4. Taxes

The Roman tax system consisted of both direct and indirect taxes. The indirect taxes C e.g., sales, harbor and inheritance taxes C were paid by (virtually) all inhabitants of the empire. Roman citizens, however, were exempt from the direct taxes, which were paid by non-citizens who lived in the provinces. These consisted of a land tax for those who owned land and a head tax for those who didn't. Censuses established the population of a province and thus the amount of tax that the governor must collect. In NT times the tax rates were not excessive (by modern standards), though they got worse and worse to the end of the empire. During the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD the privilege of collecting taxes was sold to the highest bidders, who were given a rather free hand, leading to considerable corruption and a strong hatred for tax collectors.

#### 5. The People

Outside of Rome, Roman citizenship was a high privilege, as we see in the exchange between Paul and the military commander in Acts 22:22-29. It conferred exemption from certain taxes and the right of appeal to Caesar. Otherwise, non-citizens retained whatever class structure existed in each particular region, with large disparities in wealth and influence between upper and lower classes, and a large underclass of slaves.

In Rome, many very poor people might yet be Roman citizens, as they had been born into the lower classes of the city. Yet as citizens, they were exempt from direct taxes, eligible for the public dole of food given out by the emperor, and were entertained by the various public shows provided ("bread and circuses"). In principle they were far above the resident foreigners and slaves, though in practice this was not necessarily so, as the dole and entertainment tended to undercut any incentive to labor.

The upper classes of Rome consisted of the emperor and his family on top, the Senatorial order next, and the Equestrian order (also called Knights) below them. The Knights often became very wealthy because they were permitted to engage in business but the Senators were not.

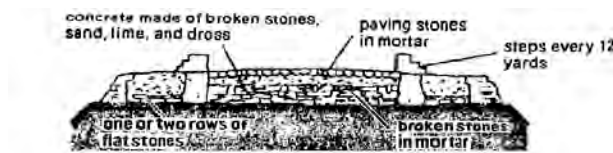
Slavery was widespread C perhaps 1/3 of the population of Rome was in slavery C and the slaves had virtually no civil rights. In practice, some slaves were treated well, and the slaves of a wealthy family might easily have far more privilege and power than poorer citizens. It was not uncommon for slaves to be freed, either at the death of their master,

or by purchasing their freedom in one way or another.

## 6. Transportation

The empire made the Mediterranean and its connecting seas safe from piracy. Transport by sea was far more convenient than land transport, but the technology of shipbuilding in the ancient world was such that sea travel was not safe during the winter months.

The Romans by the end of the 1st cen AD had built some  $\frac{1}{4}$  million miles of paved roads, forming a network converging on Rome. The roads were laid as straight as possible, cutting into hills and bridging over valleys. The roads had curbs, with excellent paving 3-5 feet thick, using stone and concrete. They were narrow by our standards, with four "lanes" each about 8 feet wide.



Roman bridges were one of important uses of the arch, an architectural device developed by the Romans.

## 7. Roman Coinage

usually dated by consulate of reigning emperor  
obverse (front) usually ruling emperor  
reverse usually a deity or personification  
coin inscriptions rather standard, e.g.:



TI CAESAR DIVI AUG F AUGUSTUS / PONTIF MAXIM  
Tiberius Caesar, Son of Divine Augustus, Augustus /  
Pontifex Maximus (chief priest of Roman religion)  
IMP CAES VESPASIAN AUG PM TRP PP COS III / IUDAIA CAPTA

Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus,  
Tribunician Power, Father of the Fatherland, 3<sup>rd</sup> Consulate / Judaea taken captive

coin samples:

denarius of Tiberius (obv: Tiberius; rev: Livia? Vestal Virgin?) (above); prob this  
is the tribute money of Matt 22:19

sestertius of Vespasian (obv: Vespasian; rev: Judaea, soldier?) (below)





## IX. Paul's Middle Epistles and His Soteriology

### A. 1 & 2 Corinthians

#### 1. The city of Corinth

- Until c100 years ago, sailing technology did not enable boats to sail more than 5-10 degrees into the wind.
- Since the prevailing winds on the Mediterranean are from the west, it was quite difficult to sail west, especially near land (where tacking was dangerous).
- Thus from pre-classical times (c600 BC), ship traffic west often took the shortcut across the isthmus at Corinth, instead of sailing around the peninsula.



- Hence Corinth was a natural spot for a port city.
- Corinth itself was at the center of the isthmus with satellite port cities on each side: East --> Cenchraea (Acts 18:18; Rom 16:1); West --> Lechaeum.
- Due to rebellion by Corinth, the Romans completely destroyed Corinth when they came through in 146 BC (making the city an example, like Carthage).
- The city was rebuilt in 46 BC by the Romans and became a major prosperous city for eastern trade.

- The present ruins show almost exclusively Roman inscriptions and architecture; only the temple of Apollo is left from before 146 BC.
- Corinth became the capital of the province of Achaia.
- Due to the mixing of cultures and its transient population, Corinthians saw differences in rules and concluded that none were absolute. Corinth thus became famous for its immorality and loose living in a not very moral empire.
- The temple to Aphrodite had "legalized" prostitution.

## 2. The church in Corinth

- Was founded by Paul on his 2nd MJ, after he came down from Athens (Acts 18:1-18).
- He began preaching in the synagogue (standard method).
- When resistance reached a certain level (nonbelievers began blaspheming Jesus), Paul moved to the house of Justus next door (!).
- God encourages him (18:9-10). Paul was probably worried about being run out of town as had happened often before.
- Perhaps Paul at this time made a vow asking for God's protection (18:18).
- The attempt of the Jews to have Paul punished by Gallio fails (18:12-16).
- Paul remains in Corinth 18 months, working and living with Aquila and Priscilla part of the time.
- When Paul leaves to head for Jerusalem and Antioch, A & P accompany him to Ephesus; the follow up work at Corinth is continued by Apollos (18:24-28).

## 3. Background to 1 Corinthians

- From Corinth, Paul goes to Ephesus -> Jerusalem -> Antioch, which ends the 2nd MJ.
- After some time, begins 3rd MJ: revisits churches of 1st MJ (?) (i.e. Galatia, Phrygia), then to Ephesus for 3 years.
- At Ephesus, Paul had contact with Corinth by sea travel, letters, delegations (apparently made a quick trip himself).
- Paul apparently wrote a letter to Corinth before 1 Cor.: 1 Cor. 5:9 "I wrote you in my letter ..."
- Appears to point back to an earlier letter (on Christians living immorally) which we do not have. Looks like they misunderstood this earlier reference.

#### 4. Occasion of 1 Corinthians

-Paul has received a letter from Corinth, is answering it.  
Starting in ch. 7, he turns from things he has heard about them (via delegations or messengers) to their letter:

7:1 "Now concerning the things about which you wrote, it is good for a man not to touch a woman."

-The subsequent "now concerning" (περί δὲ) markers which follow this one probably also relate to written questions:

7:25 They asked about virgins in relationship to marriage.

8:1 Probably asked about relation to idols.

12:1 Deals with spiritual gifts.

-Paul probably quotes their remarks in places and corrects them: "'All things are lawful' .. but all do not edify."

-Besides letter, Paul had received some people from Corinth.

1:11 Chloe's people (slaves/employees from her household).

-1 Cor. 1-5 app responds to their report.

16:17 "the coming of Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus"

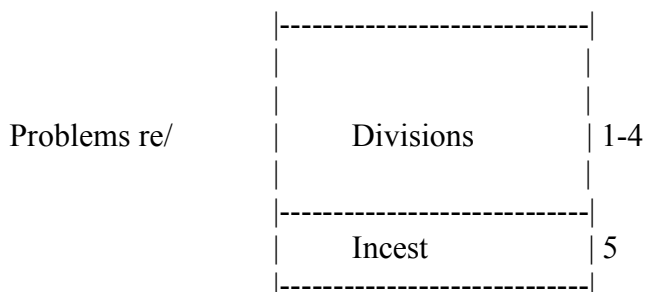
-May or may not be the same as "Chloe's people".

-Probably an official delegation since 16:15-16 imply they are leaders in the church.

- "Supplied" => gift, news, fellowship?

-Paul had been in Ephesus for a while, Corinthians had problems so had sent a letter and at least one delegation to Paul, which he responded to.

#### 5. Sketch Outline of 1 Corinthians (scale: "|" = 1 chapter)



	Lawsuits	6
	Marriage	7
	Food offered to idols	8-10
Misuses of	Lord's Supper	11
	Spiritual Gifts	12-14
Heresy re/	Resurrection	15
Closing	Collect for Jerusalem	16

In both chapters 8-10 and 12-14, it looks like the middle chapters, 9 and 13, are discussing different topics, but they are actually making very relevant points regarding the main topic in view.

- In ch 9, Paul gave up what was legally his in order not to offend anyone. The Corinthians should do the same thing with respect to foods offered to idols and other matters.
- In 13, love is the key spiritual gift, not tongues.

## 6. Background of 2 Corinthians

Paul had intended to send Timothy to Corinth (1 Cor.16:10f).

- Timothy was probably to check on things in Corinth, but Paul feared that Timothy was not up to it (timid, youthful).
- We do not know if he got there or how he made out, but probably did not go well if he went.
- In 2 Cor., Titus (not mentioned in Acts or 1 Cor., but apparently an older, more mature believer) is the liaison and there are still troubles.

Some difficulty has arisen in the church regarding an offender (2 Cor. 2:6-7).

- Possibly the same person in 1 Cor.5 concerning incest.
- Perhaps the ringleader of an opposition group (Judaizers?) as in 2 Cor. 10-13. Don't know for sure.

Paul, to try to deal with problem, had sent a severe letter.

- Then he sent Titus who does not come back when expected.

- Then, being very concerned and restless, Paul goes to Macedonia to meet Titus halfway.
- Titus has a favorable report, mentioned in 2 Cor. 2 and 7.

2:5-11 shows that problems have been basically cleared up by the time Paul wrote 2 Cor.

- After writing 2 Cor., Paul goes down to Corinth, winters there (AD 57-58) and writes Romans.
- Paul having time to write, and the calm character of Romans suggests that the Corinthian situation had stabilized.

Summary of Paul's letters (L) and visits (V) to Corinth.

51-53 V 1 Founds church, spends 1.5 years there (Acts 18)

L 1 Lost "separation" letter (1 Cor. 5:9)

L 2 1 Corinthians

V 2 Painful visit (largely unknown)

- Appears to be personal visit to solve problem of offender, but without desired result.
- 2 Cor. 2:1 "I would not come to you in sorrow *again*."
- 2 Cor. 13:1-2 "This is the *third* time I am coming to you."

L 3 Letter of Many Tears

2 Cor. 2:3-4,9; 7:8 - Paul wondered if he had been too strong, but was happy with Titus' report.

- Some think this is 1 Cor., but it is not "many tears" (cf. 2 Cor. 2:1) or as "strong" as 2 Cor.

- So this letter is probably lost.

57 L 4 2 Corinthians, written in Macedonia.

57-58 V 3 Winter visit, 3 months, 2 Cor.13:1-2, Acts 20:2-3 writes Romans.

Alternative arrangement identifying 1 Cor. as Letter of Tears:

V 1 - same

L 1 - same (lost)

V 2 - same

L 2 - 1 Cor.

L 3 - 2 Cor.

V 3 - same

## 7. Sketch Outline of 2 Corinthians (scale: "|" = 1 chapter)

Paul's defense of his ministry	1-6
Joy at their repentance	7 also in ch. 1 and 2
Collect for Jerusalem	8-9
Judaizers Answered	10-12 (note 11:22ff)
Coming Visit	13

Reason for collection: Apparently the Jerusalem Council had asked Paul not to forget the Jews when he ministered to the Gentiles. He agreed to help the poor people in Jerusalem. Possibly they were poor due to economic persecution.

## 8. Integrity of 2 Corinthians

This is not a question of authorship, but a matter of whether the form we have is the original form of the letter.

- Few deny that 2 Cor. is by Paul (it is the most personal of his church letters).
- But many liberals feel some sections are parts of the lost letters L1 and L3.

a. 6:14-7:1 is viewed as part of L1 mentioned in 1 Cor. 5:9.

- Deals with separation, matching description in 1 Cor. 5:9.
- Looks as if it interrupts the context of 6:11-13 and 7:2 which refers to opening their hearts.
- It must have been accidentally inserted.

Problems with this view:

- 1) No textual support: all texts have this passage in this place.
- 2) No statements from antiquity (Jerome, Origen) that this passage was not in some manuscripts.

- 3) Must assume that this got in so early that no church father outside of Corinth knew about it.
- 4) Must assume some copyist was dumb enough to accidentally insert a page/paragraph at this point.
  - Why the material would be placed here is not obvious.
- 5) What we have of the content of the real separation letter does not fit with this passage.
  - 1 Cor. 5:9 says not to associate with people who claim to be Christians, but their lives don't show it.
  - 2 Cor. 6:14f says not to have religious associations with unbelievers who are involved in idolatry (false worship).
  - So these are not the same topic; thus only speculation that they refer to the same letter.
- There are other Pauline digressions which can be omitted and a smooth, coherent discussion remains: 1 Cor. 12-14 has a long digression about love (ch. 13).

#### b. 2 Corinthians 10-13

- Paul here is speaking against his opponents (probably Judaizers).
- The shift in tone between 1-9 and 10-13 is fairly sharp:
  - 1-9 expresses relief and thanksgiving, 10-13 is stern.
- Thus some see 10-13 as (part of) the "letter of many tears" (L3) mentioned in 2 Cor. 2:4, which was very severe.
- However, Paul is a man of many moods; such tone changes can be detected elsewhere. Since the letter is long, it probably was not dictated all at one sitting.
- Perhaps Paul, reflecting over 1-9, or receiving some fresh news from Corinth, may have realized that a stronger note was necessary as there were still problems to deal with.
- There is no manuscript evidence or ancient witnesses which show that 2 Cor. 10-13 was missing or added on later.
- Have only the internal evidence of a tone change.
- To propose that some dumb scribe dropped assorted pages and confused their order => neither he nor anyone else knew the correct order.
- Also, scrolls app were used until c100 AD, so the original and early copies would not likely have page problems.

#### B. Romans

##### 1. Order in the New Testament: first of the letters

- The order of NT books is broadly chronological:
  - Gospels, Acts, Epistles (writings of Apostles), Revelation

-The order within these subheadings is more elusive:

Gospels: most to least like the OT, Jewish ideas.

Matt.: genealogies, Messiah; John: implications for Xians

Epistles: Pauline to non-Pauline, where Hebrews (disputed authorship regarding Paul) is placed at boundary.

-Within Pauline Epistles order is not chronological, perhaps topical:

a. Are roughly ordered by length, tho letters to the same recipients kept together (Corinthians, Timothy).

-p46 (Chester Beatty) has Hebrews within the Paul group in order of length: Rom, Heb, Cor, Gal, ....

b. Romans may be first as it gives the most systematic presentation of the Gospel, opening up the whole revelation.

c. Romans is probably most important book of group, influencing:  
Luther (Reformation),  
Wesley (Great Awakening),  
Barth (partial restoration of gospel in liberalism).

## 2. The City of Rome

-Was the capital of the "world" (Roman Empire).

-Its population of 1 million was about the most possible without better technology (sanitation, mass transit, water, etc.).

-Empire had an excellent road system.

-Capital was a parasite city. In the previous century it had local farmland, but by NT times it had overgrown this and now relied on imports.

-About half the population were slaves; the poorer citizens were on welfare (the emperor provided grain from Egypt and entertainment, "bread and circuses").

## 3. The Church in Rome

### a. Origin

-We don't know how or when the church was founded. Various suggestions:

1) by Jewish Christians returning from Pentecost (Acts 2:10-11).

2) by travelers before 50 AD (Suetonius re/ "Chrestus"; Priscilla and Aquila from Rome, with no indication that they were converted by Paul, Acts 18:2).

3) by Peter, who went to Rome in 42-43 AD.

-This is the RC view, supported by Eusebius, Jerome (citing Acts 12:17);



Irenaeus comments "Peter and Paul were in Rome founding the church ..."

-In antiquity, "founding" could mean to reorganize, as well as to start from scratch (Alexander & successors founded many Greek cities in the East).

-Clearly the church existed before Paul got there (cf. Romans), but we are not sure when Peter came.

-Peter probably was at Rome, but not for 20 years as Bishop before Paul arrived.

Note following:

-Paul does not greet Peter in Romans.

-The nonchristian Jews in Rome have barely heard of Christianity, which is strange if Peter has been there (cf. Acts 28:21-22).

Newman's view: Christians (from Pentecost and/or others who traveled there) started the church before 50 AD. It was disrupted when Jews expelled (Acts 18:2), tho Gentile Xns may have remained. It was apparently weak and spotty until Paul and Peter arrived. Irenaeus' remark would refer to Peter and Paul getting the church organized again with officers, etc.

#### b. Character of the church

-Not much information.

-Evidence from the catacombs shows there were many Jewish people in Rome, so the church could have any ratio of Jew and Gentile.

-We estimate from letter to Romans that the church was mainly Gentile, but had a strong minority of influential Jewish Xians:

1:13 "among the rest of the Gentiles" => mainly Gentile.

11:13-24 has many references to Gentiles.

-Fits the usual procedure of branching out from synagogues.

but

2:17-25 aims at the Jews in or in contact with the church.

-The Jews had been forced out of Rome in 49 AD, but probably started to return after 54 AD (when Claudius, who expelled them, died).

-Several named in the greetings (ch 16) are Jewish:

Priscilla, Aquila (v.3); Andronicus and Junias (v.7) and Herodion (v.11) are called Paul's kinsmen.

-R.A. Peterson suggests weak/strong distinction of Rom 14 is Jew/Gentile distinction re/ non-kosher meat.

#### 4. Date and Place of Writing Romans

##### a. Place: From Corinth

- Paul sketches his future plans in Rom 15:14ff.
- Has finished work in the East (from Palestine to Greece and Macedonia) and is getting ready to head to Jerusalem with the collection at the end of the 3rd MJ.
- Paul is aware of possible dangers in Judea.
  
- Towards end of 3rd MJ, Paul was mainly in Ephesus, then went up and around to Corinth.
- Concluding that Paul wrote from Corinth comes from names of 3 members of the Corinthian church in the greetings, Rom 15-16:
  - Phoebe (16:1), deaconess from Cenchrea, east port of Cor.;
  - Gaius (16:23), mentioned in 1 Cor. 1:14;
  - Erastus (16:23), the city treasurer (have evidence of pavement in Corinth laid by Erastus the *aedile*).
  
- Have greetings to Priscilla and Aquila (16:3), who were known at Corinth.

##### b. Date

- During the winter months before taking the offering to Jerusalem.
  
- Note references to a collection in Rom. 15:25-26, 1 Cor 16 and 2 Cor 9.
- This period is probably referred to in Acts 20:2-3.
- Probably written during the winter of 57-58 AD.

#### 5. Occasion of Romans

- a. Future visit. Paul planned to pass through Rome on the way to Spain (15:22ff). These plans were altered by his imprisonment, tho he finally reaches Rome in Acts 28.
  
- b. Phoebe is going. A recommendation for her and a good opportunity to send a letter.
  
- c. Clarify Gospel. Paul takes the opportunity to outline the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, perhaps in view of the possibility that he may not reach Rome (15:30-32; cp. Acts 20:22-24, 21:11-14) due to the dangers in Jerusalem.

6. Sketch Outline of Romans (scale: "|" = 1 chapter)  
 adapted from Walter Wessel, *NIV Study Bible*:

Intro & Theme	1:1-17
Unrighteousness of All Mankind	1:18-3:20
God's Righteousness Imputed: Justificatn	3:21-5:21
God's Righteousness Imparted: Sanctificatn	chs 6-8
God's Righteousness Vindicated: Prob of Israel's Rejection	9-11
God's Righteousness Practiced by Believr	12-15:13
Conclusion	15:14-33
Greetings	ch 16

7. The Integrity of Romans

a. Omission of chs. 15-16

Origen says Marcion modified his NT so that it did not have Romans 15-16.

-We have no extant manuscripts without these chapters.

-Not much attention would be given this except for:

b. Variant locations of doxology, 16:25-27

1) Some mss omit doxology.

2) Some include at end of ch. 14 (Byzantine lectionaries).

3) p<sup>46</sup> has it at end of ch. 15.

-See Metzger's *Textual Commentary* at 14:23 for discussion.

#### c. Theories of a Shorter Original

1) Only chs. 1-14 are original.

-Not widely held, even by liberals, because the break between 14 and 15 is strange:  
the first half of ch. 15 is strongly tied to ch. 14.

-There are some things in ch. 15 that Marcion would not like, so he might have removed both chapters. 15 and 16.

-Most who support this view claim that Paul made 2 eds., adding chs. 15-16 himself.

2) Ch. 16 was originally part of an Ephesian letter.

-Baur held that a version of Romans was sent to Ephesus and ch. 16 is a letter of commendation of Phoebe added to the Ephesus copy.

-Baur argued that orthodox view had Paul knowing too many people in Rome (c25 by name) if he had never been there.

-But given the importance of Rome and ease of travel, Paul could have known 25 people from his churches who had moved there.

-Baur: Priscilla and Aquila were left in Ephesus in Acts and are also there in Timothy (2 Tim 4:19). Why should we think they went to Rome in between?

#### d. Suggested Solution

1) Textual problem of doxology may reflect lectionary-type practices.

-Most lectionaries include the doxology at end of ch. 14.

-Was Jewish and Christian practice to read scripture as part of the service. Was important because people did not have their own copies.

-Jewish practice: have passage end on positive note.

e.g. For end of Malachi, went back and read a blessing from earlier in the book.

-Perhaps there was a similar practice in Christian circles.

Greetings and travel plans were omitted since they did not particularly edify those who did not know the people.

2) Did Romans end at ch. 14?

- Possibly a shorter version was circulating early, but more likely that Marcion shortened it (Origen) like he edited Luke's gospel.
- No extant manuscripts lack chs. 15-16.

3) Paul's greetings to 25 people.

- Paul's practice here is like that in Colossians where he greets those he knew.
- This would be impractical in a church where he had ministered and knew nearly everyone.
- Paul knew lots of people; many could have traveled or moved to Rome, just as many today move to NYC.
- Priscilla and Aquila could have had business in Rome so they would have gone back and forth from Ephesus.

C. Pauline Soteriology

- The doctrines concerning salvation
- Helpful to see terminology (actually figures) under which Paul develops these matters

1. Summary

a. Man's State:

Child of Adam/Satan - not explicit in Paul, but see 1 Cor 15:22; 2 Cor 11:14  
Criminal - Rom 5:16  
Darkened - Eph 5:8  
Dead - Eph 2:1  
Debtor - rare in Paul, Col 2:14  
Diseased - not in Paul, but elsewhere in OT, NT  
Enemy of God - Rom 5:10  
Endangered - Rom 1:18; 9:22  
Filthy - 1 Cor 6:11  
Slave of sin - Rom 7:14  
Unfit - Tit 1:16

b. Man's Salvation: pictured as remedies to above problems:

Salvation, Redemption, Pardon, Justification, Cleansing, Healing, Reconciliation,  
Adoption, Regeneration, Resurrection, Creation.

## 2. Pictures of Salvation

### a. **Salvation**: deliverance from danger

delivered from enemies: Eph 5:23; Col 1:13

delivered from wrath: Rom 1:16-18; 5:9; 1 Th 1:10

Christ takes God's wrath due us: Rom 4:25; 2 Cor 5:21

### b. **Redemption**: purchase from slavery

spiritual slavery: 1 Cor 6:20; 7:23

Christ as ransom price: Eph 1:7; 1 Tim 2:6

### c. **Pardon**: forgiveness of debt

two debtors: Luke 7:41-43

unmerciful servant: Matt 18:21-25

cancelling debt: Col 2:14

### d. **Justification**: declared innocent in court

by law: Rom 2:1-16, esp vv 2,11,13

by grace: Rom 3:19-31, esp vv 20,24,26

### e. **Cleansing**: washing off dirt

from guilt of sins: 1 Cor 6:9-11

as bride prepared for Christ: Eph 5:26-27

by washing of regeneration: Titus 3:5

### f. **Healing**: from disease

sin as disease: Ps 38:1-8; Isa 1:1-6; Jer 30:12-15

healing from sin: 2 Chron 7:14; Ps 41:4; Jer 30:15-17

Christ the healer: Isa 53:5; 1 Pet 2:24

### g. **Reconciliation**: ceasing to be enemies

sinner as enemies of God:

Ps 2, esp vv 2-3, 8-9,10,12: they hate Him, Rom 8:7-8

Ps 11:5: He hates them

reconciled by Christ: Rom 5:8-11; 2 Cor 5:18-20; Eph 2:12-22; Col 1:20-22

h. **Adoption:** of child into family

sinners as someone else's children: Hos 1; Jn 8:31-47; Eph 2:2-3; 1 Jn 3:8-10  
adopted by God: Gal 4:5-7; Rom 8:14-19,21,29

i. **Regeneration:** a second birth

unfit by nature: Ps 14:1-3; Jer 13:23; Rom 3:10-18  
born again: Jer 31:33-34; Ezk 11:19-20; Jn 3:3-8; Tit 3:5-6

j. **Resurrection:** from death

sin as death: Prov 2:18; 9:18; Lk 1:79; Rom 8:6; Eph 4:18  
raised from dead: Eph 2:1-7; Col 2:8-15

k. **Creation:** a new creature

unfit by nature: see "Regeneration" above  
a new creation: Ps 51:10; see Jer 31 and Ezk 11 under "Regeneration";  
2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15; Eph 2:10; 4:24; Col 3:9-10

**KEY BIBLICAL WORDS OF SALVATION**

KEY WORD	SIGNIFI- CANCE	PROBLEM	CHRIST: PERSON, WORK	RELATED: GOD	BELIEVER	XN LIFE
SALVA- TION	Delivered from danger	Enemies; coming wrath	Deliverer, rescuer	Deliverer, Ruler	Saved, subject	Safety
REDEMP- TION	Purchased from slavery	Slavery to sin & Satan	Purchase price	Buyer, Master	Freedman, slave	Freedom
PARDON	Forgiven a debt	Unpayable debt to God	Payment	Creditor	Debtor	Freedom from debt
JUSTIFI- CATION	Acquitted in court	Charged with crimes	Takes our punishment	Judge	Accused	Freedom fr punishment
CLEANS- ING	Washed from dirt	Filthy from sin	His blood cleanses	Launderer	Garment?	Restored to cleanliness
HEALING	Healed from disease	Diseased with sin	Physician, remedy	Physician	Patient	Restored to health
RECONCIL- IATION	Made friends from enemies	Enmity with God	Mediator	Agrieved	Enemy	Restored to fellowship
ADOPTION	Made son and heir	Child of Adam, Satan	Adoptive brother	Adoptive father	Adopted child	New status, new family
REGENE- RATION	Born a sec- ond time	By nature unfit	Second Adam	Father	Child	New life (eternal)
RESUR- RECTION	Made alive tho dead	Dead in sin	Raised with Christ	Makes alive	Made alive	New life (restored)
CREATION	Created anew	By nature unfit	Second Adam	Creator	Creature	New exist- encee



**SOME ADDITIONAL WORDS RE/ SALVATION**

KEY WORD	SIGNIFI- CANCE	PROBLEM	CHRIST: PERSON, WORK	RELATED: GOD	BELIEVER	XN LIFE
DONATION (GRACE)	Given what not earned	Sins earns death	Earned, gift	Giver	Receiver	Life as gift
SELECTION (ELEC- TION)	Chosen not on merit	Merit con- demnation	Merited Choice	Chooser	Chosen	Life as privilege
PROPITIATI ON	Accepted by sacrifice	Separation from God	Sacrifice	God	Sacrificer	Restored to fellowship
CIRCUM- CISION	Sinful flesh removed	Inherit sin thru flesh	Seed cut off	God	Circumcised	Circumcised heart
BAPTISM	Washed from sin	Sin as filth	Jesus' bap- tism, death	God	Baptized	Baptized w/ Holy Spirit
LORD'S SUPPER	Fellowship meal	Enmity with God	Reconciler, food of meal	God, Host	Partaker, guest	Fellowship continued

## **X. Exegesis of Controversy Passages**

### **A. What is a Controversy Passage?**

1. Obviously, a passage in which some controversy is the major feature. That is, some dispute is being argued for the benefit of the reader.
2. In the Acts or Gospels, this might be a narrative, or a dialogue, or a speech. In the Epistles, it will only rarely be narrative (e.g., Gal 2:11ff) because the NT letters have so little narrative material. It may be an imaginary dialogue, where the writer is stating and responding to possible (or real) objections from opponents (e.g., Rom 6:1ff; 1 Cor 15:35ff; Jas 4:13ff). Most commonly, though, in a letter, it will be an exposition or monologue responding to some error or threat from which the writer is concerned to protect his hearers.

### **B. Identifying a Controversy Passage**

1. Controversy passages are commonly a subclass of theological passages. They differ from other theological passages in having a sharper, more polemical tone.
2. They deal with subjects that we already know to have been controversial in the early church, either within (e.g., the judaistic controversy, gifts) or with opponents with whom the early church had extensive contact (Jews, pagans).

### **C. Exegeting a Controversy Passage**

1. The considerations listed for "Theological Passages" all apply.
2. In addition, we should particularly consider these:
  - a. Try to figure out, as best you can, where the opponents are coming from theologically or practically. Test out your ideas on the passage in view (and, with less certainty, to other passages that appear to be dealing with the same opponents).
  - b. How does the author of our passage respond to the opponents? What sort of items does he bring up? What kinds of appeals (to logic, authority, history) does he make?
  - c. How can we properly apply the teaching of this passage to our situation today? Do we know of some group or groups that share some of the errors that are being refuted here? If the overlap is only partial (as it usually will be), what parts of the author's argument are applicable are what parts are not?

- d. Can we learn anything from the passage about how we should argue with opponents, or perhaps how we should help Christians to see the errors of particular opponents (since the author is not here arguing directly with the opponent)?

## **XI. Paul's Prison Epistles and His Christology**

### **A. The Prison Epistles**

#### **1. Introduction**

##### **a. Name of Group**

Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon are called "prison epistles" because they all seem to be written from imprisonment, probably the same one.

Each letter gives definite indications of having been written from prison:

Eph. 3:1 "Paul, the prisoner of Christ Jesus"

4:1 "I, the prisoner of the Lord"

6:20 "I am an ambassador in chains"

Phil. 1:7 They shared "in my imprisonment"

1:13-14 "my imprisonment in Christ has become well-known throughout the whole praetorian guard"

Col. 4:3 "for which I have also been imprisoned"

4:10 "Aristarchus, my fellow prisoner"

4:18 "Remember my imprisonment."

Phlm. 1 "Paul, a prisoner of Christ Jesus"

9 "now also a prisoner of Christ Jesus"

10 "I have begotten in my imprisonment, Onesimus"

13 "minister to me in my imprisonment"

23 "Epaphras, my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus"

- "Prisoner of Christ Jesus" could be understood as "Paul was so overwhelmed by Jesus" that he is now a captive of Jesus rather than a captive of sin. But enough of the verses convey the idea of a physical imprisonment to indicate that the phrase means "prisoner because of Christ."

##### **b. Where were these epistles written from?**

-No explicit statement in them, but three suggestions have been offered:

1) Rome, the traditional view.

Phil. 1:13, 4:22 strongly suggest, but do not prove, Rome.

-1:13 The Praetorian guard functioned as a bodyguard for Caesar. Most were in Rome, but some were elsewhere.

-But *Praetorium* could also be a designation for the governor's palace.

-4:22 "Caesar's household" probably refers to his slaves.

Most were in Rome, some were at his other residences or scattered around the empire as spies on governors.

Church tradition, however, places all four letters during Paul's Acts 28 imprisonment at Rome.

-This was mild enough to allow visitors to come and go from Paul's rented house where was guarded but probably had access to such things as writing equipment.

One exception is the Marcionite prologues, which give places other than Rome.

-But we don't know if Marcion guessed or had valid data.

## 2) Caesarean imprisonment.

A rather rare view. Held by Lohmeyer. Paul's imprisonment in Caesarea (mentioned in Acts) lasted about 2 years.

Problems with view:

a) Was this imprisonment open enough for Paul to write letters and send them with visitors?

-Because of the plot to assassinate Paul, they would have been careful about visitors.

-Eph. 6:19-20 and Col. 4:3-4 refer to preaching, which seems to fit a looser imprisonment like in Rome.

b) Paul's plans in Caesarea do not fit with statements in the letters.

Phil. 2:24 Paul plans to get out and go to Philippi.

Phlm. 22 Paul hopes for an early release and then he would go to Colossae.

But in Acts 23:11, before the Caesarean imprisonment, Paul knows that he will testify in Rome.

c) Onesimus, a runaway slave from Asia Minor, met Paul who was in prison and was converted.

-Hardly likely that he would go to Caesarea.

-Ephesus and Rome were big cities in which one could "get lost" easily. Rome was the biggest city in the world; Ephesus was the capital of the province.

3) Ephesus - for (at least) all but Ephesians.

Popular in liberal circles, but not limited to liberals.

Held by Adolf Deissmann, also George Duncan., *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry*.

No explicit statement that Paul was ever in prison in Ephesus, but these assume an imprisonment during 3rd MJ.

a) Evidence from NT for an Ephesian imprisonment.

2 Cor. 11:23 In dealing with the Judaizers, Paul boasts that he has been "in far more imprisonments" than his opponents. But at this point in the narrative in Acts, only one imprisonment (Philippi) has been mentioned.

=> Acts did not record all of Paul's imprisonments.

1 Cor. 15:32 "I fought with wild beasts at Ephesus."

If taken literally, then Paul would have been in prison before he went into the arena.

2 Cor. 1:8-10 Trouble in Asia, God delivers from death.

Figurative of severe problem or literal?

Supernatural deliverance?

Rom. 16:3-4 Priscilla and Aquila risk their necks for his life.

They were with Paul in Ephesus.

3rd century tradition: Paul was thrown to a lion in the arena at Ephesus, but the lion licked Paul's feet. (But this doesn't sound like "fighting" wild beasts.)

Building still in Ephesus is called "Paul's prison."

Marcionite prologue to Colossians (2nd cent., perhaps from Marcion) says "apostle when bound wrote from Ephesus."

b) Objections to Ephesus as place of writing.

(1) If all these spectacular things happened in Ephesus, why does Luke ignore them for a "mere" riot?

(2) An Ephesian imprisonment may have occurred, but that is still not evidence for Ephesus being the place of writing of these letters.

-In fact, it raises problems for the letter to Ephesians.

(3) Letters to Colossians and Ephesians are closely connected => written at same time.  
See below.

c. Date and order of writing

1) As a group, the dating depends on the imprisonment (place of writing):

Rome, 61-63 AD [best].

Caesarea, 58-60 AD.

Ephesus, 54-57 AD [during 3rd MJ].

2) Within the group of prison epistles, relative dates difficult to determine.

-3 of the 4 are closely associated, probably written within a few days and sent via the same messenger.

a) Colossians and Philemon are closely associated.

-Onesimus is mentioned in and accompanies both letters.

Col. 4:9, Phlm 10 [whole epistle is about Onesimus].

-Both note that Archippus (apparently a church leader) is in some sense a recipient of each letter:

Col. 4:17 -- an indirect recipient: "tell Archippus"

Phlm. 2 -- is one of 3 named in the address.

-Were probably delivered at the same time, so order of writing is immaterial.

b) Colossians and Ephesians are also closely associated.

-Contents are very similar (see later) in being strongly Christological.

-Col. is polemic, Eph. is relaxed. Cp. relation of Gal (polemic), Rom (relaxed) on soteriology.

-Both refer to Tychicus as if he were the messenger

(Col. 4:7-8; Eph. 6:21 both very similar phrasing) who also had some authority to fill in further details.

-Thus it appears that Tychicus carried Eph/Col/Phlm on the same trip and was accompanied

by Onesimus.

c) Philippians is separate from the others.

- Appears to be written on a different occasion, but can't tell if this was earlier or later than the others.
- Both Phil. 2:24 and Phlm 22 refer to Paul's hope to be released soon, implying a date near the end of his imprisonment.
- Phil. 2:23-24 mentions imprisonment, but it appears Paul has not had a trial yet, or is waiting to hear the results of a hearing.
- If the hearing resulted in his release, then Phil. is probably later than the others (so Wm. Park Armstrong).
- Lightfoot, however, puts Phil. before the others.
- Newman doesn't think we really know.

## 2. Ephesians

### a. City of Ephesus

- Had been founded by early Greeks who settled on the coast, perhaps as early as c1000 BC (Mycenean period).
- The major trade city of Asia in the last few cent. BC.
- In NT times, the city was well past its prime but still important;  
main problem was silting of harbor because the city was at the mouth of a river.
- The site was finally abandoned partly due to this problem. It is several miles inland today.
- Had the Temple of Artemis (Roman name, Diana) which was rebuilt in Alexander's time and was considered one of the 7 wonders of the world (with Hanging Gardens of Babylon, Lighthouse at Alexandria, Pyramids, Statue bridging harbor at Rhodes).
- This made Ephesus a major tourist city at NT times (seen in the merchant riot in Acts over business being hurt).
- Paul spent 3 years here on the 3rd MJ, was briefly here at end of the 2nd MJ.

### b. Destination of Ephesian letter



1) Textual variant in 1:1 - presence or absence of  $\text{ἐν Ἐφέσῳ}$

- Have an important textual variant, omitting "in Ephesus" in manuscripts p<sup>46</sup> (oldest extant Pauline MSS),  $\alpha$ , B, and 2 others.
- Phrase is added in 1:1 to  $\alpha$  and B by later scribes.
- The phrase seems to be unknown to the earliest church fathers.
- However, no manuscripts give another city as recipient.

2) Content is peculiar.

- Although Paul had worked in Ephesus 3 years, the letter does not say anything very personal.
- Eph. 1:15 "I heard of your faith" suggests Paul has not yet been there, yet Paul started the church in Ephesus.

3) Marcion identified this letter with the one "to the Laodiceans."

- Col. 4:16 does mention a letter sent to the Laodiceans at about the same time as Col.
- Don't know if Eph. is really Laod. or if Marcion guessed.

4) Must account for the widespread occurrence of "in Ephesus" in all but 5 manuscripts.

5) Three possible solutions:

a) Was originally sent to Ephesus, but the name was lost in an important early copy.

- This solves the textual problem 1) and Marcion 3) if we assume he had one of the defective copies and was guessing from Col. 4:16

- Does not handle the content problem 2).

b) Was sent to some other single church.

- Even less satisfactory, as we must assume a complete loss (incl forgetting) of original destination and replacement by another location.

c) Was a circular (encyclical) letter, of which Ephesus was the most important recipient church.

- Copies sent out to neighboring churches from Ephesus would naturally have "Ephesus" omitted or substituted.

- This solves 1) through 4) if we assume the letter also went to churches Paul had not visited.
- Do wonder why all other addresses were lost.
- Perhaps the Laodicean letter was a copy of Ephesians.
- In favor of this suggestion, note that Paul took the letter from the Jerusalem Council around to more than its addressed churches, and also instructed Colosse and Laodicea to trade letters.

### c. Authorship of Ephesians

- authorship most disputed of any Pauline epistles outside the Pastorals, especially due to E.J. Goodspeed's theory. [least disputed: Rom, Gal, 1 & 2 Cor]  
[most disputed: Pastorals, Eph., (Heb.)]

#### 1) Arguments against Pauline authorship.

- a) The features mentioned above which don't fit Ephesus.
  - Goodspeed uses the arguments above against Ephesus destination as against Paul as author.
- b) Thinks the style is unlike Paul: structure of letter, very long sentences, unique words compared with Romans.

Goodspeed's proposed solution (positive reconstruction):

- Argues that Paul was forgotten during the Roman persecutions (from Paul's death to c90 AD).
- A friend, perhaps Onesimus (bishop by that name could be same person as slave), writes Eph. as an introduction to the collection he has gathered from various churches.

Most liberals follow Goodspeed's anti-Pauline arguments but do not like his reconstruction.

#### 2) Arguments for Pauline authorship.

- a) Uniform church tradition says the letter is by Paul.
  - Not excluded in any canon, even Marcion's.
  - Evidence for its early, continuous and wide-spread use by the church as good as for any Pauline epistle: e.g.
    - Ignatius' letter to Polycarp 5 (Eph 5:25,29)
    - Polycarp 1:3 (Eph 2:5,8,9); 12:1 (Eph 4:26)
    - Barnabas 6:11 (Eph 2:10, 4:22-24).

b) The author claims to be Paul (1:1, 3:1).

- Hard on any "friend" theory; must be a forgery.

- Liberals try to avoid the ethics problem this raises by saying this was common practice, etc.

- But evidence from early church is that they were very angry with people who messed with the Scriptures (deposed the elder who wrote "Paul and Thecla"; cf. 2 Thes. 2:2, 3:17).

c) The style is similar to Paul's: close to Colossians.

d) Ref. to Tychicus in 6:21 very similar to Col. 4:17.

e) Goodspeed's "positive" suggestion is very speculative.

- Hard to see how Eph. functions as an introduction.

- Eph is never placed first in any MSS of the Pauline eps.

- Romans has far better introductory content.

- Style is largely influenced by (1) subject matter, (2) vocabulary, (3) mood, (4) random variation, (5) use of an amanuensis or co-author.

d. Contents of Ephesians.

1) A general presentation of Christian truth, with emphasis on the person of Christ.

- Parallel to Colossians, but not polemic.

- Col/Eph forms pair like Gal/Rom: 1 polemic, 1 systematic

2) Called the "epistle of the heavenlies" due to frequent use of term *φουράνιος*

(1:3,20; 2:6; 3:10; 6:12). Most of the other NT occurrences are in 1 Cor. 15 and Heb.

## 3) Sketch Outline of Ephesians.

Adapted from Liefeld, *NIV Study Bible*. Scale: "|" = 10 vv

-----		}	
Glory/Headship of X	1:1-14	}	
-----	----	}	
Prayer for Growth	1:15-23	}	BASICALLY
-----	----	}	
Salvation by Grace	2:1-10	}	
-----		}	DOCTRINE
Jew/Gentile 1 in X	2:11-22	}	
-----		}	
God's Wisd in Ch	3:1-13	}	
-----		}	
Prayer for Depth	3:14-21	}	
-----		}	
Be United & Mature	4:1-16	]	
-----		]	
Live as	4:17-5:20	]	BASICALLY
Children of Light		]	
-----		]	EXHORTATION
Proper Authority	5:21-6:9	]	
Relationships		]	
-----		]	
Stand in Conflict	6:10-23	]	
-----		]	

## 3. Colossians

## a. The City of Colosse

## 1) Importance of City

- Unusual among epistles as only moderate-sized city (contrast Rome, Corinth, Thessalonica, Ephesus).
- Paul apparently started churches in major centers to facilitate spread of Gospel.
- Located about 100 miles East of Ephesus on the main road through Asia Minor.
- Colosse is in the same valley with two cities Hierapolis and Laodicea, both larger than it is.
- Laodicea is most important of the three.

## 2) Diversity of Population

- Was originally Phrygian.
- When the Seleucids took over the area c200 BC, Antiochus 3 brought in some Jews from Babylonia, along with Greeks, to be loyal citizens.
- Had been Roman colony since Rome entered Asia Minor.

## 3) The Church

- Apparently founded by Epaphras (1:7), probably one of Paul's converts and/or an associate.
- We know from inscriptions that Epaphras is short for "Epaphroditus," but the one mentioned in NT (Php 2:25; 4:18) is probably a different person.
- Paul has apparently not visited this church at the time Colossians was written (1:4 C has only heard of their faith; 2:1 refers to those who have not seen his face).
- Was probably founded during Paul's activity in Ephesus for 2 years on his 3rd MJ (Acts 19:10 C "all who lived in Asia heard the word").
- Philemon was apparently one of Paul's converts (Phlm 19) during this time. Some think he Was from Colosse, but Laodicea also a possibility.

## b. Occasion of the Letter

- Epaphras had come to Rome (4:12) to inform Paul of the situation in Colosse.
- Things are apparently going well in the church (see the positive notes in 1:3ff, 2:5).
- But as the letter goes on, there appears to be an external danger of heretical doctrines, perhaps beginning to have an influence on church.
- Not sure if Epaphras came on a special trip for advice on the situation or if he had completed his assignment at Colosse and come back for another one.
- Note that in Galatians the danger is more internal and Paul writes with a sterner tone than here.
- Various commentators think the heresy involved some type of Essene or pre-Gnostic teaching (Gnosticism itself peaked in the 2nd century) or some combination of pagan and Jewish elements.
- The features given in Colossians fit Essene interests best:
  - 1) Jewish ceremonial rites and calendars (2:11?, 2:16).
  - 2) Asceticism (2:20-23).
  - 3) Worship of angels (2:18).

-If genitive taken as objective (heretics worship angels), no known groups fit this.

-If genitive subjective (heretics interested in how angels worship), fits Essenes very well.

4) Visions (2:18).

5) Some lesser place for the Messiah (2:19).

c. Sketch Outline of Colossians (scale: "|" = 10 verses)

-----			
Introduction	1:1-14	}	
-----		}	
Person, Work of X	1:15-23	}	MOSTLY
-----		}	
Paul's Labor for Ch	1:24-2:7	}	DOCTRINAL
-----		}	
Response to Heresy	2:8-23	}	
-----		}	
Be Holy	3:1-4:6	]	MOSTLY
-----		]	
Personal Matters	4:7-18	]	EXHORTATION
-----		]	

4. Philemon

-This is the shortest letter we have from Paul.

a. Background

-Connected with Colossians by the mention of Onesimus and Archippus.

-Philemon is a slave owner and possibly a member of the church in Colosse (Col. 4:9 calls Onesimus "one of your number"); although he could be in the Laodicean church.

-Archippus seems to be the leader in Laodicea (Col. 4:17).

-Philemon's slave Onesimus ran away to the place where Paul is (probably Rome, where it was easy to get lost in the crowd).

-Perhaps Onesimus was found accidentally by Tychicus or Epaphras (Christians from home who feel obligated to return him) and they take him to Paul. Or possibly Onesimus sought out Paul for help.



- Onesimus comes into contact with Paul at a crisis situation in his life (the punishment for runaway slaves was not a big home-coming party) and he is converted by Paul (Phlm. 10).
- Paul would have liked to have kept Onesimus in Rome, but instead sends him back to Phlm. with a letter.

b. Contents

- Paul is very courteous, but he makes a big request.
- Since Onesimus is now a Christian, Paul requests that Philemon treat him as a brother like Paul (15-17).
- As Xian masters were to treat Xian slaves as brothers, Paul is probably asking for something more C at least mercy to runaway, prob that Phlm free Onesimus (v 21).
- Paul notes that Phlm owes Paul his eternal life in an indirect, human sense (v.19).
- Offers to repay any expense which Onesimus incurred (stealing money to escape, etc.), but does not condone his sin (v.18-19).
- Here we see the great change which Christianity brought to the ancient world regarding slavery.
- Only a few Stoics believed in the equality of all men, and that only theoretically.
- See that slaves and masters have an equal standing in the church and before God (some bishops even were slaves).
- Slavery was mitigated by the early Christian emperors from Constantine to Justinian.
- Christianity is distinctive in that it deals with social problems from the inside out (setting an example, changing people's hearts), rather than by agitating for change, revolution, or litigation.

Outline of Philemon:

Huddleston, <i>Acrostic Bible</i>	Werner, <i>NIV Study Bible</i>
L Love of Philemon praised (1-7)	Greetings (1-3)
O Onesimus becomes a Xian (8-14)	Thanks & Prayer (4-7)
V Vindic. of Paul's request (15-20)	Paul's Plea (8-21)
E Expected visit by Paul (21-25)	Request & Closing (22-25)



## 5. Philippians

### a. City of Philippi

- Was a chief city of Macedonia, but not capital of Roman province of Macedonia (which was Thessalonica) nor of region.
- Ranks second from the bottom in size, importance among cities Paul wrote letters to (just above Colosse).
- Was the site of the battle where Augustus and Mark Antony defeated assassins of Julius Caesar (Brutus, Cassius, etc.; recall Shakespeare's play) about 100 years earlier.
- Had been made a Roman colony by decree of Augustus, so that its citizens were considered "Italians."
- Italian citizenship was 2nd only to Roman citizenship.
- The Philippians were clearly proud of this status, as seen in Acts 16:21-23 (charging Paul's teaching as un-Roman).
- The beating Paul received here was the typical Roman type (lictors, rods, etc.).
- Paul seems to make use of this pride in the Philippian letter:
  - 1:27 -- "conduct yourselves" is πολιτεύεσθε.  
Literally means "live as citizens" => citizens typically had better behavior than the non-citizen residents.
  - 3:20 -- "our citizenship (πολίτευμα) is in heaven," not merely Rome.
- Ramsay thinks Luke was a native of Philippi who came into contact with Paul at Troas and brought him to Philippi.
- Thinks Luke was student at the famous medical school there.
- Tradition, however, has Luke a native of Antioch.
- The "we-passages" in Acts hint that Luke stayed behind in Philippi on the 2nd MJ, perhaps to take charge of the work.
- Apparently there was no synagogue in Philippi since, according to Luke's narration, Paul went to a "place of prayer" (προσευχή) rather than a synagogue (συναγωγή).
- The term here is applied to a Jewish meeting place (tho can refer to a pagan shrine).
- However, term is *sometimes* used for synagogue; but Luke uses "synagogue" elsewhere in Acts.
- Some think the Jewish population there was not big enough to form a full synagogue (minimum of 10 men necessary).

b. Church of Philippi

1) Acts mentions 3 converts:

Lydia - saved - Jew

Jailer - saved - Gentile

Slave girl - not explicitly said she was saved, but it is usually assumed that she was.

-Probably there were only a few Jews in the congregation.

2) Occasion for the letter related to church there.

Philippians have sent Paul a gift while he was in jail.

This letter serves as a thank-you note, but is more.

Phil. 1:5 "your participation in the gospel" is Paul's common expression for financial help.

Phil. 4:10-18 shows their generosity: "share in my affliction"; "you sent (a gift) more than once  
for my needs."

c. Sketch Outline of Philippians (scale: | = 10 verses)

Most noted theme: Christ's example of humility and his subsequent exaltation (ch. 2).

-----	
Introduction (Thanksgiving)	1:1-11
-----	
Paul's Imprisonment	
Advances Gospel	1:12-26
-----	
Exhortations,	
especially to humility	1:27-2:18
-----	
Timothy, Epaphroditus Coming	2:19-30
-----	
Warnings    Judaizers 3:1-14	
against    -----	3:1-4:1
Heresy    Libertines 3:15-4:1	
-----	
Final Exhortations	4:2-9
-----	
Thanks for Gift, Closing	4:10-20
-----	



## B. Pauline Christology

- Doctrines regarding the person & work of Christ
- See Robert A. Peterson, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Atonement*  
and Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of his Theology*, ch 2

### 1. Person of Christ

**Christ** - usual term in Paul, almost used as name

Acts 9:22 - Paul proving Jesus is Christ  
Acts 17:2 - Christ must suffer & Jesus is Christ  
Rom 1:1-3 - prophecies re/ Jesus, son of David

**Lord** - also standard title in Paul  
(his usual Trinitarian formula is God, Lord, Spirit)

Rom 1:4 - Jesus Christ our Lord  
Php 2:11 - confess that Jesus is Lord  
Col 3:22-24 - Jesus as Lord analogy in master-slave relation

**Son of God** (or God as Jesus' Father)

Rom 1:4 - declared Son of God by resurrection  
Gal 4:4 - sent forth his Son  
Col 1:13 - God's beloved Son  
1 Th 1:10 - to wait for his Son from heaven

**Image of God** - related to second Adam theme?

2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15

**Firstborn** - prob related to heir, inheritance (Rom 8:17)

Rom 8:29 - firstborn among many brothers  
Col 1:15 - firstborn of every creature  
Col 1:18 - firstborn from among dead

**Head** - prob authority term, from analogy of body

1 Cor 11:3 - of every man  
Eph 5:23; Col 1:18 - of church

**God** - term usually reserved for Father

Rom 9:5 - God over all

Php 2:6 - in very nature God

Tit 2:13 - great God & Savior Jesus Christ

**Creator** - activity distinguished from Father's

1 Cor 8:6 - *by* whom all things

Col 1:16-17 - all things created *by* & *for* him

**Judge**

Rom 2:16 - God will judge by Jesus Christ

1 Cor 4:4-5 - when he comes

2 Tim 4:1, 8 - will judge living & dead

Rom 14:10; 2 Cor 5:10 - all will appear before judgment seat of Christ

Some Significant Christological Terms not in Paul:

Prophet

Priest

King - shows up indirectly in ref to kingdom, ruling

Shepherd

2. Work of Christ - here mainly his atoning work

**Savior** - very commonly used; examined under Soteriology

Acts 13:23 - God brought to Israel a Savior

Eph 5:23 - Savior of his body, the church

Php 3:20-21 - we await a Savior from heaven

**Sacrifice** - using picture of sacrificial system

1 Cor 5:7 - Christ our passover

Eph 5:2 - gave himself up as a sacrifice

**Legal Substitute** - using picture of justification

Rom 3:21-26 - justified by his righteousness

Gal 3:10-14 - became a curse for us

**Victor** - using warfare analogy

1 Cor 15:51-58 - over death  
Col 2:15 - over Satanic powers

**Obedient Second Adam** - using new creation analogy

Rom 5:12-21 - his obedience makes many righteous  
1 Cor 15:21-22 - made alive in him, cancelling death from Adam  
1 Cor 15:45-49 - founds new race like Adam did

**Example** - his life a guide for ours (elder brother, teacher?)

Rom 15:1-3 - pleasing others  
2 Cor 8:9 - gracious  
Eph 5:2, 25 - love  
Php 2:2-11 - selflessness, humility, obedience

## **XII. Exegesis of Exhortation Passage**

A. What is an Exhortation Passage?

1. Obviously, a passage in which the major feature is exhortation.
2. Exhortation is an abstract noun for the act of urging people to take some particular action, to think some specific way, to have certain attitudes, or to be some definite sort of person.
3. Since the Scripture is urging us to become better, more godly people, the exhortations will be toward positive behavior and attitudes.

B. Recognizing an Exhortation Passage

1. Since the writer is urging his readers to take certain sorts of action, these passages are characterized by an unusually large number of exhortation forms. These consist of imperatives ("Do this!" Chapman-Shogren, *Greek NT Insert*, 39-40), prohibitions ("Don't do this!" C-S, 40-41), hortatory subjunctives ("Let us do this!" C-S, 23), and volitive futures ("You shall/shall not do this" C-S, 27).
2. In the typical letter format used in the NT, Paul often has his exhortations grouped after the body of the letter (or as the second part of the body, according to some commentators). The writer of Hebrews, by contrast, intersperses his exhortations

in short sections at the end of each teaching section, though he also has an exhortation section after he has finished the teaching. James and Peter intersperse their exhortations with their teaching.

### C. Exegeting an Exhortation Passage

1. In general, the same principles apply as sketched in our section on "Exegeting Theological Passages" above.
2. In addition, some items to look for especially in exhortation passages:
  - a. What specific actions, thoughts, attitudes, or personal attributes is the author urging his readers to have?
  - b. What means or techniques is the author using to move his readers in this direction? Promises? Threats? Illustrations? Examples?
  - c. How do our circumstances resemble or differ from those of the author's original readers? How might these affect the question of whether or not these exhortations apply to us?
  - d. What can we learn from the author's techniques of exhortation that will make us better exhorters?

### D. Word Studies

#### 1. Goals of a Word Study

- a. Find the basic meaning(s) of the word and its range of meaning.
- b. Want to catch distinctions author is making in a particular passage; don't want to be making distinctions he wasn't!

#### 2. Method of a Word Study

- a. Ideal: Talk to Paul himself, or at least an educated Greek of Paul's time!
- b. Necessary Substitutes:
  - (1) Etymology (derivation of word's meaning from its original meaning or meaning of its component parts): OK as first approximation or as last resort, but may be misleading (e.g., railroad, manufacture).
  - (2) Modern Greek Speaker: May be very helpful or may be misleading (cp. problems with consulting a modern English speaker for the meaning of the KJV words: leasing, prevent).
  - (3) Usage of word in NT: This is the best source, but for rare words it may be insufficient.

- (4) Usage in other ancient Greek works: Gives best idea of meaning of word in society at that time (if samples chosen properly).

c. Some Pitfalls to Avoid

- (1) Don't confuse the meaning of a word with its use (e.g., "Hellenist" in Acts 6:1; 9:29; 11:20). Consider how you use "brother" in your family and outside.
- (2) Don't carry the connotations of a word or even its whole range of meaning into every use. Technical term for this error is "illegitimate totality transfer." A common problem with modern commentators for *allos/heteros* and *agapao/phileo*.
- (3) Don't read the teaching of the NT on a particular concept into the meaning of the Greek word. *Agapao* is a good example here.



### **XIII. The Pastoral Epistles and the Last Days of Paul**

#### **A. The Pastoral Epistles**

So named because these are letters to individual pastors.

-Philemon is the only other Pauline epistle written to an individual rather than a church, and that includes three recipients in address, one of whom may be their pastor.

#### **1. Recipients**

##### **a. Timothy**

Mentioned by name 24 times in NT, more than most of the apostles (some only in apostle lists, 4 times).

##### **1) His family**

Acts 16:1 Paul "came to Derbe and Lystra" and met "Timothy, the son of a Jewish woman who was a believer, but his father was a Greek."

2 Tim. 1:5 "the sincere faith within you, which first dwelt in your grandmother Lois, and your mother Eunice"

-Paul speaks here as if he knew Timothy's mother and grandmother personally.

Timothy is apparently from Lystra (Acts 16:1-2), of mixed parentage, with a Christian mother and grandmother, but probably his father was not a Christian.

##### **2) His connection with Paul**

-Converted by him? 1 Tim. 1:2 "my true child in faith."

-Ordained by a body of elders (presumably at Lystra) which Paul had established on 1st MJ (Acts 14:21-23).

1 Tim. 4:14, 2 Tim. 1:6 - "laying on of hands."

-Probably when Tim was commissioned to go with Paul on 2nd MJ (Acts 16:2-3).

-Circumcised by Paul because of Jews in area of work.

Acts 16:3 The Jews knew Timothy had a Greek father.

-This appears to be the earliest reference to the Talmudic provision that if a child has a Jewish mother, then he is considered Jewish.

- In rabbinic law, he would be considered apostate if he was not circumcised.
- Don't know how NT views these points, but Paul probably circumcised him so that he would not be considered apostate by Jews. (Paul will not circumcise Titus, a full Gentile).

-Accompanied Paul on 2nd and 3rd MJ.

-With Paul at some time during 1st Roman imprisonment  
("co-author" of Philippians, Colossians).

-Put in charge of church at Ephesus.

1 Tim. 1:3 -- "remain on at Ephesus".

-A large city and church, a major responsibility.

-Don't know Timothy's exact age, but pictured as young.

-1 Tim. was written in 63 or later, after 1st imprisonment.

-This was c13-14 years after Tim first went out with Paul on 2nd MJ. Was no younger than late teens on 2<sup>nd</sup> MJ, so is probably in his 30's when at Ephesus.

### 3) His later activities

Mentioned in Heb. 13:23 as having been in prison.

Tradition: Timothy was in charge of the church at Alexandria in later years.

### b. Titus

Mentioned by name 13 times in NT.

#### 1) Possibly a brother of Luke.

-Titus was a major figure in Pauline Epistles as an associate of Paul, so it is surprising that he is never mentioned in Acts.

-Souter and others suggest a parallel situation to that in Gospel of John, where John (author) and his brother James are not mentioned by name, perhaps so as not to draw attention to themselves.

-Possible support from 2 verses where the article "the" could be understood as "his" => Titus has a brother active in the ministry.

-Greek often leaves out the possessive if reference is obvious.

2 Cor. 12:18 "I urged Titus to go, and sent **his** brother with him."

2 Cor. 8:18 "we sent along with him **his** brother"

- But note 8:22 "we have sent with them **our** brother"  
=> earlier reference could be just to a spiritual brother.

## 2) Greek nationality.

- Gal. 2:3 Paul refused to have Titus circumcised.  
-word "Greek" here may mean "non-Jew" rather than strict ethnic Greek.

Tradition: Luke was from Antioch, so Titus (if brother) would be too. Could be ethnically either Syrian or Greek.

## 3) Paul's liason with Corinth.

- Replaced Timothy. Goes to Corinth after Paul's unpleasant visit and "letter of many tears" to find out if Corinthians will repent, reports good news to Paul (2 Cor. 2:13, 7:6,13,14, 8:6,16,23, 12:18).

## 4) Later in charge of church on Crete - Titus 1:5

- Crete served as a bridge between Greece, Asia Minor, and North Africa.

## 2. Authenticity of Pastoral Epistles

- a. Viewed as non-Pauline by (most) liberals.  
Four lines of argument:

### 1) Historical argument

- References to activities in the Pastorals do not fit into Acts' framework.
  - e.g. leaving cloak, Timothy being in charge at Ephesus.
  - Liberals and conservatives agree on this.
  - But rather than concluding that Acts does not record all of Paul's movements, liberals conclude that these events did not occur.
  - They often deny Paul had a 2nd Roman imprisonment.
  - They assume that Acts covers everything up to the only Roman imprisonment Paul ever had, during which he died.

### 2) Ecclesiastical argument

- Church polity in 1 Tim. 3 and Titus 1:5ff is allegedly too advanced and refined for Paul's time.
  - Does not fit liberal evolutionary model to have elders, deacons, qualifications for office, this early.

- Liberals think the organization of the early church was "charismatic": those who had the spirit ran the church; no elections were held.

### 3) Doctrinal argument

The heresy attacked in Timothy (esp. in 1 Tim) is allegedly fully-developed Gnosticism.

- 2 terms used in 1 Tim. 6:20 are claimed to be distinctively Gnostic:

γν<sup>TM</sup>σις = knowledge, as a way of salvation.

□ντίθεσις = contradiction, opposing argument.

- F.C. Baur saw here a veiled reference to Marcion's book *Antitheses*, written c140 AD, in which he contrasts the God of the OT with the God of the NT.

- But hardly any liberals give such a late date to 1 Timothy any more.
- Most feel Gnosticism developed after Paul, by 100 or so.
- Some place development earlier, during his lifetime.

### 4) Linguistic argument - felt to be strongest

The style of the Pastoral Epistles does not match the style of the "real" Pauline Epistles.

#### a) Some Proponents

Early: P.N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, 1921.

Recent: A.Q. Morton, *Christianity in the Computer Age*, 1964.

*Paul: the Man and the Myth*, 1966.

#### b) Harrison's Lexical Argument

- 1/ Counted words which occurred in the Pastoral Epistles, but not elsewhere in Pauline writings.

- Found 36% of Pastorals' vocabulary was not in other 10.  
= 306 of the 848 word vocabulary.
- 175 of these occur only once in whole NT, 131 occur in other non-Pauline writings in NT.
- Conversely, many words found in the other 10 Pauline Epistles are not in Pastorals = 1635.  
-582 of these only in 10 letters, 1053 elsewhere in NT.

- 2/ Many minor parts of speech (particles, prepositions) are clearly Pauline but rarely occur in Pastorals.

3/ Language of Pastorals is rather close to that of the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

- Harrison's arguments convince many liberals (who did not need much to convince them) because the Pastorals do not fit the Acts framework, and accepting the traditional view of the Pastorals hurts their attempts to reconstruct an early ecclesiology different than that of NT.
- Yet even some liberals were suspicious of his arguments, because the subject matter of the Pastorals is different from the other 10 Pauline letters (and subject matter can effect vocabulary rather drastically).
- Substantial differences in vocabulary could be due to different audiences (a church [mainly laypeople] vs. a mature full-time Christian worker).
- So others have tried to strengthen Harrison's arguments.

#### c) Morton's Syntax Argument

1/ Seeks to answer the claim that subject matter has influenced style and vocabulary.

-He agrees, so he uses computer to analyze the syntax rather than vocabulary.

-Tests very common features:

(1) sentence length,

(2) frequency of 5 of the 6 most common Greek words:

καί, δέ, ον, α↔τός, εὐμί

[The def. article is the most common word but Morton did not find it helpful].

2/ As a control, uses ancient writers of homogeneous, continuous Greek prose.

-chooses the 5 words above as those which give results consistent with modern scholarly consensus on authorship for these Classical authors.

-e.g., compare works of disputed and known authorship by author like Aristotle to find standards.

3/ Finds that the 14 letters ascribed to Paul (including Hebrews) fall into 7 (!) groups:

(1) Romans, 1 & 2 Cor., Gal, and (possibly) Phlm. (which is too short for meaningful statistics).

-These are F.C. Baur's "Hauptbriefe" (chief epistles).

(2) Hebrews

(3) Ephesians

(4) Philippians

(5) Colossians

(6) 1 & 2 Thessalonians

(7) 1 & 2 Timothy, and (most likely) Titus.

b. Pastorals accepted as Pauline by conservatives (and a few liberals).

-Responding to the above arguments:

1) Historical

-There is reason to believe that Paul was released from his 1st imprisonment in Acts and that the Pastorals were written after that time:

a) NT evidence

Acts 28:21 -- when Paul meets with the Jewish leaders in Rome (4 months after leaving Caesarea), they have not received any instructions for pursuing his case.

⇒ The Jews in Judea probably thought it was a lost cause to press charges before the Emperor since Festus and Agrippa thought Paul was innocent. So doubt if they sent a delegation to Rome to charge Paul themselves.

-The Jews originally thought they could get Paul on the charge of desecrating the Temple (bringing in a Gentile).

-When they collected witnesses, they found they could not substantiate the claim.

-Was dangerous to bring flimsy charges before the Emperor as he did not appreciate people wasting court time or harassing Roman citizens; he might well have you executed.

-In Roman law, unless plaintiffs showed up to press charges, the state would not act (except for cases like treason, etc.). After allowing time for someone or some letter to show up (perhaps the 2 year wait?), Paul would have been released.

Acts 28:30-31 -- neither here nor elsewhere in Acts does one find the Roman government hostile to Christianity.

-There would be no reason for Rome to prosecute Paul as a criminal before the Roman Fire of 64 AD.

-Thus, if Paul's trial came up before the fire, he would have been released.

In the prison epistles, Paul looks forward to getting out soon (see Phil. 2:24; Phlm. 22).

-Note the contrast with the 2nd imprisonment:

compare Phil. 3:13-14 with 2 Tim. 4:7-8

b) Church tradition indicates that Paul was released and went to Spain.

-This would have to be after his 1st imprisonment.

1 Clem. 5 (Rome, 95 AD): "Paul ... traveled as far as the western boundary"

-Spain was the W boundary of the Empire and known world.

Muratorian Canon (Italy, 170-190 AD): "Paul's departure from the city as he was proceeding to Spain."

Eusebius, *Eccl History* 2.22 (325 AD): "then after his defense, there is the report that the apostle

then set forth to his ministry, and entering the city a 2nd time, he was put to death."

Jerome, *Illustrious Men* (c 400): says Paul was dismissed by Nero and he preached Christ's gospel in the West.

-The later of these comments could well be guesses based upon Paul's statements in Romans. However, Clement is early enough to know what really happened, and he writes from Rome.

-If Paul was released and headed West, he likely went East first to check out his churches. Thus the Pastorals can easily be Pauline as far as historical argument is concerned.

## 2) Ecclesiastical Argument

-The liberals find the leadership structure in the Pastorals too elaborate for their models.

-They start with a totally charismatic organization which was gradually replaced by elected officials.

But even in Acts 14:23 (at end of 1st MJ, c50 AD) see Paul appointing elders in churches. He presumably had some standards for this. Even if not, he had 15 years to develop some stds. before writing the Pastorals.

-In fact, the church structure seen in the Pastorals argues *against* a late date, as there is no sign of the monarchical episcopate ("kingly bishop," distinction betw bishop & elder, one man rule of church in each city).

-In the Pastorals, the terms "elder" and "bishop" are interchangeable, there seems to be more than one in each church. Paul emphasizes their qualifications rather than their duties.

-By 110 AD, the idea of the monarchical episcopate (one "bishop" over several "elders") is

widespread (cf. Ignatius' letters).

- Some see the "angel" in Rev. 1-3 as sole leader of each church, hinting of a monarchical practice, but this is still a generation after Paul's time.
- Liberals do not like the idea of the early establishment of an organized set of church leaders, because then it becomes hard to introduce false writings and traditions.
- If liberal reconstructions of church history are wrong, then they face big problems with their denial of NT authenticity.

### 3) Doctrinal argument

- Warnings about "gnosis," genealogies and such look Gnostic, though we need to remember that "gnosis" is regular Greek word for knowledge and quite common.
- But these emphases also show up in other heresies. If this is Gnosticism it is certainly an early form, not beyond that in Colossians, which is probably some form of Essene Judaism.

### 4) Linguistic argument (strongest)

- We must grant that we cannot really check up on who wrote the Pastorals. We weren't there.
- We do not have the same evidence available which the early church had for determining authorship.

- However, from remarks in early writings, the churches took care to guard against frauds and wrong teaching.
- They did not just accept material without knowing who the author was; tho there were some people then who were gullible like this, just as there are today.

#### a) The major problem with anti-Pauline arguments is their lack of good standards for judging Paul's "real" style.

- We do not know Paul's *range* of style except by making assumptions about authorship.
- Morton has tried to set some standards (and these have been helpful), but his classical-author controls are also based on assumptions regarding authorship.
- Also not clear that classical authors, writing good prose for literary people, are a realistic basis for testing Paul, writing occasional letters to coworkers (different genre, different purpose, different kind of audience).
- Nor is Paul always writing continuous prose either: he quotes from the LXX and appears to cite early Xn hymns.



b) There are certainly stylistic differences within and between the 13 or 14 epistles, but internal criteria are very slippery.

- Style can change with time.

- May be influenced by co-authors.

- Stylistic analyses have not been very successful where they can be independently tested. Some examples:

- Wilhelm Scherer (1879) analyzed Goethe's Prologue to *Faust* and attempted to date it according to the mixture of pessimistic and optimistic content (it was known that Goethe wrote *Faust* over a long span of time and that he soured with age).

- Made a nice division into youthful/elderly sections.

- However, an early manuscript of *Faust* was later found (in the attic of a house where Goethe lived when young) which showed that the complete prologue was written when Goethe was young!

- C.S. Lewis in his essay "On Criticism" in *On Stories* looks back over his career as both author and literary critic.

- Notes that critics typically wrong in saying what his motives were in writing, in deducing his "true" thoughts and feelings, or even working out date of writing from his works. Concludes confidence in such deductions misplaced.

- Literary criticism often makes indirect deductions from the text without adequate warrant.

- Seemingly plausible theories are constructed, but they are only shots in the dark. Too many factors are involved to make such guesses likely.

- The major weakness with liberals here is that they refuse to take seriously the NT and early church evidence of care in accepting material as genuine or the explicit statements of authorship.

### 3. Paul's activities after the close of Acts

- Once we get beyond Acts, we see how important a framework it provides for organizing the earlier events and epistles.

- Is impossible to reconstruct anything like a connected narrative for Paul's later life with certainty.

- Is reasonably certain that Paul was released from Roman imprisonment; was free for a while (during which time he wrote 1 Tim. and Titus); was arrested again, imprisoned (wrote 2 Tim.), and soon thereafter was put to death.

-Some hints as to his travels between imprisonments:

-From Paul's intentions in Phil. 2:24, Phlm. 22, he probably first went East to Macedonia and Asia. (but *NIV Study Bible* has him go West first).

-Perhaps at this time or on the way back he left Timothy in Ephesus (1 Tim. 1:3) and Titus in Crete (Titus 1:5).

-As Paul predicts he would not see the Ephesians again in Acts 20, perhaps he appointed Timothy at a distance, or Paul might have left Timothy in Ephesus at end of 3rd journey.

-According to tradition, Paul went to Spain.

-By time of 1 Tim. and Titus, Paul was apparently back in East.

-1 Tim. 3:14 ("planning to come to you before long") implies that Paul is not too far from Ephesus.

-In Titus 3:12 Paul says he plans to winter in Nicopolis (on W. coast of Greece).

-Thus 1 Tim. and Titus may have been written from Macedonia.

-Perhaps Paul was arrested the second time at Troas, since his cloak and parchments were left there (2 Tim 4:13).

#### 4. Dates for Pastoral Epistles

Exact dates are difficult to establish once we leave Acts.

-Can date 1 Timothy and Titus at about the same time.

-2 Timothy was written later, during his 2nd imprisonment.

-We don't know if Paul was caught early or late in Nero's persecution (64-68 AD). Tradition (Eusebius, Jerome) places his death about 67 AD.

-Thus these epistles were written sometime after his release from 1st imprisonment (after Acts ends, 63 AD) but before his death in 67 AD.

## 5. Outlines of Pastoral Epistles adapted from *NIV Study Bible*

### a. 1 Timothy:

Warning re/ False Teachers    ch 1  
Instructions on Worship        ch 2  
Church Officers                ch 3  
Dealing with False Teaching   ch 4  
Dealing with Groups in Church 5:1-6:2  
Love of Money                          6:3-10  
Final Charge to Timothy        6:11-21

### b. Titus:

Introduction                    1:1-4  
Elders and Heretics            1:5-16  
Various Groups in the Church ch 2  
Believers in General            3:1-11  
Closing Charge                3:12-15

### c. 2 Timothy:

Opening Charge: Be Faithful   1:1-18  
Call for Endurance            2:1-13  
Foolish Controversies        2:14-26  
Warning about Last Days     ch 3  
Final Charge: Preach the Word 4:1-8  
Requests and Greetings       4:9-22

## B. The Death of Paul and the Other Apostles

-Apostles here to be taken in the broad sense, including Paul, James the Lord's brother, etc.

### 1. Scriptural information.

#### a. Predictions of Jesus.

1) Sons of Zebedee. Matt. 20:20-23; Mk 10:35-40 parallels

-"My cup you shall drink" => will share in my suffering.

=> martyrdom? but not explicit.

-Mark: cup and baptism

2) Peter. John 21:18-19

-"Grow old" => not young.

-"Stretch out hands" => crucifixion [so understood by John after the fact].

-"Someone will gird you" => be bound or dress him?

-"do not wish to go" => unpleasant.

-Note this prediction is obscure to us and we need John's remark (v.19) to call it to our attention.

3) John. John 21:20-23

-"If he remains until I come, what is that to you?"

-At first, some (v.23) took this to mean that John would not die, but John himself counters this, leaving it ambiguous like Jesus did.

-Meaning: "None of your business!"

-Note that none of these predictions is very clear.

b. Narration of Acts.

-Acts 12:1-2 describes the death of James of Zebedee.

-Was beheaded by Herod Agrippa I in c44 AD.

-Apparently martyrdom is the "cup" and "baptism" which Jesus referred to in James' case.

c. Predictions of Apostles.

1) Paul: 2 Tim. 4:6-9

-"Poured out as a drink offering" => short process?

-Paul is alluding to the Temple offering poured out on or beside the altar.

-Is in prison. Sees his career finished and death (probably by judicial procedure) imminent.  
Tells Timothy to come quickly.

2) Peter: 2 Pet. 1:12-14

-Refers to John 21 and/or something else the Lord said.

## 2. Extra-Scriptural Information.

### a. James the Lord's brother.

#### 1) Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.9.1.

- After Festus died, there was a break between governors.
- Ananus the high priest, who was against Christianity, had several church leaders (including James) rounded up, tried by the Sanhedrin, and put to death by stoning (c62 AD).
- Ananus lost his priesthood as a result of this.

#### 2) Hegesippus (2nd cent.), according to Eusebius *Eccl History* 2.23.

- Provides more details, but some are suspicious.
- May have been thrown off the wing of the temple, then stoned.
- Talmud says stoning was done by throwing victim off cliff; if that not adequate, then dropping a boulder from cliff onto him; if still alive, then stoning him; throwing guy off building may be a variant on this [attempted to throw Jesus off cliff at Nazareth].
- Problems:
  - Jewish leaders put James up in a public place to get him to renounce Jesus, then describe James as a righteous man; makes them sound more stupid than likely. (James was actually highly regarded by many Jews.)
  - Detail of him having access to the holy place in the temple also suspicious.

### b. Peter and Paul.

#### 1) 1 Clement 5 (c95 AD):

- Very vague on details: doesn't really tell how either died.
- Peter killed as a result of "jealousy."
- Paul died after he "had given testimony before the authorities."
- Are noted as examples for believers, probably martyred.

#### 2) Tertullian, *Prescription against Heretics* 36:

- Peter "endured a passion like his Lord's" => crucified.
- Paul "wins his crown in a death like John's [the Baptist]" => beheaded.
- Says both were killed at Rome.

#### 3) Acts of Paul 10:5 (c160-170 AD): Beheaded.

#### 4) Acts of Peter 37 (c200-220 AD): Crucified upside down.

- These two contain heretical and legendary stuff, but some details of their deaths are consistent with other sources.

5) Eusebius *Church History* 2.25

- Cites Tertullian and Caius (c200 AD).
- Notes their tombs are at Rome: "Can find their trophies at the Vatican [open field near Rome] and on the Ostian Road [outside of town]."
- Constantine built the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at these sites; the Vatican's main altar is supposedly over Peter's grave.
- We can conclude that both were killed under Nero near Rome and were buried at least near where the modern churches are.

c. John.

- Data is puzzling; divergence regarding natural death or martyrdom.
- Know he was in exile at Patmos; it appears he did not die there.

1) Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.3

- This earliest source says John came back to Ephesus and lived until the time of Trajan. No hint of martyrdom.

2) Papias.

- Papias, according to later sources (Codex Baroccianus 142; Codex Cosilinianus 305 [6th cent. Pauline Epistles]) says in book 2 of *Exposition of the Oracles* that John was put to death by the Jews.
- As a student of John, he should know how John died, but no one else mentions this.

3) Syriac martyrology [martyr list/calendar] (4th cent.).

- Says John and James died in Jerusalem on December c27th.

4) Acts of John 115 (c170-180 AD) pictures a natural death at old age.

- This seems to be the picture given by Polycrates (Ephesus c190 AD); Eusebius *HE* 3.31; Origen *Matt.* 16.6.
- Thus John probably survived the exile and died a natural death in old age.

d. Other Apostles.

- Are even less certain of manner of death for the other Apostles.
- Derive information from heretical acts and later historians.

1) Andrew -- Crucified at Patrae in Achaia [Greece].  
-Source: Acts of Andrew (mid 3rd cent.).

2) Thomas -- speared by soldiers in India.  
-Source: Acts of Thomas 168 (early 3rd cent.).

-Source for the rest: *Apostolic History* of Abdias (6th cen +).

3) Bartholomew -- beheaded in India.

4) Jude and Simon: killed by a mob in Persia.

5) Matthew: speared by soldier in Ethiopia.

6) Philip: dies naturally in Hierapolis, Asia Minor.

- Have no idea how reliable these details are.
- Most recent historians simply bypass this material as it is so shaky.

- Would be nice to have detailed narratives, but God in His providence has not provided them.
- Our emphasis should be on Christ's death, not the Apostles'.

-It does appear that most of the Apostles gave up their lives in violent circumstances while testifying for Christ.

-May we, too, be faithful until death, and we will receive the crown of life (Rev. 2:10).