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The Parousia in the New Testament

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(Ph.D thesis)
(University of Durham)

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Abstract of the thesis 'The Parousia in the New Testament'

The traditional belief that Christ will 'come again to judge both the quick and the dead' has been subjected to severe criticism in recent times. It has been regarded as part of Jesus' inheritance from his situation as the misunderstanding of the disciples falsely attributing to their Lord their own expectations and as something to be demythologized. This thesis suggests that the belief in Christ's return to the world at the End belongs to the very fabric of the early church's life and thought, and (as far as this can be reconstructed) it belongs to Jesus' own teaching.

By far the greatest problem presented by the New Testament's Parousia hope is the insistence on its imminent fulfilment. This imminence is often understood as due to the disciples. Sometimes it is regarded as an error, albeit relatively unimportant, on Jesus' part. These views are examined and found unsatisfactory. The thesis then reviews the relevant New Testament material and suggests that the early church certainly did hold an imminent hope, but that this was not delimited (that is, the church did not think that the Parousia would certainly occur within a certain defined period of time). The imminence is rather to be understood as the conviction that since Christ had come, the revelation of the Kingdom of God in power could not be thought of as far off. Likewise, it is suggested, Jesus himself awaited the revelation of the Son of Man in glory as an imminent event, but refused to

delimit its occurrence The thesis suggests that the New Testament's insistence on the nearness of the Parousia is, because undelimited, valid for the church to-day, and should encourage her to urgent mission and to patient watchfulness

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Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction	1
Chapter 2	The Background of the N T. expectation	9
Chapter 3	Consistent Eschatology	48
Chapter 4	Realised Eschatology	69
Chapter 5	Continental Demythologizing	94.
Chapter 6	Salvation-history and the Parousia in the N.T.	113.
Chapter 7	The N T insistence on the imminence of the Parousia	131
Chapter 8	Did the early church delimit its expectation of the Parousia?	154.
Chapter 9	The early church's near expectation of the Parousia	233
Chapter 10	Did Jesus delimit his expectation of the Parousia?	256.
Chapter 11	Jesus' near expectation of the Parousia	280.
Chapter 12	The significance of the N T imminent expectation of the Par- ousia for the life of the church to-day	305
Periodicals cited, with abbreviations		324
Bibliography of authorities cited or consulted, with abbreviations used		326

The present interest in eschatology¹ owes much to J Weiss² and A Schweitzer. The question they raised was that of the overall structure and significance of New Testament eschatology, but this was bound to involve considerable examination of the idea of the Parousia in particular.

Surprisingly this renewal of interest has not fostered in the church a firmer conviction regarding the Parousia expectation. In fact the idea of the Parousia, at least in the form in which traditionally it has been expressed, has had to face many criticisms from various quarters.

From within the realm of critical theological investigation the Parousia hope has encountered considerable opposition. Schweitzer maintained that Jesus held to a Parousia hope only because it formed part of the contemporary Jewish apocalyptic which he accepted, and that such first century apocalyptic has no place in Christian thought. This view, introduced into this country with varying sympathy by W Sanday and F C Burkitt,³ is expressed strongly to-day by

1 For recent reviews of the eschatological thought of the past 50-60 years cf e g, J W Bowman, 'From Schweitzer to Bultmann', in T T XI 1954 pp 160ff G.R Beasley-Murray, 'A Century of Eschatological Discussion', in E T LXIV 1953, pp 312ff D.J Selby, 'Changing Ideas in N T Eschatology', in H T R L 1957 pp 21ff W D Niven, 'After 50 Years VI Eschatology and the Primitive Church', in E T L 1938-9 pp 325ff F F Bruce, 'Eschatology', in L Q H R 1958 pp 99ff Fison, Hope, pp 51ff Kummel, Promise, pp 15ff Rich, Die Bedeutung, pp 1-3 Wilder, Eschatology, pp 60ff Schweitzer, Eschatology

2 Cf esp Weiss, Predigt and Urchristentum, Schweitzer, Quest and Kingdom of God

3 Cf Sanday, Life Burkitt, Beginnings, and Jesus Christ (Burkitt wrote the Preface to the English translation 'The Quest of the Historical Jesus')

1

M. Werner and others An apologetic elimination of the Parousia hope, or at least a radical re-interpretation of its traditional expression, has flourished particularly in the Anglo-Saxon world through the work of C H. Dodd, followed by T F Glasson and J A.T

2

Robinson A somewhat similar re-interpretation has been expressed on the Continent by E von Dobschutz and R Otto, and, most recently,

3

by J Jeremias Behind these views one can discern the pressure of evolutionistic materialism and of the whole secular climate of

4

thought Even more apparent is the pressure of a secular philosophy behind the re-interpretation of eschatology in terms of

existentialism This, not unheralded before 1939, has been

expressed most radically and consistently during and following the

5

second world war by R Bultmann and has many adherents to-day

6

1 Cf Werner, Formation, and Der protestantische Weg des Glaubens, I, also U Neuenschwander, Protestantische Dogmatik der Gegenwart und das Problem der biblische Mythologie Buri, Die Bedeutung

2. Cf Dodd, Parables, Preaching. Glasson, Advent Robinson, In the End, Coming Also, Guy, Last Things Duncan, Jesus Sharman, Son of Man Cadoux, Theology Hunter, Parables

3 Cf von Dobschutz, Eschatology Otto, Kingdom of God Jeremias, Jesus als Weltvollender, Parables

4 e g Glasson, Advent, pp 232ff Robinson, In the End, pp 17-24

5 Cf Glauben und Verstehen, Offenbarung und Heilsgeschehen. - Die Frage der natürlichen Offenbarung, New Testament and Mythology (in Kerygma, ed Bartsch), Primitive Christianity, 'History and Eschatology, in N T.S 1954, pp 5-16, History and Eschatology

6 Cf esp E Fuchs, 'Die Frage', 'Christus' E Lohse, 'Lukas als Theologe der Heilsgeschichte', in Ev T XIV 1954 pp 256ff, 'Zur N T lichen Eschatologie', in V.F 1956 (Jahresbericht 1953-55) pp 184ff Conzelmann, 'Gegenwart', Luke Bornkamm, Jesus, 'Enderwartung' Kasemann, 'Problem' Macquarrie, An Existentialist Theology, Demythologizing Robinson, New Quest, Mark Kerygma, ed Bartsch I and II

Other factors also have tended to weaken the church's Parousia hope. The contemporary concentration of the church on its worship directs attention away from a future end-expectation, and although this concentration is especially marked in Roman catholic circles¹ it is not by any means unknown in Anglicanism².

The church seems to have slackened its grasp upon the Parousia hope under pressure from materialistic thought,³ and western capitalism, naturally biased towards conservatism, has hardly encouraged the church to re-affirm its hope in the impending judgement and renewal of the present world order.⁴ Some recent 'bomb psychosis' has given rise to a form of secular apocalypticism to which, usually,⁵ the churches have responded with nervous indecision.

1. cf e.g. E. Quinn, 'The Kingdom of God and the Church in the Synoptic Gospels', in Scripture IV 1949-51, pp.237ff

2. cf Robinson, Coming, p 15. Fison, Hope, p 65 and below, p 91

3. cf Roberts, Jesus, p 115f. Cairns, Image, pp 206ff. George, Communion, p 25. G. Rupp, 'The Doctrine of Man: the Christian and Secular Eschatologies', in E.T. LXI 1950 p.100f. Reinhold Niebuhr, 'The Christian Faith and the Economic Life of Liberal Society', (in Goals, ed. A. Dudley Ward). D. L. Munby, Christianity and Economic Problems, pp 267ff., gives a brief account of the relation of the christian parousia hope to economic and social thought.

4. The idea of a future golden age is more readily acceptable on communist soil with its concern for the community and its forward direction (cf E. Heimann, 'Comparative Economic Systems', in Goals, ed. A. Dudley Ward), than on the soil of private enterprise and the fulfilment of personal ends. The way in which Protestantism and capitalism readily co-exist (cf Heimann's essay, above, and J. C. Bennett, 'A Theological Conception of Goals for Economic Life', in Goals, ed. A. Dudley Ward) is relevant for the assessment of Bultmann's popularity to-day (with its expressly individualist interest). Rich, Die Bedeutung, p.21, rightly points out that there can be no private Parousia hope.

5. cf J. Foster, 'Eschatology and the Hope of the New World', in E.T. LIV 1942-3, pp 10ff

Some sects have consistently maintained a Parousia hope, but too often their fanaticism (sometimes morbid, sometimes comic) and their concentration upon dates, has meant that they have failed to see or proclaim the implications of the impending end for present life, thought and obedience¹

Existentialist and materialistic philosophies have, however, succeeded in shaking the church's confidence in the Parousia hope (at least in the form 'he shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead') generally only at an intellectual level. Certainly on the plane of general congregational life and thought there is a tendency to ignore the Parousia expectation. Following the Evanston Conference in 1954 some widespread interest in this theme was aroused,² but this was only temporary. Yet there seems to be no parallel, on the congregational level, to the intellectual antagonism towards the traditional Parousia hope, and there is no general movement aimed at removing it from the creeds. Unfortunately there is little positive integration of the Parousia hope into the

1 Cf Glasson, His Appearing and His Kingdom, pp 43ff

2 The theme of the Conference was, 'Christ, the hope of the world'. Preparatory to it appeared.- Minear, Christ the Hope of the World (Bibliography), The Meaning of Hope in the Bible (Ecumenical Studies Geneva, 1952), being the report of two preparatory meetings convened by the Study department of the W C C, in Zetten (15-19 April, 1952) and in Drew University, U S A, (5-6 June, 1952), W Schweitzer, Eschatology (Ecumenical Studies, Geneva, 1951), 'The Nature of Christian Hope', in Ecumenical Review 3, 1952, p 282f (being preparatory suggestions from Lesslie Newbigin, Edmund Schlink, Roger Mehl and D.F. McKinnon), T T, Oct 1953, was devoted to the Evanston theme. See also the report, Evanston Speaks Fison, Hope Minear, Christian Hope Brunner, Eternal Hope

life, thought and work of the church

This, surely, has resulted in a serious impoverishment of the church's witness. The conviction underlying this thesis is certainly that a real and extensive impoverishment must follow from a weak, indifferent or uninformed Parousia hope, or from the abandonment - for whatever reason - of the Parousia expectation altogether. The intense urgency with which the church should undertake its tasks of repentance and of missionary proclamation of the gospel, is weakened if not entirely lost. This thesis, therefore, seeks to pose and probe again the question as to the authenticity of the Parousia hope in the New Testament.

We begin (in chapter 2) with the background of the New Testament expectation, tracing the hopes expressed in the Old Testament and inter-testamental periods. Then we examine recent views which evacuate the Parousia hope of its traditional place and significance.

First (in chapter 3) we discuss the thesis maintained by Schweitzer and others that Jesus held to an expectation which, by subsequent events, was proved false, and that the church from the first has failed to appreciate the true significance of this (so-called) "life of misunderstanding". They assert that not the Parousia hope but the example of living with an unfulfilled vision, is the inspiration of Christ's life and death for to-day. But this assertion we find altogether inadequate.

Next (in chapter 4) we examine the thesis that the early church wholly misunderstood Jesus' hope, falsely attributing to him

the idea of a physical return to earth for judgement and renewal. We suggest that 'Realised Eschatology', so ready to affirm the real inbreak of the divine into the world in the person and work of Jesus Christ, is strangely docetic with regard to the Parousia.

Thirdly (in chapter 5) we discuss Bultmann's demythologized eschatology. The questions, whether Jesus' entire concept of the future has always been wrongly evaluated, and whether it behoves us to re-interpret his expectation in the terms offered by Bultmann, are both answered in the negative.

At this point (chapter 6) we venture to suggest that the Parousia hope belongs to the very fabric and substance of the New Testament, in all its parts, and to the very fabric and substance of Jesus' own thought and teaching in so far as it is possible to reconstruct this.

One of the most outstanding difficulties concerned with the New Testament Parousia expectation is the apparent insistence upon the nearness of the end. This difficulty, long recognised,¹ has often played a decisive role in interpreting and evaluating the New Testament hope as a whole. Involved in the three interpretations of eschatology already mentioned above are real attempts at elucidating this imminence - resolving it variously as a mistaken, but essential ingredient in Jesus' thought, as the early church's error, or as the expression in temporal terms of a supra-temporal impingement of the

1 J. Kiss, 'Zur eschatologischen Beurteilung der Theologie des Apostels Paulus', in Z s.T XIV 1938, pp 379ff, emphasises this

eternal order on man Besides these interpretations, a number of scholars are prepared to see the imminence simply as a peripheral mistake on Jesus' part But our examination of this view (in chapter 7) seeks to show that problems and questions, more radical than is usually supposed, arise in this case Some relate the imminence to events other than the Parousia - to the Resurrection, the fall of Jerusalem, Pentecost, or the church's mission, or to two or more of these events taken together But these interpretations we find unconvincing

In chapters 8 and 9 we re-examine this element of imminence, seeking to determine whether the early church (in the first instance) believed that the Parousia would definitely occur within a specified time, or whether its imminent expectation was unlimited and altogether differently orientated Following this, in chapters 10 and 11 we press the same questions further, asking whether Jesus himself expected the Parousia to occur within a set period of time, or whether his hope was differently orientated

In the light of this discussion we draw (in chapter 12) a number of conclusions having a bearing upon the life of the church in the present It is thereby hoped to show how directly relevant the Parousia hope is for the life of the church. The Parousia hope was, we believe, one of the driving forces behind the early church's life and obedience and behind its missionary zeal¹ Perhaps by probing these questions and problems again, some light may be shed

1 Cf Cullmann, 'Eschatologie und Mission im N.T.', in Evang Missionsmagazin, 1941, pp 98-108, and below, chapter 4, pp 86

on the motive which should drive the church to the same primary
1
tasks with urgency and responsibility, and yet with freedom and
confidence

1 The absolute centrality of mission in the church's life and work is often acknowledged - cf e g H Kraemer, The Christian Message in a non-Christian World, pp 24-30 M Warren, The Triumph of God, pp 103-4 The Lambeth Conference Report, 1958, p 2,75 Evanston Speaks pp 32-33 - but usually, in practice, remains peripheral

Chapter 2

The background of the New Testament expectation

As a preface to our examination of the New Testament expectation, a brief review is here undertaken of the expectation in the Old Testament and in the inter-Testamental period (as it is found in Apocalyptic in Wisdom literature, in Hellenistic Judaism, in Rabbinic Judaism, and in particular group movements)

Expectation in the Old Testament

The central concern of the Old Testament is the sovereignty of God¹. The actual phrase 'the Kingdom of God' (מְלֻכּוּת הַיְיָ) is seldom used in a religious sense prior to Daniel, but the concept² is certainly early and central³. General agreement exists to-day that the phrase means primarily 'sovereignty' as a characteristic of JHWH and only secondarily a territory and a people wherein this sovereignty is displayed and acknowledged⁴. It is, therefore, better to speak of 'the sovereignty' than of 'the kingdom' of God.

This concept of God's sovereignty is related in the Old Testament to Israel's past, present and future

1 Cf Jacob, Theology, p 37, Davidson, Theology, pp.1-4, Eichrodt, Theology, pp 512ff, Anderson, 'Hebrew Religion', pp 308f, Hebert, Authority, pp 47ff, Köhler, Theology, pp.30ff

2 Cf von Rad, in T W N T I, p 569

3 Cf the use of מְלֻכּוּת in the names of national gods among Israel's neighbours, cf von Rad, in T W N T I, p 567

4 Cf Dalman, Words, p 94, von Rad, in T W N T I, pp 564ff, Flew, Church, p.28, Richardson, in T W N T, pp 119ff, etc

The relation to the past

In the creation stories of Genesis, as also in such isolated references as Ps 104,5, 119,90, Is 47,16, I Chr 29,11, etc , we find Israel's conviction that the act of creation attests God's sovereignty in and over nature¹ But it was in the Covenant in particular that Israel saw the sovereignty of God displayed, in the establishment of Israel as His people God's Lordship was expressed and given form and location² It is to this election of Israel in sovereign love that the prophets look back, seeing in it the basis of God's concern with Israel's history and of the obligations of service imposed on Israel³

The relation to the present

The Old Testament recognises that in every present moment Israel exists under God's kingship⁴ This is declared both by prophet and priest⁵ The nature of this kingship and its moral and religious implications comprise the burden of the prophetic message, JHWH is now King over Israel, therefore Israel must obey his commands⁶

1 Cf Orr, in H D.B. II, pp 844ff

2 See e g , Ex 19,5, Deut 14,2, 26,18, Ps 135,4 cf Köhler, Theology, pp 60-74, Eichrodt, Theology, pp.36ff, Jacob, Theology, pp 209ff It is significant that the Deuteronomist uses the phrase 'at that time' (אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ) 16 times, indicating that the establishment of the Covenant was 'the classic time' of God's activity (cf Marsh, in T W B pp.258ff)

3 Cf e g , Hos 11,1ff , Mal 1,2, Is 51,2, Amos 3,2, Hebert, Authority, p 55, Eichrodt, Theology, pp 58f

4 Cf Köhler, Theology, p 66, Eichrodt, Theology, pp 70ff , p 92

5 Cf e g , Is 6,5, I Chr 29,11,

6 Cf Eichrodt, Theology, pp 316ff, Snaith, Ideas, pp 51ff, Robinson, Religious Ideas, pp 154f

Recently the role of the cultus in Israel's life and the development of its religious ideas has been increasingly recognised. It appears that some Psalms reflect a cultic pattern, the centre of which concerned the (?annual) enthronement of the king (? at the New Year Festival), through which ritual the present kingship of JHWH was both personified and assured¹

Since malkuth, as it is applied to God, means primarily 'sovereignty' as distinct from 'a kingdom', it follows that human disobedience cannot affect JHWH's kingship, either to annul it or to establish it². At the same time, every movement in the history of Israel was motivated by the need to make clear in the pattern of Israel's life, the truth that JHWH was the sovereign Lord³. The reciprocity of the Covenant relationship meant that JHWH was not simply king per se, but that this kingship should be manifestly acknowledged in Israel's history⁴. Israel's drastic failure in this respect was regarded as the cause of all national disasters. Such failure concealed JHWH's kingship and compromised his sovereignty

1 Engnell, Studies, pp 43ff, is prepared to speak of the king in this respect as the personal incarnation of God, cf similarly Bentzen, King, p 37, Mowinckel, Psalmestudien II, passim, Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, passim, H.J Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im A T passim, Jacob, Theology, pp 262-270. Criticism of this reconstruction is offered by e.g., Eissfeldt, 'Jahve als König', in Z A W XLVI, 1928 pp 81-105, Snaith, Studies in the Psalter, and Jewish New Year Festival, Anderson, 'Hebrew Religion', pp 297ff

A bibliography of selected works to 1955 is given in Jacob, Theology, p 279

2 Cf Flew, Church, p 28, Eichrodt, Theology, pp.457ff, Jacob, Theology, p.105, Snaith, Ideas, pp 94ff

3 Cf Eichrodt, Theology, pp 45-69

4 Cf Köhler, Theology, pp 64ff, Robinson, Religious Ideas, p 41, Eichrodt, Theology, pp 36ff

and resulted in this sovereignty being displayed now primarily through judgement¹ It also hid JHWH's sovereignty from the eyes of the surrounding nations and was regarded as a slight upon JHWH himself²

This failure and subsequent ambiguity became particularly apparent at the time of the Babylonian captivity During the exile and in the post-exilic period great emphasis was laid upon the need to acknowledge JHWH's kingship in the present³ Isaiah's concept of a 'remnant' was extended, and legalistic separatism and pietistic particularism received much emphasis, the intention being that, if not in all Israel, then at least in a group within Israel, JHWH's kingship might be openly acknowledged⁴

The relation to the future

The growth in Israel's religious consciousness of an expectation of a future manifestation of the Kingdom of God has been ascribed variously to a number of factors Some suggest the ethical fulfilment of the purpose of creation, coupled with the non-realisation of this fulfilment in Israel's empirical life⁵ Others suggest Israel's understanding of its Covenant relationship, i e 'because Israel belongs to JHWH and can depend on Him, it has a future'⁶ Israel's

1 Cf Eichrodt, Theology, pp 462ff , Interpretation, pp 66ff , Kohler, Theology, pp 209ff

2 Cf esp Is 52,5-6, Ezek 36,20, (cf Rom 2,24') cf Vriezen, Theology, pp 228ff , Rowley, Israel's Mission, passim

3 Cf Cook, Old Testament, pp 195ff , Eichrodt, Theology, pp 467ff

4 Cf Cook, Old Testament, p 194, Snaith, Cyrus, pp 71-87

5. Cf Orr, in H D B II, pp 844ff

6 Robinson, Religious Ideas, p 185

eventual understanding of JHWH's transcendence has also been suggested¹ Another suggestion is Israel's human aspiration after world renewal² Popular hope in the overthrow of Israel's enemies in a world catastrophe has also been put forward as the cause³ Some argue that eschatology arose through the cult, it was a projection into the future of what had been dramatically represented in the cult⁴ Yet again, Israel's theocentric understanding of history has been suggested⁵ Others argue that eschatology arose through the recognition that God must meet Israel's failure to acknowledge his sovereignty by an unambiguous manifestation of it throughout the world⁶

It is possible that many of these features played a part in the development of Israel's eschatology But in view of the fact that eschatological expectation deepened and prospered during and following the exile,⁷ it seems likely that the two last suggestions were most influential and themselves encouraged the particular reading of

1 Cf Otto, Kingdom of God, pp 40f , similarly Heim, Jesus the Lord, p 27

2 Cf Althaus, letzten Dinge, p 7, Althaus sees all eschatology as having this same origin, though he adds (p 11) that in Israel, the Covenant relationship gave specific content to the O T hope

3 Cf e g , Gressmann, Der Ursprung der israelitisch - jüdischen Eschatologie, and concerning this, Anderson, 'Hebrew Religion', pp 303f

4 Cf Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien II Mowinckel maintains that Israel's eschatology arose through the meeting of the Canaanite cyclic view of history with the historical view characteristic of Israel Contrast Johnson, Sacral Kingship, passim, Anderson, 'Hebrew Religion', p 304

5 Cf Rowley, Faith, p 177, North, Interpretation, pp 126ff

6 Cf Richardson, in T W B pp 119ff, von Rad, in T W N T I, pp 567ff , Vriezen, Theology, pp 351f , Köhler, Theology, pp 218f

7. Cf Snaith, Cyrus, pp 88-94, and see below pp 34 ff , concerning the rise of apocalyptic

history embodied in the first two suggestions

Although there is a growing admission that the roots of Israel's¹ eschatological hope go back far in its history, it remains a fact that the experience of the exile intensified the problems of evil² and of human failure³ and intensified this forward look towards a future goal of history³. There is an increasing longing for the time when God would make his Kingship unambiguously clear⁴.

Three further matters concerning Israel's hope in the manifestation of God's kingship must be mentioned. They are 1) the central figure in the expected End-drama 2) the content of Israel's expectation 3) the scope of this future expectation

1) The central figure in the expected End-drama

One strand in the traditions looks for JHWH himself to visit his people⁵. It is possible that disillusionment with Israel's kings and the reinterpretation of the cultic Psalms encouraged this conception, from the proclamation 'JHWH has become king' comes the hope 'JHWH will become king'⁶. This expectation lays weight on the

1 Cf Rowley, Faith, p.177, Eichrodt, Theology, pp 385f, Anderson, 'Hebrew Religion', pp 303ff (Dr Anderson has some qualifications to make concerning this contemporary tendency)

2 Cf Whitley, Exilic Age, p 100, Rops, Israel, pp 214f., Bright, History, p 350f

3 This intensification is expressed to some extent in legalism (e.g. Ezra's promulgation in 444 BC), to some extent in mysticism or personal pietism (e.g. Job, Ps 73), perhaps too, an element of stoic resignation entered in (cf Ecclesiastes) (cf Manson, Teaching, p 151) But see further below, p26

4 Cf Mic 4,2, Is 2,3, Jer 3,17, etc von Rad, in T W N T I, p 567, Rowley, Faith, pp 181ff

5 Cf Is 44,6-23, 46,9-13, 52,7-9, Zech 1,3, 1,16-17, etc, and the expression 'the day of JHWH', Amos 5,18, etc

6 Cf Is 24,23, 33,21-22, Zeph 3,15f, Zech 14,16, etc cf Otto, Kingdom of God, p 35

1

End as a time of the peculiar activity of God

There is also a 'messianic' expectation, and here the problem arises as to the significance of the king's role in the cult and its relation to 'messianic' expectation. It is beyond the scope of the present survey to dwell on this² and a few tentative remarks must suffice. On the one hand there appears to be a development through cultic practice, whereby the idea of the king as representative of JHWH's Lordship could come to be thought of as 'Messiah'³. As disillusionment grew through experience of the monarchy, and in due

1 Cf Is 18,7, Jer 3,17, Joel 3,15-17, etc, cf Marsh, in T W B pp 258ff

2 Detailed discussion may be found in Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien II, and He that cometh, Gressman, Der Messias, Bentzen, King, Ringgren, 'König und Messias' in Z A.W 64, 1952, pp 120-147, and Messiah, Johnson, Sacral Kingship, Jacob, Theology, pp 327ff (plus bibliography pp 342f)

3 Mowinckel (He that cometh, passim) argues that since the term 'Messiah' involves eschatology it cannot be used of the contemporary Israelite king. Bentzen (King, p 37), however, commenting on the role of the king in the cult, maintains that 'the Psalms experience in living actuality what eschatology expects. Therefore the king of the Psalms is in the main the same' (similarly Engnell, Studies, pp 176f). Ringgren rightly points out that the simple application of the term 'messianic' to the king's cultic role does not necessarily mean that the role is considered 'prophetical' or eschatological, he notes that Engnell states, 'By messianism I mean elaborate king ideology' (Ringgren, Messiah, p 24, referring to Engnell, Studies, p 43, n3). Anderson ('Hebrew Religion', p 305) therefore contends that 'it can only make for confusion' if the words 'Messiah' and 'messianic' are used 'in any other than a future sense'. At the same time, as Rowley (Faith, p 192) maintains, the royal Psalms may well be regarded as 'messianic' in setting before the king in the cult both a pattern for himself and an ideal hope for the future, the latter aspect predominating in post exilic times.

course as the monarchy ceased, a 'messianic' future hope arose¹ On the other hand, there is the expectation of a future Davidic king,² which suggests that the specific promises given to David³ have been applied to the general 'messianic' hope⁴ If the references to a 'Messiah' are not abundant, this may be due to the complexity of Israel's expectation⁵ Certainly the Old Testament expectation is fuller than the usage and occurrence of the technical term 'Messiah' might suggest⁶

Then there is the concept of the 'Servant of JHWH' (יְהוָה עַבְדּוֹ) The major problem is to determine the subject of the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah⁷ Various former or contemporary historical figures have been suggested, also, Israel itself, an ideal remnant, an abstract ideal, or a hoped for group or individual⁸ Actually for our purposes the problem is peripheral, for although the Christian church has, from the beginning, 'seen an impressive foreshadowing of Christ'

1 Cf Ringgren, Messiah, pp 23ff

2 Cf Is 9,6ff, Mic 5,1-5, etc Whereas the king is termed JHWH's annointed, the expected Davidic king is nowhere in the O T referred to technically by this term, cf Rowley, Faith, p 188, Campbell, in T W B, pp 44f

3 Cf II Sam 7,12, Jer 17,25, 33,17, Amos 9,11, Hos 3,5, Ezek 45,8

4 Cf Ringgren, Messiah, pp 25-38, Robinson, Religious Ideas, pp 199f

5 Cf Campbell, in T W B, p 44

6 This is illustrated not only by other terms but also by all the material collected in Klausner, Messianic Ideas

7 1,e Is 42,1-4, 49,1-6, 50,4-6, 52,13-53,12

8 For an exhaustive survey of interpretations cf North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah, pp 6-116, see also Zimmerli and Jeremias, in T W N T, V, pp 655ff, and Servant, pp 23-24, Lundhagen, The Servant Motif in the Old Testament, Campbell, in T W B pp 223f

in these songs¹, there is in fact 'little to connect the Servant superficially with the Davidic leader, and it is not surprising that there is no solid evidence that the two were identified in pre-Christian times²

The expression 'Son of Man' (אֲדָמָה-בֶּן, אֲדָמָה-בֶּן אֲדָמָה) must concern us rather more fully, and particularly three problems arising from its occurrence in Daniel³. First, the problem whether the term in Daniel is corporate or individual. T W Manson's 'corporate' thesis⁴ has received many advocates⁵. There is, however, evidence to suggest that the Son of Man in Daniel is an individual⁶, though a representative figure⁷, for the four beasts (vv 3-8) are described (in v 17) as 'four kings' (אַרְבָּע מְלָכִים) suggesting 'the possibility of interpreting "one like unto a Son of Man" in v 13 as the ruler of the "Saints of the Most High", who appears as their representative,

1 Campbell, in T W B p 224

2 Rowley, Faith, p 197. For a full discussion of the significance of the 'Servant of JHWH' in the O T cf the works cited above p 16 n 8, and Snaith, 'The Servant of the Lord', pp 187ff. Lindblom, Servant Songs, Eichrodt, Theology, pp 483ff. (Lindblom, Servant Songs, pp 105f and Zimmerli and Jeremias, Servant, pp 105f, include bibliographies.)

3 Elsewhere in the O T the title is used infrequently (except in Ezekiel) as a synonym for man (e.g. Ps 8,4). Bentzen (King, p 43) maintains that the term is used of the king (and thus with messianic overtones at least) in Pss 8,4-5, 80,17-18 cf further Vriezen, Theology, p 367.

4 Teaching, and 'The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels', in B J R L XXXII, 1950, pp 174ff.

5 Cf those cited by Higgins, 'Forschung', p 126.

6 Mowinckel, (He that cometh, p 352) says the expression in Daniel is corporate but that this is a reinterpretation of an individual concept which existed c 200 B C cf also Jacob, Theology, p 341.

7 Cf e.g. Cullmann, Early Church, p 130, Taylor, Names, p 26. Cranfield, Mark, p 274, Barrett, 'Background', p 17 n 39.

rather than as identical with them'¹

Secondly, there is the problem whether the Son of Man in Daniel is a Messianic figure, or not. Mowinckel sharply distinguishes between 'Messiah', a figure which he sees developing from sacral kingship themes adopted by Israel into its cultus, and 'Son of Man' which he regards as arising from the eastern 'primal man' concept. Riesenfeld and others take the opposite view². Bentzen, on the other hand, cites Pss 8,4-5 and 80,17-18 as occasions when the king is termed Son of Man, suggesting that the two concepts at least run parallel³. Some association between an idealised king expectation and this Son of Man in Daniel who enters upon a future 'kingship' seems likely⁴ though there are obvious differences⁵. Of the two terms, Son of Man is the more inclusive and is capable of taking up into itself the older hope of a 'Messiah' in the narrower sense.

The final problem is whether or not the Son of Man and the idea of suffering are brought together in Daniel. Rowley⁶ denies any connection, because 'the saints suffered before the appearance of

1 Cranfield, Mark, p 274

2 Cf Higgins 'Forschung', p 122

3 For a survey of these views see Higgins, Forschung, p 122 cf Emerton, 'The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery', in J T S IX 1958, ~~pp~~ Bentzen, King, p 75, Commentary, p 63

4 Cf Vriezen, Theology, p 367, Jacob, Theology, pp 34 ff

5 Jacob, Theology, p 342 writes, 'The Son of Man is, then, a real king, his function overlaps the Messiah's, but by giving him the title of man the author of the book of Daniel seeks to disentangle Messianism from national ties and to link it with the universal outlook of Genesis'

6 Servant, p 62

the Son of Man ' On the other hand, if the Son of Man is understood as the peoples' representative, then the connection is close, for he comes as representative of the suffering saints¹

One further title must be considered under this section, the term 'Son of God' (D's'n's'n [2])² Its application to the king (Pss 2 and 89) suggests a certain messianic overtone³ It is interesting that the idea of kingship runs through, and therefore to some extent unites, the terms Son of Man, Son of God and the future Davidic Messiah

2) The content of Old Testament expectation

Israel's hope in the final manifestation of God's sovereignty involved the expectation both of judgement and of vindication To recognise God as righteous⁴ meant drawing the conclusion that all iniquity must fall under his judgement Amos (5,18) fulminates against the failure to take this fact seriously Social injustice (cf 5,11f and Is 3,15, 5,8 etc) and idolatry (cf Amos 5,23, Is 2, 17f etc) cannot be set aside by mere religious conformity (Amos 5,22) but must lead to the revelation of God's judgement upon the⁵

1 Cf Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p 117, Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, p 280, Cranfield, Mark, p 275, Barrett, 'Background' pp 2f

2 For its various applications - to the true Israel, the remnant, Israel as a whole, angels, etc - cf Taylor, Names, p 52

3 Manson, Jesus, p 103, connects the title with the 'halo of religious significance surrounding the person of the Davidic prince in Israel', and thinks that it was therefore 'through Scripture a Messianic potential'

4 Cf Snaith, Ideas, pp 51ff, Köhler, Theology, pp 209f , etc

5 Cf Esp Is 2,12 where the unambiguous reversal of human unrighteousness is promised

Therefore the expected intervention of God in Israel's history would not simply involve the exaltation of Israel and the destruction of her enemies, but would include judgement upon Israel¹

The threat of judgement, however, does not eclipse the hope of restoration and the fulfilment of JHWH's promise to bless and to establish his people² Alongside the expectation of doom stands that of glory³ This hope certainly intensified during and through the experience of the Exile, but the distinction is only one of degree Behind the expectation of a final, unambiguous manifestation of God's kingship in these two forms lies the perception that this same kingship is already being displayed in judgement and mercy though, in the present, only in a provisional and equivocal way⁴

3) The scope of Old Testament expectation

Israel's peculiar consciousness of God and of themselves as his people, involved for them a sense of priority⁵ The priority in judgement was not by any means regularly perceived,⁶ and the priority

1 The same opening formula of judgement is applied by Amos to the nations (1,3 - 2,3) as to Israel and Judah (2,4-16) Cf North, Interpretation, p 64, Eichrodt, Theology, pp 464-7

2 Cf Robinson, Religious Ideas, pp 197f, Davidson, Theology, p 377, North, Interpretation, pp 130f

3 Even in Amos this subsequent glory is not lacking if the last five verses are authentic (Edghill, Commentary, ad loc, thinks they were inserted by a different writer who regarded punishment as 'a means of purification, even of preservation' Similarly, Cripps, Commentary, ad loc, Harper, Commentary, p cxxxiv, Smith, Twelve Prophets I, pp 199-205, Vriezen, however, thinks it more probably 'a message from the prophet which he passed on in the circle of his disciples', Theology, p 359

4 Cf Eichrodt, Theology, pp 67, 461, Vriezen, Theology, p 229

5 Cf Köhler, Theology, pp 79ff, Martin-Achard, Israel, pp 32ff, Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 19ff

6 Cf above, p 20 n 2, Eichrodt, Theology, p 471, North, Interpretation, p 64

in blessing was not infrequently expressed negatively¹; at times, however, it was understood in a more positive manner²

The awareness that JHWH is not solely concerned with Israel, or at least does not concern himself with Israel in isolation from her neighbours, goes back 'long before the time of the Deuteronomist'³ The promise 'and in thee (thy seed) shall all the families of the earth be blessed'⁴ emphasises that the Covenant between JHWH and Abraham had some significance for the whole of mankind⁵ If this is only implicit universalism, the 8th century prophets are explicit that the future holds in store JHWH's acknowledgement by all men⁶ The scope of JHWH's kingship already embraced all natural phenomena,⁷ therefore the prophets could not stop short of speaking of the future manifestation of God's kingship as embracing all nations and the entire cosmic order⁸

It was with a view to this ultimate end that Israel's role in the world was occasionally understood as one of mission⁹ This is

1 E g in the overthrow of Israel's enemies, Zech 14, etc

2 E g in descriptions of universal peace and harmony centring on the glorified city of Jerusalem, Is 9,6-7, 17,25-26

3 Rowley, Faith, p 183

4 Gen 12 3, 18,18, 22,18, 26,4, 28,14

5 Cf Martin-Achard, Israel, p 35

6 Cf Jer 16,19, Ps 22,7, Zech 8,22, Zeph 3,10, North, Interpretation, pp 72-74, Robinson, 'The Modern World', pp 346ff, Rowley, Faith, p 180

7 E g I Kings 17,14 16, II Kings 1,10f, 2,8, etc, Ezra 1,1, Jer 1,15, Is 44,24f

8 Cf Is 11,10, Dan 7,27, etc Rowley, Faith, p 180, Kohler, Theology, pp 85-98, North, Interpretation, pp 76-78

9 Cf Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 17ff, Cook, Old Testament, p 156, Jeremias, Promise, pp 58f, Vriezen, Theology, p 230, Browne, Early Judaism, pp 1ff

especially the case with Deutero-Isaiah¹ At the same time, whatever stress was laid upon Israel's mission and on acceptance by the Gentiles of JHWH's rule, the coming age of glory was never regarded in the Old Testament as anything but the sole gift of God, always the day of JHWH is a day of special divine activity²

It remains now only to draw out of this survey three points which elucidate the significance of the Old Testament hope

Firstly, the contrast between the kingship of JHWH acknowledged by Israel's 'prophets' in the present, and that to which they look forward in the future, is essentially a contrast between concealed and revealed kingship Kingship as a characteristic or attribute of JHWH could not be thought of as at one time partial, and later complete;³ the contrast could only be between present hiddenness and future manifestation⁴ Already through the Covenant relationship JHWH's sovereign rule was manifested, but the manifestation was clouded by the partiality of Israel's response, and the sphere of the relationship was in any case limited to Israel The expected revelation would involve an open recognition by all⁵

Old Testament eschatology is eschatology and not simply mysticism,⁶ so that the tension arising from the contrast between

1 Cf Is 45,22, 42,6, 43,10, 49,6, and the Servant Songs in toto

2 Cf Bosch, Heidenmission, p 28, Davidson, Theology, pp 374f

3 Cf Köhler, Theology, p 31

4 Cf von Rad, in T W N T I p 567

5 Cf e g Jer 31,34, Is 2,2 Köhler, Theology, p 230, Smith, Commentary, Isaiah 2,2, ad loc

6 Cf Eichrodt, Theology, p 176

hidden and revealed lordship is a tension between what is now, and what will be then. The unambiguous revelation and acknowledgement of JHWH's lordship was awaited not in mystical perception of the truth by individuals but in the future inbreaking of God into history in an unmistakable manner¹

Finally, the contrast between concealed and revealed, and the tension between 'now' and 'then', arise from the fact of divine promise and the assurance of divine fulfilment. Israel's hope was

1 The problem of the O.T.'s understanding of time obviously calls for consideration at this juncture, but it would be beyond the bounds of this survey to do more than draw attention to recent lines of enquiry. Cullmann (Time, pp 51ff) contrasts the Biblical time conception with that of Greek thought, maintaining that in the Bible 'because time is thought of as an upward sloping line, it is possible here for something to be "fulfilled", a divine plan can move forward to complete execution'. Modifications, or criticisms, of this thesis are offered by Marsh (Fulness), Boman (Hebrew Thought), Ratschow ('Anmerkungen' in Z.T.K. LI, 1954, pp 36ff), Eichrodt ('Heilserfahrung' in T.Z. XII, 1956, pp 104ff.), Minear ('The time of hope' in S.J.T. VI, 1953, pp 337ff), and most recently by Barr (Biblical Words). Barr is critical of the semantic methodology underlying Cullmann's thesis (cf Barr's Semantics). Marsh, arguing that the O.T. is dominated by the idea of 'real' time (paralleling the N.T. 'kairos' concept), holds that the O.T. is not concerned with chronological time (Fulness, p 20). Similarly, Boman (Hebrew Thought, p 137) elucidating O.T. time from the subjective side, argues that 'time is something qualitative' for the Israelites, 'because for them it is determined by its content'. Ratschow thinks in terms of 'time for' and 'time not for', though recognising that the O.T. knows of chronological time too, whereby 'time for' and 'time not for' is objectivised. Both Boman (Hebrew Thought, p 141) and Eichrodt ('Heilserfahrung', pp 118f) are critical of Marsh's dismissal of chronological time in the O.T., and they are concerned with the relationship between the 'kairos' and chronological time, with the relationship of a psychological time-view to the idea of an objective time-sequence. Eichrodt maintains that it is in the encounter of faith that man perceives that God's acts in history do not occur sporadically or disconnectedly, but that he has provided a framework in which these acts can connectedly proceed in the form of a salvation-history, that there is a real past and a real 'not yet' - although the O.T. recognises that men are able to participate in a 'supra-temporal' salvation (Heilserfahrung, p 125), cf Boman, Hebrew Thought, p 143 (It is surprising that Boman nowhere mentions P.S. Minear's article which has much in common with his own view).

never founded on human optimism, nor upon any reading off from nature of a certain evolutionary tendency, or the like, nor was the expected future conceived as a human goal nor even the reward of human obedience and activity. The hope persisted rather in spite of these factors, being based entirely on the promises of God through his covenant relationship with Israel. The conviction that God's past promises will be fulfilled gives to prophecies of coming judgement their sense of imminence¹. This 'nearness' is made, to some extent, to appear simply an astute reading of the political situation at particular moments. Actually, the situation itself was taken as a sign of God's readiness to fulfil his promises, the situation did not give rise to the imminent hope, but rather the imminent hope gave rise to the particular understanding of the situation as a 'sign'².

Expectation in the Inter-Testamental period

1. Expectation in Apocalyptic

Apocalyptic³ has three roots. There is, in the first place, Old Testament prophecy. In common with prophecy, apocalyptic sought to declare and relate God's word to the men of its generation⁴. To

1 Cf Ezek 30,3, Is 13,6, Joel 1,15, 2,1, 3,14, Obad 15, Zeph 1,14, etc ,

2 Cf Köhler, Theology, pp 87f, Davidson, Theology, pp 379ff 381, Bosch, Heidenmission, p 18

3 Apocalyptic properly begins with Daniel. Most scholars regard the apocalyptic passages in Joel, Zech 9-14 and Is 24-27 as transition passages, for whilst these passages are certainly 'apocalyptic' in character, there is more to the apocalyptic of Daniel, etc , than these passages contain. cf Rowley, Relevance, p 23, Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 45f , Welch, Visions, pp 32ff , North, Interpretation, pp 119f. Köhler, Theology, p 225, Jacob, Theology, p 319

4 Cf Welch, Visions, pp 32f, Charles, Development, p 14, Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 96

some extent there is a concern to re-interpret unfulfilled promises,¹ a process already begun by Ezekiel. The scope of prophecy embraced past, present and future, and this total sphere is also apocalyptic's concern. Thus the older tendency to eliminate any predictive element from prophecy² is as erroneous as the suggestion that apocalyptic is concerned only with the future³. There are, of course, differences, but these are mainly of emphasis: apocalyptic is especially concerned with the future and lays more stress on the expected age of bliss as a divine irruption into history than do the prophets⁴. But its basic presuppositions it shares with the prophets of the Old Testament⁵.

In the second place, some foreign influence is likely to have affected the rise of apocalyptic,⁶ but it is difficult to determine to what exact extent

1 e.g. Dan 9,2, which 'corrects' Jer 29,10 cf Charles, Eschatology, p 185, Snaith, Cyrus, pp 100ff, (Lake, Introduction, p 200 goes too far in saying, 'Apocalyptic arose during the Greek period, chiefly in order to explain the non-fulfilment of prophecy'.

2 Cf Charles, Commentary on Daniel, p xxvi, cited by Rowley, Relevance, p 35, n 1, Kent, Growth, p 134.

3 Cf Kent, Growth, p 134, Cook, Old Testament, p 207.

4 Cf Charles, Eschatology, p 193, Development, p 22, Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 97.

5 Welch, Visions, pp 32ff, draws the two very close. For a discussion of the relation of prophecy to apocalyptic cf Charles, Eschatology, pp 173ff, Development, pp 12ff, Oesterley, Apocrypha, pp 96f, Rowley, Relevance, pp 13ff, Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 11f, 46ff.

6 Cf Rowley, Relevance, p 40, Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 91, Snaith, Cyrus, pp 94ff, Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 71ff.

In the third place, apocalyptic was motivated by circumstance. The problems of sin and of righteous suffering (and hence of the equivocation of God's kingship in Israel) increased to an unprecedented degree under the circumstances leading to the Maccabean revolt,¹ and to this root apocalyptic owes more than to prophecy or foreign influence. In the situation of near despair, apocalyptic brought a message of imminent hope, its purpose being to sustain fainting faith in the moment of doubt.² Concentration upon the future is basically due to the contemporary situation in which faith in the sovereign rule of God was radically being called in question. The portrayal of future events is given for this purpose and not for its own sake.³ Whatever 'fantastic' details apocalyptic might contain, its expectation cannot be summarily dismissed, nor should it be scorned as a decline from the high spiritual insights of Old Testament prophecy.⁴

The chief themes of apocalyptic⁵ which concern us here are, the Kingdom of God, the element of imminence, and the central figure in the End-drama

1 Cf Brockington, Apocrypha, p 6, Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 8ff

2 Cf Rowley, Relevance, p 36, Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 97, North, Interpretation, p 136

3 H T Andrews, 'Apocalyptic Literature' in Peake's Commentary (unrevised ed) p 423 (quoted, North, Interpretation, p 139) quite misunderstands the apocalypticist's intention. His motivation is not morbid resignation or boredom, nor incurable curiosity or speculation, but, in the difficulties of the contemporary situation, to re-affirm God's sovereignty

4 As, e g, in Cook, Old Testament, pp 207f, contrast Welch, Visions, pp 34f. For details of the imagery one may cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 97, Otto, Kingdom of God, p 37, etc

5 For full details cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, 101-112, Frost, Apocalyptic, passim but esp pp 242-258, North, Interpretation, pp 132-140, Charles, Development, pp 47-159, Eschatology, pp 157ff, Lake, Introduction, pp 203-208, Bousset, Religion, pp 242-289

The expression 'the Kingdom of God' 'hardly ever occurs in apocalyptic, though the thing itself is presupposed'¹ The primary meaning is still that of God's kingship² though the idea in its eschatological aspect as much as in its present involves much more explicitly than before a 'kingdom', a sphere and people in which this rule is manifested³ A characteristic feature is its supernatural quality;⁴ the earth as the sphere of God's future rule seems to become less and less suitable⁵ and the scene of the future consummation is laid more often than before in a radically transformed earth⁶ The coming of this Kingdom is conceived variously Sometimes it is expected in a sudden catastrophic moment,⁷ sometimes it is preceded by the so-called Messianic kingdom, during which it is often

1 Charles, Development, p 48

2 Cf Dalman, Words, pp 91ff, Edersheim, Life, p 270

3 Cf Dalman, Words, p 137, Charles, Development, pp 48ff (the development is here perhaps over-emphasised), Otto, Kingdom of God, pp 36f

4 Cf Otto, Kingdom of God, p 40, Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 97, Bousset, Religion, p 242

5 Cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 97, North, Interpretation, p 136 Yet God's Lordship over the present is still recognised (the demand for Repentance, for instance, is in no way minimised, cf Test Dan 6,4, Jud 23,5, Ass Moses 1,18 etc cf Charles, Development, p 30, Stauffer 'Das theologische Weltbild der Apokalyptik', in Z s l VIII, 1931, pp 201ff

6 Though Oesterley, Apocrypha, pp 97f overstresses this transcendent note Rowley, Relevance, p 165, n 1 refers to the argument put forward by N Messel, that 'the Kingdom is uniformly thought of as an earthly one' The idea of a transformed heaven and earth is quite distinct from the idea of an abandonment of the universe, cf further, Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 21ff

7 e g I Enoch 83-90, cf Frost, Apocalyptic, p 21

anticipated progressive work would take place¹

Characteristic of apocalyptic expectation is the sense of imminence² To suppose that this intense hope was based simply on a longing for better times would be to miss the point entirely³ The hope was built upon the conviction that God is already God, and his control in history an established fact This, in conflict with the blatant denial of such rule and control by evil forces, was essentially the motive force behind apocalyptic

The urgency sometimes takes the form of chronological calculations This, in turn, leads to re-interpretations of 'faulty' predictions⁴ But this intense concentration was not allowed to diminish present obedience,⁵ nor were the chronological calculations the primary matter⁶

1 e g II Bar 40,3, I Enoch 90,33,38, Jub 23,26-28 A similar pattern is sometimes found although there is no actual Messiah, as e g in I Enoch 91,12, Ass Moses 10,7-10, etc cf Frost, Apocalyptic p 22, Walker, Hebrew Religion, pp 47ff, Klausner, Messianic Idea, pp 222ff, Charles, Eschatology, pp 208ff, Bousset, Religion, Anhang, pp 286-289 and see further below, p 41

2 Cf Rowley, Relevance, p 25, Welch, Visions, p 36, Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 20-33, Oesterley, Apocrypha, pp 97,99, Snaith, Cyrus, pp 100ff, Bousset, Religion, p 249.

3 Snaith, Cyrus, pp 96ff, and Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 356f, give the impression that this expectation arises from the selfish desire for national aggrandisement Actually, it is based on the covenant promises and that which they involve cf Charles, Eschatology, pp 241ff, Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 97, and note the idea of a mission to the Gentiles, not wholly lacking - cf Frost, Apocalyptic, p 41, Bosch Heidenmission, pp 35-39

4 Cf Jer 25,11 and 29,10 with Dan 9,24-27, II Bar 36-40 and II Esdras 10,60-12,35 cf Box, The Ezra Apocalypse, pp 35ff

5 Cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 99 cf the stress upon the Law, I Enoch 5,4, 99,2, 99,14, Sib Or3,27f II Esdras 9,7-12, etc, and the asceticism advocated in, e g, I Enoch 108,7, Ass Moses 9,6, etc

6 Box, The Ezra Apocalypse, pp 35ff, overemphasises such calculations Contrast Charles' virtual omission of this element The ease with which predictions could be re-calculated (cf Snaith, Cyrus, pp 100ff) witnesses to the fact that the Apocalyptic writers maintained a certain detachment from the strict consequences of their chronological calculations

Concerning the central figure in the awaited End-drama there is considerable variation. In some visions the figure of Messiah¹ is entirely absent. In such cases 'the kingdom was always represented as under the immediate sovereignty of God'² Where Messiah³ is spoken of he is sometimes represented as a supernatural figure⁴ who 'arises'⁵ and who perhaps had some form of pre-existence⁶. Where he is pictured as a human figure⁷ his lineage acquires some significance. The old expectation of an ideal Davidic king appears, whilst sometimes the lineage is traced to

1 cf Daniel, Jubilees, Enoch 1-36, 91-108, Ass Moses, Slav Enoch, Baruch (though here a Messianic Kingdom is mentioned, cf 4,25,31ff 4,36-5,9) Charles, Eschatology, pp 235f thinks that the hope of a Messiah is not abandoned in Jubilees contrast Pfeiffer, History, p 50

2 Charles, Development, p 76 cf Vriezen, Theology, p 369

3 Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 107 says this is 'characteristic of the Apocalyptic literature taken as a whole'. But apart from the figure of the Son of Man in I Enoch and the 'Blessed Man' of the Sibylline Oracles (5 414ff), the figure of the Messiah is more often regarded as human, though endowed with outstanding characteristics (cf Test Levi 18,10ff etc) cf Frost, Apocalyptic, p 240 Walker, Hebrew Religion, p 50

4 cf Test Dan 5,10 Ps Sol 17,47, etc

5 II Bar 29,3 speaks of 'The Messiah (who) shall begin to be revealed' at the appointed time, though this does not necessarily involve the idea of pre-existence cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 106 Walker, Hebrew Religion, p 48, Sjöberg, verborgene Menschensohn, pp 42f 56 Parallel to the hints at pre-existence there are hints of a return to heaven - cf II Bar 30,1 contrast IV Esdras 7,29-30

6 cf II Bar 29-30, the Salathiel Apoc, IV Esdras 3-10, etc

7 cf I Enoch 90, Test Jud 24, Test Simeon 7,2, Test Levi 8,14 etc (where Charles, Development, p 80, suggests the references are due mainly to literary reminiscence). This concept reappears in literature of the 1st Century A D (cf additions to the Testament of the 12 Patriarchs - Test Jud 24,5-6 etc)

1
 Levi The Messiah's character is essentially two-fold On
 the one hand he is to war against the enemies of the righteous
 saints² (the prophetic conjunction of political and religious
 aims is not altogether lost sight of³), and on the other hand he
 is to be endowed with the Spirit⁴ so as to be able to obey God's
 will⁵, 'working righteousness and mercy', being 'pure from sin'⁶
 so that he may rule a great people'⁷

1 cf Test Reuben 6,7ff Test Dan 5,10, etc Many think that this is due to a 're-adaptation of the messianic idea, due to the occupation of the throne and high priesthood by the Hasmonaean house, giving rise to the substitution of a scion of the house of Levi for a scion of the house of David' (Rowley, Relevance, p 27) (cf similarly Charles, Development, pp 90-90, esp pp 83-4) Following disillusionment in the Maccabean leaders, the Davidic descent was re-asserted, though a total abandonment of the Levitic lineage did not occur - hence sometimes the two are juxtaposed (cf Test Reuben 6,10-11, Test Simeon 7,2) K G Kuhn, however, interprets this as a union of two ideas, of a priestly Messiah on the one hand and of a political Messiah on the other (cf 'The Two Messiahs', in N T S 1954-6, pp 168ff, and see also below under 'Expectation in the Qumran Community')

2 cf Jubilees 18, Test Jos 19,8, I Enoch 90,19, etc - the purpose being ultimate peace, cf I Enoch 94,4 1,8 Sib Or 3 373-376 Ps Sol 17,37f

3 cf Rowley, Relevance, pp 15ff

4 cf Ps Sol 17,42, 18 8

5 cf Sib Or 3 655f

6 cf Test Naph 4,5

7 Ps Sol 17,41 cf Test Jud 24,1 Test Levi 18,7 Ps Sol 17,32 cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, pp 105f Sometimes - generally in early apocalypses - the Messianic kingdom occurs where the Messiah is absent (cf Charles, Eschatology, pp 241ff), and was generally temporally unlimited In later apocalypses the duration is variously limited (cf Snailth, Cyrus to Herod, pp 104f Lake, Introduction, p 206, who suggest that this development was due to a coalescing of views) Later the idea even of a temporary Messianic kingdom is abandoned (cf Charles, Development, p 62)

As for the term 'Son of Man', its use in Daniel has¹ already been discussed¹, and in apocalyptic it 'did not become² a Messianic title'. The term occurs in I Enoch and IV Esdras, and a similar expression 'Blessed Man' is found in the Sibylline Oracles³. In Enoch³ the term takes up the attributes and functions of the Messiah and brings other features besides⁴, thus at least giving the term a 'Messianic significance'. It has been argued that the Son of Man here should be identified with Enoch himself⁵, but this is very unlikely⁶. He is a super-

1 cf above pp 17ff

2 cf Dalman, Words, p 249

3 The term occurs in 46,4 48,2 62,5,9,14 63,11 69,26-27 70,1 and 71,1 (cf also 62,7 where the demonstrative is omitted) cf Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p 214

4 cf Dalman, Words, p 243, 'It is clear, at all events, that "son of man" is not taken for granted by the author as an already established title for the Messiah. But it is not to be denied that the author, though in this part of the Similitudes he avoids every other Messianic title, really imputes to the "son of man" a Messianic significance' cf also Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p 214 Oesterley, Apocrypha, pp 105f Judaism, pp 155-159 Cranfield, Mark, p 273 Sjöberg, verborgene Menschensohn, p 44 Menschensohn, pp 169ff Glasson, Advent, pp 28ff Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 224,229 (who maintains that 'the Son of Man who was great enough to sit in JHWH's seat, would have little difficulty in attaching the Davidic Messiah to his person', p 228)

5 The identification is made by Charles, Pseudepigrapha, ad loc Otto, Kingdom of God, pp 201ff Sjöberg, Menschensohn, pp 186ff (and concerning Sjöberg, cf Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 220) T W Manson, 'The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels', in B J R L XXXII, 1950, pp 171ff M Black, 'The Son of Man in the Old Biblical Literature', in E T 1948, LX

6 The only basis is in 71,14 where Charles emends to 'this is' instead of the 'thou art' of the text. Against Charles cf Higgins, in N T Essays, p 58 note 134-5, Manson, Jesus, p 120, Dalman, Words, p 244, Rowley, Relevance, p 56

natural figure and pre-existence in some form is attributed to¹ him. His work and character are closely allied to God's own² he is the Christ (48,10), the Righteous One (38,2), the Elect One (40,5). He is to judge the world and is revealer of all things and champion of the righteous³ (It is disputed whether or not the idea of suffering enters into the presentation of the Son of Man in Enoch, but the question cannot be entered into here⁴

In the vision of II Esdras-13 the 'likeness of a man' (ח'ס - 201 727 7107)⁵ rises from the sea causing consternation (v 4), annihilating the wicked who dare to war against him (vv 5-11) and gathers together the 'multitude which was peaceable' (v 12). In the interpretation which is given it is said that the Son of Man is

1 cf 48,2,3,6 46,1-2 49,2 62,7 70,1 cf Sjöberg, verborgene Menschensohn, p 44,n 5 and p 45 Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 218ff Otto, Kingdom of God, p 188 (who speaks of an 'ideal pre-existence which passes over into 'a mysterious sort of present existence') Preiss, Life in Christ, p 50 Klausner, Messianic Idea, pp 290ff Bousset, Religion, p 263

2 He is to receive the homage of all men, will judge all men, condemning and slaying the wicked and rewarding the just cf Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 218ff Klausner, Messianic Idea, pp 291f

3 cf Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p 214 (note on 46,2-3) For his judgement cf 38,2 39,6 53,6 Wisdom, cf 49,1ff 51,3 Power, cf 49,3 52,6 For his work as revealer cf 64,3 49,2 etc and for his work as champion cf 39,7 48,4 51,5 53,6 etc

4 Bevan, Jerusalem, p 162 says there is 'no hint of incarnation of abasement no shadow of death' Jeremias and Zimmerli, Servant, pp 59ff contend that numerous parallel expressions in the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah and I Enoch 'Son of Man' passages point to the conclusion that Son of Man and Servant of God are here combined for the first time. But contrast Sjöberg, Menschensohn, pp 116ff and verborgene Menschensohn, pp 70f Otto Kingdom of God, p 255. Some think that suffering at least looms in the background here - cf Cranfield, Mark, p 275, Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, p 279 and p 280,n 1

5 dated by Charles in the 1st Century AD but before 70 cf

the 'messianic' deliverer 'Whom the Most High is keeping many ages' (v 26) and who is to come to judge and establish his Kingdom

There is mention of a 'Blessed Man' in the Sibylline Oracles (5,414), but in view of the fact that he is said already to 'have come from the plains of heaven' and also that the section is to be dated about 125 A D (and possibly is of Christian origin), the passage can help little in determining pre-Christian hopes

The term 'Son of God', although 'through Scripture (cf Ps 2, 89,26-27) a Messianic potential⁴', seems to have been made little use of in Apocalyptic expectation⁵

Eschatology, pp 337f Similarly Oesterley, Apocrypha, pp 514f who dates it just prior to A D 70, contrast Brockington, Apocrypha, pp 25f who dates it about 100 A D

1 cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 516 Pfeiffer, History, p 84

2 Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p 616 suggests that in its earliest form this material contained ideas of an 'Urmensch' which ultimately developed into the heavenly Messiah figure cf also Development, p 242 Klausner, Messianic Idea, p 353 (who concludes that oriental influences of some kind lie behind this passage) Jeremias in Erlöser und Erlösung im Spätjudentum und Urchristentum, D T II, 1929, pp 106ff, wants to connect the Son of Man here with suffering Sjöberg, on the other hand, denies the connection - 'Der verborgene Messias wird nach ihm nicht im Hades, sondern im Himmel von Gott aufbewahrt' (verborgene Menschensohn, p 47, n 4) But the argument that elsewhere in IV Esdras the Son of Man is reserved in heaven until his appearing amongst men does not exclude the possibility, surely, that this appearing might occur through a process and in a context of suffering

3 cf Charles, Development, p 226 Pfeiffer, History, pp 226ff

4 ~~xxxxxx~~ Manson, Jesus, p 103

5 cf Test Jud 24,2 Ps Sol 17,28f,30 18,4 Test Jud 24,3 Test Levi 18,8 Oesterley's translation of IV Esdras 7,28 (cf Apocrypha, p 517) is rejected by Taylor, Names, p 53, n 2 and cf further Sjöberg, verborgene Menschensohn, p 47, n 1 Klausner, Messianic Idea, p 358 Jeremias and Zimmerli, Servant, pp 49f

Similarly the concept 'Servant' appears to have been another Messianic potential which was not generally taken up by Apocalyptic¹ II Bar 70,9 mentions 'My servant Messiah', but the authenticity of the verse is questionable² II Esdras 7,28f³ reads in the Ethiopic 'My servant' and in 7,30 this servant dies. But this is hardly a description of Messiah in terms of the suffering servant of Deutero-Isaiah even if a link is facilitated.

We see, then, that the pattern of expectation and the pattern of ideas concerning the Kingdom of God found in the OT re-appear here. There is a concern with the past - older prophecy is re-interpreted to be sure - but it is older prophecy. The Apocalyptists based their work on that which had gone before them⁵. Further, they wrote from an historical standpoint. This was more than a literary device for it betrays an awareness that

1 cf Jacob, Theology, p 342

2 Charles, Pseudepigrapha, ad loc, counts the verse a later interpolation. 'verse 10 is the natural sequence to verse 8'

3 cf also 13,32,37,52 14,9 Jeremias and Zimmerli, Servant, p 45, n 163, p 49

4 i.e. there is no explicit redemptive suffering here cf Klausner, Messianic Idea, p 361 Sjöberg, verborgene Menschensohn, p 257. Nevertheless the title is perhaps helpful in facilitating a subsequent union of the two concepts - cf Jeremias and Zimmerli, Servant, pp 59f Cranfield, Mark, p 277

5 cf the interest in the chronology of the past as well as of the future cf Frost, Apocalyptic, p 20

in the past outstanding events in Israel's life could be found those acts of God whereby he made known to the nation his Lordship over it and that those acts were the basis on which any confident expectation that God would one day intervene to make clear his Lordship, could be founded

There is also concern for the present the faithfulness to the Covenant relationship of at least the remnant of Israel must be upheld - there is not the least tendency to antinomianism in the face of the expected catastrophic intervention - rather the reverse, in as much as the coming climax was expected to reveal the moral demands of God, already valid and binding¹

The future contains the key to the present and the past all the equivocation would one day be put to an end through the divine intervention in history for the sake of manifesting the Kingship of God In judgement and blessing he would manifest his Lordship, and this would involve a total transformation of the present situation, hence the picture of world renewal enhanced² sometimes by the idea of an entirely supernatural realm

Whether God would act directly or mediate through an appointed representative, it is essentially divine activity which is awaited The expectation is held with particular intensity and the end is thought to be imminent But the basis of this is not

¹ Hence the dual themes of pessimism (perhaps better designated realism) regarding this world and 'now' and optimism (perhaps better described as faith) regarding the future - cf North, Interpretation, p 136

² cf Frost, Apocalyptic, pp 20ff

a desire for a time chart, but rather the conviction that it is unfitting and intolerable that God's Lordship should be made so ambiguous by the ascendancy of the wicked and the suffering of the righteous and that therefore he must and will quickly intervene to change the situation and make himself manifest¹

2 Expectation in Wisdom literature

In the later wisdom writings particularly², although the Hebrew characteristics remain³, 'we certainly find — positions taken up which show to some extent a departure from traditional Judaism'³ There is still a concern with the past, for wisdom itself is culled from past experiences and traditions⁴, and there is also the idea of wisdom operative in creation⁵ There is a strong emphasis upon the present⁶ Human conduct and right behaviour is its chief concern⁷ This is certainly practical⁸ and has a universal appeal and relevance⁸, but it is not entirely correct

1 The contrast therefore, between now and then, which has been traced in the O T understanding of God's kingship is found here too

2 cf Snaith, Cyrus to Herod, p 163 Oesterley, Jews, p 234 Box, Judaism, p 118

3 cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 245 cf also Pfeiffer, History, pp 64ff Rankin, Wisdom, p 5 Baumgartner in The Old Testament and Modern Study, pp 210ff Box, Judaism, p 118

4 cf e g the title 'Pirqa Aboth' - sayings of the fathers

5 cf Snaith, Cyrus to Herod, p 177 Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 248

6 cf Snaith, Cyrus to Herod, p 166 Cook, Old Testament, p 204 Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 236 Box, Judaism, p 119 Rankin, Wisdom, p 3

7 cf Box, Judaism, p 119

8 cf Baumgartner, in The Old Testament and Modern Study, p 211 Cook, Old Testament, p 204 Box, Judaism, p 119

to see this as thoroughly anthropological, for it is sufficiently
 Hebrew to retain God as its basis¹, exalting law and obedience to
 law as the height of wisdom² The future expectation is, however
 slight³ The reason appears to be the emphasis upon the present
 and present behaviour and, of course, apocalyptic writings could
 be said to balance the deficiency here⁴

3 Expectation in Hellenistic Judaism

Already the influences at work during the Hellenistic
 period have been seen in apocalyptic and wisdom writings It is
 only necessary to add a note concerning other minor or peripheral
 evidence⁵ First Philo- who, though to some extent a unique
 phenomenon⁷, must be accepted as the chief monument of Hellen-
 istic Judaism⁸ In combining the religious understandings of

1 cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 214

2 cf Snaith, Cyrus to Herod, p 166 Pfeiffer, History, p 64

3 cf Rankin, Wisdom, p 3 Klausner, Messianic Idea, p 252

4 There is no reason to suppose that the wisdom writers of the
 hellenistic period were ignorant of or antagonistic to apocalyp-
 tic expectations

5 For a discussion of the expectation in Hellenistic Judaism
 in more detail, cf Box, Judaism, pp 72ff Oesterley, Jews, pp
 19ff Pfeiffer, History, pp 181ff

6 cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, pp. 61ff Jews, pp 20ff Snaith,
Cyrus to Herod, p 173 Bousset, Religion, pp 438f ,452ff Pfei-
 ffer, History, pp 197ff

7 so Oesterley, Apocrypha, pp 61f Bousset, Religion, p 438,
 contrast, Kennedy, Mystery Religions, p 64

8 so E Bevan, Later Greek Religion, 1927, p 98

¹
 Hebrew and Greek , Philo retained a respect for the law and an
 obedience to it, and the fundamental conviction in a transcendent
² God ³ He held, too, a national hope for the future ⁴ - but his
 chief element of hope was personal, involving ecstasy ⁵ , mysticism
 and illumination ⁶ Secondly, the mystery religions which held a
 fascination for the Graeco- Roman world ⁷ Essentially, however,
 the mystery cults were individualistic and aimed at a mystic
 incorporation into the-divine ⁸ The Corpus Hermeticum ⁹ - which
 reflects such 'syncretistic Mystery cult' views ¹⁰ has as its chief

1 cf Bousset, Religion, p 440 Goodenough, Philo, pp 97ff

2 cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 64 Bousset, Religion, p 439

3 cf Goodenough, Philo, pp 113f

4 cf Bousset, Religion, p 449 Bevan, Religion, p 98

5 cf Kennedy, Mystery-Religions, pp 65ff Bousset, Religion,
p 452

6 cf Oesterley, Apocrypha, p 65

7 cf Kennedy, Mystery-Religions, p 20 Pfeiffer, History, p 147

8 cf Bousset, Religion, p 290 Pfeiffer, History, p 148

9 Reitzenstein, Die hellenistische Mysterienreligionen, 1910,
p 33 dates the material as 1-3rd centuries A D Kennedy, Mystery-
Religions, pp 104ff argues for about 300 B C - 300 A D

10 cf Kennedy, Mystery-Religions, p 104

end and aim knowledge ($\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$) of God¹ Then, the fourth Eclogue of Vergil presents the hope of a 'golden age' but in fundamental contrast to apocalyptic expectation, although it is on a cosmic scale it is the hope of revolution from within rather than of intervention from without

Still, therefore, an interest is found in past, present and future The past is the time of God's working in Israel (cf the 'historical' writings of Hellenistic Judaism²) The present is the occasion when men are required to live a virtuous life by practice of wisdom The future is viewed primarily as the ultimate end of human aspiration (rather than as the movement of God towards the world) The contrast of hidden and revealed is not at all prominent, and the tension between a 'now' and a 'then' gives way to one between 'here' and 'there'³ Instead of confidence in God's fulfilment of given promises, we find rather striving after the attainment of human longings⁴

1 cf Kennedy, Mystery-Religions, p 109

2 cf Pfeiffer, History, p 200

3 Boman, Hebrew Thought, pp 161ff accepts the Greek idea of a 'flight from this wretched world into the blessed timeless Beyond' (p 163) as a parallel to the Hebrew 'now'-'then' contrast, both of which, he says, are subsumed under the Christian idea of Revelation in Christ, and he argues on these lines against Cullmann (Christ and Time) In fact he appears to be at cross-purposes, for Cullmann is not suggesting that the Hebrew 'now'-'then' contrast excludes a 'here'-'there' contrast, and his point is only that the Hebrew does not long for absorption into the divine nor for an abandonment by God of this world, but looks for a future inbreak into history in fulfilment of Covenant promises

4 The contrasts may be overdrawn, but the differences are none the less real, cf Schmidt, in T W N T I, p 574

4 Expectation in Rabbinic Judaism

A hard and fast division is not here intended between apocalyptic and Rabbinic expectations¹, and only the main outlines of expectation will be noted²- (the material does not offer us a systematics but does allow us to distill certain ideas³)

The meaning of Malkuth is still 'rule', 'sovereignty'⁴ It is not so prominent in Rabbinic Judaism as in the N T proclamation. It has past, present and future reference. As for the past, God is regarded as Creator-King. On account of the fall of man he ~~xx~~ limited his kingship, but a significant step forward came with Abraham⁵. In its present application, the Malkuth JHWH takes on two senses⁶. First, it is now an eternal reality. Secondly, it can be accepted or rejected in the present by acknowledgement and obedience or their opposites⁷. The characteristic feature of the present Lordship is, however, its hiddenness⁸, and in this respect

1 Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, p9 writes, 'The Pharisees would not only be cognisant of apocalyptic speculation but in varying degrees doubtless attracted by it' cf also Lake, Introduction, pp 202f

2 cf S -B Kommentar Bonsirven, Judaïsme Daube, Rabbinic Judaism. The difficulty in using the Mishnah as evidence for 1st century Rabbinic views is noted cf Danby, Mishnah, pp xliiff Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, p 3

3 Montefiore, Judaism and Hellenism, p 139 calls the material 'as a whole, rambling, discursive, inartistic, amorphous'

4 cf Kuhn, in T W N T I, pp 570f Dalman, Words, pp 96f

5 cf S -B Kommentar, I, p 172

6 cf Targum Onkelos of Ex 15, 18 cf Bousset, Religion, pp 374f

7 Acceptance in point of fact comes to mean recognition of monotheism and the Shema cf Kuhn, in T W N T I, p 572 S -B Kommentar, I, p 177 Bonsirven, Judaïsme, pp 77ff

8 cf S-B Kommentar, I p 178

the old problem of suffering was acutely felt¹ With reference to the future, there is an attempt to some extent to unite various ideas² The coming aeon is spoken of as the heavenly realm into which the Righteous enter on dying³ it is also the final aeon which lies beyond the days of the Messiah⁴ The scope of the future expectation varies, but generally a certain prominence attaches to Israel⁵ The hope does not mean that the present is a matter for indifference⁶ The coming aeon could and should be prayed for⁷ The characteristic of its coming would be the manifestation of God's (already real) Kingship⁸

1 cf S -B Kommentar, I, p 178

2 cf S -B Kommentar, IV, pp 799ff

3 cf S -B Kommentar, IV, pp. 968ff

4 Sometimes this is thought of as NOT immediately following the advent of the Messiah, though the usual view is that the coming age 'unmittelbar an die Tage des Messias anschliessen werde und dass sein Beginn zugleich die Erneuerung der Welt bedeute' (S -B Kommentar, IV, pp 969f) There is a splitting up of future expectation into the 'days of the Messiah' followed by the 'final aeon' Behind this lies the attempt to harmonise the expectation of a direct intervention of JHWH himself, with that of his action through a mediator (cf Dalman, Words, pp 269f S -B Kommentar, IV, pp 968ff Kuhn, in T W N T I, p 573 Bousset, Religion, p 238) It is perhaps strange that 'nirgends erscheint etwa der Gedanke, dass das Königsreich des Messias die $\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota$ sei, oder dass der Messias durch sein Wirken die $\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota$ herbeiführe, o a ' (Kuhn, in T W N T I, p 573)

5 cf Sanh 10,1 'All Israel has a share in the coming Aeon '

6 Some references suggest that it is only human sin which holds back the coming aeon (cf S -B Kommentar, IV, p 30 and Excursus pp 977ff), whilst others without going this far give human obedience a significant place Yet other references show that the divine initiative in the whole matter was not lost sight of

7 cf the 11th prayer of the Shemoneh Esre, cf S -B Kommentar, I, p 178 Kuhn, in T W N T I, p 572

8 cf Dalman, Words, p 100 Bonsirven, Judaïsme, p 157 Kuhn, in T W N T I, p 572 S -B Kommentar, I, p 178

The central figure of the end is variously portrayed. The 'Son of David' concept of the Messiah occurs (cf Ps Sol 17,21) in pre-Christian times - more frequently in post Christian Jewish writings¹. Not infrequently the figure of Messiah is clothed with the character of the old idealised King expectation². His work includes political aspects, though this is only a part of his total concern³. His work in judgement varies according to the position given to the Messianic Kingdom in relation to the final aeon⁴. Variation is found also concerning his pre-existence. The term 'Son of Man' was not a regular Jewish designation, though for example in Rabbinic 'messianic' interpretations of Dan 7,13 the term seems 'certainly sometimes' to have been understood to 'denote the Messiah'⁵. The term 'Son of God' is used with reference to Israel as a whole, as the people of God⁶, but it is evident that 'Son of God' was not a common Messianic title⁷. As for

1 cf S,-B Kommentar, I,p 525 and IV,pp 968f

2 cf S -B Kommentar, IV,pp 872f

3 cf Dalman, Words, pp 297f

4 cf Dalman, Words, pp 300f. Sometimes the idea of pre-existence is lacking, cf Dalman, Words, p 302

5 so Dalman, Words, pp 244ff who sets out the evidence for Rabbinic interpretations of Dan 7,13. cf also Manson, Jesus, Appendix C, pp 173ff. Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, pp 279ff. Albright From Stone Age to Christianity, p 292 (who think the terms 'Son of Man' and 'Messiah' merged in the pre-Christian era. contrast Rowley, Relevance, p 29)

6 cf S -B Kommentar, III, pp 17ff. Dalman, Words, pp 268ff

7 Manson, Jesus, pp 105f. similarly Dalman, Words, p 272, S -B Kommentar, III, p 20

the 'Servant' concept, there is no general or frequent or obvious connection in Rabbinic literature of about the 1st century of the Messiah with the figure of the Servant of Deutero-Isaiah¹

There is evidence that some circles engaged in speculations² and reckoning the date of the end. On the other hand there is also evidence that some rejected entirely such attempts³. This reckoning hints at an earnest desire for the coming of the End, similar to the urgency manifest in apocalyptic. Further evidence can be found in the frequent prayers where the longing for God quickly to bring in his kingdom often finds voice

1 Manson, Jesus, pp 168ff, sets out the evidence showing how in the Targum on Is 52,3-53,12 all the elements of suffering are attributed to Israel or the heathen nations. He nevertheless asserts that 'in Biblical and Jewish belief the ideas Son of God, Servant of the Lord and Son of Man, however separate they may have been in origin, had come to signify only variant phases of the one Messianic idea' (op cit p 110). Certainly it is true that the figures of Messiah and Servant are at least brought into close contact in the Targum and therefore an identification of the two seems to be partially facilitated.

A fairly detailed discussion of attempts to find an actual identification in early Rabbinic literature is given by Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, pp 275ff. He quotes Volz (Jüdische Eschatologie, p 237) as giving an often drawn conclusion, 'Von einem Leiden des Messias ist in unserer Periode noch nicht die Rede. Is 53 hat man erst später mit dem Messias in Verbindung gemacht'. He hesitatingly rejects King's argument (E H King, Yalkut on Zechariah, 1882, App A, pp 85ff) that a 'Messiah ben Joseph' (usually given a 2nd century dating) can be found in our period and he accepts Rowley's refutation of the thesis that Taxo in the Ass Moses is to be seen as a suffering servant in 2nd Isaiah's sense. He concludes that 'the assumption is at least possible that the conception of a suffering Messiah was not unfamiliar to pre-Christian Judaism' (op cit p 283) cf further, Jeremias in Melanges offerts à M Goguel, pp 118f, for similar views. Contrast Sjöberg, verborgene Menschensohn pp 256ff 264ff.

2 cf S -B Kommentar, IV, pp 799ff. Bonsirven, Judaïsme, pp 161ff.

3 cf S -B Kommentar, IV, p 1013.

5 Expectation amongst particular groups

a The Qumran Community¹ Only the briefest sketch can here be given of the various elements in this community's expectation² God's rule is again comprehended under a three-fold pattern In the past God made known his Lordship especially to Israel's leaders, and in particular in the establishment of the Covenant by which Israel became a people 'unto God' and received the expression of his will³ In the present we find a double understanding on the one hand God's sovereignty was thought to be acknowledged in the community itself, in the faithful remnant whose 'main purpose was to exemplify and promulgate the true interpretation' of the Law⁴, and whose life reflected this submission in obedience to God's rule On the other

1 The question as to the identity of this community with the Essenes is here peripheral A comparison of the sources of information on the Essenes (Josephus Ant XII v 9 XV x 4f XVIII i 5 Wars II viii 2-13 Philo in Eusebius Pliny, Natural History V 17) with the scrolls is enough to show that 'the correspondence between the ideas of the Brotherhood and those that obtained generally in Palestine during the Graeco-Roman age and that survive sporadically among the more exotic sects is especially striking in the field of eschatology' (Gaster, Scriptures, p 32) And this general correspondence includes the more particular similarity with the Essenes Qumran expectation we shall take to be representative of all such communities

2 For fuller discussion of esp Dupont-Somer, Dead Sea Scrolls Rowley, The Zadokite Fragment and the Dead Sea Scrolls Bruce, Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls Allegro, 'Further Messianic References in Qumran literature', in J B L LXXV, 1956, pp 182ff References to the Scrolls will be made according to the system listed by R de Vaux, 'Fouille au Khirbet Qumran', in R B 1953, p 88

3 of the Oration of Moses, and see Gaster, Scriptures, pp 225ff cf also the fact that the Community was founded upon Scripture and its interpretation cf Burrows, Scrolls, pp 247ff

4 cf Gaster, Scriptures, p 15

hand, there is a recognition that God's present Lordship is but an aspect of his eternal sovereignty¹ This Lordship is not generally recognised because at present Belial holds sway in the world² Therefore there is also a future aspect to the Kingdom, the expectation that God would one day put an end to the present ambiguous situation and reveal himself as Lord in the punishment of the wicked and the blessing of the faithful The future age was expected to come into being through the mediation of a Messiah, variously conceived We meet again the expectation of two Messiahs, one of Levi and one of Judah³, the significance of which is not entirely clear The relation

1 cf I Q S iii

2 cf I Q S xii,2 C D iv,12

3 The expectation is already found in the Testament of the 12 Patriarchs of a Levitical Messiah alongside a Kingly descendant of Judah In an older recension of the Testaments (fragments found in Qumran) this Levitical Messiah is himself both priest and king (cf Test Reub 6,7-12) Elsewhere the priest Messiah of Levi is superior to the kingly (cf Test Jud 21,1-15 Test Naph 5,1-3) The Zadokite Document in its mentions of 'Messiah from Aaron and Israel' 'might be thought to point more naturally to one Messiah but in the light of cognate references in other Qumran texts a strong case can be made out for understanding them to point to two Messiahs - a Messiah of Aaron and a Messiah of Israel' (Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, p 44) This twofold expectation is linked in I Q S with the hope of a prophet (cf I Q S ix,11) and this threefold expectation is supported by I Q Testimonia referring to the coming prophet (Dt 5,25-26, 18, 18f) the coming Messiah of Jacob (Num 24,15-17) and the coming priest of Levi (Dt 33,8-11), the last having the pre-eminence

The teacher of Righteousness is connected with the coming Messiah in some way Dupont-Somer 'believes that the writer of the Damascus Document expected the teacher of righteousness to return at the end of the world as the Messiah To support this view he quotes the expression "from the gathering in of the unique teacher to the arising of the Messiah from Aaron and from Israel", but this implies a distinction between the unique teacher and the Messiah rather than their identification Believing that the teacher of righteousness was put to death in 65-63 B C Dupont-Somer infers that the end of the world was then expected very soon' (Burrows, Scrolls, pp 265f) Dupont-Somer's reconstruction of the community's hope has received little support (cf Burrows, Scrolls, p 266)

of the Messiah to a (? the) Teacher of Righteousness is also disputed. No use of the term 'Son of Man' in a Messianic connection is made, but it may be that it remained a potential. Some references¹ seem to regard the whole community as 'suffering servant', and it is possible that in I Q ~~Ss~~ 53,14 we have a reference to a priestly Messiah identified with the suffering servant - which could be a category for the community and for an expected individual².

The intensity of the community's hope is reflected in the careful and detailed preparations for the work of its members in the messianic woes³. There is, in the community, a tension between the present and future. And whilst there is no indication that the present was regarded with indifference, there is certainly a strain⁴ing after that which is to come.

b The Zealots⁴ Here we can confidently trace a doctrine of the sovereignty of God over the past life of Israel, and an awareness that this sovereignty is inadequately acknowledged in the present. But what the Zealot expectation for the future was, is a problem. It is usually said that they sought to establish the Messianic Kingdom⁵. Their first aim, however, seems to have been

1 I Q S 3,6-12, 4,20-21, 5,6-7 9,3-5

2 Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, p 62

3 cf I Q M passim Gaster, Scriptures, p 258 writes, 'To men who believed that the Final Age was indeed at hand, preparations for this war were a matter of imminent and urgent concern.'

4 $\epsilon \lambda \omega \tau \acute{\iota} \varsigma$ $\epsilon \psi \rho$ Josephus says the term was applied to the anti-Roman party from the time of Judas' revolt.

5 cf Angus, in E R E XII, pp 849f Cullmann, State, pp 8ff

simply the recovery of a theocratic government on the former pattern¹
 If this was confused with the hope of the messianic kingdom, there
 still seems reason to distinguish the two ideas and to accept the
 theocratic as the Zealot's primary aim²

They reveal an intense religious zeal and maintain a definite
 conjunction of political and religious hopes. They also reveal deep
 dissatisfaction with their present situation, in as much as it
 departed from the theocratic situation of former times where God's
 Lordship over Israel was more faithfully set forth than it could be
 under Roman rule. But as an extreme nationalist wing of Pharisaism
 it seems unlikely that they would have entertained hopes of forcing
 in the messianic age, and therefore their significance for our
 survey here is slight.

1 cf Cullmann, State, p 9

2 T N Schofield, The Historical Background to the Bible, p 292
 writes, the Zealots were 'ready to support any self-styled Messiah
 or prophet who proclaimed the imminent coming of God and the est-
 ablishment of His Kingdom'. But there is no evidence that they
 regarded any of their own leaders as Messiah, until the Bar Kochba
 rising in 132 A D (cf Duncan, Son of Man, p 67). There is, sim-
 ilarly, no evidence that Zealots immediately hailed John the Bap-
 tist as leader or Messiah.

Chapter 3 Consistent Eschatology

In its historical context, Schweitzer's interpretation of New Testament eschatology can be seen as a reaction against 19th century immanentism and liberalism. His thesis is as follows:

John the Baptist thought of himself as a prophet. Jesus alone¹ (because of his messianic consciousness) saw him as 'Elijah'.² Jesus believed himself to be the Messiah-designate and had a lively awareness of the nearness of the Kingdom of God and of his own glorification. But first repentance must be proclaimed and effected,³ Jesus leading the way. Thus he effected a synthesis of prophetic and apocalyptic eschatologies.⁴ Through his mighty works he prepared for the Kingdom's dawning.⁵ The mission of the twelve was 'the last effort for bringing about the Kingdom'.⁶ Yet the expected advent delayed and Jesus came to realise that only through his own affliction would the kingdom dawn. The entry into Jerusalem was his 'funeral march to victory'.⁷ and he died confidently expecting as the immediate consequence the dawning of the Kingdom⁸ and his own 'coming' as Messiah. Jesus' expectation proved wrong. It was his peculiar consciousness - a secret awareness progressively disclosed to Jesus at his baptism, to the three at the

1 cf Mk 9,11-13 Mtt 11,7ff 11,14 Ἡλείας ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι

2 cf Mystery, pp 185f , pp 254ff

3 cf Mystery, pp 94f

4 cf Mystery, p 256

5 cf Mystery, pp 256f

6 cf Mystery, p 261

7 cf Mystery, p 267

8 cf Quest, p 369

Transfiguration, to the Twelve shortly afterwards and through Judas¹ to the authorities - which gave rise to this false expectation

Schweitzer extends his thesis² to include a study of Paul in which he assumes 'the complete agreement of the teaching of Paul with that of Jesus' (meaning that Paul's thought was thoroughly Hebraic, and dominated by eschatology)³ Paul (in Schweitzer's view) regarded Jesus' death as the inauguration of the Messianic era⁴ and believed that an 'overlap' of aeons had occurred whereby the present world order continues, but its relevance is lost to those who are 'in Christ'⁵ This 'overlap' must cease when Jesus enters fully into his Kingdom⁶ and this event was regarded as imminent⁷ The lingering power of the angels over the elect mattered little⁸ the sacraments are temporary ad hoc institutions,⁹ ethics, now based on the past inauguration, are but interim ethics,¹⁰ and the present allows mystical union with Christ whereby one is here in this world, but also transcendently with Christ⁹

Following upon the loss, in the 2nd century, of 'the expectation of the immediate dawn of the Messianic Kingdom'¹⁰, Paul's

~~cf~~ 1 cf Mystery, pp 185ff , 214ff

2 cf Mysticism, p vii

3 cf Mysticism, p 64

4 cf Mysticism, p 192

5 cf Mysticism, p 63

6 cf Mysticism, p 65

7 cf Mysticism, p 22

8 cf Mysticism, pp 297ff

9 cf Mysticism, pp 3ff

10 cf Mysticism, p 39

thought (according to Schweitzer) was misunderstood, was Hellenised and translated into non-eschatological terms. The process was begun before the hope in a speedy coming of the Kingdom died, so that when the continued Parousia delay led eventually to the abandonment of an eschatological hope, a Hellenistic dogmatic system replaced it without disturbance¹. The process of change can be traced through Ignatius and Polycarp, Justin and Iohn². It was facilitated because Paul's mysticism made Hellenisation possible³. We must turn to Paul for the gospel of Jesus but only to 'the authentic Primitive Christian Paulinism'⁴, for Greek, Catholic and Protestant theologies 'all contain the gospel of Paul in a form which does not continue the gospel of Jesus but displaces it'⁵.

Recently F. Buri has supported Schweitzer's thesis. He upholds its recognition of the centrality of eschatology in the New Testament, of the centrality for Jesus' and for Paul's thought of a temporarily delimited Naherwartung⁶ and of the centrality for the life and growth of the early church of the Parousia-delay crisis⁷. He realises that the weakest point in Schweitzer's thesis is its failure to offer any full and sustained interpretation of the Jesus of

1 cf Mysticism, p 336

2 cf Mysticism, pp 341ff, 348ff

3 cf Mysticism, p 372

4 cf Mysticism, p 392

5 cf Mysticism, p 391

6 cf Die Bedeutung, pp 25ff

7 cf Die Bedeutung, p 27. Buri rejects all attempts to remove this expectation from the centre of the N T as 'embarrassment solutions'

history for present faith Schweitzer's reverence for life maxim¹ is more practised than expounded Buri seeks to overcome this deficiency by introducing Bultmann's hermeneutic principle of existential interpretation 'The New Testament', he argues, 'must be understood as referring to the individual and total human situation present and future, and not - directly - to world history'² The basis of eschatology is anthropological it is the 'will for life fulfilment' in the present, despite the discouragement of knowledge The essence of New Testament eschatology (he maintains) is the overcoming of knowledge by will, and this is expressed in the form of Judaic apocalyptic But we can substitute for this form the recognition of each present moment as a creation of God, and hence we can achieve a reverence for each moment as a creation divine The achievement of all this is precisely what the New Testament means when it speaks of being 'in Christ'³

Schweitzer concentrated upon the initial stage of the development of dogma through Jesus and Paul Building on this, subsequent development has been reconstructed, notably, by M Werner In the 'elucidation of the inner causes of Hellenisation', Werner argues, we need some overall understanding of the ministry and message of Jesus and the thought of Paul which may serve as our point of

1 cf My Life and Thought, pp 183ff

2 cf 'Das Problem', pp 97ff

3 cf Die Bedeutung, pp 127ff , 164ff

1
departure Werner believes that Schweitzer's thesis provides
2
this His own contribution may be summarised as follows 'Jesus
was wholly at one with late-Jewish apocalyptic in fundamental
outlook'³ Because Jesus, the Apostles, Paul and the entire early
church were all dominated by the conviction that the End and the
Parousia of Jesus as Messiah were immediately to occur, the delay
caused an enormous crisis for the church which led to -

- a falling away of many and the rise of 'heretics' (properly,
according to Werner, self-designated 'seekers')⁴
- b the abandonment of the old 'eschatological' understanding of
the gospel⁵
- c the reconstruction of belief primarily in terms of Jesus'
person (originally conceived as a 'high angelic being') and of
Jesus' work (originally conceived eschatologically) in non-
eschatological categories⁶

Werner maintains that we must return 'to that situation in
which the Primitive Christian faith, after the death of Jesus,
found itself so involved with the problem of the continuing delay
of the Parousia'⁷ in an effort to perceive what the 'present signi-
ficance of this Primitive Christianity' is, now that the content of
'the apocalyptic-eschatological ideas in their original form

1 It is Werner's contention that Harnack, Loofs, and Seeberg
fail at precisely this point Formation, p 6

2 cf Formation, p 9

3 cf Formation, p 14

4 cf Formation, pp 44ff

5 cf Formation, pp 71ff

6 cf Formation, pp 72ff

7 cf Formation, p 327

are no more, as such, to be reckoned as Christian truth'¹ The ~~task~~
~~task~~ is simply sketched in three pages of postscript²

Our criticism of Consistent Eschatology is most conveniently undertaken in two areas of concern, methodology and interpretation. First, we consider methodology. Werner recognises that since Schweitzer's day form criticism demands comment, but he concludes that where form criticism is used against Schweitzer it is, generally wrongly turned into an historical criterion³. Schweitzer, to be sure, was a forerunner of the form critics in attacking all subjective criteria of literary judgement, but he failed in that he did not apply his searching criticism of others, to himself. His literary method led him, for instance, to accept the form of the Sermon on the Mount and of the charge to the Twelve (Mtt 10) as authentic. In both cases, form criticism - without turning itself into an historical criterion - shows us the fragmentary nature of the material⁴. In two important instances Schweitzer suspended his literary criterion in favour of historical presuppositions. He combined Mtt 10 with Mk 6, though on literary grounds this is quite unjustified⁵, and he transferred the Transfiguration scene to a period

1 cf Formation, p 327

2 cf Formation, pp 328ff

3 cf Formation, p 11

4 cf Glasson, Advent, p 103. Kümmel, Promise, pp 63ff. Grässer, Problem, pp 18ff. Michaelis, Matthäus, II, p 93. Flückiger, Ursprung p 26, who all maintain the composite character of Mtt 10.

5 cf e.g. Flückiger, Ursprung, p 25. Kümmel, Promise, pp 62f

preceding the conversation on the way to Caesarea Philippi, though¹
there is no literary ground for doing so

The historical criterion which Schweitzer selected 'from within²
the tradition' is the apocalyptic of contemporary Judaism. But the
selection of this as the measure of the authenticity of New Testament
material raises three important questions -

- i Is such a narrow and precise criterion necessary?
- ii Is its selection justified in view of the complexity of thought³
in contemporary Judaism?
- iii Can such a criterion allow even the possibility of any sui
generis element in Jesus' life and work?

In its application the criterion has radical effects which seem
increasingly questionable. For example, Schweitzer rejects in the
Synoptic material the birth narratives as unauthentic yet there are
commentators who find grounds for treating these narratives with much⁴
more respect. The Fourth Gospel, on Schweitzer's criterion, is⁵
entirely removed from material bearing on the actual life of Jesus
yet the historical value of the Fourth Gospel is being increasingly⁶
recognised. As a further example, Schweitzer's criterion rules the
2nd Epistle to the Thessalonians as non-Pauline because 'it explic-

1 Mystery, p 180 Schweitzer admits as much

2 cf Werner, Formation, p 15

3 cf above, chapter 2, pp 24ff

4 cf e.g. Creed, Luke, ad loc Manson, Luke, pp xxf

5 cf Mystery, p 9 Werner, Formation, p 47

6 cf Barrett, John, pp 116ff Strachan, Fourth Gospel, pp 27ff
Howard, Fourth Gospel, pp 18f

itly opposes the idea that the return of Jesus is immediately at hand, and enumerates all that must happen before that Day can dawn (II Thess 2,1-12)¹ The Epistle, however, can be interpreted quite adequately as Pauline²

On the basis of this historical criterion a picture of Jesus as an apocalyptic Schwärmer emerges with which certain elements of the New Testament do not accord these elements are therefore designated 'later interpretation' A first century apocalyptic Schwärmer, however, is no less an arbitrary creation than (for example) a nineteenth century Idealist, or a twentieth century Jesus of existentialism³ Schweitzer's antithesis between the (so-called historical facts of the Synoptics and the (so-called) theological idealisation of the remainder of the New Testament is not a necessary antithesis⁴ Further, Werner's antithesis between Jesus and all subsequent dogma is not a necessary antithesis⁵ It is at least possible that cleavage, where it is definitely to be found, is due to alien influences rather than to any inner need for re-interpretation⁶

1 cf Mysticism, p 42

2 as e g by Lauk, II Thessalonicher, pp 9ff Oepke, Thessalonicher, pp 128ff

3 cf Cullmann, Unzeitgemässe Bemerkungen, pp 266ff

4 cf Burkitt's preface to the English Quest, and G Seaver's unsuccessful criticism of this (in Schweitzer, p 201)

5 One need only compare the entirely positive evaluation of the rise of christian dogma in terms of the elucidation of its inherent significance in Jesus' person and work, in accordance with his own self-understanding, offered by Turner, Pattern, to see how arbitrary and self-imposed are these antitheses

6 cf Cullmann, 'Das Wahre', pp 171ff who cites the lack of discernment of the continuing work of the Holy Spirit as one cause

We turn now to criticism of interpretation. In representing apocalyptic as the dominating feature of Jesus' thought, Schweitzer omits to notice the considerable variety of expectation contained within contemporary apocalyptic writings¹. Most significantly, the work of the Messiah is never represented in apocalyptic as 'forcing in the kingdom', and the idea of a secret life of humiliation prior to exaltation is, generally, lacking.

In selecting apocalyptic as the dominating feature of Jesus' thought world, Schweitzer neglects other prominent aspects of first century Judaism: traditionalism, for instance, amongst the Sadducees, legalism amongst the Pharisees and syncretism where Hellenistic influence thrived. Schweitzer himself noted the inadequacy of apocalyptic in interpreting Jesus' thought, but only conceded that Jesus combined with it the older prophetic ethics². The New Testament contains hints (at least) that apocalyptic was not the all dominating factor either in Jesus' thought or in the contemporary situation, which Schweitzer imagined it to be. The common people, for example, who both 'heard Jesus gladly' (Mk 12,37) and who 'went out unto' John the Baptist 'and were baptised of him, confessing their sins' (Mk 1,5) are never represented as acclaiming the Baptist as 'Messiah'³, nor do they suggest that Jesus is more than a 'John the Baptist, or Elijah, or one of the prophets' (Mk

1 cf above, chapter 2, pp 246

2 cf Mystery, pp 256ff Mysticism, pp 80ff

3 Neither in the N T nor in Josephus

8,28) Had apocalyptic had such a general, dominating influence, it is difficult to understand why John was held only as a prophet, and neither he nor Jesus attracted messianic acclaim¹ The disciples, too, do not appear to have been entirely bound by apocalyptic speculation Matthew ὁ τελώνης (Mtt 10,3), for instance, would have had little in common with the Pharisees amongst whom apocalyptic most probably had some favour Simon the Zealot (Lk 6,15, Acts 1, 13), or οὗτος ὁ κενανός (Mk 3,18 Mtt 10,4) was a member of the political zealot group, and others (Judas Iscariot, Simon Peter, the two sons of Zebedee) might perhaps have been² according to our survey of this group, its aims were primarily political, its interest quite different from apocalyptic Jesus himself, also, though most likely influenced by apocalyptic³ would hardly have attended only to this pressure It is clear that he would have been to synagogue services from childhood⁴ and must have been thoroughly familiar with the Pentateuch and Prophets through the lessons, and with Rabbinic Targumim through the sermons⁵ Surely, these will have influenced him too

It is specially questionable whether apocalyptic can prove an adequate key in probing Jesus' self-understanding Difficulties

1 Even if the Entry into Jerusalem is understood (with many commentators) as openly messianic, this is not necessarily contradicted but it is possible that the event was not so understood by the bystanders cf Cranfield, Mark, pp 352ff

2 cf Cullmann, State, pp 15ff

3 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 275

4 cf Luke's explicit statement, 4,16

5 cf W Bacher, in H D B IV, pp 640ff

clearly arise in interpreting the (so-called) messianic secret. In Schweitzer's view the secret consists in Jesus' belief that he was Messiah-designate¹. This, he argues, is a secret 'of necessity'² because it is inexpressible. Yet Schweitzer's thesis of a double consciousness, which he propounds as a rationale of the secret,³ might be expected to have served as a medium for its communication⁴. Further, it is this secret which, according to Schweitzer, Judas betrayed. Apparently he was able to express it. In fact there is no justification in the Synoptics for holding that this is what Judas betrayed⁵. Moreover, the variety and character of terms used or accepted by Jesus regarding his person and work weigh against Schweitzer's analysis of Jesus' self-consciousness. Chief of these is his characteristic self-designation Son of Man. The present and future usages of this can be reconciled if we say, not 'Jesus expected to be revealed as the Son of Man when the Kingdom dawned', but rather, 'Jesus as Son of Man already (though now in humiliation

1 cf Mystery, p 254

2 cf Mystery, p 186

3 cf Mystery, p 187

4 Schweitzer's argument runs

a The secret is inexpressible, hence it is a secret

b This secret is difficult for us to understand, but everyone then held a 'double consciousness' theory which made the matter intelligible

5 Flückiger, Ursprung, p 35 argues that Schweitzer has begun with the idea of 'betrayal' and so thinks in terms of a 'secret', whereas the idea of παραδίδωμι means 'bemande ausliefern, übergeben, in die Hände spielen'. Such a claim to Messiahship could not, of course, have been condemned as blasphemy. It was surely the claim to Sonship which led to this charge. cf Flückiger, Ursprung, p 36

expected to be revealed as Son of Man in glory' ¹ Perhaps, too, Jesus saw his work in the light of the Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. In the Baptism narrative (Mk 1,11 par) the bat-kôl contains an allusion to Is 43,1 ² 'The voice from heaven comes to Jesus as a summons to accept the task of the one who is addressed in the same way at the beginning of the ebed-Jahweh hymns in Is 42,1. Jesus was therefore conscious at the moment of his baptism that he had to take upon himself the ebed Jahweh role' ³ Again, in the last supper (Mk 14,24, Mtt 26,28, Lk 22,20 cf I Cor 11,24) all four accounts agree ⁴ in mentioning both the covenant (διαθήκη) and vicariousness (ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν , ὑπὲρ πολλῶν , περὶ πολλῶν) Though several allusions are probably intended ⁵ , Otto ⁶ and Cullmann ⁷ find certain reference to Is 42,6 and 49,8 where it is actually the servant who is given 'for a covenant of the people' ⁸ This

1 of Cullmann, Christology, p 164 Cranfield, Mark, pp 276ff Preiss, Life in Christ, pp 43ff

2 The apparent reference to Ps 2,7 may not be intended - cf Cranfield, Mark, p 55 Contrast Glasson, Advent, p 119 who thinks 'the combination of these two passages is a stroke of genius', similarly Schniewind, Markus, pp 12ff

3 Cullmann, Christology, p 67 cf Baptism, pp 16f Cranfield, Mark, pp 54f

4 With the exception of the D text of Luke

5 To the Sinai Covenant (Ex 24,6-8) in τὸ αἶμα τῆς διαθήκης (Mk 14,24) to the Covenant foretold in Jer 31,31 in I Cor 11,25, as well as to the Servant Songs, Is 53,12, 42,6, 49,8

6 Kingdom of God, pp 289ff

7 Christology, p 65

8 This is contested by e.g. Flew, Church, pp 103f But a consciousness of vicarious suffering in the establishment of a new covenant seems most probably to be present in Jesus' words

vicarious element seems to be present similarly in the $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$
 $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ of Mk 10,45¹ It is at least possible that some relationship
 existed in Jesus' mind between his understanding of himself and the
 person of the 'ebed JHWH'² The term Son of God might also be men-
 tioned here Schweitzer maintained that Jesus became conscious at
 his baptism of his status as Messiah-designate the bat-kôl, however
 'confirms his already existing filial consciousness'³ The Trans-
 figuration, similarly, is not a revelation of his status as Messiah-
 designate, but a confirmation of his Sonship It is as Son that the
 demons recognise him (Mk 5,7 3,11,etc) It is as 'Christ $\delta \varsigma \upsilon\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$
 $\tau\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\omega$ ' that he is condemned (Mk 14,61 par)⁴ Other designations
 such as Rabbi, Master, Prophet, which other people used of Jesus and
 which were not altogether repudiated by him, suggest that Jesus was
 able to create impressions familiar to diverse traditions in Jewish

1 of which Cullmann, Christology, p 65 writes, 'Here we have the central theme of the ebed Jahweh hymns, and this is a clear allusion to Is 53,5 It is as if Jesus said, "The Son of Man came to fulfil the task of the ebed Jahweh" '

2 cf further Zimmerli and Jeremias, in T W N T V, pp 636ff and Servant Manson, The Servant Messiah Cullmann, Christology, pp 51ff For the contrary view, cf Hooker, Jesus and the Servant Barrett, 'The Background of Mk 10,45', in N T Essays, pp 1ff

3 Cranfield, Mark, p 55

4 Some of these passages seem to draw the Servant and the Son together At the baptism the bat-kôl might be said to confirm a filial consciousness in a context of dedication to the mission of the servant In the case of the Transfiguration, the confirmation of Sonship is linked, at least in Luke, to the mission of suffering (cf $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu \tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\delta\omicron\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon, \acute{\alpha}\nu \gamma\mu\kappa\lambda\lambda\epsilon\nu \pi\lambda\gamma\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu$) cf also Mtt 11, 25-30 where an expression of filial consciousness is followed by a passage (vg 28-30) reminiscent of the mission of the Servant (cf esp 'for I am meek and lowly' Is 50,6 53,3f)

life and thought, and was apparently not unwilling to do so. All these terms indicate that Jesus saw himself as more than Messiah-designate¹. The terms of Apocalyptic are also seen to be insufficient, and the future tense not comprehensive enough, to express Jesus' consciousness of his own person and work.

When Jesus' self-consciousness is understood in wider terms than the secret of his person becomes intelligible, and is better formulated as the Son of God secret. It consists in the fact that 'God was in Christ' (II Cor 5,19) in him was the Eschaton - yet not in glorious majesty but in the form of a servant 'to save his people from their sins' (Mtt 1,21 Mk 2,6)². It arises from the fact that Jesus, Son of God assumes the role and mission of the Servant, and it is sustained in order that the divine mystery of election (of 'calling' and of 'faith') might be operative. Contrary³ to Schweitzer's thesis, Jesus did not seek to force in the Kingdom but declared it to be present already in his own person and work (we shall have to expand on this later).

1 We may note also such references as Mtt 12,42 = Lk 11,31 Mtt 13,16 Lk 10,21ff Mtt 19,16ff = Lk 18,18f (where Jesus' answer couples, as on a par, obedience to the commandments and allegiance to himself) Mk 2,6ff, where, even if the term Son of Man is a gloss (cf Rawlinson, Mark, ad loc Taylor, Mark, ad loc Cranfield, Mark, ad loc) the proclamation of forgiveness cannot be questioned here - if not blasphemy (the answer of the scribes) - is an indication of the presence of the final rule of God (cf Schniewind, Markus, p 23).

2 cf further Schniewind, Markus, pp 41ff (on Mk 4,11f) Torrance in S J T III, 1950, pp 298ff Cranfield, in S J T V, 1952, pp 49ff Preiss, Life in Christ, pp 43ff Cullmann, Christology, passim.

3 Flückiger, Ursprung, p 38 (and note 57) rightly argues that even in terms of apocalyptic such a mission is unthinkable.

Jesus' death can hardly be interpreted (as Schweitzer wishes) as meaning for Jesus 'saving others from the Messianic woes'¹ Apocalyptic expectation does not anticipate such a Messianic work If $\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\omicron\nu$ is to be identified as meaning $\Pi\psi\chi$ (in Mk 10,45) a sin-offering², the matter is even more definite, for nowhere in the gospels or in late Jewish apocalyptic is the bearing of Messianic woes referred to as a sin-offering³, and precisely in the context of Mk 10,45 the messianic woes are not mentioned It is, surely, because Schweitzer's interpretation underemphasises the grace-motif in Jesus' death that he resorts to his thesis of reverence for life, and Werner (following Buri) turns to Jasper's existentialism⁴

Schweitzer maintains that Jesus expected one single event following his death (the End, involving the general resurrection and his own glorification) We shall argue that apparent references to a speedy coming of the End do not necessitate this view⁵ and that there is evidence that Jesus expected a Zwischenzeit and made provision for such⁶ Schweitzer appears to allow one group of references (which he interprets as forecasting a speedy End) to rule out another group (which might be taken as indicating an

1 cf Mystery, pp 266f

2 with Jeremias and Zimmerli, in T W N T V, pp 709ff and Cranfield, Mark, p 342 contrast Buchsel, in T W N T IV, pp 341ff

3 cf Flückiger, Ursprung, p 33, pp 80ff

4 The evacuation of a gospel motif is found also in late Jewish apocalyptic (cf Enoch 98,10 53,2 60,6 62,9 II Esdras 5,17f)

5 see below, pp 256ff

6 see below, pp 136ff

interval before the End) and this is an instance of quite unsatisfactory 'monist' thinking¹ Taken in conjunction with the soteriological interpretation of Jesus' mission and death, the provision of an interim in which the call to repentance and faith is made possible, is entirely intelligible The grace-motif of Jesus' life and work is seen to be continued and made effectual in the grace-character of the interim Divorced, as in Schweitzer's thesis, from such a soteriology, the expectation² of an interval must be quite incomprehensible

The reconstruction of Paul's thought in terms of consistent eschatology is questionable at many points Werner (less cautiously than Schweitzer) maintains that Paul held Jesus to be an angelic power To be sure, a certain subordination of the Son to the Father is present (cf e g I Cor 15,28) But an angel Christology as such, seems to be excluded by, for example, Phil 2,6ff Rom 8, 37-39, etc The appellation $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\varsigma$ could conceivably reflect the occasional apocalyptic usage with reference to angels, but is much more likely to follow the frequent usage² of the Old Testament in connection with God $\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\varsigma$, never used in the Old Testament or in ~~apocalyptic~~ apocalyptic literature of an angel, is on the other hand the well-used expression for God³ Other titles with a wealth

1 cf Schuster, in ~~ExxNxx~~ Z N W XLVII, 1956, pp 1ff

2 Even more frequent than in apocalyptic itself as Werner admits

3 cf Michaelis, Zur Engelchristologie, pp 61ff

of significance are applied to Jesus in the New Testament¹ and these must influence our understanding of any 'angel' category of interpretation

Schweitzer² and Werner³ claim that Paul understood Jesus' death and resurrection as the initiation of the End of the world, and that he saw Jesus' resurrection as the literal beginning of the general resurrection. Werner⁴ finds this especially in Gal 6,14. But, as Flückiger⁵ says, there is no mention here of a process nor of an immediate continuation.⁶ Contrary to Schweitzer Paul seems to have expected not the completion of a process, although the present involves a process of events - in individual believers (cf Rom 13,11ff), in the church (cf II Cor 10,16 Rom 9-11), and in the world (cf Rom 8,20 II Thess 2). He rather contrasts past hidden events⁷ with their expected future unveiling.

1 cf Taylor, Names Cullmann, Christology

2 cf Mysticism, pp 54f

3 cf Formation, p 72

4 Formation, p 73

5 Ursprung, p 49

6 Flückiger, Ursprung, p 49 writes, 'Allerdings scheint Werner der Meinung zu sein, dass Paulus diese Katastrophe für ein sehr langsam fortschreitendes Geschehen angesehen habe, da der Galat-erbrieff immerhin zwei Jahrzehnte nach der Passion Jesu abgefasst worden ist, zu welcher Zeit eine Verwandlung der Welt noch nicht erkennbar war. Vorsichtig redet er dann auch nur von einem "Beginn" der kosmischen Endereignisse, obschon Gal 6,14 mit keinem Wort auf eine bloss beginnende Handlung schliessen lässt.'

7 cf Col 2,3 'Wisdom and knowledge hidden in Christ' Col 3,4 'the life hidden in Christ' Col 4,3-4,7 the gospel 'hidden in them that are perishing', 'treasure in earthen vessels' Phil 2,6ff Rom 3,24f II Cor 8,9

the undeniable manifestation of the One in whom the End events¹ have occurred - hence he awaits Jesus himself, and 'in glory'

The contention that at certain points in the Epistles we find Paul's confident belief that the End must come within a short and limited period must be discussed later² To anticipate our argument, we suggest that whilst Paul regarded the speedy return of Christ as a real possibility, he nowhere maintained it as certain or necessary, either in his early letters or in his late ones

Consistent Eschatology concludes that the delay of the Parousia created a total, crucial and indeed fatal crisis in the life of the early church³ This, however, elevates one single area of thought into the central problem of the church and ignores a welter of problems concerning faith and life (much more deserving to be termed 'crises') which faced the church in its early years, and in the light of which the development of dogma should also be viewed Foremost amongst these we mention Judaizing and the tendency towards legalism, giving rise to the problem of the relationship of Jew and Gentile Christians Gnosticism, leading to the abandonment both of the reality of Christ's past (Docetism) and

1 cf I Cor 1,8 13,10-12 Col 3,4 etc Paul awaits an open judgement which will one day be given, cf Rom 2,16 I Cor 1,8 3,13 4,5 When also the full blessing of redemption won through Christ's death and resurrection would be experienced, cf I Cor 4,5 5,6 II Cor 1,10 1,14 4,14 Eph 2,7 6,8 When all things would be renewed, cf Phil 3,20-21 I Cor 15,28 Col 1,17 2,15 3,1 Eph 1,20f Phil 2,9f

2 cf below, pp 154ff

3 cf Schweitzer, Mysticism, pp 39ff 336ff Buri, Die Bedeutung pp 27ff Werner, Formation, pp 43ff

also of the future hope (pure mysticism), and giving rise to the problem of holding fast to the 'tradition' in the face both of Gnostic eclecticism and also of certain Christian attempts at apologetics Antinomianism, leading to the abandonment of ethics and giving rise to the problem of maintaining a dialectic of the freedom of the gospel and the obligation of obedient faith economic communism, leading to the abandonment of personal possessions (Acts 4,32ff) and producing 'busybodies' (II Thess 3,11) and giving rise to the problem of rightly dispensing charity

These problems, arising from within and from without the Christian community must, surely, be considered as stimuli towards the formation of explicit statements of faith and order, before one supposed crisis (namely that of a Parousia delay) is set up as the central impulse On the thesis of Consistent Eschatology it remains a problem why the Christian sect did not go the way of other disappointed apocalyptic groups whose chosen Messiah had failed them, and in part return to orthodox Judaism, in part linger on as a sect until finally dying out Gamaliel's argument (Acts 5,35ff) is based on correct premisses backed by precedents and is a valid one The presence of confessional statements of an early date ¹ indicates that it is at least possible and legitimate to understand the growth of Christian dogma as the explication of what was, from the first, true - though for a while only implicit ²

1 cf e g Phil 2,6ff Cullmann, Confessions, passim

2 Turner, Pattern, pp 20ff (cf p 22, 'There are more points of contact between the N T and the later church than he (Werner) seems to allow')

Werner himself cites examples of what he calls the translation 'of the logic of the Parousia expectation into practice', creating groups fired with expectancy and manifesting either an ascetic world-abandonment or an antinomian world-affirmation, and he recognises that such movements 'produced great harm' Surely, had the Christian community held a similar apocalyptic fervour it too would have expressed its logic in practice and stopped work to await its Lord' Yet from the first, it seems, the Christian community in its entirety attached firm importance to the present as having an especial place in the total salvation-history

Consistent Eschatology must further reckon with the difficulty that in spite of being founded (apparently) upon disappointment, the church - to a greater or lesser extent, here and there, and from time to time - continued to live and suffer, to work and witness in a way hardly consistent with such an origin and foundation Schweitzer and Werner think that disappointment led to Hellenisation But it is at least possible that Hellenisation came about through 'human faithlessness', which is also an adequate explanation of the loss of expectancy in the church's faith and life

2

Few writers would deny the value of the impulse given to New Testament study by Schweitzer and other exponents of Consistent Eschatology Nor would they deny the necessity of taking

1 He cites Montanus and two cases related by Hippolytus in his commentary on Daniel (under IV 18,1ff 19,1ff) cf Formation p 41

2 Cullmann, in K r S XI, 1942

seriously the eschatology of the New Testament But the narrowness and one-sidedness of the methodology involved and of the interpretation offered is very apparent¹ The expectation of apocalyptic (certainly as Schweitzer understands it) cannot do justice to the soteriological understanding of Jesus' life and death which we find throughout the New Testament Nor can it account for the fact that in spite of hope such as we find expressed in Acts 1,6, the early church neither awaited whatever the future should hold with an abandonment of present responsibilities, nor did it die out its 'natural' way, as other disillusioned enthusiastic movements did

1 cf Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, pp 34ff

Chapter 4

Realised Eschatology

From the view that Jesus erred in expecting a Parousia, we turn to the view that the early church erred in its hope. Realised Eschatology has found considerable support, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world.¹ Its foremost exponent, Professor C H Dodd² maintains that in Jesus' ministry 'the Kingdom of God has finally come. In the ministry of Jesus Christ the divine power is released in effective conflict with evil.' This is the fixed point of his exegesis, provided, as he claims, by the 'clear and unambiguous' passages³ and supported by a particular interpretation of the parables. Dodd holds that Jesus' expectation for the future was three-fold

- a His own coming death⁴
- b Impending disaster for the Jews⁵
- c Survival of death, and the triumph of God's cause in his own person⁶

1 cf Bibliography in Kummel, Promise, p 2, n 3, though this is not exhaustive. R Otto and E von Dobschütz are not included (cf Barrett, in S J T VI, 1953, p 153) and the important work of J A T Robinson (Coming) has since appeared.

2 cf especially Parables, 1935 Apostolic Preaching, 1936 History, 1938 Coming of Christ, 1951 Fourth Gospel, 1953 Studies, 1954. For a complete bibliography cf The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, ed Davies and Daube, 1956.

3 i.e. Mtt 12,28 = Lk 11,20 Mk 1,14-15 Lk 10,23-24 = Mtt 13,16-17 Lk 11,32 = Mtt 12,41-42 Mtt 11,1-11 = Lk 7,18-30 Mtt 11,12 = Lk 16,16

4 cf Mk 10,31-45 Lk 9,51-62 13,22f 14,25-33 Mk 8,34 Mtt 16,24 Lk 9,23 Mtt 10,38 = Lk 14,27

5 cf Mk 14,58 Jn 2,19 Mk 13,2 Mtt 23,37-38 = Lk 13,34-35 Lk 19,43-44 21,20 Mk 13,14-20 Lk 13,1-5

6 cf Mtt 11,23f = Lk 10,13-14 Mtt 10,13 = Lk 10,12 Mtt 12,41-42 = Lk 11,31-32 cf Parables, chapter 3 (pp 81ff)

The earliest Christian preaching, which Dodd reconstructs from Acts 1-11¹ remained true (according to Dodd) to this teaching. However, within a few years - 'once the tremendous crisis in which they felt themselves to be living'² - had passed, that which had originally been understood as one whole process was broken up into death-resurrection-exaltation on the one hand, and Parousia on the other.³ The Parousia, that is to say, came to be understood as the last event in a chronological series⁴ and the early church fell back into apocalypticism⁵.

Dodd's understanding of Paul's thought is greatly influenced by his conviction that Paul underwent considerable spiritual and psychological development⁶ involving the 'transcending of a certain harsh dualism' very deeply rooted in the apocalyptic eschatology which moulded the Weltanschauung with which Paul began.⁷ Thus, initially Paul's faith was fitted into an apocalyptic framework (cf I Thess 1,9-10 II Thess 2)⁸. This persists in I Corinthians though there is a slight change of emphasis, for 'whereas in I

1 Dodd maintains their authenticity Apostolic Preaching, pp 30ff

2 Apostolic Preaching, p 72

3 Apostolic Preaching, pp 64ff

4 Whereas, according to Dodd, the true, original hope is in 'the impending verification of the Church's faith that the finished work of Christ has in itself absolute value' Apostolic Preaching, p 92

5 Apostolic Preaching, pp 80ff

6 cf Studies, pp 80ff 108ff

7 cf Studies, p 126

8 cf Studies, p 109

Thessalonians it is distinctly exceptional for a Christian to die before the Advent, in I Corinthians he has to assure his readers that not all Christians will die. He himself, with others, will survive to the Advent (I Cor 15,51-52)¹ Thereafter 'the thought of the imminence of the Advent retires into the background'² At the same time there is a 'growing emphasis on eternal life here and now in communion with Christ'³, and in place of the early world denial (cf I Cor 7) comes a positive evaluation of the world, of political institutions (Rom 13,1-10), of the instinctive goodness of the natural man (Rom 2,14-15) and of the family and marriage tie (Col 3,18f Eph 5,21-33)

In the Fourth Gospel, Dodd finds the ultimate stage of the development traced in Paul, namely the re-interpretation, or transmutation of popular eschatology⁴, and thereby the return to the true intention of Jesus' teaching⁵

Dodd maintains that apocalyptic language was used by Jesus only as a form in which to express eternal truths⁶. The myths concerning the 'beginning' and 'end' of history serve to give absolute-ness to particular concepts ('the myth of the last Judgement is a symbolic statement of the final resolution of the great conflict'⁷)

1 cf Studies, p 110 2 cf Studies, p 111

3 cf Studies, p 113

4 cf Dodd's comments on Jn 14,1-24 (Fourth Gospel, pp 390ff) Here (he argues) it is made clear that 'the true Parousia is to be found in the interchange of divine $\lambda\gamma\alpha\sigma\mu\iota$, made possible through Christ's death and resurrection' (op cit p 395)

5 cf Fourth Gospel, p 406

6 cf Parables, pp 195ff

7 History, p 170 N B In Dodd's later work, Coming of Christ,

T F Glasson has endeavoured to trace more fully the transition from Jesus' view to that of the early church. Briefly, his thesis is that the Parousia idea 'is certainly absent from the Old Testament, the most important source for the teaching of Jesus',² nor is it found in apocryphal literature,³ and, in apocalyptic writings 'we find in most of them the Old Testament conception of an earthly king'.⁴ The idea of a Parousia in Jesus' teaching would be out of place (he says) since Jesus regarded his own death as the gateway to a new epoch.⁵ Even in the earliest days of the church there was no idea of a Parousia.⁶ But by the time of Paul, the idea had developed, through the influence of the Old Testament and apparently unfulfilled prophecies,⁷ through the identification of Jesus with 'the Lord' which facilitated the

he links the final resolution with a real conclusion of human history, thus providing a not insignificant modification of his former views see esp pp 26f

1 The Second Advent, 1945 (revised 1947)

2 Advent, p 13 ('Daniel being no exception', p 14)

3 Advent, p 19

4 Advent, p 20 Glasson finds that 'the bulk of this literature is either silent' about, or denies, the idea of a descent of the Messiah in visible glory from heaven (p 23). The exception, the Similitudes of Enoch are 'unique in Jewish writings' and 'present marked differences from the eschatology of the NT' (p 33). He thinks Charles and Otto mistaken in maintaining the dependence of NT writers on Enoch (pp 41ff) that the Similitudes depend on Daniel for Son of Man imagery and that Jesus most likely went to the same source; that the Similitudes should (with Bousset's support) be dated mid 1st century AD

5 cf Advent, pp 63ff

6 cf 'The Kerygma is our version correct', in H J LI, 1952-3, where Glasson reconstructs the original five main points of the primitive kerygma, from which the Parousia is absent

7 cf Advent, pp 159ff

transference of theophanic imagery to him¹, and through the Anti-Christ legend, imported into Christianity and serving to give imm-
 inence to the expectation² Glasson finds confirmation that the
 Parousia is an early church idea in the absence of the theme in
 Jewish writings of the Christian era³

J A T Robinson⁴ has also sought to probe the foundations of
 the Parousia hope since (he argues) it is lacking in traditional
 Jewish expectation⁵ and in early Christian preaching and confess-
 ions⁶ His conclusion is that into the traditional Jewish eschat-
 ological pattern, Jesus brought the message that God was now per-
 forming a decisive act 'whose climax he described in such terms as
 the coming in power, whether of the Kingdom of God or of the Son of
 Man'⁷ This climax involved two interrelated themes, vindication
 and visitation Concerning the former, he affirms that 'as far as

1 cf Advent, pp 162ff

2 cf Advent, pp 180ff Glasson maintains that alongside this false development, leading to Millenarianism and the Book of Rev-
 elation, we find the true line of understanding (i e true to
 Jesus' intention) developed in Paul's later work (especially in
 Ephesians) and, supremely, in the Johannine literature, the Gospels
 and Epistles

3 What instances there are, he concludes (following Bousset) to
 be due to contact with Christian thought or to interpolation cf
Advent, pp 231f

4 cf In the End, God _____, 1950 'The Most Primitive Gospel of
 All?' in J T S VII, 1956, pp 177ff Jesus and His Coming, 1957

5 cf Coming, p 22

6 cf Coming, pp 28ff

7 cf Coming, p 39

Jesus' own words are concerned, there is nothing to suggest that he shared the expectation of a return in glory which the Church entertained and ascribed to him' ¹ Visitation ², Robinson maintains, has three aspects ³ none of which refers to the Parousia. The themes of vindication and visitation 'meet in a point where the crisis brought by his ministry comes to its head' ⁴.

In the early days of the church's life, certain aspects of the crisis spoken of by Jesus were given a chronological setting and thus received a temporal instead of a moral connotation ⁵. The reason behind such a transition was, according to Robinson, the confusion of two divergent Christologies ⁶. The earliest held that 'the Christ will come (he has not yet)', and will be Jesus' (cf Acts 3) the later Christology affirmed that 'Christ has come' (cf Acts 2). The latter properly represents Jesus' thought as he contemplated his passion and exaltation in advance. The two Christologies were never really reconciled in the church, with the result that the twin affirmations Christ has come, and Christ will come, were held

1 Coming, p 57

2 A theme familiar (says Robinson) to the Jews through the conviction that God would 'visit' his people cf Coming, pp 59ff

3 Jesus speaks of a 'coming' which has already come and of a consequent crisis facing all whom he addresses also of an immediately impending crisis for the Jewish nation and of a coming to the disciples cf Coming, pp 66ff

4 ~~Thxssxsh~~ Coming, p 77

5 This shift of emphasis, Robinson says, is comparable to the transition from prophetic (cf Jesus) to apocalyptic (cf the church) eschatology cf Coming, pp 94ff

6 cf Coming, pp 140ff 'The Most Primitive Gospel of All?' in J T S VII, 1956, pp 177ff

It is in the Fourth Gospel, according to Robinson, that the necessary synthesis is achieved and the Parousia is given its proper meaning as 'the mutual indwelling of Jesus and the disciples in love, which is the essence of the Parousia'¹

In an earlier work², Robinson had already shown how, in his view, the myth of the Parousia was to be re-interpreted. He wrote, 'the idea of the Second Advent in the New Testament stands for the conviction that if the events of the Incarnation have the eschatological character asserted of them, then history MUST come to a close'

It also represents the inescapable conviction that the end of God's purpose, however clearly embodied in the Incarnation, has NOT YET come in the most final sense possible'³ 'And yet the purpose of the eschatological myth is not simply or primarily to draw out the implications of what WILL BE. It is first of all a description of what IS'⁴

In our criticism of Realised Eschatology we shall endeavour to discuss separately the four main areas of concern, the Synoptic evidence, the earliest Christian preaching, Paul's epistles and the Fourth Gospel

In the Synoptic gospels there are two main areas where Dodd differentiates between Jesus' teaching and the embellishment of the

1 Coming, p 178

2 In the End, God, 1950

3 cf In the End, God, p 58

4 cf In the End, God, p 64. There is an interesting convergence in this matter of Protestant and Roman Catholic theology, cf further below, p 91

early church The first concerns the Parables These have an individual stamp which (Dodd says) 'encourages us to believe that they belong to the most original and authentic part of the tradition'¹ Dodd, accepting that they were not intended as allegories² affirms that they 'called to decision' by 'presenting one comparison clearly'³ Mk 4,11-12 is, therefore, understood as the embarrassment solution of the early church⁴ following the loss of the original Sitz im Leben and of their original meaning Dodd, however, appears to be tied too closely to the term 'parable', whereas the background meaning of παραβολή,⁵ as has been shown, suggests that the required decision could be evoked through the presentation of a problem, riddle or mystery - here, the 'mystery of the Kingdom of God'⁶ In this way, the parables can be seen to share in the

1 History, p 89 cf Jeremias, Parables, p 10 The a priori in Dodd's methodology is here apparent Morgenthau, Kommendes Reich, p 88 writes, 'Er setzt hier offenbar voraus, dass im Menschen eine apriorische Urteilskraft vorhanden ist, die ihm die Möglichkeit gibt, innerhalb der evangelischen Tradition zwischen mehr oder weniger charakteristischen und echten Bestandteilen zu unterscheiden'

2 Jülicher's thesis, Die Gleichnisreden Jesu, 1899 His exclusiveness, however, has been modified by many, cf Cadoux, Parables, pp 50ff Oesterley, Parables, pp 12ff Jeremias, Parables, p 16 Black, 'The Parables as Allegory', in B T R L XLII, 1960 As A H M'Neile said, 'The principal object in the foreground of a picture is not the only object visible' (quoted by A Walls, in the T S F Bulletin XXXII, 1962, p 12)

3 Parables, p 22

4 similarly Cadoux, Parables, p 15 Smith, Parables, p 28 Guy, Last Things, pp 24f Boobyer, in E T LXII, 1950, pp 131ff Jeremias, Parables, pp 11f concludes that the saying, though authentic, is wrongly applied to the parables

5 cf Cranfield, 'Mark iv, 1-34' in S J T IV, 1951, pp 398ff and V, 1952, pp 49ff (with bibliography)

6 cf Jeremias, Parables, p 16

equivocal character of the entire ministry and teaching of Jesus,¹ and, precisely because of their non-transparent quality, to have been especially suited to become Jesus' teaching method, inviting and allowing a free response to himself²

Dodd claims to rediscover the original Sitz im Leben and to use this as the key in determining the parables' true meaning³ He does this in two ways First, he finds the main theme of Jesus' teaching from 'clear and unambiguous passages' - but these (which we must discuss in a moment) are, actually, amongst the most difficult and disputed in the New Testament Secondly, he determines the meaning of the parables in the light of these 'clear' passages and then posits what their Sitz im Leben must have been⁴ - but this is, of course, a circular method and the reverse of the procedure proposed⁵ Had the parables been so dependent upon their context for their true meaning as Dodd suggests, one might ask whether it is likely that this setting would quickly or lightly be forgotten

1 'ἐν παραβολαῖς τοῦ πνεύματος ζῆναι', Mk 4,11

2 cf Torrance, in Essays in Christology, pp 13ff Cranfield, Mark, pp 152ff Torrance, 'A Study in N T communication', in S J T III, 1949, pp 13ff (Here, following Wallace in S J T II, 1949, pp 13ff, Torrance writes, 'Jesus deliberately concealed the Word in the parable lest men against their will should be forced to acknowledge the Kingdom, and yet He allowed them enough light to convict them and to convince them')
~~III, 1949, pp 13ff~~

3 cf Parables, pp 26ff

4 cf Parables, ch 2 for the meaning chs 3-6 for the Sitz im Leben

5 Jeremias' method is ostensibly opposite first 'Return to Jesus from the Primitive Church' (Parables, pp 20-88), then, 'Message of the Parables' (Parables, pp 39ff) Yet, in fact, here too the message of the parables is the guiding principle in the first section

It is at least possible that their key is to be found not in any particular context but in their general relationship to the person and work of Christ¹

The second area of concern in the Synoptic material is apocalyptic. Some deny the presence of apocalyptic language and ideas in Jesus' message². Others argue that Jesus used apocalyptic only as the form of his message³. The former contention can hardly be sustained except with the aid of a priori distinctions between a non-apocalyptic Jesus and an apocalyptic early church⁴. The other argument is also difficult: the use of the title Son of Man, for instance, suggests that not only is the term taken from apocalyptic⁵ but also that it is being understood in terms of its meaning in apocalyptic tradition⁶. Besides, if Jesus used apocalyptic only

1 cf Morgenthauer, 'Formgeschichte und Gleichnisauslegung', in T Z VI, 1950, pp 1ff contrast Jeremias, Parables, pp 20f

2 cf Glasson, Advent, pp 63ff Bowman, Intention, pp 51ff Robinson, Coming, pp 83f Goguel, Birth, pp 271ff

3 cf Dodd, History, p 135 Guy, Last Things, pp 63ff Holmes, Gore 'The Ascension and the Apocalyptic Hope', in Theology, XXXII, 1936, pp 356ff ('even the most apocalyptic of Christ's sayings should be interpreted in a spiritual sense', he writes)

It is interesting to note that Bultmann, who follows Wrede in his scepticism, follows Schweitzer in interpreting Jesus as strongly influenced by apocalypticism, whereas Dodd, who follows Schweitzer in his non-scepticism, follows Wrede in interpreting Jesus as not influenced by apocalypticism cf Bowman, 'From Schweitzer to Bultmann', in T T XI, 1954, pp 160ff

4 The same sort of distinction pressed by Schweitzer, but now in the opposite direction

5 Whether from Daniel or Enoch is for the moment immaterial

6 cf Cullmann, Christology, pp 155f Taylor, Names, pp 25ff

as the form of his teaching, he clearly (on Dodd's thesis) failed to make this apparent to his hearers amongst whom the impression was created that his teaching actually embraced some of the ideas of apocalyptic

The demythologizing involved in realised eschatology is here to the fore¹ Of course, the problem of recognising what is only picture language has long been felt², and it is questionable whether every item in apocalyptic was ever taken literally³ But the distinction between imagery and literal truth is, surely, abandoned where (as in Realised Eschatology) all futurist eschatology is regarded as myth This demythologizing, distinct from Bultmann's, is in danger of becoming Docetic as Morgenthauer⁴ writes, 'All die Argumente, die er (Dodd) gegen die futurische Eschatologie ins Feld führt, müssen sich schliesslich gegen seine realisierte Eschatologie wenden'

Behind Realised Eschatology is an apologetic motif Schweitzer maintained that Jesus was simply mistaken in his expectation of an imminent Parousia Dodd accepts that the New Testament reflects such an imminent expectation and mistake, but transfers the onus of error onto the early church and safeguards Jesus from becoming an apocalyptic Schwärmer His thesis, therefore,

1 Demythologizing is intentional cf Dodd, History, p 170, Glasson, Advent, p 236 Robinson, In the End, God, pp 33ff

2 cf Cranfield, Mark, pp 19f Wilder, 'Eschatological imagery and earthly circumstance', in N T S V, 1958, pp 229ff

3 Leckie, World to Come, pp 17ff goes too far cf Cadoux, Historic Mission, pp 340ff Fritsch, in T T Y, 1953, pp 357ff

4 Kommendes Reich, p 91

presupposes a cleavage between the early church and Jesus as great as that affirmed on Schweitzer's view, yet the antithesis may be no more necessary or correct than in Schweitzer's case¹

Fundamental in Dodd's thesis is his exegesis of the so-called 'clear and unambiguous' passages. A brief review of these will suffice to show how little they support Dodd's view -

i Mtt 12,28 = Lk 11,20² Anticipating later discussion³, we suggest that $\phi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ points to a real yet proleptic presence of the Kingdom in Jesus' exorcisms⁴. Werner⁵ rightly maintains that the saying is difficult and must be interpreted by 'non-ambiguous' passages

ii Mk 1,14-15⁶ Again anticipating⁷, we suggest that $\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ here, parallel to $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\gamma\mu\epsilon\iota$, points to a real but proleptic presence of the Kingdom in the person and work of Christ

1 Bowman, in T T XI, 1954, pp 160ff accepts McCown's remarks (concerning Schweitzer, in The Search for the Real Jesus, p 252) 'Progress toward the truth is not made by the conflict between two (often confusedly opposed) alternatives, such as supernatural or rational, mythical or historical, eschatological or non-eschatological. His whole argument is based upon the "either/or" fallacy, the "fallacy of antithesis" or "abstraction" or "misplaced concreteness" (p 169). The same could, surely, be said of Dodd

2 cf Dodd, Parables, pp 43ff Apostolic Preaching, p 32 Histor p 96 Glasson, Advent, p 107 Robinson (Coming) has no mention

3 cf below, pp 242

4 cf Michaelis, Matthaus, ad loc Flückiger, Ursprung, p 95 Worgenthaler, Kommendes Reich, p 44 Manson, in Eschatology, p 10

5 Formation, p 50

6 cf Dodd, Parables, p 44

7 cf below, pp 240ff

- i11 Lk 10,23-24 = Mtt 13,16-17¹ The 'things' (α') in question are Jesus' words and works The Kingdom is present² but in this ambiguous, and therefore not final, manner
- iv Lk 11,31-32 = Mtt 12,41-42³ Whilst the presence of the eschatological expectation in the person of Jesus is affirmed here, the possibility of further future fulfilment is not excluded Indeed the future judgement is referred to in the future tense $\alpha\nu\kappa\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\iota$ and $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ⁴ Glasson tries to evade the significance of these futures, but Kummel⁵ points out that a translation without a future reference would contradict the usage of $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ in the phrase $\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\ \kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$,⁶ and Klostermann⁷ notes that 'will rise up' is NOT a Semitism for 'rising up in accusation' but definitely refers to the resurrection of the last day The passage, far from denying a future final judgement, rather affirms it⁷
- v Mtt 11,1-11 = Lk 7,18-30⁸ Whilst the presence of the Kingdom is here affirmed, it is directly related to Jesus' words and works

1 * cf Dodd, Parables, p 46 Glasson, Advent, p 115 Robinson, Coming, p 64

2 Morgenthaller, Kommendes Reich, pp 46f denies a reference here to the Kingdom contrast, rightly, Dodd, Parables, p 46

3 cf Dodd, Parables, p 47 Glasson, Advent, p 108

4 cf Advent, p 128 (following Wellhausen, McNeille and others) Contrast Robinson, Coming, p 37, n 1 who admits Glasson's failure here

5 Promise, p 44, n 84 (cf also pp 36ff)

6 Matthäus, ad loc

7 cf Kümmel, Promise, p 44 Michaelis, Matthäus, ad loc Morgenthaller, Kommendes Reich, p 47

8 cf Dodd, Parables, p 47

(Mtt 11,5) and its presence is apparently ambiguous¹ it remains, therefore, a prolepsis of a final, unambiguous manifestation
 vi Mtt 11,12 = Lk 16,16² The verb βιάζεσθαι is difficult Most
 probably it should be translated with a passive sense³ and in
malam partem⁴ The meaning then must be that in some sense the
 Kingdom of God is present (as it was not before Jesus' ministry),
 yet present in a way which allows it to be attacked The εως ἄρτι
 sets a limit to this and contrasts the presence of the kingdom now
 with a presence yet to be realised ἐν δυνάμει⁵

We find, therefore, in these passages a 'realised eschatology' which is a) directly related to the person and work of Christ and not affirmed in any abstract or universal sense and b) hidden and ambiguous, pointing forward to a yet future fulfilment of the old expectation of a manifest, universal, unequivocal presence These passages can hardly stand as the foundation of Realised Eschatology

The second main area of concern is the earliest Christian preaching Dodd reconstructs the kerygma from Acts 1-11, counting the Parousia among the five major components But he interprets this from the standpoint of Mk 1,14f and dismisses its character &

1 cf Kummel, Promise, p 111 Schniewind, Matthäus, ad loc

2 Dodd, Parables, p 48 Glasson, Advent, p 141 Robinson, Coming p.41 Dodd, in the forward to his 3rd edition of Parables admits that the passage is not specially satisfactory for his thesis

3 cf Schrenk, in T W N T I, pp 611f Kummel, Promise, p 122, n 67

4 cf Schrenk, in T W N T I, pp 611f Kummel, Promise, p 122 Cullmann, State, p 20 Early Church, p 197 Michaelis, Matthäus, I, ad loc Schlatter, Matthäus, ad loc Torrance, When Christ comes, pp 117f thinks that both active and passive can stand, and Klost-ermann, Matthäus, ad loc, that both good and bad senses can

5f cf Kummel, Promise, p 124 Morgenthauer, Kommendes Reich,

as a future historical event. However, the ultimate nature of the Parousia as a future event cannot, consistently, be demythologized without also bringing into question the nature and historicity of the past events on which the speeches of Acts lay great weight¹

Glasson² omits the Parousia from his reconstruction of the primitive kerygma, excising the two references in Acts on the basis of numerical inferiority. This methodology, however, is open to serious criticism³. According to Glasson⁴ the Parousia hope arose through the application to Jesus of certain Old Testament imagery referring to JHWH, on the basis of the conviction that 'Jesus is Lord'. But even Robinson (who accepts Glasson's thesis in so many particulars) cannot find here a suitable explanation, since the Gospels speak of a Parousia of the Son of Man, rather than of the Lord⁵. Besides, there is a qualitative distinction between recognising that the early church increasingly applied Old Testament

pp 46ff. Grasser, Problem, pp 180f holds that this forward look is present in Matthew but removed by Luke

1 cf Cadbury, in Background of the N T pp 300ff. Kümmel, in N T S V, 1959, pp 113ff. Morgenthau, Kommendes Reich, pp 91ff

2 Advent, pp 154ff and in H J LI, 1952-3, pp 129ff

3 Glasson, by analysis (Advent, pp 154ff) finds 5 points which occur in every speech but whether these 5 alone formed the original kerygma cannot be determined by his analysis alone (Cadbury, in Background of the N T p 317 points out that the speeches are not necessarily typical or comprehensive). Besides, the analysis says nothing about the historicity of articles which do not feature in every speech. The exaltation of Christ (Acts 2,33 3,13 5,31) and the call to repentance (Acts 2,38 3,19 5,31) are each only mentioned 3 times, but Glasson does not question their place

4 Advent, pp 157ff

5 Coming, p 41

passages to the risen Lord and supposing that, by the application of certain passages to him, the church created for itself a hope foreign to Jesus' teaching

Robinson finds both Acts 3,20 and 10,42 unconvincing¹ In Acts 10,42 it is said that Jesus is *ἀρισμύνης*, and Robinson says 'there is no suggestion that he will judge only at some second coming, no mention of which in fact is made'² However, whilst the Old Testament knows of interim judgements in history³, one of its firm expectations was that God would ultimately exercise his judgement (either directly or through a mediator) at the great and final assize⁴ The reference to Jesus as judge-appointed of the living and the dead was, surely, intended to convey this idea of a final epiphany in judgement⁵ Acts 3,20, Robinson argues⁶, does not contain a reference to Jesus' Parousia but to his status as Messiah-elect Here we meet Robinson's answer to the question 'how did the Parousia hope arise?' he says it was through the confusion of the primitive Christology of Acts 3,12-26 with the later Christology of Acts 2 But we make here two criticisms of this

1 cf Coming, pp 28ff

2 Coming, p 28

3 cf above, chapter 2 Peake, Problem of Suffering in the O T pp 1ff Bentzen, Introduction to the O T pp 162f

4 cf above, chapter 2

5 cf Dibelius, Studies, p 56 Jackson and Lake, Acts, ad loc cf also I Peter 4,5 II Tim 4,1 Barnabas 7,2 II Clem 1,1 etc

6 cf Coming, pp 153f and in J T S VII, 1956, pp 177ff

First, Acts 3,12-20 does not contain a Messiah-elect Christology. During the narrative (3,13-15) it is said that the Servant, the Holy and Righteous One, the Prince of Life has come, has died and risen and now works (v 16). Verse 18 might contain, as Robinson holds ¹ a Lukan formulation, but the idea it expresses is present already in vv 13ff. Robinson supports his dismissal of v 18 on the grounds that 'if we are to accept the words as an integral part of the original speech then it is difficult on any reconstruction to find in it a consistent theology' ². This is no justification for excising the verse and appears, anyway, to be unfounded - on the basis of the events of Christ's life, death etc (summed up in v 18) comes the call to repentance (vv 22-26). Secondly, the relation of Acts 2 to Acts 3 must be questioned. Both contain an emphasis on fulfilled events (2,3ff 3,18), on the present as the time of repentance (2,37-40 3,21-26), and the future aspect of salvation-history (though not explicit in Acts 2 - (contrast 3,20-21) - it is implicit in the call of vv 39-40) ³. It would indeed be surprising if this supposed primitive Christology should so completely drop out of the tradition and yet be responsible for such far reaching and erroneous an understanding of the future.

Even if these two passages are allowed to stand as references

1 cf in J T S VII, 1956, p 183. This is accepted by Jackson and Lakke, Acts, p 37. Contrast Bruce, Acts, ad loc 2,23.

2 J T S VII, 1956, p 183.

3 The imagery is similar in some respects of 2,39 with 3,24,26 and 2,40 with 3,23.

to the Parousia¹ it remains true that early preaching, in general, 'was concerned with events which had already happened and of which the Apostles were witnesses'² This, however, does not mean that the Parousia hope did not form an integral part of the earliest Christian faith³ As 'conversion preaching' these speeches would not be the context in which to find teaching concerning the Parousia. The conviction that the Parousia is to come is itself the main-spring of mission and lies behind the conversion preaching of Acts

The third main area of interest is Paul's eschatology. Dodd's hypothesis of a development in Paul's eschatological ideas may be criticised on general grounds. The dating of the Epistles, so important for Dodd's thesis, is open to dispute⁴ The psychological reconstruction of Paul's personality is extremely questionable⁵ The theory of a second conversion, which is said to have accomplished what the first could not, is also doubtful⁶ The idea of such

1 cf Bruce, Acts, ad loc Jackson and Lake, Acts, ad loc Dibelius, Studies, p 56 All agree, with varying definiteness, that some idea of a Parousia is contained in one or both verses

2 Glasson, Advent, p 155

3 cf B Reicke, 'A synopsis of Early Christian Preaching', in The Fruit of the Vine, ed Friedrichsen, esp pp 136ff

4 This matter is clearly vital for Dodd. He rightly allows 20 pages to argue for a late date for the Captivity Epistles. Yet in the matter of Galatians - although recognising that 'the date of Galatians is greatly disputed' (Studies, p 85) - he is content to leave the question after a brief mention, concluding (following Burton) that it dates from c 54-57

5 cf Studies, pp 67ff. Deissmann, Paul, pp 55ff does not offer anything like the same picture, counting the remarkable tensions in Paul as his strength and greatness. Similarly McNeile, Paul, pp 2ff

6 Paul refers to the Damascus road incident (Gal 1,15) in a passage where important events bearing on his apostleship are being enumerated, yet does not mention the second 'really significant' experience save in a passing reference, II Cor 12,9'

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radical development appears inherently improbable

Anticipating the exegetical discussion which concerns us later, we suggest that beneath the surface of Paul's letters, which changes according to the needs and circumstances being addressed, there is a constant and consistent eschatological framework in which the past dominated by the Cross and Resurrection, the present, dominated by the Spirit, and the future, dominated by the Parousia, all have their necessary place. Taken alone, Realised Eschatology must give a one-sided and incomplete picture of Paul's thought²

The fourth area of concern is the Fourth Gospel. Here, according to Dodd³ is found the full return to Jesus' original intention. The development is similar to that posited by Schweitzer, but this is now understood as a move nearer to Jesus rather than away from him. Exegetical discussion again concerns us later⁴, but here there are certain general matters which must be raised. Many scholars

1 According to Gal 1,17-18,21 2,1, Paul spent some 15 or 16 years (cf Dibelius, Paul, p 58) working in Syria and Cilicia before his missionary journeyings began and before any of his epistles were written. It seems intrinsically unlikely that we should find any radical development in Paul's thought in the letters dating from 'the last fifteen years of his working life' (Dibelius, Paul, p 59). Dibelius concludes, 'Except for changes in the emphasis of certain particular doctrines, all the attempts of scholars to distinguish between a doctrinal system that was as yet undeveloped - in the earliest letters that we have (to Thessalonica) - and that of the four principal letters have broken down' (Paul, p 60). Contrast with Dodd, Barclay, Mind, p 218. Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, pp 286ff.

2 cf Barlett, in S J T VI, 1953, p 145. Ladd, in E T XLVIII, 1956, pp 268ff. Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel, pp 52f.

3 cf Apostolic Preaching, pp 155f. Fourth Gospel, passim. Glasson Advent, pp 210ff. Robinson, Coming, p 178.

4 cf below, pp 229/6

maintain that the historicity of the Fourth Gospel must be taken
¹very seriously and that the old antithesis 'Synoptics or John' is
²wholly inadequate The Johannine emphasis on the present is not
³unique (for it is by no means absent from the Synoptics), nor is
it, necessarily, exclusive It is understandable in terms of the
⁴writer's intention Further, the Parousia is not so easily elim-
⁵inated from the Fourth Gospel as Dodd suggests Certainly the
Fourth Gospel recognises that with Jesus' past appearance came the
⁶End - and with it Judgement ⁷, the Resurrection, condemnation and
⁸blessing There are also passages where the present and future
⁹aspects of the End almost coincide and where the two tenses must

1 cf Westcott, John, pp 111ff Barrett, John, p 117 ~~Riesner~~
~~Lightfoot~~ Lightfoot, John, p 30 Strachan, Fourth Gospel, p 18

2 cf Howard, Fourth Gospel, pp 19ff 128f Riesenfeld, Gospel Tradition Strachan, Fourth Gospel, pp 13f

3 cf Mk 1,15 2,18-22 8,34f 9,38f 10,42f 13,5ff etc Moule, 'The Individualism of the Fourth Gospel', in N T V, 1962, pp 171ff

4 Dodd and others (including Barrett, John, p 115) conclude that the gospel was in part prompted by the Parousia delay and its consequences But the reason given in 20,30-31 is surely adequate - 'to encourage the readers to hold fast their belief' (Tasker, John, p 28) If the gospel had in mind certain false ideas, and especially gnosticism (cf Barrett, John, pp 31ff 114f) then its emphases are understandable in combatting gnosticism, the writer does not eliminate futurist eschatology, but he emphasises present faith union with Christ - faith as union rather than gnosis, effectual through the Spirit (cf Weber, Eschatologie und Mystik, pp 168ff and Howard, Christianity, p 120)

5 Apostolic Preaching, p 151 Fourth Gospel, esp pp 390ff

6 cf Jn 3,18 9,39 12,47 5,22 12,28

7 cf Jn 5,24 6,47 11,25

8 cf Jn 5,24 6,11,40,51 3,36 12,31 16,11

9 cf Jn 4,23 5,25 where the 'clash and paradox of tense characteristic of the N T' (Barrett, John, p 56) is to be seen

qualify each other the hour is not wholly future, it is also now but neither is it wholly present, it is to come Again, there are sayings where the future aspects of the End are clearly expressed -
¹ the actual final judgement, the actual final resurrection of the dead² and the actual Parousia of Jesus at the End³ The mystical present aspect of salvation is but 'die Voraussetzung der Zukunft Gottes'⁴ The present mystical appropriation of the present reality of salvation is set forth in the Fourth Gospel within the framework of eschatology, and the clearly ambiguous usage of e.g. $\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\eta\iota$, $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \xi\omega\eta\varsigma$, $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$, serves to emphasise this⁵ 'Christ as a figure of history belongs to the past and to the present He came forth from God, sent by him He has gone back to the Father The Johannine view of revelation demands that he should have a future if the historical revelation is to be fulfilled That is why St John has not given up his expectation of a consummation'⁶

Realised Eschatology rightly recognises that the New Testament emphatically declares that the Kingdom of God has come and is not

1 cf Jn 12,48 5,29

2 cf Jn 5,29 6,40 11,24

3 cf Jn 14,2-3 17,24 chapter 21

4 Weber, Eschatologie und Mystik, p 196

5 cf Cullmann, in T Z IV, 1948, pp 360ff

6 Howard, Christianity, p 212 cf also Ladd, in E T LXVIII, 1956-7, pp 270ff Kümmel, in T B XV, 1936, pp 225ff Meinertz, Theologie, II, pp 280ff Körner, in Ev T 1954, pp 171ff Stählin, in Z N W XXXIII, 1944, pp 225ff Strachan, Fourth Gospel, pp 13f Barrett, John, pp 56ff Wood, Jesus, p 185

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 'wholly futurist' However, this 'realisation' is connected in the New Testament directly with the person and work of Christ and therefore with the lowliness and hiddenness characteristic of his ministry It therefore carries the promise of future fulfilment, indeed demands future fulfilment The pre-Christian hope centered upon an awaited universal, unambiguous manifestation, of God's rule and the coming of God's kingdom in Jesus' incarnate life does not exclude such a future, unambiguous coming, but rather confirms it as an object of hope 2
 The present is evaluated falsely if it is seen only in the light of the past event (Incarnation) and not also in the light of the future End Realised Eschatology can 'speak no word of teleological hope to those now grappling with the historical dilemmas of our time' 3
 The future for which Realised Eschatology looks 4 misses entirely the historical particularity of the Parousia in the New Testament, a particularity which is strictly parallel to that attaching to the Incarnation 5 The difference

1 of Kummel, Promise, pp 105ff Morgenthauer, Kommendes Reich, pp 58ff Cullmann, Early Church, p 115 Rust, in T T X, 1953, pp 327ff Bruce, in L Q H R 1958, pp 99ff

2 cf Cranfield, in Essays in Christology, p 87

3 Fison, Hope, p 65

4 Dodd, Coming, p 26 says, 'When in due course history ends, and the human race perishes from this planet, it will encounter God This is how I understand the mysterious language of the Gospels about the final coming of the Son of Man' Glasson, Advent, pp 232f thinks man may even 'look for a world-wide triumph of the Gospel' and suggests that 'man may ultimately be able to renew and wind up the universe' (In Appearing, p 191, he is willing to allow the possibility of a consummation of history 'by some supreme manifestation of the presence and power of Christ')

5 Acts 1,11 is a good example of this particularity 'this same Jesus' stresses the Christological particularity 'shall so come

between the two 'comings' is not that the first involved a coming onto the plane of history whilst the second does not, nor that the first involved the coming of the Son of Man whilst the second does not, but rather that whereas the first involved the coming of Jesus Son of Man in hiddenness, the second will consist of his coming in glory. It appears impossible to remove this particularity without misinterpreting the New Testament hope¹. With the abandonment of such a hope comes the inevitable over-evaluation of the institution of the present which is specially marked in Roman-Catholicism² but is not the prerogative of that church³. Realised Eschatology represents the swing of the pendulum from Schweitzer's extreme view but it is doubtful whether the New Testament can be interpreted adequately at this extreme any more than it was at the opposite

in like manner as ye beheld him going into heaven' emphasises the particularity of the context

1 cf e.g. Vidler, Essays in Liberality, p 35

2 The Vatican Council of 29th July, 1944, decided to remove the dogma of a physical return of Christ into the world from that which can with certainty be taught cf the report by Werner, in S T U 1944, pp 117f

3 cf Robinson, Coming, p 15. Fison, Hope, p 65 speaking of 'catholically minded incarnationists' writes that 'their thinking centres round a community conceived of as organised on an organic rather than a dialectical pattern. This leads at times to a virtual deification of the church and to a transubstantiation of its earthly realities into realities of grace. For such an outlook lip-service to a traditional future eschatology may be genuine in so far as individual hopes of immortality are concerned, but it can hardly have any meaning in the biblical sense for any corporate hope either for the world or for the church.'

An appended note on Dodd's interpretation of the parables (cf above pp 75ff) Dodd differentiates into two main blocks parables of crisis (Parables, pp 154ff) and parables of growth (Parables, pp 175ff) Concerning these we make the following brief comments

1 Mtt 24,45-51 (= Lk 12,42-46) cf Dodd, Parables, p 158 Jeremia Parables, pp 45f Both see the original as a warning to the religious leaders of the time which has been re-interpreted (particularly by Luke) in terms of the Apostles and the Parousia hope But, though 'servants' is a familiar designation (through the O T) of Israel's leaders, it appears from Mk 10,44 (cf Mtt 10,24 Jn 15,15) that Jesus could refer to his disciples as ~~servants~~. Further, the picture of the return of the 'lord' is certainly painted in terms of a final judgement, resulting in rewards and punishments Jesus could hardly have expected that such a picture would be understood only as framework

2 Mk 13,33-37 (= Lk 12,35-38) cf Dodd, Parables, pp 160f Jeremias, Parables, pp 43f Both maintain that it is a parable of crisis which may conceal a Messianic utterance of Jesus but has been variously interpreted by the early church in terms of the Parousia Again, however, the imagery is of one who first goes away and then returns, and this is integral to the call to watchfulness Had the crisis not been the impending Parousia, it is difficult to see why this particular 'framework' has been utilised (the prophets have, for example, other imagery in their crisis preaching cf Amos 3,1ff)

3 Mtt 24,43-44 (= Lk 12,39-40) cf Dodd, Parables, pp 167f Glasson, Advent, p 95 Robinson, Coming, p 113 Jeremias, Parables, pp 93f Jeremias says 'the proclamation of the coming catastrophe became a direction concerning conduct in view of the delayed Parousia' (op cit p 41) Only Jeremias offers support for this conclusion (which is accepted by Robinson, Coming, p 113 n,2) (Glasson quotes a suggestion of Harnack, but appears to reject it) Jeremias objects that 'thief' in every other N T usage (I Thess 5,2,4 II Pet 3,10 Rev 3,3 16,15) is a picture of imminent catastrophe so the parable, he argues, must have been addressed to the crowd concerning the crisis of Jesus' presence But the parable is equally suited, even where 'thief' is given Jeremias' meaning (which it does not necessarily have to bear), to the disciples The charge is to watchfulness in order that no thief will appear at all though the Son of Man come, it would not be as a thief if they watch (Rev 3,3 supports this understanding)

4 Mtt 25,1-12 cf Dodd, Parables, p 172 Glasson, Advent, p 93 Robinson, Coming, p 69 Jeremias, Parables, pp 41f Jeremias says that the clue is in v 5 $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\iota\zeta\acute{o}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \nu\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ which was originally unstressed However, the delay remains unstressed' He also argues that the 'allegorical representation of the Messiah as a bridegroom is completely foreign to the whole of the O T', and he finds only one late Rabbinic example However, as Meinertz (in Synoptischen Studien für A. Wikenhauser, pp 94ff) rightly notes, the O T often sees the relation of JHWH to Israel as that of groom to bride (cf Ezek 16,7 Hos 1-3 Is 65,2 Ps 45,3), and it would not be surprising therefore to find Jesus using such a picture of the Parousia of the Son of Man

These are the parables of crisis. The parables of growth are seen in a similar light and originally (it is said) represented Jesus' ministry as 'the climax of a long process which prepared the way for it' (Dodd, Parables, p 180)

1 Mk 4,26-29 cf Dodd, Parables, pp 175f Jeremias, Parables, pp 91f But the parable is not about growth! It is a comparison of the secret beginning with the certain, glorious harvest (cf Kummel, Promise, pp 128f Cranfield, Mark, pp 169f Schniewind, Markus, p 47)

2 Mk 4,2-8 (cf Mtt 13,3-9 = Lk 8,5-8) cf Dodd, Parables, pp 180f Jeremias, Parables, p 92 For Jeremias, this is an assurance that 'out of nothing, in spite of apparent neglect, undeterred by failure, God ~~was~~ bringing in His Kingdom' But it may well be (with Hunter, Mark, ad loc Cranfield, Mark, ad loc Klostermann, Mark, ad loc) that the emphasis is on 'hearing' and not at all on growth

3 Mtt 13,24-30 cf Dodd, Parables, pp 183f Jeremias, Parables, p 155 Whereas Dodd suggests that the parable originally answered the disciples' question about the Baptist's coming, Jeremias rightly regards it as a parable of the consummation (similarly Kummel, Promise, p 134). Clearly appropriate to the early church's life, it may well be that the disciples expressed doubts about their fellows (cf Schlatter, Mark, ad loc) (cf Lk 9,49) and the parable answers by contrasting present ambiguity with future unveiling and disclosure

4 Mtt 13,47-50 cf Dodd, Parables, pp 187f Jeremias, Parables, pp 155f Dodd (cf, too, Robinson, Coming, p 37, n 2) sees Matthew's interpretation, vv 49-50, as secondary, the original being a reference to the mission and men's self-judgement according to their reaction to Jesus. But Matthew's 'interpretation' is more likely to be correct. On Dodd's view the fish should be described as themselves jumping back into the sea or into the vessels! The points of contact with the metaphor of Mk 1,17 are actually very slight

5 Mk 4,30-32 (Mtt 13,31-32 = Lk 13,18-19) cf Dodd, Parables, pp 189f Jeremias, Parables, p 90 Many (e.g. Kummel, Promise, pp 129f Cranfield, Mark, p 169) refute Dodd's view that Luke's form or Matthew's apparent conflation overrule the emphasis in Mark - which clearly stresses the littleness of the mustard seed. The point is, surely, the contrast rather than the process of growth

6 Mtt 13,33 (= Lk 13,20-21) cf Dodd, Parables, p 191 Jeremias, Parables, p 90 Dodd argues that the stress is on the influence of the leaven - a picture of Jesus' obscure work. Kummel (Promise, p 132 and cf n 99 for other authorities) argues that there are two events, one small and insignificant, the other manifest and large, and that the emphasis is on contrast (similarly Jeremias)

Neither the parables of crisis, nor the so-called parables of growth, necessarily exclude the Parousia theme. Much rather do they point to the Parousia, in a number of cases

Chapter 5. Continental demythologizing

Bultmann's programme of demythologizing, proposed during the second world war in an essay, Neues Testament und Mythologie (1941) was confined to the continent for some years but is now a central issue throughout theological discussion¹. His connection with Consistent Eschatology is interesting, for although markedly distinct² 'nonetheless, the influence of Weiss and Schweitzer is strong upon Bultmann, for him Jesus is as thoroughly eschatological in his views of the kingdom of God and its coming as for them'. The affinity with Dodd's Realised Eschatology is well expressed by Morgenthau⁴ 'Bultmann geht auf demselben Weg, den Dodd schon ein Stück weit gegangen ist, noch einen Schritt weiter...Dodd legt in seiner realisierten Eschatologie einen Entmythologisierungsversuch vor, der mit dem Entmythologisierungsversuch Bultmanns darin übereinstimmt, dass er nicht auf die hergebrachte

1. Bartsch, in Kerygma, I.p.vii, writes, 'No single work which has appeared in the field of N T scholarship during the war years has evoked such a lively discussion. An increasing number of translations, contributions and criticisms are appearing in this country of esp. Bultmann, Theology of the N T I and II (1952 and 1955) Essays, (1955) History and Eschatology (Gifford Lectures, 1957) Bartsch (ed.) Kerygma and Myth I (1953), II (1962) Henderson, Myth in the N.T. (1952) Gogarten, Demythologizing (1955) Miegge, Gospel and Myth (1960) MacQuarrie, An Existentialist Theology (1955) The Scope of Demythologizing (1960): Malavez, The Christian Message and Myth (1958) Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth (1960) Cairns, A Gospel without Myth? (1960) Robinson, The Problem of History in Mark (1957) A New Quest of the Historical Jesus (1959). For an outline of this Bultmann epoch and the post-Bultmann view of the 'historical Jesus' the last mentioned book is informative

2. of Turner, Pattern, p.23

3. Bowman, 'From Schweitzer to Bultmann', in T T XI, 1954, p 168

4. Kommendes Reich, p.94.

Weise auf der Ebene der Subtraktion bleiben will, sondern sich als Aufgabe eine Interpretation des Mythos gestellt hat ...'

Bultmann maintains that the early church, conscious of an encounter with God through Jesus Christ, sought to express the significance of this for itself and the world. But in doing so it partly failed to penetrate to the full significance and also it expressed itself in terms which can no longer be meaningful for us¹. The Parousia idea, Bultmann argues, is an example of the former kind. The early church has not properly understood the significance of its encounter 'history did not come to an end, and, as every schoolboy knows, it will continue to run its course. Even if we believe that the world as we know it will come to an end in time, we expect ~~that~~ the end to take the form of a natural catastrophe, not of a mythical event such as the New Testament expects'². Eschatology in general, however, he holds to be an example of the latter kind. Here, 'Christ as the eschatological event' is a concept which can be and must be demythologized. What its precise truth is, and how this can best be expressed are problems to be dealt with, but the main point is (Bultmann contends) that there ³ is something valid to be re-interpreted

Our criticism of this thesis must be concerned firstly with

1. cf in Kerygma, p.16

2. cf in Kerygma, p.5

3. cf 'History and Eschatology' in N.T.S. 1954, pp 5ff. History and Eschatology, passim

Bultmann's methodology, in order to lay the foundation for differences in exegesis which will concern us in later chapters and then we shall venture some general remarks concerning his programme of demythologizing and its meaning for eschatology

Characteristic of Bultmann and many of his followers is a radical scepticism concerning the data of the New Testament. The old antithesis between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith is ostensibly rejected by the acknowledgement that history and interpretation, event and meaning must go together, and that purely objective history is impossible¹. The New Testament gives us, to be sure, the kerygma of the early church - a proclamation not only that 'Jesus died' (event) but also 'that he died for our sins and rose again for our justification' (interpretation)². Bornkamm rightly declares³, 'Wir besitzen keinen einzigen Jesuspruch und keine einzige Jesusgeschichte, die nicht - und seien sie noch so unanfechtbar echt - zugleich das Bekenntnis der glaubenden Gemeinde enthalten oder mindestens darin eingebettet sind. Das macht die Suche nach den blossen Fakten der Geschichte schwierig und weithin aussichtslos'. From this recognition, two questions arise. The first is, are there any bare facts behind this kerygma? Bultmann anticipated this question⁴, realising that 'Christianity without

1 of Gogarten, 'Theologie und Geschichte' in Z.T.K. L, 1953, p. 349. Robinson, New Quest, pp. 77f. Gogarten, Demythologizing, pp. 25f. Bornkamm, Jesus, pp. 11f.

2 cf Henderson, Myth, p. 42

3 Jesus, p. 12

4. in Kerygma, p. 22

1

Christ' is conceivable . He claims to preserve (as he says, un-
like the liberal theologies before him) a core of bare facts, but
 2 many critics feel that he does so rather uncertainly Miegge,
 for example, writes, 'It is necessary to affirm, much more strongly
 than Bultmann finds himself able to do, the truth and objective
 reality of the historical and supra-historical event which is sum-
 med up in the name Jesus Christ, the Crucified and Risen One:
 Christian faith stands or falls with the objective truth of these
 events ' 3 The danger of allowing historical theology to become
 mere religious psychology is a very serious one 4 and the 'post-
 Bultmann school' strives to avoid it . 5

The second question which arises is, what reliance can be
 placed upon the early church's witness to Jesus Christ as we find
 this in the New Testament? As Bultmann has shown 6 , the units of
 tradition in the early church proclamation seem, generally, to hav
 served some practical purpose in the church's life but this

1. cf 'There are people who will say that this whole account is
 a lie, but a thing isn't necessarily a lie even if it didn't nec-
 essarily happen' (Steinbeck, Sweet Thursday, Pan ed.p.47) Which
 is what Knox, for example (in Jesus, Lord and Christ, pp 258ff) is
 saying in a theologically respectable form

2. cf Thielicke, in Kerygma, pp 138ff esp.147f Schniewind, in
Kerygma, pp.66f. Malavez, Christian Message, pp.71f (who tries to
 see a real objectivity in Bultmann's thought, though Miegge,
Gospel, pp 134f., thinks without success.)

3 Gospel, p.136

4. cf Butterfield, Christianity and History, pp 128f Cairns,
Gospel, pp 213f

5. cf Bornkamm, Jesus, pp 18f Conzelmann, in Z.T.K LVI,1959,
 pp.2ff. Fuchs, in Z.T.K LIII,1956,pp.210ff Käsemann, in Z.T.K.
 LI, 1954, pp.125ff

6. of esp Geschichte (1921) Primitive Christianity (E T 1956)

discovery alone should not lead to scepticism regarding the historical veracity of the pericopae¹ Often it is claimed that form criticism supports this scepticism, but this is not so Conzelmann² for instance, argues that Mk.1,16-20 is 'altogether non-historical, but rather ideal: the central word "I will make you fishers ." is a call addressed to the present reader' Of Mk 15,34 he says, it is 'originally a Gemeinde saying reflecting a particular theological motif.³ ' But form criticism cannot make such judgements

The historical veracity of the tradition must be probed Form criticism only rules out the possibility of reconstructing a biography⁴ But concerning the criteria which might be employed on the task, two points are vital First, the criteria must accord with what can be learnt from the gospel records themselves and from elsewhere, of the composition and character of the early community, of its understanding of history and its attitude towards its task of preaching and witnessing. On this basis, many would conclude that considerable historical reliability can be attached to the gospel narratives in general Cranfield⁵, for instance, offers six arguments which he holds 'would seem to justify us in rejecting the radical scepticism of Bultmann and in believing that a sub-

1. of Manson, in Background of the N T pp.212ff

2 'Die formgeschichtliche Methode', in S t U III,1959, pp 54ff.

3 Similarly Ackermann, Jesus, pp.143ff

4 Yet Sjoberg's conclusion (verborgene Menschensohn, p 216) that everyone agrees there is no biographical interest behind the N T witness, surely goes too far (as Wood, Jesus, pp.148f. points out)

5 cf Mark, pp.16f

stantially reliable picture of the historical Jesus was preserved in the sources available to Mark'¹. Secondly, the criteria should not presuppose a breach between Jesus himself and the early church witness to him. Such a presupposition would mean an acceptance of the old antithesis between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith. Cullmann rightly criticises Bultmann's methodology on this account. He agrees with Bultmann that 'all that contradicts the theology of the early church can be assumed to be authentic to Jesus' (else why should it have been preserved?)². But, as he says, the opposite principle does not necessarily apply, namely 'that all that corresponds to the theology of the early church is foreign to the Jesus of history'³. The reverence for Jesus' words and deeds (presupposed by the retention of pericopae which may well have occasioned difficulty or embarrassment) must suggest that in general we can expect to find that the early church has taken pains in fashioning its thinking and teaching on words and deeds of Jesus himself.

Bultmann and his followers build much upon a supposed discontinuity of thought not only between Jesus and the early church as a whole, but between particular elements in the early church itself. The old antitheses 'Jesus or Paul', 'Paul or John', 'John or the Synoptics' are again raised. Even within the Synoptics a

1. cf Manson, Jesus, pp.20f. Manson, in Background of the N T pp.211ff Cullmann, 'Out of season remarks', pp 131ff.

2. cf Cullmann, 'Out of season,remarks', pp 131ff

3 cf Cullmann, 'Out of season remarks', pp 131ff and in T.L. I Jahrgang 83, 1958

cleavage is said to exist between Matthew and Mark on the one hand¹ and Luke on the other. In this way the New Testament is subjected to severe fragmentation and any unity of witness within the early church is discountenanced. Yet the profession of faith in the person Jesus Christ, the acceptance of the 'tradition', involved the several communities, whatever their differences, in 'one body, and one spirit one hope of... calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism...' (Eph.4,4). Whether this unity of faith involved also a unity of witness or not, the possibility of such unity ought not to be excluded by any method of interpreting the several elements in the New Testament. Besides, as Bosch² points out, it is difficult to suppose that the gospel compilers reflected so carefully over each phrase, or sought to express their individualistic characteristics so emphatically as adherents of radical redactional criticism suggest.

These criticisms have been made here in order to serve as a basis for later exegetical discussion. We turn now to some general criticisms of Bultmann's programme of demythologizing in order to justify rejecting the concept of a demythologized Parousia. We have

1 of Robinson, Problem: Marxsen, Der Evangelist Markus Bornkamm, 'Enderwartung und Kirche'; Bornkamm, Held and Barth, Überlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäusevangelium Lohse, 'Lukas als Theologe der Heilsgeschichte', in Ev T XIV, 1954, pp.256ff. Grässer, Problem Lohse, 'Zur N T'lichen Eschatologie', in V F 1956 (Jahresbericht 1953-55) pp.184ff. Conzelmann, 'Gegenwart und Zukunft in der synoptischen Tradition', in Z.T K LIV-LV, 1957-8, pp.277ff: Mitte.

2. Heidenmission, p.14 n.14. Wood, Jesus, p.61, rightly speaks of 'those elements which the distinctive temperaments of the Evangelists led them to emphasise', but this complementariness does not amount to a presupposition of cleavage.

already mentioned the problem of understanding and interpreting picture language. Bultmann's concern is much wider than this for he defines as 'myth' requiring re-interpretation most of the New Testament proclamation¹ As Henderson says, 'it is fair to say that Bultmann groups together a number of not particularly homogeneous elements under the heading of the mythological. The category covers the account of the miracles of Jesus, descriptions of his person as the pre-existent Son of God, of his work as atoning for the sins of mankind, of the Holy Spirit as a quasi-natural power communicated to us through the sacraments'² It is questionable whether the term 'myth' is well used in this sense. More seriously Bultmann maintains that the subject of New Testament myth is man, and the purpose of myth is 'to express man's understanding of himself in the world in which he lives'³ But it is certainly possible to argue that the New Testament seeks to give expression not to what is being felt and experienced in the heart or mind of its writers, but to an actual encounter of God with man and to the history of this divine action.⁴ In other words, all that Bultmann calls myth in the New Testament is primarily to be understood not cosmologically, nor anthropologically, but theologically. Of

1 Bultmann, in Kerygma, p 16, finds two categories of mythical imagery in the early church witness the one drawn from Jewish apocalyptic, the other from Gnosticism.

2. Myth, p.46.

3. in Kerygma, p.10

4. cf Barth, Ein Versuch, pp 32f. Miegge, Gospel, pp 98f Wright, in Biblical Authority, p 224 Cairns, Gospel, pp 100ff

course, the theological proclamation has cosmological and anthropological significance but this is secondary¹. Notwithstanding some pictorial expression, some 'mythical' imagery, the content of the N T. is not mythical in Bultmann's sense². 'Myth' understood as an expression of human self-consciousness in historical or quasi-historical terms is 'not native to the Bible or to the N T'³

The question remains how far the New Testament proclamation requires to be re-interpreted. This problem is by no means new nor the concern of Bultmann only⁴. As MacQuarrie writes⁵, much religious language becomes, over the course of time, debased and esoteric, and 'the Christian vocabulary stands in continual need of being re-interpreted if it is to remain meaningful'. To employ contemporary modes of thought and forms of language is ever the preacher's duty - and therefore the dogmatician's too. But this could involve demythologizing only if the subject of the N.T. were man and his self-understanding, and this we doubt. It could mean

1 Contrast Bultmann, in Kerygma, p.16 'What is demythologizing in The Listener, 5th Feb 1953 p 217 Brandon, 'Myth and the Gospel', in H.J. LI, 1952-3, pp.121ff.

2. cf Stählin, in T.W.N.T. IV, pp 771ff

3. Miegge, Gospel, p 106 cf Barrett, 'Myth in the N T.' in E.T. LXVIII, 1956, pp.345ff and 359ff

4 cf Munz, Problems of Religious Knowledge, p 182

5. 'Existentialism and the Christian vocabulary', in L.Q.H.R. 1961, pp 250ff cf Schniewind, in Kerygma, pp 87f

1

re-mythologizing, but then the question would need to be asked, whether the language of twentieth century existentialism is the best form for the Biblical proclamation

This is a most important question, being related to the whole problem of the bearing of philosophy upon theology. Bultmann, of course, lays worth upon what we shall call 'preliminary philosophy'. The phenomenon of our existence as thinking beings means that we inevitably come to the New Testament, as to anything, with preconceived ideas. The question is, what status should be given to these inevitable thoughts. Here a deep cleavage exists between much Protestant thought and Roman Catholic theology, and it is not surprising to find, on the one hand, Malevez² agreeing with Bultmann that though a certain correction of these preliminary thoughts must be expected, the principle that hermeneutics is dependent on some preliminary philosophy is sound and on the other hand, Barth arguing³ against such a Vorverständnis, maintaining that the possibility of knowing God occurs in the act of God revealing himself to us, thereby showing that God's word is fundamentally alien to man's thought. Hence, Barth holds, Biblical hermeneutics is not just the application of a general hermeneutic principle, but is⁴ unique. Bultmann's

1 The principle of analogy underlying the use of mythological language is, surely, indispensable (as Bultmann admits, in Kerygma, p 44), Bultmann's language being no less analogical than the 'less sophisticated language of the Bible' (Owen, in S J T XIV, 1961, p 197. cf Lohmeyer, in Kerygma, pp 126ff Wright, in Biblical Authority, p 224.

2. Christian Message, pp 170ff. 183f 190

3. of Ein Versuch, passim. 4 cf Malevez, Christian Message, pp.170ff.

1 arguments against this position seem to be ineffective Barth's
 hermeneutics are bound to appear 'only arbitrary assertions' 2 for
 Barth is concerned primarily to repeat the proclamation of God's
 activity as this is testified in the Bible and is prepared to find
 his hermeneutic principles only as given in the commitment to this
 3 proclamation .

The homiletic expedient of using curre^{ent} concepts clearly
 needs to be considered seriously But if the New Testament is con-
 cerned to confess and proclaim a divine activity (if the New Test-
 ament 'myths' are theological) then such contemporary concepts
 should only subserve this proclamation and 'have no right to pon-
 tificate' over the subject matter 4 . This means that no one partic-
 ular philosophical language and thought form should be elevated to
 the position of sole interpretative medium for whilst one thought
 form could subserve the proclamation here and now it might not to-
 5 morrow or in another place . Whether or not the particular philo-
 sophy of existentialism is as vital an interpretative medium to-day
 as Bultmann would suggest it is, is open to dispute doubtless the
 technical terminology of existentialism is more difficult for many
 to grasp and understand than the more naive language of the New
 6 Testament .

1 cf Essays, pp.259ff

2. Essays, p 261

3. cf also Barth, C.D III/2, p 534

4 Lohmeyer, in Kerygma, p.133

5 cf Barth, Ein Versuch Malevez, Christian Message, p 198

6. cf Miegge, Gospel, p.134 Schniewind, in Kerygma, pp.89f

Another very serious question which must be asked is, whether Jesus' life as historical event is properly or adequately evaluated by Bultmann. If the thesis 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself' (II Cor 5,19) is a valid affirmation of the significance of Jesus' life, then although this 'once for all' event must be contemporised if it is to have full significance 'for me' the historical particularity and self-sufficiency of the Christ-event must never be abandoned in favour of this contemporising which it demands and facilitates. The historical particularity of the Christ event is presented in the New Testament as meaningful for the past and for the future, as well as for each 'now', for in his encounter with man, Jesus Christ reveals himself to be the One who was and who will be, as the 'pre-existent Son of God' and as the 'Judge of the End time'. In that encounter is given impetus and authority to refer God's activity in Christ both backwards into the past, involving some idea of creation, and forwards into the future, involving some idea of a Parousia. Whatever imagery and vocabulary we choose to express and elucidate this significance, the concept of a salvation-history is contained and imparted in the central event of revelation, the once-for-all event of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ.

At this point the problem of time in the New Testament is

1 Rom. 6,10 Heb 9,12 9,28. etc

2 cf Barth, C.D. III/2, p 447

3. This is, of course, what Cullmann maintains in Christ and Time. Many, in various categories, seek to affirm the same - of for example Brunner, Das Ewige, esp pp 35ff

1 raised Bultmann has no wish to return to the idea of 'timeless truths' (though some think he does in effect²) but he maintains that futurity is simply a phenomenon of existence and claims that to hold to a particular hope concerning the content of the future is to seek to emancipate oneself from the essential conditions of human life, and is therefore sin. There can, therefore, be no Christian teleology. Time, he says, is a phenomenon which involves a future as much as a past but about this future, nothing more can be said than that occasion will be given in it, through the word of preaching, for further encounter with God in Christ³. Eschatology, on this view, if not made positively timeless is certainly de-temporalised. It is a definition of the quality of the Christ-event and man's participation in it. Let Bultmann speak for himself. 'The New Testament understanding of the history of Jesus as eschatological event is not rightly conceived either in the conception of Jesus as the centre of history, or in sacramentalism. Both are solutions of the embarrassment into which the Christian community was brought by the non-appearance of the Parousia. The true solution of the problem ~~xx~~ lies in the thought of Paul and John, namely, as the idea that Christ is the ever present, or ever-becoming event (i.e. the eschatological event) the "now" gets its eschatological character by the encounter with

1 of above, chapter 2, pp 23 & 1, concerning the O.T. view

2. e.g. Kümmel, in V.F. 1947-8, pp 75ff and cf Fuchs' answer in Ev.T. 1949, pp.447ff

3 of History and Eschatology, pp 149ff

Christ or with the Word which proclaims Him, because in this encounter with Him the world and its history comes to its end and the believer becomes free from the world in becoming a new

creature'¹ We venture to suggest that this does not do justice to the New Testament understanding of time, or to its understanding of the Christ-event, or to its evaluation of the present age. We consider these three areas in turn.

² Much recent discussion stresses that the New Testament view of time involves the recognition that futurity is not simply a phenomenon of existence but is also God's time, time and occasion for divine action: it is subject to the Lordship of Christ. This is far from saying that Christ is subject to the sovereignty of time as men are, knowing no other possibility of existence except one in which there is a past into which each present passes and a future which ever anew becomes present but it does mean that God, in his encounter with the world does not ignore man's time-framework. God allows succession and chronology to be really involved, and so he creates a salvation-history. To be sure, the relation of past to present and of present to future with God and his salvation history is not simple but the complexity is not such as to diminish the reality of past and future in salvation-history. 'What is a

1 'History and Eschatology' in N.T.S. 1954, pp 5f of Conzelmann, in Z.T.K. LIV-LV, 1957-9, pp.277ff

2. cf esp. Cullmann, Christ and Time Marsh, Fulness of Time Minear, in S.J.T. VI, 1953, pp 337ff Barth, C.D. III/2, pp.437ff Rust, in T.T. X, 1953, pp.327ff Minear, in Interpretation, V, 1951 pp 27ff Dillistone, in S.J.T. VI, 1953, pp 156ff

past, so far from perishing, lives on in every new present, though the past-ness of the past, like the futurity of the future is not in the least impaired. The kairoi taken together stand under some decisive "beginning" ($\alpha\rho\chi\eta$) where an "age" ($\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon$) is inaugurated and move towards an "end" ($\epsilon\sigma\chi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$) where the content of the age is rounded off and established in its completeness or fulfilment¹ as something eloquent of the glory of God'

Secondly, the revelation of God in Jesus is regarded in the New Testament as informative and authoritative for past and future revelation. Not only is Israel's history understood by reference² to him, but creation and therefore the entire sweep of past history is illuminated by reference to him³. Although Luke and Matthew tend to emphasise this backward reference more, Mark does not by any means altogether neglect it⁴. Similarly the New Testament writers (in varying degrees) read off from this central Christ-event, a real future significance. The present relationship of the believer to Christ is 'in hope'⁵, hope not simply that the

1. Whitehouse, in Eschatology, p 74 of similarly Barth, C D. III/2, pp 464f.485f. On the whole question of the future aspects of salvation-history cf further, Thurneysen, 'Christus und seine Zukunft', in Zwischen den Zeiten, 1931, pp 187ff. Wright, in Biblical Authority, p.224. Körner, in Ev T 1954, pp 177ff. Wendland, Die Eschatologie des Reiches Gottes bei Jesus, pp 27ff 240ff. Althaus, Letzten Dinge, pp.28ff. Künneth, Theologie der Auferstehung, pp.218ff. Rich, Die Bedeutung, pp 4ff. Delling, Zeitverständnis; Fuchs, in Ev T 1949, pp.447f., etc

2. cf e.g. Acts 2,14ff 7,2ff

3. cf Col.1,16 Heb 1,2 Jn 1,1ff

4. cf Jn 1,2f. Robinson, Problem, pp 22ff

5. cf e.g. Rom 5,2 8,24. Eph.1,18

relationship will continue (through constant renewal of a divine encounter), but hope that the provisional nature of the relationship ('in faith') is really only provisional, being bounded by the awaited future revelation of Christ in glory Without holding this event as an object of hope, the full significance of the Christ-event has not been drawn¹

Thirdly, is it not true to say that what the New Testament regards as characteristic of the present epoch is not simply that in it men are 'brought face to face with the last things in crucial decision'² - the aspect Bultmann is so anxious to emphasise - but that man is for the moment given time and occasion for a response of free decision to the Eschaton, inasmuch as it encounters them as yet only in a mystery, veiled? He, the Eschaton, invites men to participate in a real past and to anticipate a real future consummation Hence each present encounter with Christ has a reference backwards and one forwards, by which the present is qualified. Demythologized eschatology appears to lead to a docetic view of time, to a docetic view of the work of Christ, and therefore to a docetic view of the present³. The faith which witnesses to us in

1 cf Schniewind, in Kerygma, p 81f Nachgelassen, Reden, pp.38ff

2. Whitehouse, in Eschatology, p 70

3. Wright, in Biblical Authority, p.224. arguing that the Christian cannot set aside the Biblical view of time, says, 'without it one has no means of interpreting the meaning of history, other than as the secular order in which he lives provides it, and he must live without hope in the future which will redeem the present by the power of the God who is the directing Lord of time.'

the New Testament, and without which the Christ-event would remain unknown to us, presents us with other objective historical events on the same level as that central one and in fact posited by it it recognises that the 'decisive action wrought by God within history at a particular centre in some sense accompanies history and bears decisively on all the process of historical connexions by which the cosmos moves to its consummation'¹

The faith which the New Testament seeks from us is not simply an openness to encounter but commitment to certain divine events in history and their significance. In this commitment ~~is~~^{exists} given the will to acknowledge that the events, being divine events for man's salvation, have an objective, independent status and meaning quite apart from man. That is to say, the Cross did not acquire its saving significance only at the moment when later the disciples began to believe that it held such meaning and possibility for them but, rather, in the economy of God, the Cross held that significance in the relationship of God to the world both before and independently of the disciples' faith. The New Testament writers are surely not concerned only to confess their own faith and so to arouse ours, but to relate the events, centring on Jesus and reaching backwards and forwards throughout the whole sweep of history, on the basis of which the present is what it is and faith is made possible.

Bultmann undoubtedly emphasises matters of considerable importance

1 Whitehouse, in Eschatology, p.70

His programme is prompted by an evangelical motive . The present time is a period of opportunity calling forth faith - as a dialectic between self and self-abandonment in commitment This is demanded by the preaching of God's encounter with man in Jesus Christ Without such commitment to the gospel, the historical life and death of Jesus can never appear more than the tragic story of a good man Doubtless, too, there is a pastoral requirement to proclaim all this in language which our contemporaries can understand, and it may well be that some to-day will understand the language of existentialist philosophy and that this terminology can be used for apologetic purposes

At the same time, Bultmann 'in his eagerness to tear away the mythological coverings which hide the truth' ² appears to give insufficient emphasis to a further dialectic which faith must notice namely the dialectic between the 'now' of faith and the 'not yet' of hope, between the 'now' of 'seeing through a glass, darkly' and the 'then' of 'seeing face to face' (I Cor 13,12) It is the very dialectic in which faith is itself caught up, which is to be replaced oneday by the certainty of fulfilment and possession, a certainty towards which faith, because of its dialectical nature, strains forward in constant hope

Further, in his desire to present the significance of the gospel in a contemporary form ³, Bultmann appears to abandon what is, surely, the conviction of the New Testament writers, namely

1 cf in Kerygma, p.3

2 Woods, Theological Explanation, p 209

3. cf Essays, pp.236ff

that the gospel calls men to the decision not only to authentic existence understood and appropriated in 'existentiell' moments of life, but to acknowledge the sovereign saving acts which God has accomplished in the historical life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Therefore, however ontic faith must be, it is in the first place, noetic: a confession of the truth of the situation which has arisen through the salvation-history of God in Christ 'reconciling the world unto himself'

Commitment to the particularity of God's work in history in the person of Jesus Christ involves recognition of a real salvation-history which is directly related to Christ¹, so that past and future outreaches, even the beginning and end themselves, centre upon him. The phenomenon of faith itself authenticates the hope of a future unambiguous revelation of the End, for such hope is inescapably bound up in the recognition that the End has occurred in a particular (and therefore equivocal, ambiguous) historical event. Hope, and particularly hope in the Parousia of Jesus Christ, is presupposed by faith

1 So that Cullmann, for instance, speaks of this salvation-history as the 'Christ-line' (Time, pp 107ff)

Chapter 6 Salvation-history and the Parousia in the New Testament

The interpretations of New Testament eschatology which we have now reviewed have been questioned on grounds of methodology and of theology. It is difficult, we maintain, without expressly re-interpreting the New Testament message, to evade the conclusion that the New Testament as a whole works with the concept of a salvation-history of which the Parousia is an integral part and without resorting to a dubious methodology, it is difficult to account for the specifically future phase of this total salvation-history by referring it to the early church alone, or to one particular line of thought current within the early church. All three theses reviewed here abandon or call in question the reality of salvation-history and its overall pattern. Schweitzer abandons the reality of salvation-history for the idea of mystic communion and the inspiration of Jesus' example. Bultmann substitutes for the idea of a salvation-history the idea of a new 'self-knowledge', a new 'gnosis'. Dodd, in less radical fashion, imperils the reality of the total salvation-history by his re-interpretation of the idea of the End.

On the other hand, many scholars regard the concept of salvation-history as fundamental to the New Testament¹. We give

1 From the very many we mention Cullmann, Time Christology Heilsgeschichte und Eschatologie (MS) Filson, The N T against its environment Richardson, Introduction Taylor, Names Life and Ministry Stauffer, Jesus Manson, Jesus Roberts, Kingdom of God

now a brief account of the arguments in support of this view - which will serve as a postscript to the arguments already reviewed and as an introduction to our examination later of the view of those who regard the Parousia hope itself as an integral part of the New Testament message, but find the apparent insistence on its imminence problematical

The abandonment of a salvation-historical understanding of the gospel goes back to the earliest days of the church. Both Ebionism and Docetism shrank from the belief that the Divine could actually come into history, into the particularity of history in the form of an individual person and so, in their opposite ways, they evacuated the life of Jesus of its saving quality¹. It is clear why Docetism should have been congenial to the Gnostics, for though fundamentally a Christological concept, it is acceptable only where salvation is thought of as mystical enlightenment (γνῶσις) where 'the concrete is resolved into the abstract' and 'redemption is a deliverance from the material world, which is regarded as intrinsically evil'², and where the cosmic dimension of salvation is exchanged for individual concern for present communion with the divine and a safe destiny³. The mysteries, too, intending to

1 cf Cullmann, Time, pp 127ff

2 Scott, 'Gnosticism', in E R E VI, pp 233f cf Gal 4,4 Rom 1,3 9,5 Heb 2,14 I Jn 1,1-3 4,1-3 2,22 II Jn 7 Col 1,9-22 1,26-27 2,3 2,8-9 3,10,16 Ignatius Eph 7,18 Smyrna chs 1-6 Polycarp Phil 7,1-2 Irenaeus ad Haer III 3,4 Justin Dial 35

3 cf Gardner, 'Mysteries', in E R E IX, p 81

impart salvation through knowledge and emancipation from the fetters of human existence, had no place for a salvation-history. The struggle to affirm a real salvation-history continued through the Trinitarian debates¹ and the Christological controversies²

Salvation-history and the Old Testament

³ We have already seen that the concept of salvation-history is quite fundamental to the Old Testament. The Creation narratives are clearly written from the standpoint that they prepare for and make possible a salvation-history⁴. The Covenant is regarded as God's manifestation of his concern for the fortunes of Israel, and this concern is seen to accompany Israel's history⁵ and, ultimately, to have a universal outreach⁶. The Old Testament resolutely refuses to look upon history (even the history of other nations) divorced from the relation it bears to salvation, or upon salvation outside of its historical context. The significance of this for the understanding of the New Testament is obvious⁷.

1 cf Kelly, Doctrine, pp 223ff, esp p 233

2 cf Kelly, Doctrine, pp 263ff. Bethune-Baker, Introduction, pp 249ff. Prestige, Fathers, pp 94ff

3 cf above chapter 2, pp 10ff. Anderson, Introduction, p 237

4 cf Barth, C D III/1, pp 63ff. Whitehouse, in Essays in Christology, pp 115ff. also Ps 119,89-90. I Chron 29,11. Is 48,12

5 cf Ex 33,16. 19,9. 33,12-23

6 cf Jer 16,19. Ps 22,7. Zech 8,22. Zeph 3,10. Is 11,10. 30,23ff. 65,20-25. Dan 7,27, etc

7 One need only note the extensive use of the O T (cf the N T Nestle ed., P W B 1952, pp 658ff) its imagery and language and the place of Temple and synagogue worship (Lk 4,16, Acts 3,1. 9,20. 13,5. 13,14. 14,1. 17,1. 18,4. 19,8) in early christian life

Salvation-history and the New Testament

Evidence that the early church understood its faith and life in terms of a salvation-history is found in the earliest preaching and the earliest confessions of faith. The early speeches of Acts reveal a major emphasis upon past events, supremely the death and resurrection of Jesus of which the disciples are witnesses and which form the fulfilment of the promises contained in past salvation-history. The significance of this fulfilment is applied to the present and to the future, and it is evident that such preaching cannot be understood apart from its salvation-historical context.

1 cf Acts 2,14-36,38-41 3,12-26 4,8-12 5,29-32 7,2-53 8,31-36 10,35-43 13,17-41. Whilst Dibelius, Studies, pp 138ff, Cadbury, Luke-Acts, pp 187ff, Haenchen, Apostelgeschichte, pp 96f and others regard these speeches as unauthentic, there is much to be said in favour of their authenticity - cf Knox, Acts, pp 9ff, Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, pp 20ff, Bruce, Acts, ad loc - or at least the authenticity of ideas if not also of form - cf Ehrhardt, 'The construction and purpose of the Acts of the Apostles', in S.T. XII, 1958, pp 45ff

2 cf Acts 2,22-23 3,13-14,15, 4,10~~x~~ 5,30,31 7,53 (8,35) 10,37-39,40-41 13,27-29,30 cf Evans, 'Kerygma', in J.T.S. (NS) 1956, pp 25ff

3 cf Acts 2,32 3,15 5,32 10,39,41 13,31

4 cf Acts 2,16-21 3,12,18,22-26 4,11 5,30 7,2-47,52 8,32f 10,43 13,17-23,27,32-37

5 Jesus reigns and works (2,33-36 3,21 4,10 5,31 10,37) the Spirit is given (2,16-21 5,32) therefore repent and believe (2,38-41 3,19 5,31 7,51 (8,37) 10,43 13,40)

6 Jesus will judge (3,20f 10,42) salvation will come (4,12 5,31 10,43 13,38)

The shortest credal confessions, 'Jesus is Lord' (¹κύριος
²Ἰησους) and the expanded summaries of faith presuppose the idea
 of salvation-history. Faith is based on the fulfilment of God's
 promises in Christ, culminating in his present Lordship³. It is
 not fortuitous that the future phase of salvation-history is not
 immediately brought into the credal confessions⁴, for the Parousia
 hope is not the basis of faith but faith's necessary corollary
 and is expressed initially in prayer. Other early tradition can
 be detected in sections of catechetical instruction⁵ ethical
 behaviour is enjoined here both on the basis of the past acts of
 God in Christ and also with a view to the fulfilment of the
 Christian eschatological hope⁶, and so must be seen in its relation
 to the entire salvation-history. Christian hope is expressed
 in such obedience, and also in the prayer ⁷μνησθαι σε. The⁸

1, cf Acts 11,17 Rom 10,9 I Cor 12,3 Phil 2,11 Col 2,6
 Arndt-Gingrich, Lexicon, for biographical detail, cf Foerster,
T W N T III, pp 1038ff. O'Neill, 'The use of κύριος in the Book
 of Acts', in S J T VIII, 1955, pp 155ff Cullmann, Confessions,
 Kelly, Doctrines, pp 459ff Cullmann, Worship, pp 12ff Bult-
 mann, Theology I, pp 51 and 121ff

2 cf I Pet 3,18-22 Phil 2,6-11 I Cor 15,3f II Cor 4,5

3 cf Cullmann, Confessions, p 58

4 Cullmann, Confessions, pp 58f, finds it first in II Tim 4,1
 Robinson, Coming, p 33, n 1, regards this as hardly a credal
 formula. For its occurrence in the Apostolic Fathers and later,
 cf Kelly, Creeds, chapter 3 and Doctrines, pp 462ff

5 cf I Thess 2,13 4,1-8 II Thess 2,15,36 etc

6 cf I Thess 5,9-11 Rom 12,1ff etc

7 cf I Pet 4,7 Rom 13,12 etc Dodd in N T Essays

8 Though I Cor 16,22 is neutral, the translated form in Rev
 22,20 is clearly a prayer cf Cullmann, Worship, p 13 Kuhn, in
T W N T III, pp 500f

connection, of this prayer in Did 10,6 with the eucharistic
¹liturgy is important, for here *μεταβα* ²*Θα* must share the salvation-
 historical character of that meal. Hence Cullmann writes, 'This
 ancient prayer points at the same time backwards to Christ's
 appearance on the day of his resurrection, to his present appear-
 ance at the common meal of the community and forwards to his
 appearance at the End, which is often represented by the picture
 of a Messianic meal'. It seems, therefore, that the concept of a
 salvation-history runs through the early church's preaching,
 teaching, worship and prayer.

The salvation-historical significance of Paul's teaching is
³under-evaluated by Schweitzer, ⁴by Dodd and by Bultmann ⁵, whereas
 many find in the idea of salvation-history the context for his

1 If the connection is right - cf Dix, Shape of Liturgy, pp 90f

2 Worship, p 14

3 In the claim that Paul saw the present in an immediate relationship to the imminently awaited Parousia, and therefore ignored a real time element (cf recently Vielhauer, 'Zur Paulinismus der Apostelgeschichte', in Ev T X, 1950-51, pp 1ff)

4 In the thesis that Paul abandoned eventually any specific hope in the Parousia (cf above pp 70()

5 In his interpretation of hope in Paul in terms of an openness to the future ('The openness of Christian existence is never-ending' - Primitive Christianity, p 208 cf further, Theology I, pp 190ff Primitive Christianity, pp 185ff)

entire teaching¹ Paul appears to regard the present as a time in which the new aeon has begun² though the old continues³ The tension between the past acts on which faith rests and the future phase of salvation-history towards which hope strains, is a strictly temporal tension between a 'then' in the past and a 'then' in the future (e g II Cor 1,10) Between these two points stands⁴ the present characterised by mission and the presence of the Spirit⁵ The present tension is interpreted by Bultmann as one between Weltlich and Entweltlich, but the expressions of the tension are so full of temporal terms ('waiting', 'day', 'now', 'then', 'inherit')⁶ that such a re-interpretation is hardly justified Further, the present is not a mere phenomenon, nor simply a haphazard continuum, but has a definite content and progression fore-ordained and divinely directed⁷ To be true to Paul, we can neither say that salvation is simply personal encounter or understanding, nor that history is a mere phenomenon, but that salvation

1 of Munck, Paul Davies, Rabbinic Judaism Cullmann, Heilsgeschichte und Eschatologie (MS) and many older works, e g Nock, Paul Stewart, A Man in Christ Kennedy, Last Things, etc

2 of e g Col 1,12f II Cor 5,14f Gal 6,14f

3 Men continue to die (I Cor 11,30 I Thess 4,13f) and continue to sin (I Cor 1,11f 5,1ff) because evil still works in the world (II Cor 2,11 Gal 4,8) and men still need to be admonished and encouraged to obedient behaviour (Gal 5,4 6,6 Rom 12,1ff etc)

4 Hence Paul is anxious to further the mission (I Cor 9,23 II Cor 10,16 Rom 15,19ff) and in no way hinder the progress of the gospel (I Cor 9,13 II Cor 6,3-4)

5 of II Cor 1,22 5,5 Eph 1,14 Rom 8,23 etc

6 As Cullmann (Heilsgeschichte und Eschatologie) points out, such a tension would be accessible to human reason, whereas for Paul it is a mystery which must be revealed - Rom 11,25,33

7 of Phil 1,12f Rom 9-11 (Cullmann, Time, pp 163ff Sanday and

is fully historical and that history is entirely embraced by the intention of salvation

The assessment of Luke as theologian and historian is a foremost problem to-day ¹ Conzelmann, ² particularly, maintains that Luke departs from early eschatology and, under the pressure of the Parousia delay, alters the tradition in favour of his own historicising ³ But this thesis both diminishes the centrality of a salvation-history concept in the thought of Paul and of the earliest community (discussed already) and also exaggerates any distinctive emphasis in Luke The following examples support this latter contention -

i It is said that Luke treats John the Baptist no longer as the eschatological forerunner ⁴, but only as a prophet of the Old Israel ⁵ However, it is noteworthy that Mk 1,6 (= Mtt 3,4) - a description which places the Baptist firmly within the epoch of the prophets - is omitted by Luke ⁶ Conzelmann argues that

Headlam, Romans, ad loc) II Thess 2,6ff Col 1,22-29 Rom 11,13 I Cor 9,16

1 cf Barrett, Luke the Historian for an introduction and an indication of the place this problem holds to-day

2 Mitte, passim cf also Grässer, Problem Haenchen, Apostelgeschichte, pp 90ff Käsemann, in Z K K II, 1952, pp 272ff and in Z T K LI, 1954, pp 125ff Vielhauer, in Ev T 1952, pp 1ff

3 Mitte, p 81

4 cf Mk 1,4 Mtt 3,2 4,17

5 cf Lk 1 9,28-36 3,15 3,10-14 9,9 16,16 Conzelmann, Mitte, pp 86,95, Grässer, Problem, pp 180f Haenchen, Apostelgeschichte, p 89

6 Mitte, pp 86f

Lk 3,10ff is typically Lukan since the judgement is no longer 'near' it is, however, important to notice that Luke has retained the original (? Q) connection with 3,9 (cf Mtt 3,10) so that Lk 3,10-14 appear to be only an expansion of the demand of v 8 in the light of the imminent judgement, v 9 Further, the $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ of Lk 16,16 is probably only a stylistic alteration, not necessarily intending a meaning distinct from Matthew's $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$ (Mtt 11,12)¹

ii Luke is said to have written the first 'life of Jesus'²

However, Mtt 1-2, though betraying different motifs, has a similar emphasis on the 'historical Jesus' and even Mark appears to be interested in the objective historical events of Jesus' life³

Further, if the Lukan prologue is to be taken seriously, it appears that ~~Lukas~~ others had already shown the same interest⁴, and also that Luke's concern was not simply an historical, but also a pastoral one (cf 1,4)

iii Luke is said to be especially concerned with the present as

1 cf under Mk 14,62 below, pp 206/ Contrast Grässer, Problem, p 182

2 cf Conzelmann, Mitte, pp 124ff Käsemann, in Z T K LI, 1954 pp 125ff and Haenchen, Apostelgeschichte, p 88, n 3

3 cf Robinson, Problem, passim Moule, in N T Essays, pp 165ff Leaney, Luke, ad loc 1,4

4 Lohse, 'Lukas als Theologe der Heilsgeschichte', in Ev T XIV, 1954, pp 256ff argues that the $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ of 1,1 cannot be taken literally, referring actually (he says) to Mark and 'Q' only Perhaps, however, the 'many' should be treated more seriously (cf Barrett, Luke the Historian, p 21) in any case, Luke means that he is not the first to be occupied with such a narrative

an epoch rather than a Zwischenzeit¹ To be sure, his special
parables stress the character of Christian behaviour², but this
concern represents rather an emphasis than a special theological
standpoint Mark is by no means unconcerned³ about the ethical
aspect of faith in Jesus Christ

iv It is alleged that Luke no longer has the note of urgency so
characteristic of the earliest church⁴ This, however, cannot be
maintained consistently⁵, and, if Lk 13,6-9 is actually Luke's
alternative to Mk 11,12ff⁶, it is interesting that he has preferred
a parable in which urgency is the key-note

v The redactional-critical method appears to encourage exaggerated
emphases An example may suffice here to establish the point⁷
Conzelmann finds throughout Lk 21 a conscious alteration of Mk 13⁸
An analysis suggests that Conzelmann has made more of the differences
than should be allowed -

Lk 21,7 is said, by the shift of setting to eliminate the eschat-

1 Conzelmann, Mitte, pp 181ff

2 cf 10,29-37 13,6-9 15,11-32 18,9-14 16,19-31 18,1-8
12,13-21 16,1-13

3 cf Mk 3,35 7,6ff 9,35 10,5f

4 cf Conzelmann, Mitte, p 129, Cadbury, Luke-Acts, p 292,
Grässer, Problem, pp 178ff

5 cf Cadbury, Luke-Acts, p 292 The two references, Lk 13,6-9
and Lk 18,8 (ἐν τῇ ᾠᾷ) are highly significant

6 Leaney, Luke, ad loc

7 Mitte, pp 107ff

8 Conzelmann regards Mk 13 as Luke's source, contrast Beasley-
Murray, Future, p 226

ological significance of the Temple's destruction Yet the connection remains in Lk 21,5-6, and the question in v 7 is a question of the date of the Temple's destruction, to which an answer is given in terms of the End itself (vv 8ff)

Lk 21,8 is said to reject a near expectation Certainly Luke adds ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικεν but this is exactly parallel to the false claims (ἔγω εἶμι) which Mk 13,6 warns will be made The words 'the end is not yet' (Mk 13,7) and 'these things are the beginning of travail' (Mk 13,8) are clearly intended to discourage a false Naherwartung, and to encourage watchfulness

Lk 21,9 similarly but Mark's ἀλλ' οὐπω τὸ τέλος gives the same sense as Luke's ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσθως τὸ τέλος, and Luke, far from eliminating an imminent hope by his use of ἁρῶτον, is more precisely temporal in his expression than Mark with δεῖ γενέσθαι

Lk 21,12 is said to emphasise universal proclamation as the chief factor in the present But Mk 13,10 is entirely parallel (cf the temporal ἁρῶτον and the divine constraint in δεῖ) Many¹ question the authenticity of Mk 13,10, but the main grounds for² this appear unsound Conzelmann further claims that Lk 21,12

1 cf Jeremias, in T B XX, 1941, p 217 Klostermann, Markus, ad loc Conzelmann, Mitte, p 108 Grässer, Problem, p 5, pp 159f Kümmel, Promise, pp 84f

2 The grounds are a) that the verse interrupts the continuity between vv 9 and 11 but this might only mean that an authentic saying has been inserted by an editor (cf Cranfield, Mark, pp 399f) b) that the idea is foreign to Jesus however, the idea of a universal mission goes back to the OT (cf Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 17ff Cullmann, in EM 1941, pp 98ff), is found in Judaism (cf Ps Sol 11,1,8 17,43 etc) and was to some degree accepted by the Pharisees of Jesus' day (Beasley-Murray, Future,

presents a definite pattern, persecution being seen as the preface to the final end. But in Mk 13,10 and 13,13 a similar conviction appears: persecution and witness form a period ~~the~~ prior to the end itself.

Lk 21,19 is said to emphasise 'ὑπομονή' as the climax and to show that Luke was thinking in terms of a long duration of the church. Yet the expression 'he that endureth to the end' (Mk 13,13) ~~and~~ seems to carry a similar emphasis.

Lk 21,6 and 18 are said to emphasise God's providence. However, the same emphasis occurs in Mk 13,12-13 too.

Lk 21,20f is said by Conzelmann to correct Markan ideas about the Temple destruction and the fall of Jerusalem by historicising these events and removing their eschatological connection and character. Yet Lk 21,22 shows that Luke regarded the fall of Jerusalem as the fulfilment of prophecy, and thus to have a salvation-historical context. Verse 25, which refers to the cosmic signs which herald the end, follows (as in Mt 13,24f also) without any discontinuity, the mention of the fall of Jerusalem and the mission.

Pp 194f asks 'was Jesus more narrow?') Jesus' restriction of his ministry to the Jews can be understood as provisional (cf Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 76f.) Taylor, Mark, ad loc thinks that the Gentile mission problems could not have arisen in the early church if this verse (Mk 13,10) had been known as a word of Jesus. But Cranfield, Mark, ad loc and Schniewind, Markus, ad loc point out that the real problem of Gentile mission was not whether or not there should be such a venture, but whether or not the heathen converts should go through the stage of being Jews. (If the reading of α in Acts 2,5 were to be preferred, it would appear that Gentiles were included from the first but see Haenchen, Apostelgeschichte, p 135, n 9 and Barth, C D III/4, p 322)

to the Gentiles, so that the entire section (vv 20-26) is seen as 'signs' of the End

Lk 21,25-28 is said, by Conzelmann, to push the Parousia into the background Yet there is no significant change from the pattern of Mark 13 Both gospels introduce the section as a phase chronologically subsequent to the 'tribulation' and Mission (Mk 13,24, Lk 21,24-25) Both refer to cosmic events (Lk 21,26 adds tribulations on earth, but these are assumed as continuing to the End in Mk 13,20,22) Lk 21,28 cannot mean that the Parousia itself is still only near, since it is already spoken of in v 27 it is probable that v 28 refers to that aspect of the Parousia which is spoken of in Mk 13,27, so that Luke is right in saying that when these things begin to happen 'our redemption draws nigh' Lk 21,29-31 is said to historicise eschatology further by asserting that only during the final cosmic stage is the Kingdom of heaven 'nigh' The sense, however, is exactly parallel to that of Mk 13,28-29

We suggest, therefore, that Luke's emphases are only emphases and not the result of a quite different or new standpoint These emphases do not prove that Luke's central concern was the Parousia delay or that he felt it necessary to reformulate earlier hopes¹, for he shares his salvation-historical standpoint, as we have seen, with the early church and Paul - and, as we shall now

¹ A good case can be made out for other aims and pressures behind Luke's composition cf Dibelius, Studies, pp 146ff Ehrhardt, in S T XII, 1958, pp 45ff Leaney, Luke, pp 5ff and most recently O'Neill, Theology of Acts, p 168

suggest, with John

1

Bultmann regards the primitive eschatology as demythologized by the Fourth Gospel. But the basis of the gospel appears to be still the life of Jesus understood as historical phenomenon², and we may notice the frequent temporal connections throughout and the geographical data³. John does not attempt a separation of Jesus' significance for salvation from the historical particularity of his life, death and resurrection⁴. The Prologue is condensed salvation-history, drawing out the significance of the 'Word made flesh' in its backward reference through Covenant history in its narrow sense into the general history of creation and pre-creation. Similarly the conclusion of the gospel looks to the future, to the mission arising from Jesus' own mission (20,21f) and, perhaps,

1 cf Johannes, passim Theology, II, pp 3ff

2 Cullmann, Heilsgeschichte und Eschatologie (MS) says 'it must be noted that John gives his theology in the form of a life of Jesus, betraying thereby that this is central for all saving events and revelation. history is not for John a mere symbol or paedagogic instrument '

3 cf temporal data in Jn 1,29,35,43 2,1,12 3,22 4,43 5,1,9 6,1,22 etc and geographical data in Jn 1,28,43 2,1,12 3,22 4,3,43,46 5,1,2 6,1 etc

4 cf Cullmann, Heilsgeschichte und Eschatologie (MS), 'this historical life is not a mere framework '

5 i.e. chapter 20 Chapter 21 we take to be a secondary addition (cf Barrett, John, p 479)

hinting at the final End (20,31) The past phases of salvation-history are emphasised in chapters 1-12 apparently because the theme throughout is the demand for faith In chapters 13f it is the believing community which is addressed and the hope centred upon the future phases of salvation-history becomes more prominent The centrality of the concept of salvation-history in the Fourth Gospel is well brought out in its treatment of the Sacraments In both baptism and the last supper the tokens of the presence of the risen Lord with his community point back to his historical life, and forward to his final coming

It is hardly necessary to examine the remaining New Testament evidence, and we conclude with the following resumé Salvation-

1. Further below, pp 309ff

2 Baptismal imagery runs throughout (1,19-34 3,1-21 3,22-36 5,1-19 9,1-39 13,1-20 19,34) and so connects the sacrament with the whole course of Jesus' life The theme runs backwards (to John the Baptist, 1,19f and to Moses, 3,14) and forward to the consummation at the End (3,5 3,13-14) Eucharistic imagery also runs throughout (2,1-11 4,1-30 6,1-13 6,26-65 13,21f 19,34 21,5-14) The theme again runs backward (to the manna of the old Covenant, 6,41-51 to the Passover meal as prototype of the Crucifixion, 13,1 18,28) and forward to the pouring out of the Spirit and the Messianic meal (4,14 4,24)(cf Cullmann, Worship, pp 37ff)

3 In the Pastorals, the right order emphasised (cf I Tim 1,3-4 3,1ff 4,1f II Tim 1,13 2,2 3,1f 4,3 Titus 1,5f 2,1f etc) is understood as right evaluation of the salvation-history as it centres on Jesus - the fulfiller of the old promises (I Tim 1,15 2,5 3,16 4,10 6,13-14 II Tim 1,9f 2,8-9 Titus, 1,1-3 2,11 3,7), the present Lord (I Tim 1,12 6,14-15) and the one who will come at the End (I Tim 4,10 6,14-15 II Tim 1,18 4,1 Titus 2,13 3,7) The divine ordering of this history is attested (I Tim 2,6 II Tim 1,9)

In the Catholic Epistles Jesus' life and work are presented as the fulfilment of prophecy (I Pet 1,10-11 2,24 3,18f II Pet 1,19f 2,5f 3,2f Jude 5f) It is from this standpoint that the

history is a basic conception of the entire New Testament From the centre, Jesus Christ, the line of salvation-history runs backwards through the covenant to creation and beyond, and forwards through the church and its mission to the Parousia and beyond That God gives to certain events special significance is a 'mystery' (Rev 10,7) not obvious to human understanding but requiring to be revealed¹ So that such revelation is an integral part of salvation-history, making faith (the confession of past phases of salvation-history) possible and with it the corollary, hope (in future phases of salvation-history yet to be unfolded)

There are numerous indications that Jesus himself held firmly to the concept of salvation-history which we have traced in Old and New Testaments His submission to John's baptism is instructive,

present and future are viewed In the future, the salvation-history line reaches out to the Parousia (James 5,7-8 I Pet 1,8,13 4,7 II Pet 3,8f I Jn 2,28)~~32~~ The present is a period of patient waiting and obedience (James 1,3f 5,7-11 I Pet 3,14 4,7f II Pet 1,10 3,9) and of mission through the Spirit (I Pet 1,12 I Jn 1,20 4,2-3) Hebrews opens with a salvation-history summary (1,1-4) In 2,1-4 and 9-11 (also 12,2 13,8) we find further summaries The present period is one in which men are called to pay 'earnest heed' to the gospel proclamation (2,1) and is therefore regarded as a merciful provision (11,39) In the Book of Revelation the assurance of Jesus' return (1,6 3,3,12 19,11f 22,7,20) is based on the Covenant of God with man The line of salvation-history extends backwards (so cf 13,8 5,5-6, 15,3) The present period is one in which the gospel is proclaimed (6,11 7,3f 14,6 22,17) calling forth faith and repentance (1,3 2,1 - 3,22) and there is a withholding of the End until the gospel has been fully proclaimed (6,10 7,3f 8,1), whilst the faithful long for the End (3,10 6,10 22,20) and the interim judgements and 'comings' take their course (3,20 9,5ff 12,6)

1 cf I Cor 2,10 Lk 10,21 Gal 1,16 Eph 3,5 Warfield, The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible, p 80

for the Baptist's work is orientated about the salvation-history¹ expectation of Elijah prior to Messiah's appearing. The Baptist's preaching, too μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (Mk 1,4)² can only be understood by reference to the Old Testament. Jesus' submission to John's baptism indicates sympathy with his salvation-history standpoint. Jesus' own preaching is likewise based upon the concept of salvation-history. The summary, Mk 1,15, is very probably an editorial compilation, but there is no reason to suppose that Mark or his source has misrepresented the substance³ of Jesus' message, and the terminology is charged with the concept of salvation-history (πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς⁴ and ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ⁵). The terms which Jesus used of himself or apparently⁶ accepted from others are all understandable only in terms of the Old Testament and its pattern of salvation-history. It is

1 cf Mal 4,5. John's dress and diet were modelled, clearly, on Elijah's (II Kings 1,8). The Synoptists agree in prefacing John's work with words of prophecy relating to the expected salvation, Mtt 3,3 Mk 1,2-3 Lk 3,4-6 cf Mal 3,1 Is 40,3-5 cf also Jn 1,23 Is 40,3.

2 cf Grundmann, in T W N T I, pp 305ff Behm and Wurthwein, in T.W N T IV, pp 947ff Cranfield, Mark, pp 44ff. Luke emphasises this context (cf 1,5-25 1,39-80 3,1-20), but cf also Mtt 3,1-16 Mk 1,2-8 Jn 1,6-37 Robinson, Problem, pp 22f.

3 Sharman, Son of Man, pp 99f contends this, but Kümmel, Promise, p 25, n 18 shows his arguments to be inadequate. Rawlinson, Mark, p 13 says 'Mark's sentence does admirably sum up the essence of our Lord's primary message.'

4 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 63 Marsh, in T W B pp 258ff Barth, C D III/2, pp 457ff.

5 cf Schniewind, Markus, p 16.

6 cf above chapter 3, pp 58ff.

reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Jesus saw his role as fulfilling the expectation to which past stages of salvation-history and successive experiences of Covenant relationship looked in hope. Further, his own death and resurrection are seen as divinely¹ ordained and to have 'prophetic' significance that is, they cannot be understood apart from their place in salvation-history². The mission of the church is viewed, most probably, as a significant stage in the ongoing salvation-history³. The fall of Jerusalem is seen from the same standpoint - not from some other (secular) position⁴. And the Parousia is similarly understood. Although the End event is to be of a different texture from the events prior to it,⁵ it will be a real presence of Christ in the context of history and the total cosmic structure - i.e. it is a further phase in salvation-history⁶.

1 Mk 8,31 9,31 10,33 par cf Grundmann in T V N T II, pp 21ff

2 cf Lk. 13,32f Mk 14,3-9 14,22-31

3 cf further below, pp 139ff

4 It is not sufficient to see it as merely the outcome of political events (Beasley-Murray, Future, p 199 mentions the view of V G Sinklovitch that Jesus forecast its doom from this standpoint alone).

5 cf e.g. Lk 17,24 par

6 cf Cullmann, Early Church, p 144 Time, pp 60f, 109 Barth, C D III/2, pp 447ff 464f

Chapter 7 The New Testament insistence on the imminence of the Parousia

In this chapter we pass from the conclusion that Jesus and the early church appear to have awaited an actual Parousia of the Son of Man to the fact that this expectation appears to be coupled with an insistence on its imminence¹ The imminent character of New Testament hope has long been regarded as a problem², and a variety of solutions have been proposed³ These we now discuss

1 Ostensibly the simplest answer to the problem is to accept that Jesus taught that the Parousia was imminent, and to confess that this hope proved to be mistaken This view is, therefore, akin to the Consistent Eschatology of Schweitzer, except that the error now is confined to the nearness of the expectation, not involving the expectation itself The thesis has a variety of particular forms Some hold that, though mistaken, Jesus' imminent hope formed an integral part of his teaching and attitude⁴ Others

1 cf Mk 9,1 = Mtt 16,28 Lk 9,27 Mk 13,330 = Mtt 24,34 Lk 21,32
 32 Mk 14,62 = Mtt 26,64 Lk 22,69 Mtt 10,23

2 cf Muirhead, 'Eschatology' in H D C G pp 525ff Scott, Tributaries, p 181 Branscomb, Mark, p 159

3 The divisions must be somewhat artificial for there will be frequent overlapping but they are useful for our discussion

4 cf Loisy, Synoptiques, I, p 247 Nickling, Gleanings, pp 436f
 Easton, Christ in the Gospels, p 163 MacKinnon, Historic Jesus, pp 206f
 Turner, in A New Commentary, p 104 Guignebert, Jesus, p 346
 Lowrie, Mark, p 316 Ackerman, Jesus, pp 143f Manson, Teaching, pp 277ff
 Barrett, H S G T pp 157ff 'N T Eschatology', in S J T VI, 1953, pp 163ff pp 225ff Owen, 'The Parousia of Christ in the Synoptic Gospels', in S I T XII, 1959, pp 171ff

suggest that whilst he was mistaken, his apparently delimited¹ expectation was only peripheral to his more generally based hope. Some understand Jesus' imminent expectation in the light of Mk 13,32 and maintain that this confession must modify all Jesus' prophetic utterances². Akin to this is the suggestion that Jesus began during his lifetime to remove the element of imminence (so typical, it is said, of apocalyptic) from his hope for the future³. And a further suggestion is that since Jesus anticipated at least a slight interval between his resurrection and the Parousia, his occasional insistence on the nearness is of no consequence, for the principle of an interval (of whatever duration) is established⁴.

This thesis is propounded often with considerable hesitancy,⁵

1 cf Cullmann, Time, p 88,149 Early Church, pp 141ff 'Eschatologie und Mission' in E M 1941, pp 98ff 'Die Hoffnung der Kirche auf die Wiederkunft Christi', in V S P 1942, pp 27ff 'N T Eschatologie und die Entstehung des Dogmas', in K r S 1942, pp 161ff 'Die Wahrheit von der Parousieverzögerung', in T Z 1947, pp.177ff ,428ff Heilsgeschichte und Eschatologie (MS) Michaelis, Verheissung, passim

2 cf Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 45f Hadorn, Zukunft und Hoffnung, pp 124f Titius, Jesu Lehre, pp 147f Lake, Introduction, p 32

3 cf Taylor, Life and Ministry, pp 25f. ~~Hadorn, Zukunft und Hoffnung~~, Nairne, Epistle of Priesthood, p 207 Baldensperger, Selbstbewusstsein Jesu, pp 254f contrast Wendt, Lehre Jesu, pp 307f

4 cf Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 191ff Kümmel, Promise, pp 64ff 141ff Flew, Church, pp 23ff Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 18f Morgenthaler, Kommendes Reich, pp 68ff

5 cf Barrett, H S G T, p 159 Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 183f Turner, in A New Commentary, p 104 contrast MacKinnon, Historic Jesus, p 206

since it is recognised that to attribute to Jesus errancy can create (and sometimes has created) great distress¹ Nevertheless, it is suggested, errancy formed an essential feature of Jesus' true humanity² Not all who find this thesis unsatisfactory are motivated simply by a desire to preserve Jesus from the charge of fallibility - the thesis, in fact, contains a number of difficulties both exegetical and theological Here we wish only to select certain important issues in order to facilitate a re-examination of the passages where an imminent Parousia appears to be foretold

One of the primary theological questions is the exact nature of Jesus' fallible humanity³ Manson cites as parallel examples of error Jesus' medical diagnosis in certain cases, and his views on literary criticism, and says 'the unfulfilled prediction of the early Parousia may well be a similar case' Unfortunately, the character of these examples makes them of little value, for they are both details of technical knowledge rather than of religious conviction, and errors of the former kind must, surely, carry a

1 William Temple, in a letter dated 1913 to Ronald Knox wrote, 'Anyhow I think our Lord definitely rejected the apocalyptic idea of Messiahship And if I thought He expected an immediate catastrophe other than His own Death and Resurrection, I think I should have to renounce Christianity' (Iremonger, William Temple) Cadbury Luke-Acts, p 283 notes that the idea of errancy is 'abhorrent' to some Beasley-Murray, Future, p 183, reminds us that 'on this ground Sidgwick felt compelled to abandon Christian faith Christian believers shrink from admitting that their Lord was mistaken in a major item of his preaching'

2 cf Baldensperger, Selbstbewusstsein, p 148 Nicklin, Gleanings pp 348f Turner, in A New Commentary, p 100 Nairne, The Faith of the N T pp 26,29 Manson, Teaching, p 282 Owen in S I T XII, 1959, pp 184f Gore, Dissertations, pp 94f Taylor, Mark, p 523

3 cf Teaching, pp 282f Sayings, p 37 Quote from Teaching, p 283

different significance from errors of the latter¹ Further, Jesus appears never to base his standpoint upon an errant diagnosis or literary judgement², whereas in the case of the passages in question the temporal aspect (however this is evaluated) is fundamental to the whole assertion³ As a matter of methodology, too, it is difficult to see why if the clauses 'ye shall see', 'there be some of them standing here', can be dismissed as based on a miscalculation, the other clauses 'The Son of Man coming' and 'the Kingdom of God come.' should be allowed to stand, for on what grounds may the distinction be made? Manson⁴ makes the distinction on the grounds that 'the belief in the nearness of the Day of the Lord is not one of the unique features in the eschatology of Jesus, but a belief which, like the belief in demons or the Davidic authorship of the Psalter, was the common property of his generation' On the other hand, others too expected a coming of the Son of Man' - this

1 cf Stebbing, A Modern Introduction to Logic, pp 16ff Lawton, Conflict in Christology, pp 44f

2 cf Rawlinson, Mark, p 173 Even in Mk 12,35f the argument hinges on whether or not Jesus' dissatisfaction with contemporary Messianic views was justified (Taylor, Mark, p 492 Although he says 'the argument based on the quotation fails if David is not the speaker,' he rightly adds, modifying this, 'the value of the saying is not thereby destroyed, since its main importance is the light it throws on the manner in which Jesus interpreted Messiahship') Concerning Jesus' views on demons cf Taylor, Mark, p 239

3 The saying Mk 9,1 for instance is - in 1st century Judaism - a platitude, if its essence is simply 'some will see the Kingdom of God come with power', and not 'some of them that stand here'

4 cf Teaching, p 283

too was 'common property'

In this respect the consistency of Consistent Eschatology appears to be more logical and, to be sure, many who approach the problem of imminence along these lines conclude by interpreting the 'Kingdom of God' in an 'old liberal sense'¹, and evacuate the Parousia hope of all significance² - though this is certainly not true of all³

This thesis must also be questioned on the ground that it tends to overemphasise the skill and religious insight of the primitive Christian community in contrast to that of its Lord⁴. This must not be pressed, since it could be argued that the new situation following the resurrection of Christ led to such insight⁵. At the same time, there is some point in Cullmann's suggestion that if Jesus had so confidently expected an early Parousia, then the early

1 Our justification for this phrase is Hunter's statement (in Interpreting the N.T. 1900-1950, p 125) that at the beginning of the century 'we interpreted the Kingdom of God, in some Kantian form of a "republic under the moral law" or as a Christian social reformer's paradise on earth'.

2 cf Orr, 'Kingdom of God', in H.D.B. II, pp 849ff Du Bose, Gospel, pp 63ff Savage, The Gospel of the Kingdom, pp 27ff Burkitt, Sources, pp 56ff Easton, Christ in the Gospels, pp 159f Streeter, in Oxford Studies, pp 425ff Lawrie, Mark, pp 315f

3 cf Cullmann, Early Church, p 147 Michaelis, Verheissung, passim Manson, Teaching, pp 244ff Beasley-Murray, Future, p 204 Barrett, Yesterday, to-day and for ever, passim Owen, in S.J.T. XII, 1959, pp 171ff

4 cf Nairne, Epistle of Priesthood, p 207 Easton, Christ in the Gospels, pp 159f

5 cf Easton, Christ in the Gospels, pp 196f With reference to a different event, Brandon (Fall of Jerusalem, esp pp 185ff) wants to speak of the 'rebirth of Christianity'

church would surely have abandoned its allegiance to him after the
 'cardinal error' had been exposed'¹

Those who hold that Jesus, absorbed with his imminent hope in the End, anticipated no appreciable interval at all between his resurrection and Parousia - that he did not in fact differentiate between them - are faced with the problem that certain of Jesus'² words and works are interpreted by many ³ ~~as~~ preparing for and anticipating a new community, a church. We note, particularly, Dr Barrett's thesis that Jesus 'did not prophesy the existence of a Spirit-filled community, because he did not foresee an interval between the period of humiliation and that of complete and final glorification'⁴ Barrett's criticism of Flew's thesis is especially important⁵ and is itself, we suggest, open to some question. His

1 T.Z. III, 1947, pp 177f cf Manson, Jesus, p 149

2 cf esp. Barrett, H S G T (It is strange that Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 191ff in discussing 'The Provision for a period between the Resurrection and the Parousia' does not mention this work)

3 cf esp Flew, Church, pp 41ff Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 191f Gloege, Reich Gottes und Kirche, passim Roberts, Kingdom of God, pp 38ff Wendland, Eschatologie, pp 146ff Schmidt, in T W N T III pp 525ff Die Kirche des Urchristentums, pp 258ff Manson, 'The N T Basis of the Doctrine of the Church', in J E H I, 1950, pp 1ff Walter, Kommen, pp 41ff Oepke, 'Der Herrnspruch über die Kirche, Mtt 16,17-19' in S T II, 1948-50, pp 110ff Dahl, 'The Parables of Growth', in S T V, 1952, pp 132ff Das Volk Gottes Cullmann, Early Church, pp 105ff Quinn, 'The Kingdom of God and the Church in the Synoptic Gospels', in Scripture IV, 1949-51, pp 237ff Behm, in T W N T II, pp 132ff

4 H S G T p 160 Similarly (either wholly or partially) Johnston, Church, pp 46ff Kümmel, Kirchenbegriff, pp 27ff Promise, pp 138f (and authorities cited p 139, n 123) Ackermann, Jesus, pp 119ff

5 cf H S G T pp 137-9

first criticism is that since Christ's death is fundamental to the existence of the new community 'it seems undesirable to say that the foundation of the Church took place before the death and resurrection of Jesus'¹ This, however, (as Barrett notes) is a point stressed by Johnston² which does not rule out the possibility that Jesus regarded the disciples as 'potentially the Church'

Acknowledging this possibility, Barrett maintains that he can find no evidence for assuming this anticipated community would not be the glorified Church 'in heaven with God'³ Here, however, the problem of Jesus' ethical teaching is raised in an acute form Dr Barrett argues that 'the "absolute" ethical teaching of Jesus would be entirely appropriate to such an Israel, in the day when heaven and earth had vanished and with them the Law of Moses'⁴ Yet it is impossible to overlook the connection of much of Jesus' ethical demand with earthly circumstances⁵, and the ordinary conditions of human life appear to be in mind Barrett bids us compare Mtt 5,18 with Mk 13,31⁶ on the other hand, we may compare Mtt 19,3ff with

1 H.S.G T p 137

2 Church, pp 50-56

3 cf H S G T p 137 Barrett admits Flew's argument (Church, p25) that Jesus could foresee an 'enduring organism' without planning for it

5 cf Mk 10,5-12 Mtt 5,22f 5,33f 6,1f 18,15f etc Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, p 160 says Jesus' ethic 'is not primarily an ethic for the relations and conduct of the future transcendental Kingdom'

4 H S G T p 138

6 H S G T p 138, n 3

its directive concerning marriage and divorce, with Mtt 22,30 where
 'in the resurrection' such regulations are expressly said to be
¹
 inappropriate

Barrett argues that if Jesus had anticipated the existence of
 a church he would have spoken of the forthcoming Spirit by whom it
 would be established² Flew's explanation³ about the lack of teach-
 ing in the Synoptics is rightly rejected by Barrett⁴ At the same
 time any argument from the Synoptic 'silence' must be open to
 question and Barrett's own answer to the problem is not wholly sat-
 isfactory He maintains that 'it is easy to understand why Jesus
 did not foretell the gift of the Spirit to the Church There was no
 occasion for him to do so The period of humiliation and obscurity
 of the Messiah was to continue until its climax and the day of final
 glorification In the former period, the general gift of the Spirit
 was inappropriate in the latter period it was not a sufficiently
 significant feature of the eschatological hope to be mentioned⁵
 The second part of this argument could, however, be applied also to
 Jesus' absolute ethical demand If Jesus saw fit to give ethical
 instruction though foreseeing only 'the reign of the saints in
 heaven', it is not enough to say that he refrained from teaching

1 Not all who agree with the thesis concerning Jesus' imminent
 expectation would describe Jesus' ethic as 'interim' cf Easton,
Christ and the Gospels, p 176 Lowrie, Mark, pp 320f Many think his
 ethics presuppose an interval after resurrection and prior to the
 Parousia - cf Windisch, Bergpredigt, pp 13f Wilder, Eschatology
 and Ethics, pp 37ff Sevenster, Ethiek en Eschatologie in de Synop-
 tische Evangelien, (I have not seen this) Fison, Hope, pp 68f

2 cf H S G T , p 139

3 cf Church, p 70

4 cf H.S G T , p 142

5 cf H S G T p 160

about the Spirit because the Spirit was insignificant in that heavenly life conversely, if the ethical teaching had in mind a continuing earthly life of the new community it might be necessary to find some other reason for the lack of instruction about the Spirit other than that offered by Barrett

This problem of the Spirit notwithstanding, there remain hints that Jesus did anticipate a future missionary activity and therefore in some sense a church. There is the calling of the Twelve (Mk 3, 13f par) who are to 'be with him' and to be 'sent forth' ¹ Barrett ² holds that 'the "word of God", the "Gospel", the mission of the disciples belong to the period before the crucifixion'. But it is significant that the only fulfilment of the purpose of the Twelve's calling prior to the crucifixion could only be the brief preaching tour (Mk 6,7ff par) and this precedes the phase of Jesus' ministry during which he appears to have concentrated on teaching his disciples ³. If Jesus had not had in mind further, much more extensive preaching by the disciples, it is difficult to understand why after this short tour he should have laid such emphasis on training them. We notice also such references as Mk 13,10 and 14,9, which must be ⁴ discussed at a later stage, but which most probably support the conclusion that Jesus anticipated a missionary activity during the

1 Both Mtt 10,1ff and Lk 6,12ff assert that the Twelve are 'Apostles' cf Rengstorff, in T W N T I, pp 397ff

2 cf H.S.G.T p 138

3 cf Mk 6,30f 7,24 9,30-31 10,32 Johnston, Church, p 54, holds that the initial mission occurred whilst Jesus' early optimism lasted cf Taylor, Life and Ministry, pp 134ff

4 cf below, pp 300ff

interval between his resurrection and the final consummation

This leads to a consideration of the suggestion that since Jesus expected some interval, the length of that interval is secondary, and that ~~the~~ miscalculation on Jesus' part here is insignificant

¹ This solution encounters the difficulty that, of the passages in the Synoptics which pose the problem of an imminent expectation most acutely, three (Mk 9,1 Mk 13,30 and Mtt 10,23) are introduced by the clause $\alpha\mu\gamma\upsilon \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega \dot{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ The serious

significance of this introductory clause has sometimes been recognised ², but often, overlooked ³ In the Old Testament and Judaism

$\alpha\mu\gamma\upsilon$ ($\int\psi\lambda$) denoted absolute certainty Schlier writes, 'In allen Fällen ist das $\int\psi\lambda$ die Anerkennung eines Wortes, das "feststeht", und dessen Festigkeit für mich und dann überhaupt in dieser Anerkennung verpflichtend wird So heisst $\int\psi\lambda$ es steht fest und es gilt' ⁴ This same force is retained in the New Testament ⁵

The word ~~has~~, actually, added emphasis since it is found here only in connection with sayings of Jesus, giving 'emphasis and solemnity' ⁶ to that which follows' Two very far-reaching questions arise

1 cf authorities cited above p 132 n 4 of also the suggestion that since Jesus' imminent hope was basically theological, the occasional delimitation of his hope is of no import - authorities cited above p 132 n 1 .

2 cf Beasley-Murray, Future, p 186 Nicklin, Gleanings, p 346

3 cf Manson, Teaching, pp 277ff. Cullmann, Early Church, p 152

4 in T W N T I, p 339

5 cf Martin-Achard in Vocabulary, ad loc Blackman, in T W B p 18 Carrington, Mark, p 188 Manson, Teaching, pp 105ff Cranfield, Mark, pp 139f

6 Taylor, Mark, p 242

from this consideration The first is, if Jesus was mistaken in an assertion so solemnly introduced and emphatically affirmed, what reliance, if any, can or ought to be placed on words not so introduced?

The second is, if Jesus knew himself to be limited in his knowledge of the Parousia's date¹, or if he was not sure about his knowledge here, was it not arrogance or lack of humility to make such solemn affirmations that it would come within his own generation? This difficulty could be eased if Mk 13,32 could be shown to be unauthentic as many claim² But the saying may well be genuine as a piece of Christian apologetic³ it is unnecessarily offensive⁴ and quickly proved difficult⁵ and the inclusion of the phrase $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ ⁶ would appear unnecessary Or the difficulty

1 cf the argument of the authorities cited above, pp 131f

2 Beasley-Murray, Mark 13, pp 105f reviews the ancient and modern 'revulsion against the text' of further below, pp 380f

3 cf Loisy, Marc ad loc Grasser, Problem, p 82 Bousset, Kyrios Christos, pp 43f

4 Schniewind, Markus, ad loc rightly notes that the line of argument adopted in II Peter 3,5ff was always available and in -offensive of further Lohmeyer, Markus, ad loc Cadoux, Historic Mission, p 33 Taylor, Mark, ad loc

5 Luke appears to find the saying difficult Grasser, Problem, p.82 argues that Luke omits because of his special Heilsgeschichte and because Acts 1,7 suffices But Luke's supposed programme of salvation-history would not make Mk 13,32 necessarily inappropriate and it remains true that Acts 1,7 is less offensive Further, indications of the trouble caused by Mk 13,32 are suggested by the variants of Mtt 24,36 ($\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ omitted by δ^{ca} , W, FI, 700, 565) Taylor, Mark, pp 522f cites the evasions offered by Ambrose, Cyril of Alexandria, and Basil

6 cf Kümmel, Promise, p 42 who maintains this against Dalman, Words, p 194 and Bultmann, Geschichte, p 130 (who suggest that 'neither the Son but the Father' is a Christian addition)

might be slightly eased if Mk 13,32 were only a relative affirmation of ignorance meaning that though the Parousia would come within the contemporary generation, Jesus was not certain of its exact ¹ date. Beasley-Murray arguing for this view, holds that if 'Day' and 'Hour' here referred to the 'Day of the Lord' rather than to a 'narrower limitation of time over against a broader period' then 'strictly speaking such an assertion ought to mean that Jesus knew nothing of the Day itself, i.e. of its nature, an impossible view in face of the rest of his teaching' ². But surely, the meaning 'No one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son knows anything concerning the nature of the Day of the Lord' is so obviously an exaggeration that the limitation of ignorance to a certain aspect of the 'Day' is self-evident. And the particular aspect in the context is 'when' it is to come. Since ~~x~~there is no compelling reason to understand 'that day or that hour' as precise temporal terms, it is ³ natural to take them, following the Old Testament background as ⁴ references to the Last Judgement and the Parousia. Beasley-Murray's case would be helped if the demonstrative adjective were missing indeed, his argument allows it to lapse when he says, 'If at the present time one were asked, "Have you any idea when war will next break out in Europe?" and the reply were given, "I do not know the

1 cf Nicklin, Gleanings, p 347 Guignebert, Jesus, p 346 Lake, Introduction, p 32. Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 261f Mk 13, pp 107f

2 Mk 13, pp 107f

3 cf von Rad, in T.W.N.T. II, pp 947ff

4 cf Taylor, Mark, pp 522f following Lohmeyer (Markus, p 283) '"Jener Tag" ist bekanntlich der Tag des letzten Gerichtes', similarly Cranfield, Mark, pp 410f

day or ~~the~~ hour" ¹ - whereas the point is that 'that day' carries Old Testament overtones which 'the day' in modern usage does not ²

To reconcile Mk 13,30 - understood as mistaken - with Mk 13,32 is therefore an acute problem ³ It is a dogmatic point which we cannot discuss here, but it is important to notice that the real issue is much more crucial than the advocates of this solution sometimes suggest ⁴ a simple recognition of Jesus' ignorance does not answer the question when seen in this form

2 Another possible answer to the problem of the apparently unfulfilled predictions of an imminent Parousia is to say that the time element in the sayings has no special temporal significance, but has only a pastoral or epistemological basis This view has been held over a considerable period and has a number of advocates to-day ⁵ In its demythologization of the temporal element in the Parousia expectation this answer leans towards Bultmann's methodological programme, though clearly it aims at something much less

1 Mk 13, p 108

2 Feuillet, in R B LVI, 1949, p 87 thinks 'that day' refers to the Fall of Jerusalem Glasson, Advent, pp 97f thinks it 'may have been an answer to a question about the end of the world or the last day', though 'in itself the phrase "that day or that hour" tells us nothing' Against both, the O.T background is decisive We may also note, with Kummel, Promise, pp 36f that 'Jesus uses this term (ἡ ἡμέρα, ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη) invariably for the end of time in the future' cf Lk 10,12 Mtt 10,15 Mk 14,25 Lk 17,26 Mtt 25,13 (In Lk 17,31 Glasson, Advent, p 98 says 'that day' is used of the fall of Jerusalem but cf against him rightly Kummel, Promise, p 38, n 62)

3 Kummel, Promise, pp.149f accepts this and says 'we cannot know how to strike a balance between these two series of assertions'

4 cf Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 183ff Mk 13, pp 99f Owen, in S J T XII, 1959, pp 171ff Manson, Teaching, p 282

5 cf Titius, Reich Gottes, pp 147ff Schmaus, Dogmatik, pp.29ff

radical for it still regards the Parousia as something temporally¹
future - an End towards which Christian hope can be directed

Again the answer appears to be simple and inoffensive yet
there are real difficulties The argument is that the 'prophetic
perspective' which Jesus shared meant that 'time telescoped itself'²
in his vision of the approaching battle of light and darkness'
Events near and far were seen as peaks standing out one behind the
other whilst the plains in between could not be discerned³ Beasley-
Murray⁴ claims that 'every Old Testament prophet', due to the
'intensity and certainty of prophetic convictions invariably expres
themselves in terms of a speedy fulfilment' However, as we have
already suggested⁵, even where this is most marked in apocalyptic
literature, a temporal nearness is subordinated to a theological
conviction the chronological calculations served a pastoral end
Are we then to say that Jesus followed, out of pastoral expediency,
the apocalyptic pastoral method that he spoke of the Parousia as
coming within the life-time of his contemporaries in order to

Graham, Christ of Catholicism, p 299 Levertoff, 'Eschatological
teaching in the gospels', in Theology, XXXII, 1936, pp 339f Oepke,
in S T II, 1948-50, pp 110ff Rawlinson, Mark, p.180. Fison, Hope,
pp 29ff and partially Beasley-Murray, Future, p 150f Guy, Proph-
ecy, p 59 Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, p 188 Kummel, Promise,
pp 150f

1 cf esp Graham, Christ of Catholicism, p 297 Fison, Hope, p 70

2 Levertoff, in Theology, XXXII, 1936, p 339

3 cf Schmaus, Dogmatik, pp 29f following Billot, La Parusie
Beasley-Murray, Future, p 204 gives another simile

4 cf Future, pp 170, 186f 5 cf above, pp 28f

encourage hope and incite watchfulness? But as a pastoral exped-
 ient the procedure is quite unsatisfactory for it could lead to
 false optimism and so to disillusionment and, unless the forecast
 of an early Parousia proved correct, would necessarily create diff-
 iculties for the second generation³ Besides, it is questionable
 how far the solemn asseveration *καὶ μὴν λέγω ὑμῖν* could be justified on
 the grounds of expediency, particularly when the pastoral intention
 could apparently be met perfectly adequately by calls to watchful-
 ness which do not speak of an End coming within a delimited time⁴

Or are we, on the other hand, to say that the 'prophetic per-
 spective' was epistemologically inevitable? If this were so, then⁵
 the problem posed by Mk 13,32 would be even more acute since this
 saying recognises an epistemological limitation which, it would then
 be said, Jesus solemnly transgressed This answer also makes in-
 sufficient allowance for a unique sui generis element in Jesus'
 thought and teaching The inability of scholars, despite intense

1 cf Beasley-Murray, Future, p 189 Oepke, in S T II, 1948-50, pp 110f Titius, Reich Gottes, pp 147f Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 5f 17f Michel, in Z s T 1932, pp 645ff

2 Continual distress and disappointment has been caused down the ages because of erroneous calculations of this sort cf Glasson, Appearing, pp 44f

3 Althaus, Letzten Dinge, pp 275f followed by Beasley-Murray, Future, p 190, says that the early imminent hope should continually drive the church to preparedness but it is just not true that a call to preparedness on the basis of an open possibility cannot achieve what a temporally delimited hope alone can

4 cf Mtt 25,13 24,42f Mk 13,33f par Lk 12,35-40 etc

5 cf Rawlinson, Mark, p 180 Beasley-Murray, Future, p 186 p 170 Owen, in S J T XII, 1959, pp 171ff Levertoff, in Theology, XXXII, 1936, pp 339f

1

effort to fit Jesus into one mould or another surely suggests not only that our methodology is sometimes difficult to handle, sometimes wrong, but also that the man Christ Jesus did not exactly conform to a pre-cast mould² but enjoyed a certain freedom over against past and contemporary thoughts and was not entirely bound to the epistemological paths laid out by his forbears and fellows. If he was so bound, then it is at least more consistent, with Bultmann, to demythologize not only the temporal framework but also the concept of the Parousia, rather than to leave off where this answer does³

3 The third answer to the problem of the insistence on nearness is to say that Jesus spoke of certain events as about to occur, at least within the life-time of his contemporaries, but that he did not include amongst them the Parousia. The early church sometimes wrongly interpreted those imminent sayings as referring to the Parousia. The events which Jesus expected imminently, it is said,⁴ were the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple, the

1 of Jesus in the mould of the non-apocalypticist (Wrede, Dodd) in the mould of Orthodox Judaism (Klausner) in the mould of the apocalypticist (Weiss, Schweitzer) in the mould of the liberal religious teacher (Harnack, Middleton-Murray, etc) in the mould of the Essenes (recently Allegro) in the mould of the Zealot (R Eisler), and in the mould of the existentialist (Bultmann)

2 of Bornkamm, Jesus, pp 56f Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics, pp 147ff Flew, Perfection, p 35 Johnston, Church, p 55 Borchert, Original Jesus, p 328

3 Fison, Hope, pp 125ff interprets the N T perspective slightly differently he warns against abandoning 'Jesus' time' for an abstract philosophical truth, maintaining that lover's time, and so the key to the Parousia's nearness, is understood only in present encounter with Christ

4 of Schmaus, Dogmatik, pp 35ff Nairne, Epistle of Priesthood,

3

4

5

p 206 Muirhead, 'Eschatology', in H D C G pp 525ff Lagrange, Marc, p 325 Graham, Christ of Catholicism, pp 299f Levertoff and Goudge, in New Commentary, p 194 Swift, in New Bible Commentary, p 823 Brown, 'Parousia', in H.D B III, pp 647ff Feuillet, in R S XXXV, 1947, pp 303ff XXXVI, 1948, pp 544ff in N R T LXXI, 1949, pp.701ff 806ff in R B LVI, 1949, pp.61ff 360ff LVII, 1950, pp 43ff 180ff Introduction à la Bible, Major, Reminiscences, pp 44f Gould Mark, on Mk 13,26 Plummer, Matthew, p 338 Jones, in Scripture, IV, 1949-51, pp 222f 264ff Walter, Kommen, p 96

1 of Muirhead, 'Eschatology', in H D C G pp 525f Gore, Belief in Christ, pp 136ff Graham, Christ of Catholicism, pp 299f Major, Reminiscences, pp 44f Hunter, Mark, p 91 Stonehouse, Matthew and Mark, pp 112f Holmes-Gore, 'The Ascension and the Apocalyptic Hope in Theology', XXXII, 1936, pp 356ff

2 cf Gore, Belief in Christ, pp 136ff Legertoff and Goudge, in New Commentary, p 194 Swift, in New Bible Commentary, p 823 Scott Tributaries, p 56 Headlam, Life and Teaching, pp 260ff Sanday, Life of Christ, pp 117f Hunter, Mark, p 91 Design for Life, pp 103f Prideaux, 'The Second Coming of Christ', in E T LXI, 1949-50, pp 240f

3 cf Richardson, Theology, p 87 Graham, Christ of Catholicism, pp 299f Feuillet (cf note 4 previous page) Stonehouse, Matthew and Mark, p.240 Jones, in Scripture, IV, 1949-51, pp 222f.264f

4 Especially as this is presented in a modified form - cf Dodd, Coming of Christ, pp 26f Glasson, Appearing, p 191

5 Though many who interpret the imminent references in this way
do, in fact, dissolve the Parousia hope altogether of Feuillet,
(articles cited note 4 previous page) Jones, in Scripture, IV,
1949-51, pp 264f Holmes-Gore, in Theology, XXXII, 1936, pp 356ff
Prideaux, in E T LXI, 1949-50, pp 240f.

One immediate methodological difficulty which this view encounters is that it exists only on the basis of that presupposition of cleavage between Jesus and the earliest community which we have already criticised¹ Whereas the first solution discussed in this chapter appeared to overestimate the early church's religious insight, this answer surely implies that the early church was rather too stupid!² But the methodological difficulty arises because of a problem in exegesis Mk 9,1, for instance, in its present context,³ can hardly be taken as a prediction of the fall of Jerusalem So the context is said to be due to the Evangelist's misunderstanding This exegetical difficulty, however, is not so easily resolved for the real problem is that the texts are essentially Christocentric and revelational in character and are being (on this proposed solution) treated as non-Christocentric and non-revelational

Both aspects of this criticism require some expansion We take it as axiomatic that the Kingdom of God and the person of Jesus are so integrally bound together as to be inseparable⁴ This is

1 cf above, pp 55

2 MacCulloch, 'Eschatology and the Gospels', in E R E V pp 381ff quotes with approval Matthew Arnold's maxim, 'Jesus above the heads of his reporters' cf similarly Streeter, in Oxford Studies, p 433, who says it is a case of a 'great man misunderstood'

3 Chiefly because a) the downfall of Jerusalem is never spoken of as 'coming of the Kingdom of God' (cf Mk 2,22 par 11,15f par Lk 13,1ff Mk 12,9 par Lk 19,41-44, 23,28f) and b) other references to 'the coming of the Kingdom' cannot support such an identification (cf Lk 11,2 par 13,28f par Mk 14,25 par) Cranfield, Mark, p 287 Lowrie, Mark, p 315 Guignebert, Jesus, pp 333f Kümmel, Promise, pp 26f Manson, Teaching, pp 279ff oppose the idea

4 Origen's term αὐτοβασιλεία (Migne, P G, xiii, 1197) remains the most convenient short-hand account of the relationship of the Kingdom to Jesus' person and work

acknowledged by very many scholars to-day and is highly significant¹ for our² problem for it suggests that just as the Kingdom of God in its realised aspect is inseparable from the person of Jesus Christ so also in its future aspect it cannot be divorced from him.³ Fison rightly remarks, 'we are apt to-day to recognise the practical identity of the coming of Jesus in the past with the coming of the Kingdom of God, but we are strangely loath to commit ourselves to a similar identity in the future. Yet there is no getting away from the latter if we accept the former.' If we recognise this, we shall be careful to see that the concept of the Son of Man coming in clouds with great glory and the concept of the Kingdom of God come with power both have a strictly Christocentric interpretation. It is such a Christocentric interpretation which is lacking in the 'solution' under discussion. To be sure, the fall of Jerusalem is rightly understood⁴ as a signal manifestation of God's sovereignty in Christ exercised in judgement upon recalcitrant Israel, but it is not specifically Christocentric. The Spirit certainly is Christ's

1 cf Feine, Theologie, p 99 Kümmel, Promise, pp 105f Cranfield Mark, p 66 Flew, Perfection, p 35 Preiss, Life in Christ, p 68 Schmidt, in T W N T I, p 591 Borchert, Original Jesus, p 359 Cullmann, Early Church, pp 115f Contrast, Sharman, Son of Man, pp 89f Johnson, Mark, p 153 Morgenthauer, Kommendes Reich, pp 35ff

2 cf ? Matthew's interpretation of Mk 9,1 in Mtt 16,28 (Kümmel, Promise, p 27) cf also the prayer 'Thy kingdom come' (Mtt 6,10 = Lk 11,2) with the early church prayer ἡ βασιλεία σου (I Cor 16,22, Rev 22,20, Did 10,6) Heb 13,8 and Acts 1,11 may also be noted

3 Hope, p 138 cf also Forsyth, Person and Place of Jesus Christ p 122 Borchert, Original Jesus, p 374

4 cf Taylor, Mark, p 501 Beasley-Murray, Mark 13, p 22 Goguel, Life, p 403

¹
alter ego , but hardly 'in great power and glory' and it is
 Christ's ALTER ego, not the Son of Man in his historical particularity²
 The Church may indeed be regarded as the body of Christ ,
 but it is not Christ himself, being actually subjected to him it is
 not the Kingdom but 'expects the Kingdom and preaches the gospel of
 the Kingdom'³ If the Kingdom of God come with power is to be interpreted Christocentrically, it is impossible to see how it has come in any or all of these events - though they may point as signs to that coming of the Kingdom which is yet to occur

Only the resurrection of Christ bears the directly Christocentric character required but this event is subject to the second criticism raised against this solution, namely that certain sayings are interpreted in a way which diminishes, if not ignores, an essential contrast between concealment and revelation At least as they stand, Mk 9,1 and 14,62 speak of a visible manifestation of the Kingdom of God and of the Son of Man, and this in both instances is contrasted with the hiddenness of the Kingdom and of the Son of Man in the ministry of Jesus⁴ It is this manifestation of the sovereignty of God in the triumphant revelation of the Son of Man in

1 Jn 14,16f 14,26f 15,26f 16,7f 16,14

2 Col 1,18 3,15 Eph 1,23 4,4 4,12f 5,30 I Cor 10,17 12,12 12,27 Rom 12,5

3 cf Visser 'T Hooft, Renewal, p 37 Johnston, Church, p 57 Gloege, Reich Gottes und Kirche, p 259 Schmidt, in T W N T III, pp 522f As has been pointed out (e g by Rawlinson, Essays, p 212 the identification of church with Kingdom does not occur prior to Augustine

4 cf Mk 8,38 and its contrast (Kümmel, Promise, p 27, n 44) Mk 14,62 was spoken in circumstances of the utmost veiledness There seems to be no justification for Taylor's interpretation (Mark, p 568) of ~~ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλ~~ ^{ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλ} , as Kümmel (Promise, pp 49f) shows ~~of the~~

glory and power which alone can fulfil the expectation of the New Testament. The resurrection appearances were witnessed, to be sure by the disciples yet the resurrection was no open, universal manifestation and must therefore be distinguished sharply from the Parousia. It seems that verbs of seeing are often used in the New Testament in connection with sayings relating to the future coming of the Kingdom and of the Son of Man¹. At the eschatological consummation 'wird die Offenbarung eine vollendete und unmittelbare sein'². We notice also the connection of this future act of revelation with 'glory' (δόξα)³ - that essential attribute of God which was veiled in Jesus' earthly ministry⁴. It is this 'glory' which will appear in the final coming of the Son of Man so that his true nature and the true significance of his earthly ministry will be made unmistakably clear. In certain references to the Parousia 'clouds' (νεφέλη)⁵ are mentioned - an Old Testament symbol for

1 Mk 9,1 Ἰδωσιν Mk 13,26 ὀφονται Mk 14,62 ὀψεσθε Mtt 24,33 Ἰδητε Mtt 26,64 ὀψεσθε Mtt 23,39 Ἰδητε Mtt 16,28 Ἰδωσιν Mtt 24,30 φανήσεται, ὀφονται Lk 13,35 Ἰδητε ~~Mtt~~ Lk 21,27 ὀφονται Lk 17,22 Ἰδεν, ὀψεσθε Lk 9,27 Ἰδωσιν Lk 21,31 Ἰδητε cf also Jn 17,36 16,16 19,22 Heb 12,14 I Jn 3,2 Acts 1,11 Mtt 10,26 Lk 17,30 Rom 8,18 I Cor 3,13 Rom 2,5 II Thess 1,7 I Pet 1,5 1,7 4,13 5,4 Col 3,4 Mtt 24,30 Lk 19,11 I Jn 2,28 Heb 9,28 I Tim 6,14 II Tim 4,1 Titus 2,13

2 Michaelis, in T W N T V, p 366

3 cf Mtt 16,27 19,28 25,31 Mk 8,38 10,37 13,26 Lk 9,26 21,27 (also Rom 5,2 8,18 9,23 I Cor 2,7 Col 3,4 etc) Kittel, in T W N T II, p 252

4 cf Phil 2,6 Jn 1,14 ('we beheld' is the testimony of faith cf Barrett, John, pp 138ff)

5 cf Mtt 24,30 par 26,64 par Acts 1,11 I Thess 4,17 Rev 1,7 14,14

God's self-revelation (as also of his 'otherness')¹

We take it therefore that the revelational character of the coming of the Kingdom 'in power' (and of the Son of Man 'in glory') is quite fundamental to the expectation. This does not, of course, mean that every instance of a prophecy using the verb 'to see' necessarily is a prophecy of the End.² It does, however, mean that events of an ambiguous nature, events visible only to faith, cannot be said to be fulfilments of a specific Parousia hope. As Richardson writes, 'There is a difference between the revelation that will be made at Christ's Parousia and the revelation that has been given in history. At the Parousia the revelation will be a "sight" revelation as contrasted with a "faith" revelation that is given in history.'³

In view of the difficulties attaching to all of the proposed solutions which we have examined in this chapter it is hard to resist the conclusion that there are sayings which speak of the Parousia and which speak of it as, in some sense, near that there is no compelling reason to lead us to conclude that this is due only to a shift of context in the early church for the sayings in question must refer in whatever context they have to the visible manifestation of God's rule in the person and presence of Christ

1 cf Oepke, in T W N T IV, pp 908ff

2 This is the mistake made by Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem, pp 10ff and Lightfoot, Locality and Doctrine, pp 66ff. Contrast, Stonehouse, Matthew and Mark, pp 183ff. Kümmel, Promise, p 66. Evans, 'I will go before you into Galilee', in J T S V, 1954, pp 3ff

These proposed solutions to the problem posed by the New Testament insistence on the nearness of the Parousia have been discussed here only briefly partly because they are (as we have suggested) akin to the more consistent and radical interpretations of New Testament eschatology examined in chapters three, four and five, and partly because it is our purpose at this point only to suggest the inadequacy of these solutions and so to open up the possibility of a further examination of the material. We suggest that a renewed enquiry is justified and that, despite the confident¹ assertions sometimes made that the question is now quite settled, the problem remains to be given a satisfactory solution.

Our immediate aim will now be to attempt, through a re-examination of the relevant material, to answer four questions

- 1 Did the early church delimit its expectation of the Parousia?
- 2 Did the early church think of the Parousia as in any sense near, and if so, in what sense?
- 3 Did Jesus delimit his expectation of the Parousia?
- 4 Did Jesus conceive of the Parousia as in any sense imminent, and if so, in what sense?

¹ of for example the leader 'Advent Hope' in the Methodist Recorder, for Thursday November 30th, 1961

Chapter 8 Did the early church delimit its expectation of the Parousia?

In this chapter we seek an answer to the first of our four questions. Is there any evidence to determine that the early church as a whole expected the Parousia would certainly occur shortly, and definitely within its own generation? Since we cannot presuppose a united voice within the christian communities and the different elements within the New Testament, we begin by addressing the question to Paul, and because it is often argued that here particularly Paul reveals a development of understanding, we examine the evidence chronologically.

I Thess 4,13-18

An analysis of the letter shows that 4,13-18 is not the high peak but simply one paraenetic section amongst others. It is not, however, unimportant. Paul writes in order that the Thessalonians should not sorrow *ὅτι μὴ λυπησθε* and the cause of their

1 cf above, pp.70f

2 After thanks and explanation (1,2 - 3,13) Paul turns to particular themes through which he apparently hopes to build up the faith of the Thessalonian community. 4,1-5 concerns sexual purity, 4,9-12 encourages brotherly love, 4,13-18 encourages hope, 5,1-11 exhorts to watchfulness, 5,12-22 discusses discipline and order. (This, against Neil, Thessalonians, p 89, who says, 'This important passage (4,13-18). gives the epistle its characteristic note')

3 The clause *ὅτι θέλομεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἰγνoscν* suggests that the teaching which follows is of special significance, cf Rom 1,13, 11,25, I Cor 10,1, 12,1, II Cor 1,8, cf also Phil 1,12, Col.2,1)

4 Haak, 'Exegetische-dogmatische Studie zur Eschatologie I Thess 4,13-18', in Z s T XV, 1938, pp 544ff, rightly reminds us that the section is given with this end in view, and that exegesis should not overlook this nor import some other intention, similarly Rigaux, Thessaloniens, p 527

sorrow is clearly not disappointment over the non-arrival of the Parousia, as some scholars hold,¹ but rather anxiety over the question whether (and how) Christian dead would experience the first festive phase of the Parousia.² The conclusion is supported by the following considerations. Verse 13 expressly states that Paul will not have his converts ignorant 'concerning them that fall asleep' (κοιμῶντας)³. Clearly it is Christians who are in mind,⁴ and the problem - if the answer given is not irrelevant! - is their status over against the status of living Christians at the moment of the Parousia.⁵ Verse 15 compares οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι with τοῖς κοιμῶντας, the argument centring about the fact that neither group will have advantage over the other. The mention of precedence

1 cf Héring, in R H P R XII, 1932 pp.316ff, Heard, Introduction p 186, Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, pp 291f, partially, Sparks, Formation, p 33

2 cf Haak, in Z s T XV, 1938, pp.544ff., Cullmann, Time, pp 240 f, Michaelis, in Wikenhauser Festschrift, pp 116f., Schmaus, Dogmatik, p 40, Murray, Future, pp.232f., Neil, Thessalonians, p99; Rigaux, Thessaloniens, pp.527f

3. The present κοιμῶντας is to be preferred, cf Rigaux, Thessaloniens, p.529

4. For (a) the N T usage of κοιμῶ is almost uniformly of Christians (Acts 7,60, I Cor. 15,6;8) or of believers under the old covenant (Mtt 27,52, Acts 13,36, ? II Peter 3,4), and (b) v.14 speaks of those asleep κοιμῶντας διὰ τοῦ ἡσού (This punctuation seems best, cf Rigaux, Thessaloniens, p 535, Frame, Thessalonians, p 169)

5 Clearly this problem would not be tackled in the course of missionary preaching, but later, when it arose in connection with the real situation of christians dying (cf Moffatt, in E G T. p.36, Rigaux, Thessaloniens, p 528). Some concern over a similar matter is seen in Bar 11,6f, II Esdras, 5,41,42, etc Oepke, Thessaloniker, pp.144ff. (an appended note, 'Die Parusie-Erwartung in den Älteren Paulus-Briefen') argues that the problem could only arise where a delimited hope had been held out, but this overlooks the fact that death itself was not the problem causing anxiety but only brought to light the problem (which one could hardly expect to arise in abstraction)

shows that this was the problem, and not the fact that Christians¹ died

The question remains whether ἡμεῖς² in vv 15 and 17 indicates that Paul thought the Parousia would definitely occur within his own lifetime, as many contend³ There is considerable support for the suggestion that Paul is speaking not of a particular group (you Thessalonians and I, Paul), but of the Christian church in general, that Paul is not stating that he is certain he himself will be alive at the Parousia but only that some Christians will be⁴ We mention the following first, the essential contrast being made is an impersonal one, between those alive at the Parousia and those dead, it is the contrast as such which is primary, not who comprises each group Secondly, although Paul is not here speaking of the time of the Parousia's arrival, he does go on to discuss this in 5,1-11,

1 Those who argue that the early church was alarmed at the 'unexpected' death of Christians (cf Moffatt, in E G T, p 40, Schweitzer, Mysticism, p 92, Hering, in R H P R XII, 1932, pp 316ff, Davies Rabbinic Judaism, p 291) appear to overlook the fact that Stephen has already died (Acts 7,60) and, according to Acts 8,1, a 'great persecution' had arisen, cf also Acts 9,1

2 cf also I Cor 15,51

3. cf Deissmann, Paul, p 217, Frame, Thessalonians, pp 172 f, Milligan, Thessalonians, pp 58f, Hadorn, Zukunft und Hoffnung, p 125 Michel, in Z s T 1932, pp 645ff, Oepke, Thessalonicher, ad loc, Dodd, Studies, pp 80ff, 108ff Cullmann, Time, p 88, Early Church, p 152, Barclay, Mind, p 134, Neil, Thessalonians, pp.98f, Rigaux, Thessaloniciens, pp 225,539f, Albertz, Botschaft, II/1, pp 203f.

4 cf e g Chrysostom, Augustine, Theodoret (see Rigaux, Thessaloniciens, pp 540f, Schmaus, Dogmatik, p 40, Haak, in Z s T XV, 1938, pp.544ff, Flückiger, Ursprung, p 144 We may compare Jn 1,14 where ἐμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι probably means 'we Christians' and, according to Barrett (John, pp.119,138) does not include the author (cf also 'you' in Amos 2,10, which cannot mean that the prophet thought those he was addressing were ever in Egypt.)

and there he affirms explicitly that the Parousia will come suddenly and all must watch (5,2ff) and implies that 'we' (5,9,10) might either 'watch' (ὡρεῖσθαι) or 'sleep' (κοιμᾶσθαι), i.e. the possibility seems to be held out that Paul and his readers might live to the Parousia but also that they might die prior to it. Thirdly, the fact that in v15 and v17 'we' is expanded, ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν should probably be taken² to imply that the actual composition of the group is being left open. Fourthly, it would appear unlikely that Paul's personal experiences should have led him to any confident expectation of life³. Finally, whilst it is usual to contrast I Thess 4,13ff with the so-called changed perspective of II Cor 5,6-10, Phil 1,23, etc., it is noteworthy that II Cor. 5,9 still reckons with the dual possibility, ἥτις ἐνδυσσώμεντες ἢ ἐκδυσσώμεντες, and Phil 1,20 similarly. We therefore do not take ἡμεῖς as necessarily indicative of a delimited hope. As the expression of an undelimited hope it is the natural prelude to 5,1-11 where Paul reminds his converts that since the date of the End is unknown, all are enjoined to watchful, obedient discipleship⁴.

II Thess. 1,5-12, 2,1-15

It is frequently argued that here Paul teaches that the Parousia

1 This is said to be already familiar to the Thessalonians, 5,1f

2 cf Fluckiger, Ursprung, p.144

3 cf Acts 8,1,9,23f, II Cor 11,23f

4 Exactly similarly Mk 13,33-37 following v 32, and II Peter 3,11f, following vv 8-10

1
will arrive shortly. However, far from affirming such a view,
this letter distinctly emphasises that the 'end is not yet'² Two
passages in particular support this contention

The first is II Thess 2,3, a reminiscence of Dan 11,36f , where
Paul maintains that prior to the End there must be an upsurge of
evil in the form of political totalitarianism³ Clearly the point
of the reference lies in the fact that such political wickedness
had not yet occurred To be sure, Paul speaks (v 7) of the 'mystery
of lawlessness already at work' τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἥδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας
4
Many take this as a reference to Caligula, from which it follows
that Paul expected the End to come very soon (once Claudius was
removed and Nero came to power) But this identification is hardly
likely since (a) Paul's present indicative ἐνεργεῖται does not mean
that lawlessness has once occurred (which would require an aorist)⁵
(b) Paul speaks of a 'mystery' μυστήριον , whereas if the reference

1. of Glasson, Advent, p 183, pp 193ff , (who regards the
'adoption' of the man of sin tradition into the primitive tradition
as one of the causes of the delimited hope), Neil, Thessalonians,
pp.177 , Frame, Thessalonians, p 243, Milligan, Thessalonians,
pp 94f

2. Schweitzer, Mysticism, p 42, regarded the non-immediate note of
the letter as proof of its unauthenticity!

3. The ref. in Dan 11,36f , is to Antiochus Ephiphanes, cf Rigaux
Thessaloniens, p.658

4 cf Hölscher, in T B VI, 1933, p 137 , Glasson, Advent, p 183
(following Andrews, in Peake's Commentary (unrevised ed) ad loc)

5 cf Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, p 167, p 171.

were to Caligula he could easily have said 'lawlessness has been manifested'¹ (c) Paul would need an astounding foreknowledge to know that Nero would succeed Claudius² and that Nero would prove to be a ruler of unprecedented wickedness³ We must understand the relation between the future 'revelation of the man of sin' and the present 'working of the mystery of lawlessness' in some other way, and probably the clue lies in the terms ἀποκαλύψω (v 3) and μυστήριον (v 7) In the period prior to the Parousia (cf 2,8f), wickedness is at work in hidden form⁴ That does not mean that wickedness does not ever become open and apparent, but rather that in general it works in a subtle way, only on occasions and in violent upsurges taking on an apparent form. Such a violent upsurge of evil, concentrated

1 So, in fact, Andrews, in Peake's Commentary, quoted by Glasson, Advent, p 183, writes 'The mystery of lawlessness has already manifested itself in Caligula'

2 Though announced in A D 50 (when Nero was 13), the succession depended largely on his mother Agrippina's support (Claudius' fourth wife), and involved the supersession of Claudius' son Britannicus.

3. Though influenced by Seneca, Nero was also influenced for the good by Burrus, prefect of the praetorian guard, an honest and virtuous soldier (Cowan, in H D B III, pp 514f.) Cf also the favourable judgements on his early years of rule given in Suet Nero 10,11 Tacitus, Ann xii, 45 Neil, Thessalonians, pp 167f, notices the problem

4 cf on μυστήριον in this sense, Robinson, Ephesians, pp 234ff, Moule, Colossians, pp 80ff

in the misuse of state power, was expected prior to the End, and Paul warns that since it has not yet occurred, it is absurd to suppose that 'the day of the Lord is present' (2,2). We may notice that although Paul aligns himself with the expectation of an upsurge of evil in this form prior to the End, he does not conclude that the End would necessarily follow such an upsurge immediately, nor, therefore, that such an upsurge could occur once only

The other passage is II Thess 2,6-7, the teaching concerning τὸ κατέχον and ὁ κατέχων. The general interpretation sees τὸ κατέχον as the Roman state and ὁ κατέχων as Claudius the reigning emperor. It is pointed out in support that the neuter and masculine parallel the usage in Mk 13,14 where the allusion originally was to state power (neuter) represented by the emperor Antiochus (masculine).

1. cf Dan.11,36ff, 9,25ff, which idea emerges in Ps Sol, Test of the Twelve Patriarchs, etc. cf also Ezek 28,2, Is 14,13-14 Rigaux, Thessaloniens, pp 259ff (and authorities there cited)

2 Every working of the 'mystery of lawlessness' will point to the final revelation of ὁ ἄνομος, at the Parousia, but not every working - even violent - is to be seen as the immediate prelude to the removal of the restraint and the revelation of wickedness. cf Bornkamm, in T W N T. IV, p 830)

3. Which goes back to Tertullian (de Ress 24, cf also Apol 32) and has 'since won the support of the great majority of ancient and modern scholars' (Milligan, Thessalonians, p 101), cf Glasson, Advent, p 183, Holscher, in T B VI, 1933 p.137, Lauk, Thessalonicher, ad loc, Oepke, Thessalonicher, ad loc, allows it as a possibility.

Also that this view accords with Paul's high evaluation of the state¹ However, this interpretation is very unlikely to be correct,² and there are many reasons for accepting the suggestion that Paul² is actually referring to gospel proclamation Thus (a) the identification of Claudius with $\delta \kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \chi \omega \nu$ would mean that Paul placed a high evaluation on this emperor not qua emperor but in contrast to his predecessor Caligula and the untried Nero³ But Stauffer³ says of Claudius that he was 'an insignificant fool who was ruled by his wife of the moment' is it this weakling ruler whom Paul defines as 'he who restrains'? (b) on the other hand, if one speaks not of Claudius particularly, but simply of the Roman rule, then the specific $\delta \kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \chi \omega \nu$ ⁴ is difficult (c) the prevailing New Testamen

1 Most refer to Rom 13,1-7, cf Lauk, II Thessalonicher, ad loc, Milligan, Thessalonians, p 101 Oepke (who thinks Paul may have in mind angelic powers working in the political institutions) thinks the evaluation is due partly to psychological causes, partly to experience (cf Acts 13,6f , 17,6f) and partly to Paul's sober realism, (Thessalonicher, ad loc)

2 Which goes back to Theodoret (Migne P G Vol 82, 665A) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (Migne, P G Vol 66, 936A), was held by Calvin (Commentary on Thessalonians, ad loc), and recently is advocated by Cullmann (first in R H P R 1936, pp 210ff , later in Time, pp 145ff , State, p 64,n 7, in Background of the N T , pp 418f and Munk, Paul, pp 36ff

3 Christ and the Caesars, p 138, cf also Benecke, in H D B I, pp 446f

4 Hanse (in T W N T) II, pp 829f) writes, 'die beliebte Deutung auf die Ordnung des römischen Reiches passt schlecht zu dem persönlichen $\delta \kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \chi \omega \nu$ ' Without altogether underestimating the significance of the masculine and neuter (as Rigaux, Thessaloniciens, p 275, appears to do) it could perhaps be said that the masculine is a reference to any personification of the state power (cf Milligan, Thessalonians, p 101)

usage of κατέχ¹ω suggests activity which is rather different from a restraining which arises from the passive fact of being alive and of thus hindering one's successor from muling (d) the evaluation of the state in terms of a power ordained of God, and therefore to be honoured² is not questioned,³ nor do we doubt that Paul thinks of the state as something which often opposes itself to God's rule⁴ But it is, surely, unlikely that Paul would refer in the same passage to the state both as that which requires restraining and as that which does the restraining,⁵ Cullmann rightly says that 'Paul would thereby have introduced into the eschatological conceptions a remarkable confusion' (e) gospel preaching is frequently referred to in the context, 1,8, 1,10, 2,5, 2,10, 2,13, Paul was ever anxious to preach the gospel continually and to do nothing to hinder the course of the gospel⁶ (f) ὁ κατέχ⁷ων can satisfactorily be understood as a reference to⁸

1 cf ^{Gingrich} Arndt-Alexicon, pp 434 Hanse, in T W N. T II, p 829

2 cf Rom 13,1-7 (I Tim 2,2)

3. cf Barth's comment (re Jn 19,11) 'The State, even in this "demonic" form, cannot help rendering the service it is meant to render (State, p 17)

4 cf Stauffer, Theology, p 85

5. Time, p 164.

6 cf I Cor 9,23; II Cor 10,16, Rom 15,19ff, etc

7. cf I Cor 9,13; II Cor.6,3-4

8. With Cullmann, Time, pp 145ff, State, p 64,n.7, etc, Munch, Paul, pp 36ff

Paul himself, or more probably as a reference to 'the preacher' who gives actual form to the restraining force, τὸ κατέχον namely the gospel itself² We conclude, therefore, that Paul is here teaching

1 Because the view of Cullmann and Munck (which Rigaux, Thessaloniens, p 266, calls grammaticus) is supported by two considerations which are open to criticism, they are -

a) Paul's lofty consciousness of mission (Cullmann, Time, p 165, Munck, Paul, pp 39f.) But Paul must have been aware that he was not alone in his missionary task, cf I Cor 3,1-9 in which it is basic to the argument that both Paul and Appollos are 'ministers through whom ye believed', also Acts 13,2, where Paul and Barnabas are set aside for special work together, II Cor 11,23f, too, where Paul does not even hint that the mission to the Gentiles was altogether imperilled by the experiences which threatened his own life. The unique function of apostleship, whether to Jew or Gentiles, lay in witnessing (cf Barrett, in Studia Paulina, pp 18f) But it is an exaggeration to suggest that Paul regarded his witness as decisive for the inbreak of the End. (It is interesting that Munck nowhere mentions I Cor 15,9, except p 13,n 2, as evidence that Paul was a persecutor, for, although he declares in v 10 that he laboured more than others, his self-assessment in v 9 should be taken seriously)

b) Supporting the allusiveness of the so-called self designation, Cullmann (Time, pp 156f) refers to II Cor 12,2, - another self designation couched in the 3rd person But this is an exception (contrast Rom 1,1, 11,13, I Cor 1,1, 9,1, II Cor 1,1, 11,5, etc) intended to point away from his own glorying Rigaux (Thessaloniens, p 276, following Schmid, in T Q CXXIV, 1949, p 336 is right 'Paul ne l'aurait pas dit secrètement, mais ouvertement ' (Though Rigaux's own objection (Thessaloniens, p 277), 'contre ceux qui identifient Paul aux κατέχον et font de la mort de Paul la condition de l'éclosion de la lutte eschatologique, on est en droit de faire valoir que, dans ce cas, il y a une contradiction flagrante entre notre péricope et I Thess 4,13-18 où Paul exprime l'espoir d'être vivant à la parousie', will not stand on our interpretation of I Thess.4,13-18. cf too the despairing conclusion of Dibelius, Thessalonicher, p 43, Neil, Thessalonians, pp.165ff

2. of Hanse, in T W N T II, p 830 (though Hanse does not identify ε κατέχον with 'the preacher'). Perhaps support for this interpretation can be drawn from the chain of events listed in Rom 10,13ff, 'how can they believe in whom they have not heard?' is a reference to preaching as such, and 'how shall they hear without a preacher?' is a reference to the concrete form It is when there is no longer 'a preacher' (i e when God decrees, cf Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, p 164) that the mission must cease and the End come

that the Parousia can delay, and that this teaching is not a corrective for a delimited hope previously held, but is precisely the message which he had already preached at Thessalonica (cf 2,5, 2,15)

I Corinthians 7

1

Many scholars maintain that this chapter betrays Paul's conviction that the Parousia would definitely arrive within a few years. Against this interpretation of the chapter we offer the following considerations

1

Though the ethics expressed here are, to some extent, ascetic in character, this asceticism should be evaluated with the special situation of the Corinthians in mind. Not only was Corinth traditionally vicious but within the Christian community there was division (1,11,) 'worldliness' (3,2f), especially sexual impurity (5,1ff)

6

The relativity of the asceticism suggests that it was motivated

1. cf Dodd, Studies, pp 180ff, Robertson-Plummer, I Corinthians, p 152, Lietzmann, Korinther, p 29, Glasson, Advent, p 139, Munck, Paul, p 165

2. cf esp. v 1, v 8, vv 26-27, v 40

3. cf Morris, I Corinthians, p 106

4. cf Metzger, Journeys, p 48

5. It is possible that Paul was seeking not only to counter laxity but also to counter an overstressed rigorism, 7,1-2 look as though Paul acknowledges the thesis put to him by the Corinthians and then modifies it (καὶ δὲ δὲ), cf Goudge, I Corinthians, p 52, Héring, I Corinthiens, p 50

6 v 1 is modified by v 2, v 8 by v 9, vv 26-27 by vv 28f, v 37 by v 36, and v 40 by v 39

by Paul's concern for the well-being and faithfulness of his Corinthian converts, rather than by a conviction that the world would necessarily end within a few years. Paul is above all else concerned with the problem how Christians can best 'please the Lord' (v 32) and he enumerates in fact three principles: first, do what will avoid sin¹; secondly, do that to which God calls, thirdly, do that which will not distract from discipleship². This complex of world affirmation and of world denial, neither of which is absolutised³, certainly does not necessitate as its basis the expectation that the Parousia must come within a definite, short, period⁴.

Three particular expressions in vv 26-31 are often taken to indicate a delimited expectation. The first τῶν ἐνεστῶτων ἀνὰ ἡμέραν, is sometimes taken to denote pre-messianic woes (cf Lk 21,23), but even if we understand the phrase in this way, it does not need to mean that Paul believed the period of woes to be very short. There is, however, good reason to suggest that Paul had in mind here the

1 cf vv 2, 5, 9, 36

2 cf vv 7, 17f, 20, 21ff

3 cf vv 19, 24, 32, 33-36

4 cf Cullmann, Time, pp 212f. Earthly ties must be regarded as subservient to the demands of the Lord and his gospel (cf Mtt 10,37) and the things which the world counts vital, recognised as transient (cf similarly Rom 12,2, Phil 4,11)

5. It is interesting that in Phil 4,11, (where, according to those who affirm a development in Paul's thought, we have his later ideas) contentment with his conditions is again stated. It appears quite possible that this contentment with what befalls one (and refusal to seek to change one's lot) is what Paul is commending in I Cor 7,7,8. Such freedom from cares is encouraged in 7,32-36 (cf v 28), and is the ground for a man to be as he is (v 26) and not seek change.

to denote pre-messianic woes (cf Lk.21,23), but even if we understand the phrase in this way, it does not need to mean that Paul believed the period of woes to be very short. There is, however, ~~good reason to suggest that Paul had in mind here the~~ distressing situation in Corinth which complicated and jeopardized the formation of new relationships, and which could be of any imaginable duration, long or short.

The second expression ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν need not simply mean that there is not much time left, for καιρὸς is neutral concerning its duration, and the expression συνεσταλμένος

1 Robertson-Plummer I Corinthians, p 152, Héring, I Corinthiens, p 57, and Lietzmann, Korinther, pp 33f, all take ἀνάγκη in connection with ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος and interpret v.26 of the messianic woes. But whilst Lk 21,23 uses ἀνάγκη in this connection, Mt 24,21,29 and Mk 13,19,24, use rather θλίψις. Certainly Paul can use ἀνάγκη elsewhere of distress not directly connected with the End, cf Rom 13,5, II Cor 6,4, 9,7, 12,10, I Thess 3,7 (Arndt-Gingrich, Lexicon, give only I Cor.7,26 as meaning 'the distress in the last days,' apart from Lk.21,23) (cf also III Macc 1,16 for the phrase 'present distress' where there is no direct connection with messianic woes). Significantly Paul uses ἀνάγκη in 7.37 where he suggests that the present distress of v 26 might not affect all the Corinthians. The chief objection to interpreting the expression in terms of the local Corinthian trouble is that vv 29-31 speak certainly of 'the End', but the clear break in v 29 (τοῦτο δὲ φημι, indignant sans doute qu'il s'agit d'une révélation nouvelle', Héring, I Corinthiens, p 57) makes this objection weak. It may well be that the two ideas should be taken together, and that Paul saw in the distress in Corinth one aspect of those woes which precede the Parousia.

2. It is unlikely that τῇ σαρκί in v.28 refers to the sort of situation envisaged in Mk 13,17 par, but that Paul rather had in mind the 'outward cares of living', Bultmann, Theology, I, p 233, Lietzmann, Korinther, p 34.

3. Delling, in T.W.N.T. III, p.463, calls καιρὸς 'äderentscheidende Zeitpunkt' (cf Cullmann, Time, p 39), but καιρὸς can certainly mean a decisive period (cf esp. Col.4,5, Rom 13,11, also Rom 12,11, in D* G Ambrst).

1
whilst clearly affirming that the Parousia is in some sense
imminent, does not necessarily mean that Paul thought it must come
within a delimited time²

The third expression $\pi \acute{\alpha} \rho \alpha \chi \epsilon \iota \gamma \acute{\iota} \alpha \tau \acute{o} \varsigma \chi \eta \mu \alpha \tau \acute{o} \kappa \acute{o} \sigma \mu \omicron \upsilon \tau \acute{o} \tau \omicron \upsilon \varsigma$ is hardly
a reference to the expected destruction and renewal of the world
(of Rom 8,19f), for the present tense (of also $\epsilon \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau \acute{\omega} \sigma \alpha \nu \alpha \nu \acute{\alpha} \chi \kappa \eta \nu$)
suggests a process already begun $\tau \acute{o} \varsigma \chi \eta \mu \alpha$, used in the New
Testament twice only ³probably means the outward customs and
ordinances of human life, the permanency of which is called in
question, the Christian must stand over against them with a
certain detachment⁴

Such detachment is, surely a proper expression of Christian
discipleship. ⁵Hering writes, 'mais ce qu'il y a de curieux, c'est

1 The verb is used in Acts 5,6 of 'wrapping up' a corpse

2. Calvin (Commentary on I Corinthians, p.159) says Paul 'bases his
argument on the shortness of human life' but Robertson-Plummer
(Commentary, p 155) rightly comment 'This makes good sense, but
probably not the right sense ' That God should contract the time
prior to the Parousia gives us no grounds for delimiting it, but
simply urges us to patience and urgency in discipleship

3 Here and in Phil.2,8, where it is clear that the meaning is
'the outward appearance ' But in view of the doubts concerning
authorship of Phil 2,5-11 (of Lohmeyer, Philipp, p.90, contrast
Martin, An Early Christian Confession, pp 8ff), the passage cannot
help very much in understanding I Cor 7

4 of Rich, Die Bedeutung, p 21 Calvin, I Corinthians, p 160,
paraphrases 'there is nothing stable or solid, for it is only a
facade, or outward appearance ' cf Rom 12,2.

5. I Corinthiens, p 58 Contrast, Robertson-Plummer, I Corinthian
p.152, who write 'We cannot assume that his opinion would have been
the same in a more peaceful period, and after experience had proved
that the Advent might be long delayed '

que les recommandations de 30 et 31^{ent} une portée beaucoup plus grande, indépendante de la date de la parousie ' Paul can encourage¹ watchfulness, believing that the Parousia is near without necessarily believing that it would certainly come within a definite period of time

I Corinthians 15

Does this chapter contain evidence that Paul believed that the Parousia must come within a few years? Lietzmann maintains that those who denied the resurrection (cfv 12) 'müssten denn ihre Ewigkeitshoffnung, allein auf das Erleben der Parusie eingestellt haben, was nicht unmöglich ist (vgl. I Thess 4,13f)'² If he were right, it is significant that Paul does not answer simply that this is also his hope! However, Lietzmann's conclusion does not necessarily follow, for there have been Christians in every generation who have substituted for the belief in the resurrection some other doctrine, often the idea of the immortality of the soul.³ Certainly Paul does not address himself to such a hope, but directly to the denial of the resurrection (15,13f) and then to the problems

1. It is because the End can come at any moment (cf also I Cor 10,11) that Paul exhorts to 'care-lessness', of exactly parallel Lk 21,34 (cf 'the cares of this life') The parallel is specially interesting since Luke is said to be concerned with an indefinite interim'

2 Korinther, p 79

3 For a full discussion of the views of those referred to in I Cor 15,12, cf Weiss, I Korinther, pp.343ff.

1

arising (15,22ff) It seems most probable ¹ that the deniers of the Resurrection were Christians who being open to Hellenistic influences found in the idea of resurrection per se a source of difficulty²

The problem under discussion is certainly not the Parousia delay, the denial (v 12) does not arise through any disillusionment - for Paul answers not that the Parousia will come (after all'), but that Christ is risen and therefore Christians too will be raised³

Only two passages might possibly be taken as indicating a delimited expectation in this chapter The first is v 23 'then they that are Christ's, at his $\pi\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ But, though this points to the next phase of salvation history (Christ the $\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ being a past phase, cf v 20), the moment of its coming is entirely undefined $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ certainly links the two events but not⁴ chronological delimitation is ventured⁵

1 With Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, p 303, Robertson-Plummer I Corinthians, p 346

2 Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, p 303 Hense, perhaps, the argument includes the section vv 35ff

3. Nor is the problem that Christians were not expected to die I Cor 15,6 mentions $\tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\acute{o}\nu$ without more ado' If Michaelis (in Wikenhauser Festschrift, pp 114f) says that Menoud ignores this verse, we may note that Davies (Rabbinic Judaism) and Munck (Paul) do also

4 And they are linked, for Christ is the $\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ of this next phase

5 Already nearly 30 years had separated the two events The discussion concerning the possibility of an interval between $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ and $\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ (vv.23,34) (cf Robinson, Coming, p 31, Kennedy, Last Thing p 323) has no bearing on this question

The other passage is vv 51-52 Here the first person plural¹ is taken by many as meaning that Paul includes himself amongst those who will not die This is extremely unlikely. To press the form of the expression so, would mean that in I Cor 6,14 Paul expected² certainly to die In fact Paul probably means Christians generally-³ as, we suggest, he means in I Thess 4,15,17. Paul does not write as one who will certainly be dead at the Parousia, but as one who awaits the Parousia as an event which might occur at any moment and therefore he reckons with the possibility of his being alive at that time; but this does not mean that he included himself amongst those who would necessarily be alive at its coming

II Corinthians 5.1-10

Here (and in Phil 1,23) we meet with the so-called developed⁴ view of Paul⁵ Davies declares that 'there is nothing in the text to suggest Paul's hope of surviving to the Parousia'. Many, however argue that Paul is, in fact, longing for the Parousia so that he

1 of Bultmann, Theology, I p 103, Deissmann, Paul, p 217, Robertson-Plummer, I Corinthians, p 376, Lietzmann, Korinther, p.87, Anderson-Scott, Footnotes, p 140, etc (Lietzmann indeed suggests that the non fulfilment of the verse accounts for the textual variants, but peculiarities of the construction here (πάντες οὐ μέθουσιν and πάντες δὲ μέθουσιν) may well be sufficient grounds for variations having arisen)

2. As Morris, I Corinthians, p.232, notes.

3 cf above pp. ~~224~~¹⁵⁶, Hering, I Corinthiens, p 150.

4. cf Dodd, Studies, pp 110f., Cullmann, Time, p.88, Robertson-Plummer, I Corinthians, p.376, Anderson-Scott, Footnotes, p.140, Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, pp.310f.

5 of Rabbinic Judaism, p 311 (following Cave, Gospel, p 255), contrast, Kennedy, Last Things, p.256

will not have to undergo the state of nakedness ($\gamma\mu\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$) following death¹ It seems at least possible that Paul does not mean that nakedness follows upon the death of Christians,² and that therefore he is not 'groaning' ($\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$) because of the oppressive thought that death may come before the Lord returns. Nevertheless there is here a longing for the coming of the Parousia, $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\nu$ ³ as used by Paul has a definite eschatological sense (cf Rom 8,22,23) The hope remains, and remains undelimited.⁴

1. of Lietzmann, Korinther, p 117, Deissmann, Paul, p 65, Kennedy, Last Things, p.256, Robertson-Plummer, I Corinthians, p 148, Sevenster, in Studia Paulina, p 207

2 Calvin (I Corinthians, ad loc), Oepke (in T W N.T 1, p 774) and Flückiger (Ursprung, p 145, n 86), think that Paul means that 'the wicked' are to be naked. Sevenster (in Studia Paulina, pp 202ff.) disagrees on the grounds that we have no justification for thinking that Paul did not expect the wicked also to be raised. Yet the resurrection to a naked state could, surely, be envisaged by Paul? Robinson (Body, p.29) maintains that 'to be absent from the body' means 'to be naked', but there is no need to take the parenthesis of v 3 and the negation in v 4 as interpreting the phrase of v 6, v 8 and v.9. If Paul is thinking in vv 3f, of the putting off of the old man (cf Col 3,9f, Rom 6,6) the longing for the 'new man' and the dread of not attaining (cf I Cor 9,27), then the readiness to die or live (vv 6ff) is readily understandable. To be sure, Sevenster (in Studia Paulina, pp 206f.) has shown that the comparison in Phil.1,23 is not the same as the one made in II Cor 5,3, at the same time, the willingness to die (Phil.1,23) is more easily understood if Paul is thinking of the wicked as those who, not being 'in Christ', must be 'naked'.

3 Contrast the N T usage elsewhere, Jam 5,9, Heb 13,17, Mk 7,34

4. It is, anyway, extremely improbable that Paul should have so suddenly changed his views. Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, p 311, Cave, Gospel, p.254, Denney, II Corinthians, p 175, think that II Cor 1, 8-9 reflects the event which led to such a change. But dangers had faced Paul often enough before.

Romans 13

This chapter is interpreted, on the one hand, as giving a reappraisal of Paul's earlier 'world-denial'¹ and, on the other hand, as evidence that Paul still believed that the Parousia would come within a very few years²

The first estimate, besides wrongly attributing to Paul in his earlier letters a simple 'world denial'³ surely exaggerates in seeing in Rom 13,1-7 a simple 'world-affirmation' Dodd thinks

1. cf Dodd, Studies, pp 108ff, Romans, pp 209f, Dodd connects his view of Rom.13 with chapters 9-11 of which he says, 'the forecast of history in ch 11 is hardly framed for a period of a few months' (Romans, p 209). But in reply we must mention these considerations -

a Paul attaches to the present and future no different significance here than that found elsewhere. The present as the period in which the Gospel is preached is an idea found in I Cor 9,12,23, II Cor 6,1f, 10,15 (and of the interpretation of κατέχον (αὐτῶν) in II Thess 2,6-7 above, pp 160 f). The ultimate inclusion of the Jews, though not worked out elsewhere, is implied in the argument of the 'universalism' of I Cor 15,22, II Cor.5,14, Rom.5,12f

b The perspective of the chapters does not rule out the possibility of a speedy End. Already the 'grafting in of the Gentiles' can be spoken of in the past tense (cf 11,17 ἐνεκεν τριβύλης) just as the breaking off of 'some of the branches' is past (v 17). And although Paul hopes, by provoking his fellows to jealousy on account of the Gentiles' faith, to gain the conversion of some of them (cf Deut 32, 21), he does not say that Israel as a whole will have to be converted before the End comes (which might indeed suggest a Fernerwartung), but connects their ingrafting with the End itself (cf 11,26). Everything depends, therefore, on how long the 'times of the Gentiles' (cf τὸ πλῆρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν) may be - but, significantly, Paul does not venture an opinion on this

2 cf Barrett, Romans, ad loc, Gore, Romans, II, p 134, Sanday-Headlam, Romans, p.380, Leenhardt, Romans, p.339, (with reservations), Bultmann, Theology, I, pp 103,347

3 cf above on I Cor 7, pp 172 f

that here Paul grounds civil government in 'the natural moral order of the universe, but lying outside the order of grace revealed in Christ'¹. There are, however, good reasons for understanding Paul's injunction $\piάσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτάσσεται$ Christologically² Christians are required 'to submit themselves' because the civil power is an instrument of Christ's kingly rule and because, in so far as its existence is for the good of one's neighbour, one's service of it is a part of the debt of love owed to the neighbour in whom Christ himself is mysteriously present'³ If this interpretation is correct, Paul is not voicing a simple world-affirmation but asserting the Lordship of Christ in the political sphere of human life, a Lordship implicit already in his earliest letters⁴

1 Romans, p 204

2. Even if ἐξουσίαι is not taken as a reference to the demonic powers subjected to Christ through his Cross and Resurrection (this Christological interpretation has been advocated most recently by Barth, Shorter Commentary, p.158, Cullmann, Time, pp.191ff, of Brunner, Romans, pp 108f, contrast Michel, Rómer, p 281, von Campenhausen, 'Zur Auslegung von Rom 13', in Festschrift für A Bertholet, pp.97ff., Leenhardt, Romans, p 328 note), the Christological interpretation of the passage can stand (cf Cranfield, 'some observations on Romans 13,1-7' in N.T.S. VI, pp.241ff., contrast Barrett, Romans, p.249) Cranfield mentions in support of this the implicit Christological understanding in the credal formula $\kappaύριος ἡ ζωὴ$, the use made of Ps.110, and such a passage as Mtt 28,18, and the explicit understanding in Rev 1,5, 17,14, 19,16 (in N.T.S. VII, p.242). Barth (Shorter Commentary, p 158) declares, 'Not a word suggests that Paul in these verses suddenly ceases to exhort "by the mercies of God" (12,1), that he no longer appeals to Christians as such and therefore to their obedience to Jesus Christ'

3. Cranfield, in N.T.S. VI, p.244.

4. cf $\kappaύριος ἡ ζωὴ$ in I Thess.1,1,3, 2,15,19, 3,11,13, 4,2, 5,9,23,28 II Thess. 1,1,2,7,8,12, 2,1,8,14,16, 3,6,12,18.

The second estimate, that Paul 'still' thinks in Romans (especially 13,11-12) that the Parousia will come within a few years, attributes to him a delimitation of the present period which, in fact, he refuses to make. Paul requires that his readers 'should know the time' - something which unbelief cannot do (cf. Mtt 16,2-3), this knowledge gives to Christian ethics urgency and seriousness. $\eta \etaμερα \etaγγικεν$ means that the present period is a 'dawn', the dawn, however, is not delimited - only the present is characterised as dawn throughout its duration

1 Strangely, Dodd accepts this, and has to speak of Paul 'reverting' to his 'old view' in the midst of his 'developed view'; cf Studies, pp 108f., Romans, p 109

2 Lietzmann, Römer, p 113, rightly only comments 'Die Nähe der Parusie als Motiv der Lebenserneuerung', Sanday-Headlam, Romans, p 378 say, 'The language is that befitting those who expect the actual coming of Christ almost immediately, but it will fit the circumstances of any Christian for whom death brings the day', cf also Leenhardt, Romans, p 339

3. All the injunctions preceding (beginning with 12,1-2) and those which follow (14,1ff.) are comprehended (cf Blass-Debrunner, Grammar p.480, Michel, Römer, p 281)

4. If the difference between $\kappaαιρος$ and $\chiρος$ has sometimes been read into passages where it need not be present, Barr's criticisms, despite the service they have done, are surely too severe (as too his attack on modern lexicographical methodology, cf Biblical Words for Time, and, The Semantics of Biblical Language) At any rate, it is clear that $\kappaαιρος$ in Rom.13,11 must have the sense of divinely given opportunity, a period of special significance in the salvation history, as vv.12f., show (cf Leenhardt, Romans, p.339, who compares the $\nu\upsilon\nu$ of 13,11b with the eschatological $\nu\upsilon\nu$ in 3,26, 5,9,11, 7,6, 8,1,18,22, 11,5,30,31, 16,26) But Rom.13,11 is a passage Barr does not discuss in Biblical Words for Time.

5. The parallel with $\eta \etaγγικεν \eta \betaασιλευα \tau\omega \thetaε\omega$ is obviously important. The metaphor used by Paul can only be understood Christologically.

6. cf Nygren, Romans, p.436, Michel, Römer, p 291, Brunner, Romans p.113 (~~Barr, Studies, p.108~~) The dawn had already lasted some 25 years when Paul wrote (Dodd dates the letter in A.D 59, Sanday and Headlam in 58.)

In the parenthesis of v 11b, Paul claims $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu \gamma\alpha\rho \epsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu \eta \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\acute{\alpha} \eta \epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ Barrett understands here, 'the lapse of time between the conversion of Paul and of his readers and the moment of writing is a significant proportion of the total interval between the resurrection of Jesus and his parousia at the last day.' But Paul could have said simply 'for you have only a few years left' had he meant this Surely he means only that every day brings the End one day nearer He has not ventured to suggest what proportion of the total this past period represents Each moment is a significant moment not because necessarily few moments remain, but because the entire present period is a 'dawn' and the day could come at any moment

Romans 15,19,23

On the expression $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota \tau\omicron \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ (v 19) Barrett comments, 'he does not mean that he (or any-one else) has preached the gospel to every person but that it has been covered in a representative way The Gospel has been heard, more could not be

1 Romans, ad loc More hesitantly Leenhardt, Romans, p.339 (but to say, as Leenhardt does 'he (Paul) is not interested in the chronological aspect of the event itself' surely goes too far in minimising Paul's hope that the Parousia might come shortly)

2. cf Nygren, Romans, p 436, 'When the Christian sees how time run on, he ought thereby to be made mindful that "it is full time to awake from sleep" '

Paul certainly is referring to the period between acceptance of the gospel and the time of writing the epistle, cf Bultmann, in T W N T VI, p 215, Pallis, Romans, ad loc, connects with baptism (cf Acts 19,2), similarly Michel, Römer, p.293, Brunner, Romans, p.17

expected before the Parousia¹, But whilst it is certainly true that Paul understands preaching (and the response of faith) directly related to the purpose for which the present time prior to the Parousia has been given (and therefore understands preaching as an eschatological activity)², is there really any evidence here that Paul believed the gospel could only be preached in a representative way?, that 'more could not be expected before the Parousia'?

In answering these questions in the negative, we must notice that Paul himself - before even accomplishing a complete tour of 'representative' preaching³ - visited some of his communities more than once⁴, and stayed in some longer than one would expect if he had really believed that the Parousia's arrival was dependent upon the completion of his representative preaching⁵. Moreover, Paul's general rule (v 20) indicates that he himself did not concern himself in detail with the administration of the communities he had founded,⁶

1. Romans, p.211, similarly, Munck, Paul, pp.47ff, Schoeps, Paul, pp 101 (following Overbeck, Christentum und Kultur, pp.57,62).

2. cf Cullmann, Time, pp 157ff, Michel, Römer, p 330, Hunter, Interpreting Paul's Gospel, pp 130f.

3. Paul had, obviously, not yet been to Spain, Egypt, too, had apparently not been visited.

4. e.g. Corinth

5. 18 months at Corinth, for instance (Acts 18,11) and 2 years at Ephesus (Acts 19,10).

6. cf Dibelius, Paul, p 68

~~nor~~ did he work in places where the church had already been founded¹ by others, but considered himself a pioneer missionary

Further, although we take πεπληρωμένοι as meaning that throughout the regions ὑπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τῶν ἡλιουρικῶν Paul had² fulfilled his task of a pioneer preaching of the gospel the fact is mentioned here, and re-iterated in v 23 not in the context of expounding the fulfilment of the divine pattern of salvation-history, but in the course of explaining why Paul, as a pioneer missionary,³ intends to visit Rome To be sure, there is a connection Paul's fulfilment of the gospel (πεπληρωμένοι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) (and cf Col 1,25, II Tim 4,17), and the command to preach to all nations (Mk 13,10, Mt 24,14); the former being necessitated by the latter⁴ But the world of that time was extensive, Paul's work that of a pioneer, and there is not evidence to show that Paul thought the completion of his preaching in certain parts was the same thing as the completion of all the preaching those parts⁵ would hear.

1 cf II Cor 4,1ff , 5,20, etc

2 Hence the expression νυνὶ δὲ μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων in v 23 Pallis, Romans, p 157, describes μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων wrongly as an 'irresponsible exaggeration'

3. The explanation is as elaborate and careful as it is, simply because it is a departure from custom

4 Contrast, Barrett, Romans, p 277

5 Rom 11,25 speaks of τὸ πληρωμὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσελθῆναι, similarly Lk 21,24 Both expressions are passive, suggesting that the fulness of the Gentiles is not accomplished without God's determining will Contrast Munck, Paul, pp 48f

Philippians, 3,20, 4,5

1

Not a few critics think that Paul expressed in Philippians his 'developed' view of the future - namely, that he must die before the Parousia which (it is said) is now fading from his mind

We admit that martyrdom certainly presents itself in this letter as a real possibility (cf 1,20, 2,17) But this, surely, is to the forefront because of the nature of Paul's circumstances

2

Paul was in prison and judgement in his case was awaited-imminently (cf 2,23) In any case, the possibility of dying before the

3

Parousia is not new (cf I Thess.5,10, II Cor 5,9) There is no

4

'weariness of life' here, and Paul is by no means blind to the advantage of living (ἀναγκαιότερον), indeed, his choice falls on this side (cf 1,25) Further, Paul apparently hopes still to be released (1,25, 2,24) so that he can hardly be said to have viewed his death prior to the Parousia as certain

1 cf esp Dodd, Studies, pp 108ff., Michel, in Z s T 1932, pp 645ff. Sanday-headlam, Romans, pp.38f, etc

2. This is true whatever theory concerning the origin of the captivity epistles one takes (cf Caesarea - Lohmeyer, Philipper, p 3, or Ephesus - Michaelis, esp Einleitung, ad loc, Duncan, St Paul's Ephesian Ministry, and in E T LXVII, 1956, pp 163ff, (for other authorities), or, the traditional view, Rome - Barth, Philippians,. Manson's suggestion ('St Paul in Ephesus The Date of the Epistle to the Ephesians,' in B J R L XXIII, 1939, pp 182ff) that Paul wrote from Ephesus but not in prison, rather with reference to his experiences with Gallio at Corinth (cf Acts 18,1ff) makes inadequate ^{sense} ~~sense~~ of Phil 1,7,13,16, 2,23, and has not been accepted

3 cf above, pp 170/

4 cf Heinzelmann, Philipper, p 92, Thurneysen, Philipper, p 43

1

Paul eagerly awaits the Parousia (cf 3,20), but when he writes
 ὁ Κύριος ἔρχεται we cannot say that he believed the Parousia would necessarily come within a few years. Apart from the possibility that
 ἔρχεται here has a spatial rather than a temporal significance,² the nearness, if temporal, is not delimited.

There appears, therefore, to be no sufficient ground for thinking that Paul believed that the Parousia must come within a fixed, short number of years. The question remains whether the church has left us evidence elsewhere of such a delimited expectation, and so we address our original question next to the tradition which has been embodied in the Synoptics. Clearly the texts we shall have to examine are Mk 9,1 par , Mk 13,30 par , Mk 14,25 par , Mk 14,62 par , and Mtt 10,23

1 cf ἀπεκδεχόμεθα which denotes 'earnest awaiting', Rom 8,19,23, I Cor 1,7, Gal 5,5, (cf Heb 9,28), it is always used by Paul with reference to the End (cf Lohmeyer, Philipper, ad loc, similarly, Vincent, Philippians, p 119, Grundmann, in T W N T II, p 55)

2 Dodd, Studies, p 110 , and Michaelis, Philipper, p 67, understand the nearness as that of the fellowship of the faithful with the Lord (cf Ps 114,18, 118,151 LXX). In support of this it is to be noted that the context in Phil 4,6 is that of prayer, as it is in the two cases cited from the Psalms (Lohmeyer, Philipper, p 169, links the nearness with that of the martyr who approaches his Lord through death; Bonnard, Philippiens, p 75, mentions this interpretation but inclines against it). Against this view Kümmel, Promise, p 20, says that the eschatological tone cannot be so lightly set aside. The two ideas are, however, not incompatible. If the readiness of the Lord to hear the prayers of the faithful were in mind in Phil 4,5, it would be founded upon the eschatological nearness (near, though undelimited) which Kümmel (Promise, p 20, cf Bonnard, Philippiens, p 75) takes to be primary.

3 ἔρχεται even in a temporal sense remains flexible. In some cases it refers to an event known to be due in a few days (Mtt 26, 18), in others it is used of a more general nearness (Mtt 24,32)

Mark 9,1

1

Many modern scholars find in this verse indirect evidence of a delimited near-expectation in the early church. It speaks, they say, of a short delay and is addressed as a comfort and reassurance to those whose hope was beginning to waver.

2

This interpretation, in that it sees a definitely Christological reference in Mk 9,1 par, is certainly preferable to those evasive views examined earlier in chapter 7. Yet it is unsatisfactory, chiefly because it fails to take seriously its context. In the tradition followed by all three Synoptists Mk 9,1 is connected on the one hand to the coming of the Son of Man in glory (Mk.8,38), and on the other hand to the Transfiguration (Mk 9,1ff).

3

1. cf Bultmann, Geschichte, p 128, Bornkamm, in In Memoriam, pp 11 f, Fuchs, in V F 1947-9, p.76, Marxsen, Markus, ~~xx~~ ad loc, Grässer Problem, pp 130f, Conzelmann, Mitte, p 88

2. Its Sitz im Leben, it is said, was the initial crisis facing the community through the non-arrival of the expected Parousia, and (it is further suggested) the saying is less general than Mk 13,30 and therefore reflects a situation where both disappointment at delay and hope in an imminent coming were both present.

The problem of authenticity does not here concern us, but cf below, chapter 10, pp. 256 ff

3. cf above, pp 131ff.

4. Besides the authorities cited above, p 148, ~~148~~, cf Blunt, Mark, pp 204f, Gould, Mark, p 159 (who connects with 8,38 but not with 9,2ff); Klostermann, Markus, pp 96, Robinson, Coming, p 54, Taylor, Mark, pp.384f

5. The connection is, of course, indisputable in Mtt 16,28 which 'has undoubtedly taken it as a reference to the parousia' (Bobbyer, Transfiguration, p 60)

1 Kummel and Taylor and others think that the introductory formula
 2 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς shows the saying to be a detached one Nevertheless
 3 the link in the tradition appears firm enough and it must be given
 4 due attention Robinson thinks the connection with 8,38 artificial
 5 since 8,38 was 'added in the course of transmission' But his
 6 arguments are insufficient, and the connection 8,38 may well be
 taken as authentic The link with 9,2ff is also firm The tempora

1 Promise, p 25

2 Mark, p 386

3 Blunt, Mark, pp 204f , Lohmeyer, Markus, p 171, Hauck, Markus,
 p 105, Cranfield, Mark, p 285

4 Coming, p 54, similarly Taylor, Mark, ad loc

5 Robinson's two chief objections are a) that the usage of 'the
 Father' τοῦ Πατρὸς here is 'unparalleled either in Jewish usage or in
 in that of primitive Christianity, for it equates God with 'the
 Father of the Son of Man', and b) that the idea of the Son of Man
 as the coming judge conflicts with the earlier tradition (repre-
 sented, according to Robinson, by Mk 8,38, Mtt 10,32, Lk 12,8, Mtt
 7,22f, Lk 13,26f) which represents God himself as the judge (cf
Coming, p 55) But the absence of the idea in the early church of
 'Father of the Son of Man' is accounted for by the non-usage of
 the term 'Son of Man' (concerning τοῦ Πατρὸς in 8,38 cf most recently
 Van Iersel, Der Sohn, pp 103, 114f) Concerning Robinson's second
 objection we cite Kummel (Promise, p 45), ' the meaning (of Mk
 8,38) is clear whoever declares himself for or against Jesus by
 open support or denial will meet with a corresponding fate when the
 Son of Man appears in glory ' There is no conflict here

6 cf Boobyer, Transfiguration, pp 58f , Lohmeyer, Markus, pp 172
 f , Gould, Mark, p 159, Robinson, Problem, p 60 To be sure καὶ
 ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς reads like an editorial introduction, but this does not
 mean that Mark (or his source) made a break in thought, nor that
 they misrepresented the historical sequence

statement (καὶ μετὰ ἡμέρας ἑξ¹) is unique and Klostermann is no doubt correct in thinking it refers back to Peter's confession (8,27f)² - only he wrongly maintains that therefore Mk 9,1 was an intrusion³

If the context is taken fully into account, it suggests that the early church, so far as its views are reflected in the Synoptic tradition, did not regard this saying as a community-formulation sustaining it in its crisis, but as a promise fulfilled in some sense in the Transfiguration. This shows the unsatisfactory attempts to circumvent the apparent meaning of γούσωνται, ἀναίτου or ᾧδε

1 cf Hort, Mark, pp 123f, Taylor, Mark, p 388, Ramsey, Glory, p 113 Lohmeyer, Markus, p 173 (following Bacon, 'After six days' in H T R 1915, pp 94ff) thinks of it as a sacred-history sign (cf Ex 24,15f), but cf Taylor, Mark, p 388 and Blunt, Mark, p 205 Carrington, Mark, p 190 (with Riesenfeld) takes the reference as a calendrical one, and Branscomb, Mark, p 163, suggests 'perhaps in the original form of the story the voice to Jesus and his disciples was 6 days after they went up the mount ' But both views are rather fanciful

2 Markus, pp 96f cf Taylor, Mark, p 388, Cranfield, Mark, p 289

3 The view that Mark saw the Transfiguration as a ratification of Peter's confession is not incompatible with the view that he saw it, too, as a fulfilment in some sense of Mk 9,1 (cf Boobyer, Transfiguration, p 58)

1

to be entirely misplaced This interpretation of Mk 9,1 is supported by tradition and by some modern scholars and is not affected by the frequently raised objection that *Tives* meant a lapse of some considerable time was anticipated prior to the fulfillment of Mk 9,1

1 Michaelis, Verheissung, p 39 mentions (only to discard) that interpretation of *φύσονται θανάτου* here metaphorically (cf Jn 8,52, 11,26, Heb 2,9) In Jn 8,58 the argument hinges on the fact that the Jewish opponents understand *φύσονται θανάτου* as physical death, it is because 'Abraham is dead, and the prophets', yet Jesus says 'if a man keep my word he shall never taste of death' that the Jews retort 'now we know that thou hast a devil' In Jn 11,26 Jesus may well be referring to spiritual death, but significantly, here he does not use the expression *φύσονται θανάτου* Heb 2,9 is ambiguous Behm (in T W II T I, p 676) comments, 'Die Formel *φύσονται θανάτου* Mk 9,1 par, Jn 8,52 (vgl das Logion P Oxy 654, 5) Heb 2,9 drückt wie *ὁδὸς ζωῆς* (Heb 11,5, Lk 2,26, Jn 8,51) mit sinnlicher Kraft die harte, schmerzvolle Wirklichkeit des Sterbens aus, die der Mensch erfährt, die auch Jesus erlitten hat (vgl Heb 2,9)'

Michaelis, Verheissung, p 34, suggests taking *οὕτως* in a non-spatial sense as 'thus' and *τοὺς ἐσθιόντων* in the sense of 'those who stand as distinct from those who fall, 'and suggests that the saying meant 'some, at the End, will be so abiding (in faith) that they will be saved' But probably *οὕτως* has a spatial force here (cf *μετ' ἐμοῦ* in D 565), and, although *ἵστημι* is used in the N T of 'standing firm' (Mtt 12,25, 12,26, Lk 21,36) the large majority of occurrences have the meaning 'being present' There is nothing to suggest the minority usage is intended in Mk 9,1 Kummel, Promise, p 28, n 33, rightly describes the suggestion as 'untenable', cf Cranfield, Mark 286

2 Taylor, Mark, p 385, mentions Chrysostom, Theophylact, Euthymius and Theodotus cf also Boobyer, Transfiguration, pp 27f, Barth, C D III/2, pp 499,, Cranfield, Mark, p 288

3 cf Hort, Mark, p 123, Gould, Mark, p 159, Murray, Future, p 185, Michaelis, Verheissung, p 35, Kummel, Promise, pp 27, Lagrange, Marc, p 227, Bornkamm, in In Memoriam, p 118, Cullmann, Early Church, p 152

4 It is not said in Mk 9,1 that death would exclude certain ones from seeing the awaited event (Schlatter, Markus, ad loc, suggests it was a question of election) The basis of selection is left entirely neutral (cf Cranfield, Mark, p 288, M Barth, Augenzeuge, pp 87ff

In understanding Mk 9,1 in this way, the early church can hardly be said to have made poor sense either of Mk 9,1 or of the Transfiguration narrative. To be sure, not only because of the connection of Mk 9,1 with Mk 8,38, but also because the phrase $\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \eta\delta\omega\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \tau\omega\ \theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ suggests the Parousia. The Transfiguration story itself is full of overtones suggesting the Parousia: $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$ ¹, the cloud² and the voice³ all hint at the Parousia⁴. The manifestation of Christ in power in the Transfiguration-scene was only temporary, but it was a real manifestation and therefore, in some sense, a real anticipation of the Parousia. Characteristic of the final End event is its manifest quality and its Christocentricity,⁵ the Transfiguration exhibits both qualities. The

1 Omitted by Luke cf Rom 12,2, II Cor 3,18. Here emphasis lies upon the visible nature of the transformation.

2 The $\nu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\eta$ is reminiscent of the OT image of God's self-revelation and self-veiling (cf Ex 13,21, 16,10, 19,9 etc). It is also a significant link with 8,38, cf Mk 13,26, 14,62, (cf further Oepke, in T W N T, IV, pp 910ff).

3 Boobyer, Transfiguration, p 64f, tentatively suggests a link with the expected $\phi\omega\nu\eta$ at the Parousia (cf I Thess 4,16) though this is unlikely on account of the words spoken here (Mk 9,7) compared with the speaker in I Thess 4,16. However, the link with Mk 8,38 is again important. Not only does the confirmation of Sonship reflect 8,38, but the command $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ appears to confirm the challenge of 8,38.

4 Boobyer, Transfiguration, pp 64ff, finds other links, but in some cases rather tenuous ones. Nevertheless his conclusion seems to be justified, 'For Mark, then, it seems, the transfiguration prophesies the parousia in the sense that it is a portrayal of what Christ will be at that day, and is in some degree a miniature picture of the whole second advent scene' (p 87). Similarly, Ramsey, Glory, p 118, Cranfield, Mark, pp 287f.

5 cf above, chapter 7, pp 148ff.

central figure is without question Jesus himself, and the emphasis throughout is upon the visible nature of the occurrence¹ The mention of Moses and Elijah can be accounted for on this view, though their presence has often proved difficult² They are not merely 'predecessor and precursors of the Messiah'³, but representatives of the Sovereignty of God as it was expressed in the old covenant, assembled with him in whom, in the new covenant, the Kingdom is present⁴

The parallels, Mtt 16,28 and Lk 9,27, arouse some discussion Matthew identifies τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐληλοῦσθαι explicitly with Jesus, and it has been customary to view this as an explicit reference to the Parousia⁵ Such a view is difficult, however, unless the promise contained in Mtt 16,28 is regarded as in some sense fulfilled in the Transfiguration, for on the traditional dating of this

1 cf μεταμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν v 2, ὥφθη αὐτοῖς v 4, and εἶδον vv 8,9

2 For those who take the Transfiguration narrative as a resurrection story, it is of foremost difficulty But even Boobyer, it seems, does not explain their presence very satisfactorily (Transfiguration, pp 67ff) True, Mtt 8,11, Lk 13,28f, suggest the presence of the Patriarchs and Prophets in the Kingdom, but why Moses and Elijah in particular?

3 Ramsey, Glory, p 114, following Jeremias, in T W N T II, pp 930f

4 He who came 'not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil', Mtt 5,17

5 cf Glasson, Advent, p 72 (who says Mtt has introduced the Parousia into a saying where it was absent in Mk, similarly Robinson Coming, p 53), Fison, Hope, p 189, Kummel, Promise, p 27, Schniewind, Matthausp 193, Filson, Matthew, 190, Allen, Matthewp 183, McNeile, Matthew 248

1
 gospel eye-witnesses would by then have been few and the text
 should have been growing increasingly embarrassing² Recently some
 scholars³ have suggested that Matthew regarded the saying as fulfilled in the Resurrection and in this has imposed his own particular theology upon Mk 9,1, this theology, it is said, held that, 'Die gegenwärtige Kirche ist die βασιλεία des Menschensohnes, aber nicht identisch mit der Schar derer die in die Gottesherrschaft⁴ eingehen', and this Kingdom of the Son of Man was inaugurated in the Resurrection and Ascension⁵ But this interpretation we find unacceptable, because (a) the expression 'in his Kingdom' (ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ) is probably an explication of Mark's meaning, for Mark certainly links the thought of the Kingdom of God directly with Jesus himself (cf Mk 3,21ff), and speaks of sending angels to gather his (the Son of Man's) elect (Mk 13,27) and because (b) it is doubtful if Matthew distinguishes between the

1 Kilpatrick, Origins, pp 127ff, dates the gospel between 90 and 100 A D Bacon, Studies, pp 63ff, similarly McNeile, Matthew p xxiv, suggests not earlier than 80 and not later than 100 A D (contrast Allen, Matthew, pp lxxxivf, who dates the gospel between 65 and 75 A D)

2 cf Michaelis, Matthaus, ad loc

3 cf esp Bornkamm's contributions, 'Enderwartung, und Kirche im Matthäusevangelium', in T L LXXIX, 1954, pp 34ff, in Dodd Festschrift, pp 222ff, in Überlieferung und Auslegung (with G Barth and H J Held), pp 11f, cf also G Barth, in Überlieferung und Auslegung, pp 54ff, Stonehouse, Matthew and Mark, p 240

4 Bornkamm, in Überlieferung und Auslegung, p 40

5 cf Bornkamm, in Überlieferung und Auslegung, pp 20f

6 Regarding the questionable methodology involved in redactional criticism, cf above, pp 99f

Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the Son in the way Bornkamm suggests, for in Mtt 12,28, for example, it is the 'Kingdom of God'¹ which is mentioned, and because (c) the reference in Mtt 16,28 is still to the Parousia, and it is the Transfiguration which, in the first place, provides a proleptic manifestation of that event It is, however, to be noted that even if it were clear that Matthew had consciously imposed his own theology upon Mk 9,1, it would not follow that he had done so because Mk 9,1 was, for him problematical There is no compulsion to see here evidence of a crisis provoked by the Parousia delay, nor evidence that Mk 9,1 is being understood in a way different from Mark's own interpretation

Lk 9,27 is also understood by a number of recent scholars as evidence that Mk 9,1 was causing acute embarrassment in the early church Conzelmann thinks Mk 9,1 an initial explanation of the Parousia delay which, by Luke's time was no longer any help, 'man brauchte eine neue Lösung'³ But against this line of interpretation we must note first that the context remains just as

1 G Barth, in Ublerlieferung und Auslegung, p 125, admits, 'Zu einer terminologischen Unterscheidung zwischen der gegenwertigen Königsherrschaft Jesu Christi und der zukünftigen βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν hat es Matthäus jedoch nicht gebracht'

2 cf esp Conzelmann, Mitte, pp 95f, Grässer, Pröblem, pp 178ff Bornkamm, in In Memoriam, pp 116ff

3 Mitte, p 95 One notes how hypothetical the argument is, for Mk 9,1 is being understood as definitely a community-formulation, 'in der Zeit entstanden, als man noch auf das Eintreten der Parusie in der ersten Generation, nämlich am Ende derselben, hoffen konnte' (Mitte, p 95, n 1,) If Mk 9,1 is not so interpreted, then the Luken variant would take on a quite different significance

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pronounced here as in Mark and Matthew and therefore the link with the coming of the Son of Man in the glory of the Father, and the link with the Transfiguration, is still suggested. Secondly, we may ask, if Mk 9,1 was really the problem Conzelmann and others suggest it was, why has Luke not dealt more radically with it?

2

Conzelmann argues, 'Das Ende ist ja noch länger ausgeblieben, man brauchte eine neue Lösung. Soll diese dauerhaft sein, so darf sie nicht wieder der Bedrohung durch weitere Verzögerung Ausgesetzt sein. Sie muss also auf Angabe eines bestimmten Termins überhaupt verzichten. Sie muss aber diesen Verzicht begründen können.' But Luke's easiest solution, surely, would have been to have omitted

3

Mk.9,1 altogether. It is still preferable to understand Lk 9,27 as a reference to the Parousia in some sense, because Luke still speaks of 'seeing the Kingdom of God'. In 9,26 he speaks of Jesus' glory, and in 9,32 it is this glory which the disciples see (ἐίδαν

4

on the mount of Transfiguration. Conzelmann interprets ἐίδαν thus: 'Der Ausdruck "das Reich Sehen" besagt, dass das Reich zwar nicht

1 Lk has ὥστε ἡμέρα ὀκτώ but Klostermann's comment (Lukas, p 107, Matthaus, p 142) 'sachlich mit Mc Mtt übereinstimmend', is probably right (cf Plummer, Luke, p 280). Mtt and Lk omit Mk's καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς and so make the link with the preceding section even more definite.

2 Mitte, p 95

3 Lk has omitted elsewhere often enough. Conzelmann himself has collected a number of sayings (cf Mitte, pp 92ff, also Grassler, Problem, pp 178ff) which, he maintains, emphasise the Parousia delay, so that it would, on his own thesis, have been enough, surely for Lk to have omitted Mk 9,1.

4. Mitte, p 96

sichtbar, aber sehbar geworden ist Was heisst das nun? Die Antwort liegt im heilsgeschichtlichen Verstandnis des Lebens Jesu als der ausgegrenzten Darstellung der Heils innerhalb des Ganges der Heilsgeschichte An ihm ist zu sehen, was das Reich ist Es war in der Person Jesu anschaulich und wird am Ende der Zeiten wieder erscheinen ' But, whilst it is true that Luke speaks of seeing in connection with the salvation-historical significance of Jesus during his earthly ministry, in 13,28 (17,22) and 21,27, where 'seeing' is connected explicitly with 'the Kingdom of God' or 'the Son of Man in glory', it is clearly the future, final manifestation to which Luke here refers Besides, we must note, as we did concerning Mathew, that even if Luke has consciously imposed a new significance upon Mk 9,1, it does not follow that he has done so because Mk 9,1 was an embarrassing problem for him or for those for whom Luke's gospel was written

We therefore maintain that evidence of a delimited expectation in the early church is not forthcoming in Mk 9,1 or its parallels Mark 13,30 par

Is this saying evidence of a delimited Parousia expectation?

1 of esp 2,30 and 10,35 13,35 could be included if it were not so ambiguous, however, 19,38 suggests that it is right to see in 13,35 a reference to the 'Palm Sunday' story 17,22 would be applicable on Conzelmann's understanding of it (Mitte, p 96, n 3) but if we take vv 26ff as interpreting v 22 rather than v 25, then the verse tells rather against Conzelmann

2 Regarding authenticity, cf below, chapter 10 , pp 259ff

Two problems must be discussed in order to obtain an answer The first is the meaning of ἡ γενεὴ αὕτη¹ Schniewind and others² interpret the phrase of the Jewish nation, understood especially as the 'faithless nation'³ Others understand it as mankind in general, whilst yet others understand 'the faithful' and so 'the church'⁴ Murray's arguments against all such interpretations need no repetition, and his conclusion, that ἡ γενεὴ αὕτη⁵ means Jesus' contemporaries⁶ is shared by many⁷

The second problem is the meaning of ταῦτα πάντα⁸ This

1 Markus, pp 175f

2 cf Lohmeyer, Markus, pp 281f, Meinertz, Theologie, I, p 61, Fluckiger, Ursprung, pp 116f (Murray, Future, p 260, cites other, older authorities)

3 Schniewind thinks then that Mtt 10,23 is support, for he takes this to mean that unbelieving Jews will persist until the End, and Rom 9-11 is, he thinks, a Pauline version or parallel

4 Jerome saw it as a possible view, Bede too Lowrie, Mark, p 477 acknowledges that γενεὴ can mean contemporaries but adds, 'But it may equally well be translated by "age" which one can stretch much further, even infinitely far and it seems to me more honest to give the Lord the benefit of the doubt'

5 Theophylact, Origen, Chrysostom, Victor of Antioch, and cf Swete, Mark, p 296, Michaelis, Verheissung, p 31 (citing Luther as support) But Michaelis is reported as retracting (cf murray, Mk 13, p 100)

6 Mk 13, pp 99f

7 of esp the other instances of the phrase ἡ γενεὴ αὕτη, Mk 8,38, Mtt 11,16, 12,41,42,45, 23,36, Lk 11,50, 17,25 cf Buchsel, in T W N T I, pp 661f

8 of Cullmann, Early Church, pp 150f, Walter, Kommen, p 81, Kümmel, Promise, p 61, Klostermann, Markus, p 154, Branscomb, Mark, p 239, Menzies, Earliest Gospel, p 241, Gould, Mark, p 253, Lagrange Marc, p 348

could be taken to refer to the entire discourse, vv 5-27 Many¹ understand it so But against it is the fact that ταῦτα (τὰντα) in v 30 must 'have a similar reference, at any rate as understood by the Evangelist'² as the ταῦτα in v 29, in v 29 it is clear that the reference is only to the events preceding the End itself³ Beasley-Murray⁴ objects that the addition of τὰντα in v 30 rules out any limitation of the reference to exclude vv 24-27 However, if the reference of ταῦτα in v 29 is taken as being the events preceding the End only, the τὰντα of v 30 can be understood as emphasising that all the 'signs' of the End (vv 5-23) are to come upon the contemporary generation⁵ Kümmel⁶ thinks it wrong to tie the exegesis down to its immediate context, which, he says, 'overlooks the original independence of the verse' Nevertheless this context must be taken seriously⁷ Kümmel further suggests that 'it would be a remarkable statement that definite events previous to the end will be limited to the period of this revealed, without making

1 cf Beasley-Murray, Mk 13, pp 100f, Allen, Mark, ad loc, Kümmel, Promise, p 60, Gould, Mark, p 253, Lohmeyer, Markus, p 282, Taylor, Mark, p 521, Ridderbos, De Komst, pp 422f, Cullmann, Early Church, pp 150f

2 Barth, C D III/2, p 500

3 cf Calvin, Harmony, III, pp 151f, Cranfield, Mark, p 409, Schmid, Markus, ad loc, Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 30f Robinson, Coming, p 86, too, but only by counting vv 24-27 as spurious

4 Mk 13, pp 100f, with Lohmeyer and Allen

5 That the evangelists viewed τὰντα in such a way is perhaps supported by the variations, cf further below, p 197

6 Promise, p 60

7 We discuss below the pattern of the whole discourse, cf p 194

a pronouncement about the actual moment of the end which alone is
of importance'¹ However, it is not here suggested that Mk 13,30²
refers to specific events but rather to the entire complex of events
which may be termed 'signs of the end' and which are to be experie-³
nced, though not necessarily exhausted by, the contemporary genera-
tion In further answer to Kümmel's criticism, we suggest that an
answer concerning the 'when' of the Parousia's coming is not lacking
from the discourse but has an independent answer (vv 32ff), just as
vv 24-27 are distinct from vv 5-23

In support of this understanding of Mk 13,30 we discuss here
briefly, the structure of Mk 13⁴ Many scholars maintain that the
discourse is at variance with itself, either because v 32 is, they
argue, irreconcilable with v 30, or because the idea of a sequence⁵

1 Promise, p 60

2 As Taylor, Mark, p 521, says was originally the case Feuillet, (in R B LVI, 1949, pp 84ff, etc), Jones, (in Scripture, IV, 1951, pp 264f), Lagrange, Marc, p 348) and others, interpret Mk 13,30 of the Fall of Jerusalem But cf above, chapter 7, pp 148
~~22~~ Lightfoot, (Gospel message, p 54), Barth (Augenzeuge, pp 125ff) (and cf K Barth, C D III/2, p 501) think that Mk 13,30 should be referred to the Resurrection, at least as an initial fulfilment But whilst this may have been present in the Evangelist's mind (we note that there is here no mention of 'seeing' but of event 'coming to pass'), it is better to regard the reference of 13,30 as the entire section, vv 5-23

3 Therefore Beasley-Murray, Mk 13, p 101, is wrong in saying, 'if the signs are to happen within the generation, the End is also expected to fall within the same period '

4 The theory of a little apocalypse underlying Mark is of no account at this point, but cf regarding this, and the question of authenticity, below, chapter 10, pp 259ff

5 cf Branscomb, Mark, p 231, Blunt, Mark, p 242

of events prior to the Parousia is thought incompatible with its
¹
 sudden arrival

It is true that a series of time references runs through the
²
 discourse, but it is doubtful indeed if these 'editorial touches
 transform the marks of time into a carefully graduated programme'
³
 We certainly miss here the exact and somewhat esoteric temporal
⁴
 references common in apocalyptic, and the idea of a sudden coming
 of the Parousia is compatible with preceding signs Of-course there
⁵
 is no going back on Jesus' refusal elsewhere to give 'signs' But
 this, the refusal to make faith easy, and so to annihilate the
 essential nature and possibility of faith, is not to be confused
 with the admonition to recognise the true significance of events

That v 32 is reconcilable with v 30 is, we suggest, apparent
 through an analysis of the chapter and its structure The pattern
 of the discourse is as follows

1 Robinson, Coming, p 127, Kümmel, Promise, pp 97, Taylor, Mark, pp 523f

2 of οὐ πω τὸ τέλος v 7 ἀρχὴ ὧδίνων ταῦτα v 8 εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
 πρῶτον δεῖν v 10 καὶ ὅταν ἔγνωσιν v 11 ὁ δὲ ἐπαρμείνας εἰς τέλος v 13
 ὅταν τότε v 14 εἴ μὴ ἐκολόβωσεν κύριος τὰς ἡμέρας v 20
 ἐν ἐκκρίναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν v 24 καὶ τότε ὀφονταί v 26
 καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ v 27 cf also v 30, v 32, vv 35f

3 Robinson, Coming, p 127 Against him, cf Beasley Murray, Future, pp 214f, Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 21f, Busch, Zum Verständnis, Cranfield, 'St Mark xiii', in S J T VI, pp 189ff, 287ff, VII, pp 284ff

4 cf e g Rev 12,14, 13,5 Manson, in Eschatology, pp 15f

5 cf Lk 17,20, Mk 8,12, Jn 4,48, Etc

1

vv 1-4 Introduction The question raised in v 4 leading to a discourse on the End and its date, and the Signs of the End and their dates

vv 5-23 The Signs of the End 'enframed at either end by warnings against the seduction of false messiahs and prophets with their fictitious claim $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ (vv 5-6 and 21-23)'²

vv 24-27 The End itself

vv 28-31 Regarding the time of the Signs of the End, and their significance for perceiving the time of the End itself

3

vv 32-37 Regarding the time of the End event⁴

This pattern exhibits the relationship of v 30 to v 32 Both the signs and the End itself are given a time reference But whereas the signs will occur within the immediate future (though not necessarily exhausted by that immediate future), the End itself

1 Posed by the prediction of the Temple's destruction (v 2) and because of the eschatological significance of this (cf Schrenk, in T W N T III, pp 238ff)

2 Barth, C D III/2, p 500

3 Including a threefold admonition to 'watch' (vv 33,35,37) which appropriately concludes the discourse

4 Lightfoot, Gospel Message, p 49, and Lohmeyer, Markus, p 267, wrongly divide thus vv 5-13 the beginning of the consummation
vv 14-27 the consummation itself

vv 28-37 warnings regarding the consummation
Albertz, Botschaft, I/1, pp 180f, more correctly argues that 'Nach einer kurzen Einleitung 13,3-4 werden die beiden Fragen behandelt Was kommt 13,5-27 und, Wann kommt's 13,28-37?' He does not, however cross refer the two sections in the second group to the two sections in the first, as we suggest is correct He simply divides each group into seven, ' in Anlehnung an den apokalyptischen Gebrauch der Siebenzahl '

is not so delimited. In both cases a parable is attached to enforce the significance of this time reference. The events of vv 5-23 are 'signs', as the fig-tree is a sign, that 'he is nigh', even at the doors'. In the case of the End itself, the short parable of the returning lord is equally appropriate, he will return, but since his servants do not know when, they must constantly be on watch.

Thus it is reasonable to interpret Mk 13,30 as not providing a delimited expectation of the Parousia. The question remains whether by their alterations, Matthew and Luke provide evidence that Mk 13,30 was understood as signifying a delimited hope which, for the later Evangelists, was problematical.

We turn first to Mt 24,34. G. Barth maintains, 'Bei Mt tritt die Naherwartung zurück, die Paranesse tritt in den Vordergrund'.¹ If he is right, it would be very surprising indeed for Matthew to include v 34 in the discourse, if this were understood, either by him or by the early church as a whole, as expressing a delimited Parousia expectation. It would be insufficient to contend² that Matthew, by the addition of parables emphasising delay has counterbalanced the effect of v 34 (as Bornkamm holds),³ since if Mk 13,30 really meant what Bornkamm suggests it did, it would have

1 Überlieferung und Auslegung, p 51

2 A questionable interpretation of Mt 25, but cf below, pp 294 ff

3 in In Memoriam, pp 116f

required much more radical treatment than mere counterbalancing

Next, Lk 21,32¹ Conzelmann thinks Mk 13,30 expressed a delimited expectation which Luke found problematical and removed by means of two expedients. The first is the new meaning (according to Conzelmann)² which Luke gave to $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\lambda$, namely 'humanity in general', but, in fact, an examination of Luke's use of this word tells against Conzelmann's thesis³. The second is the omission of $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ which Conzelmann argues allows $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ to relate " nicht auf die berichteten Einzelheiten, sondern auf das Ganze des göttlichen Planes"⁴. However, in its context Lk 21,23; if an

1 Mitte, pp 107ff

2 Mitte, p 122

3 Mk 8,12, par Mtt 16,4 (cf 12,39), Lk 11,29. It is not Lk but Mtt who alters Mk's explicit $\eta\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$ to simple $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\lambda$. Lk 11,31,32 show no difference from Mtt 12,41,42, and the omission of Mtt's final phrase (14,25) is insignificant.

Mk 8,38 uses the phrase, but Lk and Mtt omit, so no conclusion can be drawn for a specific Lukan usage.

Mk 9,19 is paralleled exactly, Mtt 17,17, Lk 9,41.

Mk 13,30 (the case in question) is also exactly paralleled.

Lk 11,50-51 shows some variation from Mtt 23,35-36, but the use of $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\lambda$ remains exactly similar. The same is true of Lk 7,31.

Mtt 11,16

Lk 16,8 does not refer to the contemporary generation, but neither does it refer to 'humanity in general'.

Lk 17,25, against Conzelmann, means the contemporaries under whom the Son of Man suffered.

Lk 1,48,50 would support Conzelmann, except that the problem of compilation (cf e.g. Creed, Luke, ad loc) makes this indecisive for specific Lukan usage.

4 Mitte, p 122

expression for the entire sweep of salvation-history, would appear to embrace the events of vv 27-28, and so to delimit the End also to the contemporary generation' (since we cannot accept Conzelmann's interpretation of *γενεά* here) In fact, the omission of *ταῦτα* is probably to be understood as a stylistic alteration signifying no alteration of Mark's meaning, namely that the signs of the End will come upon that generation

There is, therefore, no reason to see a Parousia-delay crisis looming behind Mk 13,30 or its parallels

Mark 14,25 par

Two questions concern us here The first is, to what future event does the saying refer? Many think there is no reference to the Parousia at all Others hold that the Parousia is only indirectly in mind, the primary reference being to the Resurrection; ~~break prior to the~~ and the Ascension are regarded as an initial fulfilment) We suggest that the primary reference is, in fact, the Parousia The

1 Mk 13,29 has *ταῦτα* followed in v 30 by *ταῦτα πάντα* Mtt has changed this rather unbalanced form by using *πάντα ταῦτα* both times (Mtt 24,33-34) Lk on the other hand has also smoothed the style but by a different expedient, he has shortened Mk using Mk's *ταῦτα* in 21,31 and his *πάντα* in 21,32, thereby retaining the overall sense of *ταῦτα πάντα*

2 cf Glasson, Advent, p 114, Dodd, Parables, p 56, Robinson, Coming, pp 42, 149

3 cf Barth, C D III/2, p 502, Cranfield, Mark, p 428, M Barth, Abendmahl, pp 43f

4 cf Lk 24,31-35, Jn 21,5,12,15, Act 1,4, 10,41

expression τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης¹ most naturally understood of the final Day of the Lord and since 'that day' is hardly essential to the contrast being drawn, should be taken in this way. Further, the word καὶνὸν² should be taken as expressing otherness and πίνω καὶνὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ³ suggests the expected Messianic banquet. Perhaps a secondary reference might be the Resurrection and the post-resurrection meals⁴.

The second question is, whether there is any temporal delimitation?⁵ Schweitzer understood it as delimiting the expectation of

1 cf אִיּוֹם הַיּוֹם e.g. Is 2,11, Jer 4,9, Amos 2,16, etc. or the plural יָמֵי הַיּוֹם e.g. Jer 31,29, 33,15, Joel 3,1, etc. Contrast Robinson, Coming, p 42, n 1 (but in 2,20 with which Robinson compares this expression, 'that day' is essential to the point)

2 cf Swete, Mark, ad loc, Cadoux, Theology, p 47, Michaelis, Verheissung, p 28, Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, p 172. Black, Aramaic Approach, pp 71f, suggests 'until I am renewed in the Kingdom of God' as the meaning of the Aramaic. Our argument is not affected.

3 cf Mtt 22,1-14, 26,29, Lk 14,15, 22,30, Rev 19,9. Dalman, Words, pp 110ff, Lohmeyer, Markus, p 304, S-B Kommentar, IV, pp 1154ff. For this imagery in the Qumran sect cf Cullmann, in J.B.L. LXXIV, 1955, p 215.

4 Though Calvin's suggestion may still be the clue regarding these post-resurrection meals, cf Harmony, III, p 211. The church's celebration of the last supper may similarly be understood (as indeed it was from early days - cf Dix, Shape of the Liturgy, pp 259ff) as, in a sense, a fulfilment of this verse - a fulfilment which points to further and final fulfilment. But the reference to a repeated 'last supper' is hardly primary (contrast Carrington, Mark, p 317).

5 cf Mystery, p 89, similarly Menzies, Earliest Gospel, pp 224f, Grässer, Problem, pp 53f.

the Parousia, and ¹ Barth though referring the saying to the Resurrection, also thinks it carries a temporal delimitation

Kümmel seems to think a certain interval is presupposed, neither very long nor very short. But whilst the verse clearly foresees a period of separation from the disciples, 'über die Dauer dieser Trennung wird frielich nichts ausgesagt. Dass sie sehr kurz sein soll ergibt sich aus unserem Text nicht'. ³ Jeremias ⁴ has conclusively shown that the verse is a vow of abstinence, the most natural understanding of this vow is that Jesus, recognising that 'his hour' (Jn 13,1) was imminent and that death was at hand, dedicated ⁵ himself to this vocation. Death was so near that he could make this his last meal. There is, however, no indication at all when

1 Abendmahl, p 43

2. Promise, p 77. Actually, Kümmel appears to have three views concerning this verse. On p 32 he says 'it is equally clear that Jesus forsees between his imminent death and this eschatological "coming" a certain interval of time about the length of which nothing is said in this word'. On p 31, 'it follows that Jesus expects the coming of the Kingdom of God to be in the near future, and that he feels it to be so near that he can impress its proximity on his disciples by limiting his abstinence to the dawning of the Kingdom of God'. And on p 77, 'the prediction has meaning in fact only if the Kingdom of God is not expected in the most immediate future and if the disciples are to come together for meals for some time without their departed Lord. So the expectation of a considerable interval is evident (My italics)

3 Bosch, Heidenmission, p 180, cf Lohmeyer, Markus, p 305

4 Eucharistic Words, pp 165ff. cf Leaney, Luke, p 267, Kümmel, Promise, p 31, Cranfield, Mark, p 428, Barth, C D III/2, p 603

5 cf Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, p 171, 'Jesus prepares himself with a resolute will to drink the bitter cup which the Father offers Him'

the next, the *καὶ νῦν* meal would take place. It is simply said that the time had arrived for ordinary human sustenance to be no longer appropriate or necessary.

This brings us to the parallels. Mtt 26,29 is essentially the same¹. The addition of *μεθ' ὑμῶν* makes explicit what is already implicit in Mark, and the substitution of *ἄπ' ἄρτι*² for Mark's *ὁκέτι*³ is best understood as a stylistic alteration. Luke too, in 22,18, substitutes for reasons of style *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* for Mark's *ὁκέτι*. Still the meaning is that from the time of that meal onwards, that which sustains human life would have no place or necessity in Jesus' life⁴. Conzelmann⁵ thinks that Luke has toned down the idea of the nearness of the Parousia, particularly in his expression *ἕως οὗ ἣ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλθῃ*. But the allusion would still appear to be to the Parousia and an awaited Messianic meal⁶. It is apparent that for

1 Not insignificantly, the volume Überlieferung und Auslegung nowhere discusses this verse.

2 cf Lagrange, Matthieu, p 498, Mtt uses *ἀπ' ἄρτι* 7 times, Mk and Lk not at all. Luke uses *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* 5 times, Mtt and Mk no at all.

3 Most agree that Mk follows a primary tradition over against Lk cf Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, pp 87ff, 118ff for the evidence.

4 It is doubtful whether the post-resurrection meals are intended to be understood as necessary to Jesus' life, cf above p ~~197, 198~~ 198.

5 Mitte, p 106.

6 Plummer, Luke, p 495, thinks the allusion cannot be to such a messianic meal, he thinks it impossible because 'if *ἀπὸ* means the paschal lamb, in what sense could Jesus partake of that in the future?' He himself, however, in referring to the fulfilment of the saying in terms of the Christian Eucharist, obviously extends the meaning cf Manson, Luke, p 239, Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, pp 116, 172.

all three Evangelists the vow cannot have meant a Parousia¹
Nachsterwartung, and we find no good reason for supposing this
 saying held any delimited expectation for them at all
Mark 14,62 par

Once more we pose the question, Does this verse speak of a
 delimited Parousia expectation? A number of critics find, in fact,²
 no reference here to the Parousia but this view seems unlikely
 to be correct³ Some⁴ argue that Luke and Matthew speak only of an
 immediate exaltation (and that Mark omitted the phrase ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
 (ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥῶν) to conform with Mk 13,26 and the idea of the
 Son of Man being seen at the End But the Matthean and Lukan⁵
 variations are readily understandable and there is not sufficient

1 Else why have they included the saying? Similarly a Nachsterwartung is excluded from Mk 14,28 par, simply by the fact that the Evangelists record it This reference, in any case, is perhaps best regarded as a prediction of the Resurrection, or of the gentile mission (cf Schwietzer, Mystery, p. 144, Lohmeyer, Markus, p 312, who interpret as Nachsterwartung) Taylor, Mark, p 549, Cranfield, Mark, p 429 and Lagrange, Marc, p.384, take it as a reference to the Resurrection appearances (which fits well with the context, and means taking ἀποῶ in a temporal rather than spatial sense, which is permissible (cf Mk 6,45), Hoskyns and Davey, John, pp 425f, and Evans, in J T S V, 1954, pp 3ff, take ἀποῶ in a spatial sense and think in terms of the Gentile mission in which Jesus leads the disciples (Surprisingly Bosch, Heidenmission, makes no mention of Mk 14,28, 16,7, Mtt 26,32, 28,7)

2. cf Feuillet, in R B LVI, 1949, pp 72ff, Guy, Last Things, pp 76ff, Walter, Kommen, p 90, Taylor, Mark, pp 568f, Glasson, Advent pp 63ff, Robinson, Coming, pp 43f, Dodd, Parables, pp 51f, Lagrange matthieu, p 508, Marc, p 402 (following Loisy, Synoptiques, II, p 606), Gould, Mark, p 279

3 If only because of the general objections raised in chapter 7 above, cf esp pp 148f

4 cf Glasson, Advent, pp 63f, Robinson, Coming, pp 43

5 cf below, pp 205f

1

reason for taking the Markan version here as secondary

2

Robinson maintains that ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενων τῆς δυνάμεως and ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ are parallel expressions, one static and the other dynamic, for the same conviction, namely vindication. The allusion to Ps 110, 1 certainly suggests coronation (and so, vindication), but the imagery of the Psalm is also strongly reminiscent of the awaited final Messianic reign, open and manifest and universal.

3

Similarly Dan 7,13 is not exhausted by the idea of vindication but points to the End manifestation of God's rule.

4

Glasson argues that Dan 7,13 does not suggest a descent, however, the whole scene of Dan 7 is enacted on earth so that although the Son of Man comes to the Ancient of Days, this is not to be interpreted as an ascent to heaven, but as a coming on earth.

5

Those who find here no reference to the Parousia argue that ὁφείθε refers to a spiritual experience and must not be taken literally.

6 7

Glasson says we should compare with Jn 8,28 and Heb 2,9

1 cf Streeter, Four Gospels, pp 321f, Lightfoot, History and Interpretation, pp 180f, Montefiore, Synoptic Gospels, II, p 337, Kümmel, Promise, p 50, n102

2 cf Coming, p 45

3 cf Grundmann, in T W N T p 38, Kissane, Psalms, II, p 194

4 Advent, p 64, similarly Robinson, Coming, p 45, Taylor, Mark, p 569

5 Ps 110 also is clearly set upon the earth cf Beasley Murray, Future, p 259 (following Dalman, Words, p 241, n 2, and Rowley, Relevance, p 30, n 1)

6 Lagrange, Marc, p 403 writes, 'Lex terme "vous verrez" ne signifie pas toujours "vous verrez de vos yeux" (cf Dt 28,10, Ps 48,11, Ps 88,49)' similarly authorities cited above p ~~185, n. 2~~

7 Advent, p 65

Jol

but these are not able to support his argument and Kümmel rightly concludes 'to transfer $\delta\psi\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ to a spiritual experience is as arbitrary as to contest that Dan 7,13 points to an eschatological cosmic event' We therefore accept that this passage refers to the
 3 Parousia

The next problem of interpretation is, whether or not the predication here is delimited Otto, for example, thinks there is an immediate expectation, but the fact that Mark has recorded the saying suggests that he did not understand it in this way Others
 5

1 Heb 2,9 uses, in fact, $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$ and certainly refers to an experience of faith (contrast the unbelieving Sanhedrin), for the letter is written by a believer to believers (cf 2,1, 13,7 etc) That which is already true of Christ (i.e. his sovereignty) is 'seen' (2,9) by an exercise of that faith referred to in 11,1 as $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\varsigma \sigma\delta \delta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ It is not a question here of un-belief witnessing the unmistakable manifestation of Christ's rule

Jn 8,28 speaks not of 'seeing' but of 'knowing' ($\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$) It is not enough to say that this is the equivalent in John's language of what Mark, in 14,62, means, for this is begging the question Again it is possible that believers are in mind (cf Barrett, John, ad loc), and not unbelievers as in Mk 14,62

Of course, if the records gave us an account of a confession from the high priest similar perhaps to that of the centurion (Mk 15,39-40) then there might arise the question whether the evangelist understood Mk 14,62 in this sense, but there is no such record (Indeed Mt 27,62ff, Acts 4,1f, 5,33f, suggest continued opposition) cf further Michaelis, in T W N T V, pp 315ff

2 Promise, p 50, n 102

3 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 444, Rawlinson, Mark, p 222, Lohmeyer, Markus, p 329, Sjöberg, Verborgene Menschensohn, p 102, McNeile, Matthew, p 402, Schniewind, Matthäus, p 265

4 Kingdom of God, pp 227f ~~cf Schniewind, Matthäus, p 265~~

5 Grässer, Problem, pp 30f, thinks that because the saying presupposes a delay, it is a community-saying'

think¹ there is a delimitation, though allowing for a short interval, and some conclude that there is here no distinction in perspective between the expectation of the Resurrection and of the Parousia². It is, however, doubtful if a reference to the Resurrection is in mind here (expect perhaps as the presupposition of exaltation and the Parousia), for in what sense, we might ask, would the judges addressed see the Resurrection, or resurrection appearances? It is also unlikely that the Evangelists understood that the event foretold would necessarily occur within a short time. This contention is, we suggest, supported by the following considerations

First, Mk 14,62 is addressed to the high priest personally. But this does not necessarily mean that the high priest was expected to live until the Parousia occurred, it is rather the assurance that he who now rejects the Messiah will one day see him in unmistakable clarity when he comes as Judge³. It is the high priest, and

1 of Cullmann, Early Church, p 152, Allen, Matthew, p 284, Jeremias, in T B XX, 1941, pp 219f, Conzelmann, Mitte, p 77, n 2

2 of Schniewind, Matthäus, p 265, Lohmeyer, Matthäus, p 329, McNeille, Matthew, p 402

3 This interpretation is to be found in Calvin, Harmony, III, p 257, Montefiore, Synoptic Gospels, II, p 337, Cranfield, Mark, pp 444f (following J P Bercovitz, 'The Parables of the Messiah', an unpublished Edinburgh University doctoral thesis) Kümmel, Promise, p 67, concludes, 'Mk 14,62 gives no indication at all of the time when the Son of Man will be seen, and makes no mention whatever of the resurrection'

Sanhedrin, who, as representatives of God's people, should, recognise their Messiah it is they who, having rejected him, must see their rejection confounded when the truth concerning Jesus' person and work is openly manifested at the Parousia¹

Secondly, the addition in Matthew (26,64) of ἀπ' ἄρτι supports our interpretation. Some, indeed, interpret ἀπ' ἄρτι as 'soon',² but the phrase is probably intended to emphasise the contrast between what from that time (ἀπ' ἄρτι) ceases - namely Jesus' lowly status - and that which will be seen at his Parousia whenever that occurs. Thus the temporal aspect of ἀπ' ἄρτι refers to the past-present side of the contrast rather than to the future side³. This is certainly the case with Mtt 23,39 and 26,29 where it is the cessation of the past-present mode of Jesus' ministry which emphasises, leaving open the moment when the new future mode shall begin⁴.

1 cf Barth, C D III/2, pp 503f

2 cf Allen, Matthew, p 284, Lohmeyer, Matthäus, p 369

3 Montefiore suggests, 'From henceforth you have nothing more to expect than that you will see' Synoptic Gospels, II, p 337. Debrunner's suggestion (Coniectanea Neotestamentica XI, 1947-8, cf Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, p 8 para 12,3) that we should read ἀπαρτί, is accepted by Michaelis ('Exegetisches zur Himmelfahrtspredigt', in K r S CVIII, 1952, pp 115f), mentioned by Cranfield, (Mark, p 445), and rejected by Kümmel (Promise, p 51, n 102) on the grounds that Lk shows a similar need for alteration by his ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν which parallels Mtt's ἀπ' ἄρτι. We might add that the saying in Mtt 26,64, opening as it does with πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν would probably have been emphasis enough without the Evangelist adding another emphatic term ἀπαρτί. The suggestion is perhaps not very likely.

4 Thus Mtt recognises that Mk 14,62, like Mk 14,25, is a contrast between a hidden ministry which is now brought to a close and the future open manifestation which can come at any moment after

Thirdly, Lk 22,69 is understandable on our interpretation of Mk 14,62¹ Luke has several alterations which many think to be due to the problematical nature of Mk 14,62 for Luke and his contemporaries. Actually, Matthew's acceptance of the saying should suggest that this is an unlikely conclusion, but Luke himself gives us a clue as to the reason for the alterations. By his omission of ἐφ' ἃς ὁ and the phrase $\text{ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ}$ he has² focussed attention upon the period of exaltation³. This then forms an appropriate background against which he sets his Acts narrative of the work of the disciples during that period of exaltation. More explicitly than Mark or Matthew he speaks of this exaltation, thus giving a double focus to the church's life - the exaltation—

1 cf Cadbury, Luke-Acts, p 295, Montefiore, Synoptic Gospels, II p 615, Grasser, Problem, pp 30f, Conzelmann, Mitte, pp 77, n 2 etc

2 Lk's phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν is, as Mtt's ἀπ' ἄρτι , an emphasis upon the contrast between what is from that time onwards to cease, and what is at an unspecified future moment to take its place

3 Cullmann, Early Church, p 152 (cf also Peter, p 201) claims that even in Mk 14,62 'Jesus distinguishes between the moment when the Son of Man will sit at the right hand of God and the moment when he will return'. Robinson, Coming, p 51, claims that Jesus does 'nothing of the sort'. Since both clauses are subordinated to the promise 'ye shall see' (ἐφ' ἃς ὁ), it is probable that the saying refers to the scene at the moment of the Parousia, when Jesus is to be seen both in the supreme position of authority (cf Grundmann, in T W N T II, p 38) and also 'coming'. This, of course, is different from the point brought out by Fison (Hope, pp 192f) and Cranfield, (Mark, p 444), that the order of the saying is significant

the ground and possibility of the church's activity and the object¹ of its faith the Parousia (cf Acts 1,6-11) which is the end of that possibility and the constant object of the church's hope²

Again, therefore, we find no incontrovertible evidence of a delimited expectation, only the open possibility that now that the lowly ministry has ceased, the final manifestation can come at any moment

Matthew 10,23

Schweitzer demanded, rightly, that this saying should be interpreted with reference to its context, he, however, wrongly understood this context³ There can be no doubt that the chapter⁴ is a composite compilation, as an analysis shows⁵ Matthew opens

1 cf below, pp 210f

2 Leaney (Luke, p 276) says that for Luke the event referred to is hidden from unbelieving eyes But for Luke the Parousia remains an open manifestation, certainly not hidden (cf Acts 1,6f), and that to which he refers in 22,69 is hidden precisely because it is not the Parousia (cf Sjöberg, Verborgene Menschensohn, p 235)

3 Quest, pp 357ff , cf also Burkitt, Beginnings, p 138, Werner, Formation, pp 71ff

4 cf chapter 3 above, p 53

5 cf Schniewind, Matthäus, pp 124f , Allen, in Oxford Studies, pp 235f , Streeter, Four Gospels, pp 263ff , Kilpatrick, Origins, p 35, McNeile, Matthew, pp 133f , Kümmel, Promise, p 63, Glasson, Advent, pp 103f , Robinson, Coming, pp 76f , Flückiger, Ursprung, p 26, Lagrange, Matthieu, pp 204f , Grässer, Problem, pp 18 , Bornkamm, in Überlieferung und Auslegung, p 15, G Barth, in Überlieferung und Auslegung, pp 93f Lohmeyer, Matthäus, unfortunately fails here

The compositeness of the discourse is borne out by an analysis of the other Matthean discourses (chs 5-7, 13, 18 and 23-25), all, including ch 10, close with the sentence καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐπέλεσεν δ' ἰησοῦς There appears to be a conscious pattern in this chapter -

vv 5-15 'mission to Jews', ending ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν 15

vv 16-23 'mission to all', ending ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν v 23

vv 24-42 'various sayings', ending ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν v 42

this, his second discourse, with the calling and authorising of the Twelve - apparently a detached saying in the tradition, this gives the discourse its theme. Matthew then records instructions relating to the disciples' commission (vv 5ff) ¹ reminiscent of Mk 6,7-13, Lk 9,1-6,10. Matthew expressly limits this mission by vv 5-6 to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel', and we are most probably to understand this with reference to the short preaching tour of the Twelve during Jesus' own ministry. ² With Mtt 10,16 we enter upon a new section, drawn from Mk 13, which closes with v 23. ³ The theme here is 'witness under persecution' and v 18 suggests that the horizon apparent in Mtt 28,19 is present here also. The Evangelist speaks here not of a specific missionary enterprise, but of mission as such, of mission in general. ⁴ The final section of the discourse (vv 24-42) drawn from diverse sources, continues the same theme.

1 Mk 3,13-19 places it between an account of preaching and healing in Galilee (3,7ff) and the dispute with the scribes (3,20f). Lk 6,12-16 follows the dispute with Pharisees (6,1ff) and the healing of the man with the withered hand (6,6f), and is the immediate prelude to the Sermon on the Plain (6,17ff).

2 cf Calvin, Harmony, I, ad loc Mk and Lk do not state that the tour (Mk 6,7ff, Lk 9,1ff) was confined to Israelite territory, but there is nothing to suggest the contrary (Lk's πανταχου in 9,6 presumably means 'everywhere they went', rather than 'they went everywhere'). Lk's mission of the Seventy may be intended to suggest a gentile mission contrasted with the mission of the Twelve (understand) to Jews.

3 The differences are very minor and understandable, contrast the divergencies between Lk 21 and Mk 13. cf Lagrange, Matthieu, p 204. McNeile, Matthew, p 133.

4 G. Barth, in Überlieferung und Auslegung, p 94 says, 'die Aussendungsrede spricht nun von Aussendung der Jünger überhaupt'.

If then we are to understand the chapter as composite, v 23 must, in the first instance, be interpreted by reference to its context in vv 16-22 and the wide missionary activity envisaged there. Two possible interpretations then present themselves. Either v 23 means 'you will not have exhausted every refuge offered by Israel's cities before the Son of Man is come', or it means, 'You will not have completed the work of mission amongst Israel's recalcitrant peoples, until the Son of Man is come'. The former, it is said, is supported by the addition in D Θ fl, fl3 al, of *καὶ ἐκ τούτης διακρίσει*¹ *ὑμᾶς φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην*². But this is not strong support and Montefiore rightly comments 'v 23 seems to mean not "you will not exhaust the cities in your flight from one to the other, before the Son of Man comes", which would be a very odd remark'.³ The second alternative gives to *τελέσγητε* its natural meaning of 'bringing to an end' (cf Lk 12,50), rather than the unnatural meaning 'come to an end'.⁴ It is, surely, not necessary to separate (as many do)⁵ v 23a from v 23b.⁶ Bosch holds that '23a redet von der Flucht der Jünger,

1 cf Glasson, Advent, p 103, Klostermann, Matthäus, p 89

2 The idea of flight is only reinforced, nothing is added as to its purpose

3 Synoptic Gospels, II, pp 149f cf Robinson, Matthew, p 92, Michaelis, Matthäus, II, pp 94

4 cf Kümmel, Promise, p 62, Beasley-Murray, Future, p 198

5 cf Kümmel, Promise, pp 62f, Montefiore, Synoptic Gospels, p 150, Bosch, Heidenmission, p 156, G Barth, in Überlieferung und Auslegung, p 94, n 1, Grässer, Problem, pp 137f. Contrast, Bammel in S T XV, 1962, pp 80f, Beasley-Murray, Future, p 198, 'The two halves of the saying are sometimes regarded as independent, but if so they are cunningly put together. They form a coherent whole as they stand.'

6 Heidenmission, p 156

während 23b von der Ausführung einer Aufgabe in den Städten Israels - also gerade nicht von einer Flucht' - redet' But v 23a is given missionary significance (as part of the missionary strategy) not only by its conjunction with v 23b but by its setting in this missionary discourse, vv 16-23

Verse 23 is therefore at once a discouragement of hasty martyrdom, and of easy optimism, and at the same time an encouragement in suggesting that the anticipated failure of the Jewish mission is part of the entire salvation-history and is not something for which the disciples are made to feel responsible - they themselves will not succeed in winning the Jews to allegiance of the gospel¹

The reference to the 'coming of the Son of Man' has been variously interpreted as the fall of Jerusalem², as the Resurrection³ or as Pentecost⁴. But, as McNeile points out, 'the meaning of "the coming of the Son of Man" is too distinctive in the gospels to allow us to suppose' that these interpretations are valid⁵. Kümmel, agreeing with this, concludes, 'Then the meaning of the saying appears clearly to be the parousia of the Son of Man will arrive before the disciples have finished proclaiming the Kingdom of God in Israel. Thereby the coming of the Kingdom of God is transferred

1 cf Cullmann, in EM, 1941, pp 98ff

2 e.g. Lagrange, Matthieu, p 205, Schmaus, Dogmatik, p 34 Robinson, Coming, pp 76ff

3 e.g. Barth, C D III/2, pp 499f, Stonehouse, Matthew and Mark, p 240

4 e.g. Calvin, Harmony, I p 458, Fison, Hope, p 194

5 Matthew, p 142 and cf above, chapter 7, pp 146f

here also to the lifetime of Jesus' disciples¹ However, the delimitation referred to in Kümmel's second sentence does not at all follow of necessity from his first observation, we suggest that such a delimitation is not involved here V 23b is neutral in respect of the duration of the work involved,² simply affirming that it will not be completed before the parousia, and if v 23a is understood in connection with v 23b and the entire mission charge, this too is undelimited

This interpretation is able to make sense of the juxtaposition of 10,5 to 10,18 It might perhaps be said that Matthew has simply not realised their incongruity - but, in view of the skill with which the discourse appears to be compiled, this seems unlikely Schniewind³ and others⁴ are probably right in suggesting that the discourse is so arranged as to display the pattern 'to the Jew first and also to the Greek' (Rom 1,16, 2,10, cf 9-11) Thus the discourse is not only a series of instructions but offers also an overall plan of mission, vv 5-15 'to the Jew first', vv 16-23 'and also to the Greek',⁵ v 23 actually having relevance for both sections

1 Promise, p 63

2 cf Bosch Heidenmission, p 157, 'Über die Zeitdauer bis zur Parusie ist damit noch nichts gesagt, weil kein Anlass besteht, die zweite Person (im Verbum *ἐλεύσῃτε*) zu pressen, also darunter die Zwölf zu verstehen'

3 Matthäus, pp 130f

4 cf Flückiger, Ursprung, pp 126f, Michaelis, Matthäus, ad loc Beasley-Murray, Future, p 198, Robinson, Matthew, pp 87f, G Barth, in Überlieferung und Auslegung, p 94, Schlatter, Matthäus, ad loc

5 *πορεύεσθε ἐν ἄλλοις* to be sure means 'go rather', not 'go first' (though the superlative *ἀρίστα* can certainly mean 'first, first and foremost'), and perhaps the saying referred originally to the short preaching tour of the Twelve

1

We conclude that there is no necessarily delimited expectation here

With Mtt 10,23 we complete this review of the Synoptic evidence and it is now time to address our original question (is there any certain evidence of a delimited Parousia hope in the thought of the early church?) to the remainder of the New Testament material, to Acts, Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, John and Revelation

Acts 1,6-11

2

3

Haenchen and others maintain that Acts 1,6-11 gives us the contemporary situation against which Luke's own theological standpoint was directed. So, it is said, he here depicts the early church's delimited expectation and goes on to oppose it with the 'compensatory factors' - the Spirit and the Mission, hallmarks of the 'epoch of the Church'.

On the other hand it is entirely possible to interpret Acts 1,6 as a question of the disciples prior to the Ascension and the

1 Against Streeter, Four Gospels, p 255, Cullmann, Early Church, p 152, Kümmel, Promise, p 63, etc

2 Apostelgeschichte, pp 114ff , 120ff

3 Grässer, Problem, pp 205ff , Conzelmann, Mitte, p 127

coming of the Spirit - as it purports to be! Narrow nationalism is answered by the prophecy of world mission (v 8) and the enquiry about the date of the end is forbidden (v 7), question and answer are both understandable in the context given them here, and though they serve as a foil to the pattern traced out in the subsequent chapters, this does not mean that the context is necessarily fictitious

2

Haenchen argues that in v 7 'die Erwartung des nahen Weltendes verneint wird', but, in fact, the date of the end is not spoken of either as near or as far off, curiosity concerning the date is simply rejected and forbidden

3

1 Jackson and Lake, Beginnings IV, p 8 (cf I, pp 317ff) argues that the nationalism and reluctance to undertake the Gentile mission (cf Acts 5,16) prove that Jesus did not command such a mission (cf Mt 28,19, Mk 13,10, Mk 16,15) Flückiger, Ursprung, pp 213ff, contends that a special revelation of the risen Lord was needed to rouse the disciples from their nationalistic hope, and again a special revelation was needed to turn them to the heathen Bruce, Acts, ad loc, thinks 'this interest in the hope of an earthly and national kingdom (cf Mk 10,35ff) gave place after Pentecost to the proclamation of the spiritual kingdom of God' Bosch, Heidenmission, p 187 argues (surely correctly), 'dass es in den Auseinandersetzungen der Apostelzeit gar nicht um das grundsätzliche Recht der Heidenmission ging, sondern vielmehr um die Bedingungen, unter denen die Mission erfolgen darf, um den Verkehr zwischen Juden und Heiden, um die theologischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Gesetz und Evangelium'

2 Apostelgeschichte, p 114

3 cf, of course, Mk 13,32 Stauffer, in Background of the N T, pp 285f, regards this as evidence that the early church had an intense Naherwartung and that Jesus had not This, however, overlooks the fact that it is the disciples prior to Pentecost who are depicted here, and that their immediate hope is represented as bound up with their nationalism of that time

The rebuke by the 'men in white' (v 11) is interpreted by Haenchen in similar manner 'Das βλέπειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν wird verboten weil es die Naherwartung des Endes ausdrückt, die Lukas nicht nennt, sondern nur mit dieser Haltung beschreibt' ¹ But it is very strange that Luke - if he understood the rebuke in this way and himself was opposing such a Naherwartung - should have added v 11b On Haenchen's interpretation of v 11a, the verse should read, 'Why stand ye gazing? This same Jesus will not come for a long time' whereas the disciples are actually encouraged by these words to await the Parousia The disciples' attitude, gazing into heaven, can be understood as a wistful longing for Jesus' presence, and perhaps as a forlornness at his departure, only in this light can v 11b become intelligible and appropriate ²

Luke traces, in the chapters following, the development of the gospel's progression ³ Grässer ⁴ maintains that thereby the Parousia

¹ Apostelgeschichte, pp 120f Calvin, Harmony, I, pp 43ff, think that one of the reasons for the rebuke was that 'they hoped he would return again straightway, that they might enjoy the sight of him again' before such time as they begin to work they will have their wages'

² Renan was, then, perhaps not so far wrong as Haenchen suggests (Apostelgeschichte, p 120, n 4) in understanding the angels' words as comfort, cf Jacquier, Actes, p 21

³ cf Dibelius, Studies, pp 192ff, Foakes-Jackson, Acts, p 3, Haenchen, Apostelgeschichte, p 92, O'Neill, Acts, p 174

⁴ Problem, p 208 cf Haenchen, Apostelgeschichte, pp 90, Conzelmann, Mitte, passim, Jackson-Lake, Beginnings, IV, p 8 Cadbury, in Background of the N T p 319, whilst recognising a lack of emphasis in Luke-Acts on vivid, urgent expectation, thinks this is due 'not so much to changing perspectives of a delayed Parousia, as to practical considerations of the Christian teachers'

is pushed into the background Yet the promise of the Parousia standing here at the outset of the church's life and work serves rather as a constant reminder that the history being narrated is to come to an end, that the opportunity for mission is temporary, and therefore that the missionary task of the church is urgent, forbidding idle wistfulness and lethargic sorrow¹

Hebrews 1., 10,25, 10,37

~~Robinson, for example, writes, 'Like so many others in the early church, the writer of this epistle believed that the world was near its end.....the final cataclysm could not be long delayed'~~²

The writer certainly appears to treat the Parousia as near² Thus in 1,2 the period of the old covenant is contrasted with ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων³, 10,25 suggests that the approaching of 'the Day'

1 cf further, below chapter 12

2 ~~Robinson, 192~~, Some, e.g. Wickham (Hebrews, ad loc, 10,25), Westcott (Hebrews, p 239), think that the writer has the fall of Jerusalem in mind Robinson (Coming, p 27) thinks the letter leaves no room for a Parousia, he argues that 6,1 does not include the Parousia under the τὸν τοῦ ἀρχῆς λόγον But the Parousia is not an object of faith so much as of hope and the omission is understandable (ὁ ἐρχόμενος in 10,37 also tells against Robinson if this is to be interpreted as a Messianic title, cf Strobel, Untersuchungen, p 81) Barrett, in Background of the N T pp 363 ff, argues for a Parousia expectation in Hebrews, cf also Spicq, Hébreux, ad loc 10,37, Hering, Hébreux, pp 20f, Windisch, Hebräerbrief, in Excursus to 9,28, pp 86f

3 cf Manson, Hebrews, pp 88f, Westcott, Hebrews, ad loc Michel Hebräerbrief, p 35 writes, 'Das Besondere des Urchristentums liegt in der Gewissheit, dass die Weltende eingesetzt hat, diese Tage sind die letzten Tage'

must be a motive of Christian obedience, and 10,36f exerts to
 patience (²ὑπομονῆς), adding a reference to Is 26,20 and Hab
 2;3,4, as encouragement and assurance³

Our thesis is certainly not that the New Testament does not
 regard the Parousia as near, but that this nearness is not delimited
 In none of these passages cited is there such a delimited hope It
 is because God's final word to man spoken in Jesus Christ has come⁴
 (1,1-2) that the present is characterised as 'last days', and that
 the present demands a complex of faith (involving obedience and
 repentance) and hope⁵

The present is evaluated as a period wherein Christ reigns,⁶
 and wherein Christians obey him, living in faith in what is unseen

1 cf Manson, Hebrews, p 89 Of 2,1 he writes, 'The writer brings
 in the eschatological note which rings through and through his
 practical warnings to his readers' (op cit pp 47ff)

2 cf also Παρηγοία v 35 Strobel, Untersuchungen, p 81

3 On this passage cf esp Strobel, Untersuchungen, pp 79ff
 11,40 might also be mentioned (cf Windisch, Hebräer, p 87) as
 evaluating highly the place of the writer and his contemporaries in
 the salvation-history plan 12,26, too, if the reference to Hag
 2,6 were completed' (cf Michel, Hebräer, p 241, Strobel, Untersuc-
hungen, p 84)

4 cf further chapter 9 below

5 In this respect cf Michel, Hebräer, p 233, 'eschatologische
 Erwartung ist nur dann echt, wenn sie mit der Nähe des Endes rechnet'
 Strobel, Untersuchungen, p 304, 'Glauben - das bedeutet in konkreten
Naherwartung leben' We shall hope to show that the N T relates
 hope and faith inextricably and knows of a tension between 'already
 accomplished' and 'not yet revealed', but that a Nächsterwartung, a
 delimited Naherwartung is not inherent in faith and that faith can
 reckon with a period prior to the Parousia at the same time as hope
 regards it as near

6 cf Heb 2,5ff Whether this is regarded as contrasting Christ's
 reign with (mans) not reigning, or Christ's present unseen reign with
 his future manifest rule, is here of no import, clearly he is king

(cf 11,1f) and in hope of what will be revealed (namely Jesus Christ, cf 12,3; 13,8 etc), hope that this may occur soon, and assurance that it will come at the appointed time (ὁὖ χρόνῶς), it is not far distant (μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον)¹ But μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον is a relative expression and does not delimit the present period, only defining it as 'short'²

James 5,7-9

5,7 probably begins a concluding section of the Epistle applicable to all the preceding teaching, thus depicting the Parousia of Christ as the motive for ethical obedience and persistent discipleship³ Three particular expressions require comment The first is ἕως τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου The conjunction ἕως is certainly temporal, but the phrase does not define the present period prior to the Parousia as long or short, only characterising it as a time during which patience is necessary, in contrast to a time to come - at an unspecified date⁴⁵

1 On ὅσον ὅσον cf Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, para 304, pp 159f

2 What this means is, of course, our question in the next chapter

3 ὁὖ is emphatic if only because it is the sole occurrence here in the whole Epistle

4 It is not impossible that τοῦ κυρίου here refers to God (cf Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p 273 n 4, Windisch, Katholische Briefe, p 3, cf 3,9, 5,4 But there is no compulsion to take it in this way (cf Dibelius, Jakobus, p 224, Ropes, James, p 297, Mayor, James, p 157)

5 Calvin, Catholic Epistles, pp 347f , comments, 'The confusion, of things which is now seen in the world will not be perpetual, because the Lord at his coming will reduce things to order '

The second expression is in v 8, ὅτι ἡ παρουσία τοῦ κυρίου ἔρχεται
 In 4,8 ἐγγίσει¹ is used of the relationship of the believer to God
 and vice versa and the idea is that of accessibility God is
 'ready' for relationship with the humble(v 6f) 5,8 might perhaps
 be intended to be understood in a similar way Or ἔρχεται may be
 meant in its temporal sense, in which case the writer is affirming
 that the Parousia is (temporally) near, but at the same time there
 is no delimitation of its coming²

The third expression is ὁ κριτὴς πρὸ τῶν θυνῶν ἔσται³ v 9
 Closer parallels than Bar 48,39 and Is 26,20 are Is 3,13 where God
 is depicted as standing to judge, indicating his readiness, and Rev
 3,20 which depicts a present situation of undefined duration The
 most significant parallels are Mk 13,29, Mtt 24,33 par (cf Acts
 5,9) where nearness is the theme⁴ This nearness, however, even

1 In the LXX 'Oft geht das Wort auf das Verhältnis von Gott und den Frommen' (Preisler, in T W N T II, p 330 cf Ps 33,19, 118,151, 144,18)

2 Knowling, James, p 130, wants to interpret in terms of the fall of Jerusalem, and therefore gives a very early date for the letter (cf pp xxxivff) which most commentators reject

3 Whether the Judge is Christ or God is again open to question, cf 5,7 cf Dibelius, Jakobus, ad loc

4 In Is 3,13 the action of the verse is probably still future (cf v 14 'The Lord will enter into judgement'), but the 'standing' ἵσται and 'arising' ἔσται indicate that he is now ready to perform his judgements

5 Jeremias (in T W N T III, p 174) writes, 'vor der Tür stehen, dh im Begriff stehen einzutreten, ist Ausdruck für grösste Nahe '

if understood temporally is quite undelimited, not ruling out
the possibility that the Parousia might remain 'near' without coming
for some time²

In 4,13-17 we find confirmation of this interpretation James,
fulminating against those who take sovereign control of their lives,
does not argue 'you say "to-day or to-morrow"', but you forget
that the Parousia is to come within a year or two'. The uncertainty
of 'to-morrow' he connects first with the transitoriness of human
life (v 14),³ and then with the sovereignty of God (v 15)

1 It is perhaps plausible to suggest that a spatial reference is
here intended Jeremias (in T W N T III, pp 174f), arguing for a
temporal connotation, says, 'Die Verwendung des räumlichen Bildes
als Zeitangabe ist hellenistisch' (authorities on cit p 174, n 8)
The hellenistic origin of the usage here, he thinks, is supported by
the plural αἱ Θύραι for the singular (a classical usage) However
αἱ Θύραι is not necessarily a hellenistic usage, the plural occurs
both with נִשְׁעָרִים and with נִשְׁעָרִים frequently in the O T (cf Jud 3,23,
16,2, Neh 3,3, 7,3) (presumably because 'doors were often made with
two leaves' (Warren, in H D B II, p 434) In a metaphorical sense,
the plural usage is almost invariable, 'the doors of heaven', Ps
78,23, cf Job 38,8, 41,14, etc It is interesting that the phrase
occurs in the N T in the plural (excepting where the meaning is
obviously influenced by architectural detail, cf Jn 20,26, Acts
5,19, 5,23, 16,26,27, 21,30) in just those places where Jewish
influence is said to be most present So perhaps Jeremias' argument
is not altogether convincing

2 5,3 does not denote a delimited expectation either, ἐν ἐσχατίαις
ἡμέραις is doubtless an expression for the Judgement time

3 Recognising that those addressed may die within a year or two,
and before the Parousia occurs

I Peter 4,7

ἤγγικεν here means that the End is near, but not in a delimited sense, it might come at any moment (though¹ it might also delay') and this 'readiness' to occur is made the basis for an exhortation to soundness of mind and sobriety¹ Many interpret it as delimiting the present,² but without sufficient ground In favour of our interpretation we may compare I Peter 4,5, τῷ ἐτοίμως ἔχοντι κρίναι , ἐτοίμως is used not infrequently to denote the readiness of the End to break in to the present order³ Further, in 1,5 it is said that salvation is ἐτοίμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχατῷ

The Epistle recognises an essential unity between the Parousia on the one hand and the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ on the other (cf 1,3f , 1,14, 1,19f) Christ is already exalted as Lord (1,21, 3,22) and nothing remains but that he should be 'revealed' (1,8, 1,13) or 'manifested' (5,4) In the meantime, though this revelation is ready and near, and with it judgement and

1 Similarly in James 5,8 nearness is the ground for exhortation to patience, cf Selwyn, I Peter, p 216, Vindisch, Katholische Briefe ad loc, Beare, I Peter, p 158

2 Calvin, Catholic Epistles, pp 127 , suggested besides the nearness of Christ's return, the nearness of each individual's death, but this seems unlikely as it is not suggested by the context, and ἤγγικεν is regularly used in the N T (cf I Thess 5,6, 5,8, II Tim 4,5, I Pet 1,13, 5,8 - the only occurrences besides here) of an attitude appropriate to the nearness of the End

3 cf Mtt 22,4,8, 24,44 par , 25,10, etc

salvation, men are given occasion to repent and believe (1,7,13,
¹
 22 etc)

II Peter 3

It is often said that II Peter 3 reflects a crisis provoked
²
 by the 'unexpected' Parousia delay This view, however, receives
 serious set-back when the chapter is compared with earlier eschato-
 logical material, especially II Thess 2, and Mk 13 Such comparison
 suggests that the writer reiterates substantially the same tradition
³
 as is already found in the Synoptics and in Paul

1 This is why the writer can speak (in 1,20) of the incarnation
 of Christ as occurring 'at the end of time' 'That was the climax,
 the final chapter All subsequent history is but epilogue, a
 period in which men have opportunity to come to terms with the
 meaning of their lives, as it has been revealed in history '
 Cranfield, I & II Peter, p 112

2 cf the Commentaries of Knopf, Hauck, Wand and Windisch, ad loc,
 and Käsemann, 'Eine Apologie der urchristlichen Eschatologie', in
 Z T K XLIX, 1952, pp 272ff , etc

3	Mk 13	II Thess 2	II Pet 3
1	Warning to take heed, vv 5-6, 21-23	Warning to take heed, vv 2-3	Warning to take heed, vv 1-3
2	Signs of the end, vv 7-9, 11-13, 14-20	Signs of the end vv 3-4	Signs of the end vv 2-3
3	Proclamation of gospel, v 10	Proclamation of gospel, ? vv 6-7	Proclamation of gospel, v 9
4	Final End, vv 26-27	Final End, v 8	Final End, vv 9-10
5	Imminence of End, vv 28-31	Imminence of End, v 7	Imminence of End, vv 8-9
6	Ignorance of date, v 32	Ignorance of date (presupposed by vv 2-3)	Ignorance of date, v 8
7	Exhortation to watch, vv 33-37	Exhortation to stand fast, vv 13ff	Exhortation to watch, vv 10-16

1
 Käsemann argues that the eschatology of II Peter 3 is de-
 Christologised,² de-ethicised³ and de-centralised,⁴ but the comparison
 with the earlier material again shows that the Christology is
 parallel,⁵ the ethics similarly orientated,⁶ and the place and status
 of eschatology the same⁷

Many critics maintain that a crisis (caused by the Parousia delay) is reflected in the (so-called) new arguments adduced by the writer to 'emphasise the certainty of the end and to account in some measure for the delay' These arguments are as follows

1 in Z T K, XLIX, 1952, pp 272ff

2 The chapter, he argues, 'has a Christological flavour, in that it is Christ who destroys at the judgement, but otherwise the eschatology is thoroughly anthropological'

3 No longer, he says, is it the new resurrection life which is the spur to Christian obedience, but rather the impersonal expectation of reward and punishment to be meted out at the last day

4 Eschatology, he argues, has been made a 'last chapter' of dogmatics, in a manner consistently copied since but actually foreign to the apostolic understanding of eschatology

5 The climax of Mk 13 comes in vv 26-27 (apart from 'for my sake' in vv 9 and 13, the only mention of Christ), and II Thess 2 speaks of 'the Lord Jesus' (v 8) only in connection with this central phase of the salvation-plan

6 Mk 13,13 suggests the ultimate goal of Christian faith as an incentive for obedience, similarly 13,33-37 In II Thess 2, the eschatological motive of ethics is not isolated out but is none the less present, cf vv 13-15 (cf similar motivation, Rom 13,8-14, Phil 4,4-7, I Thess 5, Heb 10,24f, Jam 5,7-11, I Pet 4,7-11)

7 In the sense that primitive Christianity regarded the hope of the Parousia as something to be 'read off' from the past acts of the salvation-history acknowledged in faith, then hope and its content 1 derivative - and, in a sense, a 'final chapter', but this is as true of Mk 13 and II Thess 2 as of II Pet 3

1 The witness of the Flood to the coming world destruction,
 vv 5-7 This, however, is already paralleled to some extent by Lk
 17,26 (Matt 24,37), to be sure the emphasis in Luke (and Matthew) is
 upon suddenness, but the parallelism of imagery remains If there
 is an element of newness in the argument, it can be accounted for
 by the mockers' objections which are being met, they apparently
 argued from the non-arrival of the Parousia (v 4) to a denial of
 salvation-history as such ² It is particularly appropriate in reply
 to point to a momentous past activity of God in the salvation-history
 which is also a prototype of the momentous act still awaited

2 The idea of a final world conflagration ³ But the prototype
 of the Flood and the judgement of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire
 probably gave rise to this imagery Already fire and judgement are
 are conjoined in the Old Testament, ⁴ and II Peter 3,7, 3,12-13
 connect the End with judgement Lk 17 connects the destruction
 of Sodom and Gomorrah with the Flood narrative as parallel
 examples of God's consuming wrath ⁵ Also in II Thess 2,8 (1,7)
 fire and the End judgement are brought together

1 cf Michel, 'Grundzüge urchristlicher Eschatologie', in Z s T
 1932, pp 660ff

2 cf v 4, 'All things continue as they were from the beginning
 of creation'

3 cf Knopf, Petri und Judae, ad loc, For the idea of a conflag-
 ration outside the N T, cf Zeph 1,18, 3,8, Sib Orac IV/172f,
 V/155f, Ps Sol 15,6, II Esdras 13,10 Qumran Thanksgiving Ps 3,19f

4, cf e g Gen 19,24, Ex 9,24, 24,17, Lev 10,2 etc

5 so cf Lk 17,29 (II Pet 2,6) Fire, as a medium of destruction
 at the end would be readily suggested rather than water (cf Gen
 9,8ff 15)

3 The impossibility of knowing the date of the End¹ But this
 (v 8) is precisely the assertion of Mk 13,32 (cf Mtt 24,36, Acts
 1,7) It is also presupposed in II Thess 2,2-3 The balance of
 imminence and ignorance found in Mk 13² and II Thess 2³ is maintained
 by the writer here also Significantly the reminiscence of Ps 90,4
 is given an unique expansion which 'rules out the possibility of
 taking the meaning to be merely that God's time is measured on a
 bigger scale than mans⁴ The expansion shows that the writer is
 concerned to maintain the open possibility of the End coming at any
 moment, only man is ignorant of the date⁵ This possibility (empha-
 sised too by the 'sign' of the scoffers' presence)⁶, leads to an
 exhortation to watchfulness in face of the suddenness of the End,
 (vv 10)⁷

1 Käsemann (in Z T K XLIX, 1952, pp 272ff) regards it as a
 speculative argument Knopf (Petri und Judae, ad loc) as 'ein
 neuer Gedanke', Moffatt (General Epistles, ad loc) calls it 'a new
 application', Hauck (Kirchenbriefe, ad loc), a tacit abandonment of
 Mtt 24,34

2 cf above, pp 190 ~~et~~

3 The μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας is 'already at work' pointing to the
 End, but there is no attempt to determine the date, cf above, pp 158ff

4 Cranfield, I & II Peter, p 189, cf Wand, General Epistles, ad
 loc, James, II Peter, ad loc

5 Ps 90,4 would suffice as it stands if the writer were intent
 only on refuting the suggestion that the Lord delays beyond the
 appointed time 'In God's sight - and after all they live in His
 sight - not only is nearness distance, but distance nearness' (Barth
C D III/2, p 510)

6 cf v 3 ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν cf Jn 2,18, II Tim 3,1, Jude 18

7 Hence the 'thief' imagery, Mtt 24,43, Lk 12,39, Rev 3,3, 6,15

1
 4 God's patience in allowing time for repentance This, v 9, is
 but another way of describing the present time as an opportunity for
 the preaching of the gospel, for which we may compare Mk 13,10 (and
 II Thess 2,6-7 if the interpretation adopted above be accepted)²
 5 Repentance and the coming of the End (v 12)³ Knopf⁴ writes
 'Merkwürdig und sehr beachtenswert ist die in $\sigma\pi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$ liegende
 Anschauung $\sigma\pi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$ kann unmöglich heissen entgegenstellen und auch
 nicht sehnstchtig erwarten, sondern $\sigma\pi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$ trans - heisst etwas
 beschleunigen schaffen, dass es schneller kommt' Mauer,⁵ however,
 disputes this, claiming that the intrans sense of $\sigma\pi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$ is prefer-
 able here Even if the trans sense is taken there is not neces-
 sarily a direct correlation of repentance with the End, as though
 the former effected the latter, but rather the obverse side of v 9
 is made explicit, in this sense Acts 3,20 can be seen as a clear
 parallel In neither case, therefore, is v 12 entirely novel
 6 The appeal to Paul, vv 15-16 The essence of the appeal is to
 support for the teaching given, from outside of the writer's own
 personal authority In Mk 13,31 a similar appeal to veracity is

1 cf Michel, in Z s T 1932, pp 660ff

2 The theme of repentance (cf Ezek 18,23, 33,11, I Tim 2,4, Rom 11,23, I Clem 8,5, etc) is coupled with that of an imminent End in Lk 13,6-9 (cf Cranfield, 'Lk 13,6-9 The Unfruitful Fig-Tree', MS) On the 'grace-character' of the present cf Flückiger, Ursprung, pp 121ff, and below, chapter 12

3 cf Knopf, Petri und Judae, pp 320ff

4 Petri und Judae, p 320

5 in T W N T VI, p 726, cf p 727 n 7, similarly Cranfield, I & II Peter, p 191

6 With e g Wand, General Epistles, ad loc, Moffatt, General Epistles, ad loc

1 made and again in II Thess 2,15 ² Käsemann argues that 'faith' is in II Peter 3 made 'acceptance of the Apostolic testimony'- but this is nothing new³

These are the so-called new arguments ⁴ Cullmann (and others) further maintain that the number of ideas brought together here reflects the writer's embarrassment at the situation and the views of the mockers (showing what a great problem the community was facing) But vv 17-18 exhort the community not to succumb to the false views of the mockers, implying that it has not yet done so, and it is probable that the writer has brought the full truth to the remembrance ⁵ of the community from pastoral concern lest it should fall It is by no means necessarily embarrassment which leads the pastor to relate the whole case against some evil, but a recognition of the real danger which that evil presents to the faithful

But further than this, the comparison with earlier tradition shows that the writer has not 'sought out' all the possible argument

1 In this case, of course, the appeal does not pass to another speaker, yet corroboration is made in the strongest terms

2 In Z T K XLIX, 1952, pp 272ff

3 cf Paul's insistence that he himself 'received' his gospel and that it was this 'tradition' that he preached to others (I Cor 15,1, 3, Gal 1,9, Phil 4,9, II Thess 3,6, etc)

4 Eschatologie und Heilsgeschichte, ^{MS}

5 Remembrance is emphasised throughout the epistle, cf 1,12, 1,13 1,15, 3,1, 3,8

against the mockers, but has faithfully reproduced the total
¹
 pattern and particular truths of the primitive tradition In
 particular, he has retained the complex pattern of ignorance as to
 date, imminence of the End, and the grace character of the present

²
 To be sure, the scoffers present a menace But it is one
 amongst a number of diverse difficulties and dangers which faced the
³ ⁴
 primitive communities Hauck will see here evidence of the
 supposed crisis through which the church passed - 'Nur unter Schmer-
 zen lernte die Kirche, wie unser Brief zeigt, dass die ursprünglich
 Wiederkunftserwartung, welche das Ende ganz nahe glaubte (Mtt 24,34,
 Mk 9,1, cf I Thess 4,15 'wir'), nicht zu halten sei Nur ungern gab
 man dieser doch notwendigen Einsicht Raum ' We suggest that the
whole of our review so far of the New Testament evidence tells
 against this understanding both of the earliest Christian hope and
⁵
 of the situation addressed in II Peter 3

1 Naturally, with some variation of order and some alteration of
 expression

2 cf also I Clem 23,3f , II Clem 11,2 (Sanh 97 re Ps 89,50)

3 cf Reicke, Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos, pp 233ff , who
 traces the connection between the various false views and practices
 in the early communities, a connection between eschatologicalimpat-
 ience, materialism, libertinism, revelry and eucharistic unseemli-
 ness and anti-social zealotism

4 Kirchenbriefe, ad loc

5 cf Cranfield, I & II Peter, p 188, 'It is significant that the
 author writes not as someone wrestling with his own doubts and per-
 plexity and endeavouring to find a way through them, but as someone
 who recognises a bogus problem for what it is It is significant
 too that the fact that the first generation of Christians has passed
 away does not lead him to re-formulate it in different terms On
 the contrary, he re-iterates, unembarrassed, the primitive message '

I John 2,18, etc

Are we to understand ἐσχατὴν ὥρα ἐστίν as evidence, at last, of a delimited expectation? Or is the meaning here akin to that suggested for I Peter 1,20, 4,7, Jam 5,8 etc¹ ? A review of the letter² reveals that the writer's chief concern is with the nature of the present period prior to the Parousia,³ rather than with its duration. It seems, therefore, most probable that the expression ἐσχατὴν ὥρα⁴ (without the article) is intended to reinforce this interest in the general character of the present. Even if we understand ἐσχατὴν ὥρα⁵ as 'the last hour' it is arbitrary to suppose that the writer has

1 Brooke, Johannine Epistles, p 51, for example, thinks the writer expected the End definitely within 'the remaining years of his own lifetime'

2 1,5-10 present fellowship 2,1-6 present knowledge of this fellowship 2,7-11 present possibilities of 'light and dark' 2,12-17 nature of truth in the present 3,1-12 ambiguous nature of the Christian life 3,13-24 present persecution 4,1-6 proving the spirits 4,7-21 complex character of obedience 5,1-12 present possession of eternal life 5,13-21 ambiguous nature of the present

3 Bultmann (in 'Die kirchliche Redaktion des ersten Johannes Briefes', in In Memoriam, pp 189ff) wants to count the references to the Parousia in this letter (2,28, 3,2, 4,17) as redactional interpolations into the basic eschatology of the Johannine writings which is 'vergeschichtlich' cf against this, Nauck, Die Tradition pp 121ff, 'der Verfasser des I Joh ebenso wie seine Tradition neben der gegenwärtigen Heilsgewissheit die Hoffnung auf eine zukünftige Vollendung festhält' (p 130)

4 Gore, Johannine Epistles, p 124 thinks 'the omission can hardly be unintentional' Westcott, Johannine Epistles, p 55, says the anarthrous phrase 'seems to mark the general character of the period and not its specific relation to "the end" But Blass-Debrunner, Grammar (p 134 para 256, p 143 para 276) noting the omission of the article with ordinals and with predicate nouns, say 'I Jn 2,18 is understandable' (p 134), and Moule, Idiom, p 111, warns against building too much upon the omission of the article (though, unfortunately he does not discuss I Jn 2,18,28)

5 With RV, RSV, Moffatt, NEB

divided the present into a series of hours and means 'the last period of the interval between the first and second comings of the Christ'¹

The presence of antichrists is taken by the writer as a sign that the present is $\epsilon\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta \acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ ², already light shines in the darkness (2,7-11), darkness $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, antichrist is in the world $\eta\delta\eta$ (4,3) The present contains the open possibility that the Parousia can occur at any moment³

John 21,20-23

Many think that the explanation of v 23 is an early christian apologetic accounting for the Parousia delay Against this we must notice that the context reaches back to v 15 where Jesus is represented as commissioning Peter and predicting his death In contrast to this the saying in v 22 is solicited and is not directed to the

1 Brooke, Johannine Epistles, p 51, cf Dodd Johannine Epistles, pp 48ff This seems to be on a priori grounds an unlikely interpretation would the writer suppose that, some 65 years having already elapsed, another 65 years could not possibly occur because of the presence of 'antichrist's' in the world? Whilst their presence is a sign of the end, the writer would, surely not be unmindful of their presence in the preceding 65 years

2 The extent to which the writer has 'demythologized' the apocalyptic image of the antichrist is of little consequence here, but it is doubtful whether Dodd (Fourth Gospel, p 50) is justified in saying that here 'the conflict between Christ and Antichrist is fought out upon the field of the mind'

3 cf too, $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$ in 2,28, 3,2

4 cf Grässer, Problem, p 135, Barrett, John, p 433, Bultmann, Johannes, p 544, Carpenter, Johannine Writings, p 249, Strachan, Fourth, Gospel, p 338

disciple in question but to Peter we are, therefore, not to see two parallel predictions but a continuous dialogue with Peter. It is doubtless Peter's curiosity that prompts his question, and the answer given is not a straightforward one. It consists of a) a reminder of Peter's proper concern, and b) a hypothesis concerning the beloved disciple. This is a hypothesis (as the form ἐὼς θέρω suggests),⁴ positing a fate as different from that predicted for Peter as may be - μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι.⁵

The explanation, v 23, confirms that this was but a hypothesis and there is no necessity to suppose 'that the original meaning of the saying was that which it was popularly supposed to have',⁶

1 cf Temple, Readings, pp 409, Hoskyns-Davey, John, p 668, Lagrange, Jean, p 533, Calvin, John, II p 296. But some find here the problem whether martyrdom or life is better, cf Schlatter, Johannes, p 373, partially, Strachan, Fourth Gospel, p 338.

2 Temple, Readings, p 410 sees the real point, 'The Lord does not answer speculative questions or satisfy curiosity'. ~~Though Westcott question, however spontaneous, is deserving of answer~~

3 ὅ is emphatic, cf e.g. Bernard, John, p 711.

4 Bernard, John, p 711 maintains that the emphasis is on ἐὼς θέρω, contrast, Bultmann, Johannes, p 554, Barrett, John, p 488.

5 This 'abiding' should be referred to the Parousia. It is true that μένειν is regularly used in the 4th Gospel (and the Johannine Epistles) in a spiritual sense (cf Chauck, in T W N T IV, pp 578 ff (hence Westcott, John, ad loc, Strachan, Fourth Gospel, p 250, Hoskyns-Davey, John, p 668, interpret μένειν in this way here), but Christ's coming is decisive for the meaning here (and it is thus understood by Carpenter, Johannine Writings, p 249, Lightfoot, John, p 343, Bernard, John, p 711, Barrett, John, p 488). Bernard John, p 711, rightly says of the coming, 'to apply it to the coming of Christ at a disciple's death is a desperate expedient of exegesis'.

6 Barrett, John, p 488.

nor is there justification for linking the false understanding of v 22 with Mk 9,1¹ The repudiation is straightforward and dispassionate, suggesting no underlying crisis² The passage is evidence that there existed some in the church at that time who held to a false hope, but there is no suggestion that every member of the community or the responsible leaders of the church were misled³ Revelation 1,1, etc

Our original question is addressed, finally, to the expressions εἰ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει (1,1), ἔρχομαι ταχύ (3,11, 22,7,12,20) and ὁ καιρὸς γὰρ ἔγγυς ἐστίν (22,10) At the outset we must notice⁴ that the present period is evaluated highly as a time of watching⁵ and repentance - and, perhaps, of the proclamation of the gospel,

1 AS Bultmann, Johannes, p 555, Bauer, Johannes, p 239, Barrett, John, p 488, contrast Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 48f The promise in Mk 9,1 is clearly to 'some' (τινες), and there is no evidence that this was ever narrowed down to a single individual, hence Barrett, John, p 488, admits, 'this expectation, however, was possibly local, there seems to be no evidence for it except in John ' of Streeter, Four Gospels, pp 476f

2 Temple, Readings, p 410, can comment, 'Incidentally the recalling of this episode makes it possible to explain and dissipate the rumour'

3 ἐξέρχομαι εἰς should probably be understood (with RV) as 'went forth amongst', suggesting simply that the idea went around

4 3,3 is particularly important (cf Mtt 24,43 par Lk 12,39f, and I Thess 5,4) The thought that Jesus will come at an hour unknown is still present (it is not meant that if the church at Sardis watches, then Jesus will come at a moment anticipated', but rather that he will then not come with the disastrous consequences of a thief in an unprepared household)

5 cf 2,5, 2,10, 2,16, 2,21, 3,3, 3,11, 3,18

1

so that the place of the present is not underestimated More important, we must notice that throughout the book there is a note of delay which militates against the interpretation of the above

2

expressions as delimiting the End Whilst we suggest that there is here no delimited hope, there is the conviction that the End is

3

'near' What this nearness means, or meant for the early church, is now our problem

1 Many (e g Schmidt, Aus der Johannes Apokalypse, p 18, Lohmeyer Offenbarung, p 57, Kiddle, Revelation, p 110, Charles, Revelation, p 161) think that all four horsemen in Rev 6,1ff, are to be understood as representing plagues. But recently Cullmann (Time, pp 160 ff) has presented a strong case for understanding the rider of the white horse as personifying the preaching of the gospel We mention in support of this view the following evidence

a White, in 1,14, 2,17, 3,4, 3,5, 3,18, 4,4, 6,11, 7,9, 7,13, 14,14, 19,11, 19,14, and 20,11 (i e every reference in Revelation besides 6,2) is, in this book, a heavenly attribute

b ~~vikw~~ predominantly has the sense of overcoming by non violent means (cf 2,7, 2,17, 2,26, 3,5, 3,12, 3,21, 21,7, contrast 11,7, 12,11, 13,7, 17,14), and essentially divine action is denoted (Of course the plagues are not regarded as outside of divine control)

c If the conquering of the first horseman is a plague, it must be that of war - which the second also brings (though there is some duplication amongst the other plagues)

d The parallelism between this horseman and that of 19,11f is very striking, sovereignty and warfare concern both The horseman of 6,1f has a bow, in 19,11f he has a sharp sword (perhaps 'bow' is mentioned in 6,2 to differentiate it from the great sword of the second rider, 6,4) Rev 1,16, Eph 6,17, Heb 4,12 present the idea of the Word of God as a powerful weapon

e If thus interpreted, the four 'signs' parallel Mk 13 par, and II Thess 2, II Peter 3, which include amongst the signs of the End, preaching of the gospel

2 cf 6,1, 6,10, 7,3, 9,5,10, 10,11, 11,3, 12,6,14, 13,5

3 Kiddle, Revelation, p xxxi, rightly notes that the sequence of events in Revelation connected by 'then', 'after this', 'does not indicate strict sequence' cf further, Rissi, Zeit und Geschichte in der Offenbarung Johannes

Chapter 9 The Early Church's near expectation of the Parousia

That the early church certainly thought of the Parousia as (in some sense) near has become evident in our examination of those passages in which a delimited expectation is often understood - wrongly, in our opinion - to be present. The perspective of I Thess 4,13f (cf I Cor 15,51) is that of watchful expectancy, not of certainty that the Parousia will ~~not~~ occur for centuries or millennia. II Thess 2,7 speaks of τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας as already at work (ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται), stamping the present with the character of the End. The apparent stability and permanency of the world and its institutions are called in question (cf I Cor 7,31). Paul can speak of an 'earnest expectation' (ἀποκαταδοκία) (Phil 1,20, Rom 8,19), and of 'groaning' (στενάζω) (II Cor 5,2, Rom 8,23), showing the intensity and earnestness of hope. Expressions such as ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων, ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου, and ἐσχάτῃ ᾠρᾷ designate the present in its unique relationship

1 Cullmann, Early Church, p 152, says 'no one reckoned on the period between the ascension and the return of the Master lasting for centuries'. Certainly they did not write from the perspective that the period prior to the End would definitely be very long.

2 cf Frame, Thessalonians, p 264, Bornkamm, in T W N T IV, p 830 cf I Jn 4,4

3 Delling, in T W N T I, p 392, makes no allusion to the Christological basis of this earnest hope. But Phil 1,20f has in mind the perfection of salvation in Christ, and Rom 8,18ff has the 'revealing of the sons of God' (8,17) as the object of creation's ἀποκαταδοκία.

4 cf Acts 2,17, II Tim 3,1

5 cf Heb 1,2, II Pet 3,3

6 cf Jude 18, I Pet 1,20

7 cf I Jn 2,18

to the End Paul characterises the present as a dawn (Rom 13,11f) and ~~the~~ Christians as those 'on whom the end of the ages has come' (I Cor 10,11), he maintains that ὁ Κύριος ἔρχεται (Phil 4,5) The present generation must experience all the signs (political, cosmic and personal) of the End (cf Mk 13,28ff par), signifying that the Parousia of Jesus is not far distant The End comes 'quickly' (ταχύ) (Rev 22,7,12,20, cf Heb 10,37)

Significantly, this belief ~~that the Parousia is not far off~~ appears to persist even in those parts of the New Testament where it is often said that near-expectation is missing Here we mention first, the Epistle to the Ephesians Many conclude that here all hope of a speedy End has been subsumed under the concepts of catholicity and of the 'summing up of all things in Christ' (cf 1,10, 1,23, 4,14f) But the expression in 5,16 ἐξυγορᾶζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν suggests that the hope of a speedy End is not entirely lacking, the verb ἐξυγορᾶσθαι² seems to imply urgency, and this because αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραὶ εἰσιν and because the present, God-given opportunity for repentance and faith is not unlimited but has its determined measure

Secondly, we draw attention to Jn 14,19, 16,16f , where, we suggest, it is correct to understand a near-expectation of the

1 cf Hort, Prolegomena, p 142, Abbott, Ephesians, p xx, Westcott, Ephesians, p xxxv, Allan, Ephesians, p 40, Goodspeed, Ephesians, p 65 Mitton, Ephesians, pp 238f , Nineham, in Studies in Ephesians, pp 33

2 In Dan 2,8 the phrase is used in malam partem Büchsel, in T W N T I, p 128, comments, 'es bedeutet, entsprechend dem Sinn des ἐκ in vielen Kompositis, auch ein intensives Kaufen, ein Kaufen, das die vorhandenen Möglichkeiten ausschöpft So Kol 4,5, Eph 5,16 τὸν καιρὸν ἐξυγορᾶζόμενοι καιρὸς steht hier für das, was die Zeit an Möglichkeiten enthält Das soll unter Aufwand von "Kosten", von Anstrengungen, "restlos ausgenützt", angeeignet werden ' cf further Abbott, Ephesians, pp 195f

Parousia in the expression μικρὸν μικρὸν Clearly John's peculiar methodology must be borne in mind and this, surely, allows us to draw out of the theme of 'departure - return' in chapters 13 - 17 not solely the thought of Jesus' departure in death and his return at the Resurrection, nor solely the thought of his departure in the Ascension and 'coming' in the Spirit, but also the thought of his departure and absence in this interim and his return at the Parousia, (the Evangelist is likely to have had in mind the situation of the disciples in the last hours before the Passion, and the situation of his readers⁴ In this case, μικρὸν has relevance for the expectation of the Parousia, and the idea of the speedy coming of the End is not entirely lacking

Thirdly, in Luke's gospel, where the emphasis is so frequently said to rest on the present duration as an indefinitely long period, two passages deserve special notice. The first is Lk 13,6-9 Lk 3,9 (Mtt 3,10) has already declared that judgement is not far distant, ἥδη ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πένους τῆς πίστεως, and in 13,6ff the opportunity for repentance is shown to be strictly limited and short. The extra

1 cf Barrett, John, p 409, 'Most of this language is marked by a studied ambiguity'

2 As in ~~Barrett~~ Murray, Jesus according to St John, pp 280f, Strachan, Fourth Gospel, p 296, Bernard, John, pp 512f, Tasker, John, pp 182ff

3 As in Calvin, John, II, pp 147f, Bauer, Johannes, p 199, Temple, Readings, pp 293ff, Holwerda, Spirit, esp pp 65ff

4 cf Barrett, John, p 409

5 cf Conzelmann, Mitte, p 129, Cadbury, Luke-Acts, p 292, Grässer Problem, pp 178, Creed, Luke, p lxxii

6 Leaney, Luke, p 207, comments, 'Only a short time for the inhabitants to change their ways', cf also Creed, Luke, p 181

year's grace is wrested from the owner of the vineyard and there is
yet time for repentance, but the present time is the final opportunity and has therefore a crucial, urgent character. It is not yet too late to repent, but the time is limited.

The other passage is Lk 18,1-8. As it stands now, this parable speaks not simply of prayer in general (cf v 1) but of the prayerful longing of the faithful for the Parousia (cf v8b), if this is the meaning imposed by Luke. It is especially significant that he has emphasised ἐν τῷ. Although the possibility of delay is envisaged, this idea is held in tension by the ἐν τῷ. As in the case of the parable Lk 13,6-9, there is a tension of delay and nearness, though the End delays, it is near, and though near there is yet time to repent. There is little warrant for understanding ἐν τῷ as

1 Cadbury, Luke-Acts, p 296 is surely wrong in holding that the chief point of the parable is the Winedresser's delay. It is not without significance that Conzelmann makes only fleeting reference to the parable, Mitte, p 55, n 2 ('Jesus dürfe nach 13,8f die Frist nicht eigenmächtig abkürzen').

2 cf Jeremias, Parables, p 157

3 If this is Luke's alternative for Lk 11,12-14, Mtt 21,18-22 (cf Creed, Luke, p 181), it is particularly important to notice that he has recorded a parable more definitely emphasising urgency.

4 As many think, cf Klostermann, Lukas, p 177 (who mentions Jülicher and J. Weiss), Jeremias, Parables, pp 115f, Bultmann, Geschichte, p 108.

5 By placing ἐν τῷ at the end of the sentence Lk has given it special emphasis (cf Plummer, Luke, p 415, Cranfield, 'The Parable of the Unjust Judge', MS).

6 But Cadbury, Luke-Acts, p 296, goes too far, cf also Geldenhuys, Luke, p 448 (following Zahn), 'According to the context the teaching here is that the final events will be very long in coming'.

7 To say that the parable cannot speak of a near End because it envisages delay (~~cf authorities in n.7 above~~) is to exhibit an unjustified monism.

1

'suddenly' or 'unexpected', in keeping with its general New Testamen

2

usage it means 'without undue delay' Some understand v 8b as

3

toning down the eager hope of the faithful contained in v 8a, but 8b

does not so much tone down 8a as explicate its serious demand -

the saints must remember (this is the point of v 8b) that the Parou-

sia, when it comes, will mean judgement for them as well as for

their persecutors Will they themselves be found faithful, when the

4

Lord comes

Besides these two important passages, we might mention Lk 13,

22ff, where the theme is, 'strive to enter before it is too

late', and Lk 12,57-59, where the emphasis is upon hasty repentance

It appears that Luke is not unsympathetic to the hope of a speedy

End, nor unaware of the tension between this hope and the need to

take full advantage of the present opportunity for obedience

The writer of the Pastorals, too, has laid great weight on the

significance of the present, and the care with which he seeks to

regulate the life and worship of the community suggests that he did

1 Zahn, Lukas, ad loc, Jeremias, Parables, p 116, Celdenhuis, Luke, p 448, Grässer, Problem, p 38, n3, take it in this way But Arndt and Gingrich, Lexicon, p 814, do not mention this as a possibility (similarly Liddell and Scott) Jeremias, Parables, p 116 offers as support the LXX of Dt 11,17, Jos 8,18f and Ps 2,12 but Cranfield, 'The Parable of the Unjust Judge' (MS) has shown that these references tell rather against the translation of ἐν τῷ ἑκί as 'suddenly'

2 of Acts 12,7, 22,18, 25,4, Rom 16,20, I Tim 3,14, Rev 1,1 etc

3 Klostermann, Lukas, p 179, quotes Wellhausen that 8b 'erscheint als redaktionelles Nachtrag hier wird ein Dämpfer aufgesetzt (of Mal 3,2) sie sollen nicht so eifrig nach seinem Tage rufen' cf also Conzelmann, Mitte, p 103, Grässer, Problem, p 38

4 Cranfield, 'The Parable of the Unjust Judge' (MS)

not believe the End must certainly come within a few years¹ Nevertheless, certain expressions appear to hint, at least, at the idea of the Parousia's nearness I Tim 4,1, ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς is the first, where the exact phrase may have been chosen from stylistic grounds,² but it is difficult to dismiss from it the sense inherent in ἐσχαταί ημέραι³ Even if ὑστέροις καιροί means simply a time later than that at which the warning purports to have been penned,⁴ it is pregnant with overtones of the Parousia⁵ Next, I Tim 6,14 ἡν-καιροῖς ἰδοὺς δεῖξαι Here there seems to be no need to discern polemic against Parousia-delay grumbling,⁶ nor should we conclude that the Parousia is thought of as far distant⁷ the End is to appear at its own (divinely) appointed time, and the stress lies in the assurance and urgency contained in that thought Another expression is ἐν ἐσχαταῖς ἡμέραις in II Tim 3,1 Falconer comments, ' though the men are present, the end is not thought to be so near as in Paul's

1 cf the emphasis on the writer's own ministry of the gospel in the present period (I Tim 1,12, 2,7, II Tim 1,3, 1,11, 2,1f, 4,7, 4,17), on sound doctrine (I Tim 1,5f, 1,18ff, 2,5f, 3,15, 4,1f) and on moral uprightness (I Tim 6,3f, 6,11f, II Tim 1,6f, 2,14)

2 cf Dibelius, Pastoralbriefe, p 40, 'Die Wahl der Ausdruck ὑστέροις καιροί (nicht ἐσχαταί ημέραι) ist vielleicht durch den künstlich-futurischen Charakter der Stil bedingt' (Those who favour Pauline authorship would take another view here)

3 cf Spicq, Pastorales, p 136

4 As Dibelius, Pastoralbriefe, p 40, Parry, Pastoral Epistles, p 24, Easton, Pastoral Epistles, pp 138f, maintain

5 cf II Thess 2,3f, which, perhaps, the writer had in mind?

6 As e g, Falconer, Pastoral Epistles, p 157, holds

7 As e g, Guthrie, Pastoral Epistles, p 116, suggests

epistles ¹ But Spicq's comment, ² 'ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις' désigne la période qui précède immédiatement la parousie ³ mais rien n'est dit de la durée de ces derniers temps ⁴ 'is, surely, right The character of the present is referred to as an interim bounded by the Parousia which can occur at any moment In II Tim 4,1 we meet the expression τοῦ μέλλοντος κρίναι RV, RSV, Moffatt and NEB all translate, 'who shall judge', but it might perhaps be that we should understand a sense of nearness here, and 'that his appearing to judge is not far off'

So we have some grounds for saying that the sense of nearness persists Since this, as we have argued, appears to be an undelimited nearness, no belief being held that the End must come within a specified period, it is now necessary to define it more narrowly, and this we do in the first place by drawing attention to its origins Our examination of Old Testament and inter-testamental expectation ⁵ emphasised how Israel's hope that God would intervene

1 Pastoral Epistles, p 89

2 Pastorales, p 366, contrast Guthrie, Pastoral Epistles, p 156

3 Because it is the character of the present which is referred to, perhaps, the article is omitted (cf Spicq, Pastorales, p 366, Lock, Pastoral Epistles, ad loc), though Parry (Pastoral Epistles, p 62) takes the omission as grounds for translating 'times of extremity', in a general sense

4 Falconer, Pastoral Epistles, p 94 Arndt-Gingrich, Lexicon, pp 501f, noting the frequent occurrence (84x) of μέλλω with present infinitive in the N T, say that this can mean 'on the point of', but place II Tim 4,1 under the second meaning, the weakened sense used as a periphrasis for the future Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, p 181 para 356, 'Μελλειν with the infinitive expresses imminence'

5 cf above, chapter 2

decisively in history was based consistently upon the fact of his past and present activity in the salvation-history The same is true also of the early church as we find its hope conveyed in the New Testament Two features, in particular, in the salvation-history events created and sustained the early church's intense Parousia hope

1 The first is their conviction that in Jesus Christ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ (Mk 1,15 par) This particular reference, since it appears to be a summary of Mark's (or of his source), clearly reflects the early church's understanding of Jesus' message (however much this may have coincided with Jesus' own understanding of it ²), ἤγγικεν here most probably means 'has come (near)' The LXX usage may be inconclusive, but the parallelism here with

1 Most agree that Mk 1,15 is an editorial compilation, cf Rawlinson, Mark, p 13, Sharman, Son of Man, pp 99f, Lohmeyer, Markus, ad loc Lagrange, Marc, p 18, Percy, Botschaft, p 20, Branscomb, Mark, p 25, Klostermann, Markus, p 14 etc

2 cf Percy, Botschaft, p 21, Rawlinson, Mark, p 251

3 cf Dodd, Parables, p 44 (and in E T XLVII, pp 936f, 138ff) Kümmel, Promise, pp 21ff, Campbell, in E T XLVIII, pp 91f, Clark, in J B L LIX, 1940, pp 367f, Black, in E T LXIII, 1952, pp 298f Dodd argues that 'ἤγγικεν could be used to translate Hebrew and Aramaic verbs meaning "arrive" without being untrue to their meaning', and Black (following J Paul Touon, in Recherches de Science Religieuse, Tome XVII (1927), p 538) concludes that 'the parallel at Mk 1,15 πεπλήρωται like the parallel at Lam 4,19 (18) may be taken to support the translation of ἤγγικεν = ἔφραβε by "the Kingdom of God has come" ' But contrast Kümmel, Campbell and Clark

4 Because although the majority usage might tell against Dodd's view, Kümmel (Promise, p 24) acknowledges that 'the translators of the Septuagint occasionally stretch the meaning of ἤγγικεν to the marginal case of "approaching to" '

πεπλήρωται must, surely, be decisive¹, for there can be no² doubt as to the meaning of this word

At the same time, the flexibility of the word ἤγγικεν (reflected in the LXX usage, and manifest in the temporal and spatial possibilities it contains)³ helps to suggest that the 'coming' of the Kingdom of God was not understood in a straightforward, but in a complex manner⁴, and this is, surely, because the expression ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ held for the early church a special significance (over against its meaning in Judaism) It is not that the early church saw in the proclamation simply a call to repent in order to attain salvation⁵, nor simply the challenge to decide for God, against all the attraction of the world⁶, nor yet simply the promise

1 cf Lohmeyer, Markus, ad loc, Flückiger, Ursprung, pp 96ff , Black, in E T LXIII, 1952, pp 298f

2 cf Delling, in T W N T VI, p 289f , also III, p 463 n 37, ' Mk 1,15 von dem καίρῳ schlechthin, der, von Gottes Volk auf Grund der Verheissung erwartet, mit dem Auftreten Jesu gekommen ist '

3 Preisner, in T W N T II, pp 330f , and Fuller, Mission and Message, pp 20f , give details

4 Kümmel, Promise, p 23, n 13 complains that no explanation is given why ἤγγικεν should have been used in the tradition, if it was meant to mean 'has come' It may perhaps be that ἤγγικεν was thought specially suitable in view of its flexibility to denote the real, though Christological and proleptic, presence of the Kingdom of God

5 As Case, A New Biography, pp 244f , maintains

6 cf Bultmann, Theology, p 21 holds this

1

that the End was soon to arrive, but rather that it saw in this proclamation a Christological affirmation 'The Kingdom has come close to men in the person of Jesus and in his person it actually confronts them' ² Jesus' healings and exorcisms are a pointer to this fact (cf mtt 12,28, Lk 11,20) ³ (Significantly $\phi\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ ⁴ whose precise meaning is disputed ⁵ is probably a further indication that the Kingdom's presence though real, is complex) ⁶ Jesus' preaching is essentially a self-offering (cf Lk 4,16ff , Jn 4,26f , etc), his teaching concerns final judgement and final forgiveness (Mk 2,9f)

7

Since this theme has been elaborated more than once we do no more here than draw attention to the fact that the basic affirmation that the Kingdom of God has come (near) in the person of Jesus Christ, runs throughout the New Testament The pre-New Testament hope in the coming of the Kingdom of God looked for three major

1 As Schweitzer, Mystery, pp 69f , holds

2 Cranfield, Mark, p 68

3 cf also Mk 3,27, 7,37, 5,19, Is 35,5-6, 61,1 Hence the Fourth Gospel designates them as $\sigma\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ (cf 20,30)

4 The word nowhere else appears in the gospels But cf Phil 3,16, Rom 9,31, II Cor 10,14, I Thess 2,16 and 4,15

5 Kummel, Promise, p 106, finds the old meaning 'to anticipate' only in I Thess 4,15 and concludes that the meaning 'has arrived' is therefore conclusive for mtt 12,28 par Morgenthaler, Kommendes Reich, pp 36f , however, suggests that an examination of its usage shows it to have a proleptic character

6 cf Cullmann, Time, p 71, Michaelis, Matthäus, ad loc Mtt 12,28, Flückiger, Ursprung, p 95

7 cf esp Cullmann, Time, pp 121-174, Filson, New Testament, Barth, C D III/2, pp 437ff , Stauffer, Theology, pp 51ff , etc

events the judgement upon sinners, the blessing of the faithful, and the overthrow of all rebellious powers (and so, essentially the renewal of the world) Each aspect is seen in the New Testament as fulfilled - in Christ

In Christ, the final judgement is enacted That is certainly the conviction of those elements in the New Testament witness which point to the vicarious judgement of sin in and through the death of Jesus (cf Mk 10,45, Rom 6,10, 8,1, II Cor 5,14 etc)¹ This judgement, though focussed in the Cross, in fact embraces the entire incarnation (cf Mk 10,45, Jn 13,4-11, Phil 2,6ff) Though, to be sure, 'All that Jesus does and all that he teaches is directed towards man, who is "lost", not in order to judge him or to lecture him, but in order to save him, to bring him back to God',² yet judgement of man's³ sin is brought to a head and, in its finality enacted in the Cross (cf esp Gal 3,10)

In no greater detail we call attention, secondly, to the belief reflected in the New Testament that in Christ the final blessing of the just has been accomplished It had been expected that the faithful would receive at the Messiah's hand, reward for their uprightness⁴ This hope was indeed not unfulfilled, but the

1 cf Richardson, Theology, pp 215f , Calvin, Institutes II, 16/5 and thereto cf van Buren, Christ in our Place, pp 40ff

2 Brunner, Dogmatics, II, p 281

3 cf Luther's exposition, in Galatians, Clarke ed , pp 279ff

4 cf above, chapter 2, esp pp 196

'faithful' have been narrowed down to the one man Jesus Christ

This is most clearly expressed in the numerous passages which speak of Christ's exaltation (cf Acts 5,31, Rom 3,24, 5,1, 4,25, Eph 1,3 etc) which is regarded not as something which has occurred to him only, but to him as representative

Finally, in Christ - so the New Testament witness maintains - the final subjugation of rebellious powers has occurred Already in his ministry (through exorcisms and miracles particularly) Jesus exercised God's sovereignty against disorder and disease But the subjugation is especially bound up with the crucifixion and resurrection (cf Acts 2,36, Eph 1,20-23, Phil 2,9) Even death itself has been 'abolished' (καταργήσας) (II Tim 1,10), so that it can be said, 'whosoever believes on me shall never die ' (Jn 11, 26) Hence the great stress in the New Testament upon Ps 110 and

1 cf Manson, Teaching, pp 171ff , Cullmann, Time, pp 115f

2 Calvin rightly warns against artificially separating the Cross from the Resurrection and Ascension (cf van Buren, Christ in our Place, pp 81ff), yet the Resurrection and Ascension have special place in the point we wish to make here

3 cf esp Eph 1,3ff , 2,6-7, II Cor 1,10, I Cor 15,20f , Phil 3,20, Col 3,3f , I Pet 1,3f , etc Calvin (Institutes II, 16/16) writes, 'For since he entered there in our flesh and, as it were, in our name, it follows, as the apostle says, that in a certain manner we sit together with him now in heaven (Eph 2,5), since we do not hope for heaven with a bare hope, but possess it in our Head ' cf also van Buren, Christ in our Place, pp 86ff , Barth, C D IV/2, pp 3ff

4 cf Jan 20,30, Lk 10,18, Mk 3,27 Manson, Jesus, pp 33ff

5 cf Rom 8,34, I Cor 15,25, Col 3,1, Eph 1,20, Heb 1,3, 8,1, 10,13, I Pet 3,22, Acts 2,34, 5,31, 7,55, Rev 3,21, Mtt 22,44, 26,64, Mk 12,36, 14,62, 16,19, Lk 20,42, 22,69 cf Cullmann, 'The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the N T ', in Early Church, pp 105ff , Caird, Principalities and Powers, pp 80ff , Leivestad, Christ the Conqueror, passim

Christ's exaltation to the position of authority at God's right hand 'His resurrection is the victory of the new creation over the old'¹

So the final events of the End are, in a real sense, already accomplished - in Christ This is the first factor upon which the New Testament insistence upon the nearness of the End is based It is a specific understanding of the past phases of salvation-history as these have been brought to a head in Christ

2 The second factor on which the near hope is based is the presence of the Spirit in the life of the early church, and its meaning for the church Throughout the New Testament, the Spirit is regarded as having a twofold focus, both vital for the Parousia hope

The first focus is the historical life and work of Jesus Christ The Spirit is regarded as in some way contemporising this historical person and work² 'The Spirit's office is confined to revealing and communicating Christ to the believer'³ To be sure Matthew and Mark, whether in accord with the actual historical

1 Visser 't Hooft, Renewal, p 33 Barth, Humanity of God, p 47, writes, 'He is in his person the covenant in its fulness, the Kingdom of heaven which is at hand, in which God speaks and man hears, God gives and man receives, God commands and man obeys, God's glory shines in the heights and thence into the depths, and peace on earth comes to pass among men in whom he is well pleased '

2 cf Dillistone, The Holy Spirit in the Life of To-day, pp 27f , Barth, C D I/1, pp 515ff , Hamilton, Holy Spirit, pp 3ff

3 Hamilton, Holy Spirit, p 12

1 situation, or perhaps because of some express purpose 'contain
 4 astoundingly few statements about the Spirit',³ for Luke, 'the chief
 thing for which the Spirit is responsible is the preaching of the
 4 disciples ', preaching being the proclamation of Christ's person
 and work, the contemporising of the Word

Paul regards the presence of the Spirit as mediating the pre-
 sence of the ascended Christ (cf Rom 8,9-10, I Cor 3,7, II Cor 3,11)
 so that the events accomplished in the death and resurrection of
 Christ are communicated to the believer 'The Spirit is the Spirit
 of Christ because his office is to communicate the benefits of
 Christ's work'⁵ The judgement, the new life, the 'new creation'
 effected in Christ's person and work, the imperative and the indica-
 tive of the Cross and Resurrection, are echoed by the Spirit in the
 6 believer

The same can be said of the Spirit in John The Fourth
 Evangelist 'proclaims, more clearly even than Paul, the present
 actuality of the salvation which is one day to be consummated' and,⁷

1 of Barrett, H S G T , pp 140ff , Schweizer, Spirit (FT of the
 article in T W N T VI, pp 330ff)

2 It could, perhaps, be argued that there had been a conscious
 attempt to focus attention solely on the person of Christ and that
 therefore teaching concerning the Spirit was kept to a minimum?

3 Schweizer, Spirit, p 35, and cf pp 25-36

4 Schweizer, Spirit, p 43

5 Hamilton, Holy Spirit, p 15

6 Schweizer, Spirit, pp 73f

7 cf Schweizer, Spirit, p 88, Barrett, John, pp 57ff

concentrating more consciously on the interval between Jesus' ascension and the Parousia than the Synoptists, 'interprets its real significance. This interval is eschatologically a continuation of the present kingdom manifested in the earthly ministry of Jesus'¹ It is, indeed, so intimately bound up with that historical ministry that that ministry is contemporised in the interval through the Spirit who is 'the eschatological continuum in which the work of Christ, initiated in his ministry and awaiting its termination at his return, is wrought out'² The Paraclete sayings (cf Jn 14,16, 14,26, 15,26, 16,7, 16,13f) emphasise most particularly this relationship between Christ's historical life and work, and the Spirit present with the believer³

The other focus which the Spirit has is the second coming of Christ and the presence of the Kingdom in its consummate form. The first focus is a backward reference, the second looks forward. This forward look arises from the conviction that the presence of the Spirit is a sign of the End and an assurance that the present is already somehow an anticipation of the Last Age.⁴ Whether the

1 Holwerda, Spirit, p 85, and cf chapters 1-3

2 cf Barrett, John, pp 74ff , Holwerda, Spirit, pp 25ff , Schweizer, Spint, pp 92f , Barrett, 'The Holy Spirit in the Fourth Gospel,' in J T S (NS) I, 1950, pp 1ff

3 cf Barrett, John, pp 75ff , Schweizer, Spirit, pp 95ff

4 For the expectation that the last times would witness an outpouring of the Spirit cf Joel 2,28f , Is 44,3, Ezek 36,26f , 37,14; 39,29, Test Lev 18,11 cf Schweizer, Spirit, pp 12f , Taylor, Mark p 157, Cranfield, Mark, p 50, Lampe, Seal, pp 27ff

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Baptist spoke of a bestowal of the Spirit or not, it is evident that the Synoptic tradition (cf Mk 1,8, Lk 3,16, Mtt 3,11, cf Jn 1, 33) saw his witness to Jesus as a testimony to his eschatological significance 'while John administers the eschatological sacrament of baptism, the coming one will actually bestow the eschatological gift of the Spirit' ² This is as clear in the Fourth Gospel as in ³ Paul, but is perhaps most explicit in the terms used by Paul with ⁴ reference to the Spirit - *ἡ ἀπαρχὴ* (II Cor 1,22, 5,5, Eph 1,14) and *ἡ ἀπαρχή* (Rom 8,23) 'Der Geist, den Gott ihnen gegeben hat, ist den Christen Gewähr für künftigen vollen Heilsbesitz' ⁵

This understanding of the person and work of Jesus Christ, and this understanding of the presence and work of the Holy Spirit, are the basis of the early church's insistence upon the nearness of the Parousia ⁶ It is a matter of the (now frequently stated) tension between 'already' and 'not yet' Not between certain End events

1 cf Eisler, Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist, pp 275ff, Barrett, H S G T, pp 126f, Taylor, Mark, p 157 Contrast Cranfield Mark, p 50

2 Cranfield, Mark, p 49

3 cf Holwerda, Spirit, pp 65ff, Barrett, in J T S (NS) I, 1950, pp 1ff, John, pp 74ff

4 cf Hamilton, Holy Spirit, pp 17ff

5 Behm, in T W N T I, p 474, cf Barrett, H S G T p 153, Hamilton, Holy Spirit, pp 20f, Schweizer, Spirit, pp 64f, Cullmann, Time, p 155, Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p 209, cf also Gal 6,8, Rom 14,17, I Cor 4,20

6 cf Ridderbos, De Komst, pp 68f, Cullmann, Time, pp 86f, Early Church, pp 153f, Jeremias, in T B XX, 1941, pp 22f, Filson, New Testament, pp 65ff, Cranfield, Mark, p 408, Morgenthaler, Kommendes Reich, p 73, Flückiger, Ursprung, pp 208f

which have been accomplished and certain others which have not yet been fulfilled,¹ but between the End events fulfilled in a mystery already (fulfilled, that is, in the hidden ministry of Christ), and the manifestation of their fulfilment in openness which has not yet occurred and which therefore involves acute tension in the present

We may enlarge upon this briefly. Clearly the ambiguity concerning the Sovereignty of God, to which the End events were expected to put an end, continued in the ministry of Jesus. The presence of the Kingdom of God in his person and work was a mystery (cf Mk 4,11),² and was anything but the obvious, irrefutable, unambiguous display of sovereignty awaited. Though God was really revealing himself in his Word he revealed³ himself and his rule in the 'Son of Man' who 'must first serve as the servant of the Eternal and suffer and die as a ransom for all'.⁴ The final judgement occurred in the obedience of this Son of Man, and obedience 'even unto the death of Cross' (Phil 2,8). The final blessing occurred in a form equally

1 Hence, perhaps, we might suggest that Cullmann's 'D-Day' analogy is not altogether satisfactory, for it suggests that though the victory of Cross and Resurrection was decisive, it was only partial, clearly Cullmann himself does not want to assert such a partial victory (cf Early Church, p 111, where he contends that even in Heb 10,15, I Cor 15,25, we have to do with a contrast between a present subjection and a future annihilation, rather than a present partial subjection contrasted with a future complete one)

2 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 153, 'The Incarnate Word is not obvious. Only faith could recognise the Son of God in the lowly figure of Jesus of Nazareth'

3 cf Baillie, The Idea of Revelation in Recent Thought, pp 76ff

4 Preiss, Life in Christ, p 68

hidden and equally Christocentric, participation in the exaltation by the believer is certainly not apparent (cf e g I Jn 3,2, Col 3,4) The final subjugation of the ἐξουσία¹ has occurred in total obscurity, indeed in the apparent triumph of rebellious powers over Christ¹ Preiss rightly asserts, 'the primitive church saw itself constrained by its Lord to tear in two the traditional eschatology, on the one hand stands what has already been realised by the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, and on the other, what will only come through the Parousia'²

Further, the present time is by no means that era of bliss, of unambiguous rule, of the triumph of right and the punishment of wrong which was awaited Only through the exercise of faith can the present be regarded as the time of the End, the present Lordship of Christ is acknowledged only more or less, only here and there, only in faith³ By the presence of the Spirit the believer is involved in an acute tension between 'now' and 'then' It is in *this understanding of past and* present centred on Christ and mediated to us through the Spirit, the

1 I Cor 2,8f suggests that not even the ἀρχαί were aware of the significance of the Crucifixion cf Cullmann, Early Church, pp 111f Stauffer, Theology, p 125

2 Life in Christ, p 49

3 Hence the church is that sphere within the Regnum Christi in which His Lordship is more or less openly acknowledged, in contrast to other spheres where it is none the less real, but unconfessed cf Cullmann, Early Church, pp 105f

the early church has found itself compelled to live in imminent expectation of the End¹ One is perhaps tempted at this point to suggest that a concept of revelation demands that the open manifestation inherent in the final events should occur imminently (i.e. by definition it is an urgent necessity)² And, to be sure, the present ambiguity and the hidden character of the revelation in Jesus Christ, cry out for the display of that revelation in unambiguous manner³ But Barth has warned against finding a basis for the Parousia hope in a deduction from some general insight, or from an analysis of a concept The New Testament hope rests not on an analysis nor upon a general insight, but upon the event and acknowledgement of revelation The early church looked for the return of their Lord not simply because the ambiguity of the past and present cried out for it, but because Christ showed himself to them as the One he once was, as the One who was with them and indeed in them,

1 How inadequate by comparison the explanation that the imminent hope was essentially a mistake but served a good purpose in that it encouraged moral earnestness and allowed elasticity and mobility' cf Sanday and Headlam, Romans, pp 379f

2 Revelation, of course, involves not only confrontation with an object, but an adequate perception of that object, cf Torrance, in Essays in Christology, op 13ff

3 Hence the emphasis within the NT is upon the Parousia as the open manifestation of that which has occurred, in Christ, in principle and in hiddenness, cf above chapter 7, pp 148f Richardson Theology, pp 53f, this was already perceived by F D Maurice, in The Kingdom of Christ, (SCM ed) II, pp 283f

4 C D IV/I, pp 322ff

but also as the One who stood before them as eternally future¹

The nearness of the end is bound up with the person of Jesus Christ, in whom the events of the end, including their open, unambiguous manifestation, coinhere. In him, death, resurrection, ascension and Parousia belong together. They do not belong together as a general principle but as a matter of theological, or more exactly of Christological fact²³

The Christological unity of the End events is thus the main-spring of the End's nearness. This has two important corollaries. The first is that this Christological unity and this imminence are factors difficult to express, the situation is complex, the older eschatological pattern shattered⁴, and the nearness of the End, whilst not without chronological connotation is nevertheless independent of temporal delimitation⁵. It can, therefore, be expressed only obliquely. This accounts for the variety of the New Testament expressions for this nearness and for the use of terms⁶

1 Barth, C D IV/I, pp 326f

2 'We must be careful not to formulate the answer in a way which would give to this final coming and consummation any other necessity than that of the free grace of God' Barth, C D IV/I p 324

3 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 408, in Essays in Christology, pp 89ff, Barth, C D III/2, pp 490f, Cranfield, 'Man in his time,' in S J T III, 1950, pp 127ff

4 cf Preiss, Life in Christ, p 49, Cullmann, Time, pp 81ff

5 cf Preiss, Life in Christ, p 59, Barth, C D III/2, pp 490f

6 cf the imagery of 'standing at the door' (Mk 13,29 par, Jam 5,9, cf Rev 4,1), 'later times' (I Tim 4,1), 'the last days' (II Tim 3,1, Jam 5,3), 'a last hour' (I Jn 2,18,28), 'the last times' (Jude 18), the imagery of day and night (Rom 13,11f, Heb 10,25), the expression 'the kingdom of God is at hand' (Mk 1,15 par etc, cf Phil 4,5, I Pet 4,7) and the expressions of haste (Heb 10,37f, II Pet 3,9, Rev 22,7)

which are either ambiguous or flexible¹ It accounts, too, for the otherwise irreconcilable juxtaposition of exhortations to watch expectantly beside warnings to patient endurance in face of the possibility of a delay²

The second corollary of this Christological imminence is that when and where the significance of the person and work of Jesus Christ is inadequately grasped, or the presence and purpose of the Holy Spirit is imperfectly perceived and understood, then and there³ the imminence of the End will either evaporate, or will be expressed in a faulty manner - sometimes in the form of a temporally delimited expectation⁴

Already within the New Testament there are signs of eschatological misunderstandings which the New Testament writers have to⁵ oppose In the Thessalonian community there were those who sought to anticipate the End (cf II Thess 2,2) and inclined to moral

1 cf ἄγγος, ἀγγίζειν (Mk 1,15, Mtt 3,2, 4,17, 10,7, Rom 13,12, I Pet 4,7, etc), and ἐφθάσεν (Mtt 12,28, Lk 11,20)

2 cf e.g. Mk 13,28-30 with Mk 13, 32-37 Mtt 25,5 with Mtt 25,13 II Pet 3,8 with II Pet 3,9

3 Into a gentle hope or a pious optimism, whereas 'das gesamte Neue Testament die Nähe des Endes verkundet und in dieser Spannung lebt Das Reich Gottes ist nahe herbeigekommen' (Albertz, Bot-schaft, II/1, pp 206) cf 'The second coming was one of the primary motives for the Christian life', Barclay, Mind, p 218

4 cf Cullmann, in K r S XI, 1942, pp 178

5 cf the detailed discussion in Reicke, Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos, Pt 3, pp 233ff

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laxity, social irresponsibility and political anarchy Paul counters this by a repetition of the significance of Christ's work and of the present period of salvation-history. The materialistic eschatology reflected in the Corinthians' excesses in the eucharist (cf I Cor 11,17ff) is attacked by Paul with an insistence upon a Christological-eschatological scheme whereby the eucharist is both an ἀνάμνησις (I Cor 11,24,25) and an anticipation of the Parousia (ἄχρι οὗ ἐλθῇ 11,26)². In II Peter, the eschatological scepticism or impatience is met with a reaffirmation of the reality of salvation-history, of the work of Christ, and of the purpose of the present interim (cf esp II Pet 1,16-21, 3,14-18). When these factors are perceived it can and must still be maintained that 'the Lord is not slack concerning his promise'³.

1 cf II Thess 3,6f, 11, rebuking disorderliness, II Thess 3,12 and I Thess 4,10-12 encouraging quietness and responsible work, II Thess 3,11 rebuking 'busybodies'

2 Jeremias' thesis that ἀνάμνησις here means 'God will remember Me' (Eucharistic Words, pp 162ff) even if correct (but cf Jones, in J T S VI, 1955, pp 183ff), does not rule out the fact that the Eucharistic rite was a 'proclamation of the Lord's death', cf Héring, I Corinthiens, p 103, Plummer, Luke, p 246, Reicke, Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos, pp 257ff. If the Last Supper has, at least, Passover associations (cf Jones, in J T S VI, 1955, pp 188f) it is noteworthy that 'the Passover at the time of Jesus looked both backwards and forwards. God's people remember at the feast the merciful immunity afforded the houses sprinkled with the blood of the Paschal lambs and their deliverance from servitude in Egypt' (Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, p 137, cf Preiss, Life in Christ, p 90). The forward reference is focussed in the expression ἄχρι οὗ ἐλθῇ (cf Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, pp 115f, 136f).

3 cf οὐ βραδύνει, Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, para 180,5

Other, less obvious, instances of eschatological misunderstanding¹ can be found within the New Testament, generally reflecting Judaistic or heathen pressures towards a materialising of eschatology and an anticipation of the End through inadequate appreciation of the purpose of the present opportunity

In post-New Testament times (up to, and including, the present) such errors continue, often involving a temporal delimitation of the end². But the New Testament writers maintain a thoroughly Christological eschatology and therefore consistently oppose such misunderstandings. It only remains now to pose the question whether this Christological eschatology was maintained by the New Testament writers on their own initiative, or whether they have followed (in principle at least) Jesus' own understanding and teaching

1 cf Mtt 24,31-51 (Lk 12,35-46) perhaps reflects an actual situation of revelry and violence connected with a materialistic eschatology, cf zealotistic impatience in James (1,3f, 1,12, 3,17f, 5,7f) connected with misunderstanding as to the significance of the present (4,13ff) cf Reicke, Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos, op 233ff

2 cf the examples mentioned in chapter 12, below, pp 317ff

Chapter 10 Did Jesus delimit his expectation of the Parousia?

In this chaoter we pose the third of our questions (cf p 153)
We seek an answer by enquiring into the authenticity of those sayings which are often taken as expressing a delimited hope (Mk 9,1, 13,30, etc), if they seem to be authentic, then we enquire further into their possible original meaning

Mark 9,1

Although the authenticity of this verse has been recently very much under fire, many modern scholars accept it as a saying of Jesus and indeed there seems insufficient reason for regarding it as anything but authentic

2

Many argue that this is a word of comfort composed in a time

1 cf Taylor, Mark, p 386, Rawlinson, Mark, p 116, Kümmel, Promise p 27, Schniewind, Markus, p 212, Schlatter, Markus, ad loc, Lohmeyer, Markus, pp 217f , Flückiger, Ursprung, p 117, Morgenthaler, Kommendes Reich, p 53, Cullmann, Early Church, p 150, Cranfield, Mark, pp 285f , Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 34f , and in Wikenhauser Festschrift, pp 111f , Robinson, Coming, p 89, Lagrange, Marc, p 226, Bosch, Heidenmission, p 144, Streeter, in Oxford Studies, pp 429f , Guy, Last Things, pp 80f , Ridderbos, Dekomst, p 427f , Manson, Jesus, p 70, Dodd, Parables, pp 53f , Beasley-Murray, Mark, 13, p 108, and Future, pp 183f , Swete, Mark, p 175, Duncan, Son of Man, p 182, Glasson, Advent, p 112, Walter, Kommen, p 96, Nicklin, Gleanings, pp 346 , Manson, Teachings, p 278, Hunter, Mark, p 91, Johnson, Mark, p 153 (possibly)

2 cf Bultmann, Geschichte, p 128, Sundwall, in Die Zusammensetzung des Markusevangeliums (I have not see this), Bornkamm, in In Memoriam, pp 116f , Grässer, Problem, pp 131ff , Maråsen, Markus, ad loc, Percy, Botschaft, p 177 (tentatively), Fuchs, in V F 1947-8, pp 76f , Conzelmann, Mitte, pp 95f , Branscomb, Mark, p 159, Menzies, Earliest Gospel, p 173, (Kümmel, Promise, p 27, n 28, adds K Wundsin Das Urchristentum, 1929, p 15, I have not seen this), Guignebert, Jesus, pp 333f , is not certain, Loisy, Marc, ad loc, and Hauck, Markus, p 106 think the saying originally forecast that all would live to the Parousia and that k 9,1 has been modified because some disciples had already died Percy, Botschaft, p 177 n 2, rightly comments, 'eine solche bewusste Änderung einer so deutlichen Aussage mutet aber an sich weniger wahrscheinlich an '

when belief in the near approach of the End was beginning to wane, for it speaks of a delay of the Parousia, whereas 'Jesus, who expected it to come if not before his death at least very shortly after, could scarcely have deferred the Coming, as he does here, to a time when most of his disciples would have died, as was evidently the case when this was written'¹ However, most who arrive at such a conclusion are working with a radical redactional-critical methodology² which in this case assumes that no delay prior to the Parousia was anticipated by Jesus or the earliest disciples, whereas this is precisely the point in question, not to be assumed They also maintain that the saying speaks definitely of a delay, which is questionable³

—If this were a community saying, it is difficult to imagine⁴ how exactly it originated although Matthew and Luke alter Mark⁵ here, we have no evidence that the early church (or Mark himself)

1 Menzies, Earliest Gospel, p 173

2 cf above chapter 5, pp 99f, cf Cullmann, in T L I, 1953

3 cf above, chapter 8, pp 183f

4 Michaelis, in Wikenhauser Festschrift, p 116, poses the question Bornkamm, in In Memoriam, pp 118f, says I Thess 4,15 shows how such prophecies were put into the mouth of the Lord But, in fact, Paul uses this device ('for this I say by the word of the Lord') to differentiate what is really of the Lord - whether by tradition or by direct inspiration - from his own advice, cf also I Cor 7,6,12,12,40

5 cf above, chapter 8, pp 185f Sjöberg, verborgene Menschensohn, p 239

felt free to create sayings prefaced with the solemn asseveration

αμην λέγω ὑμῖν¹

On the other hand, it is sometimes argued in favour of authenticity, 'the fact that this prediction was not realised must have caused such serious difficulties that they would hardly have been created'² This, however, is no answer to the criticism just mentioned³ for, as Bornkamm and others reply,⁴ the saying would prove difficult only for the later generation. Besides, the argument is founded upon the view that the verse was necessarily an~~e~~ embarrassment,⁵ whereas evidence of this is lacking.

The most that we are justified in saying is that there are no compelling reasons against authenticity. But this does not mean that the verse is evidence that Jesus held to a delimited Parousia.

1 cf above chapter 7, esp pp 140 f, it is important that without exception αμην λέγω ὑμῖν is found throughout the NT only as introducing a word of Jesus and was apparently not current in the early church, not even in its prophetic pronouncements (cf e.g. I Cor 15,51, I Thess 5,1f, II Pet 3,3, etc). Certainly Matthew appears to favour the phrase as an introductory formula (31x, cf Lk 6x, Mk 13x, Jn (doubled) 25x), but this may be due to more careful preservation (rather than invention) prompted by his Jewish-liturgical interests (cf McVelle, Matthew, p xviii, Kilpatrick, Origins, pp 77). The omission of αμην in Mtt 12,31, 26,29, where the Markan parallels have it suggests, surely that Matthew was not casually adding the clause wherever he fancied. Luke's infrequent usage could well be due to his concern to remove Jewish formulae, cf Dalman, Words, p 227.

2 Kümmel, Promise, p 27, cf Bosch, Heidenmission, p 144, Schneewind, Markus, pp 121f.

3 in In Memoriam, pp 116f.

4 Grässer, Problem, p 133, Conzelmann, Mitte, p 95, n 1.

5 Michaelis, Verheissung, p 35, argues that the application by the early Fathers to the Transfiguration was an embarrassment solution (cf Ramsey, Glory, p 132, Lostermann, Markus, p 85), but, as suggested above (chapter 8, pp 180 ff) the context supports such an interpretation.

hope In the first place, the context given in the Synoptics may well be the original one, Jesus himself referring to the Transfiguration (as we suggested the context indicates)¹ On the other hand, if the context is secondary the expression *ἔρχεται ὁ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* may have had a metaphorical meaning (ruled out as it stands only by the context)² There is insufficient reason for agreeing with Taylor that this reflects Jesus' early view of an imminent Parousia, or for agreeing with Schweitzer's view³ We can only say that the pericope appears to be authentic, and does not necessarily delimit the date of the End⁴

Mark 13,28f , 30 par

The authenticity of vv 28f , 30 par cannot be discussed without a comment on the authenticity of the discourse as a whole The history of the Little Apocalypse theory has been exhaustively recounted by Beasley-Murray⁵ Many regard such a theory as laudable,⁶

1 cf above, chapter 8 pp 180f

2 The phrase could be used metaphorically, cf S-B Kommentar I, p 751 and above, chapter 8, pp 183

3 Mark, p 386, cf Guy, Last Things, p 80

4 Quest, pp 357ff , cf Barrett, H S & T , pp 156f

5 Put forward by T Colani, Jesus-Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps, 1864, and W Weiffenbach, Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu, 1873

6 Future, chapters 1 and 2

1 whilst others, though not accepting necessarily the idea of a
 Little Apocalypse, regard the chapter with varying degrees of
 scepticism² The main arguments against authenticity are as follows

1 That the discourse is out of character with Jesus' teaching
 elsewhere³ But the contents of the chapter can, in fact, be paral-
 leled considerably⁴ Further, the discourse form is not necessarily
 a sign that the contents are unauthentic⁵

ii That it is internally inconsistent, v 32 and the emphasis on a
 sudden End being (it is said) out of keeping with the idea of prec-
 eding 'signs'⁶ But signs encouraging watchfulness and expectancy

1 cf Moffatt, Introduction, p 209, who counts it a 'sententia
 recepta of synoptic criticism', Streeter, in Oxford Studies, pp 179f
 Bultmann, Geschichte, p 129f, Hauck, Markus, p 153, Klostermann,
Markus, pp 131f, Hölischer, in T B XII, 1933, pp 193ff, Grant,
Earliest Gospel, p 62, Redlich, Mark, pp 29f, Glasson, Advent, pp
 76, Dibelius, Fresh Approach, pp 119ff, Sundwall, Zusammensetzung,
 (not consulted), Rawlinson, Mark, pp 180f, Branscomb, Mark, p 231,
 Goodspeed, Life, pp 196f, Bacon, Mark, pp 121f, Hunter, Mark, ad
loc

2 cf Grasser, Problem, pp 152f, Robinson, Coming, pp 119f,
 Lowrie, Mark, pp 469f, Major, in Mission and Message, pp 159f,
 Guy, Last Things, pp 58f, Kümmel, Promise, p 98, Lohmeyer, Markus,
 p 285, Montefiore, Synoptic Gospels, I, pp 296f, Fison, Hope, p 126
 Taylor, Mark, pp 636f, Menzies, Earliest Gospel, p 233, Blunt, Mark,
 p 242, Manson, Teaching, p 261, Dodd, Parables, p 52, Duncan, Son of
Man, p 179, Johnson, Mark, p 219

3 cf Manson, Teaching, p 262, G Barth, in Überlieferung und Aus-
 legung, pp 56f, Kümmel, Promise, pp 102ff

4 cf Beasley-Murray, Mark 13, p 9, and cf Lightfoot, Gospel Mess-
 age, p 54, who traces parallelism between ch 13 and chs 14-15 (sim-
 ilarly M Barth, Augenzeuge, pp 125ff), Busch, Zum Verständnis,
passim, Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 22f, Bosch, Heidenmission, p 151
 Cranfield, Mark, p 389

5 cf Mk 4, for example cf Beasley-Murray, Future, p 205 (contr-
 ast) Glasson, Advent, p 78)

6 cf Taylor, Mark, p 523, Guy, Last Things, pp 59f, Branscomb,
Mark, pp 231f, Kümmel, Promise, pp 102f, Robinson, Coming, p 127

are capable of being held in tension with the idea of suddenness

iii That the apparent privacy of the teaching is a mark of second-
airness² Against this, however, we must notice how suitable
private instruction is in the case of material of an apocalyptic
character (if not an 'apocalypse')³ other sayings appear to have
been spoken in private,⁴ and in this particular case one might well
expect some caution and privacy - 'Apart from other considerations,
it would have been indiscreet for Jesus and his followers to discuss
in the open the anticipated ruin of the temple, involving as it did
that of the city and nation also'⁵

iv That Mk 13,14 (Mtt 24,15) reveals secondariness⁶ But this
verse, if not authentic to Jesus,⁷ is intelligible as a Markan
editorial device,⁸ or dark hint,⁹ without supposing that Mark is
referring to a written source

1 cf above, pp 193f

2 cf Hölischer, in T B XII, 1933, pp 193f, Dibelius, Presch,
Approach, pp 119f, Major, Reminiscences, p 43, Dodd, Apostolic
Preaching, p 61

3 cf esp Rowley, Relevance, pp 109f

4 cf Daube, 'Public Pronouncement and Private Explanation in the
Gospels', in E T LVII, 1946, pp 175ff, Beasley-Murray, Future,
pp 205, Turner, in New Commentary, ad loc, and cf Mk 4,10, 7,17,
9,28, and 10,10

5 Beasley-murray, Mark 13, p 25, cf also Future, pp 205ff

6 cf Kümmel, Promise, p 103, Major, Reminiscences, p 43, Klost-
ermann, Markus, p 151, Glasson, Advent, pp 78f, Grässer, Problem,
pp 161f

7 J Schmid, Mark, ad Loc, and Cranfield, Mark, p 403, regard
this as a possibility

8 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 403, Lagrange, Marc, p 341, Beasley-
Murray, Mark 13, p 57, Ridderbos, De Komst, p 403

9 cf Turner, in New Commentary, ad loc, Taylor, Mark, p 512,
Schniewind, Markus, p 163, Beasley-Murray, Mark 13, p 57

v What the discourse fits better the early church situation,
 but only on a priori views of cleavage between Jesus and the early
 church's understanding could this be an argument against authen-
 ticity

There therefore seems good reason for the judgement, 'that 13,
 5-37 does give us substantially our Lord's teaching', to which a
 number of scholars incline If we are not able to treat the
 chapter as an authentic discourse, we certainly are justified in

1 cf e g Menzies, Earliest Gospel (aimed at soothing excitement)
 Streeter, in Oxford Studies, p.180 (when delay was a problem, to
 encourage), Glasson, Advent, pp 186f, (the early church building up
 its Parousia hope) (similarly Robinson, Coming, pp 120f, Dodd,
Parables, pp52f), Taylor, Mark, pp 640, Grässer, Problem, pp
 152f, Bultmann, Geschichte, p 129, Klostermann, Markus, pp 131f,
 Fison, Hope, p 126 (shows signs of re-interpretation of the primi-
 tive hope), etc

2 cf above chapter 3, p 55, chapter 4, p 80 and chapter 5,
 pp 99f

3 Grässer, Problem, p 153, n 2, charges Beasley-Murray's 'uncriti-
 cal' evaluation with not even asking if a pericope can be better
 explained as an early church composition In his Commentary, Mark 13
 p8, n.1, Beasley-Murray seems to have noted the charge and answers,
 'I cannot pretend to be writing this book apart from faith, nor do I
 expect any to read it but men of faith' The task of the exegete
 is obviously under discussion, and a radical difference must exist
 between those who understand exegesis as attempting to make sense
 of the N T witness, and those who regard it as constructing early
 church history and thought

4 Cranfield, Mark, p 390

5 cf Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 172ff, Mark 13, pp 17f, Michel,
 in Z s T, 1932, pp 625ff, Schniewind, Markus, pp 132ff, Burkitt,
Beginnings, pp 63f, K & S Lake, Introduction, p 32, and in S J T
 VI, 1953, pp 189ff, Allen, Mark, pp 163f, Turner, in New Commentaries
ad loc, Stonehouse, Matthew and Mark, pp 113f, Lightfoot, Locality
and Doctrine, p 48, Gospel Message, p 54, Langrange, Marc, pp 334f

6 as Schlatter, Markus, ad loc, Rowley, Relevance, pp 109f,
 Busch, Zum Verständnis, pp 44f (a farewell discourse), see Beasley-
 Murray, Future, pp 205ff, and Mark 13, pp 10f (and the important
 note 1, p 11)

1

weighing each pericope on its own merits, allowing at least the possibility of authenticity

2

Verses 28f (which even Grässer thinks could be authentic) can be understood as an exhortation to see in the calamities mentioned (vv 5-23) an indication that the End (vv 25-27) is near³ Or, discounting the context, vv 28f may have referred to some other crisis whose imminence could be indicated by certain signs Feuille⁴ suggests that the parable pointed to the new world which would follow Jerusalem's destruction but this seems unlikely, for as Kümmel⁵ contends, 'the subject of ἐγγύς ἐστίν becomes completely nebulous on this interpretation⁶ Dodd refers it to the present situation and its significance It is true (as Dodd maintains) that ταῦτα γινόμενα —, since it must refer to vv 5-23 and not to vv 24-27,⁷ is slightly awkward, but this does not necessarily 'suggest that

1 With Kümmel, Promise, p 98, Schniewind, Markus, pp 132, Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 205f, Cranfield, Mark, p 390, Lohmeyer, Markus, pp 267, Marxsen, Markus, pp 101, Bosch, Heidenmission, p 152

2 Problem, p 152

3 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 408, Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 139, 152

4 in R B LVI, 1949, pp 82f, cf Sharman, Son of Man, pp 98f, Jones, in Scripture, IV, 1949-51, pp 222ff

5 Promise, p 21, n 5

6 Parables, p 137 n 1 (in agreement with his treatment of the parables in general, cf above, chapter 4, pp 76/ appended note), cf Jeremias, Parables, p 96, Robinson, Coming, p 71, Taylor, Mark, p 520, B T D Smith, Parables, pp 90f (other authorities cited by Beasley-Murray, Mark 13, p 95) Hunter, Mark, p 125 suggests that interval between death and resurrection

7 cf above, chapter 8, pp 191/

a parable is used by the compiler for a purpose for which it was not originally intended,¹ compilation itself being a sufficient explanation of the awkwardness²

ἐστὶν ἐνὶ Οὐραϊς³, as Beasley-Murray notes 'accords better with a personal subject',⁴ and the context given to the parable in Mark 13 seems more likely than alternatives suggested. In no case is it possible to find here evidence of a delimited Parousia expectation⁵

The same can be said of Mk 13,30 par. If v 30 is an isolated unit⁶ then there is no necessity to take ταῦτα πάντα as a reference to the End coming within the generation⁷. Grässer⁸ objects on the grounds that the End is the important theme, but of course, taken out of context v 30 is removed from such criticism. Depending on

1 Taylor, Mark, p 520

2 Beasley-Murray, Future, p 211 (Similarly Cranfield, Mark, pp 407f) contend that the structure of the discourse explains the apparent awkwardness

3 Mark 13, p 97

4 cf Jam 5,8, Rev 3,20 and the general O T usage

5 cf the discussion above chapter 8, pp 191f

6 cf Bultmann, Geschichte, p 130, Grässer, Problem, pp 128f , Kümmel, Promise, p 60, Branscomb, Mark, p 239, Manson, Sayings, p 333, Robinson, Coming, p 86

7 so Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 30f , This is the effect given by Robinson, Coming, p 86 (cf Glasson, Advent, p 79) in dismissing Mk 13,24-27 as unauthentic

8 Problem, pp 128f , cf Kümmel, Promise, p 60

the original context, it might refer to the destruction of Jerusalem¹ and the events leading to it, or to the preceding events only, or perhaps to something entirely different'

If the context is retained it is hardly a 'word of comfort'³ composed in days of disappointment', for we have no evidence that⁴ the early church was prepared to compose such a saying,⁵ and besides, the context demands that ταῦτα⁶ refers to signs. It appears that Jesus may well have predicted here that the contemporary generation must experience all the preliminary signs and therefore could expect the End at any moment. But this does not mean that he held to a delimited expectation, only rather that he had that undelimited near-expectation which we have seen to have characterised the early church⁷.

1 cf Feuillelet, in R B LVI, 1949, pp 82f, Taylor, Mark, p 521, Flückiger, Ursprung, p 116, Lagrange, Marc, p 348, Jones, in Scripture, IV, 1949-51, pp 222ff

2 cf Sharman, Son of Man, pp 98

3 The context is objected to by Rawlinson, Mark, p 192, Taylor, Mark, p 523, Manson, Teaching, p 262, on the grounds that it is said to be difficult to reconcile Mk 13,30 with Mk 13,32. But cf above, chapter 8, pp 193ff

4 cf Grässer, Problem, p 128, Bultmann, Geschichte, p 130, Branscomb, Mark, p 239

5 cf above, p 257

6 cf above, chapter 8, pp 190ff

7 cf above, chapter 8, p 232. So Stonehouse, Matthew and Mark, p 113, Cranfield, Mark, p 409, Barth, C D III/2, pp 601f, Contrast, Beasley-Murray, Mark 13, pp 101, Kümmel, Promise, pp 60f, Lohmeyer, Markus, ad loc, Manson, Jesus, pp 65f, Marxsen, Markus, pp 132f, Hadorn, Zukunft und Hoffnung, p 95, Cullmann, Early Church, pp 150f

Mark 14,25 par

Concerning the exegesis of this verse, nothing need here be added to the discussion above¹ The only question here is whether we have to do with a genuine word of Jesus or not

²
Bultmann has suggested that vv 22-25 are added by Mark to an older tradition and that these verses are 'nicht in erster Linie aus dem Glauben, sondern aus dem Kult erwachsen', through hellenistic cultic practice³ The question as to which version is to be preferred cannot be discussed here, but v 25 (Mt 26,29, Lk 22,18) remains substantially unaffected In view of the imagery of a feast as type of the joys of the righteous in the Old Testament and post-Old Testament literature, and the strong Semitic flavour of v 25,⁴ it is most unlikely that the saying stems from a non-⁵
⁶

1 cf above, chapter 8, pp 197ff

2 Geschichte, pp 285f , 301, 333

3 He continues, 'Vielmehr hat v 22-25, die Kultlegende aus hellenistischen Kreisen der paulinischen Sphäre, offenbar ein Stück verdrängt, das als organische Fortsetzung von v 12-16 das Paschamahl schilderte ' (Geschichte, pp 285f)

4 cf esp Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, pp 72ff , Kümmel, Promise pp 30ff , Manson, Jesus, pp 134ff , Bosch, Heidenmission, p 175 (who cites further authorities, notes 1 and 2)

5 cf Dalman, Words, pp 110f , S-B Kommentar, IV, pp 1144ff , Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, p 31f , Taylor, Mark, p 547

6 cf Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, pp 125f , Taylor, Mark, p 547

1
 Palestinian source, and it can certainly be authentic There seems to be no adequate reason why the interpretation suggested above (chapter 8, pp 199f), containing an undelimited Parousia hope, should not go back to Jesus himself

Mark 14,62 par

Not a few critics regard the whole scene of the Sanhedrin trial as fictitious² Two main reasons are given

The first is that no sympathetic eye-witnesses would have been present³ Yet 'this fact does not necessarily discredit the account, since knowledge of what happened, even if we allow for the absence of a biographical interest, must have been available'⁴ Further, the lack of biographical detail suggests faithfulness of compilation⁵ It is, surely, entirely credible that a member of the Sanhedrin later recounted the facts, either a sympathiser (if ἡ ἐκείνου in v 64 is not pressed),⁶ or a later convert⁷

1 cf Taylor, Mark, p 547, Lagrange, Marc, p 381, Cranfield, Mark, pp 427f, Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, p 71, pp 118f, Percy, Botschaft, p 175, Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 175f, Rawlinson, Mark, pp 204f, Kümmel, Promise, p 82, Robinson, Coming, p 92, n 2

2 cf esp Winter, On the Trial of Jesus, Blinzler, The Trial of Jesus, throughout this section For the view cited, cf Taylor, Mark, authorities cited p 644 n 1, Bultmann, Geschichte, pp 290f, Grässer, Problem, pp 172f, Dibelius, Tradition, p 213

3 cf esp Dibelius, Tradition, p 213, Bultmann, Geschichte, p 291, Grässer, Problem, p 172, Tödt, Menschensohn, p 33

4 Taylor, Mark, p 563, cf also Cranfield, Mark, p 439, Kümmel, Promise, p 50

5 Taylor, Mark, p 563, speaks of 'artless details characteristic of an eye-witness', but artless details would, surely, also occur in free composition

6 With Lagrange, Marc, p 398, Cranfield, Mark, p 439

7 cf Taylor, Mark, p 565, Kümmel, Promise, p 50, Cranfield, Mark, p 439

The second objection is that Mark places the scene at night¹ though such was, ~~apparently~~², forbidden. However, we cannot say with certainty that the rules embodied in Tractate Sanhedrin (c 200 A.D.)³ applied at the time of Christ. Further, it may well be that Mark is describing an informal, preliminary sitting of the Sanhedrin,⁴ rather than merely duplicating a second form of the same narrative.⁵ It is inherently probable that hasty counsel should have been taken in such a situation, immediately prior to the feast, with the Sanhedrin anxious to avoid a disturbance.⁶ Perhaps John's expression in Jn 18,13 'to Annas ἡγεμῶνος' supports this.⁷ Grässer objects to this⁸ because a definite judgement is given. But of course, the point of the enquiry would be to come to a definite decision, and Taylor⁹

1 cf v 53 Mtt 26,57, contrast Lk 22,54,66 Bultmann, Geschichte p 291, Grässer, Problem, pp 172f

2 cf San iv-vii Danby, Mishnah, pp 386f, S B, Kommentar, I, pp 1020f, Montefiore, Synoptic Gospels, I, p 352, Barrett, Background, pp 179ff

3 cf Rawlinson, Mark, pp 217f, following Danby, in J T S XXI, pp 51f, Taylor, Mark, p 645

4 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 440, Kümmel, Promise, p 50

5 As Bacon, Mark, p 200, Taylor, Mark, p 646 suggest, contrast e.g. Williams, in Oxford Studies, pp 406ff

6 cf Mk 11,18, 1,12, 14,2, Lk 22,6, Jn 11,47ff

7 cf Taylor, Mark, p 646, Barrett, John, ad loc, takes the expression simply as an indication of Annas' lasting influence

8 Problem, pp 172f

9 Mark, p 645

rightly notes that they only concluded (v 64) that he 'was worthy of death' (ἐνόχον εἶναι θανάτου), which is a decisive basis for action without necessarily being a legal sentence

In any case, illegal trials have been known before and since, and it is possible that even if the regulations (Sanhedrin iv-vii) were in force, the account is still essentially accurate¹ The same may be said concerning all the apparent irregularities² The desire to remove Jesus and yet avoid a disturbance could provide adequate motive Therefore we conclude that there is not sufficient ground for rejecting the trial scene outright³

There are three other main attacks upon the authenticity of Mk 14,62 par in particular First Grässer⁴ regards the verse as suspect because, he maintains, it presupposes a delay of the Parousia which contrasts (he says) with Jesus' view He suggests it was composed in its present form by first-generation Christians when the delay was a problem and yet hope in an imminent coming had not been given up This a priori criterion is, surely, unsatisfactory,⁵

1 cf Montefiore, Synoptic Gospels, I, p 351

2 See Rawlinson, Mark, pp 218f, Taylor, Mark, p 645

3 cf Héring, La Royaume, pp 111f, 120, Taylor, Mark, pp 563f, Cranfield, Mark, pp 439f, Dodd, Parables, p 91, n 1

4 Problem, pp 175f

5 cf above, chapter 5, pp 99/

in any case we have found no temporal delimitation here, only the conviction that Jesus is no longer to appear in the lowly role of the Servant, but is next to come in glory. On Grässer's premiss, might one not expect that the early church would have created something more encouraging and definite? But the matter of a delay, contained in 14,62, can hardly be made the criterion of authenticity or unauthenticity, since it is the matter of an interval which is under discussion.

The second objection is that the idea of Christ's exaltation² is early church theology and this verse is said to be a reading back of such a theology into historical events. To be sure, one central feature of the earliest confessional statements is Christ's present Lordship³, but this conviction is never expressed in terms of the 'Son of Man'. The only occurrence of $\delta \nu\iota\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ in the determinate form outside the gospels, Acts 7,56, speaks of exaltation, but the image is that of standing ($\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha$) and is probably prompted rather by the idea of welcoming the martyr than by the theme of Lordship⁴. The indeterminate occurrences do not

1 cf above, chapter 8, p 200

2 cf Grässer, Problem, pp 174f

3 cf Cullmann, Confessions, pp 58f, Cranfield, in Essays in Christology, pp 83f, Cullmann, Christology, pp 195ff

4 cf Williams, Acts, p 112

support Grässer's view Heb 2,6 (quoting Ps 8,4f) refers to man¹
 in general Rev 1,13 purports to describe a vision and is an unique
 picture Rev 14,14 depicts the exalted Lord at the opening of the
Parousia scene² Hence Lohmeyer rightly says that there is 'no later
 analogy'³ and that this supports the authenticity of mk 14,62

The final argument against authenticity is that the early church⁴
 is said to reflect its own Christology here Mödt maintains, '
 die Formulierung des 'Menschensohnspruches in Mk 14,62 der
 nachösterlichen Gemeinde zuzuschreiben ist, die mit Hilfe der
 Schrift das Verhör Jesu vor dem Synedrion schilderte und dabei ein
 besonderes Interesse an dem Verhältnis der christologischen Würde-
 prädikate zueinander hatte' Mödt maintains that Jesus is repre-
 sented as openly declaring his authority and status⁵ However, it
 is significant that an air of ambiguity remains even here this is
 particularly the case in Mt 26,64, ὁ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and Lk 22,70 ὁ υἱοῦ
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου⁶ (cf Lk 2,67f) which, while assenting nevertheless

1 cf Arndt-Gingrich, Lexicon, p 843

2 Markus, pp 330f , followed by Manson, Jesus, p 115, Kummel,
Promise, p 50

3 Percy, Botschaft, p 226, n 2 disputes, but on inadequate ground

4 Menschensohn, p 34, cf also Branscomb, Mark, p 280

5 Menschensohn, p 34

6 cf Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, p 260

¹ suggest vagueness. It is possible, too, that we should read $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon$ (with θ fl3pc) in Mk 14,62,² In any case the immediate insistence upon the term 'Son of Man', although the expression $\delta\ \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ was mentioned (v 61) suggests that despite the clear affirmation ($\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\iota$) there is still veiledness.³ Mödt⁴ also holds that authentic 'Son of Man' sayings are not composed of Old Testament quotations in the manner of Mk 14,62, par. He contrasts Lk 12,8f, Mt 24, 27,37,39 (authentic) with Mk 14,62, 8,38, 13,26f. This criterion of evaluation is, however, open to question. First, the early church's relative non-usage of the term Son of Man tells against the argument, particularly since in vv 60-62 the term 'Son of Man' (with apparently conscious intention) is introduced over against the phrase $\delta\ \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$.⁵ Secondly, if Mk 2,28 par, for example, is a comment of the evangelist or his source, as seems likely, we have a clear case of an early christian 'Son of Man' saying not composed of Old Testament quotes (cf also

1 cf Sjöberg, verborgene Menschensohn, p 102, Swete, Mark, ad loc

2 So Taylor, Mark, p 568, cf Wilson, in Peake's Commentary (new edition), pp 816f, Cranfield, Mark, p 444 (possible)

3 cf Sjöberg, verborgene Menschensohn, pp 102, 129, contrast Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, p 78, Lagrange, Marc, p 462, Goodspeed Problems, pp 64f

4 Menschensohn, p 33

5 Robinson, Coming, p 57, n 2, rightly comments, 'If something like Mk 14,62 is not authentic, then it is hard to see how it entered the tradition'

6 cf Rawlinson, Mark, p 34, Taylor, Mark, p 220, Cranfield, Mark, p 118

Mtt 12,32) On the other hand, there is much to be said in favour of the authenticity of sayings which are a pastiche of quotations or allusions (cf e g Mk 4,32 - Dan 4, 12,21, Ezek 17,23, 31,6), and this applies to Son of Man sayings too, for the grounds on which the authenticity of Mk 8,38 par (cf I Enoch 61,8,10,, 62,2)¹ and Mk 13,26 (cf Is 13,10, Zech 12,10f, Dan 7,13f)² is challenged are

1 Many - cf esp Glasson, Advent, pp 74f, Sharman, Son of Man, p 12, Taylor, Mark, p 384, Robinson, Coming, pp 54f - think the Q saying (Mtt 10,32 = Lk 12,8) original and this to be a later interpretation. Robinson's arguments are a) that God is represented as Father of the Son of Man, so that Son of Man and Son of God are identified in an unparalleled manner but cf Iersel, Der Sohn, p 115, n 1 and b) that the Q saying speaks of Son of Man as Advocate, whereas here - in accordance with early church theology - he is represented as judge. But cf I Jn 2,1, Heb 7,25 etc, which suggest that the early church still held to the idea of Jesus as advocate. Moreover, as Kümmel, Promise, p 45, and Schniewind, Markus, ad loc (cf also Nachgelassene Reden, p 11) note, the Q saying in dissolving the ambiguity of the Son of Man has the marks of secondariness over against Mk 8,38.

2 Glasson, Advent, p 185f, and 'Mark 13 and the Greek O T' in E T LXIX, 1957-8, pp 213ff, Robinson, Coming, p 57, contend that the vv 25-27 are unauthentic because two of the quotations apparently depend on the LXX rendering for their significance (there can be no difficulty in occurrence of LXX language as such, which can be explained as assimilation). Thus - Mk 13,25 from Is 34,4 Hebrew reads 'the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll'. Whereas LXX reads 'and all the stars shall fall'. Mark clearly is assimilated to the LXX version but the point is not changed - it remains that of the dissolution of the cosmic structure'. Mk 13,27 alluding to Zech 2,6 Hebrew reads 'For I have spread you abroad as the four winds of the heaven. Flee from the land of the north'. LXX renders 'From the four winds of heaven will I gather you'. But (in answer to Glasson) the context of Zech 2,6 is clearly one of gathering - Glasson (Advent, p 187) seems to think the Hebrew speaks of an injunction to scatter, whereas it speaks of gathering the scattered. Further, 'he shall gather together his elect from the four winds', is reminiscent not only of Zech 2,6 but also of Deut 30,3f, Jer 32,37, Ezek 34,13 and 36,24 - all of which speak of gathering scattered people, it may well be this general picture which Mk 13,27 depicts, coupled with the phrase 'the four winds' from Zech 2 - a convenient short phrase for the longer passages in the other references listed.

inadequate It is important to notice that of all the Son of Man sayings in the gospels it is precisely those which speak of his future glory which contain Old Testament (or Pseudepigrapha) references¹ But it is precisely in this sphere that we would expect such references or allusions Where the present situation of the Son of Man is spoken of, there is no necessity to call in traditional imagery but how else ought one to speak of heaven, of glory, of the End, but in traditional imagery²

We conclude that there is no sufficient reason for counting Mk 14,62 par unauthentic Although on the interpretation offered above,³ the argument from non-fulfilment is ruled out,⁴ there is ~~to~~ *much to suggest* authenticity, as a community saying it is not definite enough to be a word of comfort to waning hope, nor violent enough to be a word of vengeance on the persecutors of the Lord Hence we take this

1 Although O T allusions or quotations can be used in Son of Man sayings referring to his present situation (cf Lk 1,10, Mtt 18,11 in some manuscripts, Ezek 34,16) and with reference to his coming Passion (cf Jn 3,13,14, Num 21,8,9, Mk 10,45 ? Is 53) and the Parousia of the Son of Man can be spoken of (just mentioned) without reference to O T (or Pseudepigrapha passages (cf Mtt 10,23, 16,28, 24-27, Lk 17,24), all the passages where the Parousia of the Son of Man is spoken of in any detail include O T (or Pseudepigrapha) references or allusions (cf Mtt 16,27 = Mk 8,38 = Lk 9,26, cf Lk 12,8,10, - I Enoch 61,8,10, 62,2 Mtt 13,41f - Zeph 1,3, Dan 12,3 Mtt 19,28 - Dan 7,9,10 Mtt 24,29f, cf Lk 21,27f, Mk 13,26f - Is 13,10, Zech 12,10f, Dan 7,13f, etc Mtt 25,31 - Zech 14,5 Mtt 26,64 = Mk 14,62 = Lk 22,69 - Ps 110,1, Dan 7,13 Jn 1,51 - Gen 28,12 Rev 14,14 - Dan 7,13

2 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 406 (following Schlatter, Matthäus, p 710)

3 cf above chapter 8, pp 203f

4 cf Manson, Jesus, p 115, Otto, Kingdom of God, p 277, Kümmel, Promise, p 50

verse as evidence of Jesus' own Parousia hope, but if the interpretation suggested above is valid, there is once again no question of a delimited expectation, only the conviction that the lowliness of the Son of Man's present situation is no longer relevant he is next to be seen (at whatever date) in his true glory

Matthew 10,23

The authenticity of this verse, much disputed,² is challenged on the following grounds

a It is said to be irreconcilable with Mk 13,10 (cf Mtt 24,14, 10,18, 29,19) and the view that Jesus envisaged a future Gentile mission.³ Actually, just for this reason Kümmel accepts its authenticity,⁴ though we suggest that this rather too readily dismisses Mk 13,10 par⁵ and the Gentile mission as a factor in Jesus' future outlook.⁶ Nevertheless, there is not necessarily a conflict between Mk 13,10 par and Mtt 10,23. Even in its present context, the formal difficulty (v 23 and v 5 against v 10) is capable of

1 cf above, chapter 8, pp 203f

2 Taylor, Names, p 29, n 1 says, 'probably the saying has suffered in critical estimation from the use made of it by Schweitzer'

3 cf e.g. Manson, Teaching, p 221

4 Promise, p 85 Bultmann, Theology, I, p 55, says this saying stems from the Jerusalem church justifying its restriction of its missionary work to Jews only

5 cf below, chapter 11, pp 300f

6 cf Schlatter, Matthäus, ad loc, Flückiger, Ursprung, pp 25f, Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 198f, Jeremias, Promise, pp 40ff, Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 132ff

1

being reconciled, taken out of context the formal difficulty need not even exist

b It is said that the verse fits the early church situation better² But the formal difficulty in vv 5, 13 and 23 supports authenticity, and Taylor more cautiously comments, 'it may well have been re-interpreted by Matthew in the light of the controversy regarding the Gentile Mission, but it is difficult to think that it was invented for this purpose'³

c It is said that the verse was invented as a word of comfort in the Parousia-delay 'crisis'⁴ However, in its present context the saying looks more like an admonition not to be slack in missionary zeal nor to sell one's life cheaply in view of the need for mission⁵ Surely free composition could conceive a less negative and less ambiguous 'comfort' than this?

d It is said that since the verse delimits the End, it (with Mk 9, 1, 13, 30 par) is unauthentic, being contrary to Jesus' view

1 see above, chapter 8, pp 307ff

2 cf Manson, Teaching, p 221, Cadoux, Historic Mission, pp 292f Sharman, Son of Man, p 29, Glasson, Advent, p 104, Duncan, Son of Man, pp 181f (reflects the eager expectation of the Jewish-Christian church), Bultmann, Theology I, p 42, Robinson, Coming, p 80 (possibly), Kilpatrick, Origins, p 122, Bammel, in ST XV, 1962, pp 91f

3 Names, p 29 Robinson, Coming, p 76 suggests (tentatively) that v 23a embodies the 'oracle' referred to in Eusebius (Hist III 5,3) meaning 'if they persecute you in this city (i.e. Jerusalem) flee to the other (by pre-arrangement, Pella), but it seems rather unlikely that an administrative detail should be turned into a solemn directive of this nature

4 Grässer, Problem, pp 18f, 137ff

5 cf esp Michaelis, Matthäus, II, pp 93f, Schniewind, Matthäus ad loc, Robinson, Matthew, p 92, Calvin, Harmony, I, pp 456f

1 But at least in its present context we doubt whether it delimits
 2 the End in the way suggested (and this should not, in any case, be
 3 used as the criterion of authenticity)

Some think that the non-fulfilment of this saying guarantees
 4 its authenticity, but this argument rests on an understanding of
 5 the saying which we do not accept Nevertheless, not a few scholars
 6 accept its authenticity In its favour we repeat the point
 7 emphasised concerning Mk 14,62, the early non-usage of the term
 'Son of Man', and the entire lack of evidence that the early
 community invented sayings prefaced with the solemn introduction

αμην λέγω ὑμῖν

If the saying is judged authentic, the question has to be
 asked, does it reflect a delimited hope in Jesus' outlook? In one

1 i.e. a complete reversal of the position held by Schweitzer,
Quest, pp 357ff (cf also Burkitt, Beginnings, p 138, Klostermann,
Matthäus, p 89) So cf e.g. Heard, Introduction, pp 245f, Streeten,
Four Gospels, pp 520f (the heightening of Apocalyptic), Taylor
Names, p 29 rightly points out that compared with 13,41, 19,28,
 24,30 and 25,31, Mt 10,23 is marked by simplicity and sobriety

2 cf above chapter 8, pp 267ff

3 Beasley-Murray, Future, p 185, v 198, Kümmel, Promise, p 64,
 Cullmann, Early Church, p 151, accept the delimitation which they
 find in the saying, yet still accept its authenticity It is
 simply inadequate to re-construct Jesus' teaching by such radical
 surgical procedure

4 e.g. Schniewind, Matthäus, ad loc, Jeremias, Promise, p 20

5 cf above, chapter 8, pp 210ff

6 cf esp Beasley-Murray, Future, p 185, Mark 13, pp 108f,
 Hanson, Jesus, pp 64ff, Taylor, Names, p 29, Montefiore, Synoptic
Gospels, I, p 150f, Jeremias, Promise, p 20, Bosch, Heidenmission,
 pp 156f, Kümmel, Promise, pp 60ff, Cullmann, Early Church, p 150

7 cf above, pp 270ff

sense, the interpretation suggested above is delimited - but the delimitation is conceptual, not chronological i.e. 'you will not finish this work until ' rather than 'on or before the year "X" the Son of Man will come ' And it is not impossible that the original meaning has been retained by Matthew, even though he has imparted a new context to it If the context is dismissed altogether, we cannot say with any certainty to what the saying referred It is possible that the Resurrection was in mind,¹ and it is possibly significant that the verse does not say 'Ye shall see'² On the other hand, as Robinson says, there is no 'suggestion that 10,23 is to be referred to a different and earlier moment, say, than 16,27'³ Though Barth thinks that the verse referred to the Resurrection as a prolepsis of the Parousia, in the absence of any guidance to make this clear (contrast the case of Mk 9,1 where the context directs us) it cannot be at all certain that the Resurrection is intended Besides, the flight or mission throughout Israel would neither be feasible in the short interval before the Resurrection - so obviously so, as to rule the saying in this case rather pointless⁴ Some suggest that the saying referred in the first place

1 cf Stonehouse, Matthew and Mark, p 239, Barth, C D III/2, pp, 499f

2 cf above, chapter 7, pp 150f

3 Coming, p 49, n 1 cf also Kümmel, Promise, p 67

4 cf Guy, Last Things, pp 77f, Addis, in Oxford Studies, p 385, Lagrange, Matthieu, pp 204f (following Schanz, he also suggests 'La venue du Fils de l'homme commence à la résurrection et se termine avec la Parousie'), Robinson, Coming, pp 91f

to the fall of Jerusalem But other references to the coming of
the Son of Man do not support this interpretation and the Christo-
centricity of the expression should be preserved Many wish to
separate v 23a from v 23b, but whilst this must remain a possibility
Beasley-Murray is perhaps more probably right in maintaining that
the two parts 'form a coherent whole as they stand' If G Barth
is right that 'der ursprüngliche Sinn ist ungewiss', the most we
may say is that the verse does not force us to conclude that Jesus
held to a delimited Parousia hope

The discussion of this chapter has necessarily been rather
negative and tentative It appears that the Parousia in Jesus'
outlook was in some sense near, but that evidence is lacking that
he held to a delimited hope In the following chapter, still some-
what tentatively, though, we hope, less negatively, we shall enquire
into the nature of this nearness in the mind of Jesus himself

1 cf esp Mtt 16,28, 13,41, 24,30, 25,31

2 cf above, chapter 7, pp 148ff

3 cf Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 156f, Streeter, Four Gospels,
Montefiore, Synoptic Gospels, ad loc, G Barth, in Überlieferung
und Auslegung, p 94, n 1, Manson, Teaching, pp 221f cf above, p 203

4 Future, p 198, cf also Bammel, in S.T. XV, 1962, pp 80f

5 in Überlieferung und Auslegung, p 94, n 1

Chapter 11 Jesus' near expectation of the Parousia

In this chapter we raise the fourth and final question proposed above, namely in what sense exactly (if undelimited) did Jesus think of the End as imminent?

The discussion in chapter 10 resulted in the negative conclusion that we have no evidence that Jesus definitely delimited his expectation. This conclusion is confirmed in a positive way by Mk 13,32 par Mtt 24,36 where Jesus' knowledge concerning the End excludes knowledge of its date. Of course in order for this verse to be acceptable here as evidence, its authenticity must be upheld.¹ Bultmann regards it as a creation of the Jewish-Christian apocalypticists.² Others suggest it is a community saying prompted by the Parousia-delay 'crisis'. However, against all objections to authenticity we must regard it as doubtful that a saying, so embarrassing from early days would have been invented.³ Schniewind rightly notes that⁴ Schniewind⁵ rightly notes that

1 Geschichte, p 130, cf Klostermann, Markus, p 138

2 cf Grässer, Problem, p 82, Conzelmann, Mitte, p 179, n 1

3 The verse certainly occasioned early embarrassment to be sure, and this may well account for its omission by Luke and the modified form of the saying in Acts 1,7. Yet - and this is particularly true in relation to the Arian controversy later - difficulty arose not so much through any 'non-fulfilment' as through the proposition itself that Jesus could admit to ignorance. It is certainly such an embarrassment which Acts 1,7 avoids.

4 cf e.g. Schmiedel, in E.B. II, col 1881, Lagrange, l'arc, p 350, Taylor, Mark, p 522, Loheyer, Markus, p 283, Glasson, Advent, p 97, Cullmann, Christology, pp 286f, Duncan, Son of Man, p 106, Beasley-Murray, Mark 13, p 109, Branscomb, Mark, p 239, Cranfield, Mark, pp 410f, Kümmel, Promise, p 42, Robinson, Coming, p 87, Michaelis, Verheissung, p 46, Schniewind, Markus, ad loc, Fison, Hope, p 127, Bosch, Heidenmission, p 146

5 Markus, ad loc

the present interim period could be given an interpretation in the entire salvation-history scheme in terms much less embarrassing (as, for instance, in II Peter 3) without recourse to such a 'solution' as this¹ Some argue that the expression 'the Son the Father' is characteristic of the early church's vocabulary, not of Jesus' But in answer we make the following three points (a) the formulation of the saying could be attributed to the early church without the content of the verse being necessarily unauthentic² (b) though a disputed text can hardly be used to confirm the authenticity of another disputed saying, yet Mt 11,27 should not be altogether ruled out of court here It is, surely, not impossible that Jesus spoke of 'the Son' and of 'the Father', however rarely or ambiguously³ (c) Iersel⁴ notes what is too often overlooked, that the formulation here in terms of 'Son Father' actually exposes and heightens the embarrassing character of the saying, for it is precisely as Son (to whom the Father delivers up all things, Mt 11,27, Lk 10,22) that Jesus' ignorance is problematical The gospels are not hesitant about Jesus' ignorance of certain

1 cf Bultmann, Geschichte, p 130, Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p 52, Dalman, Words, p 194, Kümmel, Promise, p 42, Grässer, Problem, pp 77f, Klostermann, Markus, p 138

2 So cf Kümmel, Promise, p 42

3 Cf Richardson, Theology, p 151, Cranfield, Mark, p 411, Schniewind, Markus, ad loc, Lohmeyer, Markus, ad loc, Robinson, Problem, p 81, n 1, Beasley-Murray, Mark 13, pp 105f, Allen, in Oxford Studies, p 312, Cullmann, Christology, pp 286f

4 Der Sohn, pp 117ff

The verse should not be interpreted as meaning ignorance of precise moment only (which interpretation has already been

4 Iersel, Der Sohn, p 119 (following Taylor, Schniewind, etc)
is surely right, 'Die Annahme der Authentizität dieses Logions
stellt den Exegeten und Historiker eigentlich vor geringere Probleme
als die Leugner derselben '

¹ challenged), even if, as many hold, ² the context is secondary this contention stands. Further, it is entirely speculative whether this saying corresponds (as some argue) ³ to a 'high point' in Jesus' development as Branscomb comments, 'No such dependence can be put on the chronological arrangement of the Gospels as to warrant a reconstruction of the story on the basis of the present order of Jesus' sayings' and any other arrangement would require some a priori ⁴ view of Jesus' development upon which the arrangement could proceed'.

1 cf above, chapter 7, pp 142f. Amongst those who hold that the confession is of particular day only, we mention particularly, Branscomb, Mark, p 239, Schlatter, Markus, ad loc, Beasley-murray, Future, pp 189f, Mark 13, pp 105f, Guy, Last Things, p 57, Picklin Gleanings, p 347, Guignebert, Jesus, p 346, F & S Lake, Introduction, p 32. Contrast particularly, Cranfield, Mark, pp 410f, Lagrange, Marc, pp 349, Schniewind, Markus, ad loc, Taylor, Mark, ad loc, Lohmeyer, Markus, ad loc, Kümmel, Promise, p 42. (McNeele, Matthew, p 355, is surely wrong in suggesting that the verse means 'God alone possesses knowledge concerning the day and hour, i.e. what it will be like - the terror and glory of it, all that it will mean to the bad and the good'. Jesus has just given considerable account of its significance and character. On the other hand, as Klostermann (Markus, p 138) points out, some comment on the date of the End is typical conclusion for such a discourse as has preceded.

2 cf e.g. Iersel, Der Sohn, p 121, Taylor, Mark, p 522, Glasson, Advent, p 97, Menzies, Earliest Gospel, p 242.

3 cf Goguel, Life, pp 570f.

4 Mark, p 239.

Another evasion of the verse's apparent meaning is to suppose that the Parousia is only a secondary reference and that the saying on Jesus' lips referred to some other event¹. However, as many² object, the expression τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης most naturally refers to the End

Thus we find in Mk 13,32 par confirmation of the conclusion that Jesus at no time delimited the coming of the Parousia. At the same time, the sense of 'nearness' is present in Jesus' expectation - particularly, as we have seen, in Mk 14,25 (with its emphasis on a near cessation of Jesus' lowly ministry) and Mk 13,30 (with the certainty that every sign of the End being 'at the door' would come upon that contemporary generation). This nearness is to be expounded, we suggest, by an examination of the tension inherent in Jesus' self-consciousness. (Some, recognising a tension between Jesus' near expectation and the confession of Mk 13,32 interpret this as a tension within Jesus' self-consciousness, but somewhat inadequately expound this tension. Beasley-Murray, for example,

1 cf Glasson, Advent, p 97 (who claims that 'that day' in Lk 17,31 refers to the fall of Jerusalem, but we doubt this, for in v 30 'the day when the Son of Man is revealed' suggests much rather the Parousia), Feuillet, in R. LVI, 1949, p 87, Bowman, Intention, p 61

2 Iersel, Der Sohn, p 121, Lagrange, Marc, p 350, Taylor, Mark, p 522, Kümmel, Promise, p 42, Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 45f, Grässer, Problem, pp 77f, Beasley-Murray, Future, p 189

suggests that Jesus held two complementary attitudes 'one derived from his consciousness of willing to do his Father's will and which would see no obstacle compelling a postponement of the End to distant times, the other bore the stamp of his filial obedience and readily subordinated itself to the sovereign will of the father, leaving to him the decision of times'¹ Kummel, on the other hand, rather lamely concludes, 'it must be frankly confessed that we do not know how to strike a balance between these two series of assertions'²) To be sure, the degree of our knowledge of Jesus' self-consciousness and the precise lines to be drawn in some areas are matters of much debate Yet for our purpose it will be sufficient to draw attention to two features of Jesus' self-understanding about which there should now be little doubt

The first feature in Jesus' self-understanding to which we draw attention is the eschatological significance which he attached to his own person and work Mtt 12,28³ is important here The

1 Mark 13, p 109, following Schlatter, Matthäus, p 714

2 Promise, p 151

3 see above, pp 243 for a discussion of the verse, cf esp Kummel, Promise, pp 106f , Dodd, Parables, p 43, Otto, Kingdom of God, p 103, Manson, in Eschatology, p 10, Michaelis, Matthäus, ad loc, Schniewind, Matthäus, ad loc, Flückiger, Ursprung, p 95, Morgenthaler, Kommendes Reich, pp 36f , Bultmann, Theology, I, p 41

presence of the Kingdom could be recognised in Jesus' person and work where men had eyes to see¹ Lk 1, 7, 21 is also relevant² Much discussion continues over this saying, but it seems best to regard the proximity of the Kingdom spoken of as that some proximity due to the presence of Jesus Christ ἐν τοῖς ὑμῶν can, it is true, mean 'within you', in the sense of 'within your soul, or personality'³ P M S Allen, indeed, noting that Liddell and Scott give no examples of ἐν τοῖς meaning 'among' thinks that such a translation would be a 'violation of the known usage of the word ἐν τοῖς'⁴ A Sledd on the other hand, maintains that the examples which Allen offers prove only that ἐν τοῖς means 'within a certain group' or in a certain locality, not necessarily within a single individual⁵ C H Roberts cites papyri evidence in favour of the translation 'within', but Kummel successfully⁶ contests this evidence

1 To be sure, such a presence was a μυστήριον (cf Mk 4, 11) and most could not discern it, but there were those who had eyes to see and ears to hear the indications of its presence

2 We cannot dogmatise Beasley-Murray, Future, p 173, rightly says, it is so ambiguous, 'there is no room for dogmatism in its interpretation

3 in E T XLIX, 1938, pp 276f, and F T L, 1939, pp 233f

4 in E T L, 1939, pp 235f

5 in H T R XLI, 1948, pplff

6 Promise, p 35, n 54 (following H Riesenfeld and A Wikgren, in Nuntius Sodalitici Neotestamentici Upsaliensis II, 1949, pp 11f and IV, 1950, pp 2/f) cf also Griffiths, in E T LXIII, 1951-2, pp 30f

The chief reasons against understanding ἐντὸς ὑμῶν in an 'interiorised' sense in Lk 17,21 are fairly conclusive, they are,

(a) that such an idea would not accord with the general treatment of the Kingdom of God theme in the New Testament as a whole, which regards the Kingdom as an external event¹ Dodd's denythologised Kingdom-concept is clearly apparent when he writes (of this verse), 'although revealed in history, it essentially belongs to the spiritual order where categories of space and time are inapplicable'²

As Flückiger holds,³ such an 'inward' view would be unique in the New Testament (b) that the essential contrast being made in Lk 17,21 is not between an external view of the Kingdom of God and an internal one, but between the Pharisaic contention that the date of the End can be determined μετὰ παρατηρήσεως and Jesus' affirmation that it is rather ἐντὸς ὑμῶν The translation 'the Kingdom of God is amongst you' has greater relevance as a reply here than an interpretation of the Kingdom's nature in psychological terms

(c) that 'within you' would, clearly, be strange as addressed to unbelieving Pharisees If - as Kummel holds - this is a detached saying the setting might be Lukan, but the difficulty would remain,

1 cf Conzelmann, Mitte, p 106, Beasley-Murray, Future, p 175, Morgenthaller, Kommendes Reich, pp 56f

2 Parables, p 84, n 1

3 Ursprung, p 102, similarly, Morgenthaller, Kommendes Reich, p 56

4 Promise, p 34

for Luke could be expected to spot the inappropriateness of
 ἐν τοῖς ὑμῶν with the Pharisees as object (if he had meant an
 'interior' interpretation) Otto wants to understand ἐν τοῖς ὑμῶν
 impersonally and so eliminate the difficulty, but there is no
 evidence to support such a view Therefore in the present context
 and in view of the general idea of the 'Kingdom of God' in the
 Gospels, it seems most likely that the Evangelist meant 'among you'
 and that he has faithfully recorded Jesus' meaning In his own
 person and work, the Kingdom was present amongst men

²
 Mk 1,15, though probably a summary of the evangelist or his
 source, is not improbably a true picture of Jesus' own message and
 again the proximity of the Kingdom in the ministry of Jesus himself
 is central This aspect of Jesus' self-understanding involves the
 conviction that where God is, there is eschatological glory, i.e.
 the revelation of God's presence cannot altogether be hidden, but
 insistently breaks forth Hence on those occasions where Jesus'
 divinity is particularly affirmed, there the revelational character
 of the End glory is to the fore

Without labouring the point, we may say with some confidence

1 Kingdom of God, p 135

2 cf above, chapter 7, p 140

3 cf further Jeremias, Parables, pp 96f, concerning Jesus'
 self-understanding in eschatological categories

4 cf Kittel and von Rad, in T W N T II, pp 236ff

5 cf esp his baptism, Mk 1,9-11 par, the Transfiguration, Mk
 9,2-8 par, the exorcisms, Mk 1,23f, etc

that Jesus regarded his own person and work in eschatological terms. This eschatological self-understanding is, however, not to be assessed in isolation, for there is a duality in Jesus' self-understanding. If his eschatological self-consciousness is assessed alone, we are left with a picture of Jesus such as Schweitzer portrayed, where there is little account of a grace-motif and where we are left wondering how Jesus' life, death and resurrection could have had any crucial role to play in salvation-history¹. Beside the eschatological motif there runs throughout the gospel records a grace character which is most dominant where expression is given to Jesus' self-consciousness.

In this connection we notice the explicit references to his mission (Mk 10,45, 2,17, 1,38, Jn 13,1ff²), in all of which the grace motif is central. The same motif characterises and underlies the healing miracles where any desire to parade spectacular powers or to win popular acclaim is wholly put aside, and yet compassion³ enjoins healing action. Healing is ~~a~~ concerned especially with

1 The lack of this grace motif in Consistent Eschatology (noted especially by Flückiger, Ursprung, pp 121-151) has already been criticised (above, chapter 3, pp 62), it accounts in part for the fact that in assessing the ultimate meaning of Jesus' life Schweitzer had to adopt an exemplary interpretation, coupled with the philosophy of reverence for life.

2 The reference may be to Jesus' departure from Capernaum, but - and Luke's expression (Lk 4,43 $\epsilon\tau\iota \epsilon\pi\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron \alpha\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\iota$) supports this - it may be a reference to his entire ministry and his 'coming from God', cf Cranfield, Mark, pp 89f.

3 cf Strachan, Fourth Gospel, pp 21f, Richardson, Miracles, pp 29f. $\sigma\eta\lambda\alpha\chi\chi\nu\acute{\iota}\varsigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, found 12x in the Synoptics is written of Jesus in 8 cases, and (except in Mk 9,22 where it is besought of Jesus) it is elsewhere illustrative of his attitude (Matt 18,27, Lk 10,33, 15,20).

1

restoration to wholeness and soundness and it is not accidental that in Mk 2,2-12 the eschatological blessings of forgiveness and healing are so intimately interwoven² It is in this connection that Jesus' work and words are subsumed under the term 'gospel' *εὐαγγέλιον*, not only because they share the nature of good news, but also because they form the content of the good news of salvation³

It is because of this grace character that the End events as they occurred in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, were veiled Men were thereby given time and occasion to respond with freedom and integrity to the demand to repent and believe The eschatological motif strives to reveal, since the End (by definition) is the open manifestation of God's divine rule, unambiguous and irrefutable But the grace motif strives to veil, so that men should not be overcome in their situation by the glory and power of God's rule, but should have time and opportunity to make up their minds in responsibility and freedom to the demand which God, in his sovereign rule, makes upon them There is here no contradiction, but there is a real tension⁴

1 of Mk 5,23 *ἵνα σωθῇ καὶ ἡ ψυχή*, Cairns, The Faith that Rebels, p 48ff

2 As e.g. Richardson, Miracles, pp 66f, following Creed, Luke, p 78, argues, there is no reason why the debate (vv 5-10) should not have an authentic basis in the ministry of Jesus

3 of Friedrich, in T W N T II, pp 705ff ('Jesus ist der Freudenbote der erwarteten Endzeit', p 715)

4 Seen in the light of this fundamentally Christological tension the explanations of duality in Jesus' thought in terms either of pastoral expediency or of epistemological necessity appear totally inadequate, cf above, chapter 7, pp 143ff

To be sure, just as the eschatological element in Jesus' understanding of his person and work taken alone provides us with a distorted view of his self-understanding, so the grace motif taken alone gives an inadequate, demythologized picture. It is when these two elements are taken together and allowed to inform each other that we perceive how the grace element in Jesus' ministry formed the *raison d'être* of the veiledness of his eschatological person and work. For it is only as the End confronts man in an oblique, tangential manner, that man has even the possibility of a personal, free response to that End, its judgement and its command. Borchert expresses it in this way, 'Our liberty is a slight thing which can only be preserved in the twilight. If God were to reveal the Son clearly and indisputably to the world by external means, the liberty, development, and faith of mankind would be shattered in pieces'¹

It is now our intention to allow this two-fold character in Jesus' self-consciousness to illuminate a reconstruction of his outlook upon the future, and so perceive the sense in which he regarded the End as 'near'. This we do, not because there can be any a priori basis for believing that Jesus' view of the future must have been characterised by the same motifs as characterised his self-consciousness, but rather because the evidence of the

¹ Original Jesus, p 398, cf also Torrance, 'A Study in T communication', in S.J.T. III, 1950, pp 298ff

gospel witness suggests that the same duality of motifs does in fact hold sway in both areas

First, the eschatological motif ^{alone} ~~above~~ ¹ This, if assessed ^{alone} leads to a future expectation characteristic of frenzied apocalyptists which in no way does justice to the sense of unhurried order and certainty in Jesus' ministry and outlook ² But neither may it legitimately be denied nor re-interpreted in such a drastic manner ³ as to dissolve its original character Under this heading we consider the conviction that the End is near In its future reference this nearness is not unconnected to a chronological proximity (hence it is not enough to understand it as 'eternity always menacing time' ⁴, for there is a real compression of the present chronological period in the interests of the inbreak of the End in its fully manifest form) ⁵ It is again a question of the nearness ⁶ of glory, of open manifestation of divinity, which breaks through even in Jesus' lowly ministry and which must ever be regarded as near at hand since its advent in that hidden, veiled ministry The open, universal and unambiguous manifestation of the End can be

1 As in Consistent Eschatology

2 cf e.g. Mt 26,18, Mk 1,15, Jn 7,6, 7,8, Mt 18,7, Mk 13,7 and the frequent occurrence of $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ (cf. Grundmann, in T W M T II, pp 21ff)

3 cf above, chapters 4 and 5

4 cf Barth's criticism of this, C D III/2, pp 490ff

5 cf Mk 13,20 par 'except the Lord had shortened the days'

6 cf the future reference of Mk 4,21 (whether we understand by $\delta\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ Jesus' word or Jesus himself - Schniewind, 'Markus, ad loc', thinks this latter meaning 'liegt nicht unbedingt nahe', but cf Cranfield, in Interpretation, IX, 1955, pp 150-155 and Mark, p 164) there is an ultimate purpose of unveiling, of revelation

1
postponed, yet because it belongs to the End to be open and
unambiguous, its manifestation must be near throughout all post-
2
ponments

It is from this conviction that Jesus insists upon watching
and expectant waiting. The parables of 'crisis' have been subjected
3
by many to a critical re-interpretation and it has been claimed
that they referred originally not to the Parousia but to that crisis
in which Jesus' contemporaries were placed on account of his
presence among them. We have seen, however, that there is no
necessary ground for thinking that they could not, originally, have
had the Parousia as their subject. Indeed, properly understood,
the crisis in which his contemporaries were placed by Jesus'
presence amongst them was (and still is) the crisis of the nearness
4
of the End, involving the Parousia as the crisis itself

1 There is a real Parousia delay. But if this is thought of as
an unexpected event, then the grace-character of Jesus' ministry
is underestimated (there is a failure to see that the presence of
the Holy Spirit amongst men, making faith and repentance possible,
is of a piece with Jesus' own ministry), conversely, if this is
regarded as a 'natural' phenomenon, and not the express gift of
God's compassion (cf II Peter 3,9), then the urgency of the present
time and the transitoriness of present institutions (particularly
'the church') will be overlooked. Hence, as Barth, CD III/2,
pp 509f, says, Consistent Eschatology fails to reckon adequately
with the Holy Spirit, and Realised eschatology fails to reckon with
the church's transitoriness.

2 cf Cranfield, Mark, p408

3 cf above, chapter 4, esp pp 92f

4 The veiled Eschaton must threaten to become unveiled because
the Eschaton is the universal, unambiguous manifestation of God's
sovereignty. The antagonism of Realised Eschatology towards
eschatology (and cf Bultmann and others against traditional escha-
tology), sheds light on the need felt to re-interpret the crisis,
but it does not excuse or justify that re-interpretation.

The same must be said of the collection of Parousia parables¹ in Mtt 24-25. Grässer calls Mtt 24,45-51 a product of the early² community contending with the unexpected Parousia delay'. Dodd³ maintains that originally the master's departure and return had no stress but were merely framework, the parable 'pilloried the religious leaders of the Jews as God's unfaithful servants. It had sharp point directed to the actual situation'. Both, however, seem to underestimate the relevance of the parable with the Parousia as subject, to the contemporary situation in Jesus' ministry, it is spoken of those who held no 'near-expectation',³ that is, those who failed to see that the universal manifestation of Jesus in glory could not be far off. The certainty and nearness of the End's coming (i.e. the eschatological motif) did not inform their use of the present period of opportunity (i.e. the grace-motif). This understanding of the parable does not necessitate finding another Sitz im Leben than that given it by the evangelist.

Of Mtt 25,1-13 Glasson says, it 'probably referred to the situation in Israel when Jesus came to a time of crisis and opportunity in Israel's life, a day of visitation for which the

1 Problem, p. 90, cf Bultmann, Geschichte, p. 125

2 Parables, pp 158ff, ~~cf also Jeremias, Parables, p. ,~~
 Klostermann, Matthäus, ad loc

3 cf Michaelis, Verheissung, p. 92, Plückiger, Ursprung, p. 119

majority were not ready the reference is not to some future consummation but to the attitude of the Jewish leaders who treated lightly the great invitation¹ ' Objections to authenticity also arise, on a count (a) of the presence of allegory,² but this can no longer be regarded as sufficient grounds and Meinertz³ is justified in regarding it as a parable with allegorical aspects which can well be authentic (b) the presence of apparent confusion of thought Kümmel for instance, thinks v 13 probably has been added by the evangelist, since it 'wrongly emphasises watchfulness instead of preparedness'⁵ However, the interchange of these two related themes may be no accident, nor unoriginal - indeed it is difficult to imagine how watchfulness can rule out preparedness, or vice versa⁶ (c) Jeremias holds that the metaphor of the bridegroom as used of Messiah is 'wholly foreign to the OT'⁷ and that the idea comes into the church's thought first with Paul However, as Meinertz⁸ again points out the relation of JHWH to Israel is often depicted

1 Advent, p 3, following Dodd, Parables, pp 172f

2 cf Sultmann, Geschichte, p 125, Bornkamm, in In Memoriam, p 119, Grässer, Problem, pp 119ff, Klostermann, Matthäus, ad loc, cf Jeremias, Parables, p 41

3 cf the modifications to Jülicher's thesis, above pp 76

4 in 'Die Tragweite des Gleichnisses von den zehn Jungfrauen' in Synoptischen Studien für A. Wikenhauser, pp 94f

5 cf Promise, p 57, similarly Jeremias, Parables, p 41, Grässer Problem, p 86, Klostermann, Matthäus, ad loc

6 cf Schniewind, Matthäus, p 250, Meinertz, in Synoptischen Studien für A. Wikenhauser, pp 94f

7 Parables, pp 41f, also in T W I T IV, pp 1095f

8 in Synoptischen Studien für A. Wikenhauser, p 95f, cf also Kümmel, Promise, p 57, n 123, Cranfield, Mark, pp 109f, Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 10f

2

3

4

5

5 It is the fact that the five foolish were not watching at the crucial moment (the point of v l3) which is the climax of the parable and its purpose, their lack of oil - and failure to reckon with a long interval - is only the framework to show how easily they were led into a position of unpreparedness

Mtt 25,14-30 is again interpreted by Dodd as referring originally to the crisis brought about by Jesus' ministry, and ~~he~~ thinks that the Parousia reference is secondary, the departure and return of the master only framework. ²Grässer rightly maintains that the parable's true reference is the Parousia (though he exaggerates, in keeping with his thesis, the element of delay). The crisis of Jesus' presence in lowliness involves the idea of the Parousia as that for which men must now prepare.

The need for awaiting, as an imminent possibility, the coming of Jesus Christ in glory is coupled with the urgent summons to preach the gospel. This brings us to the second element in Jesus' future expectation (corresponding to the other element in his self-consciousness) namely the grace-motif. For it is this grace motif which underlies the Parousia delay and stands in tension with the eschatological impulse towards open manifestation of the End. We repeat, the grace element must not be omitted from our reconstruction of Jesus' outlook upon the future any more than it alone can be taken as the whole key to his expectation.

Under this head, the expectation of a future community in which Jesus' own mission might be continued, would need to be considered the choosing of the Twelve, their training and their commissioning, etc. ³But some attention has already been devoted to this question and this must suffice for our purposes. The major question which

1 Parables, pp 146ff, cf also Robinson, Coming, pp 65f

2 Problem, pp 114f

3 cf above, chapter 7, pp 136ff

must occupy us here is whether or not Jesus anticipated a future gentile mission whether the grace element in his self-consciousness informed his future hope in this way Before discussing Mk 13,10 and 14,7-9, there are two objections to the idea of a gentile mission in the mind of Jesus which we must mention

The first is that Jesus limited himself to Israel during his own ministry and apparently directed the disciples to similar limitation-during his presence with them¹ However, this limitation² can be understood in part as a matter of order ('to the Jew first',) and in part as a matter of principle, the universality of his demand upon Israel revealing his basic attitude Israel is God's vehicle for the inclusion of the Gentiles³ So that, in both respects a wider mission, far from being excluded, appears rather to be presupposed Further, the instances where Jesus, during his ministry, met with Gentiles⁴ suggest that notwithstanding his self-

1 cf Mtt 10,6, 15,24 Bosch, Heidenmission, p 93, following his treatment of Jesus' self-limitation to Israel writes, 'Auf Grund des vorangehenden Kapitels könnte man versucht sein, Harnacks Urteil ein Heidenmission habe überhaupt nicht im Horizonte Jesu gelegen, beizupflichten Die Tatsache der universalen Mission der Jünger nach Jesu Tod wäre dann bestenfalls daraus zu erklären, dass in seiner Botschaft etwas "Allgemeinmenschliches", "Universales", "Supranationales" oder "Innerliches" steckte, das die Junger zu einer solchen weltweiten Tätigkeit anspornte Und schlimmstenfalls wurde man die nachösterliche Heidenmission daraus erklären müssen, dass die Junger ihrem Meister ungehorsam waren oder ihn verhängnisvoll missverstanden haben'

2 cf Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 110f , cf above, pp 211f

3 cf Is 42,6, 49,6, etc Rowley, Missionary Message, pp 39f

4 cf esp Mtt 8,5-13 par , Mtt 15,21-28 (Mk 7,24-30) (Lk 7,1-10, cf Jn 4,46-53), Mk 5,1-20 par

limitation he was not unmindful of the place of the Gentiles in the entire salvation-history plan¹

The second matter is that many think the early church would not have been reluctant to undertake the Gentile Mission if Jesus had told them to embark upon it². However, this is again perhaps³ to be seen partly as a matter of order - to the Jew first - and in part as a matter of disobedience and natural reluctance to embark upon a course of action of such magnitude and consequence. Besides, there were (according to Acts 7) some who wished to engage in a Gentile mission, and apparently there were some who quite spontaneously did so⁴. Further, to some extent, the early discussion regarding the Gentile mission centred not upon whether or not the Gentiles should be evangelised, but whether or not they should become Jews also⁵. In any case, an appeal to the disciples' behaviour is a dubious methodological principle, it is, for example, wrong to conclude that Jesus never spoke of his death and resurrection, simply because these events apparently took the disciples by surprise.

1 cf Bosch, Heidenmission, p 115, Jeremias, Promise, pp 46f

2 cf e g Cadoux, Historic Mission, p 142, ~~and above p.~~

3 Hence the early practice of preaching in synagogues was not merely expediency, but conformity to this pattern

4 Even during Jesus' ministry, cf Mk 1,28, 1,45, 5,20, etc

5 cf Jeremias, Promise, p 25, and above pp 213 u1

Apert from these objections which, we suggest, are based on rather inadequate grounds, 'k 13,10 and 14,7-9 cannot be evaded
¹Jeremias who thinks that Jesus' work held significance and promise for the nations, but that this involved not a mission to the Gentiles but their ingathering at the End, claims that neither passage gainsays his thesis. Concerning Mk 14¹7-9² he argues that the preaching referred to is angelic proclamation (cf Rev 14,6f) and that the original meaning (which has been re-interpreted by Mark and Matthew) ran thus - 'Amen, I say unto you, when the triumphal news is proclaimed (by God's angel), to all the world, then will her act be remembered (before God), so that he may be gracious to her (at the last judgement)' ²Three objections to this interpretation, however, must be raised

1 Jeremias' interpretation of ²εἰς ἀνῆλθόντες has been strongly criticised by D R Jones ³ even without entirely opposing Jeremias' understanding, it would surely be necessary, with Richardson to remember that ²εἰς ἀνῆλθόντες may contain not merely one meaning but several, and several reminiscences and overtones of different biblical themes and passages ⁴. Hence, Beasley-Murray rightly contends that 'each case must be taken on its merits' ⁵ To restrict

1 Promise, passim

2 Promise, p 22, cf also in Z N W XLIV, 1952-3, pp 103f, Furcharistic words, pp 163f; similarly Lohmeyer, Markus, ad loc

3 in J T.S VI, 1955, pp 183ff

4 Theology, p 368, n 1

5 Mark 13, p 40

εἰς μνημόσυνον here necessarily to a remembrance before God seems hardly justified indeed 'in the absence of any indication here that the reference is to God's remembering the woman, it seems clear that the ordinary meaning should be preferred¹

ii Although τὸ εὐαγγέλιον may reflect early christian vocabulary² this does not necessarily cast doubts upon the authenticity of the passage as a whole which is, in fact, well attested by the introductory formula αμην δὲ λέγω ἑμῖν and by the absence of the woman's name³ The prevailing Markan usage is entirely against Jeremias' interpretation It may well be too, that Rev 14,6 should be understood in terms of angelic powers behind the christian mission, rather than as a single event to occur at the End (Rev 1-14,14 is, after all, concerned with the events of the interim, and 14,6ff appear to have in mind a prolonged activity - cf v 12)

iii Jeremias takes ὅπου ἔσται in a temporal sense and as a single moment, 'when' - (as he says in Mk 14,14) But ὅπου ἔσται whether temporal or local is indefinite (in Mk 14,14 too), and bearing in mind the clause 'ye have the poor always with you' (Mk 14,7)

1 of Cranfield, Mark, p 418

2 of Rawlinson, Mark, p 198, Bultmann, Geschichte, pp 37f, Taylor, Mark, p 529, Klostermann, Markus, p 158, Lagrange, Marc, p 370

3 contrast Bultmann, Geschichte, pp 37f, Loisy, Synoptiques, II, p 497, Klostermann, Markus, p 158

4 of Lagrange, Marc, p 370, Rawlinson, Mark, p 198, Taylor, Mark, p 529

an activity of some duration and amidst the ordinary circumstances of life appears to be envisaged

¹
Kilpatrick thinks there is nothing to show that the object of preaching here (or in Mk 13,10) is any other than the Jewish population of Palestine and the Dispersion. On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that it is so restricted, and the phrase εἰς ἅπαν τὸν κόσμον definitely inclines to the opposite

² meaning ³ Jeremias himself understands this as 'the entire world'

The other passage, Mk 13,10 par is equally disputed. Many

⁴ scholars regard it as unauthentic, partly because its vocabulary

⁵ seems to be distinctly Markan, partly because v 11 follows on

⁶ naturally upon v 9 so that v 10 seems to be an interruption, and partly because v 10 is prosaic whereas vv 9 and 11 are poetic ⁷

However, it is quite possible that the verse expresses in the vocabulary of the church a thought which may well be authentic to

⁸ Jesus and the arrangement can be accounted for in terms of

1 in Studies in the Gospels, pp 145ff

2 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 399

3 τὸν κόσμον in Mk 8,36 (the only other occurrence not counting Mk 6,15 in Mark) obviously means the entire world, as does the prevailing NT usage

4 cf Lohmeyer, Markus, p 272, Blunt, Mark, p 239, Kümmel, Promise, pp 84f, Grässer, Problem, pp 5f, 159ff, Klostermann, Markus, ad loc

5 cf Taylor, Mark, p 507 for the evidence

6 cf Burney, Poetry, pp 118f, Lohmeyer, arkus ad loc

7 But cf Burney, Poetry, pp 118f, followed by Beasley-Murray, Future, pp 198f

8 cf Taylor, Mark, p 508

1
 compilation Many scholars, therefore, regard the verse as most
 2
 probably genuine

3
 Jeremias interprets the saying on similar lines to his under-
 4
 standing of k 14,9, and Kilpatrick follows this interpretation
 However, the same objections apply Witness and suffering are both
 addressed to the disciples as their lot during the interim (there is
 no hint of an angelic activity') Of course, it is true, as Bosch
 writes, 'Das Leiden ist eigentlich des Jüngers Teil und Beitrag,
 die Mission dagegen ist nicht seine Sache, sondern Sache Gottes'
 5
 But - as Bosch goes on to point out - neither is concerned with a
 passive expectation but with an active participation during the
 interim The coming in of the heathen is effected through mission-
 ary preaching by the disciples

Thus, preaching 'to the Gentiles' is placed side by side with
 the other 'signs' of the End as an activity which characterises the
 interim, and gives it the character of 'grace-time' Yet, here,
 especially, we perceive that duality of motifs characteristic of
 Jesus' outlook, for just as mission stamps the interim with the
 6
 character of grace, so this mission, being a necessary preliminary

1 cf Cranfield, Mark, p 399

2 cf Meinertz, Theologie, I, p 64, Schniewind, Markus, ad loc,
 Bosch, Heidenmission, pp 149ff, Cranfield, Mark, p 399, Cullmann,
Time, p 149, Michaelis, Verheissung, pp 19f, Beasley-Murray,
Future, pp 194ff

3 Promise, p 22

4 in Studies in the Gospels, pp 145ff

5 Heidenmission, p 167

6 πρῶτον δεῖ, i.e. a divine necessity Studies in the Gospels
 pp 149f punctuates in a way which separates this πρῶτον δεῖ (with
 εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) from κηρυχθῆναι but (cf Cranfield, Mark, p 398)
 this leaves κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον rather pointless

of the End continually points forward to the End. It is itself only made possible by the grace-motif allowing the End to be withheld, and it is a sign, a testimony that the End is near. The view that missionary preaching is in any way a substitute or compensation for the early expectation of the Parousia¹ is therefore wholly false. The missionary command and its fulfilment form an integral part of Jesus' outlook upon the future and shed light on the manner in which he conceived the Parousia to be imminent. Only the motif of grace withholds that which properly belongs to the complex of eschatological events which ended with the Ascension and Exaltation.

So we find, in Jesus' understanding of the future, the twin themes, eschatology and grace. On the one hand the sure and certain hope that the End, being the revelation of his person and work, the end of all ambiguity and contradiction, must be near, the presence of the Eschaton guarantees the nearness of the manifestation proper to the Eschaton. On the other hand, the conviction that God will allow men 'time for amendment of Life and the grace and comfort of his Holy Spirit'² time, that is, in which to enter freely into the significance of Christ's work, to exercise faith, and hope and love

1 cf Conzelmann, Witte, p 116, Grässer, Problem, pp 199f

2 1928 B C P, alternative form of absolution

Chapter 12 The significance of the New Testament imminent expectation for the life of the church to-day

Jesus' own understanding of the future has been elucidated by an examination of the duality of motifs present in his self-consciousness, a duality which informed also his expectation for the future. The hope of the early church, on the other hand, has been reconstructed by an examination of its assessment of the past (principally its assessment of the person and work of Jesus Christ as the fulfilment of salvation-history), and of the present (principally the working of the Holy Spirit amongst them, interpreted as a foretaste of the End). Despite the differences of approach, the content and significance of the future outlook is, in both cases, entirely similar. For both are founded upon the conviction that the End has - in a hidden manner - come, that its coming in manifest form cannot therefore be far off, though for the moment it is held back in the interests of grace, allowing an opportunity to be given to men to repent and believe.

There is, therefore, no question of abandoning an outmoded hope, no necessity to re-interpret (or demythologise) an expression of the early church's expectation which is now no longer tenable. Much rather, because the essence of the New Testament hope is Christological, it is possible for our hope to be similarly orientated and our assessment of the purposes of the present time similarly informed by that hope. If Jesus, or the early church, had orientated their hope about some delimited expectation, then

we would indeed be forced to revise their hope, to orientate ours differently from theirs, to re-interpret and refashion their hope in order to make it meaningful and relevant to-day. But such, as we have tried to maintain, was not the case. Jesus and the early church as a whole, based their future expectation upon the conviction that the End was in Jesus Christ (though hidden), and that therefore the End in its manifest, unambiguous, universal form could not be far off but they persistently refused to allow the sense of nearness to be turned into a belief that the End would definitely come within a certain number of years. They steadfastly rejected such a delimitation because beside the eschatological motif in the salvation-history they reckoned with the grace motif and realised that the time for repentance and faith could not be limited by men and that the provision of God's mercy could not be measured nor forecast.

In this chapter we propose to allow the undelimited but imminent Parousia hope to illuminate the character of the present and its significance in the total salvation-history pattern. We suggest that four major characteristics of the present, understood as grace-time, should be considered. They are -

1. The present period must be regarded as a time given in order to facilitate repentance and faith. The grace motif of Jesus' life, death and resurrection is entirely 'of a piece' with the provision of the present time before the final, universal, open display of the End. The vicarious nature of Christ's work is

not considered in the New Testament as absolving men from aligning themselves to that work through repentance and faith. The demand for such alignment is inherently bound up in the vicarious work itself, and so the provision of an opportunity wherein such repentance and faith can be effected is as much a part of the 'gospel' - of grace - as the events of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ are 'gospel'. The entire dependence of men for salvation upon the grace of God is not divorced from the response¹ of faith and repentance required of man, and it is the grace-motif which is responsible for providing an opportunity and a time² for this. However, the provision of this opportunity is not altogether 'natural', self-evident or obvious, but actually stands in tension with the eschatological impulse towards the glorious re~~re~~lation proper to the End events. This tension, which - if we may speak in this way - is a divine tension based upon God's purpose both to reveal his rule and also to give men time to respond to it freely, in faith, gives rise to a human tension of a similar nature. The Christian is, on the one hand, thankful for the opportunity to repent and is not over anxious that the occasion should be cut short prematurely (cf e.g. Lk 13,8) yet, on the other hand, being himself caught up in the ambiguity³ of the present, being involved in suffering and endurance.

1 of questions 56, 86 and 87 of the Heidelberg Catechism

2 cf Eph 2,8. The entire matter, even faith itself, is subsumed under the concept of grace

3 cf Mk 13,9; Rev 5,10f, etc

the Christian hopes and prays for the End to come speedily (cf I Cor 16,22, Rev 22,20) Hence the provision of time (cf Mk 13, 10) to repent and believe stands side by side with the shortening of the time (Mk 13,20) for the sake of the elect The New Testament is clear that the present ('now' ¹) is the opportunity which men have to repent and believe ², and that the End delays only for this purpose - and not indefinitely It is man's final chance It is man's final chance, because the End is held back, God is patient and wills to give men⁴ time for repentance and faith and obedience it is man's final chance, for the End delays not naturally, not indefinitely, not unintelligibly, but solely because it is held back by God's mercy, all the while remaining near, ready to arrive, belonging to the complex of events broken off at the Ascension, belonging as the revelation of that which has already occurred in Christ in lowliness and hiddenness

2 Because the present grace-time spells the opportunity for men to repent and believe, the present is also to be seen as the era of the church ³ of those called to repentance and faith and obedience who hear the call and, more or less, here and there, attempt to understand and respond to it We have already suggested ³ reasons for thinking that in all probability Jesus envisaged that 'his mission and message should be enshrined and

1 cf Stählin, in T W N T IV, pp 110ff

2 cf Mk 1,15, Acts 3,20, Lk 13,6-9 (cf Michaelis, Gleichnisse, p 98, who thinks this parable referred originally not simply to Jews but to all men)

3 above, chapter 7, pp 136ff

mediated in a community living under his allegiance' ¹ This community has a two-fold purpose In the first place it is the community in which Jesus Christ is recognised and openly acknowledged ² In the second place, it is the community through which Jesus Christ is proclaimed to 'those outside', and so through which his gracious ministry is continued Thus the church is the eschatological community partaking in the blessings of the End through its relationship with Christ It is also the community specially established to further the purposes of grace by participating in furthering the occasion of repentance and faith through constant witness Both aspects are present in embryo in the choosing of the Twelve (Mk 3,13f ,par) 'that they might be with him' (sharing in the eschatological nature of his person and work, anticipating the End through union with him), and 'that he might send them forth' (participating in his ministry by preaching and calling forth repentance and faith) In both respects, the church's character and purpose are parallel to her Lord's who himself was 'sent' by God ³

3 Following from this, the present grace-time can be designated the time of the Christian mission 'The time of Jesus'

1 Turner, Jesus, Master and Lord, p 262

2 cf Cullmann, Early Church, pp 105ff , Time, pp 185f

3 This idea, not prominent in the Synoptics (cf Mk 1,38, 12,6) is emphasised by the Fourth Gospel - cf Jn 3,17,24 5,36,38 6,29,57 7,29 8,22 10,36 11,42 17,3,8,18,21,23,25 $\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$ and 4,34 5,23f,30,37 6,38f,44 7,16,17,28,33 8,16,18,26,29 9,4 12,44f,49 13,20 14,24 15,21 16,5 $\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\omega$ cf Rengstorff in T W N T I, pp 397ff , Barrett, John, pp 403f

life on earth and of his presence in the Spirit is the time of grace, for it is the time of the proclamation of the Word'¹ The mission of the church is already prefigured in the short preaching tour which the Twelve undertook during the earthly ministry of Jesus (Mk 6,7ff par , cf also Lk 10,1ff) and is continued in his absence - though in this mission his hidden presence is assured² The mission is paramount in the church's life, persecution must not hinder the progress of mission - indeed, it is anticipated that the mission will be costly³ The mission is especially to the fore in the Epistles⁴ and it is evident that Paul himself was entirely dedicated to the service and progress of the gospel⁵ The variety of the gifts which Christians possess he subsumes under the overall purpose of edifying - particularly edifying the unbeliever (cf I Cor 14,23ff)

Of course, according to the New Testament, witness is not exhausted by the idea of preaching Nor is repentance and faith simply regarded as confession of faith if this is understood as an

1 Holwerda, Spirit, p 84

2 cf Mtt 28,20 Jn 15,26-27 (Mk 16,20)

3 The interim period is characterised by distress and persecution under which witness is to be carried out This includes domestic distress (cf Lk 14,26 Mk 13,12), cosmic distress (cf Mk 13,8 Rev 6,5-6), and political distress (cf Mk 13,8 par) In point of fact, the Christian mission has apparently progressed mainly under the utmost persecution (cf e g K S Latourette, The Unquenchable Light)

4 cf Rom 11,25 15,19ff I Cor 1,18ff 9,13,23 II Cor 3,6 4,3f 5,18f 6,2-3 9,13 10,16 Gal 1,6ff Phil 1,12ff etc

5 cf esp I Cor 9,23 and 9,13

intellectual conviction orally expressed The witness which the New Testament demands in the present includes the whole field of Christian ethics 'Not one of us is only a Christian, we are all also a bit of the world And so we are necessarily also concerned with worldly attitudes, with translations of our responsibility into this realm For the Confession of Faith claims to be fulfilled in its application to the life we all live, to the problems of our actual existence in the theoretical and practical questions of our everyday life ¹ Mk 14,7ff speaks of a ministry to the poor which obviously includes the alleviation of need such as the price of the ointment would have furthered ² In the authority which Jesus gives his disciples (Mk 6,7ff) to 'cast out unclean spirits' it is made apparent that the physical needs of men (in all their variety) must also be the concern of those who preach 'that men should repent' As Mtt 25,31-46 makes evident, such ministration to those in need is regarded as ministry to Christ himself (even where it is not recognised by the doer as such ³) A definite ministry to society at large seems to be envisaged in the expression (Mtt 5,13 par) 'ye are the salt of the earth' perhaps Mk 9,50 is a fundamentally different saying

1 Barth, Dogmatics in Outline, p 32

2 One wonders whether in the phrase ³ τοῖς πτωχοῖς in Mk 14,7 there might be an allusion to preaching the gospel to the poor? cf Is 61,1-2 (Lk 4,18 par 7,22 par) Whereas v 5 uses the verb δοῦναι , v 7 does not speak of giving, but of doing good

3 Some wish to understand 'brethren' as only needy Christians, but this seems unlikely, 'for, while all the individuals denoted by "all the nations" (whichever sense we give it) would be sure to have had some opportunity to succour a fellow man in need, it

from Mtt 5,13 but its meaning is very similar if the clue to its interpretation is the salting of sacrifices¹ whilst Mark sees the effect of 'salting' in individualistic terms, Matthew thinks of the entire Christian community as the necessary salt apart from which the entire world is unacceptable to God (cf Mtt 5,14)

This entire ministry to the world is a part of the church's witness to the world, being a confession of its allegiance to Jesus Christ. The tension between eschatology and grace, between already accomplished and not yet revealed, between longing for the End and thankfulness for its delay, is nowhere more apparent than in this sphere of Christian faith and witness. For ethics, Christian ethics, are at the same time an aspect of faith, an aspect of the purpose for which this grace-time is given us, and also an aspect of the End, a participation already in the blessing of the End. Christian ethics are at once a testimony to the world of the world's failure and condemnation and at the same time an assertion that God has reconciled the world to himself and that men can enter into the service of God. Christian ethics, made possible by the delay of the End (and so by grace) spring from participation in the End, from thankfulness to God for his work in

is obvious that they certainly could not all be assumed to have had a chance to succour a needy Christian', Cranfield, 'Diakonia', in L @ H R CLXXXVI, 1961, p 276

1 Though, perhaps, the reference is to the ordinary domestic use of salt

1

Jesus Christ (and so are eschatological) The constant tension in Christian ethics, between a tendency towards world affirmation (the desire to anticipate the time when the adversary the devil no longer goes about as a roaring lion'), and the tendency towards world denial (the desire to opt out of the struggle against evil by not coming into contact with it') testifies to the twofold character of the present as an eschatological period (the world is reconciled - Col 1,20 II Cor 5,19, etc) and as a grace-time prior to the End manifestation (the world still awaits its 'deliverance' - Rom 8,18f) The same twofold character of the present time is also emphasised by the fact that Christian ethics are imposed as a free response They are demanded as part of the response of faith, to be undertaken responsibly and urgently, and with utter obedience and yet they spring from thankfulness, and are entered into with joy and confidence In this sphere of Christian ethics, the eschatological situation of the present

1 So the Heidelberg Catechism's third section (in which good works are discussed) is entitled 'Of Thankfulness' Calvin, in grounding ethics at least partially on a general law of God rather than upon a specifically Christological foundation, emphasises this character of ethics less, but cf Book III of the Institutes The responsive character of ethics is brought out by Luther (cf e g his comments on Gal 4,8ff) The Westminster Confession is similarly orientated (cf Ch XVI 'Of good works') And the Scottish Confession of 1560 asserts, 'So that the cause of gude warkis, we confess to be not our free wil, bot the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, who dwelling in our hearts be trewe faith, bringis furth sik warkis as God has prepared for us to walke in and thir thingis they do, not be their awin power, bot be the power of the Lord Jesus, without whom they were able to do nothing' (taken from Barth, Knowledge of God and Service of God, Gifford Lectures for 1937-8, pp 113f Barth's text is based on Sir John Skene's Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 1424-1597)

grace-time can be discerned in all its complexity, our understanding of the situation brought about by the advent of the End in Christ, its advent in hiddenness and the holding back of its advent in openness, makes sense of Christian ethics and of the tension within faith and obedience and releases the disciple for obedience both with joyfulness and with serious urgency Now is the time for Christian ethics, yet not with anxiety and distress as though all depended on our own good works, but from thankfulness and joy because the world is reconciled yet not without seriousness and urgency as though we had all the time in the world, but with the utmost urgency since this opportunity to express our faith and make our witness to the world is dependent entirely on grace and on the withholding of the End

4 The present grace-period is the era of the Holy Spirit In one sense the Spirit stamps the present as the eschatological time of the End He is the real presence of Christ with his church¹ In Acts 2,16f Peter asserts that Pentecost has fulfilled the prophecy of Joel 2,28-32, thus characterising the present as 'the last days'² The same concept is contained in the choice of the two terms used to define the Spirit's presence ἐν πνεύματι and ἐν χάριτι³ Both testify to the real anticipation

1 cf esp Mtt 28,20 Jn 14,17-28

2 Clearly that did not mean that he thought that the End had occurred in its final, open form Joel 2,31 speaks of that which will occur 'before the great and terrible day of the Lord come'

3 cf the discussion above, chapter 90, pp 245ff

of the End, and also encourage a straining forward to the final¹ manifestation of the End in its unambiguous form

In another sense the Spirit stamps the present as the grace period in which men^{are} given occasion to repent and believe For it is the Spirit who^x sustains the mission of the church - indeed He inaugurated it² The Spirit mediates the presence of Christ³ to the believing community speaking to the community of Christ⁴ He also mediates Christ through the community to those outside He not only guides the witnessing but leads the geographical progress of the gospel⁵ As Barth writes, ' there is a dominion of the Holy Spirit It corresponds to the dominion of Christ, between his resurrection and return Christ's resurrection, in a sense, might have been the end Does it not declare the end of this world and the beginning of the Kingdom of God? But God did not will it, so He inserted between the resurrection and the Kingdom

1 cf e g Rom 8,23 where the *ἀναρχία* of the Spirit is spoken of in connection with the Christian 'groaning', waiting for the adoption, the redemption of our body or II Cor 1,22, which speaks of the *σφραγισμός* of the Spirit in connection with being sealed (*σφραγισμένοι*) by God - clearly a reference to the yet future redemption which the Christian awaits (cf v 10)

2 To be sure the mission is commanded by Christ (cf our discussion above, chapter 11, pp 300f) and is at least prefigured in the preaching tour of the Twelve But it is the Spirit who actually sets the mission in motion Of Jn 16,7 Barrett writes, 'The thought is identical with that of 7,39, the coming of the Spirit waits upon the glorifying of Jesus The Spirit is the agent of the creation of the Church and the salvation of the world, in this sense the coming of the Spirit depends upon the completion of the work of Christ' (John, ad loc)

3 cf Jn 14,26 15,26-27 16,13ff I Cor 12,3 Eph 2,18 etc

4 cf Mk 13,11 par Jn 15,26-27 16,7f Acts 5,32

5 cf Acts 13,2 16,6f 21,11 (also 10,44f 11,18)

of God? the Dominion of Christ, the dominion of the Holy Spirit
 We may still repent, we may still live on, at once facing toward
 resurrection and return, during these final times which make God's
 mercy and his patience manifest to us'¹

Thus the present time is a time of grace, made possible by
 the patience (*μετὰ ὑμᾶς* ²) of God in withholding the End
 it is a time for repentance and faith, the time of the church and
 of the church's mission the time of the Holy Spirit And whilst
 these features testify to the grace-character of the present,
 they also testify to its eschatological nature, being signs that
 the present is grace-time, is 'the last days', and that the End is
 at hand The grace-time, though not temporally delimited, is not
 unending the End waits to break in

Two important corollaries follow from this understanding of
 the character of the present and the nearness of the End Though
 the present is not unending, it is not within our knowledge nor
 is it our prerogative to delimit the present time and specify how
 much time yet remains Throughout the Christian era there have
 been those who have thought to reconstruct from the contemporary
 political, cosmic or domestic situation, a programme whereby the
 further duration of the interim could be estimated if not exactly
 defined This occurs particularly (and understandably easily')

1 Barth, The Faith of the Church, pp 111f

2 cf II Pet 3,9,15 Interestingly the B F B S New Testament
 has a marginal reference from Lk 13,8 to II Pet 3,9,15

where a sense of the urgency of the church's missionary task is perceived. It would serve no purpose here to describe exhaustively the number of occasions on which this has happened, but it may illustrate how easily men have fallen into the error if we select¹ instances through the history of the church.

Already in II Thessalonians 2 we meet with some who, because of misunderstanding of Paul's preaching, sought to anticipate the End, and because of their belief in its proximity (if not its actual presence) apparently ceased working altogether (cf 3,10f)

Montanism is an example. The Montanists maintained that 'as the dispensation of the Father had given place to the dispensation of the Son when Christ came to earth, so now the dispensation of² the Son had given place to the dispensation of the Spirit'

The coming of the Spirit marked for Montanus the immediate heralding of the Parousia and the establishment of the New Jerusalem in Phrygia itself. An ethic of world-denial and an enthusiastic anticipation of the 'imminent end' followed. As Greenslade remarks, its 'enthusiasm was not purely and specifically Christian, it smacked of the fanaticism of those Asiatic cults of which Montanus had once been a priest, a fanaticism which the English bishops of the eighteenth century found in Methodist enthusiasm'³ Undoubtedly Montanus failed to see that the 'sign' of the Spirit stamped

1 For another historical survey cf Glasson, Appearing, pp 43ff

2 F F Bruce, The Growing Day, p 87

3 Schism in the Early Church, p 109

the present not only as an eschatological time but also as grace
¹
 time

An example from the time of the Reformation is Luther himself. Torrance writes that, 'Luther's attempt to relate eschatology to the actual course of history was strangely confused the fact is that on the one hand Luther was powerfully influenced by the popular apocalyptic literature in which the later Middle Ages abounded, -- and yet, on the other hand, his training in scholastic philosophy and theology had so indoctrinated him with a conception of eternity as "totum simul", "alles auf einmal" or "all in one heap", as he put it in the commentary on Peter and Jude, that he found it extremely difficult to think of duration or time ~~in the Kingdom of God~~. As early as 1530 Luther was so convinced that the end was about to break in with catastrophic swiftness that he resolved to publish his translation of the book of Daniel right away in order that it might do its work before the mighty and terrible day of the Lord. In 1530 Luther wrote, "the world runs and hastens so diligently to its end that it often occurs to me forcibly that the last day will break before we can completely turn the Holy Scriptures into German" ² Although Luther was scornful of attempts to date the End ³ he himself was guilty of

¹ cf Cullmann, 'Early Christianity and Civilisation', originally in Verbum Caro V (Nos 17-20), 1951, now in English in Early Church, pp 207ff

² Kingdom and Church, p 19

³ 'In 1533, Luther had to deal severely with Michel Stifel for calculating that the world would end at 8 0 a m on 19th October 1533', Torrance, Kingdom and Church, p 20

trying to delimit the End To quote Torrance again 'That fervid eschatological expectation kept up its force until Luther's death, but it became more and more calculating In 1541 he published a book called Supputatio annorum mundi, which he re-issued in an enlarged edition in 1545 In it he calculated in old Patristic style, finding that the year AD 1540 corresponded to the year 5500 after creation There were still five hundred years to go before the eternal Sabbath, but the Lord had promised to shorten the time for the sake of the elect, and as the Lord Himself did not stay the full three days and nights in the grave, the day of the Church's resurrection would be hurried on There might be no more than a hundred years to go'¹

In the early part of the nineteenth century, millenarianism, with a strong belief that Christ's Advent was about to dawn, spread in Evangelical circles, chiefly owing to the books by Hatle Frere² and Lewis Way³ Both maintained 'that the view which had prevailed since the time of Augustine, that the Second Coming of Christ would be at the end of the world, was contrary to Scripture, and that the earlier view of the second and third centuries was the true one, that Christ would return and reign on earth for a thousand years'⁴ The result was a growth in

1 Kingdom and Church, p 21

2 A combined view of the prophecies of Daniel, Esdras and St John, 1815

3 Thoughts on the Scriptural Expectations of the Christian Church, 1823

4 G R Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party, p 137

the expectation that Christ was about to return, and whilst some found in this a motive for increased activity, others were 'afloat on prophesying, and the immediate work of the Lord is disregarded¹ for the uncertain future'

An example from the present day may serve to complete the sketch. It is chiefly amongst the smaller sects that Christ's return is calculated, and a notable case is Seventh-Day Adventism. Right at its inception, the founder William Miller 'as a result of his original studies in the Scriptures became convinced that the end of the world would come on 10th December, 1843. His enthusiasm was such that he gathered tens of thousands of followers who watched in vain for the expected Advent of Christ. Nothing daunted he essayed another prophecy, and, blaming an error in² mathematics for the fiasco, advanced the date by a year'

It is an easy and subtle step from the assertion that Christ's return is 'near' to declaring that it will come at a definite date. Yet it is instructive to notice how - at least in the examples we have cited - non-New Testament factors have helped to achieve what we maintain is essentially a non-New Testament standpoint. Thus, in the case of Monaxtanism, Phrygia (and Asia Minor as a whole) was noted for its enthusiastic cults. In Luther^(s) case, as Torrance pointed out, the influence of popular apocalypticism was strong upon him. The 19th century example was strongly influenced

1 Quoted by Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party, p 137 from E Bickersteth's Memoir, Vol II, p 43

2 J O Sanders and J Stafford Wright, in a pamphlet, Some Modern Religions, p 16

(as one of the titles of the important publications makes clear) by the apocalypticism of Daniel and Esdras Seventh-Day Adventism derives much of its encouragement from the fact that the 'institutional' churches do not (generally speaking) hold, or manifest an awareness of, the idea of the nearness of the End in any sense, and its own calculating tendency is, in part, a revolt against indifference

However, the transition, though subtle and easy, is fundamental 'Die Zeichen der Zeit, auf die zu achten Jesus uns ausdrücklich auffordert, zeigen unmissverständlich an, dass "das Feld weiss geworden ist zur Ernte", dass das "Ende dieser Weltzeit" bevorsteht, ' and yet, 'Es ist selbstverständlich völlig wertlos und verkehrt, darüber zu streiten, -wie "nahe" Jesu Wiederkunft ist ' ¹ Recognition of the character of the present time should make us aware of the nearness of the End, held back in the interests of grace, but should not lead us to suppose that we can, or ought to, delimit the date of the End

That is the first corollary which follows from what we have said about the nearness of the End The other is this that the church is required to recognise that its task in this present interim period must be pursued with intense urgency, 'whilst it is yet to-day' ² Though we cannot say that the End will certainly come to-morrow, or next year, its nearness should drive the church

1 Hermann Leitz, Die christliche Hoffnung und die letzten Dinge, pp 94 and 149

2 cf Westcott, Hebrews, ad loc , Barth, C D III/2, pp 468ff

to serious, responsible and urgent obedience to its tasks. The provision of a grace-time is not to be taken for granted as self-evident or 'natural'. Self-evident and natural it certainly is not, for Jesus' 'life, death, resurrection and Parousia belong together as parts of an indivisible whole, as moments in the great and all-decisive movement of God to man now breaking into the world'.¹ The present opportunity for repentance and faith and obedience is the time of God's patience, this merciful provision must not be allowed to blind us to the urgent necessity imposed upon us but should rather undergird that sense of urgency. Nevertheless, this sense of urgency must not become an anxious matter, as though the End's coming were dependent not on God's mercy but on our faithfulness in performing our task. To be sure, the church must witness with zeal. 'Within the time of God's patience, she announces the grace and judgement accomplished in Jesus Christ, which on his return will be revealed in glory and in public'.² But the coming of the End is not withheld on account of the church's zeal or lack of it, but on account of the patience of God.³

We suggest that where the person and work of Jesus Christ is evaluated in terms of eschatology and grace, there too the present time will be recognised both as eschatological and the provision of grace. The End will be regarded indeed as near, as ready to break

1 Camfield, 'Man in his Time', in S J T III, 1950, p 133, cf Cranfield, in Essays in Christology, pp 89ff

2 Barth, The Faith of the Church, p 118

3 cf Cullmann, 'Eschatologie und Mission', in E M 1941, pp 98ff

in at any moment, as held back only by the merciful patience of God who wills that men should repent whilst there is time but the End's coming will not be delimited, either by our calculations or by our imagining that its coming is determined by our success in witnessing It is for God only to decide (Mk 13,32)

'As practical men the first witnesses attach particular importance to the present period of history, the time of the Church On the one hand the new world has already appeared in Christ in the global and unique event of his death and resurrection In principle the general resurrection and the new creation should break forth without delay That is why the disciples, faithful to the hope of the Jews and of John the Baptist ask Jesus "Dost thou now set up the Kingdom of Israel?" Then Jesus tells them something extraordinary the history of the world, essentially terminated, will continue with its ups and downs Why It is for God only to appoint times and hours, but you will receive the Holy Ghost and will be my witnesses If history is prolonged the reason is that God wills to save Israel and the nations of the whole earth The only reason for the continued existence of history is to enable the Gospel to reach the last of mankind ' ¹

1 Preiss, Life in Christ, p 71

Periodicals cited, with abbreviations used

A T R	Anglican Theological Review
B J R L	Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library
Ecumenical Review	
E M	Evangelisches Missionsmagazin
E T	Expository Times
Ev T	Evangelische Theologie
H J	Hibbert Journal
H T R	Harvard Theological Review
Interpretation	
J B L	Journal of Biblical Literature
J R	Journal of Religion
J T S	Journal of Theological Studies
J E H	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
K r S	Kirchenblatt für die reformierten Schweiz
L Q H R	London Quarterly and Holborn Review
N R T	Nouvelle Revue de theologie
N T	Novum Testamentum
N T S	New Testament Studies
R B	Revue Biblique
R H P R	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses
R S R	Recherches de Science Religieuse
Scripture	
S J T	Scottish Journal of Theology

S T	Studia Theologica
S T U	Schweizerische theologische Umschau
T B	Theologische Blätter
Theology	
T L	Theologische Literaturzeitung
T Q	Theologische Quartalschrift
T R	Theologische Rundschau
T T	Theology To-day
T Z	Theologische Zeitschrift
U S Q R	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
Verbum Caro	
V F	Verkündigung und Forschung
V s.P	Verhandlungen des schweizerischen Pfarrvereins
Z A W	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
Z N W	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
Z s T	Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie
Z T K	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
Zwischen den Zeiten	

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