

ANDERS E. NIELSEN

Until it is Fulfilled

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

126

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

126



Anders E. Nielsen

Until it is Fulfilled

Lukan Eschatology
According to Luke 22 and Acts 20

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This book is a slightly revised version of the manuscript which in the autumn of 1997 was accepted as “Habilitationsschrift” at Aarhus University and publicly defended there in March 1998 for the degree of Doctor of Theology. In addition to making the necessary formal revision the defence has enabled me to undertake minor alterations in my application of the direct method employed in chapters 3–4. I have taken the opportunity to include relevant works of more recent date, though without making significant changes to the argument advanced.

The theme, limits and method of the book owe much to a characteristic side of the scholarship of Professor Lars Hartman (Uppsala). In Scandinavia Professor Hartman has long been a champion of a text-oriented version of what could be called rhetorical exegesis with a linguistic approach. This method has been developed from American scholarship of the 1960s which drew on the work of Amos N. Wilder, who already by the late 1930s was arguing for a renewal of the exegetical method in the interpretation of apocalyptic-eschatological texts. It offered a new perspective on the problems of eschatology, not least on its role in the Lukan writings, long dominated by the German redaction-critical school, and in particular on Hans Conzelmann’s study of Lukan eschatology from 1954. It is this new perspective that the present study embraces as the first major attempt to present Lukan eschatology through rhetorical exegesis, while simultaneously being the first study of Lukan eschatology with the main emphasis on the farewell addresses in Luke 22 and Acts 20. Its purpose is thus to contribute to a more nuanced discussion of eschatological thematics in New Testament theology in general and Lukan theology in particular.

I owe a debt of thanks for wisdom and advice to Professor Hartman, who has been my invaluable interlocutor throughout. My thanks also go to Professor David Hellholm (Oslo), Professor Mogens Müller (Copenhagen) and Associate Professor Helge Kjær Nielsen (Aarhus) for their constructive comments, and to colleagues at the Department of Theology, University of Aarhus for unremitting support. I am most grateful to the Danish Research Agency for the financial grant that enabled the translation to be made, to Edward Broadbridge for rendering into English the substance and spirit of the original, and to Jes Arbov for preparing the manuscript technically. Last but not least I should like to thank

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January 2000
Ringe, Denmark

Anders Eyvind Nielsen

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Abbreviations

1. The list of conventional abbreviations follows the system in *Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete* [= IZBG], Vol. 37 1990–1991, (ed.) B.Lang / M.Magers / P.Osterfeld, Düsseldorf 1992, vii–xiv; in addition the following abbreviations are used:

<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>The Expository Times</i>
<i>Fson</i>	<i>Forum Sonoma</i>
<i>LingDid</i>	<i>Linguistik und Didaktik</i>
<i>NTTijd</i>	<i>Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift</i>
<i>PB</i>	<i>Præsteforeningens Blad, Danmark</i>
<i>PIBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Associations</i>
<i>TG</i>	<i>Theologie der Gegenwart</i>
<i>Wor</i>	<i>Worship</i>

2. Abbreviations of Encyclopedias, Reference Books and Texts

<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>GDB</i>	<i>Gads Danske Bibelleksikon</i>
<i>G-EL</i>	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Compiled by H.G.Liddell / R. Scott)
<i>G-ELNT</i>	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (Bauer's 5th ed, revised and edited by F.W. Gingrich/F.W. Danley ² 1979)
<i>OT</i>	<i>The Old Testament</i>
<i>LXX</i>	<i>Septuaginta</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Masoretic Text</i>
<i>NT</i>	<i>The New Testament</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiæ Graecæ</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft)
<i>Str.–Bill.</i>	<i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> (von H.L.Strack / P.Billerbeck; Vol. IV.2 ⁶ 1972)

<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>

3. Abbreviations of monographs and commentary series listed in the Bibliography, p. 287ff.

<i>AASF</i>	<i>Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae</i>
<i>ABSer</i>	<i>Alta Bibliography Series</i>
<i>AcJut.TSer</i>	<i>Acta Jutlandica. Teologisk serie.</i>
<i>AcTD</i>	<i>Acta Theologica Danica</i>
<i>AcUU.HR</i>	<i>Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Historia Religionum</i>
<i>AGAJU</i>	<i>Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums</i>
<i>AGSU</i>	<i>Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums</i>
<i>AnBib</i>	<i>Analecta Biblica</i>
<i>Anchor</i>	<i>The Anchor Bible</i>
<i>ANTJ</i>	<i>Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum</i>
<i>AthANT</i>	<i>Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments</i>
<i>BBB</i>	<i>Bonner Biblische Beiträge</i>
<i>BECNT</i>	<i>Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament</i>
<i>BETL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium</i>
<i>BEvTh</i>	<i>Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie</i>
<i>BFCTh</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie</i>
<i>BHTh</i>	<i>Beiträge zur historischen Theologie</i>
<i>BS</i>	<i>Biblische Studien</i>
<i>BSGRT</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana</i>
<i>BSNM</i>	<i>Biblical Scholarship in North America</i>
<i>BU</i>	<i>Biblische Untersuchungen</i>
<i>BWANT.SF</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament. Sechste Folge</i>
<i>CB.NTSer</i>	<i>Coniectanea Biblica. New Testament Series</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Calwer Hefte zur Förderung biblischen Glaubens und christlichen Lebens</i>
<i>CRINT</i>	<i>Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>CSP</i>	<i>Colectánea San Paciano</i>

<i>CUF.Budé</i>	<i>Collection des universités de France publiées sous le Patronage de l'association G.Budé</i>
<i>DBSK</i>	<i>Det Danske Bibelselskabs Kommentarserie</i>
<i>EAC</i>	<i>Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique</i>
<i>EHS.Th</i>	<i>Europäische Hochschulschriften. Theologie</i>
<i>EKK</i>	<i>Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>EKK.V</i>	<i>Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Vorarbeiten</i>
<i>ENT</i>	<i>Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ErF</i>	<i>Erträge der Forschung</i>
<i>EthS</i>	<i>Erfurter theologische Studien</i>
<i>FRLANT.NF/H</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Neue Folge/Heft</i>
<i>FThS</i>	<i>Frankfurter theologische Studien</i>
<i>FzB</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Bibel</i>
<i>GThA</i>	<i>Göttinger theologische Arbeiten</i>
<i>HDR</i>	<i>Havard Dissertations in Religion</i>
<i>HE</i>	<i>Hermes Einzelschriften</i>
<i>HNT</i>	<i>Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>HthK</i>	<i>Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Havard Theological Studies</i>
<i>HUTH</i>	<i>Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie</i>
<i>ICC</i>	<i>The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments</i>
<i>JSNT.S</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSPs.S</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series</i>
<i>KEK</i>	<i>Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament</i>
<i>LecDiv</i>	<i>Lectio Divina</i>
<i>NEBi</i>	<i>Die Neue Echter-Bibel</i>
<i>NGTC</i>	<i>New International Greek Testament Commentary</i>
<i>NICNT</i>	<i>The New International Commentary on the New Testament</i>
<i>NTA</i>	<i>Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen</i>
<i>NTD</i>	<i>Das Neue Testament Deutsch</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NT.S</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum. Supplements</i>
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
<i>OclasT</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Texts</i>

<i>OECT</i>	<i>Oxford Early Christian Texts</i>
<i>ÖBS</i>	<i>Österreichische biblische Studien</i>
<i>ÖTNT</i>	<i>Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>PFES</i>	<i>Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society</i>
<i>PHK.NF</i>	<i>Philologisch-historische Klasse. Neue Folge</i>
<i>PSPK</i>	<i>Paderborner Schriften zur Pädagogik und Katechetik</i>
<i>PT</i>	<i>Papiere zur Textlinguistik</i>
<i>PThMSer</i>	<i>Princeton Theological Monograph Series</i>
<i>PVTG</i>	<i>Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece</i>
<i>RNT</i>	<i>Regensburger Neues Testament</i>
<i>RTT</i>	<i>Research in Text Theory</i>
<i>SBB</i>	<i>Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge</i>
<i>SBL.DSer/MSer</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature. Dissertation Series/Monograph Series</i>
<i>SBS</i>	<i>Stuttgarter Bibelstudien</i>
<i>SBT</i>	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
<i>SClasBO</i>	<i>Scriptorium Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis</i>
<i>SCS</i>	<i>Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
<i>Semeia.MSer</i>	<i>Semeia. Manuscript Series</i>
<i>SEÅ.S</i>	<i>Symbolae Biblica Upsaliensis. Supplementhäften till Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</i>
<i>SFEG</i>	<i>Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>SNT</i>	<i>Studien zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>SNTS.MSer</i>	<i>Society of New Testament Studies. Monograph Series</i>
<i>SNTU</i>	<i>Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt</i>
<i>SPSer</i>	<i>Sacra Pagina Series</i>
<i>STW</i>	<i>Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft</i>
<i>SUNT</i>	<i>Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments</i>
<i>SVTP</i>	<i>Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>TANZ</i>	<i>Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter</i>
<i>ThB</i>	<i>Theologische Bücherei</i>
<i>ThHK</i>	<i>Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>TNTC</i>	<i>The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Teologiske Studier</i>
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i>
<i>UTB</i>	<i>Uni-Taschenbücher</i>
<i>VWAS</i>	<i>Volume in the Wilson Authors Series</i>

<i>WdF</i>	<i>Wege der Forschung</i>
<i>WMANT</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</i>
<i>WUNT</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ZBK</i>	<i>Zürcher Bibelkommentar</i>
<i>Zet.M</i>	<i>Zetemata. Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW.B</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche. Beiheft</i>
<i>ZS.NT</i>	<i>Zacchaeus Studies. New Testament</i>

4. Secondary literature in the Notes is listed according to the following principle: Titles of monographs and articles (in periodicals, anthologies and encyclopedias) are listed in relatively full form when the source is mentioned for the first time in a chapter, e.g. Aejmelaeus, *Die Rezeption der Paulusbriefe in der Miletrede (Apg 20:18–35)* (1987) 107–121; Kurz, “Luke 22:14–38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Farewell Addresses” *JBL* 104 (1985) 251–268; Barrett, “Paul’s Address to the Ephesian Elders” (1977) 107–121.

When the source is repeated in the same chapter:

Aejmelaeus, *Miletrede* 107–106; Kurz, Greco-Roman 251–255; Barrett, Paul’s Address 107–108.

In references to text editions, works referred to [except references to articles in *G-ELNT*; *TDNT* and *TDOT*] and works of reference the author’s name is placed in following brackets to denote that the work is listed in the first two main sections of the Bibliography (pp. 287–288), e.g. “4 Maccabees” (trans., Anderson, 1985) 533–537, and *Greek and Latin Authors 800 B.C. – A.D. 100* (ed., Grant, 1980) 25–30.

5. The following edition of the New Testament text has been used: Nestle / Aland’s *Novum Testamentum Graece*, (K. Aland eds. et alii), Stuttgart ²⁷1993.

6. The translation of the ancient texts is the author’s own unless otherwise indicated.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Presenting the Problem

The purpose in using for the title of this study a brief quotation from a lengthy address during Jesus' final meal with his disciples (Luke 22,14–38) at the last Passover (ἔως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, v.16b), is that it serves as a new approach to a problem both old and yet still controversial. As will be seen, the innovation lies in the fact that eschatology is not discussed primarily on the basis of texts with a marked apocalyptic-eschatological content, such as the so-called parousia parables¹ and “apocalyptic” speeches². Nor is the line of approach conditioned by thematic or theological exegesis, for example with a redaction-critical stamp³.

Rather, the initiating motive for the study is the question of whether the farewell addresses – primarily the one already referred to and Paul's farewell to the elders at Miletus (Acts 20,18–35) – can be instructive for our view of eschatology in Luke⁴. The procedure involves taking a critical attitude to the concept of

¹ From “Q” in Luke 3,9.17; 10,9.11; 12,39f.; 12,35–38.41–46; 17,26–30; 19,12–27; from Markan material: i.e. 21,25–33 par Mark 13,24–32 and from special material: 18,1–8. See G.Schneider, *Parusiegleichnisse im Lukasevangelium* (1975).

² Luke 17,20–37 as in Noack, *Das Gottesreich bei Lukas* (1948), and Luke 17,20–37 and 21,5–36 as in Zmijewski, *Die Eschatologiereden des Lukas-Evangeliums* (1972); Geiger, *Die lukanischen Endzeitreden: Studien zur Eschatologie des Lukas-Evangeliums* (2nd 1976); Keck, *Die öffentliche Abschiedsrede Jesu in Lk 20,45–21,36* (1976) and Dupont, *Les trois apocalypses synoptiques* (1985) 99–144.

³ As in Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit* (6th 1977); Grässer, *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung* (1957); Bartsch, *Wachet aber zu jeder Zeit* (1963); Mattill, *Luke and the Last Things* (1979); Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke* (1982) 100–157; Baarlink, *Die Eschatologie der synoptischen Evangelien* (1986) 122–178; Martin, *Eschatology, History and Mission in the Social Experience of Lucan Christians* (1986) and Carroll, *Response to the End of History* (1988) – the two last-mentioned approach Luke-Acts from a socio-historical angle.

⁴ I employ the author signifier ‘Luke’ in accordance with current consensus, i.e. Luke as pagan Christian writer (not necessarily identical with the Luke mentioned in Philem. 24; Col. 4,14), who

eschatology, to which I shall later return. Already here, however, the question is relevant: why include the farewell addresses⁵ in a discussion of Lukan eschatology? The fact that this has not previously been attempted, at least in any detail, is not for methodological reasons alone⁶. In my view it is also due to the concept of

has written Luke-Acts as a continuous work between the year 70 and 90. Hengel / Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch* (1997) 7, suggests between 75 and 85. For the unsolved questions of an isagogic nature see Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (²¹1983) 119–120.153–154; Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (1989) 19–22.

⁵ See in general and in selection, (a) reference works: Stauffer, “Abschiedsrede” *RAC* I (1950) 29–25; Ronconi, “Exitus illustrium virorum” *RAC* VI (1966) 1258–1267; (b) articles in periodicals/anthologies: Munck, “Discours d’adieu dans le Nouveau Testament et dans la littérature biblique” (1950) 155–170; Kurz, “Luke 22:14–38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Farewell Addresses” *JBL* 104 (1985) 251–268; J.J.Collins, “The Testamentary Literature in Recent Scholarship” (1986) 268–286; (c) monographs: the introductory chapters in Michel, *Die Abschiedsrede an die Kirche*, *Apg. 20, 17–38* (1973); Cortès, *Los discursos de adiós de GN49 a JN 13–17* (1976); Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten* Vol. I–II (1980/1985); Kurz, *Farewell Addresses in the New Testament* (1990; in popular ed.)

⁶ In the case of earlier scholarship the overlooked question is due mainly to attention being focussed on (a) form-critical problems as in Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (⁴1967); (b) form-analytical (as opposed to form-critical) studies: Munck, *Dissours d’adieu*; Nordheim, *Lehre* ed. vol.; Michel, *Abschiedsrede*; (c) mainly tradition-historical and literary-source issues as in Schürmann regarding Luke 22, *Der Pashamahlbericht Lk.22,(7–14)15–18* Vol. I (²1968); idem, *Der Einsetzungsbericht Lk.22,19–20* Vol. II (²1970) and Léon-Dufour, *Abendmahl und Abschiedsrede im Neuen Testament* (1982) – and regarding Acts 20, Lövestam, “Paul’s Address at Miletus” *ST* 41 (1987) 1–10, who finds a literary dependence on Ezek.33–34; Aejmelaeus, *Die Rezeption der Paulusbriefe in der Miletrede (Apg 20:18–35)* (1987), who argues for a link to 1–2 Thess.; Schmithals, “Apg. 20,17–38 und das Problem einer Paulusquelle” (1991) 307–322, who defends a connection to 2 Tim., whereas Barrett, “Paul’s Address to the Ephesian Elders” (1977) 107–121, doubts on grounds of methodology and content that any specific connection to the letters can be proved; (d) redaction-critical observations, Schürmann, *Jesu Abschiedsrede Lk.22,21–38* Vol. III (²1977), including in particular *Der Abendmahlsbericht. Lukas 22,7–38 als Gottesdienstordnung, Gemeindeordnung, Lebensordnung* (²1957); idem, “Das Testament des Paulus für die Kirche (Apg.20,18–35)” (²1968) 108–146; Léon-Dufour, *Abendmahl*, 96–99, without the eschatological forecasts being considered with due regard for the compositional elements in the speech as a literary unit, just as they are not compared with Paul’s farewell address, let alone employed with a view to the question of Luke’s eschatology as a whole, the exegetical interest is primarily of a cult-tradition nature; Conzelmanns, *Mitte*, redaction-critical views admittedly place a decisive weight on certain semantic elements in Jesus’ address, which are of importance for Conzelmann’s view of eschatology in Luke; but it is done without a closer study of the composition of the address. The same is the case with Bock, *Luke. Volume 2* (1996) 1716–1729. Neyrey, *The Passion According to Luke: A Redaction Study of Luke’s Soteriology* (1985) 5–47 differs, however: at the expense of future eschatology he argues for a present and exclusively immanent view in Luk 22,16b.18.28–30; (e) thematic approaches, which contain sporadic but relevant observations of interest to this study though without the eschatological theme-complex being considered on the basis of the composition of one or both addresses: Dupont, *Paulus an die Seelsorger* (1966); Prast, *Presbyter und Evangelium in nachapostolischer Zeit* (1979), Tragan, “Les ‘destinataires’ du discours de Milet. Une approche du cadre d’Ac 20,18–35” (1985) 779–798; but O’Toole, “What Role Does Jesus’ Saying in Acts 20,35 Play in Paul’s Address to the Ephesian Elders?” *Bibl* 75 (1994) 329–349,

eschatology being too narrowly defined. But even in the case where the understanding of eschatology builds largely on a one-sided future aspect, *in casu* an intense parousia expectation, or “Naherwartung”, the underlining of the future has not led to agreement among scholars on the meaning of the eschatological statements⁷.

In general, when the subject is farewell addresses in the New Testament, it is particularly the Gospel of John to which attention is drawn⁸. Jesus is depicted here (i.e. in two passages: John 13,1–14,31 and 15,1–17,26) as the one who during his final stay in Jerusalem makes a concluding address to his disciples. But in addition to John other parts of the New Testament also contain examples of farewell addresses⁹, in particular the Lukan writings.

touches on the eschatological motif sporadically, 336 and 338–339; (f) studies with literary and rhetorical approaches, which similarly do not set out to consider the eschatological theme-complex, Kurz, Greco-Roman 251–268; idem, *Farewell Addresses* 33–51; Watson, “Paul’s Speech to the Ephesian Elders (Acts 20, 17–38): Epideictic Rhetoric of Farewell” (1991) 184–208; (g) Common to the representative sections of commentaries that are listed in the Bibliography of the present study is the fact that they too fail to include the two addresses in a further discussion of eschatology in Luke; (h) monographs in which the presentation of eschatology has a general character do not dwell with much interest on the farewell addresses: Baarlink, *Eschatologie* 122–178; Maddox, *Purpose* 100–157; Martin, *Eschatology*; Carroll, *Response*.

⁷ E.g. in the first half of the 20th century there was a clash between two markedly opposite views of the eschatological meaning of the future statements on the kingdom of God (Luke 22,16b.18b). (a) Schweitzer, *Das Abendmahlsproblem auf Grund der wissenschaftlichen Forschung des 19. Jahrhunderts und der historischen Berichte* Vol. I (1901) 1–62; idem, *Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimnis* Vol. II (1901) 1–109; both works are published in the following title: *Das Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit dem Leben Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums* (1901; henceforward abbreviated to *Abendmahl* Vol. I and Vol. II respectively). Schweitzer begins by taking issue with the one-sided emphasis on the future outlook as a prophecy of Jesus’ death (*Abendmahl* Vol. I 1–37). This side of the perspective – of course on the basis of Schweitzer’s particular view of Jesus’ “suffering secret” – is closely bound up with the future statements about the kingdom of God. There is a double perspective in the relation between “Jesu Tod” on the one hand “und der baldigen Wiedervereinigung mit ihnen beim Mahl im neuen Reich” on the other. (*Abendmahl* Vol. I 61). Into this context Luke has placed the entire meal situation, including the subsequent teaching (ibid., 53–55; differing in Mark. cf. 56–60). (b) Conzelmann, *Mitte* 73 note 3, also acknowledges the double perspective, but adds that for Luke there is a “(lang dauernde) Zwischenzeit zwischen Passion und Parusie”. The same tendency – the movement from eschatology to ecclesiology – is said to be the reason why the original apocalyptic-eschatological parenesis (Acts 20,28.31) is put into an ecclesiastical perspective, idem, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (1972) 118–119.

⁸ With regard to the farewell address note the exhaustive history of tradition analyses from an eschatological angle in Stimpfle, *Blinde sehen: Die Eschatologie im traditionsgeschichtlichen Prozess des Johannesevangeliums* (1990) 147–243.

⁹ See the relatively detailed analysis by Michel, *Abschiedsrede* 57–72 [Matt. 28,16–20; Mark 16,14–19; Luke 24,44–59; Acts 1,4–9; Luke 22,14–38; John 13–17; 2 Tim.; 1 Tim.; 2 Pet.; Acts 20,17–38 in that order].

The emphasis on the farewell addresses rests on a long-accepted view that like the other speech material these addresses are free compositions from Luke's own hand, albeit – primarily in Luke – drawing on tradition material. This observation links up not only with the form-critical studies of notably the missionary speeches in Acts¹⁰, but also with Luke, in that form and redaction-critical studies have demonstrated that tradition material is structured with regard to both literature and theology¹¹. These earlier results of scholarship have thus led to a deeper recognition that the Lukan literature too constitutes an independent literary-theological unity, including the more limited textual units¹². This insight, as suggested, is especially true of the speech material, which includes the farewell addresses too. In this connection Luke, like the other ancient, non-Christian writers imitates the speaker in style and views¹³. In his farewell addresses Luke, it seems to me, is first and foremost concerned with summarizing his narrative or stressing something he finds important, which through the addresses he then makes plain not only to his readers but also to posterity¹⁴.

The Gospel of Luke contains a series of various compositions large and small, all of which in one way or another contain a farewell motif. The most comprehensive of these is the long account of Jesus' journeyings in 9,51–19,44¹⁵. The farewell motif is hinted at several times, with Luke reminding his readers that Jesus is on the way to Jerusalem (10,38; 14,25; 17,11; 18,35; 19,11.28.29.37.41), and thus on the way to his "exaltation" (9,51) – a movement that reaches its preliminary goal when he enters the temple (19,45). The third prediction of the

¹⁰ Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte* (31974).

¹¹ See the survey in Kümmel, *Das Neue Testament. Geschichte der Erforschung seiner Probleme* (21970) 417–520.

¹² See York, *The Last shall be First. The Rhetoric of Reversal in Luke* (1991).

¹³ See Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller* (1972) 39 and 50; van Unnik, "Luke's Second Book and the Rules of Hellenistic Historiography" (1979) 59. Note also Dibelius, "Die Reden der Apostelgeschichte und die antike Geschichtsschreibung" (21968) 120–162, especially the concluding remarks on the difference between Luke and other ancient writers (155–158). Despite his application of historiographical technique Luke remains a "Prediger" and "Evangelist" – with a freer hand in Acts than in the Gospel of Luke in relation to the handed-down tradition in the Gospel of Luke.

¹⁴ Nordheim, *Lehre* Vol. I 232–239 and Vol. II 142–148, as well as J.J. Collins, *Testaments* 323–355 passim.

¹⁵ Seen from a reader's perspective it makes no sense to limit the account of the journey to the largely non-Markan material in 9,51–18,14, as is the case in *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien* (ed., Greeven, 11981) 293–294. Noack, *Lukasevangeliums rejseberetning* (1977) 9–10, proposes instead 9,51–19,28 as a journey account; so too, for example Baarlink, "Die zyklische Struktur von Lukas 9.43b–19.28" *NTS* 28 (1992) 481–506. All things considered, however, 19,29–44 does not describe Jesus' "entry" into Jerusalem, and therefore the text does not constitute the first part of "the Jerusalemite days" (Greeven). For further discussion of 9,51–19,44 as to the extent of the journey account see Moessner, *Lord of the Banquet* (1989) 2 and 14–44.

passion (18,31–34 parr.) reinforces the farewell motif of the composition¹⁶. Thus, although the independent literary unit with Jesus' words and deeds is put into a foreshadowed farewell perspective of final character, the form of the composition cannot therefore be regarded as a farewell address. On the other hand the travel account may to a certain extent emphasize Luke's eye for exploiting the perspective as regards literature and theology. This interest is quite clearly seen in the above-mentioned address at the Passover meal (22,14–38), where Luke has included tradition elements that Mark and Matthew have placed in quite other contexts in their gospels. On the basis of such a comparison it is clear that Luke has created more extensive oral sequences which have the final Passover as their content¹⁷. Furthermore, in the scene at Golgotha Luke has made room for a final dialogue between Jesus and the penitent robber, 23,39–43 (not mentioned in Mark 15,32; Matt. 27,44). Lastly, the Gospel of Luke concludes with some farewell words from the risen Jesus to his disciples, 24,44–49. These are framed, so to speak, by a previous meal (vv.36–43) and a subsequent ascension (vv.50–51) respectively¹⁸.

Acts contains at least two farewell addresses, a shorter one at the beginning and a major one in the last third of the book. In the first composition, 1,1–11¹⁹, Jesus speaks some concluding words to the disciples immediately before his ascension. A second and longer address, considered the "purist in style" in the category mentioned in the New Testament²⁰, concerns Paul's definitive²¹ farewell to the elders in Miletus, 20,18–35. Rightly considered, Stephen's speech, 7,1–53,

¹⁶ Premised particularly by Luke in 2,34; 4,16–30, esp. vv.24.28–29, including also the special (expanded) remark in 9,31, as well as the first, 9,22 (parr.), and second prediction of the passion, 9,43–45 (parr.).

¹⁷ Thus Schürmann, *Abschiedsrede* 139, who sets out to explain the compositional relations in the light of the separate sources, 22,24–27.28–30.31–32.35–38 as part of an independent passion narrative has not won much support; Schürmann, however, reckons on redactional activity in Luke, *ibid.* 142.

¹⁸ It must be added that after a strictly formal consideration of Nordheim's type (see p. 29–30), the outlined material could hardly be characterized as fitting the category of farewell address, since the texts referred to here are not constructed around a death scene. The dialogue on Golgotha (23,39–43) and Stephen's final words (Acta 7,56.60) come closest to that situation.

¹⁹ Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (1977) 142, calls Acts 1,1–8 "Rückblick und Abschiedsreden". Munck, *Discours d'adieu* 165, with his loose emphasis ("Jésus prononce aussi des paroles d'adieu dans Actes 1.2ss.") does not take up a stance on the extent of the prologue. Michel, *Abschiedsrede* 62–63, points to 1,4–9, though he is of the opinion that Acts 1,4–9 is hardly determined by a simple farewell motif because the composition is placed at the beginning of a writing with a new theme, *ibid.* 62 – in contrast to the concluding part of the gospel, Luke 24,44–52[53], *ibid.* 59–62.

²⁰ E.g. Michel, *Abschiedsrede* 68, and Kurz, *Farewell Addresses* 33.

²¹ Thus Dibelius, *Reden* 136, since Luke did not aim to give an account of Paul's martyrdom, "so drückt er ihm hier (i.e. 20,23–25) gewissermassen die Märtyrerkrone aufs Haupt".

with its conclusion 7,56.60, is not a farewell address, even though in the context it comes to serve as the final words of the martyr to his persecutors²².

All the texts cited here presuppose or contain an overriding farewell motif of a definitive nature, which would suggest that Luke is drawing to a relatively large degree on a popular literary art form²³. He appears thereby to be taking into account what might be called the “psychology of the farewell”, meaning that what is said before the final leavetaking acquires a particularly important meaning for posterity. Transferred to the literary presentation, what Luke as the author puts into the mouths of his main characters during their definitive departure might very well be what he himself wishes to emphasize to his readers. In this connection two farewell addresses are of especial interest. The one is assigned to Jesus and is addressed to his disciples (Luke 22,14–38), and the other to Paul addressed to the elders (Acts 20,18–35). They distinguish themselves by being the two longest farewell addresses directed to groups whom the reader recognizes as leading representatives of the first Christian church.

In this sense they are most likely, as Horn puts it, to have parenetical implications for the reader’s situation²⁴. The question then is whether the transcendent prospects carry such weight by virtue of these compositions that, in conjunction with what is said both in and by the two addresses, they can be instructive for the task and content that eschatology has in Luke.

But what is “eschatology”? As suggested above, the subject is in dispute, and it is therefore necessary before we discuss our approach to eschatology to gain a clearer picture of how the concept is to be defined and applied in the present exegetical study.

1.2 Eschatology as an Exegetical Approach

A complete survey of scholarship on the theme of eschatology in Luke-Acts would fill another volume²⁵. Instead I suggest we settle for drawing out a few fundamental lines and tendencies that will be of importance in defining the concept.

²² See further, Crump, *Jesus the Intercessor* (1992) 176–203.

²³ It culminated in quality and extent around Luke’s own time, J.J.Collins, *Testament* 323–324.

²⁴ Horn, *Glaube und Handeln in der Theologie des Lukas* (1983) 212–214.

²⁵ See in particular Gavanta, “The Eschatology of Luke-Acts Revisited” *Enc* 43 (1982) 27–42; Bovon, *Luke the Theologian* (1987) 1–77; cf. idem, “Studies in Luke-Acts: Retrospect and Prospect” *HarvTR* 85 (1992) 175–196; Maddox, *Purpose* 100–115; Carroll, *Response* 1–28.

The word *eschatology* (τὰ ἔσχατα) was taken up by K.G. Bretschneider in 1804²⁶. Over the following 40 years the concept became a technical term in dogmatics to cover “the last things” (death, parousia, judgment, the end of the world, eternal life and damnation). The word had come to stay²⁷, but it is a problem for scholarship that no consensus has yet been reached on the content and use of the term²⁸. The lack of clarity lies primarily in the relation between the etymology of the word and the theology of the New Testament texts. In general the latter encompass a theological relationship in which the determinants cannot be described in future terms alone, which is what the etymology erroneously suggests.

This one-sided future meaning was increased by the burgeoning interest in the apocalyptic. But even this concept, used by F. Lücke in 1832 as a general designation for the ideas and forms of expressions mostly in the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation²⁹, has given rise to debate about origin, form, content and function³⁰. With a view to our particular concern it is worth noting that scholarship is approaching more closely a definition of the apocalyptic literary form as a genre in which future-oriented elements, for example number symbolism as a “case-study”, are not concerned with speculations about the time

²⁶ Already in 1644 Ph.H. Friedlieb used the word as the title of a book, but the expression perhaps has its origin with J. Gerhard, see further in Hjelde, *Das Eschaton und Eschata* (1987) 37. Carmignac, “Les dangers de l’eschatologie” *NTS* 17 (1970–1971) 365, takes Bretschneider as his starting-point, however.

²⁷ See Carmignac, *Dangers* 365–390, where the suggestion that replacing the term with “the kingdom of God” does not solve the problem but only moves it. Whether eschatology or the kingdom of God, neither concept defines itself but must be given a content in such a way as to capture what the text is speaking about. There is a link here to Martin, *Eschatology* 2–6. Note too the following works by Carmignac, “La notion d’eschatologie dans la Bible et à Qumran” *RQumrân* 7 (1969) 17–27, [in German translation: “Der Begriff ‘Eschatologie’ in der Bibel und in Qumran” (1978) 306–324] and *Le mirage de l’eschatologie* (1979).

²⁸ This interacts with a further problem: the lack of a methodological consensus, as Kümmel notes in “Ein Jahrhundert Erforschung der Eschatologie des Neuen Testaments” *TLZ* 107 (1982) 81–96, esp. 93.

²⁹ See further in the survey of scholarship in Sturm, “Defining the Word ‘Apocalyptic’: A Problem in Biblical Criticism” (1989) 17–48.

³⁰ In addition to Sturm (cf. note 29 above) see also J.J. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism” (1983) 531–549 and Hartman, “Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre” (1983) 329–344.

for the “end of the world”³¹, but with a holistic view of existence grounded in revelation – a representation whose aim is to encourage and motivate³².

The interest in regarding the problem of the so-called “Naherwartung”³³ as a crucial “end-of-time/time of the end” motif in the New Testament was prepared for by the new direction eschatology scholarship took around the turn of the century, when it acquired an overridingly future content³⁴. This development was due to Weiss’s groundbreaking research in the area through his clash with liberal theology’s understanding of the kingdom of God³⁵. In the process Weiss came into opposition with Ritschl, who believed that the idea of God’s dominion over the apocalyptic expectations of the Jewish people had received its immediate reinterpretation through the person, teaching and miracles of Jesus³⁶. According to Ritschl the Jewish ear heard the “has come” (Mark 1,15) as pure future, but for Jesus, and thus the disciples’ ears, this use of language meant that the eschatological future had already crossed the boundary and broken through into the

³¹ As in the rabbinical material, Strack/Billerbeck, “Diese Welt, die Tage des Messias u. die zukünftige Welt” and “Vorzeichen und Berechnung der Tage des Messias” *Str.-Bill.* IV.2 (61975), respectively 799–976 and 977–1015.

³² Note here the hermeneutical reflections in Wilder, “Apocalyptic Rhetorics” (1982) 153–168 (= “The Rhetoric of Ancient and Modern Apocalyptic” *Interpr* 25 (1971) 436–453); J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination in Ancient Judaism* (1984); Hartman, “The Functions of some So-called Apocalyptic Timetables” *NTS* 22 (1975) 1–14; idem, *Asking for a Meaning* (1979); idem, “Hermeneutics of New Testament Eschatological Texts” *HTS* (1984) 4–15 and Hallbäck, “How to Read an Apocalypse. Deconstruction and Reconstruction” *ST* 47 (1993) 91–100. Like Collins I understand apocalyptic texts as “a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world”, Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1993) 54. To this must be added that the genre normally seeks “to interpret present, earthly circumstances in light of the supernatural world and of the future, and to influence both the understanding and the behavior of the audience by means of divine authority”, *ibid.* 54. For the use of this definition as a basis for understanding apocalyptic texts or eschatological texts with apocalyptic elements that seek to admonish and encourage the reader, see Hartman, “Att tolka eskatologiska texter” *SEÅ* 60 (1995) 27.

³³ According to Giesen, “Naherwartung im Neuen Testament?” *TG* 30 (1987) 151, H.S. Reimarus was the first to use the expression. This happened in the second half of the 18th century. However, “Naherwartung” was not used by Reimarus about “the end of the world”, but about Jesus’ expectation of “innergeschichtliches Messiasreich in Israel”.

³⁴ See further in Kümmel, *Geschichte* 286–309.

³⁵ *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (1964); cf. Kümmel, *Geschichte* 286.

³⁶ *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* Vol. II (1900). Note the inclusion of “Die Verkündigung des Reiches Gottes”, 26–34, as the first main section of the chapter “Die Beziehungen der Sündenvergebung in dem Gedankenkreise Jesu”, 26–88.

present³⁷. As the one person who has blown away the exclusivist Jewish ideas Jesus is made the bearer of the kingdom of God with a view to the “sittlichen Organisation des Menschengeschlechtes”(294), thus initiating a process which the disciples and the apostolic church were to continue³⁸.

Although against this Weiss states (in his commentary to Luke 17,20f.) that on the one hand the kingdom of God can reveal itself to believers, while on the other hand remain hidden from opponents, he categorically rejects that there is a present and proleptic side, expressed in the interplay between eschatology and ethics³⁹. The consequence is that it is precisely only for faith, without deeds, that the kingdom of God is at hand, so to speak. It is and remains a pure future kingdom, even for Jesus. On this point, according to Weiss, there is no difference between Jesus' and his contemporaries' apocalyptic conceptions of an approaching cosmic event that will turn the present world order upside-down⁴⁰. The present-tense statements on the kingdom of God are thus only moments of prophetic exuberance in Jesus, who is hereby seeking to emphasize the assuredness that the kingdom of God will indeed come⁴¹. Weiss concludes: “Es (the kingdom of God) kann also z.B. nicht die Sammlung eines Anhängerkreises, es kann auch nicht eine deutlich erkennbare neue Sittlichkeit sein” (88). Ritschl's view that the kingdom of God is already present in the apostolic tradition is thus refuted.

³⁷ Thus it is held that in Mark 1,15; Matt. 10,7, God's coming dominion as Israel's highest good is valid as the expression “dass die vorherbestimmte Zeit erfüllt ist (1,15), in welcher die Herrschaft Gottes über das zu ihr berufene Bundesvolk wirksam wird”, *ibid.* 28 – with universal consequence, 29, in that God's dominion “durch Christus eine Gemeinde gefunden hat, welche sich von Gott beherrschen lässt”, 30. The relationship that is established here between eschatology, christology and ecclesiology cuts across the sensational expectations of the future that were current in Jesus' time. “Allein es genügte nicht, wenn diese Erkenntnis”, he adds on the purpose of Jesus' teaching about the kingdom of God first and foremost in relation to the disciples, “sich irgendwo in einem augenblicklichen Bedürfniss nach Hilfe regte (Mc. 10,46–52), noch weniger, wenn es in der Erwartung politischer Befreiung auftrat (11,10); es kam vielmehr für Jesus darauf an, einem bestimmten Kreis von Menschen durch regelmässige Einwirkung zu dem Gottesreiche zu erziehen, welches als das höchste Gut nur gilt, indem es zugleich die höchste Aufgabe für seine Theilnehmer einschliesst”, 30–31.

³⁸ It must be noted that the markedly ethical and thus present emphasis on the kingdom of God as “als das höchste Gut” does not involve a law-based religion in Ritschl. There is instead a consistent development of the service that the church of disciples owes to “dem göttlichen Herrn”, and this relation gives “kein Raum für Verdienste, die nach Billigkeit belohnt werden dürften (Lc 17,7–10)”, *ibid.*, 34 cf. 30–34. Ritschl's purpose can thus be described, as he repeatedly asserts, by Rom. 14,17f., cf. 295–296.

³⁹ See the argument in *Predigt Jesu* incl. 85–88.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 8–35; note also the repudiation of the motifs concerning the kingdom of God “als Gut, als Gemeinschaft, als Entwicklung”, 73, cf. 73–88.

⁴¹ See further *ibid.* 65–99.

While the contribution of both Weiss and not least Schweitzer to New Testament scholarship is indisputable, we must nevertheless ask today, a century or so later, whether Ritschl's categorical rejection of the present aspect is in every respect reasonable. Was it not an overreaction, with the unfortunate effect that a future-oriented eschatology of an especially apocalyptic type should come to determine the concept for quite a time in subsequent scholarship⁴²? And did not the rejection of Ritschl lead to a problematization of an otherwise valuable hermeneutical insight? In my view we should answer both questions in the affirmative, for Ritschl's emphasis on the present side of the kingdom of God demonstrates an eye for a basic problem: the relationship between a Jewish apocalyptic and a Christian eschatology. Posed as a question: which of these two categories is the more decisive factor in the New Testament? In answering, we must weigh the relation between eschatological apocalyptic and apocalyptic eschatology respectively, where the future dimension to a greater or lesser degree is conditional for the theological view in the New Testament⁴³. As we shall see, in this connection there is agreement on there being a problem concerning the "Naherwartung" with the corresponding despondency at its non-appearance ("Parusie-

⁴² Note Klein, "Eschatologie/Neues Testament" *TRE* 10 (1982) 270–299 and Ratschow, "Eschatologie/Systematisch-theologisch" *op.cit.* 334–363.

⁴³ See the difference between on the one hand Käsemann, "Eine Apologie der urchristlichen Eschatologie" in (idem) *Exegetische Versuche*, Vol. I (1964) 135–157; idem, "Zum Thema der urchristlichen Apokalyptik" in (idem) *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, Vol. II (1964) 105–131, and on the other hand Bultmann, "Die christliche Hoffnung und das Problem der Entmythologisierung" (1954) 21–32; idem, "History and Eschatology in the New Testament" *NTS* 1 (1954–1955) 5–16; idem, "Ist die Apokalyptik die Mutter der christlichen Theologie? Eine Auseinandersetzung mit E.Käsemann" (1964) 64–69, on the other. Interestingly Käsemann, in contrast to the above presentation of the problem, has at a later date put forward a dynamic historical-theological definition of New Testament christology's eschatological meaning and consequence for both the early church and the self-understanding and function of the current church, "Die endzeitliche Königsherrschaft Gottes" in (idem) *Kirchliche Konflikte*, Vol. I (1982) 214–225. On the following premiss, "Gottes Königsherrschaft steht nicht bloss in naher Zukunft bevor. Sie hat vielmehr mit Jesu Wort und Werk bereits angefangen", 215, Käsemann (with reference to the demythologizing projects) accepts that even though on the basis of present-day cognitive criteria we may have reason to regard the religious language and world-picture of early Christian times as being outdated, our view of reality does not abolish the experience of the early church, "sondern verschärft sie", 218. For Käsemann this means that if the preaching of "der Königsherrschaft Christi", 118, is not to die away in airy and irrelevant rhetoric, it must be transformed practically, starting from Jesus' boundary- and prejudice-breaking dominion into a solidarity-seeking consciousness of "dass unsere Erde für die Mehrzahl ihrer Bewohner eine Hölle ist", 119. "Natürlich war Jesus kein Revolutionär", he says, anticipating criticism – "Doch hatte sein Auftreten revolutionäre Konsequenzen", 119, which must also be true of the church's role in the world if it is to be serious about its eschatological existence, 221–225. This later position of Käsemann (re-)establishes an important relationship between eschatology and history, which in my view acquires significance for the idea of the kingdom of God in, for example, Luke.

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