The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles

Edited by
JOSTEIN ÅDNA and HANS KVALBEIN

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
127

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

127

The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles

edited by

Jostein Ådna and Hans Kvalbein

Mohr Siebeck

JOSTEIN ÅDNA, born 1955; 1974–82 studied Theology in Oslo and Tübingen; 1986–88 Assistant in Oslo; 1988–93 Assistant in Tübingen; 1994 Dr. theol.; 1994–2000 Associate Professor at the School of Mission and Theology in Stavanger, since September 2000 Professor.

HANS KVALBEIN, born 1942; 1960–66 studied Theology at the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology; 1981 Dr. Theol.; 1963–64 studies in Erlangen, 1966, 1971–72 and 1995–96 in Tübingen; 1985–86 Guest Professor at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong; since 1985 Professor of New Testament at the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology.

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP Einheitsaufnahme

The mission of the early church to Jews and gentiles / ed.: Jostein Adna ; Hans Kvalbein. - Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2000
(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament ; 127)
ISBN 3-16-147242-X 978-3-16-157342-2 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Reutlingen using Times typeface, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Heinr. Koch in Tübingen.

Printed in Germany.

ISSN 0512-1604

Preface

This book has its origin in the "Symposium on the Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles", which took place on April 28–29, 1998, at the *School of Mission and Theology* in Stavanger, Norway. As conveners of the conference and as editors of this book it is our duty and privilege to extend our thanks to the *School of Mission and Theology* for hosting the symposium and for providing the necessary facilities at its campus in Stavanger. The responsibility for the conference was shared by the *Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology* in Oslo, and we also wish to thank this institution for the financial and personal resources that it invested.

During the symposium in Stavanger eight papers were read. All of them are included in this volume in enlarged versions. We are very grateful to our colleagues Prof. Dr. Dr.h.c. PETER STUHLMACHER (University of Tübingen, Germany), Prof. Dr. OSKAR SKARSAUNE (Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology), Prof. Dr. JAMES M. SCOTT (Trinity Western University, Langley, British Columbia, Canada), Prof. Dr. SCOTT HAFEMANN (Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA), Prof. Dr. I. HOWARD MARSHALL (University of Aberdeen, Scotland) and Associate Prof. Dr. REIDAR HVALVIK (Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology) for their stimulating contributions to the symposium and to the present volume.

We also want to express our deep gratitude to the publisher, Mr. Georg Siebeck, and to the series editors, Prof. Dr. Drs.h.c. Martin Hengel DD and Prof. Dr. Otfried Hofius, for accepting this volume for publication in the series "Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 1. Reihe". Production manager Mr. Matthias Spitzner has followed the whole process of preparing the volume for publication, and we thank him for his patience and for the excellent cooperation that has considerably facilitated our editorial work.

Encouraged by the support and advice of Prof. Martin Hengel and Prof. Peter Stuhlmacher we decided to invite three new contributors who had not participated at the symposium in Stavanger. All three of them, Prof. Dr. ULRICH LUZ (University of Bern, Switzerland), Dr. HANNA STETTLER (Tübingen, Germany) and Prof. Dr. RAINER RIESNER (University of Dortmund, Germany), responded positively to the invitation, and we heartily thank them for their enrichments to the contents of this volume.

Three Norwegian institutions have supported the publication with financial grants, i.e., the *Research Council of Norway*, *Areopagos* (formerly *Christian*

Mission to Buddhists) and the *Egede Institute*. We extend our thanks to all of them for sponsoring the project. Thanks to these grants we were able to employ some additional persons to assist in different operations involved in the preparation of the book. In particular we want to thank stud.theol. GEIR SKÅRLAND, Stavanger, for his excellent work in proof-reading, translating portions of texts from German to English and in preparing the indices.

We hope that this book will stimulate debate and further research among biblical scholars, and that it will also be of some relevance and help for defining missionary challenges and responsibilities in the world-wide church of today.

Jostein Ådna
Hans Kvalbein

Stavanger and Oslo, July 2000

Table of Contents

III. Paul on Mission and Suffering

IV. Historical Contributions

Abbreviations

Abbreviations, of the names of biblical books and other ancient sources as well as of modern periodicals, reference works and serials, follow the rules recommended by the Society of Biblical Literature, see *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117 (1998) 555–579.

Additional abbreviations of further periodicals, reference works and serials are taken from *Theologische Realenzyklopädie. Abkürzungsverzeichnis* (2., überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, zusammengestellt von S.M. Schwertner; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1994).

Introduction

by

HANS KVALBEIN and JOSTEIN ÅDNA

In April 1998 a symposium with the same title as this volume, "The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles", took place in Stavanger, Norway. During two days eight papers were read in intensive sessions of discussion. Some of the lectures were open to the public, but most of the discussions took place within the group of 25–30 regular participants, among whom were biblical scholars, patristic scholars and missiologists.

On behalf of the institutions responsible for the symposium, the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology in Oslo (Kvalbein) and the School of Mission and Theology in Stavanger (Ådna), the editors of this volume had the privilege of chairing the symposium. As for the original initiative for the symposium we were, however, deeply indebted to Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Peter Stuhlmacher, Tübingen. In the summer of 1997 he approached us with the idea of arranging a workshop on issues related to the beginnings of Christian missions. Stuhlmacher had recently been involved in discussions on various historical and theological aspects of the mission of the Early Church, and he knew that some of the potential participants had similar concerns. We were immediately convinced that it was a good idea to bring a group of people together for a scholarly exchange on these matters. Peter Stuhlmacher proposed the School of Mission and Theology in Stavanger as an appropriate place for a symposium of this kind, and the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology in Oslo supported the initiative with financial and personal resources. The preparations were made during the autumn of 1997 and the following winter. It was a special encouragement that Prof. I. Howard Marshall in Aberdeen, which is Stavanger's neighbour city across the North Sea, immediately responded positively when we asked him to contribute a paper, and we took this as a welcome confirmation that the program would be of broad interest and good quality.

In the symposium's concluding session there was consent that the papers should be published. As chairmen we were asked to be the editors, and the result is presented in this book. All the speakers at the symposium have carefully and painstakingly reworked their papers, enlarging them with footnotes

and often also with new material. We are particularly pleased that we have been able to enrich the volume with three new contributions written by Prof. Dr. Ulrich Luz, Dr. Hanna Stettler and Prof. Dr. Rainer Riesner. Their essays supplement those presented in the symposium. We are especially grateful to Ulrich Luz, who in the midst of finishing the fourth volume of his great commentary to Matthew took time to respond to the contributions of Stuhlmacher and Kvalbein on this Gospel. Hanna Stettler's contribution deepens the treatment of Paul on mission and suffering. Rainer Riesner discusses a central historical theme missing in the program of the symposium, the question whether there was a Jewish mission preceding the mission of the Early Church.

Presentation of the Essays

1. The end of the Gospel of Matthew is of eminent importance for the understanding of the Gospel as a whole and the mission of the Early Church. PETER STUHLMACHER starts his article with a presentation of the main problems of the text: its linguistic problems, the question of its genre and the question of its provenience. His own analysis takes as its point of departure a suggestion by Hartmut Gese in a doctoral seminar on the Psalms in the New Testament. The text must be seen as a Jewish-Christian tradition nourished by the Jewish Holy Scriptures and influenced by Jewish religious life. Its genre may be defined in line with the OT narratives of the callings of Moses, Gideon and Jeremiah. Their three basic, structural elements can be found also in Matt 28:16–20: 1) a vision of God or his angel and a commission, 2) objections from the person involved, 3) a repeated commission reaffirmed with the promise "I am with you".

The riddle of the location on a mountain in Galilee may be solved from the background of Zech 13:7, quoted in connection with Jesus' last prophecy of his death and his first indication of Galilee as the place of his appearance in Matt 26:31–32. According to Zech 13:7 the messianic shepherd will be slain and his flock dispersed until the purified remnant is gathered again as the people of God. Jesus' going to Galilee is a parabolic act of the divine shepherd. He re-establishes Israel and unites them with the sheep from the many nations (cf. John 10 and Zech 2:14–15 [ET: 2:10–11]). Galilee is not primarily pointing to the mission to the Gentiles, but to the "eschatological restoration of greater Israel". At his parousia Jesus intends to unite the believing Jews with the elect from the nations in the eschatological banquet on Mount Zion (cf. Zech 2:10–16 [ET: 2:6–12]). The restoration of Israel and the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion were celebrated every year in the Feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem. Matt 28:16–20 portrays a christological variant of the Zion traditions celebrated at this festival as expressed in Deut 32:8–9; Ps 82:8; 87; 96.

In this OT perspective the Great Commission is not a late tradition of a particular Galilean Christendom or a Matthean redactional work, but an early Jewish-Christian record of the apostolic mission to the world. It is firmly integrated into the Gospel of Matthew and presupposes a separation between the synagogue and the church. It points to a community of disciples practising baptism and teaching obedience to the message of Jesus as summarized in the Sermon on the Mount. Matthew seems, in this text, to summarize the tradition of those apostles in Jerusalem who were called the "pillars". The command to make disciples and to baptize formed the basis for the decisions of the Apostolic Council (Gal 2:6–10).

This reconstruction of the Jewish-Christian tradition behind the Great Commission sheds new light on the earliest history of Christian mission. Controversial was not the evangelization of the Gentiles as such, but only the question of the relationship of the Gentile converts to the Mosaic law. A commission of the Risen Christ gives a better explanation of the development of the Early Church as it is portrayed by Luke in Acts, beginning with the mission to the Jewish pilgrims at the first Pentcost after Jesus' death and followed by the building of the ἐκκλησία in Jerusalem and the mission of Stephen, Peter and Philip until the baptism of Cornelius in Acts 10.

Similarly, Paul's theology of mission may be seen to have a firmer basis in sayings of Jesus in the synoptic tradition than generally supposed in critical scholarship. Paul, too, was rooted in a Zion-centered understanding of his world mission, and, in accordance with the Jerusalem apostles, his ministry to the Gentiles was a mission to the nations for the sake of Israel. His loyalty to the mother church in Jerusalem caused him to lose his freedom and in the end also his life.

Stuhlmacher's broad picture of mission in the Early Church is summed up in a challenge to the church today: "A church, which on the basis of the Reformation is defined by the apostolic testimony of the Holy Scriptures, cannot, for Christological reasons, separate herself from the missionary Commission attested to in Matt 28:16–20. A non-committal dialogue with other religions is out of question for her. Rather, she must all the more remain obedient to the Commission of the exalted Christ." – The old Jerusalem tradition on the missionary Commission was important for Matthew. "It remains binding for the Church of Jesus Christ of all ages."

2. The article by HANS KVALBEIN centers around the question "Has Matthew abandoned the Jews?" Ulrich Luz and other scholars have interpreted Matthew as an "anti-Jewish" Gospel, and Kvalbein starts with an analysis of Matt 27:24–25, a text which has played a terrible role in the dark history of anti-Semitism in western history. After Pilate had washed his hands and declared himself innocent of the death of Jesus, "all the people" declared: "Let his blood be on us

and our children!" Many scholars read this as a self-curse, implying a definitive rejection of Jesus by the Jews resulting in an everlasting guilt on their people. Kvalbein first points to the fact that in Matthew's view Pilate can by his hand-washing in no way escape the responsibility for his decision. He further points to the legal background in the OT for the participation of "all the people" in a capital punishment. The law required such a reaction when someone was found guilty of blasphemy. Matthew's text is no self-curse imposed on the crowd by an author intending to increase their guilt. The question of "guilt" in the death of Jesus must be seen in a wider perspective, especially from the story of his agony in Gethsemane. Here Jesus' death is seen as his voluntary obedience to the will of God. His Heavenly Father and Jesus himself are responsible for his death on the cross, and humanly speaking the Jewish crowd in Pilate's court-yard is hardly more guilty than the Romans responsible for the death sentence and the crucifixion, the disciples who fled in the garden or Judas, who betrayed him.

Further, Kvalbein asks if the Great Commission is exclusively directed to the Gentiles and implies an abandonment of the mission to the Jews. This seems impossible from the close context, where the universal power of the Risen Christ is emphasized in a way which points to an inclusive mission to Jews as well as to Gentiles. This inclusive interpretation is also supported by the broader context of the Gospel and by the fact that we have no clear evidence for an abandonment of the Jews from the first two centuries. The strong words of judgement to the Jews from this period must be seen as reflections of the prophetic sayings urging repentance. They do not exclude a new start for Israel or for the faithful remnant of Israel.

Finally, Kvalbein looks at the miracles of Jesus and argues against the view that they are recounted in order to increase the guilt of the unrepentant Israel. In accordance with Birger Gerhardsson's analysis, he stresses the positive function of the healings as a fulfilment of the promises which put Jesus in God's role as the healer of Israel. The adversaries do not have a central part in these narratives.

In conclusion: To accuse Matthew of anti-Semitism or even anti-Judaism would be an anachronism. He is conscious of Jesus' role as Abraham's son and as Israel's Messiah, bringing the good tidings to Israel as well as to all nations.

3. In his response to the articles by Stuhlmacher and Kvalbein, Ulrich Luz expresses his unease at being portrayed as the protagonist for an anti-Jewish interpretation of the Gospel of Matthew. His former works on this Gospel were not intended to express settled results, and the forthcoming fourth volume of his commentary will give a broader and more balanced view of some of the issues in question. Luz now supports an inclusive interpretation of "all nations" in Matt 28:19, not excluding the Jews from the mission of the church, even if

Matthew hardly has great hopes of success for the mission to Israel. The mission to the Gentiles has full priority in his own church. As a response to Kvalbein's interpretation of the healing miracles he points to a basic difference in approach: Kvalbein stresses the positive reactions in the narratives themselves, whereas Luz wants to read the story as a whole and the individual miracle stories from their end-point where the people react negatively to the ministry of Jesus.

In response to Stuhlmacher's interpretation of Matt 28:16–20, Luz raises the question of whether texts from the OT can be used as a determining frame of interpretation of a text which can be sufficiently and coherently understood from the macrotext of the Gospel itself. As Stuhlmacher he finds an allusion to Dan 7:13–14 in Matt 28:18, but he rejects the probability of a conscious use of the OT texts linked to the Feast of Tabernacles and to the eschatological gathering of the nations at Mount Zion. These texts may be a possible horizon of the Great Commission for a modern reader, who reads the Bible as a whole, but Luz does not find evidence for these texts as sub-texts in the mind of Matthew. He also objects to the location in Galilee as a sign of the restitution of greater Israel or of the eschatological gathering of the nations, and he is not convinced by Stuhlmacher's early dating of the tradition behind Matt 28:16–20 to the time of the pillar apostles in Jerusalem before the Apostolic Council.

4. OSKAR SKARSAUNE starts his patristic contribution by commenting on two of Stuhlmacher's observations to the Great Commission. His interpretation of the disciples' journey to Galilee as the messianic shepherd going before his scattered sheep in order to restore the greater Israel, based on Mark 14:27f and Zech 13:7–9, seems to be confirmed by the *Epistula Apostolorum* from the mid-second century. The suggestion of a background in OT calling stories to the disciples' doubt also corresponds to early adaptions of the Great Commission in the *Epistula Apostolorum* and the *Acts of Thomas*. The objection from the doubting disciples are there, too, met with a promise of the Lord's presence.

Contrary to modern applications, the oldest interpretations do not regard the Great Commission as a permanent mandate for the church but only as a personal commission to the first apostles. The Commission was given to them and had already been fulfilled by them. They had brought the gospel to Israel as well as to the Gentiles. Bluntly spoken: not only was the mission to the Jews a closed chapter, but also the mission to the Gentiles. This can be seen in second century sources like the *Kerygma Petrou, Apology of Aristides, Hermas* and *Justin Martyr*. However, their reverence for the great work of the apostles does not exclude a concern for a permanent and ongoing witness to Jews and Gentiles. The church still has a double mission. Evidence for a continuing ministry and prayer for the Jews can be found in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*. In the Syriac *Didascalia* (ca. 250 AD) we find an extensive exhortation espe-

cially directed to Gentile Christians who had been in the "shadow of death" but had experienced the light of Jesus Christ: "Wherefore, do you pray and intercede for them, and especially in the days of the Pascha, that by your prayers they may be found worthy of forgiveness, and may return to our Lord Jesus Christ."

5. According to Luke-Acts the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost is no doubt a decisive event for the mission of the church. But what is the function of the elaborate list of nations in Acts 2:9–11? Is it exclusively a historical list of the diaspora Jews present in Jerusalem, or is it also a programmatic anticipation of the mission to the Gentile nations? JAMES M. SCOTT gives an extensive argument for an inclusive interpretation. The list of nations from which the Diaspora Jews had come to Jerusalem does indeed point forward to the subsequent mission to the nations as told in the Book of Acts.

Scott finds his point of departure in Luke's Gospel. He argues that the original table of Christ's ancestors in Luke 3:23–38 contained 72 names representing the 72 nations of the world, as evidenced by Irenaeus. This corresponds to the mission of the seventy (-two) in Luke 10:1–24, where the number must be interpreted in light of the traditional number of nations in the world rather than the seventy elders in Num 11:16–17. The mission to all nations in Luke 24:46–47 can therefore be seen as a continuation of the mission of the seventy (-two). The double mission to Israel and to the nations is indicated by the double mission of the twelve and the seventy (-two) in Luke 9 and Luke 10 and is confirmed in Acts by the reestablishment of the twelve in Acts 1:15–26 and by the presence of people from "every nation under heaven" in Acts 2:5.

Acts 1:1–11 links the second volume of Luke's work neatly to the first one. The programmatic statement in 1:8 puts the mission of the church in a geographical perspective with Jerusalem as "the navel of the earth". The movement of the story is not only centrifugal, away from Jerusalem, but also centripetal, back to Jerusalem. Only when Paul finally comes to Rome does Jerusalem fade away from the horizon. The narrative structure corresponds to the division of the earth according to the three sons of Noah: Acts 2:1–8:25 records the mission to Shem, represented by Judea and Samaria, 8:26–40 gives a glimpse of the mission to Ham, and the rest of the book unfolds the rapid expansion to Japhet in Asia Minor and Greece and finally to Rome. This geographical movement starts with the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost. In the Jewish tradition the Feast of Pentecost was not only linked to the Sinai covenant, but also to the covenant with Noah with its universal horizon to all nations. The miracle of tongues is a counterpart to the division of languages at the Tower of Babel in Gen 11, and the coming of the Spirit fulfills the OT promises for the salvation and restoration of Israel. The list of nations in 2:9–11 has a similar background in the table of nations in Gen 10 and indicates symbolically the gathering both

of the dispersed tribes of Israel and of the nations for the eschatological worship in Jerusalem. Scott gives a penetrating analysis of the roots and the structure of this list and shows how it anticipates the entire mission to the nations. It contains "both the centripetal and centrifugal movements which are characteristic of the Book of Acts as a whole and of traditional expectations of the restoration of Israel."

6. The summit meeting of the apostles and the elders in Jerusalem, the so-called Apostolic Council (probably in 48 AD), was apparently of crucial importance for clarifying the conditions for the mission to Gentiles. According to Acts 15, the speech by James, the brother of the Lord, was decisive for the outcome. JOSTEIN ÅDNA raises the question of the historical reliability of the position attributed to James at this meeting. According to the independent evidence in Paul, all the leaders in the first generation of the Church, including James, agreed on the basic elements of the Christian message (cf. 1 Cor 15:11 with the preceding v. 7). James accepted the fundamental principles of Paul's Gentile mission, that circumcision and observance of the Law were not required of Gentiles before they could be included in the people of God (cf. Gal 2:6–9). Does the Lukan presentation of James' speech in Acts 15:13–21 recount how James really argued in favour of such a position?

A quotation from the prophets (vv. 16–18), in which Amos 9:11–12 forms the nucleus, is central to the argument of James' speech. This oracle corresponds with the Septuagint in stating that God will reestablish the fallen booth of David "in order that those men who are left, and all the nations over whom my name has been invoked, may seek the Lord". Since it is precisely this phrase that makes the quotation a suitable scriptural warrant for the position advocated by James, many suspect that Luke, writing in Greek and citing the Scriptures from the LXX and not in accordance with the Masoretic Hebrew text, invented the whole speech. However, on the basis of a detailed linguistic and traditio-historical analysis Ådna concludes that the quotation does not in fact depend on the LXX.

Once it is realised that dependence on the LXX cannot be taken for granted, the probability that Acts 15 presents a historically reliable account of James' argument must be seriously reconsidered. Ådna maintains that the scriptural quotation in Acts 15:16–18 is probably based on an independent, midrashic Hebrew version of Amos 9:11f to which James probably had access. The exegetical analysis of the speech further supports its authenticity. Hence, there is an impressive correspondence between James' opening statement in Acts 15:14 and the scriptural quotation in vv. 16–18. In v. 14 James states that "God first looked favourably on the Gentiles, to take from among them a people for his name". In the Old Testament the term used for "people" (Greek: *laos* = Hebrew: *am*) is reserved for Israel. However, the claim that God had long intended to take from among the Gentiles a people for his name finds scriptural vindication

in the version of Amos 9:11f quoted by James. Obviously, in the context of the Apostolic Council the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the nations seeking the Lord is identified with the mission to the Gentiles. As an expression of the gracious acceptance of these Gentiles qua Gentiles, the prophetic oracle states that the Lord's name has been invoked over them. As a result, since the fulfilment of this oracle has now come, there is no need for the circumcision of the Gentiles. But according to Amos 9:11f, the turning of the Gentiles to the God of Israel must be preceded by the reestablishment of the fallen booth of David. Ådna discusses the traditio-historical background of this metaphor and concludes that, whether or not the "booth" is referring to the temple, in the context of James' speech it is now applied to the church, conceived of as a building (cf. Jer 12:15f, alluded to in the scriptural quotation, and Matt 16:18). Because God has rebuilt the fallen booth of David by raising up his *ekklesia*, the time has come for gathering in those Gentiles over whom God's name has been invoked, in order that they may join Israel in seeking and serving the Lord. In James' opinion, the mission to the Gentiles, particularly represented by Paul and Barnabas, is the current fulfilment of the prophecy in Amos 9:11f. Finally, when one acknowledges that in the conclusion of James' speech (v. 20) a direct exegetical link, in the form of a *gezera shawa*, also exists between Jer 12:15f, as part of the scriptural citation, and the so-called Apostolic decree, based on Leviticus 17–18, the accumulated evidence in favour of authenticity is considerable.

7. "Because of weakness I preached to you the first time." (Gal 4:13) This somewhat obscure explanation of why Paul brought the Gospel to the Galatians is the focus of Scott Hafemann's article on the role of suffering in the mission of Paul. Hafemann argues against the common view that Paul's weakness was merely the occasion by which Paul was forced to stay longer in the region than originally planned. The apologetic function ascribed to his sufferings in other letters indicates that the reference to his weakness does not only point to the providential circumstances of his activity in Galatia.

Normally, his weakness would pose a cultural barrier to the gospel. In the Graeco-Roman cults health, wealth and prosperity were seen as signs of the favour of the gods. In the Holy Scriptures of the Jews, God's curse could result in disease and death. Such ideas could explain why Paul's weakness could be a "temptation" for the Galatians. However, they overcame the temptation and received him "as Christ Jesus", as if he were Jesus himself. On the cross Jesus had been put under the "curse" (3:10–13). Suffering was part of the mission of Jesus and therefore also of his apostle's ministry. The offense caused by the apostle's suffering as well as by the cross of Christ had to be turned to acceptance and confidence. Paul's suffering was the instrument by which he publicly portrayed the crucified Christ. His weakness had a central and positive part to play in his mission.

This idea is confirmed in other texts. Hafemann points to the metaphor in 2 Cor 2:14 where Paul is being led in a Roman triumphal procession. He is not led in a personal triumph of his own. Paul is here pictured as a captured slave of Christ whom God is leading to death or suffering in Christ. A similar idea is found in 1 Cor 4:9, and, in another metaphor, in 2 Cor 4:11, where his sick body and his persecuted person is seen as a "jar of clay". It is Paul's call as an apostle to share the sufferings of Christ in order that the "treasure", the gift of life in Christ, can be given to his churches. Paul could speak of the "thorn in the flesh" as a heavy burden he wanted to get rid of, but his suffering and weakness had a positive function as a model of God's power and grace at work in human beings.

At the end of his article, Hafemann indicates that this idea of suffering as "death with Christ" may give a meaningful interpretation of the enigmatic saying in 1 Cor 15:29 on "those who are being baptized on account of the dead." Here "the dead" might be the apostles who suffer for the sake of Christ and whose sufferings are accepted by those who are baptized in order to share both the sufferings, the death and the resurrection of Christ. Paul's suffering is constitutive of his preaching the gospel of the cross.

8. Mission and suffering is also the topic of the next article. How can Paul complete "what is lacking in Christ's afflictions"? HANNA STETTLER's article gives a detailed philological elaboration of Col 1:24, where the close connection between the sufferings of Paul and the sufferings of Christ has always been a *crux interpretum*. According to this verse, Paul by his bodily sufferings is filling up to their full measure what is lacking in Christ's afflictions. This means that the church will suffer less. The background for this is Paul's sense of having a universal mission to the Gentiles. When he wrote the letter to the Romans he had brought the gospel from Jerusalem to Illyricum and planned to continue to Rome and even to Spain. In performing this universal mission Paul is not only a messenger of the cross of Christ, but also a bearer of Christ's sufferings. Jesus, the Messiah, inaugurated the eschatological time of tribulation leading up to the fulfilment at his *parousia*. This idea of a period of messianic birth-pangs had been prepared in OT texts and in Judaism and is also found in Matt 24:8, and in Pauline texts like Romans 8 and 2 Thessalonians 2. Together with Paul's sense of a universal mission, this creates a pattern where mission and suffering belong closely together. Worldwide preaching involves the church in worldwide persecution leading up to Christ's *parousia*. In this way Paul's suffering is part of his mission from Jerusalem to the end of the world. The church wants the *parousia* to come as quickly as possible so that its tribulations may end. But God still grants time for mission and repentance. In this way the afflictions of Paul and of the church are part and parcel of their commission to bring the gospel to all nations.

9. Was there a pre-Christian Jewish mission, or did the Jews actively proselytize Gentiles? The contribution of RAINER RIESNER starts with a brief look at the history of research of this question. An impressive number of influential scholars have answered this question in the affirmative and talked about a great period of Jewish mission in the first century AD. A few Scandinavian scholars (Sundkler, Fridrichsen, Aalen and Munck) had objections to the prevailing opinion, but not until the early nineties the old consensus that Early Judaism was a missionary religion was independently refuted by a number of Jewish and Christian scholars.

Riesner gives a definition of "mission" as "activity intended to win converts" as distinct from passive attraction to a religion or a religious group. Judaism no doubt exerted a considerable attraction to foreigners in the Graeco-Roman world. In the liberal and open-minded pluralistic culture of the Roman Empire its monotheism, its ethical commitment and its ancient sacred books impressed people from other nations and traditions. This attraction was met open-mindedly by the Jews, who allowed Gentiles to attend their synagogues as "God-fearers" and eventually to become proselytes. A careful examination of the evidence, however, does not support the idea of Jewish missionary activity. Riesner investigates Jewish apologetic literature and other Jewish sources, and he examines descriptions of Jews in pagan writings. Matt 23:15 is the only clear reference to Jewish missionary activity, but this text should rather be seen as a description of exceptional single cases than of regular behaviour by the Pharisees. Also, some texts in Philo may seem to represent a kind of Jewish mission theology. However, Philo's conviction of the superiority of Judaism and of the Jews' calling to point to the worship of the one true God was not followed up by a call to convert others. Philo believed that the light of reason would lead men to the truth revealed to Moses. The Sibylline Oracles contain invitations to join the right way, but generally the expectation of a conversion of Gentiles to observance of the law and to participation in the pilgrimage to Zion is linked to the eschatological fulfilment when the Messiah comes, not to present Jewish activity.

The evidence, therefore, does not support the existence of a pre-Christian Jewish mission. The mission of the Early Church cannot be derived from Jewish predecessors, but has its roots in Jesus' claim to be the Messiah and in his message of the Kingdom of God. The vast amount of literature from the Talmudic period does not support the idea of an active Jewish mission in the first centuries AD, even if it can describe Abraham as a missionary and other OT figures as active proselytizers.

10. Who were involved in the mission of the church? Was evangelism a responsibility for every Christian, for the local churches, or only for individuals with a special commission from Christ, as for example the apostle Paul? The book's two last essays are dedicated to these questions.

Index of Authors

Index of Sources

I. Old Testament

II. Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

III. Qumran Writings

IV. Jewish Hellenistic Writings

V. New Testament

VI. Early Christian Writings

VII. Greek and Roman Authors

VIII. Rabbinic Writings

Index of Subjects and Names

Greek words and phrases

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Alphabetical Index of the First and Second Series

- see *Feldmeier, Reinhard.*
- see *Hengel, Martin.*

Heiligenthal, Roman: Werke als Zeichen. 1983. *Volume II/9.*

Hellholm, D.: see *Hartman, Lars.*

Hemer, Colin J.: The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History. 1989. *Volume 49.*

Hengel, Martin: Judentum und Hellenismus. 1969, [3]1988. *Volume 10.*
- Die johanneische Frage. 1993. *Volume 67.*
- Judaica et Hellenistica. Band 1. 1996. *Volume 90.* – Band 2. 1999. *Volume 109.*

Hengel, Martin and *Ulrich Heckel* (Ed.): Paulus und das antike Judentum. 1991. *Volume 58.*

Hengel, Martin und *Hermut Löhr* (Ed.): Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum. 1994. *Volume 73.*

Hengel, Martin and *Anna Maria Schwemer:* Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien. 1998. *Volume 108.*

Hengel, Martin and *Anna Maria Schwemer* (Ed.): Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult. 1991. *Volume 55.*
- Die Septuaginta. 1994. *Volume 72.*

Herrenbrück, Fritz: Jesus und die Zöllner. 1990. *Volume II/41.*

Herzer, Jens: Paulus oder Petrus? 1998. *Volume 103.*

Hoegen-Rohls, Christina: Der nachösterliche Johannes. 1996. *Volume II/84.*

Hofius, Otfried: Katapausis. 1970. *Volume 11.*
- Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes. 1972. *Volume 14.*
- Der Christushymnus Philipper 2,6–11. 1976, [2]1991. *Volume 17.*
- Paulusstudien. 1989, [2]1994. *Volume 51.*

Hofius, Otfried und *Hans-Christian Kammler:* Johannesstudien. 1996. *Volume 88.*

Holtz, Traugott: Geschichte und Theologie des Urchristentums. 1991. *Volume 57.*

Hommel, Hildebrecht: Sebasmata. Band 1 1983. *Volume 31* – Band 2 1984. *Volume 32.*

Hvalvik, Reidar: The Struggle for Scripture and Covenant. 1996. *Volume II/82.*

Joubert, Stephan: Paul as Benefactor. 2000. *Volume II/124.*

Kähler, Christoph: Jesu Gleichnisse als Poesie und Therapie. 1995. *Volume 78.*

Kamlah, Ehrhard: Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament. 1964. *Volume 7.*

Kammler, Hans-Christian: Christologie und Eschatologie. 2000. *Volume 126.*
- see *Hofius, Otfried.*

Kelhoffer, James A.: Miracle and Mission. 1999. *Volume II/112.*

Klein, Hans: see *Dunn, James D.G.*

Kieffer, René and *Jan Bergman (Ed.):* La Main de Dieu / Die Hand Gottes. 1997. *Volume 94.*

Kim, Seyoon: The Origin of Paul's Gospel. 1981, [2]1984. *Volume II/4.*
- "The 'Son of Man'" as the Son of God. 1983. *Volume 30.*

Kleinknecht, Karl Th.: Der leidende Gerechtfertigte. 1984, [2]1988. *Volume II/13.*

Klinghardt, Matthias: Gesetz und Volk Gottes. 1988. *Volume II/32.*

Köhler, Wolf-Dietrich: Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus. 1987. *Volume II/24.*

Korn, Manfred: Die Geschichte Jesu in veränderter Zeit. 1993. *Volume II/51.*

Koskenniemi, Erkki: Apollonios von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese. 1994. *Volume II/61.*

Kraus, Wolfgang: Das Volk Gottes. 1996. *Volume 85.*
- see *Walter, Nikolaus.*

Kuhn, Karl G.: Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim. 1950. *Volume 1.*

Kvalbein, Hans: see *Ådna, Jostein.*

Laansma, Jon: I Will Give You Rest. 1997. *Volume II/98.*

Labahn, Michael: Offenbarung in Zeichen und Wort. 2000. *Volume II/117.*

Lange, Armin: see *Ego, Beate.*

Lampe, Peter: Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten. 1987, [2]1989. *Volume II/18.*

Landmesser, Christof: Wahrheit als Grundbegriff neutestamentlicher Wissenschaft. 1999. *Volume 113.*

Lau, Andrew: Manifest in Flesh. 1996. *Volume II/86.*

Lichtenberger, Hermann: see *Avemarie, Friedrich.*

Lieu, Samuel N.C.: Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China. [2]1992. *Volume 63.*

Loader, William R.G.: Jesus' Attitude Towards the Law. 1997. *Volume II/97.*

Löhr, Gebhard: Verherrlichung Gottes durch Philosophie. 1997. *Volume 97.*
Löhr, Hermut: see *Hengel, Martin.*
Löhr, Winrich Alfried: Basilides und seine Schule. 1995. *Volume 83.*
Luomanen, Petri: Entering the Kingdom of Heaven. 1998. *Volume II/101.*
Luz, Ulrich: see *Dunn, James D.G.*
Maier, Gerhard: Mensch und freier Wille. 1971. *Volume 12.*
– Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche. 1981. *Volume 25.*
Markschies, Christoph: Valentinus Gnosticus? 1992. *Volume 65.*
Marshall, Peter: Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians. 1987. *Volume II/23.*
McDonough, Sean M.: YHWH at Patmos: Rev. 1:4 in its Hellenistic and Early Jewish Setting. 1999. *Volume II/107.*
Meade, David G.: Pseudonymity and Canon. 1986. *Volume 39.*
Meadors, Edward P.: Jesus the Messianic Herald of Salvation. 1995. *Volume II/72.*
Meißner, Stefan: Die Heimholung des Ketzers. 1996. *Volume II/87.*
Mell, Ulrich: Die "anderen" Winzer. 1994. *Volume 77.*
Mengel, Berthold: Studien zum Philipperbrief. 1982. *Volume II/8.*
Merkel, Helmut: Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien. 1971. *Volume 13.*
Merklein, Helmut: Studien zu Jesus und Paulus. Volume 1 1987. *Volume 43.* – Volume 2 1998. *Volume 105.*
Metzler, Karin: Der griechische Begriff des Verzeihens. 1991. *Volume II/44.*
Metzner, Rainer: Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums im 1. Petrusbrief. 1995. *Volume II/74.*
– Das Verständnis der Sünde im Johannesevangelium. 2000. *Volume 122.*
Mihoc, Vasile: see *Dunn, James D.G.*
Mittmann-Richert, Ulrike: Magnifikat und Benediktus. *1996. Volume II/90.*
Mußner, Franz: Jesus von Nazareth im Umfeld Israels und der Urkirche. Ed. by M. Theobald. 1998. *Volume 111.*
Niebuhr, Karl-Wilhelm: Gesetz und Paränese. 1987. *Volume II/28.*
– Heidenapostel aus Israel. 1992. *Volume 62.*
Nielsen, Anders E.: "Until it is Fullfilled". 2000. *VolumeII/126.*
Nissen, Andreas: Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum. 1974. *Volume 15.*
Noack, Christian: Gottesbewußtsein. 2000. *Volume II/116.*
Noormann, Rolf: Irenäus als Paulusinterpret. 1994. *Volume II/66.*
Obermann, Andreas: Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium. 1996. *Volume II/83.*
Okure, Teresa: The Johannine Approach to Mission. 1988. *Volume II/31.*
Oropeza, B. J.: Paul and Apostasy. 2000. *Volume II/115.*
Ostmeyer, Karl-Heinrich: Taufe und Typos. 2000. *Volume II/118.*
Paulsen, Henning: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte des frühen Christentums. Ed. von Ute E. Eisen. 1997. *Volume 99.*
Pao, David W.: Acts and the Isaianic New Exodus. 2000. *Volume II/130.*
Park, Eung Chun: The Mission Discourse in Matthew's Interpretation. 1995. *Volume II/81.*
Park, Joseph S.: Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Insriptions. 2000. *Volume II/121.*
Pate, C. Marvin: The Reverse of the Curse. 2000. *Volume II/114.*
Philonenko, Marc (Ed.): Le Trône de Dieu. 1993. *Volume 69.*
Pilhofer, Peter: Presbyteron Kreitton. 1990. *Volume II/39.*
– Philippi. Volume 1 1995. *Volume 87.*
– see *Ego, Beate.*
Pöhlmann, Wolfgang: Der Verlorene Sohn und das Haus. 1993. *Volume 68.*
Pokorný, Petr und *Josef B. Souček:* Bibelauslegung als Theologie. 1997. *Volume 100.*
Porter, Stanley E.: The Paul of Acts. 1999. *Volume 115.*
Prieur, Alexander: Die Verkündigung der Gottesherrschaft. 1996. *Volume II/89.*
Probst, Hermann: Paulus und der Brief. 1991. *Volume II/45.*
Räisänen, Heikki: Paul and the Law. 1983, ^{2}1987. *Volume 29.*
Rehkopf, Friedrich: Die lukanische Sonderquelle. 1959. *Volume 5.*
Rein, Matthias: Die Heilung des Blindgeborenen (Joh 9). 1995. *Volume II/73.*
Reinmuth, Eckart: Pseudo-Philo und Lukas. 1994. *Volume 74.*

For a complete catalogue please write to the publisher
Mohr Siebeck · Postfach 2030 · D–72010 Tübingen.
Up-to-date information on the internet at http://www.mohr.de