

THE MISSION OF THE JERUSALEM APOSTLES:
AN AUTHORIAL, HISTORICAL AND CANONICAL RECONSTRUCTION

By

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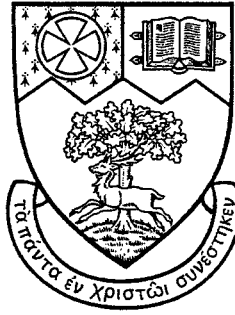
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ABSTRACT

The Mission of the Jerusalem Apostles:
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This dissertation argues that the corpus of so-called Catholic Epistles in the New Testament canon, that is James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude, should be accurately called the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles. These epistles were written by the alleged Jerusalem Apostles, namely James, Peter, John and Jude. Instead of looking at these writings separately, it is proposed that the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles can be discovered by an authorial, historical, and canonical reconstruction of their epistles if they are studied as a collection. These four canonical authors represented three locations of origin, James and Jude from Jerusalem to the Diaspora Jews, Peter from Rome to the Diaspora Jews of eastern Asia Minor, and John from Asia Minor to the vicinity. The seven epistles were closely knitted together like a web through various kinds of connections and similarities.

In the process of the canonization of these epistles, we find that the Jerusalem Apostolicity representing the Jewish Christianity played a role in the church in, on the one hand, separating from first-century Judaism, and, on the other, counterbalancing the Gentile Christianity represented by Paulinism. The latter parting of the ways has been in existence from the days of the apostles to even the days of Augustine. The rise of heresies indirectly stimulated the making of creeds and *regula fidei*.

Papyrological and patristic evidences show that some of these epistles existed and were in circulation as early as the second century. The Jerusalem Apostles and their writings were recognized, mentioned, quoted, and circulated. There were obstacles for some of the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles to be recognized into the canon. However, in view of the final product and the placement of the canon, all these epistles were compiled together following the Book of Acts to form a single unit of the *Apostolos*. I propose a canon-logical reconstruction of the Jerusalem Apostolic Theology, and a reading of the Catholic Epistles with literary rearrangement within the *Apostolos* as part of the discussion of the final canonical product.

This dissertation concludes with my attempt of an authorial, historical, and canonical reconstruction of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>Ad Uxor.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Ad uxorem (To His Wife)</i>
<i>Adv. Haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus haereses (Against Heresies)</i>
<i>Adv. Marc.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Adversus Marcionem (Against Marcion)</i>
<i>Adv. Prax.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Adversus Praxean (Against Praxeas)</i>
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>
<i>ANF</i>	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>ASNU</i>	<i>Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
<i>BZNW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur ZNW</i>
<i>CBNTS</i>	<i>Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series</i>
<i>Cels.</i>	Origen, <i>Contra Celsus</i>
<i>Comm. Jo.</i>	Origen, <i>Commentary on the Gospel of John</i>
<i>Comm. Matt.</i>	Origen, <i>Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew</i>
<i>Cult. Fem.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De cultu feminarum (On the Apparel of Women)</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	Justin, <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>
<i>Doctr. chr.</i>	Augustine, <i>De doctrina christiana (On Christian Instruction)</i>
<i>Ep. fest.</i>	Athanasius, <i>Festal Letters</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	Jerome, <i>Epistulae</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>f. et op.</i>	Augustine, <i>De fide et operibus (On Faith and Works)</i>
<i>Haer.</i>	Hippolytus, <i>Refutatio omnium haeresium (Refutation of All Heresies)</i>
<i>Hist. Eccl.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica (Ecclesiastical History)</i>
<i>Hom. Jos.</i>	Origen, <i>Homilies on Joshua</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>ICC</i>	<i>International Critical Commentary</i>
<i>Ign. Smyrn.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Smyrnaeans</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JE</i>	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
<i>Jejun.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De jejuniis adversus psychicos (On Fasting, against the Psychics)</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series</i>
<i>KD</i>	<i>Kerygma und Dogma</i>
<i>Mart. Pol.</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>
<i>MNTC</i>	<i>Moffatt New Testament Commentary</i>

NABPR	National Association of Baptist Professors of Religion
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIDB	<i>The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>Paed.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Paedagogus</i>
<i>PG</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>Phld.</i>	Ignatius, <i>To the Philadelphians</i>
<i>Pol. Phil.</i>	Polycarp, <i>Letter to the Philippians</i>
<i>Praescr.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De praescriptione haereticorum (Prescription against Heretics)</i>
<i>Princ.</i>	Origen, <i>De Principiis (On First Principles)</i>
<i>Ps.-Phoc.</i>	Pseudo-Phocylides
<i>Ruf.</i>	Jerome, <i>Adversus Rufinum (Against Rufinus)</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>Scorp.</i>	Tertullian, <i>Scorpiace (Scorpion)</i>
<i>Strom.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromata (Miscellanies)</i>
<i>SWJT</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
<i>T. Benj.</i>	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
<i>T. Dan</i>	<i>Testament of Dan</i>
<i>T. Gad</i>	<i>Testament of Gad</i>
<i>T. Jos.</i>	<i>Testament of Joseph</i>
<i>T. Naph.</i>	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>
<i>T. Zeb.</i>	<i>Testament of Zebulun</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>Tg. Jon.</i>	<i>Targum Jonathan</i>
<i>Tg. Neof.</i>	<i>Targum Neofiti</i>
<i>Tg. Onq.</i>	<i>Targum Onqelos</i>
<i>ThJb</i>	<i>Theologisches Jahrbuch. Gütersloh</i>
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>Trin</i>	Augustine, <i>De Trinitate (The Trinity)</i>
<i>TrinJ</i>	<i>Trinity Journal</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>Vir. Ill.</i>	Jerome, <i>De viris illustribus (On Illustrious Men)</i>
<i>Virg.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De virginibus velandis (The Veiling of Virgins)</i>
<i>Vit. Const.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Vita Constantini (Life of Constantine)</i>
<i>War</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i>
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentar
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

ZTK

Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

(I) INTRODUCTION

As compared with other corpora such as the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles in the New Testament canonical writings, the study of the so-called Catholic Epistles is infrequent. There are several issues behind this. The first issue is about popularity. One of the reasons for the unpopularity of the Catholic Epistles is the popularity of the non-Catholic Epistles. Each of the corpora of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles focuses on a central figure. For the Gospels the central figure is Jesus; for the Pauline Epistles it is Paul. On the contrary, the Catholic Epistles do not have a central figure. Instead, they have four authors, and none of them is more central than the others.

Another reason for the unpopularity of the Catholic Epistles is their late recognition by the church. The authority and authenticity of the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles were secured at an early stage in the second century. In contrast, the authority of only 1 Peter and 1 John were beyond dispute in the second century. It was not until the fourth century that all seven of the Catholic Epistles were narrowly accepted into the canon. Unfortunately, the suspicions of their authenticity did not automatically disappear with the progression of the church. Today, many scholars, like Luther before them, are still wary of them.

The second issue is about negligence. Despite their rich contribution, similar to other early Christian literature that registers a concern with the connection between orthodox teaching and moral living, the Catholic Epistles are especially focused upon the moral life as it is directed by the voice of theological conviction. They understand one's suffering in light of Christ's present triumph over spiritual powers (1 Peter) as well as in

light of Christ's return (James). 1 John specifically connects an orthodox confession of Jesus with the moral duty of loving other believers and keeping God's commands while Jude and 2 Peter voice a concern with false teaching. Jude directs his invective toward those who deny right doctrine through their immoral and libertine lifestyles, whereas 2 Peter counters false claims regarding the prophets and Christian expectation for Christ's return as cleverly invented myths. Nevertheless, the Catholic Epistles have not received the attention they deserve. It is not uncommon to search in vain for substantive treatment of any one of these letters in the standard introductions or theologies of the New Testament.

The third issue is about canonical preference. Should we hear from the Catholic Epistles as a solo voice or a chorus? The issue at hand is whether these seven letters should be read in isolation from each other, taking their individual historical situations as the guiding principle for their interpretation, or whether their literary and theological placement within the New Testament specifically and within the Christian canon generally should constitute the context within which they are interpreted. Though the modern era has been dominated by the historical-critical approach to biblical interpretation, and thus these texts have been understood in isolation from one another, there is some evidence that the Catholic Epistles were read as a discrete collection in the pre-critical era. While one can find a handful of introductory texts focusing on the "latter New Testament" or "Hebrews through Revelation," there are almost none specifically dedicated to the letters of James, Peter, John and Jude as a corpus. Looking beyond introductory level texts, one finds the same relative neglect among scholarly monographs and edited volumes. Very few aim to accomplish offering a single definitive account of

the Catholic Epistles as a group.¹

(II) A BRIEF HISTORY OF RESEARCH

There are three stages to the history of research of the Catholic Epistles: pre-critical study of chronological history of research, history of critical research for individual books, and recent methodological reassessments of individual books.

(A) Early Development in the History of Research

The first approach comes from the early development in the history of research, the focus of which is on the authenticity and authorship of individual books of the Catholic Epistles. As a result of Baird's research,² some theories regarding the authenticity, function, and gathering together of the Catholic Epistles have been proposed by post-Reformation scholars. The result of the research of the Catholic Epistles can be summarized in the following three theories.

1. Accepting the Authenticity of All Letters: This is the traditional view of the Christian church from Augustine to pre-Reformation scholars. All books in the Catholic Epistles corpus are regarded as authentic. Scholars who follow the pre-Reformation tradition view include Richard Simon (1638–1712),³ John Wesley (1703–1791),⁴ Johann

¹ Lockett, *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*, 16–20, 26.

² Baird, *History of New Testament Research*. There are two other works that follow a similar approach. One is the twin volumes on major biblical interpreters of McKim, *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*, and McKim, *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters*. Another work is Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation*. But I am surprised by the absence of allusion to the Catholic Epistles, as well as the scarcity of reference to the books of the corpus in these most updated volumes.

³ Simon, *Critical History of the Text of the New Testament*, 2:116; Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:21.

⁴ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:86, based on a great variety of editions of Wesley's *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* to the text by chapter and verse.

Georg Pritz or Pritius (1662–1732),⁵ Nathaniel Lardner (1684–1768),⁶ Johann Leonhard Hug (1765–1846),⁷ Hermann Olsharsen (1796–1839),⁸ Philip Schaff (1819–1893),⁹ and Bernhard Weiss (1827–1918).¹⁰

2. Accepting the Authenticity of Some Letters: Some scholars are doubtful about one or more epistles and accept only part of the corpus. Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827) is uncertain about James and 1 Peter. He also believes that 2 Peter is not from the pen of an apostle, but uses Jude as a source.¹¹ Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) is doubtful about 2 Peter and Jude.¹² Johann David Michaelis (1717–1791) is undecided about the authorship of James, 2 Peter, and Jude.¹³ Both James Moffatt (1870–1944)¹⁴ and Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849)¹⁵ are uncertain about the Petrine Epistles. The most circumspect among this pool of scholars is Friedrich Schleiermacher

⁵ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:131, based on Pritius, *Introductio in lectionem Novi Testamenti in qua, quae ad rem criticism, historian, chronologian et geographiam pertinent, breviter et perspicue exponuntur*.

⁶ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:163, based on Lardner, *The Works of Nathaniel Lardner, D.D., with a Life by Dr. Kippis*.

⁷ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:338, based on Hug *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*.

⁸ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:364, based on Olshausen, *Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, lxxi–cxxxiii.

⁹ Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 1:741–49; Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:52.

¹⁰ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:111, based on Weiss's *A Manuel of Introduction to the New Testament*.

¹¹ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:152–53, based on Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das neue Testament*.

¹² Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:10, based on Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*. Grotius's book first appeared around 1640.

¹³ Michaelis, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 4:264.

¹⁴ Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 375; Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:295.

¹⁵ De Wette, *A Historical–Critical Introduction to the Canonical Books of the New Testament*, 378; Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:226.

(1768–1834) who is undecided about James, 2 Peter, 2 John, 3 John and Jude. Only 1 John and 1 Peter face least objection. As to the Catholic Epistles generally, he concludes that it should not be maintained that it would be a great loss if this whole section were lacking from the canon.¹⁶

3. Rejecting the Authenticity of All Letters: There are some scholars who believe that none of the Catholic Epistles is authentic. Among them are William Wrede (1859–1906),¹⁷ Adolf Jülicher (1857–1938),¹⁸ and Silva and Kirsopp Lake (1872–1946).¹⁹ Adolf Deissmann (1866–1937)²⁰ rejects the Catholic Epistles Corpus in a subtle way by proposing that the Catholic Epistles are not letters but epistles, i.e. they are not authentic letters but literary compositions.

(B) History of Critical Research for Individual Books

The second approach is the history of critical research for individual books of the Catholic Epistles. It focuses on the survey of each book in terms of three areas: (1) the history of interpretation, (2) the change in methods and interpretation over the centuries, and (3) extensive bibliographies of commentaries and studies for individual books. Under

¹⁶ Schleiermacher, *Einleitung ins neue Testament*, 431; Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:214–15.

¹⁷ Wrede, *Origin of the New Testament*, 101, 140; Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:147.

¹⁸ Jülicher, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 236, 266, 280–81; Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:161.

¹⁹ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:338, based on Lake and Lake, *An Introduction to the New Testament*.

²⁰ Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 16–53. Deissmann believes that the line of development of literature follows this sequence: real letter, letter that has subsequently become literature, epistle, fictitious epistle. (p.16) These Catholic Epistles are only Christian literature (i.e. epistles), not letters, and their authors had no desire to enrich universal literature. The catholicity of the Catholic Epistles is to be understood from the form of address in the “letters,” and not primarily from the special character of their contents (pp. 50–53). Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:180.

the editorial work of John Hayes,²¹ studies on the history of interpretation of each of the books of the Catholic Epistles are proposed.

(1) James

The pre-critical commentary tradition of the Book of James is sparse. Eusebius listed James among the “disputed books,” although it was “recognized by most” (*Hist. Eccl.* 25.3). The Alexandrian School under Clement and Origen gave the letter its first explicit literary attention. Bede the Venerable (673–735) included James as one of the seven Catholic Epistles. Critical research into the role of James in liturgical, homiletical, or didactic settings were not in during patristic and medieval periods.²² The Renaissance and then the Reformation in the 14th through 16th centuries stimulated a transition the investigation to a more critical reading of James. Three figures established lines of interpretation that have continued to the present: Luther, Erasmus, and Calvin.²³

(a) Luther established the line on the authorial approach. On the one hand, Luther was negative towards James. He dismissed the letter of James as an “epistle of straw,” and is “flatly against St. Paul and all the rest of Scripture in ascribing justification to works.”²⁴ He believed that the Epistle of James was not written by the apostle James, and the epistle “is not worthy of the apostolic spirit, although, whosoever it is, it has obtained

²¹ Hayes, John H. *New Testament: History of Interpretation*. This is an excerpt from the two-volume work of Hayes, *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*. More concise works with a similar approach are Aune, *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric*; Coggins and Houlden, *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*; and Countryman, *Interpreting the Truth: Changing the Paradigm of Biblical Studies*.

²² Johnson, *The Letter of James*, 124–26.

²³ Hayes, *New Testament: History of Interpretation*, 133.

²⁴ Luther, *Luther's Work*, 35:396.

authority by usage.”²⁵ On the other hand, a judgment of this sort should not be misunderstood as an absolute rejection of James by Luther. In his preface to the letters of James and Jude, Luther expressed himself positively right from the start:²⁶

The epistle of St. James, even though it is rejected by the ancient fathers, I praise and estimate indeed as good for this reason: it sets forth no human doctrine and drives hard the Law of God. But if I should express my opinion on the matter, while I do not wish to hurt anyone, I regard it as no apostolic writing.²⁷

The heritage of Luther continued in the historical approach associated with the Tübingen School, in which James was studied primarily as a witness to conflict and development in the early Christian movement. Friedrich Heinrich Kern (1790–1842) viewed James as written by Paul’s contemporary, representing a Jewish Christian outlook in tension with Paul’s teaching.²⁸ Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860) regarded James as a pseudonymous composition. It was a second-century mediation of the conflict between Peter and Paul. James’s discussion of faith in 2:14–26 and its apparent disagreement with Paul became the central point for interpretation.²⁹ This approach was continued by scholars such as Joachim Jeremias (1900–1979), Dan Ott Via, Jr., John G. Lodge in those studies that used Paul as the essential key to understanding James.³⁰ The strength of this approach is its historical sensitivity, but the weakness is its tendency to reduce James to a few verses and earliest Christianity to the figure of Paul.

²⁵ Luther, *First Principles of the Reformation or the Ninety-five Theses and the Three Primary Works*, 248.

²⁶ Laato, “Justification According To James: A Comparison With Paul,” 41.

²⁷ See Luther, *Luther’s Work*, 35:396. On Luther’s positive statements regarding the letter of James, see also Karrer, “Christus der Herr und die Welt als Stätte der Prüfung. Zur Theologie des Jakobusbriefs,” 187, n.117.

²⁸ Johnson, “James, Letter of,” 1:561, based on Kern’s *Der Brief Jakobi*, 1838.

²⁹ Johnson, “James, Letter of,” 1:561, based on Baur, *The Church History of the First Three Centuries*, and Paul, *the Apostle of Jesus Christ: His Life and Work, His Epistles and Doctrines*.

³⁰ Johnson, “James, Letter of,” 1:561, based on Jeremias, “Paul and James,” 368–71; Via, “The Right Strawy Epistle Reconsidered,” 253–67; and Lodge, “James and Paul at Cross-Purposes,” 195–213.

(b) Erasmus established the line on the textual and literary approach. He provided short comments on the verses of James in his *Annotations* of 1516, and raised questions concerning attribution, providing alternative manuscript readings, clarifying linguistic obscurities on the basis of parallel usage, and even suggesting textual emendations. The letter's moral or religious teaching was scarcely dealt with. Following the Erasmian tradition, Johann Jacob Wettstein (1693–1754), who brought together a storehouse of parallel illustrative material from both Greek and Jewish sources, sought to place James within the language and literature of the Hellenistic world.³¹ Adolf Schlatter (1852–1938) who emphasized rabbinic parallels, approached James from the Jewish side,³² whereas Joseph B. Mayor who collected the Hellenistic and Christian material, approached James from the Hellenistic side.³³

James H. Ropes paid particular attention to the letter's literary devices and identifies James as a Greek diatribe and singled out the striking resemblances between it and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.³⁴ Perhaps Martin Dibelius is the greatest modern exemplar of the Erasmian approach. He brought to bear pagan, Jewish, and Christian parallels that placed James squarely in the tradition of paraenetic literature. He argued that paraenesis was traditional in its both form and content, though there may be variations in form and emphasis. It is basically a text which strings together admonitions of general ethical content.³⁵ Similar perspectives on the question of social location and

³¹ Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*.

³² Schlatter, *Des Briefe des Petrus, Judas, Jakobus, der Brief an die Hebraer*.

³³ Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*.

³⁴ Ropes, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*, 12–16.

³⁵ Dibelius, *James*, 3–11.

literary form are also suggested by Leo Perdue³⁶ and Stanley Stowers.³⁷

(c) Calvin established the line on the protreptic or moral exhortation approach. He wrote a sympathetic commentary on James in 1551. He saw no reason for rejecting it, and saw nothing in its teaching unworthy of an apostle.³⁸ He also disagreed that there is a fundamental conflict between Paul and James on faith and works. As in all his commentaries Calvin brought great exegetical skill to the text, anticipating contemporary sensitivity to the rhetorical skill of James as well as a systematic reflection over its religious significance.

Those scholars who followed the legacy of Calvin focusing primarily on James as teacher of the church include Thomas Manton (1620–77),³⁹ August Rudolf Gebser (1801–74),⁴⁰ and François Vouga (b. 1948).⁴¹ These commentaries continued the patristic tradition, in which the meaningful context for understanding James is the Bible. The understanding of James as a form of λόγος προτρεπτικός or protreptic discourse, has been suggested by Klaus Berger,⁴² Ernst Baasland,⁴³ Luke T. Johnson,⁴⁴ and Patrick J. Hartin.⁴⁵

³⁶ Perdue, “Paraenesis and the Letter of James,” 241–56.

³⁷ Stowers, “Social Typifications and the Classification of Ancient Letters,” 78–89.

³⁸ Calvin, *Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles*, 276.

³⁹ See Manton’s *James: A Practical Commentary*, 1640; and Johnson, *New Testament: History of Interpretation*, 134.

⁴⁰ See Johnson, *New Testament: History of Interpretation*, 134, on Gebser’s *Der Brief des Jakobus*, 1828. Gebser gave such extensive citations from patristic commentaries and discussions, and his commentary virtually provided a history of interpretation.

⁴¹ Vouga, *L’Épître de Saint Jacques*.

⁴² Berger, “Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament,” 1041–44.

⁴³ Baasland, “Literarische Form, Thematik und geschichtliche Einordnung des Jakobusbriefes,” 3659–62.

⁴⁴ Johnson, *The Letter of James: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*.

⁴⁵ Hartin, *A Spirituality of Perfection: Faith in Action in the Letter of James*.

However, the protreptic approach is not without problem.⁴⁶

(2) Jude

In the early church, Jude was quoted by Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, but was listed by Eusebius among the disputed works in the canon (Hist. Eccl. 3.25.3–4). It appeared in the canonical list in Athanasius's Easter letter of 367 C.E. The most prominent medieval commentary on Jude was Bede's *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*. The problem about the authenticity and canonicity of Jude resurfaced. T. Cajetan had doubts. A. von Karlstadt placed Jude in the least authoritative of the three categories. Luther believed that Jude is an extract of 2 Peter, and does not lay the foundations of faith.⁴⁷

It was not until the 19th century that people began to change their focus on the study of Jude. (1) The relationship between Jude and 2 Peter 2 shifted from Jude's dependence on 2 Peter to the opposite.⁴⁸ (2) The evidence about Jude's opponents was too generalized for identification.⁴⁹ (3) Proposed dates for the letter ranges from the middle of the first to the middle of the second century.⁵⁰ (4) Interest in Jude's use of nonbiblical traditions and exegetical techniques,⁵¹ and its relationship to ancient

⁴⁶ The main problem with protrepsis is its ambiguity in definition. The distinction of paraenesis and protreptic is a matter of much dispute. See Cheung, *Genre, Composition and Hermeneutics*, 11–13, for detailed discussion.

⁴⁷ Luther, *Luther's Work*, 35:397–98.

⁴⁸ Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church*, 144–47.

⁴⁹ Neyrey, "Jude, Letter of," 637; basing on Wisse, "The Epistle of Jude in the History of Heresiology," 133–43.

⁵⁰ Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church*, 168–69.

⁵¹ Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early church*, 179–280.

rhetoric,⁵² as well as to general sociocultural factors illustrates the broader contexts within which the letter is presently studied.⁵³

(3) The Petrine Epistles

Whereas the early church fathers frequently quoted 1 Peter and briefly summarized it,⁵⁴ it was not until the close of the second century⁵⁵ that 2 Peter became more notable.⁵⁶ In the medieval period acknowledgment of 1 and 2 Peter became standard with the basic commentary by Bede the Venerable who included these two books in his *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*. However, little formal studies on the interpretation of the Petrine Epistles took place then. John Calvin,⁵⁷ John Wesley⁵⁸ adopted the position of interpreting 1 Peter as a letter to Jewish Christians, whereas W. Tyndale,⁵⁹ J. Bengel,⁶⁰ and M. Luther⁶¹ related the audience to the converted heathen.

⁵² Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style: Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 Peter*, 78.

⁵³ Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude*, 23-41.

⁵⁴ Such as Clement of Alexandria, Cassiodorus, Clement, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Jerome, and Eusebius.

⁵⁵ Some scholars provide evidence that 2 Peter was in existence and in limited use during the second century. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 162-3; Chase, "Peter, Second Epistle," 799-802; Bigg, *Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 199-215; E. M. B. Green, *2 Peter Reconsidered*, 5-10; Picirelli, "Allusions to 2 Peter in the Apostolic Fathers," 57-83; Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 805-11; Kruger, "The Authenticity of 2 Peter," 649-56; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 262-4.

⁵⁶ The first textual evidence of 2 Peter is the third century papyrus Bodmer P⁷² which shows that the work was copied in Egypt. But the Syriac Peshitta contains 1 Peter but not 2 Peter. Origen was familiar with the work, and Eusebius placed it among the disputed books. Jerome noted that Peter wrote two epistles (*Lives of Illustrious Men* 1), and suggested that the different literary styles of these epistles has been due to different secretaries. But this conclusion is shaky because it does not mask more substantial differences which are thematic and theological rather than simply stylistic. See Knight, *2 Peter and Jude*, 22. Augustine had no problem with the work as canonical (*On Christian Doctrine* 1.8.13). The book appears in Athanasius's list of biblical books in his Easter letter of 367 C.E.

⁵⁷ Calvin, *Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles*, 26.

⁵⁸ Wesley, *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament*, 842.

⁵⁹ Tyndale, *The Work of William Tyndale*, 163.

⁶⁰ Bengel, *Gnomon of the New Testament*, 5:45: "[Peter] addresses the dispersed Jews...although he afterward addresses believers of the Gentiles, who are mixed with them."

It is noted that Erasmus, A. von Karlstad, and T. Cajetan all raised doubts about 2 Peter, but interestingly Luther was complimentary of this work, “written against those who think that Christian faith can be without works.”⁶² It is also noted that H. Grotius in his Annotations in 1650 objected to relate 1 and 2 Peter to each other, and 2 Peter to Jude.⁶³

The 19th century marked the first turning point in the study of the Petrine Epistles. Two views dominated. First, the historical reconstructions of F. C. Baur and the Tübingen school assumed that there is a stark contrast between the “Gentile-oriented” Paul and the “Jewish-oriented” Peter. Baur gave up apostolic authorship of 1 and 2 Peter, and proposed the Petrine works as second-century documents that mediated and harmonizing the conflicting views of Peter and Paul. Second, Jude and 2 Peter are literally related.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, some modern historical critics came to be aware of the Jewish apocalyptic elements in the interpretation of 1 Enoch, and consequently of 1 Pet 3:19. Christ’s “descent into hell” was seen as either offering salvation to lost souls, or as

⁶¹ Luther, *Luther’s Work*, 30:6: “[Peter] is writing to those who had formerly been heathen but had now been converted to the faith and had joined the believing Jews.”

⁶² Neyrey, “Peter, Second Letter of,” 271, and his quote from Luther’s *Luther’s Work*, 35:391.

⁶³ Neyrey, “Peter, Second Letter of,” 271.

⁶⁴ Some scholars believed that Jude has borrowed his material from 2 Peter due to Peter’s prominence in the early church as an apostle of Christ. See Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas*, 381–470; Bigg, *Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 216–24. This view was later supported by Moo, *2 Peter and Jude*, 16–21. However, this view was superseded by the view that the author of 2 Peter has borrowed from Jude due to Jude’s position of special honor as brother of the Lord., a view which eventually prevailed among contemporary scholars. See Chaine, *Les épîtres catholique: La seconde épître de Saint Pierre, les épîtres de saint Jean, l’ épîtres de saint Jude*, 18–24; Schelkle, *Die Petrusbriefe; der Judasbrief*, 138–39; Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 226–27; Grundmann, *Der Brief des Judas und der zweite Brief des Petrus*, 75–83; Fornberg, *An Early Church in a Pluralistic Society: A Study of 2 Peter*, 31–59; Sidebottom, *James, Jude and 2 Peter*, 68–69; Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 141–42; Senior, “The Letters of Jude and 2 Peter,” 212–3; Paulsen, *Der zweite Petrusbrief und der Judasbrief*, 97–100; Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude*, 120–22; G. Green, *1 Petro y 2 Pedro*, 327–30; Perkins, *First and Second Peter, James and Jude*, 178; Gilmore, *The Significance of Parallels between 2 Peter and Other Early Christian Literature*, 83–91; Kraftchick, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 79–81; Callan, “Use of the Letter of Jude by the Second Letter of Peter,” 42–64; Scaggs, *The Pentecostal Commentary on 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude*, 84–84.

pronouncing judgment on the fallen angels or the flood story and their offspring or on the wicked who died in the flood, or both.⁶⁵ For decades, the discussion focused on the relationship between the tradition of 1 and 2 Peter in terms of the author and the audience. Although the traditional view of the authenticity of the Petrine Epistles continued to find defenders, an increasing number of scholars suggested that the work was pseudonymous. Although the traditional view that the audience was Jewish Christians still found advocates, it gradually gave way to the theory that they were largely or even exclusively Gentile Christians.⁶⁶

The years 1946–47 marked the second turning point in the study of the Petrine Epistles. For passages of 1 Pet 3:18–22 and 4:6, Bo Reicke combined Jewish apocalypticism with Hellenistic material, and at the same time called attention to the significance of Christian baptism in the letter as a whole.⁶⁷ More prominent is the application of the method of Form Criticism to 1 Peter by Edward Gordon Selwyn. He realized the interrelationships between a large number of the Epistles of the early church, pointing to the use of common Christian catechetical or paraenetic materials. Basing on the evidence, he summarized that there is direct dependence of 1 Peter on other Epistles, or vice versa.⁶⁸ F. W. Beare focused on the traditions behind 1 Peter rather than to the letter in its present form. He suggested that 1 Peter is an original baptismal homily (1:3–4:11) and word of comfort to newly baptized Christians who were undergoing

⁶⁵ See Neyrey, “Peter, Second Letter of,” 271. He mentioned K. Gschwind, J. Kelly Dalton, N. Brox, and J. Michaels.

⁶⁶ Michaels, “Peter, First Letter of,” 269.

⁶⁷ Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism*, 126–36.

⁶⁸ Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 365–466

persecution in Asia Minor (4:12).⁶⁹

From around 1960s onward, the study of 1 Peter has focused on three areas.⁷⁰ The first area has to do with literary or rhetorical criticism. There are extensive discussions on the literary unity⁷¹ and rhetorical standard⁷² of 1 Peter. The second area is the anthropological and sociological approach to 1 Peter.⁷³ The third area is about the theological elements of the letter.⁷⁴

(4) The Johannine Epistles

It is confirmed that 1 John was in use by the early church during the early second century, but 2 and 3 John had to struggle to be recognized.⁷⁵ By the fourth century,

⁶⁹ Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 6, 25–26. This suggestion proved immensely popular and was adopted and modified by many others such as Brooks, “1 Peter 3:21,” 305; van Unnik, “Christianity according to 1 Peter,” 79; Love, “The First Epistle of Peter,” 73; Cranfield, *I and II Peter and Jude*, 13; Perdelwitz, *Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des 1, 24*; Ralph Martin, “The Composition of 1 Peter in Recent Study,” 36; Scharlemann, “Why the *Kuriou* in 1 Peter 1:25?” 355.

⁷⁰ See review of the issue in Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 58–62; and Carson, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 648–9.

⁷¹ For example, C. F. D. Moule proposed two forms of the letter sent to two different audiences: one (consisting of 1:1–4:11, and 5:12–14) for churches not yet suffering actual persecution, and the other (1:1–2:10 and 4:12–5:14) for those already facing “fiery trial.” (4:12). See Moule, “The Nature and Purpose of 1 Peter,” 1–11; and Leaney, “1 Peter and the Passover: An Interpretation,” 240. For the unity of the book of 1 Peter, see Best, *1 Peter*, 27; Chase, “Peter, First Epistle,” 779–96; Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation to the Spirits*, 68; Michaels, *1 Peter*, xxxix; Richard, “The Functional Christology of 1 Peter,” 124; Brox, *Der erste Petrusbrief*, 18, 22; and Westfall, “The Relationship between the Resurrection, the Proclamation to the Spirits in Prison and Baptismal Regeneration,” 107, believes that the author uses lexical and logical parallelism to join the two sentences of 1 Pet 3:19–22 into a pericope.

⁷² Such as Campbell, *Honor, Shame and the Rhetoric of 1 Peter*; and Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter*.

⁷³ See Bechtler, *Following in His Steps*, 64–83.

⁷⁴ For example, Dubis, *Messianic Woes in First Peter: Suffering and Eschatology in 1 Peter 4:12–19*, studies the theological issues on suffering. Herzer, *Petrus oder Paulus? Studien über das Verhältnis des Ersten Petrusbriefes zur paulinischen Tradition*, tries to explore the Pauline elements in 1 Peter. Pearson, *The Christological and Rhetorical Properties of 1 Peter*, studies Christology in terms of sufferings and glories.

⁷⁵ Polycarp of Smyrna (Pol. *Phil.* 7:1) alluded to 1 John 4:2–3. Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 123:9; 1 John 3:1–2) confirmed that 1 John was used in the churches no later than the middle of the second century. Papias of Hierapolis (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.17) attested to this same fact, and may have known of 3 John as well (cf. *Hist. Eccl.* 3;39.3 with 3 John 12).

although Eusebius listed 1 John among the “recognized” and 2 and 3 John among the “disputed,” both the Muratorian Canon and the Easter letter of 367 by Athanasius attested to all three Johannine Epistles.⁷⁶ Similar to the other Catholic Epistles, the Johannine Epistles were included in Bede’s *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*. During the Reformation, 1 John is one of the favourites of Luther because it contains the call to the reciprocal love that comes from faith, which is emphasized in the Gospel of John, and is grounded in the love of God. Luther saw that there is a balance between faith and love.⁷⁷ Luther’s insight was shared by Zwingli, Calvin, and J. H. Bullinger.⁷⁸

From the 17th century to the period of contemporary reassessment, there were three critical challenges to the study of the Johannine Epistles. First, the critical exegesis by J. Scaliger and H. Grotius rejected the Johannine authorship. Joseph Scaliger was among the first modern scholars to deny the apostolic authorship of the three Epistles. Grotius, Scaliger’s student, proposed that John the Elder was the author of 2 and 3 John.⁷⁹

Second, a more important attack came from the critical study of the Johannine Epistles by F. C. Baur and the Tübingen school. They totally disregard either the Gospel

⁷⁶ All three Johannine Epistles were found along with the other Catholic Epistles in Codex Claromontanus and the canon of Cyril of Jerusalem.

⁷⁷ Luther, *Luther’s Work*, 30:309–10.

⁷⁸ Calvin, *Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles*, 238–249; Bullinger, *Das Zweite Helvetische Bekenntnis Confessio Helvetica Posterior*, chapter 16: “...for the glory of God, to adorn our calling, to show gratitude to God, and for the profit of our neighbor.” (Kistemaker and Hendriksen, *Exposition of James and the Epistles of John*, 62.) See also Strecker, “Johannine Letters,” 603.

⁷⁹ Holtzmann, “Das Problem des ersten johanneischen Briefes in seinem Verhältnis zum Evangelium,” 462; Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 20; Brain, *The Epistles General of John*, 9. According to Brain, S. G. Lange raised the doubt whether the Epistle was worthy of an Apostle. His strictures were as follows: that the Epistle lacked individual and local character, that its agreement with the Gospel gave rise to the suspicion of timid imitation and slavish copying; that John, before the destruction of Jerusalem, was not old enough to produce such a work of senility; that he may not have mentioned the destruction of Jerusalem, because it was a ticklish point, etc. Bretschneider was a more important opponent, but believed that John the Elder was the author of these Epistles. Claudius maintained that the Epistle was the fabrication of a Jewish Christian. Paulus, following Bretschneider, was convinced that the three doctrinal Epistles of John were literally translated with explanatory parentheses, and expounded after the philologico-notiological method.

or the Epistle as the work of the apostle. The admission of the genuineness of one of these writings would overthrow their whole historical development of Christianity. According to Baur, the leader of that school, the Epistle is a weak imitation of the Gospel.⁸⁰ The Tübingen construction of the Johannine literature aroused violent debates.⁸¹

Third, the critical research by R. Bultmann contested the literary unity of 1 John and reconstructed a source document that the author of 1 John may have used as a Vorlage.⁸² (1972) This Vorlage, which is similar to the “revelation source” he postulated for the Gospel of John, has its origin in a group whose world view was one of cosmological and religious dualism.⁸³ He thinks that 2 John was not addressed to a particular community but was “catholic” in nature, composed from 1 and 3 John, and given to communities as the need arose.⁸⁴ Yet, the letter presupposed by 3 John 9 was a letter of recommendation for the sisters and brothers, and 2 John is not that kind of letter.⁸⁵ Bultmann’s source theory was subject to active discussion.⁸⁶ Bultmann

⁸⁰ Baur, “Die johannischen Briefe,” 297.

⁸¹ See Huther, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of James and John*, 248: K. R. Köstlin and W. Georgii ascribe the Gospel and the three Epistles to the same author. After Zeller presupposed the identity of the author in his review of Köstlin’s writings, K. Planck held the opposite view. The former explains the Epistle as the “copy” whereas the latter as the “pattern” of the Gospel. The former position was strongly defended by Baur and Hilgenfeld. Since this section only outlines the history of research on individual books, we will resume discussion in Chapter 3.

⁸² Bultmann, “Analyse des ersten Johannesbriefes,” 157. Cf. Smalley, *John: Evangelist and Interpreter*, 108–12.

⁸³ Bultmann, “Analyse des ersten Johannesbriefes,” 157.

⁸⁴ Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles*, 107–9. Schmithals, *Johannesevangelium und Johannesbriefe*, 285–6 holds a similar view.

⁸⁵ Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles*, 100. His view was supported by Strecker and Attridge, *The Johannine Letters*, 252–3; Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles*, 296; Schunack, *Die Briefe des Johannes*, 120; Wengst, *Der erste, zweite und dritte Brief des Johannes*, 248; Haenchen, “Neuere Literatur zu den Johannesbriefen,” 307.

⁸⁶ For example, Beyer, “Rezension,” 612–13, argued for the inclusion in the source of material from 1 John 3:19–20; he also insisted that the source was Christian, being an early non-Pauline treatment

contributed to the idea that different hands were involved in the final appearance of the Johannine Epistles: source, author, and redactor.

(C) Contemporary Research: Methodological Reassessments

Looking at a familiar topic through fresh eyes can be an unsettling experience. This is true for contemporary research on the Catholic Epistles. In the second half of the twentieth century, a revolutionary paradigm shift has taken place within the academic discipline of biblical studies. For some people, the historical-critical method was “bankrupt and needed to be replaced, while for others it was limited and needed to be supplemented.”⁸⁷ A recognition of a wide variety of approaches has incorporated cross-disciplinary methodologies such as social-scientific criticism, socio-rhetorical criticism, literary criticism, reader-response criticism, feminist criticism, and post-colonial criticism.

In 2004, a committee of six scholars consisting of Betsy Bauman-Martin, Peter H. Davids, John H. Elliott, John S. Kloppenborg, Duane F. Watson and Robert L. Webb gathered together to propose a new SBL Consultation: “Methodological Reassessments of the Letters of James, Peter, and Jude.” The focus of the consultation is “an examination of the impact of recent methodological developments to the Letters of James, Peter, and Jude, including, for example, rhetorical, social-scientific, socio-rhetorical, ideological and hermeneutical methods, as they contribute to understanding these letters and their social

of justification. Käsemann, “Ketzer und Zeuge,” 307, argued for the Christian character of the source. Nauck, *Die Tradition und der Charakter des ersten Johannesbriefes*, 68–83, concluded that source and final form of 1 John were written by the same person. O’Neill, *The Puzzle of 1 John*, 6, summarized his source theory. He believed that the author of 1 John belonged to a Jewish sectarian movement, the bulk of whose members had become Christian by confessing that Jesus was the Messiah. The Epistle belongs to the traditional writings of the Jewish movement. The opponents in 1 John were members of the Jewish sect who had refused to follow their brethren into the Christian movement. For thorough discussion of the source theory of the origin of 1 John, see Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 36–46.

⁸⁷ Kloppenborg and Webb, “Reading James with New Eyes: An Introduction,” 1.

contexts.”⁸⁸ The consultations focused on James in 2005, on 1 Peter in 2006, on Jude and 2 Peter in 2007, and the publication of four volumes of essays, *Reading [Letter X] with New Eyes*.⁸⁹ The result is both exciting and disappointing. It is exciting because we have a more holistic study of this corpus of Catholic Epistles. It is disappointing because these volumes still do not give us a whole picture of why the early church included this corpus of seven letters into the canon. They make the Catholic Epistles even more diversified.

One example of such study, which takes up “an under-explored aspect of the text,” is Betsy Bauman-Martin’s study of post-colonial power in Jude. She examines Jude’s “understanding of and construction of power structures and social boundaries” especially in light of the realities of “empire.”⁹⁰ Post-colonial criticism is one of a number of methodologies that takes into account the contemporary reader’s location in interpreting texts. Whereas much of ancient literature, which has survived for the modern reader, is the product of the dominant culture and thus propagates a particular point of view, post-colonial criticism seeks to unearth the perspective of the “other” – discovering the “discourse[s] of resistance,” especially against the “norm” represented by “empire.”⁹¹ She specifically notes her conception of post-colonial criticism as “the critical analysis of the perceptions and articulations of power from above and below in imperial/colonial

⁸⁸ Kloppenborg and Webb, “Reading James with New Eyes: An Introduction,” 2. See also Davids and Webb, “Reading Jude with New Eyes: An Introduction,” 2, and Bauman-Martin and Webb, “Reading First Peter with New Eyes: An Introduction,” 2.

⁸⁹ Webb and Kloppenborg, *Reading James with New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of James*; Webb and Bauman-Martin, *Reading First Peter with New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of First Peter*; Webb and Davids, *Reading Jude with New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of Jude*; Webb and Watson, *Reading Second Peter with New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of Second Peter*.

⁹⁰ Bauman-Martin, “Postcolonial Pollution in the Letter of Jude,” 54.

⁹¹ Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World*, 5.

situations.”⁹²

Bauman-Martin’s post-colonial analysis argues that, though an apocalyptic text such as 1 Enoch usually marked a disenfranchised group’s resistance of “empire,” Jude’s use of apocalyptic imagery and ideology shows signs of accepting the cultural assumptions of “empire” in order to draw sharp lines between Christian subgroups. She also notes that the Jewish apocalyptic genre originated as a form of resistance literature, and that Jude, though not an apocalypse per se, integrates apocalyptic texts and traditions in his letter. Turning to Jude, she finds it particularly illuminating to discuss the author’s rhetoric against the opponents.⁹³ She notes that Jude’s opponents “might perhaps be held up as perfect examples of hybridity, constituting a potential amalgam of Christian, Jewish and Graeco-Roman ideas, resulting from colonialism and its effects.”⁹⁴ This hybridizing represented by the opponents constitutes a dangerous in-between or impurity that makes them unfit for any accepted category for Jude. Thus she asserts, “the false teachers ... represent the contamination of the pure community for an author who clearly considered the cosmos to be organized in a God-created hierarchy of clear categories.”⁹⁵

Bauman-Martin goes on to show that Jude has taken up the tools of the “colonizer” in order to subjugate the “colonized” group or the opponents. Though there are no direct references to Roman officials or leaders in Jerusalem per se, Jude does reinforce “imperial notions of lordship as represented by God and Christ.” Bauman-Martin asserts such hierarchal lordship appears in the phrases: the only true God (Jude

⁹² Bauman-Martin, “Postcolonial Pollution in the Letter of Jude,” 54.

⁹³ Bauman-Martin, “Postcolonial Pollution in the Letter of Jude,” 64.

⁹⁴ Bauman-Martin, “Postcolonial Pollution in the Letter of Jude,” 69.

⁹⁵ Bauman-Martin, “Postcolonial Pollution in the Letter of Jude,” 70.

25), Jesus Christ, master and Lord (Jude 4, 25), apostles (Jude 17) and the prophets (Jude 14-15). The sovereignty of the Lord Jesus, though distinct in ways, parallels imperial political institutions of sovereignty and lordship.⁹⁶

She concludes her study with the observation that “the author of Jude appropriated the apocalypse originally written by groups attempting to resist a particular configuration of empire, but because apocalypse engages in mimicry, the author of Jude uses it to re-inscribe the notions and assumptions of imperialism ... thus Jude ... internalizes the assumptions of its imperial situation.”⁹⁷

Post-colonial criticism draws into focus the fuzzy lines demarcating the colonizer and the colonized along with the especially difficult cultural tools used to either subjugate or resist subjugation. Traditional historical criticism has long demonstrated the usefulness of 1 Enoch specifically and apocalyptic imagery in general for Jude; however, post-colonial criticism asks the penetrating question: to what use were such materials put?⁹⁸

Another example is the neo-rhetorical study by Troy Martin. His contribution builds upon his previous work,⁹⁹ and examines 1 Peter by employing classical rhetorical criticism in a way that is sensitive to the paraenetical nature of 1 Peter. He challenges Campbell’s attempt to structure 1 Peter within the bounds of classical rhetoric.¹⁰⁰ Rather than trying to classify 1 Peter according to ancient rhetorical categories, a strategy that

⁹⁶ Bauman–Martin, “Postcolonial Pollution in the Letter of Jude,” 73–74.

⁹⁷ Bauman–Martin, “Postcolonial Pollution in the Letter of Jude,” 80.

⁹⁸ Lockett, *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*, 186.

⁹⁹ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter*.

¹⁰⁰ Campbell, *Honor, Shame, and the Rhetoric of 1 Peter*, 30–31, argues that 1 Pet 1:1–2 functions as a quasi-*exordium* and 1:3–12 then constitutes the *exordium* proper (the opening of the speech that gains favourable attention). The *argumentatio* (a formal presentation of the argument) then is found in three sections: 1.13–2.10; 2.11–3.12; and 3.13–4.11; followed by the *peroratio* (a concluding attempt to change or modify the audience’s thinking) in 4.12–5.14.

has proved problematic for Pauline rhetorical critics, Martin argues that *inventio* (rhetorical invention) or “the discovery of the resources for discursive persuasion” proves more useful.¹⁰¹ As an epistle, 1 Peter’s conventions differ from speeches in form and literary function. The letter resists rhetorical categories and labels and thus cannot be analyzed in terms of its rhetorical arrangement.

The argumentative issue in the letter, the *causa* or reason why the letter was written, “best expresses the issue argued by the paraenesis in 1 Peter.”¹⁰² Thus Martin argues that 1 Peter employs whatever rhetorical resource he sees fit (e.g. paradigms, enthymemes, as well as ethical, pathetic, and logical argumentation) to exhort his recipients to continue on their journey in the face of suffering. It is this diasporic, eschatological journey, stated in 1:3–5, which serves as the pivotal metaphor and *causa* (argumentative issue) of the letter.

While celebrating the success of rehabilitating this rhetorical step-child of 1 Peter through modern rhetorical approach, Martin has to face challenges from scholars. At one point, Martin is contradictory to his own argument. As Lockett points out, “[i]t may be slightly ironic that in a sustained rhetorical analysis of 1 Peter, Martin concludes that 1 Peter neither conforms to one of the three categories of ancient rhetoric nor can it be arranged around the specific elements of rhetorical persuasion.”¹⁰³ Moreover, recent approaches to the structure and composition of the letter also indicate that scholars

¹⁰¹ Martin, “The Rehabilitation of a Rhetorical Step-Child,” 54.

¹⁰² Martin, “The Rehabilitation of a Rhetorical Step-Child,” 60.

¹⁰³ Lockett, *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*, 134. He refers to Martin’s book, “While epistolary conventions may have some functional similarity with the parts of [a] speech, their clear differences in form and literary function argue against giving them rhetorical labels and placing them in rhetorical categories. In particular, the paraenetic form of 1 Peter argues against analysing this letter by the categories of rhetorical arrangement.” See Martin, “The Rehabilitation of a Rhetorical Step-Child,” 53–4.

disagree about what exactly constitutes the central theme or concern of the letter.¹⁰⁴

A more promising approach can be found in the SNTS seminar on the Catholic Epistles in 2001–2006 which produced a collection of papers given over the five-year period. The overarching purpose of this seminar has been to rehabilitate the interest of the SNTS in the Catholic Epistles which have been largely neglected by the church. The first interest of this seminar is to use different apostolic traditions reflected by the Catholic Epistles as one key to reconstructing the distinctive occasion and purpose of each epistle according to their own terms. The second interest is the consideration of the Catholic Epistles as a discrete collection of writings. These two concerns formed the center of gravity around which all papers in the collection revolve. The scholars of this seminar looked upon the Catholic Epistles as a group of texts within the New Testament canon that has its own distinctive voice, history of formation, use of common traditions, and strategic role to perform as sacred Scripture.¹⁰⁵

(III) REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH

We are living in an era characterized by a “balkanization” of methods of biblical research. There is little agreement about methods crossing disciplinary boundaries. Some approaches have sprung up and died, yet more new approaches are springing up. Such springing up and dying down are positive in terms of enrichment of knowledge of biblical

¹⁰⁴ See Horrell, *1 Peter*, 18–19. For Martin, “Diaspora” is the central thematic motif of 1 Peter, around which the other metaphor clusters coalesce. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 69, however proposes that Israel as a totality is the controlling metaphor for the theology of 1 Peter. For Campbell, *Honor, Shame, and the Rhetoric of 1 Peter*, 33–35, the dominant subject of 1 Peter is suffering, understood specifically as the loss of social honour. According to Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless*, 220, the concept of the household of God plays in the literary and theological integration of the letter. For Thurén, *Argument and Theology in 1 Peter*, 226, to enhance the addressees’ right attitudes is the main task of this paraenetical letter.

¹⁰⁵ Wall and Niebuhr, “The SNTS Seminar on the Catholic Epistles (2001–2006),” 1–2.

texts, enlightenment about solving biblical questions, insights in reading the Bible through different glasses, and desire to mine the riches of the biblical texts, just to name a few. The result is twofold. On the one hand, there is an increasing specialization in scholarship. A Petrine specialist may not be a Johannine scholar. The result is that there are fewer and fewer scholars who seem to control the entire field of Catholic Epistles. On the other hand, there is a temptation to methodological modernity that pursues always to look for most recent interpretive model.¹⁰⁶ The basic problem of biblical research is pertinently concluded as “the tendency . . . toward a fragmenting of the field into distinct and narrowly defined ‘methodologies,’ each pursued in increasing isolation from the others.”¹⁰⁷

In light of the above research, it is not our position to undermine the contributions from both classical and contemporary approaches. On the one hand, we benefit from these researches one way or another. But on the other hand, while these new developments in the discipline of biblical studies seem exciting, their “newness” is only temporal but not necessarily qualitative. The history of research reveals the areas of concern of the scholars. But no one theory earns more support than the others. However, the unsettled questions remain unsettled. The unity of the Catholic Epistles remains neglected. The exegetical step-children still remain unnoticed.

It is the purpose of this dissertation to revitalize the Catholic Epistles. The fact that these epistles are canonized in the New Testament proves that they are not only important to the church, but are also no less important than the other canonical writings. The fact that these epistles are grouped together as a collection in the canon exhibits

¹⁰⁶ Krentz, “Foreword,” vii–viii.

¹⁰⁷ Countryman, *Interpreting the Truth*, 1.

some degrees of unity. Our task is to reconstruct the various functions of this collection of writings. There are at least three questions remaining unanswered: the authorial relationship, the historical contextual function, and the canonical function of the Catholic Epistles.

The first task of this dissertation is to recover the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles through the reconstruction of the authorial relationship of their epistles. In terms of authorial relationship, scholars refer to the seven canonical epistles, namely James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude, written under the alleged names of the Jerusalem Apostles, namely James, Peter, John and Jude. Some are doubtful about the authenticity of part or the whole corpus of the Catholic Epistles. The authenticity of each of the epistles has been in question. It appears that 1 Peter and 1 John are less questionable, and more readily acceptable to the Church. But there are some linkages among these Jerusalem apostolic figures. Scholars have begun the research on the the relationship between Jude and 2 Peter, James and Jude, 1 and 2 Peter, and among the Johannine Epistles. But only a few delve into the relationship among the seven epistles connected with the four figures as a whole.

The second task of this dissertation is to recover the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles through the reconstruction of the historical context of their epistles. The Jerusalem Apostles possess a dual role in the two partings of the ways. On the one hand, they have to dialogue with the rabbinic Jews on, say, the question of salvation. On the other, they have to harmonize the Gentile Christians. In terms of historical contextual function, some scholars believe that one of the main issues the church faced was the heretics who looked at the problems of the church as the conflicts between Hellenistic

and Judaic Christianity, or between Pauline Christianity and Petrine or Jacobean Christianity. The Catholic Epistles were used to attain (in Baur's view) or maintain (in Lightfoot's view) harmony in the church. But the conflicts are beyond personal. The Church has used the Catholic Epistles as a whole in order to counterbalance the influence of Paulinism and heretics.

The third task of this dissertation is to recover the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles through the reconstruction of the process and product canonization of their epistles. In terms of canonization, some scholars consider the canonical functions of these epistles. Marcion rejected all the Catholic Epistles, although the reasons for his doing so are not clear. Modern scholars, such as Zahn and Lagrange, believe that during the process of canonization the Church used these epistles to achieve certain function other than teaching and preaching. In the case of Marcion, the Catholic Epistles were used polemically.

Nevertheless, scholars have missed one important point. They have investigated these three areas of authorial relationship, functionality, and canonical function separately, failing to obtain a holistic picture of the entire Catholic Epistles issue. Not much prominent work has been done to integrate all these three areas of concern. The Catholic Epistles have gone through an uneasy path before they were accepted as part of the canon. None of the above scholars emphasizes the unity of the Catholic Epistles because they believe that these writings are more diversified than unified. These epistles are studied in isolation from each other, although occasionally some obviously related epistles, such as 2 Peter and Jude, are sometimes noted and discussed together. It is the purpose of this dissertation to catch up on what has fallen short.

(IV) RE-DEFINING THE TITLE OF “CATHOLIC EPISTLES”

Many times the term “Catholic Epistles” has been mentioned. Re-definition of the term is necessary in order to assign instead of assume what it means. Two points need further attention. The first point is about the title “Catholic Epistles.” The problem is that the term “catholic” or “catholicity” is ambiguous and means different things at different times. The title carries at least four meanings, the use of which can be traced back to the second century.¹⁰⁸

First, the term “catholic” depicts an individual epistle. Apollonius stated that the Montanist heretic “Themiso ... dared to compose a catholic epistle imitating the apostle” (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.5), but it is not clear to which New Testament letter or apostle he is referring. Clement of Alexandria called the letter arising out of the deliberations of the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15:22–29 a “catholic epistle” written by “all the apostles” (*Strom.* 4.15) but we suspect he referred to the same “catholic epistle” we mean today. Origen, writing in the first half of the third century C.E., used “catholic epistle” several times to identify 1 John (*Comm. Jo.* 1.22.137; 2.23.149) as well as 1 Peter (*Comm. Jo.* 6.35.175; cf. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.5). Dionysius, a pupil of Origen and later bishop of Alexandria, suggested that John, the author of Revelation, was not “the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, who wrote the Gospel entitled ‘according to John’ and the catholic epistle.” Though Dionysius knew of 2 and 3 John, he evidently distinguished them from the Catholic Epistle of 1 John (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.25.7, 10–11). Such usage of the term does not even give the reader any hint to define its meaning.

¹⁰⁸ Webb, “Epistles, Catholic,” 2:569–70.

Second, the term “catholic” also describes the encyclical nature of part or all of the seven epistles. At the earliest stage of church history, some letters were circulated among some local churches. It probably arose out of theological consideration that the universal Church is distinguished from a local congregation (*Ign. Smyrn.* 8:2; *M. Poly.* 8:1; 19:2). First Peter and 1 John, the letter from the Council of Jerusalem, the *Letter to Diognetus*, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* were all written to a wider, more general audience. Therefore the term was originally used to identify the encyclical character of a document rather than its canonical or authoritative status.¹⁰⁹ It is not until the fourth century that Eusebius uses the term “Catholic Epistles” in an obvious canonical sense.

Third, the term “Catholic Epistles” also refers to extra-canonical but authoritative literature. Eusebius describes a highly esteemed collection of letters by Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (written ca. 170 C.E.), as “catholic epistles which he drew up for the churches,” but they were not considered in any sense to be Scripture (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.1, 12). Origen identifies the *Epistle of Barnabas* by this term: “Now in the catholic epistle of Barnabas, from which perhaps Celsus took the statement that the apostles were notoriously wicked men, it is recorded that ...” (*Cels.* 1.63).

Fourth, the term “Catholic Epistles” depicts the recipients in the general sense, as contrasted to a specific group of people such as those of Paul. There had already been other New Testament epistles collected together and identified as “the epistles of Paul” (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.2; cf. 2 Pet 3:15–16). Certain non-Pauline epistles, notably 1 Peter and 1 John at an early stage, and James and Jude at a later stage, had already been designated as “catholic,” and the term was used of most of them in a work attributed to Leontius of

¹⁰⁹ However, the “encyclical” nature will not turn the letter into “catholic.” Some other encyclical letters, such as Paul’s Letter to the Ephesians, were not called “catholic.” Cf. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 532

Byzantium.¹¹⁰ The author identified seven Catholic Epistles, and explained that they were called catholic because they were written to everyone.

The second point that needs further attention is about the unity of the corpus. Many scholars treat each of the Catholic Epistles separately. They would not be satisfied by simply saying that “the Catholic Epistles are authentic” or “they are not authentic.” In the logical sense, they are right. The authenticity of any one epistle in the corpus does not automatically make another more authentic. The presumption of such logic is that this corpus of New Testament writings is more diversified than unified in respect of date, authorship, recipients, background and theme. Accordingly, these epistles are studied in isolation from each other, although obvious points of contact are duly noted and discussed. Some believe that 2 Peter is intended as a sequel of 1 Peter while others think that the two Petrine epistles came from two different pens. Some assert that 2 Peter is dependent on Jude while others declare that they draw materials from a common source. Some describe apostolic authorship of the Johannine epistles while others depict 2 and 3 John as appendices to 1 John. Occasionally, some scholars realize that there are some striking parallels among two or three major letters in the collection, such as James, 1 Peter, and 1 John. However, individual epistles are usually interpreted without reference either to each other or to the later canonical process of forming them into a single collection. No one seems to bother to relate 2 Peter with 1 John, Jude with 3 John. As a result, the task of scholars is restoring each epistle more its independent story than inter-relationship with others.

But this phenomenon should be re-examined and corrected. The misleading title

¹¹⁰ Leontius of Byzantium, *Against the Nestorians and Eutychians*, 3.14. Bruce, *The Canon of Scripture*, 214–5.

of “Catholic Epistles” betrays the true nature of these epistles. Evidence shows that the fourth-century canonizers did not create the canonical collection out of texts that simply happened to be in circulation within the catholic Church. The coherence of these texts is genuine and intentional. These epistles are attributed to the Jerusalem Apostles, a group of early church leaders including at least James, Peter and John. These are the leaders reputed as “pillars” of the Jerusalem church (Gal 2:9).¹¹¹ They were regarded as pillars in the true, spiritual temple of God, the temple not made with hands.¹¹² Jude can also be counted as one of the Jerusalem Apostles.¹¹³ The canonical writings by these apostles, technically speaking, should be called the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles. This group of leaders nurtured the Jewish Christians in the Diaspora (cf. Jas 1:1; 1 Pet 1:1; John 7:35), with Jerusalem as their headquarter.

(V) METHODOLOGY

The methodology of research can be categorized in three ways:

(A) Authorial Reconstruction: it is concerned with the authorial function of this group of epistles. We prefer the title “Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles” to depict the generally adopted but misleading “Catholic Epistles.” By the time when some epistles were known as “catholic,” the fourfold Gospel and the Pauline Epistles were already known to the Christian world. In contrast to the Pauline epistles, which were written for

¹¹¹ Bruce thinks that the sequence of these names are coincident with the canonical writers (Bruce, *Peter, Stephen, James, and John*, 29 n.32), but Klein believes that the sequence of names corresponds to the order of precedence at the time of Paul’s writing of Galatians, not at the time of the Jerusalem conference (Klein, “Galater 2, 6–9 und die Geschichte der Jerusalemer Urgemeinde,” 282–86).

¹¹² Barrett, “Paul and the Pillar Apostles,” 1–19.

¹¹³ Ellis, “Prophecy and Hermeneutic,” 221–36, points out that Jude was one of the apostles of the early church mentioned in Acts 16:4. He is contemporary with James. He wrote to the community in Asia Minor and Syria. In my opinion, Jude’s apostleship is an acceptable inference, and he wrote to the same community as James. See pp. 50–51 below.

specific recipients, these were written for the general and wide ones. Thus, the term “Catholic Epistles” is connected with the “recipient” function. One of the purposes of this dissertation is to reset the function of this group of writings to their “authorial” function by re-focusing on the authorial relationship of these Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles. In addition, a study on the theologies of these epistles sheds light on their relationship.

(B) Historical Contextual Reconstruction: it is concerned with the historical contextual function of this group of witnesses. Some scholars realize that the problem of the Catholic Epistles does not lie with the individual epistles but on the historical context of the whole Christian church. In particular, the substance of the problem is twofold: Baur’s Judaism-Pauline relationship, and Harnack’s ecclesiastical dogma within the church. In facing the conflict from within and heretical attacks from without the church, authoritative writings of the apostles were usually adopted by church leaders. In particular, the Jerusalem Apostles played an important role in counter-balancing the Pauline dominance whose dangers had been exposed by Marcionism on the one hand, and in maintaining orthodox teachings polemically on the other.

(C) Canonical Reconstruction: it is concerned with the canonical function of this group of writings. At the turn from the first to the second century, the alleged writings of James, Peter, John and Jude gradually and continually appeared and were circulated in the church. The collection of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles is the work of the mid- or late second-century compiler who seeks to forge a single collection dominated by the venerable figures of the pillar apostles, James, Peter and John, and an elder Jude. Unlike the Gospels and the Pauline collection, the collection of the writings by the Jerusalem Apostles did not find widespread acceptance as a corpus until the late third century, first

in the East, and eventually in the West when Eusebius first spoke of these writings of the Jerusalem Apostles collectively as the seven Catholic Epistles.

There are three periods in the development of the Jerusalem Apostolic canon: (1) authorial stage: the period during which the letters were actually written; (2) historical contextual stage: the period during which these letters were in fact responding to the historical context of the early church, which is the adverse influence of the heresies; and (3) canonical stage: the period during which the letters were gathered into a corpus, and firmly and finally established and used by the Church. It is inevitable that some overlapping between these periods would occur. But through integrated study of these three periods of development of the canon, we may restore the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles.

At the end of this dissertation, the reader will find a reconstruction of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles by integrating the information from all three perspectives. In addition, a suggested reading of the theology of the *Apostolos* will be presented.

CHAPTER TWO: AUTHORIAL FUNCTION

(I) INTRODUCTION

Some commentators on the Catholic Epistles like to begin their research with the external evidences in terms of textual criticism, and move into internal ones in terms of authorship of the books. Authenticity, uniqueness, and time of canonicity are their concerns. These are important issues. But to one's disappointment, the Catholic Epistles are treated like a parolee, provisionally accepted into canonicity because of doubtful authorship, lack of unity, and destitute of authority. These epistles have always been afforded low priority in the church's life and study. James Dunn has guided New Testament scholarship even up to the present time his basic assumptions regarding the reasons behind this phenomenon:

...we must remind ourselves that ... orthodoxy itself is based on a canon within a canon.... Certainly, if the New Testament serves any continuing usefulness for Christians today, nothing less than that canon within the canon will do.... Nor would I want to say ... that the New Testament writings are canonical because they were more inspired than other later Christian writings. Almost every Christian who wrote in an authoritative way during the first two centuries of Christianity claimed the same sort of inspiration for their writing as Paul.... And I would want to insist that in not a few compositions Martin Luther and John Wesley, for example, were as, if not more[,] inspired ... than the author of II Peter.¹

By this view, there is little or no difference in the writings of the first two centuries with respect to claims of apostolic authority and right to canonicity. Any authority the New Testament writings might possess inheres in the "canon within a canon."² Some writings of inspiring scholars might share equal authority as those by the inspired Jerusalem Apostles. To my disappointment, Dunn not only offers no solution to the existing

¹ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, 374, 386.

² Charles, "Interpreting the General Epistles," 434.

problems but creates even more new ones.

The aim of this chapter is to reconstruct the authorial function and the theology of the Jerusalem Apostolic. Unlike the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, this group of writings focuses on four authorial figures. The term “author” may apply to the person who authored the epistle, the person who penned the epistle or the amanuensis, the person who hired scribal writer(s), or an alleged writer. The first part of this chapter will focus on the reconstruction of the authorial function of the mission the Jerusalem Apostles. Instead of arguing whether the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles were penned by the Jerusalem Apostles, more emphasis will be put on the figures and authorial relationship, or the common denominator, of the four Jerusalem Apostles of James, Peter, John, and Jude as they appear in the biblical canon. We believe that these four authoritative figures play a non-Gospel and non-Pauline role in edifying the early church.

The second part of this chapter will focus on the theological aspect of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles. James, Peter, John, and Jude are theologians. They are as theological as Paul. The writings of the Jerusalem Apostles can be, and should be, read theologically. If we believe that there is a kind of Pauline theology pertaining to the Pauline epistles, it is common sense to presume that there is a theology of the Jerusalem Apostles that existed in the early church pertaining to the Jerusalem Apostolic epistles. It is non-Pauline, comes from the Jerusalem Apostles, and played the role as authoritative guidance to the readers of the non-Pauline epistles. The four authorial figures of the Jerusalem Apostles are attributed to the formation of this Jerusalem Apostolic theology. Before going into authorial and theological aspects, it is helpful to clarify some issues on the methodology of reading the Jerusalem Apostolic epistles.

(II) METHODOLOGY OF READING THE JERUSALEM APOSTOLIC EPISTLES

There are different methods for constructing New Testament theology. The traditional method is more a systematic biblical one than an authorial biblical one. The systematic biblical one focuses on the systematic study of a particular writer.³ In like manner, another traditional method is more on the integration of systematic study of the doctrines of all biblical writers.⁴ However, both cannot meet our needs here. In our current study, it fits best by focusing on the authorial relationship. There are three methodological nuances that need clarification.

(A) *Regula fidei*

The first methodological nuance is “canon.” The term “canon,” when used in the early church, primarily refers to a canon of faith, or *regula fidei*, that formed the essence of Christian belief.⁵ Paul uses the term κανών to speak of the “sphere” (2 Cor. 10:13, 15, 16, NRSV) and the “rule” (Gal. 6:16, NRSV) established by God. In the second century, Irenaeus adopted this idea when using this term to refer to the rule of faith or the essence of belief that governed orthodox Christianity (*Adv. Haer.* 1.9.4). Tertullian used this term decisively (Tertullian, *Praescr.* 13; *Virg.* 1; *Adv. Prax.* 2). By this, he signified the common fundamental belief of the church, orally received by the churches from the apostles and orally transmitted from generation to generation as the baptismal creed.⁶

³ Hence, we have Pauline theology or Lukan theology. Examples are Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, and Morris, *New Testament Theology*.

⁴ Enns, *Moody Handbook of Theology*, 147–402.

⁵ McDonald, *Biblical Canon*, 48.

⁶ Metzger, *Canon of the New Testament*, 158.

Eusebius mentioned that Clement of Alexandria spoke of an “ecclesiastical canon” (κανών ἐκκλησιαστικός) or “body of truth” (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.13.3). It was not until the mid-fourth century that the word “canon” began to be applied to Christian writings.⁷ Although there is no clear line between the essence of Christian belief and the authoritative Christian writings, scholars such as J. A. Sanders⁸ and Sheppard⁹ are correct to distinguish these two realities.¹⁰

Applying Sheppard’s theory of the two “Canons” to our current discussion, the concept of “Canon 1” or *regula fidei* refers to the *authorial* stage of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles, where the *authoritative* voices of James, Peter, John and Jude were regarded as having the *authority* of God in them. The concept of “Canon 2” is the final product of the canonical reality which will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. At the authorial stage, the focuses surrounds some prominent, influential people: Moses for the Old Testament, Jesus for the fourfold gospel, apostles such as James, Peter, John, and Paul for apostolic writings.¹¹ However, we have to admit that there are ambiguities or

⁷ Gamble, *New Testament Canon*, 17; Beyer, “κανών,” 600–601; Schneemelcher, “General Introduction,” 22–24; Lampe, “The Early Church,” 24–6.

⁸ J. A. Sanders, “Canon: Hebrew Bible,” 847, applies dual functions of canon as “*norma normans*” (i.e., texts in a believing community that function authoritatively) and “*norma normata*” (i.e., sacred texts with a fixed shape).

⁹ For Sheppard, the first of these two realities of canon formations in the early church is “Canon 1,” which was an authoritative voice in written or oral form that was read and received as having the authority of God in it. The second, in contrast, is “Canon 2,” which refers to a perpetual fixation or standardization of the canonical Biblical books. He cites many examples of both kinds of examples. Sheppard, “Canon,” 64–7.

¹⁰ This distinction of the two “Canons” is not without problem. For example, Ulrich is aware that “Canon 1” is, in fact, not a reality until there was a fixed collection of books. It reminds us that even some Christian writings were deemed inspired and authoritative in the early Christian community. It is not surprising that writings such as 1 Enoch and Assumption of Moses were regarded a part of an authoritative and respected canon 1 of the early church. Ulrich is right to speak of “canonical process” in which the Bible is formed and shaped. But unlike Dunn, Ulrich shows no signs of an “open canon.” For a thorough discussion on the notion and use of canon, see McDonald, *Biblical Canon*, 38–69.

¹¹ For detailed discussion, see McDonald, *The Biblical Canon*, 55–8.

grey areas between the two “Canons.” But for the interest of the discussion of this chapter, we will focus on the figures of James, Peter, John and Jude.

(B) Mirror-Reading

Another methodological nuance is mirror-reading. John Barclay recognizes that the modern scholarship easily falls into the temptation of identifying the opponents of New Testament writers as “a mirror in which we can see reflected the people and the arguments under attack.”¹² He uses the analogy of overhearing of one end of a telephone conversation, and shows that one is easy to jump to conclusions about the details of the opponents without direct information from the defenders or the opponents. He reminds scholars to avoid four exegetical pitfalls of undue selectivity, over-interpretation, mishandling polemics, and latching onto particular words and phrases.¹³ Then he employs “seven most appropriate criteria” to balance out the impossibility of mirror-reading.¹⁴ Based on these criteria, Barclay calls for an honest assessment of the level of certainty for each bit of information gathered about the situation or opponents.¹⁵

While Barclay’s “Mirror-Reading” theory has gained a lot of advocates, the topic under discussion in this dissertation does not benefit much for the following three reasons. First, for exegetical purposes, mirror-reading is mainly used for interpreting polemics. Different exegetical skills should be applied to different epistles.¹⁶ In view of the writings

¹² Barclay, “Mirror-Reading,” 73–74.

¹³ Barclay, “Mirror-Reading,” 79–83.

¹⁴ Barclay, “Mirror-Reading,” 84–86. The seven criteria are: type of utterance, tone, frequency, clarity, unfamiliarity, consistency, historical plausibility.

¹⁵ Barclay tabulates six levels of certainty: certain or virtually certain, highly probable, probable, possible, conceivable, and incredible.

¹⁶ For example, deSilva, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 26, suggests applying Social-

of the Jerusalem Apostles, at least James and 1 Peter do not fall into this category. Jude and 2 Peter should be analyzed intertextually. The Johannine Epistles should be explored together with the Fourth Gospel. Second, since we are focusing on the figures of the Jerusalem Apostles rather than their opponents at this stage, and we are not using the opponents to identify these Apostles, mirror-reading does not affect our research much. Third, using a “Jesus-Seminar” type of methodology to assess the level of certainty is problematic and biased. One could not, in fact, totally refrain from reading the context through the mirror of the opponents. To some extent, we have to reconstruct the context with internal evidence. Hester reminds us to avoid extremes. “If theologians can be charged with mirror reading, contextualists can be charged with viewing the text as a window into another world. While the traditional theological approach seems to be on the wane, current interest in contextualizing the letters goes to the opposite extreme.”¹⁷ Therefore, in this section, we aim at restoring a Jerusalem Apostolic theology.

(C) Jerusalem Apostolic Theology

The third methodological nuance is the term “theology.” Scholars do not use this term in an unequivocal sense.¹⁸ We are not dealing with theology in the broad sense. We are working towards a theology of the Jerusalem Apostles at their earliest stage, which falls into the category of biblical theology and New Testament theology.

Scientific Criticism to James, Argumentative Texture to 1 Peter, Analysis of Intertexture or Redaction Analysis in Epistolary Literature to Jude and 2 Peter, and Ideological Texture to the Johannine Epistles.

¹⁷ Hester, Review of *Derhetorizing Paul*, 175.

¹⁸ For example, Gabler understood New Testament religion in the sense of teachings. Baur maintained New Testament theology as history of doctrine, as contrasted to history of events. Christian Friedrich Schmid understood New Testament theology as the historical–genetic presentation of all aspects of New Testament Christianity. See Boers’s research, especially Boers, *What is New Testament Theology?*, 41.

Some theologians and commentators on the Jerusalem Apostles mention the term “Apostolic Theology,” but without defining it. Carey Newman believes that James both knows and employs Christology as the pivotal theme of *apostolic theology*.¹⁹ Steiger points out that the message about the power of Christ’s resurrection that inspires believers with hope in 1 Peter 1:3 bears “in perfect accordance with the whole of the *apostolic theology*.”²⁰ Adams, in his discussion on 2 Peter 2:10, compares Paul’s *apostolic theology* about flesh and spirit with that of Peter’s.²¹ Marsh asserts that in the development of the *apostolic theology*, the Epistle to the Hebrews stands midway between, and occupies the same place as, the Pauline and Johannine Epistles.²²

These are examples of mentioning a theological term, but without seriously defining it. They use the term “apostolic theology,” not “Apostolic Theology.” It probably refers to theology related to the apostles. But in what sense? The readers are no less bewildered than the authors. If “Apostolic Theology” belongs to a kind of theological discipline, it definitely deserves much more attention.

Karl Barth offers a more substantial understanding of apostolic theology by distinguishing faith from the knowledge of faith. Barth does not note that the active acknowledgment of Christian faith has any reference to any doctrine, theory or theology represented by or in the community. Nor does he hold that it refers to the prophetic and apostolic theology, not even to the Bible but “the One whom the Bible attests and the

¹⁹ Newman, “God,” electronic ed., no page.

²⁰ Steiger, *Exposition of the First Epistle of Peter*, 101. Emphasis inserted.

²¹ Adams, *An Exposition Upon the Second Epistle General of St. Peter*, 410.

²² Marsh, “Hebrews,” 541. See also Lange, *John*, 35, and Lange, *Revelation*, 402, for Johannine apostolic theology. For examples of writings not related to Jerusalem Apostles, see Clarke, “Canonical Criticism,” 218; May, “Literature,” 301; Belleville, *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, and Hebrews*, 228.

Church as taught by the Bible proclaims.”²³ The object of the Christian faith is the living Jesus Christ himself, none other. But the acknowledgment of the Christian faith is indebted to the witness of the Bible and the proclamation of the church. Hence, prophetic and apostolic theology can be understood as authoritative proclamation of the Christ himself.

Unlike Barth, Robert Sloan has argued for the “apostolic theology” that has existed before the emergence of the New Testament documents, and that this theology gives rise to and unifies the New Testament documents. If Sloan’s argument is valid, there will be a good reason to grant at least provisionally the theological unity of the documents. Indeed, if there were an “apostolic theology” generally shared by the early Christians, and if this theology was considered authoritative (e.g., 1 Thess. 2:13; Eph. 2:20), it would follow that the New Testament is ultimately the scriptural form of this oral theology, or the authoritative preached word.²⁴

Sloan gives us a nearer and clearer picture of the issue. I agree with Sloan, and believe that there was an apostolic theology shared by the early Christians. In particular, there was an apostolic theology shared by at least these four authorial figures of the Jerusalem Apostles to their communities. The death of Stephen was a signal for a campaign of repression against the disciples of Jesus in Jerusalem and Judea.²⁵ The persecution was so severe that the disciples were scattered throughout the countryside of

²³ Barth, *CD* 4/1:760–61.

²⁴ Sloan, “Unity in Diversity,” 446–63. See also B. Green, “The Foundations of New Testament Theology,” 491.

²⁵ Bruce, *Peter, Stephen, James, and John*, 57–8, suggests that the Hellenists were singled out for more concentrated attack because the Jewish believers, in the public mind, were the least anti-temple party. One result of the campaign of repression was that the church of Jerusalem became predominantly “Hebrew” in composition, with only a few exceptions.

Judea and Samaria, all except the apostles who remained in Jerusalem. It was here and then, or even earlier, that the protocol of the Jerusalem Apostolic Theology was initially formed. This Theology was definitely non-Pauline and pre-Pauline. The Theology, which was first transmitted in oral form, ultimately appeared in scriptural form as authoritative writings. Probably the Epistle of James to the Diaspora Jews was the first of these theological writings.

In conclusion to the methodology of reading the Jerusalem Apostles, we assume that a sort of theology existed quite early in church history. It came from the apostles of Jerusalem, who were appointed by Jesus and provided authoritative spiritual guidance to the Christian faith. It arose as the *regula fidei* of the early church articulated first in oral and then in literal forms. At its early stage, details of this discipline were not clear yet. Based on this assumption, we try to develop a theology of the Jerusalem Apostles. This theology has at least three criteria: (1) it is linked to the Jerusalem Apostles, namely James, Peter, John, and Jude, who were identified as the authors of the alleged Epistles under their names. In fact, they were the first theologians of the Christian church. (2) These epistles have the literary linkage among themselves. The interrelation and interdependence of these epistles have formed into an indivisible unit of writings. (3) These epistles contribute to some theological messages that were addressed to the needs of specific groups of people in the early church.

(III) THE AUTHORIAL ASPECT OF THE MISSION OF THE JERUSALEM APOSTLES

From the historical critical approach to look at the writings of the Jerusalem

Apostles, two areas, the persons, and the places, are of concern that will help us reconstruct the history of the Christian Church.

(A) The Four Authors of the Epistles of the Jerusalem Apostle

The Jerusalem Apostles were the immediate successors of the mission of Jesus Christ after his resurrection and ascension. Their mission is the mission of Jesus. Their first task is to wait for the coming of the Holy Spirit. When the Holy Spirit has come upon them, they will receive power so that they will be witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth. Their mission as the mouthpiece of the gospel began in Jerusalem when the day of the Holy Spirit had come (Acts 2:1–13). As Paul stepped up to the leadership, his relationship with the Jerusalem Apostles became complicated. The church had to reassess the role of the Jerusalem Apostles. The earliest references to the relation between the Jerusalem Apostles and Paul, from peaceful communication to tense disagreement, are found in the four incidents in Gal 1:18–2:14 and Acts 15:1–35. The chronological sequence is: (1) the Jerusalem interview of Gal 1:18–20; (2) the Jerusalem conference of Gal 2:1–10; (3) the Antioch controversy of Gal 2:11–14; and (4) the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15.²⁶ We try to summarize this scenario of

²⁶ On the sequence of the date of Galatians and the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15, I believe that Galatians was written shortly after the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15. See Bruce, *Epistle to the Galatians*, 19–32, 43–56, 105–34, for the view that even the writing of the letter to the Galatians itself (to the churches whose foundation is recorded in Acts 13:48–14:23) antedated the council of Acts 15. For a discussion on the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15, see Lake and Cadbury, *Acts of the Apostles*, 195–212; Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 93–111; Simon, “The Apostolic Decree and its Setting in the Ancient Church,” 437–60; Zuntz, “An Analysis of the Report about the ‘Apostolic Council,’” 216–49; Holtz, “Die Bedeutung des Apostelkonzils für Paulus,” 110–48; Catchpole, “Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree,” 428–44; Barrett, “Apostles in Council and in Conflict,” 91–108. For the view that the Antioch controversy of Gal 2:11–14 antedated the Jerusalem conference of Gal 2:1–10, see Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater*, 110; Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, 100–103. Knox, *Acts of the Apostles*, 49, supposes that the Antioch controversy preceded the first missionary expedition of Paul and Barnabas: that it was, in fact, the controversy that made the Antiochene church decide “to launch a vigorous Gentile mission.”

the earliest apostles as the following.

First, Paul met the Jerusalem Apostles three years after his conversion near Damascus. Bruce regards this first Jerusalem interview the earliest historical account of Paul's reference to Peter. Gal 1:18 states that three years after his conversion, Paul went up to Jerusalem to visit Peter, without mentioning James. As the phrase ἱστορήσαι Κηφᾶν suggests, Paul not only wished "to get acquainted" with Peter, but also "to make enquiry" of Peter.²⁷ There must be reasons why Paul sought information from Peter and not from James. We guess he wished to obtain from Peter himself information which no one else, not even James, was so well qualified to give. Later, in the resurrection appearance list of 1 Cor 15:5–8 supplied by Paul, it is said that the Lord first appeared to Peter. This may help to account for the position of leadership which Peter occupied among the apostles in the earliest days of the church. Bruce makes a reasonable conjecture that the intention of this first visit of Paul to Jerusalem of Gal 1:18–20 is to acquire information about the life of Christ. During this first post-conversion visit to Jerusalem, Paul obtained the resurrection appearance list which he recorded in 1 Cor 15:5–8.²⁸

Second, the discussion in the Jerusalem conference reported by Paul in Gal 2:1–10 centered around the demarcation of spheres of missionary activity. The atmosphere was harmonious. The topic of discussion was evangelism related. Nothing sensitive about Jewish practice was mentioned. Circumcision was not discussed at the conference at all.²⁹

²⁷ This phrase ἱστορήσαι Κηφᾶν has been much discussed. Kilpatrick, "Galatians 1:18 ἱστορήσαι Κηφᾶν," 144–9, emphasizes the distinction between ἱστορήσαι and εἶδον. Quoting from Liddel and Scott, Kilpatrick firmly believes that the former word means to visit a person with a view to eliciting information. We can hardly suppose that Paul's intention of visiting the Jerusalem Apostles is to just gaze at them. See Barrett, *On Paul*, 37–9.

²⁸ Bruce, *Peter, Stephen, James, and John*, 20–22.

²⁹ Bruce, *Epistle to the Galatians*, 116, is probably right that Gal. 2:3–5 should be taken as a digression, and vv. 4–5 as a parenthesis within that digression, with reference to an occasion slightly later

On the contrary, even Titus was not compelled to be circumcised although he was a Greek. Nothing was said about facilitating table fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians. The Jerusalem Apostles gave Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship. There was a mutual understanding on friendly terms that Paul and Barnabas should continue their work of Gentile evangelization, while the Jerusalem Apostles should concentrate on the witness among Jews.³⁰

Third, in the Antioch controversy of Gal 2:11–14, which is some time after the Jerusalem conference of Gal 2:1–10, Paul reported a three-stage development of his conflict with Peter. (1) At first, Peter visited Antioch and shared meals freely with Gentile Christians there. (2) Upon the arrival of some people from James from Jerusalem, Peter changed his conduct and separated from the Gentile Christians. (3) Finally, Paul gave his reason for face-to-face confrontation with Peter because of his fear of the men of the circumcision.³¹ The atmosphere became very tense. Whether this confrontation was personal or not is open to further discussion. It seems that this incident sowed the seed of division. The relationship built up by the right hand of fellowship was at risk. Instead, there developed opposition between Paulinism and Jerusalem Apostolicity. The Antioch controversy of Gal. 2:11–14 provides the background to the subsequent Jerusalem

than Paul and Barnabas's conference with the Jerusalem "pillars." The circumcision issue was not introduced at that conference, but later, when false brothers infiltrated their fellowship. Orchard, "A New Solution of the Galatians Problem," 165–67, recognizes that Paul in vv. 3–5 mentioned the non-circumcision of Titus parenthetically because "it suddenly struck him as a forcible argument with which to refute the Judaizers of Galatia that the fact that the Apostles did nothing about the Gentile Titus ... on that occasion showed that they agreed with him in recognizing 'the freedom of the Gentiles' from the burden of the Mosaic Law." See also Manson, *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, 175–76; Orchard, "The Ellipsis between Galatians 2, 3 and 2, 4," 469–81.

³⁰ Stanton, "Galatians," 1157; Borchert, "Galatians," 274; Fung, *Epistle to the Galatians*, 100–101; Betz, *Galatians*, 100.

³¹ Betz, *Galatians*, 106–7.

Council of Acts 15.³²

Fourth, the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15, on the one hand, soothed the dismay of Peter and on the other, facilitated the achievement of Paul and Barnabas. But the theological significance of the Council does not rest on the superficial shaking hands again, but on the principles communicated by Peter that both the Jews and the Gentiles alike will be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus (Acts 15:11). This principle stands as an enduring norm in both theologies of Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles.³³ Besides, it is more important that the Jerusalem Apostles gained unprecedented prominence in church leadership in their age and beyond.

The picture of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles was also captured by the Church Fathers. In the early stage in the Western church, the figures of the Jerusalem Apostles are more important than their writings. In Irenaeus's long chapter of *Adv. Haer.* 3.12, Stephen, Peter, John, and James were offered as important witnesses in support of the continuity of salvation history against those who would assert a division between the old and new covenants. James was highlighted as the leader in the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15 who passed final judgment and concluded that the church "did not teach the existence of another Father, but gave the new covenant of liberty to those who had lately believed in God by the Holy Spirit" (*Adv. Haer.* 3.12.14). Moreover, the "apostles who were with James" allowed the Gentiles to be exempted from certain Mosaic laws without altering the nature of salvation (*Adv. Haer.* 3.12.15). Peter and John were mentioned

³² For a thorough discussion on the relationship between Gal. 2:11–14 and Acts 15, see Barrett, *On Paul*, 73–107; Bets, *Galatians*, 81–83; and Bruce, *Epistle to the Galatians*, 43–56.

³³ Johnson, *Scripture and Discernment*, 78. He believes that there would be difficulties to interpret the passage of Acts 15 from historical and literary criticism. We have to investigate from theological perspectives.

together as the leaders of the twelve (*Adv. Haer.* 3.12.3, 5, 15). On this basis, Peter was portrayed in the role of conscientious apostle who obeyed the Holy Spirit who came from the same God that gave the Jews the Mosaic law. James defended Peter's infamous withdrawal from the Gentile fellowship in the Antioch controversy. Irenaeus concluded that the Lord has appointed the apostles as witnesses of "every action and of every doctrine" (*Adv. Haer.* 3.12.15). The Jerusalem Apostles had always been present with the Lord and operated as eyewitnesses to his words and works. The authors of 1 John and the Petrine Epistles predicate their authority on the fact that they were themselves eyewitnesses of Christ's work (1 John 1:1–4; 1 Pet 5:1; 2 Pet 1:16–18). In short, Irenaeus concluded that there was a division of labour in God's saving work among the apostles, but not a division of doctrine. The extrication of any single apostle from the unity of the original mission led directly into church division and heretical doctrine.³⁴

Another Western father is Tertullian who, in his rhetoric against the Marcionites, portrayed Paul in the Antioch controversy as a beginner in faith, yet recklessly and immaturely blamed the Jerusalem Apostles "who were apostles before himself" (*Adv. Marc.* 1.20). Unlike Irenaeus, Tertullian continued to insist that all three Jerusalem Apostles (Peter, John, and James) be linked together as a unit. In his mind, all three received censure from Paul in Galatians 2, not simply Peter alone (*Adv. Marc.* 1.20; 4.3; 5.3). It is obvious in Tertullian's thought that Paul was regarded as an apostle, but had a "lower" position than the Jerusalem Apostles. Peter, James, and John gave Paul their right hands of fellowship (*Adv. Marc.* 5.3), which was regarded as a sign of their agreement in the same gospel (*Praescr.* 23), and the same rule of the faith, or *regula fidei*

³⁴ Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 38–9.

(*Adv. Marc.* 4.2). However, their spheres of work were different (*Adv. Marc.* 1.20), Peter to the circumcision and Paul to the Gentiles. According to Tertullian, the Holy Spirit will secure the harmony of apostolic preaching (*Pud.* 19). Unlike Irenaeus, Tertullian attributes complete authority to the Apostle Jude (*Pud.* 18; *Cult. Fem.* 1.3; *Ad Uxor.* 2.2). But like Irenaeus, Tertullian did not mention or quote the Epistle of James.³⁵

In summary, both biblical accounts of Gal 1:18–2:14 and Acts 15:1–35, and patristic witnesses of Irenaeus and Tertullian point to the same direction. The four authorial figures of James, Peter, John, and Jude were prominent, even more prominent than Paul. They played an important role in maintaining the stabilization in the church. Some of their writings were in circulation, but not widespread in the church. Two conclusions are obvious. First, the Jerusalem Apostles were most of the time treated as a unit. Second, the main concern is not on the date or circulation of the epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles, but on the unity of these apostles.

(B) The Three Locations of the Epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles

(1) Letters from the Church of Jerusalem

The Jerusalem church, located at the literal and symbolic center of the Jewish world, naturally assumed the corresponding role of center for Christianity. The core of the earliest community in Jerusalem was people who had been followers of Jesus during his earthly ministry. Some of them became active participants and even leaders in the Christian world afterwards. After the resurrection, Jesus appeared to Peter and to the

³⁵ Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 38–9, argues for a late composition of the Epistle of James because Irenaeus and Tertullian did not mention or quote such a writing. However, this argument from silence is only a conceptual fallacy.

twelve, later to James, then to all the apostles (1 Cor 15: 6–7). Regarding the leadership of the Jerusalem church, Clement of Alexandria wrote that after the ascension of Jesus, the apostles Peter, James (the son of Zebedee), and John appointed James the Lord’s brother bishop of Jerusalem (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.1.3). But James went unmentioned by Luke until Acts 12:17. Meanwhile, seven deacons were appointed to serve at the widows’ table in the Jerusalem church. The Jerusalem church underwent the first dispersion after the martyrdom of Stephen. Bede the Venerable related these dispersed Jews to the recipients of the Epistle of James.³⁶

Three years after his conversion, Paul had an interview with Peter and James in Jerusalem (Gal 1:18–20). Fourteen years after the Jerusalem interview, Paul went up to the Jerusalem church and had the right hand of fellowship with James, Peter, and John, who were acknowledged “pillars.” In the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15, James the bishop of Jerusalem acted as chair of the discussion. The point in Luke’s narrative where Peter offered his speech of Acts 15:7–11 followed by James’ conclusion of the council with his last word has been taken as Luke’s way of indicating that James effectively replaced Peter as head of the Jerusalem church.³⁷

The Jerusalem Apostles were the first to get in touch with the Jewish Diaspora. The apostolic decree of Acts 15:23–29 was most probably the first official letter from the Jerusalem Apostles to the Jewish Christians elsewhere. Before long, the Epistles of James and Jude were dispatched from Jerusalem, and were in circulation among the Jewish Christians in Diaspora in order to withstand the growing tension of the Gentile Christians. These are the two of the earliest New Testament integral literary works from Palestinian

³⁶ Bede, *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*, 7.

³⁷ Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Community,” 67.

Jewish Christianity that have come down to us. Until the revolt of 66 and the destruction of Jerusalem in 70, the Jerusalem church had a special and unequaled status. Even Paul had to recognize the significant leadership of the Jerusalem church as the mother church of all missionary works.

In modern scholarship, the problem regarding the authenticity of James is still unsettled. Although some people still think that the teaching from the historical James has been incorporated in the work of a later editor, I see no remaining reason not to attribute authorship in the full sense to James himself.³⁸ Arguing from the contrary, it would be very unlikely for James, the authoritative representative from the Jerusalem church, being aware of the tension and religious hurdles the Diaspora Jews were facing, to write nothing by himself to encourage them. The mission of James is obvious. He intended to encourage the Jewish Christians under persecution to persevere and to exemplify their faith through Christian conducts.

The mission of James can also be defended by arguments from silence.³⁹ Popkes

³⁸ Johnson, *Letter of James*, 118–121, lists six reasons for early dating of the Epistle of James. Adamson, *James*, 34, concludes that, based on the economic and didactic data, the Epistle of James must be dated very early before the fall of Jerusalem. All evidence leads us to think that the epistle emanated from a pious Jewish group at Jerusalem led by James the Lord's brother. Adamson also suggests that the Epistle of James was dated earlier than the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15, an opinion which I have reservation. Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Community," 93–94, argues for the authenticity of James that the epistolary situation presented by the prescript suggests that James wrote from the center of the Jewish world to readers throughout the Diaspora (eastern as well as western). This puts the work in a tradition of official letters sent to Jewish communities in the Diaspora from the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem. I go together with Bauckham that the apostolic decree of the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15:23–29 is another early Christian example of this tradition. For those who argue for a later date of the Epistle of James, see Painter, *Just James*, 234–48; Wall, *Community of the Wise*, 5–11; Davids, "Palestinian Traditions in the Epistle of James," 33–57.

³⁹ Arguments from silence attempts to defend a position by capitalizing on the absence of evidence against them. Such arguments are considered by some scholars to be fallacious because a case built on missing evidence relies on something that is not actually "evidence" at all. Silence in historical record does not make the argument positive, and should not be supported as actual evidence. The fact that James does not show awareness of some typically Jewish terms in his extant texts does not prove that he was unaware of these terms. But others argue for the opposite that these arguments can be viewed as appropriate and valuable given the right circumstances. It is impossible to avoid silences when engaging in the task of historical research. Our task involves distinguishing between fallacious and non-fallacious arguments from

points out that the Epistle of James does not include a number of items in connection to first-century Jewish life, such as the terms Israel, Israelites, Jews, Jerusalem, Moses, Temple, Sabbath or circumcision. Instead, the Epistle of James is full of apparent discussion with Pauline tradition in James.⁴⁰ Popkes also agrees with other commentators that the major Jacobean section arguing Pauline tradition is 2:14–26, in particular on the theme of justification by faith and work. However, in addition, he finds that there are other Jacobean passages that argue against a Pauline tradition.⁴¹ Popkes concludes that the situation faced by James is to a large degree shaped by elements originating in a Pauline tradition, in such a way that Paul's position became misinterpreted and abused by people who made it an ideology to conceal their own interest, far from what Paul ever intended. The situation had become fueled by religio-ideological viewpoints which James has to counter-argue. Drawing from these observations, the Epistle of James was written not long after the Pauline Epistles, and his mission is to correct those who mistakenly regarded the Pauline gospel as an easier way toward salvation and membership in God's people.

Another New Testament integral literary work from the Palestinian Jewish Christianity is the Epistle of Jude. Traditionally this epistle has been attributed to Jude the half-brother of Jesus, and the brother of James, as mentioned in Matt 13:55 and Mark 6:3, and understood by Hegesippus (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.19.1–3.20.6). However, since the nineteenth

silences, not totally rejecting them. See argument on "Argument from Silence" by Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 32–34; Henige, *Historical Evidence and Argument*, 173–85; and Walton, "Nonfallacious Arguments from Ignorance," 381–87.

⁴⁰ Popkes, "Mission of James in His Time," 90–92.

⁴¹ For example, James 2:8–12 against Rom 13:8–10; James 1:2–3 against Rom 5:3–5; James 1:13–15 against Rom 6:23; 7:7ff; James 2:1 against 1 Cor 2:8; James 2:5 against 1 Cor 1:26–28; James 3:15 against 1 Cor 2:14.

century, many are doubtful about the authenticity and date of the epistle. Reese offers a fair and balanced observation and summary of the issue. “The difficulty with these arguments is that they rest on particular assumptions about factors such as the length of Jude’s life, the linguistic ability of people who grew up on provincial areas, the development of the canon, and a formalization of the type of heresy confronted by the epistle. Many of these factors are unknown to us, and we merely engage in speculation when we attempt to work out when Jude died, how literate he may have been, and the exact identification of the heretical group addressed.”⁴²

Equally controversial about the authenticity and date of the Epistle of Jude is its locality.⁴³ It is more plausible that this epistle finds its roots within the world of Palestinian Christianity of the first century.⁴⁴ Jude’s connection to the figure of James, and respectively to the Epistle of James, is generated by the opening of the letter. The author of Jude introduces himself as “brother of James” but not “brother of the Lord.” From here, it follows that the author of Jude is acquainted with the Epistle of James and knowingly hints at that letter.⁴⁵ The simple reference to James is most understandable if

⁴² Reese, *2 Peter and Jude*, 18–19. Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 5–178, offers a thorough investigation on these questions, but come to a different conclusion.

⁴³ Bigg, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 321, suggests that “Jude may have been addressed to almost any community in which Greek was spoken.” Grundmann, *Der Brief des Judas und der zweite Brief des Petrus*, 19–20, states that Jude was written for Jewish Christian communities somewhere between Jerusalem and Antioch. Kelly, *Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 234, and Schelkle, *Die Petrusbriefe; der Judasbrief*, 178, suggest either a Syrian or Palestinian origin. M. Green, *Second Epistle General of Peter*, 56 and Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 247, propose somewhere like Antioch as a probable destination. Gunther, “Alexandrian Epistle of Jude,” 550–52 believes that Egypt is likely the place of origin of Jude because of the widespread acceptance of the epistle by the Alexandrian church. His argument not only links the heretics with Alexandria but also finds within Jude’s letter local allusions to the coastal city of Alexandria, where one could see the “wild waves of the sea that toss up their... foam” as they crash on the rocky harbor (Jude 13).

⁴⁴ See G. Green, *Jude and 2 Peter*, 12–16; Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 131–33; Gerdmar, *Rethinking the Judaism–Hellenism Dichotomy*, 340; Charles, *Literary Strategy in the Epistle of Jude*, 65–81.

⁴⁵ Hahn, “Randbemerkungen zum Judasbrief,” 650n36; and Rowston, “The Most Neglected Book

we suppose that the author wrote to communities where James was well known and recognized.⁴⁶ Jude wrote with the exegetical style that makes him associate with the exegetical school within the Jerusalem church. Bauckham notes that “the letter of Jude contains probably the most elaborate passage of formal exegesis in the manner of the Qumran pesharim to be found in the New Testament... Such exegesis must have flourished especially in the early Palestinian church.”⁴⁷

The question is how we understand the mission of James and Jude in the authorial perspective within the matrix of early Christian history. We conclude that both James and Jude were prominent leaders in the Jerusalem church, which was looked to as the mother church in early church history. In the first century, the Jews of the Diaspora were economically among the most prosperous subjects of the Roman Empire.⁴⁸ But their spiritual condition was of a different concern. The church is under the attack of heresies and persecutions. Their mission is to instruct the Diaspora Jews about the Christian faith from the Jewish outset. They had the same place of origin, serving the same target group of audience. The Epistle of James was in circulation a bit earlier than that of Jude. In terms of literary style, they come from the same exegetical school of Palestinian Jewish

in the New Testament,” 560–61.

⁴⁶ Wherever the relatives of Jesus are mentioned in the New Testament, they are associated with Palestine, except for 1 Cor 9:5, from which we suggest that Jude is likely to have occasionally engaged in traveling ministry. The relatives of Jesus were very important figures in the mission and leadership of the churches of Palestine in the first century after the death and resurrection of Jesus. Hegesippus relates a story of the persecution of Jude’s grandson being persecuted by Domitian (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.20.8). Eusebius notes that the relatives of Jesus were located in Nazareth (*Eccl. Hist.* 1.7.14). Much has been said. One might challenge that if Jude was such an important figure within the leadership of the Jerusalem church, why did Paul not mention his name simultaneously with James, Peter, and John. Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 125–130, reminds that we should not think of James, Jude, or any relative of Jesus as holding dynastic leadership in Palestinian Jewish Christianity. This belongs to the fallacy of argument from silence.

⁴⁷ Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 233. See also Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Community,” 86; Charles, *Literary Strategy in the Epistle of Jude*, 71–81.

⁴⁸ Friend, *Early Church*, 19.

Christian, but their messages are different because they are addressing different issues.

(2) Letters from the Church of Rome

Whether the authorship of 1 and 2 Peter is by Peter or a Petrine group of Rome is not the focus here.⁴⁹ Instead, more intriguing is the mission of Peter and his two canonical epistles in the reconstruction of Christianity in the Roman world. It is proposed that the two Petrine Epistles in the New Testament had their place of composition in Rome, and were originally written to the same group of people. One evidence comes from the canonical placement of these two epistles. These two epistles that are alleged to Peter are grouped together according to their authorship, not to their genres or theological foci. Another evidence can be obtained by considering the internal evidences of these two epistles separately. Taking “Babylon” in 1 Pet 5:13 as a symbol, Rome is the place of origin of 1 Peter.⁵⁰ Taking the notion of “the second letter I am writing to you” in 2 Pet 3:1 as in implication of 1 Peter as the first letter, it is suggested that 2 Peter was written from the same place of origin as 1 Peter (that is, Rome), and to the same group of recipients who had prior knowledge of 1 Peter (that is, Asia Minor).⁵¹ This notion

⁴⁹ For forceful arguments for Petrine authorship of 1 Peter, see Jobes, *1 Peter*, 14–19, and *Letters to the Church*, 276–82; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 26–36. For a concise summary of the arguments against Petrine authorship of 1 Peter, see Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 423–24; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 120–30. For arguments for the authenticity of 2 Peter, see Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 259–70; Kruger, “The Authenticity of 2 Peter,” 645–71; Bigg, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 199–247; M. Green, *Second Epistle General of Peter*, 13–39; Moo, *2 Peter, Jude*, 21–26. For arguments against Petrine authorship of 2 Peter or having attributed 2 Peter to a later date, see Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 235–37; Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 430–34; Reicke, *James, Peter, and Jude*, 143–44; Cranfield, *I and II Peter and Jude*, 148–49; Wand, *General Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 143–44.

⁵⁰ In support of Rome, see Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 37; Kelly, *Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 33–34. Michaels, *1 Peter*, xlvii; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 63–64; Goppelt, *Commentary on 1 Peter*, 48, sees the letter as hailing from Rome, even though he does not accept Petrine authorship.

⁵¹ Some scholars attempt to divorce 1 and 2 Peter. For example, Lapham, *Peter*, 149–171, attempts to argue that 1 Peter may not be the earlier letter implied in 2 Pet 3:1, and that 2 Peter might be a conflation

emphasizes the relation of 2 Peter to the Peter tradition in Rome.⁵² In short, it is argued here that the Epistles of Peter in the New Testament are tied together as a unit from the perspectives of the place of origin and of the recipients. These Epistles were written either by Peter himself or by the Petrine school in Rome, depending on one's theological preference, to the Diaspora Jews who were scattered throughout the provinces of Asia Minor. The unity of this unit of writings is further supported by their placement in the canon, which will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

The relationship between the church of Rome and the church of Asia Minor invites various discussions. It is obvious that these churches share the same fate of undergoing the trials of persecution, which will be discussed in the next chapter. However, a survey of the background of the churches of Rome and Asia Minor will shed light on the intriguing discussion of the mission of the Petrine Epistles in the reconstruction of Christianity in the Roman world.

The origin of the church of Rome is obscure, but the following biblical information should give us some hints for this topic: (1) the account of Acts 2:10 about the visitors from Rome to Jerusalem at Pentecost, (2) the date when Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans, and (3) Paul's interview with the believers and Jewish leaders upon arrival at Rome in Acts 28:14–15 and 28:17–24 respectively. In Acts 2:10, Luke mentions those visitors from Rome that include both Jews and proselytes. It is probable that the list

of two epistles, the first (Chapters 1 and 2) representing the letter referred to in Chapter 3. He believes that such a hypothesis would avoid the difficulties of text and form in the traditionally-assumed link between 1 and 2 Peter. However, Davids, *Letters of 2 Peter and Jude*, 143–9, argues from rhetorical critical point of view that 2 Peter rhetorical purpose of each section of 2 Peter is clear. There is no reason to doubt the rhetorical disunity of this epistle.

⁵² Calvin, *Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles*, 363–4, believed that “Peter allowed this testimony of his mind to be recorded shortly before his death.” Even if 2 Peter was written through an amanuensis or a Petrine group “shortly” after Peter's death, Rome is still undoubtedly the location of this epistle.

of the audience recorded in Acts 2:9–11 actually came from the Jewish community of Rome and enumerated the places of origin of its members.⁵³ Reasoner concludes from Acts 2:10 and other evidence “that Christianity was brought to Rome by Jewish Christians from Palestine.”⁵⁴ Brown and Meier float the interesting hypothesis that the church was established by “Christians who kept up some Jewish observances and remained faithful to part of the heritage of the Jewish Law and cult, without insisting on circumcision.”⁵⁵ This hypothesis would fit with the theory that Christianity had its origins in Roman synagogues.⁵⁶ Sanday and Headlam suggest that among the “Jews and proselytes” in Acts 2:10 were the Jewish slaves of the “Synagogue of the Freedmen” mentioned in Acts 6:9, who had managed to gain their freedom in the Roman world.⁵⁷ These freedmen could actually have come from anywhere in the Roman Empire, but many of them might well have been descendants of Jerusalem Jews taken to Rome by Pompey as prisoners of war in 63 B.C., who came to form a great part of the Jewish population there.⁵⁸

Another factor leading us to resolve the origin of the church of Rome is the dating of the Epistle to the Romans. When Paul wrote his epistles to the Romans at the close of his third missionary journey, he gave no evidence that any earlier authority, or prominent

⁵³ Kilpatrick, “Jewish Background,” 48–49, suggests that the list would explain the presence of Judea as well as its ending with the resident Jews and proselytes of Rome.

⁵⁴ Reasoner, “Rome and Roman Christianity,” 852.

⁵⁵ Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 104.

⁵⁶ Schreiner, *Romans*, 11.

⁵⁷ Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, xxviii.

⁵⁸ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 29. Barrett, *Epistle to the Romans*, 6: There was a considerable Jewish colony in first-century Rome. It originated in the large number of Jewish slaves brought to the city by Pompey after his capture of Jerusalem in 63 BC and from that time appears steadily to have increased. Of these we may note the expulsion of Jews under Claudius. This is referred to in Acts 18:2 as the reason for the presence in Corinth of Aquila and Priscilla. It seems that the reason the emperor acted against the Jews is because of the riots when Jesus the Messiah had first been proclaimed in the Roman synagogues.

apostles like Peter, has visited or remained in Rome. Scholars have eliminated the possibility that Peter has founded the Roman church, or spent a major portion of time in Rome before Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans or visit to Rome. Had Paul known that Peter had already worked there, he would have mentioned the fact in his epistle. Neither did Paul make any hint in Romans that he was aware of Peter having played any part, significant or trivial, in the evangelism of the Roman church.⁵⁹

Upon his arrival at Rome, Paul met the believers (Acts 28:14–25). This gives us information that by that time there was a sizeable Christian community in Rome. Later, Paul met the leaders of the Jewish synagogues there (Acts 28:17–24). They were well organized and mixed sociologically with their neighbors. Unlike those in the Eastern church, the Jews in Rome did not form wholly distinct units.⁶⁰ A Jewish synagogue of Rome was governed by a council of elders, with administrators to administer the community's material goods and supervisor of the charity, and some priests who were descendants of priestly families. The Jewish synagogues of Rome preserved strong links with those of Jerusalem. Events among the Jewish people of Palestine were certainly known to the Jews of Rome (Acts 28:21). Roman Jews, like others, paid the tax for the Jerusalem Temple and went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁶¹ No extant document reveals Peter's prior connection with the church of Rome before his arrival there. However, based on the above information about the activities of the Jewish synagogue of Rome, it is very likely that the Jerusalem Apostles had been constantly in contact with the Diaspora Jews all over the empire, of which Rome was one of the main centers.

⁵⁹ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 29–30; Barrett, *Epistle to the Romans*, 5–6.

⁶⁰ For example, there were common cemeteries. Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome," 363–7.

⁶¹ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 28–29.

By the time the Epistles of Peter were written, we have corroborating evidence that Mark was in Rome (1 Pet 5:13). Obviously, Paul was in Rome as well (Col 4:10; Phlm 24). Although the Church of Rome has played an important role in church history, both Peter and Paul were not founders of this church. The fact that these two prominent apostles of the Christian world residing in Rome at the same time during this period of imperial persecution is no coincidence. The mention of Paul in 2 Pet 3:15 may be viewed as another incidence of the parting of the ways, or the division of labor. While Paul's epistles of captivity were in circulation in the churches in the western part of Asia Minor around the Aegean Sea, Peter's epistles were sent to the Diaspora Jews in the eastern part of Asia Minor of "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia" (1 Pet 1:1).⁶² The geographical location of the reception of the Petrine Epistles was in the vicinity of Antioch. Eusebius names Peter as the first bishop of Antioch (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.36.2), which is also the place where the Antioch controversy of Gal 2:11–14 took place, and the area where the apostolic decree of Acts 15:23–29 was addressed to some twenty years ago. This is another indication that Peter, as a Jerusalem Apostle and an apostle to the circumcised, still focused his ministry more to the Jews. Maybe this phenomenon reflects a certain degree of the subtle relationship between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity in the early church.

(3) Letters from the Church of Asia Minor

To reconstruction the historical context of the provenance of the Johannine

⁶² Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, and Jude*, 37, indicates that when Peter wrote the letter, Bithynia and Pontus were a single province, and hence Peter probably wrote generally, designating a geographic area north of the Taurus mountains (in what is now modern-day Turkey) as the recipients of the letter. It is likely that Peter designated the area by province instead of geographically; for if it were the latter, he probably would have included Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia.

Epistles is a dilemma. On the one hand, the Johannine literature must be read in a manner that clearly reflects the reality of a community in which the Jewish Christians have a central significance. The problems related to the Jewish Christians can best be detected from the text.⁶³ On the other, it becomes more difficult the moment one wants to use these texts to reconstruct exactly the history of the Johannine communities. The problems related to the Jewish Christians can be fallaciously detected by mirror-reading the text.⁶⁴ To avoid this dilemma, we begin not with the texts but with examining the geographical location of the church of Asia Minor.

The Johannine Epistles are tied in with the geographical location of Asia Minor. Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria affirm that John was resident in Ephesus and ministered there. After his release from Patmos, he went back to Ephesus, and then to one of the cities not far off, which is believed to be Smyrna.⁶⁵ The Pastoral and Johannine Epistles show that there were people of apostolic authority responsible for churches within a defined region, such as Titus in Crete and Timothy in Ephesus. As the regional leaders with apostolic authority were dying out, the future lay with the resident bishops, deacons, and preeminent leaders like Diotrephes of 3 John in Asia Minor. Two other

⁶³ Such as Brown, *Community of the Beloved Disciple*, 25–31; and Martyn, *Gospel of John in Christian History*, 93–102. These reconstruction largely agree that the origin of the Johannine circle has to be found within the community of Jewish Christians who had a relatively “low” Christology, that is, a Christology that involves the application to Jesus of titles derived from Old Testament or intertestamental expectations.

⁶⁴ Such as Painter, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 79: Almost all we know specifically about the settings is drawn from the Johannine writings; and Johnson, *Writings of the New Testament*, 559: “The best one can hope for is to find traces of an internal development within the group,” this group being the church or churches to whom the Johannine Epistles are addressed.

⁶⁵ See *Eccl. Hist.* 3.23.1–2; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 2.22.5; 3.3.4; Clement, *Salvation of the Rich*, 42. Baasland, “Prolegomenon,” 361–62: Scholars hesitate to give a more general location for the Johannine writings. Three possibilities are suggested. The first is a Johannine circle, inspired by a teacher, which could be located anywhere. The second is some precise locations which scholars have not agreed upon. Third is the location of Asia Minor, particularly Ephesus, where the traditions about John and/or the Presbyter are deeply rooted.

documents of this period, *1 Clement* and Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*, also tell us something about the internal life of the primitive church.

The scene of the Church of Asia Minor at the time John wrote his epistles can also be seen through the eyes of the seven churches mentioned in the book of Revelation.⁶⁶ The most obvious picture of the Jewish-Christian conflict is reflected particularly in his letters to Smyrna (Rev 2:8–11) and Philadelphia (3:7–13). In these two letters, John describes the Jewish communities as “the synagogues of Satan”⁶⁷ and explicitly denies to them the honorable title of Jew. Another thing the letters to Smyrna and Philadelphia share in common is their lack of a call for vigilance and an exhortation to conquer.

It is conspicuous from the context that the bitter hostility towards the Christians comes from those who “say they are Jews and are not” (Rev 2:9; 3:9). With respect to religious belief, the Jews broke away very distinctively from the Hellenistic world. Wherever the Jews dwelt, their community life was centered around their synagogues and their social and ethical life developed in organizations suited to enable them to observe the law. They submitted themselves to the authority of their own courts and their rulers.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Yarbrough, *1–3 John*, 17–21, affirms that the situation presupposed by Rev 2–3 conceivably resonates with the Johannine Epistles in different ways. The known world around the Christian community in Asia Minor reflected the context of these epistles. Seen in this light, the epistles of John are not obscure brittle condemnations of personal enemies. All three epistles of John are “frank, realistic, but positive pastoral missives seeking to affirm and reinvigorate doctrinal direction, ethical urgency, relational integrity, and a forward-looking faith in God, generally in a geographical setting and temporal era in which relatively young churches were facing the challenges of longer term existence.”

⁶⁷ Charles, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John*, 57–58, reminds that in the New Testament, the term “synagogue” being used of a Christian assembly occurs only once (James 2:2). Throughout the New Testament, the nobler word ἐκκλησία was chosen by the Church as a self-designation.

⁶⁸ For example, In 2 Cor 11:24, Paul himself refers to his receiving from the Jews (probably in the synagogue) forty lashes minus one. In the second century, the leaders met in synods to reject the heresy, expelled them from the Church, and debarred them from communion. (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 5.16.10). Origen witnessed that in the third century, rulers of Alexandria were reputed to have very great powers to remove from the counsels those who had diverted from the instruction of the scriptural truth (Origen, *Letter to Africanus* 9).

They kept apart in life and in death from their pagan neighbors, burying their dead in their own cemeteries and looking for the future gathering-in of Israel. In the towns, they actively proselytized the Greeks.⁶⁹

Now, the fact that Gentiles were admitted into the church must have created a lot of friction, as displayed in the churches of Smyrna and Philadelphia. In the one body of the church, Jews and Gentiles were eligible to possess the same identity of “saints and faithful people” (Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 1.2). We do not have much detail on what had actually happened. In Jewish eyes, Christianity itself was interpreted as destructive, and the Jews made great efforts to keep separate from Jewish Christians as well as Gentile Christians. Nevertheless, it was the Jewish Christians that have suffered the most from Jewish hostility during this period.⁷⁰

Excommunication of the Jewish Christians from the synagogues was a burning problem in the Johannine community, and can hardly be overlooked. The degree of hostility of the Jews to the Christians, especially Jewish Christians, is not difficult to imagine. In their synagogue, the Jews cursed those who believed on Christ (Justin, *Dial.* 16; 47; 96). The synagogue of the Jews was labeled as the “fountain of persecution” (Tertullian, *Scorp.* 10). In the martyrdom of Polycarp, this enmity of the Jews was exhibited in an almost obstinate degree. When they proclaimed that Polycarp had confessed that he was a Christian, the whole multitude, both of the heathen and Jews, who dwelt at Smyrna, cried out with uncontrollable fury, and in a loud voice, “This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the overthrower of our gods, he who has

⁶⁹ Josephus reported the situation in Antioch that the Jews “made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby, after sort, brought them to be a portion of their own body.” (*War* 7.3.45.) Those Greeks who were minded to obey the Jewish laws were offered warm welcome (*Ag. Ap.* 2.29.210.)

⁷⁰ Hirschberg, “Jewish Believers in Asia Minor,” 222.

been teaching many not to sacrifice, or to worship the gods.” Then they requested that Polycarp be fed by the wild beasts, but were refused. After that, they cried out with one consent that Polycarp should be burnt alive (*Mart. Pol.* 12:2).

As was the case with Smyrna, the Judaizers in Philadelphia were in similar manner a source of trouble. Ignatius warned the church of Philadelphia not to listen those who preached Judaism to them. “For it is better to hearken to Christian doctrine from a man who has been circumcised, than to Judaism from one uncircumcised” (Ignatius, *Phld.* 6). The situation is equally explicit in Ephesus. Although it is clear that Paul continued to have relationship with the synagogues most of his ministry, it is also very clear that he established new communities of Jewish and Gentile Christians. In Acts 18:24–28, Apollos, a Jewish Christian from Alexandria, spoke with burning enthusiasm and boldly in the synagogue in Ephesus. The Jewish-Christian relationship is still harmonious.⁷¹ The point of departure took place in Acts 19:8–10. The passage informs us that Paul spent three months in the synagogue to argue persuasively about the kingdom of God. The opposition came from the stubborn Jews who refused to believe and spoke evil of the Way before the congregation. Therefore, Paul left the synagogue, taking the disciples with him, and argued daily in the lecture hall of Tyrannus. For two years, all the residents of Asia, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of the Lord.

The conflict started with opposition from the non-believing Jews. The passage displays a public distancing of the Jews of the synagogue from the Jewish Christians in Ephesus.⁷² In his farewell speech to the elders in Ephesus, Paul emphasizes that his ministry includes testimony to “both Jews and Greeks” about repentance toward God and

⁷¹ Haenchen, *Acts*, 551.

⁷² Hvalvik, “Paul as a Jewish Believer,” 133; Stegemann and Stegemann, *Jesus Movement*, 349.

faith toward the Lord Jesus (Acts 20:21). Paul is depicted as a missionary to both Jews and non-Jews. The division of labour of Gal 2:7–8 can be interpreted in general term only. It is misleading to depict Paul as the missionary to the Jews only.⁷³ In Asia Minor, it is Judaism and Christianity that parted their ways.

The authorial argument on the Johannine Epistles can be reckoned in light of the history of the church of Asia Minor. The most plausible speculation is that the Jerusalem Apostle John, son of Zebedee, sometimes seen as represented by the Beloved Disciple of John 13:23 and 19:26, is attributed to the author of 1–3 John. Suggestions other than this are recognized, but are not adopted in this dissertation. The Johannine Epistles were sometimes judged to be more Hellenistic than Jewish. This is partly because of the absence of explicit Old Testament scriptural quotations and allusions other than Cain and Abel, and partly because of the absence of “the Jews” as opponents. Even “anointing” (1 John 2:20, 27) and “seed” (1 John 3:9) could be viewed as Hellenistic. Moreover, the gnostic element of the assumed opponent could be seen as Greek philosophy.

Each of the three epistles of John seeks to answer distinctive questions that challenges the author’s own standing. In addition, the Johannine Epistles, being a portion of the Epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles, address some common needs of Jewish Christians in Asia Minor. For example, 1 John emphasizes confession of Jesus as the Christ (2:22). One has to decide whether this is a Jewish denial of Jesus’ Messiahship or a Docetic denial of Jesus’ humanity.⁷⁴ Subsequently, 2 John emphasizes truth and love,

⁷³ See Windisch, *Paulus und das Judentum*, 15, claims that the Paul of Acts is just as much a missionary to the Jews in the Diaspora as he is a missionary to the Gentiles. Windisch is contrary to Jervell, *Theology*, 84; and Brawley, *Luke–Acts and the Jews*, 157.

⁷⁴ Lieu, *I, II & III John*, 10. See Lieu, *I, II, & III John*, 1–32, for her discussion of this issue in the introduction of the commentary.

while 3 John on hospitality. One has to decide whether these respond to Christian brotherly love, or to the retaliation of Jewish excommunication of Jewish Christian. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the Jewishness of the opponents.

The above overview shows a variety of positions to reconstruct earliest Christianity in terms of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles and their epistles. James and Jude wrote from the Jerusalem church to the Diaspora Jews in general. Peter wrote from Rome to address the needs of the Diaspora Jews in eastern Asia Minor at almost the same time Paul sent some of his epistles to the western part of Asia Minor. A couple of decades later, John produced his epistles in Asia Minor, the same place that had previously received Paul's epistles. The common denominator of the Jerusalem Apostles and their epistles is the Jewishness of their apologetics. To a certain degree, the epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles are sources for the reconstruction of Christianity in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Rome. Macedonia, Achaia, and even Alexandria are hardly mentioned as places of connection for the Jerusalem Apostles.

In spite of the differences between theologies and provinces, a common pattern of Christianity shaped by the Jerusalem Apostles is visible. The common pattern and the various contextualized formations can be held in the following aspects:⁷⁵

(1) Mission and Spread of Christianity

Christianity came very early to every province of the Roman Empire. Before Paul was "elevated" as the key figure of the many missionary works in the first century, it was the Jerusalem Apostles who were accredited with the first and primary step of Christian

⁷⁵ I am indebted to Baasland, "Prolegomenon," 362–5, for providing this outline of the common pattern. The original outline of six aspects is modified to five.

evangelism. Had the Jerusalem Apostles not been successful to spreading the gospel, there would have no parting(s) of the ways. The evangelical mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is that they focus mainly on the Jewish side of the gospel.

(2) Cultural Factors

The Jewish heritage turned out to be very different from one location to the other. For example, the fall of Jerusalem and the temple could be interpreted very differently in Palestine and in Rome. The cultural conflict between Judaism and Hellenism was an important issue in the development of the Christian church in Asia Minor. The result is reflected in the question of the identity of being a Jewish Christian.

(3) Sociological and Socio-religious Aspects

The institution of Roman society provided an important basis for the development of leadership and church order. Not much from above has been discussed in this aspect except that the Jewish synagogue system and Christian bishopric leadership represented the power structure of the church. Excommunication from the synagogue or from the church was an indication of internal religious authority. In addition to internal power structure, the church has to face external imperial authority, which was often executed by means of persecution.

(4) Ethos

Christian identity was sometimes formed through the ethos. Jewish Christians had their own interpretation and practice of the Old Testament that was to a very large extent different from the Gentile Christians. Moreover, Jewish Christians had to adopt or challenge their Jewish practices while the Gentile Christians had to adopt or challenge their contemporary Hellenistic ethics. The Epistles of James and 1 Peter illuminate the

dialogue with Hellenistic ethics, and show how early a new Christian ethos was formed.

(5) Theology

Theology is often expressed in theological conflicts. Pauline theology has its foci that are different from those of the Jerusalem Apostles. The Jerusalem conference of Gal 2:1–10 and the Antioch controversy of Gal 1:11–14 are obvious examples. In addition, these theological conflicts are often personal and provincial expressions. A “synagogue of Satan” should be interpreted as a local term in the historical and cultural contexts of the churches of Smyrna and Philadelphia.

(IV) Linkages of the Jerusalem Apostles

An abundance of sources is available for investigating the authorship of the epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles. But only to a very limited extent the pieces have been put together in a comprehensive picture. In fact, the authorial aspect of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles can be reviewed not only from the historical context of individual figures, but also from their interrelation and interdependency. The result is like a webbed, indivisible unit of the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles, the unity of which can only be explained by their canonical deployment.

(A) James & 1 Peter. First of all, there are a number of similarities between James and 1 Peter, both of which deal with the situation of persecution. However, the nature of suffering arouses discussions. For Chester, from the eschatological perspectives in James, the theme of suffering is a tradition used by the author to develop the teaching of ethics.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Chester, *Theology of James*, 30–1.

For Martin,⁷⁷ Lohse,⁷⁸ and Hill,⁷⁹ the whole book of 1 Peter is an apologetic tract offered to encourage the readers who were under persecution and trials. Davids, however, attempts to remove the diversity of the nature of suffering between James and 1 Peter by suggesting that “both involved low-grade, unofficial persecution that made life difficult rather than official persecution that might have resulted in execution, imprisonment or flight. Both also draw on some of the same traditions in support of those experiencing persecution.”⁸⁰

Another similarity between James and 1 Peter is their affinities with the tradition behind Matthew’s Gospel.⁸¹ Neither work shows literary dependency on Matthew, but both works show knowledge of the tradition that Matthew used.⁸² It is obvious that James is familiar with Jesus’ teaching.⁸³ It is estimated that 25 out of 36 allusions used by James are to the sermon tradition found in Matthew.⁸⁴ Hartin even suggests that James used the Q^{Mt} source⁸⁵ while Metzner argues that 1 Peter used pre-Matthean tradition.⁸⁶

The third similarity between James and 1 Peter is their addressees. In fact, there are both similarity and difference. James writes “To the twelve tribes in the Diaspora,” while 1 Peter addresses to “God’s chosen ones, resident-aliens of the Diaspora.”

⁷⁷ Martin, “Theology of Jude, 1 Peter, and 2 Peter,” 96.

⁷⁸ Lohse, “Parenesis and Kerygma in 1 Peter,” 37–59.

⁷⁹ Hill, “On Suffering and Baptism in 1 Peter,” 181–9.

⁸⁰ Davids, “James and Peter,” 34.

⁸¹ Slee, *Church in Antioch*, 61, 125.

⁸² Davids, “James and Peter,” 35; Hillyer, *1 and 2 Peter, Jude*, 1.

⁸³ Shepherd, “The Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew,” 40–51.

⁸⁴ Davids, *James*, 47–50.

⁸⁵ Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus*, 140–217, 220–44.

⁸⁶ See Metzner, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums im 1. Petrusbrief*, 274.

(B) Jude & 2 Peter. One of the reasons that Jude is linked with 2 Peter is the remarkable similarities in style, language, argument, and examples between Jude and the second chapter of 2 Peter,⁸⁷ which have led to speculation over their authorship or sources. Four literary models about the relationship between 2 Peter and Jude have been suggested.

(1) Common authorship: Both 2 Peter and Jude were written by the same author. But this is unlikely because of the difference in style and outlook and the discordant use of the same metaphors (e.g. 2 Pet. 2:11–15, cf. Jude 9–13).⁸⁸

(2) Common source: Both 2 Peter and Jude have drawn upon a common source because of their convergences in vocabulary and thought.⁸⁹ But Bauckham argues strongly against this view because there are more diversities than similarities in vocabulary and style of these two letters.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ For example, they both refer to angels who sinned, to Sodom and Gomorrah, and to Balaam. Both use similar metaphors such as “clouds blown by the storm.” Both remind the readers that people like the false teachers were expected by the apostles.

⁸⁸ One example comes from Anders Gerdmar who challenges a “Judaism–Hellenism” distinction popular among exegetes since F. C. Baur’s time. After careful examination of the literary characteristics, epistolary genre, and some theological issues, Gerdmar concludes that both Jude and 2 Peter relate to a common “apocalyptic Christian Jewish current” of the Jesus movement in Palestine. Gerdmar, *Rethinking the Judaism–Hellenism Dichotomy*, 278–323. Rejecting that 2 Peter was a Hellenistic composition produced for believers of the Diaspora, Gerdmar views 2 Peter as a twin of Jude, but was written and circulated in the same Palestinian area as Jude and exudes the breath of “Jewish Christian apocalyptic thought” as Jude (338). His conclusion is that 2 Peter is as Jewish as Jude, and Jude is as Hellenistic as 2 Peter. Thus, 2 Peter and Jude are twins, with the same author. However, Gerdmar’s model is far from historical support. In his preoccupation with 2 Peter’s “Jewish” features, he fails to appreciate the ingenious manner in which this Hellenistic NT writings addressed the situation of moral laxity and doubt concerning the coming of the Lord, the final judgment, and postmortem co–existence of a culturally catholic character with all its ethical seriousness. See Elliott, “Peter, Second Epistle of,” 283. A more plausible approach is to investigate both the Jewish and Hellenistic elements in terms of syntax, vocabulary, and style according to the historical context of both Jude and 2 Peter. See the discussion by Frey, “The Epistle of Jude Between Judaism and Hellenism,” 310–24.

⁸⁹ Some scholars who adopt this theory include Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, 192–5, is supported by Reicke, *Epistles of James, Peter and Jude*, 189–90; Spicq, *Les épîtres de Saint Pierre*, 197; M. Green, *The Second Epistle General of Peter and the General Epistle of Jude*, 58–64; and Osburn, “Discourse Analysis and Jewish Apocalyptic in the Epistle of Jude,” 311.

⁹⁰ Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 141.

(3) Jude adopts 2 Peter: Jude has borrowed his material from 2 Peter due to Peter's prominence in the early church as an apostle of Christ.⁹¹ However, two reasons overthrow this theory: First, literarily it would be difficult to explain the abandoning of much of 2 Peter's argument to produce the brief Jude.⁹² Second, Jude has sufficient authority in the church to write a letter in his own name.⁹³

(4) 2 Peter adopts Jude: The author of 2 Peter has borrowed from Jude due to Jude's position of special honor as brother of the Lord. This opinion is held by most contemporary scholars.⁹⁴ Literarily speaking, the author of 2 Peter enlarged Jude, and at the same time attempted to suppress Jude's use of pseudepigraphic literature.⁹⁵ A modification of this model is that 2 Peter imitates Jude. Imitation allows the author of 2 Peter to borrow from Jude, and rework extensively the material to make it his or her own. This dependence presumes that Jude's place as a family member of Jesus gave him a position of special honor within the early church on a level higher than Peter, which would be reflected in Peter's use of his letter.⁹⁶

As we have seen, no matter which model one embraces, Jude and 2 Peter are

⁹¹ Scholars who take this viewpoint include Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas*, 381–470; Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, 216–24; Moo, *2 Peter and Jude*, 16–21.

⁹² Duff, "2 Peter," 1270.

⁹³ G. Green, *Jude & 2 Peter*, 160.

⁹⁴ Chaine, *Les épîtres catholique*, 18–24; Sidebottom, *James, Jude and 2 Peter*, 68–9; Kelly, *Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 226–27; Grundmann, *Der Brief des Judas und der zweite Brief des Petrus*, 75–83; Fornberg, *An Early Church in a Pluralistic Society*, 31–59; Schelkle, *Die Petrusbriefe; der Judasbrief*, 138–39; Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 141–42; Senior, "The Letters of Jude and 2 Peter," 232–33; Paulsen, *Der zweite Petrusbrief und der Judasbrief*, 97–100; Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude*, 120–22; G. L. Green, *1 Petro y 2 Pedro*, 327–30; Perkins, *First and Second Peter, James and Jude*, 178; Gilmore, *Significance of Parallels*, 83–91; Kraftchick, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 79–81; Callan, "Use of the Letter of Jude by the Second Letter of Peter"; Scaggs, *Pentecostal Commentary on 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude*, 84–5.

⁹⁵ For example, by comparing 2 Pet 2:10–11 and Jude 8–9, 2 Peter enlarges the boldness and willfulness of the slanderers, and at the same time suppresses the allusion of Michael the archangel.

⁹⁶ G. Green, *Jude and 2 Peter*, 144.

literarily tied together. Not only so, scholars appeal to the prominence of the position of Jude or Peter in the early church. The apostolic identity of these two writings secures their authority in the church. Moreover, Jude, in his preface, alludes to the figure of James, the brother of the Lord. In this respect, Jude provides the link between James and 2 Peter.⁹⁷

(C) James & Jude. The authority of James and Jude comes from their ties of kinship with Jesus. This assumption would presume the reputation of James among the addressees of the epistle. This also allows for explicit identification of the figure of Jude, because throughout early Christianity, there were one single pair of brothers named James and Jude.⁹⁸ By introducing himself as “the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James,” the author claims particular authorities: first, the authority of a Christian preacher,⁹⁹ and second, an extended authority that derives from contact with the leading figure of early Palestinian Christianity: James, the brother of the Lord. This legitimates the author of Jude as a second James. Had Jude, the brother of Jesus, not been a prominent figure in the early Church, the Epistle of Jude would have become the “Second Epistle of James” or “2 James.”

Jude’s relations to James are not only confined to the family tie mentioned in the superscription. There are similarities between these two epistles. Both are characterized

⁹⁷ Frey, “The Epistle of Jude Between Judaism and Hellenism,” 324.

⁹⁸ The idea that the term ἀδελφός does not stand for the real brother here is too superficial and miss the point. See Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 227–28.

⁹⁹ Jude follows James to introduce himself as “the servant of Jesus Christ. The term “servant of the Lord” perhaps goes back to the Jewish honorary title “servant of God” which indicates the Christian in general (1 Cor. 7:22–23; Eph. 6:6), and those who provide a certain service (Col. 4:12; 2 Tim. 2:24). This second meaning is presumed here.

by their universal addressees, and a lack of formal conclusion. Both James and Jude are primarily directed by a parenetic intention and make expanded use of exempla from the Scriptures. This pair of brothers has disclosed their Jewish Christian identity by demonstrating familiarity with Jewish tradition and techniques of interpretation; both apply various stylistic devices and are distinguished by a relatively rich vocabulary. A large portion of the analogies between the two letters can be understood as elements of a common Jewish or Jewish Christian matrix.¹⁰⁰

(D) 1 Peter & 2 Peter. The two Petrine Epistles differ from each other in many ways.¹⁰¹ However, there are features that connect these two letters. First, both are ascribed to Peter.¹⁰² Second, both use Noah as an example. Second Peter 2:5 uses Noah, who is absent in Jude 5–7 but is present in 1 Pet. 3:20. Third, one of the purposes of 2 Peter is recorded in 3:1–2, which reads: “This is now, beloved, the second letter I am writing to you in which I am stirring up your sincere mind by way of reminder, that you should remember the words spoken beforehand by the holy prophets and the commandment of the Lord and Savior spoken by your apostles.” These verses declare 2 Peter to be a second letter, apparently referring to 1 Peter the first, although a lost letter is possible. The purpose of this epistle is to stir up in the readers’ memory the words taught previously through the prophets and apostles. It also concerns theological connection between 1 and 2 Peter. Hence, 2 Peter is crafted to some extent in continuity with 1 Peter,

¹⁰⁰ See Frey, “The Epistle of Jude Between Judaism and Hellenism,” 325–26, 329.

¹⁰¹ For example, in respect to terminology, 1 Peter refers to Jesus’ return as ἀποκάλυψις (1 Pet. 1:7, 13; 4:13) while 2 Peter as παρουσία (2 Pet. 1:16; 3:4, 12). In terms of style, 1 Peter is simple and straight forward while 2 Peter is elaborate.

¹⁰² Second Peter 1:1 uses “Simeon Peter” whereas 1 Pet. 1:1 only “Peter.” P⁷² reads “Simon Peter.”

This indicates that the Petrine Epistles become an intentional sub-collection¹⁰³ within the collection of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles itself.

(E) 1, 2 & 3 John. We believe that all three letters were written by the same author, and were addressed to the same Johannine community.¹⁰⁴ In respect to literary criticism, although 1 John has sometimes been denied the status of a letter,¹⁰⁵ it is helpful to speak of this epistle as an expositional letter (1:6–5:12) of a piece of eyewitness proclamation (1:1–5), known to the readers, that is cited by the Elder at the start.¹⁰⁶ Both 2 and 3 John, whose author is an undesignated “Elder,” open with a conventional greeting. Here the term “Elder” does not denote a title of an ecclesiastical office, nor a ruling official analogous to synagogue elders, but a respectful person bearing and transmitting apostolic tradition.¹⁰⁷ Papias understood the “elders” to be members of the older generation who were not themselves eyewitnesses, but were mediators of the authentic tradition and

¹⁰³ In the final canon, rather than placing 2 Peter together with Jude, or toward the end of the collection with shorter epistles like 2 and 3 John, at some point there was an intentional move to keep 1 and 2 Peter together.

¹⁰⁴ Kruse, *The Letters of John*, 6. Von Wahlde, *The Gospel and Letters of John*, 6, realizing that some early documents had questions about whether or not the same person also wrote 2 and 3 John (e.g. Origen, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.10; and Dionysius, *Hist. Eccl.* 7.25.10), nonetheless draws similar conclusions. See discussion of Painter, “The Johannine Epistles as Catholic Epistles,” 251–56.

¹⁰⁵ Since there were ancient letters without standard introduction or normal closing (e.g., 1 Macc 8:23–32 has neither but is called a letter in 8:22; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.2.6, 7 §50–52, 53–54, have neither but are called letters in 8:55), 1 John may be treated as a letter. However, this does not advance one’s understanding of 1 John.

¹⁰⁶ Talbert, *Reading John*, 13–14. There are other options to explain the claim to eyewitness experience, such as (1) 1 John is written by an eyewitness; (2) the eyewitness claim is a polemical fiction characteristic of a certain period of church history; (3) 1 John 1:1–5 is a piece of tradition from eyewitnesses cited by the author who was not, as one basis for his argument from beginnings.

¹⁰⁷ Von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the First Three Centuries*, 132; and Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 315–16, also gravitates to this hypothesis. Haenchen, “Neuere Literatur,” 310, thinks “that here the two fundamental meanings, ‘elder as congregational office’ and ‘elder as bearer of the tradition,’ were once combined.” Schnackenburg, *Johannine Epistles*, 295–301, is detailed and very cautious on the question of authorship. See discussion by Bultmann, *Johannine Epistles*, 94–5.

reliable teachers (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.4–15; cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5.36.2: “the elders, the disciples of the apostles”). I agree with Painter that “self-identification of the author as the Elder is meaningful only if the author was well known to the readers by this designation.”¹⁰⁸

The relationship among the three Johannine Epistles is well discussed by Talbert, who argues for their unity from both canonical and literary perspectives. He concludes that

We are dealing, then, with three Johannine writings probably from a common author, dealing with a common problem... If 3 John is read as part of the same series of correspondence as 2 and 1 John, then implicit within the letter are the issues of the other two. 3 John merely gives the reader a glimpse of an institutional side effect of the larger conflict.... 3 John represents a stage of conflict in between that reflected in 2 John and that manifest in 1 John.¹⁰⁹

A similar conclusion is drawn by Painter, who believes that the Johannine Epistles were addressed to a circle of house churches, perhaps around Ephesus. The two same issues concerning the refusal to confess the incarnation of Jesus Christ and the rejection of the obligation to love one another co-exist in both 1 and 2 John. Third John was not regarded as an encyclical, but it was addressed to Gaius, one of the leaders of the house church in that area. The teaching of 3 John complies with the policy of the Elder outlined in 2 John 10–11.¹¹⁰

We can look into the unity of the Johannine Epistles from another angle which is deviated from patristic tradition. It is the Johannine School theory. Alongside the

¹⁰⁸ Painter, “The Johannine Epistles as Catholic Epistles,” 252. Edwards makes a mistake to say that it is unlikely an apostle would so designate himself, especially if he were seeking to assert his authority in matters of hospitality or doctrine. Her problem comes from denoting the term “Elder” as an ecclesiastic office. Edwards, *The Johannine Epistles*, 50.

¹⁰⁹ Talbert, *Reading John*, 6, 13. For more discussions on the Johannine Epistles, see Talbert, *Reading John*, 3–18.

¹¹⁰ Painter, “The Johannine Epistles as Catholic Epistles,” 250–51.

religious and philosophical schools of Hellenism and Judaism, some scholars postulate different schools of New Testament writers.¹¹¹ Following Cullmann's speculation about a "Johannine circle,"¹¹² Strecker speaks of a "Johannine school."¹¹³ On the one hand, it is suggested that the agreements in language and content throughout the Johannine writings are due to a common school tradition. On the other hand, the differences and the unique characteristics of the individual Johannine writings, as well as tensions within the text of a single work, may represent keys that will aid us in understanding the conflicts and developmental tendencies within the school, which of course affected our understanding of the authors of the Johannine writings as well.¹¹⁴

The Johannine School does not only focus on the epistles, but on the Johannine authorship, writings and community. This theory helps relate the Johannine Epistles to the Johannine Gospel. The early Fathers regarded the author of 1 John and the Fourth Gospel as the same person, John, the Lord's disciple (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3.11.7), the son of Zebedee (Muratorian Fragment; Jerome, *Vil. Ill.*, 9), and the beloved disciple (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.8–10). There are also similarities that have led recent scholars to conclude that

¹¹¹ For example, Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament*, devoted his book to infer the Matthean school as *Sitz im Leben* of the theological work of the evangelist Matthew, especially in light of Matthew's inclination to systematize the tradition, fondness for casuistry, and reflections on the position of community leaders. Conzelmann, "Paulus und die Weisheit," 233, formulates that the Pauline school was located at Ephesus. On a different emphasis, Culpepper, *The Johannine School*, 258–59, defines the concept of "school" through nine characteristics: (1) emphasis on *φιλία* and *κοινωνία*; (2) gathering around a founder, who is honored as an example of wisdom or goodness; (3) obedience to the teachings of the founder; (4) members of the school are pupils of the founder; (5) teaching and learning are community activities; (6) common meals are often celebrated as a memorial of the founder; (7) rules and practices determine the life of the members; (8) distance from human society; (9) development of organizational forms that ensure the continuation of the school. See also Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, xxxvi.

¹¹² Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle*, 87, believes that the Johannine circle was characterized by common community structures, missionary interests, polemic against false teachers, and the effort to demonstrate the legitimacy of their own group. He attributes the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles to the same founder of the Johannine circle. See Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, xxxv, n.52.

¹¹³ Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, xxxv–xlii.

¹¹⁴ Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, xxxvii.

the one who wrote the Gospel in its original form is also responsible for the writing of 1 John, and perhaps 2 John and 3 John,¹¹⁵ though some scholars deny this,¹¹⁶ and others leave the question open.¹¹⁷

The primary characteristic of a school is expressed via stereotypical forms of language and thought. This is true in the Johannine writings. Despite their distinctiveness, the Johannine Epistles share characteristics common to the Fourth Gospel. These epistles were written alongside of the Fourth Gospel. It is expected that some common themes would occur in both the Epistles and the Gospel. It seems that most of the controversial issues of the Epistles are echoed in the Gospel at one place or another, although the Gospel's scope is not reduced to the matters of the controversy of the epistles.¹¹⁸

Scholars have no consensus about the unity of the Johannine writings, and the methodology of studying them. However, we have articulated from different approaches that the Johannine Epistles and Gospel were written alongside each other by the same author or authorial school to the same community. The discussion about John's Gospel here is for the preparation for the discussion of Diaspora in the next section. Not only are the Johannine Epistles knitted together as one unit, they are as well connected to the other

¹¹⁵ E.g. Howard, "The Common Authorship of the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," 12–25; Westcott, *The Epistles of St John*, xxx–xxxii, xliii–xlvi; Marshall, *The Epistles of John*, 42–48; Edwards, *The Johannine Epistles*, 56.

¹¹⁶ E.g. Brooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles*, i–xxvii; Dodd, *The Johannine Epistles*, xlvii–lvi; Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 30; Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles*, 1; Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles*, 40–1.

¹¹⁷ E.g. Burge, *The Letters of John*, 38–40; Thompson, *1–3 John*, 20–1.

¹¹⁸ E.g. Smalley, *Word Biblical Commentary: 1, 2, 3 John*, xxx. Related to the matter of Christology, one may consider the following: (a) the true humanity of God's Son from the water through the blood (John 1:14; 4:6, 7–9; 11:33, 35, 38; 13:21; 19:30, 34; 20:17, 27); (b) the subordination of the Spirit to Christology (John 1:33; 4:10; 7:39; 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:13–15; 20:22); (c) the need of Christians for post-baptismal cleansing from sin (John 13:8–10) and for Jesus' intercession on their behalf (John 17:20–24); and (d) the original disciples as eyewitnesses of the Incarnation, especially of "the blood" (John 13:23; 15:27; 18:16; 19:26, 35; 20:2–8; 21:24). Related to the matter of ethics, consider the following: (a) love one another (John 13:34; 15:12, 17); and (b) that they may all be one (John 10:16; 11:52; 17:21, 23).

writings to conglomerate into a larger collection of the Jerusalem Apostolic writings.

(F) James, Peter, and John, and the Diaspora

The three Jerusalem apostles of James, Peter, and John are linked together by their reference to diaspora Jews (James 1:1; 1 Pet. 1:1; John 7:35). The term Diaspora occurs a dozen times in the LXX. In the New Testament, it occurs only three times. The verb also occurs three times, referring to the scattering of the church (Acts 8:1, 4; 11:19). Scholars have waged battles over this expression. There are at least three ways to interpret the Diaspora.

First is the allegorical Diaspora. Arnold Meyer offers an allegorical interpretation of the Diaspora in James by comparing the addresses of Jacob to the twelve patriarchs in Genesis 49 with the Epistle of James. He believes that James is a pre-Christian Jewish document. The present James has undergone a literary development in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The real author of James is a Jew in the diaspora at the turn of the first century B.C.E., while a certain Christian redactor puts it together in 80 to 90 C.E.¹¹⁹ Meyer undertakes to demonstrate the similarities between Jacob's addresses to the twelve patriarchs and James particularly in connection with the allegory of the names of Jacob's twelve sons.¹²⁰ Meyer is surely correct in looking to the Jewish background for

¹¹⁹ Meyer, *Das Rätsel des Jacobusbriefes*, 305–07.

¹²⁰ Meyer's major identifications are: 1:2–4: Isaac as "joy," Rebecca as "steadfastness," Jacob as "perfection through trials"; 1:9–11: Asher as "worldly rich man"; 1:12: Issachar as "doer of good works"; 1:18: Reuben as "firstfruits"; 1:19–20: Simeon as "hearing" and "hearer"; 1:26–27: Levi as "religion"; 3:18: Naphtali as "peace"; 4:1–2: Gad as "disputes and conflicts"; 5:7: Dan as "judgement," "waiting for salvation," "patience"; 5:14–18: Joseph as "prayer"; 5:20: Benjamin as "death and birth." In addition to these, Meyer includes some more obscure but he deems possible allusions such as 1:22–25: Levi as "he who acts"; 2:5–8: Judah as "the royal one"; 5:12: Zebulun as "oath." He also finds a number of minor references to Laban, Esau, and Rachel. Each tribe appears in its proper order in the epistle. See Meyer, *Das Rätsel des Jacobusbriefes*, 282–83.

understanding James. But his ingenious hypothesis is far from being convincing. His allegorical interpretation on the Diaspora pleases some interpreters of the Alexandrian school at the expense of the serious research on the historical situation of the Diaspora in the first century.¹²¹

Second is the geographical locale of Diaspora, that is, Diaspora in terms of geographical distance from the Land. The language is typical for Jews who refer to themselves as an ethnic body in the Diaspora. McKnight suggests that it is customary for Jews to see themselves as the twelve-tribe people, and Diaspora almost always refers to the land outside the Land of Israel.¹²² Scholars have invested numerous resources through archaeological investigations to reconstruct the social and cultural settings of the Jewish believers which the Jerusalem Apostolic writings are believed to address.¹²³ However, the simple geographical definition of Jewish Diaspora as those who lived outside Palestine is more problematic than archaeologically sound. The problems arise because the overwhelming majority of inscriptions from archaeological discoveries belong not to the first century, but to the period from the end of the second century AD and later.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Cheung, *Genre, Composition and Hermeneutics of the Epistle of James*, 7: Apart from the name “Jacob”/“James,” there are no explicit hints whatsoever that the work is an allegory of Jacob’s testament to the twelve patriarchs, except those extremely vague allusions.

¹²² McKnight, “Jesus and the Twelve,” 211–20. See also Jobes, *1 Peter*, 63: Diaspora “was a technical term found only in Jewish literature of the Hellenistic period to refer to the Jewish population living outside Palestine since the Babylonian exile.”

¹²³ We are indebted to the “The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting” series which provides abundant archaeological findings to unearth the social and cultural lives of the world in Acts. For example, based on the history and significance of Ephesus, and various facets of Ephesian life and history and information from other places, Trebilco concludes that 1 Peter is addressed to the recipients in five provinces of Asia Minor (1 Pet. 1:1), where the word “Asia” designates the province. Trebilco, “Asia,” 301n.40.

¹²⁴ Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting*, ix–x. In recognition of the sparseness of first century first hand materials on Diaspora Judaism, Levinskaya makes use of the second to third century ones to reconstruct the social and cultural settings one to two hundred years earlier. The first century is extremely poorly represented by epigraphic evidence outside Egypt. The same deficiency for the first century Jewish Diaspora outside Egypt also exists among literary sources. The information we can obtain

Moreover, it is also problematic to categorize Judaism as either Palestinian Judaism or Hellenistic Judaism according to geographical location. Palestinian Judaism is restricted to Palestine, and may be regarded as “uncontaminated” and “normative,” as the name suggests. In contrast, Hellenistic Judaism is an adulterated, Hellenized form of Judaism found in the Diaspora. The problem is that strong Hellenizing influences were at work in Palestine, and Diaspora communities continued to regard themselves as Jewish and can in no way be thought of as somehow less genuine.¹²⁵

Third is the spiritual Diaspora, that is, the metaphorical sojourn of life on this earth the Christian is called to endure. The border between the messianic community and the rest of the Jewish community is amorphous.¹²⁶ Strong arguments have been put forward to take Diaspora to refer to Jewish-Christians within Palestine, or Jewish and Gentile communities (or even the whole church) outside Palestine.¹²⁷ The identity of the Diaspora Jews is one of the concerns. The problem of intermarriage and the status of the offspring of such marriages was for the most part of the Diaspora issue where Jews lived in a Gentile milieu. It was in the Diaspora that the matrilineal principle first emerged and became widespread. Paul’s action of having Timothy circumcised is extraordinary in

from the two great first century writers, Philo and Josephus, are closely connected to Egypt and Judea. This makes the Book of Acts and some of the New Testament epistles the main source for us to understand the life of the Diaspora. But the problem is that we do not have sufficient contemporary material to counter-check these sources.

¹²⁵ Trebilco and Evans, “Diaspora Judaism,” 282. For general geographical survey of Diaspora communities in the first century A.D., see Trebilco and Evans, “Diaspora Judaism,” 282–85. For Jewish life in Palestine, see Fraade, “Judaism: Palestinian Judaism,” 1054–61. For Diaspora in Rome, see Penna, “Judaism in Rome,” 1073–76; Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting*, 167–94; Clarke, “Rome and Italy,” 455–82. For Diaspora in Syria, see Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting*, 127–36; Tracey, “Syria,” 223–78. For Diaspora in Asia Minor, see Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting*, 137–52. For Diaspora in Galatia, see Hansen, “Galatia,” 377–96.

¹²⁶ For example, James 2:1–13 unveils a community that still meets in a “synagogue” (2:2), and the rest of James uses “church” only once (5:14). This means that the “twelve tribes” is both messianic and still ethno-religiously inseparable from the Jewish community. McKnight, *James*, 67.

¹²⁷ Chester, “Theology of James,” 12.

terms of missionary work on the one hand, but is in striking contradiction with Gal 2:3–4 in terms of principle on the other. The problem of Timothy’s ethnicity is discussed in full in an important article by Cohen.¹²⁸

While Diaspora may refer to specific groups of people in certain places, we should regard the recipients of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles in a more general sense. James is addressed to “the twelve tribes” in the Diaspora whereas 1 Peter to those who “reside as aliens...who are chosen” by God. Diaspora refers to the totality of Jewish and Gentiles Christians within and outside Palestine. It is the whole Christian church.¹²⁹

While there are similarities in the use of this term by James, Peter, and John, there are differences. Markus Bockmuehl argues on the basis of primary source material that for at least some first-century Jews the borders of “the land of Israel” extended up to and past Antioch, perhaps to the Taurus Mountains. If this is the situation, the identity of the Diaspora would not be those outside Jerusalem or Palestine only, but also outside Antioch. The letter of Acts 15:23 addresses those in “Antioch and Syria and Cilicia,” that is, the area from north of Antioch to south of the Taurus Mountains. Then, the letter of Acts 15:23 should also be viewed as a Diaspora letter.¹³⁰

Peter Davids argues that James remains within a Jewish context and thinks about it from a Palestinian or even Judean perspective. Whereas, while 1 Peter reflects Antiochene theology, it is speaking into a Graeco-Roman context. Peter does not appear to be addressing congregations as the Jewish Diaspora outside the land of Israel, but

¹²⁸ Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*, 363–77, and Cohen, “Was Timothy Jewish (Acts 16:1–3)?,” 251–68 conclude that Timothy was not Jewish.

¹²⁹ McCartney, *James*, 80: “[I]t appears that the early church was using the term [Diaspora] to refer to the fact that Christians were spread throughout the world by God for the purpose of being salt and light to the Gentiles.... James ... is thinking along lines similar to 1 Peter.”

¹³⁰ See Bockmuehl, “Antioch and James the Just,” 169–79, for identifying the “the land of Israel.”

rather transferring Septuagintal language to the mostly gentile congregations he addresses and to their experience of estrangement from the societies in which they were at one time very much citizens.¹³¹

The Johannine use of Diaspora implores widespread discussions. There is no indication in the epistle that the letter was addressed to those in the Diaspora. But there is no indication that it was not, either. The Gospel of John, which belongs to the same community as the Johannine Epistles, mentions that the Jewish leaders thought that Jesus intended to “go to the Diaspora among the Greeks (διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων) and teach the Greeks”¹³² when Jesus said that they would no longer find him (John 7:35). It is interesting for the Jews to think that Jesus was not teaching the Diaspora but the Greeks.

It is likely that John refers to ministry among the Greek or gentile populated areas.¹³³ While the greater part of the Gospel mirrors the conflict within Judaism between Jesus and his early Jewish followers and their opponents, the Gospel also points to a Gentile mission beyond the community of his first followers (10:16; 12:20; 17:20; 20:29).¹³⁴ Similarly, Leon Morris believes that this would mean “going to the Jewish synagogues and making them the springboard for a mission outward to the Greeks.”¹³⁵ W. C. van Unnik suggests that the Johannine Diaspora reflects John’s interest in synagogue

¹³¹ Davids, “James and Peter: The Literary Evidence,” 38–39.

¹³² For the discussion and use of the genitive of διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, see *BDF* §166. Here I follow the NASB95 and NRSV translations.

¹³³ See Porter, *Studies in the Greek New Testament*, 165, for the possible implication of Jesus’ speaking or teaching in Greek. Köstenberger, *John*, 238–239, argues for the technical usage of Diaspora to refer to “the large number of Jews living outside Palestine in various parts of the empire and beyond.” Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 721, suggests that John also applies the expression to the scattering of believers (10:12; 16:32).

¹³⁴ Smith, *John among the Gospels*, 227.

¹³⁵ Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, 371.

in a Greek environment.¹³⁶ Andreas Köstenberger suggests that the “Greeks” mentioned here are Gentiles and perhaps proselytes, or simply non-Jews.¹³⁷ H. Ridderbos opts for Greek-speaking Diaspora Jews.¹³⁸ Schmidt proposes that the “Greeks” are actually Greek speaking Jews who reside in Jerusalem, or Greeks inside the territories of the Jews who live outside Jerusalem.¹³⁹ Any interpretation of the Johannine Diaspora is only conjectural. Here the abstract Johannine Diaspora is simply “the sum-total of the concretes.”¹⁴⁰ But the tone is obvious. The term “Diaspora among the Greeks” is one of reproach “because they were everywhere scattered and mingled fearlessly with one another” (Chrysostom, *Homilies on John* 50.3).¹⁴¹

There are two more questions to handle: first, the reason the Johannine Diaspora is different from that of James and Peter, and second, the reason why Diaspora is exclusive to James, Peter, and John. There are no certain answers to these questions. Any answer is only conjectural. The year 70 C.E. is a watershed to the identity of the Diaspora Jews.

The relationship between Judaism and Christianity, the relationship between Palestinian Judaism and Diaspora Judaism, and the perception of these relationships by

¹³⁶ Unnik, *Studia Evangelica*, 408. With Jews dispersed in many countries it is curious that the Diaspora “among the Greeks” is singled out. This gives a clue as to the circle for which this Gospel was intended: “The Jewish Diaspora was spread all over the world: it would have been possible to speak about the dispersion in general; why is not Babylon, Egypt or Rome mentioned? There is only one explanation possible: because the writer was especially interested in this part of the world.”

¹³⁷ Köstenberger, *John*, 239. See Brown, *The Gospel according to John I–XII*, 314; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 2:150; Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, 198. If Köstenberger is right, one may wonder why John does not directly use the term “proselyte,” such as in Matt. 23:15? Contra Ridderbos (1997: 271), who opts for Greek-speaking Diaspora Jews.

¹³⁸ Ridderbos, *John*, 271. But there is a separate term for “Greek-speaking Jews” (Ἑλληνιστής), which occurs in Acts 6:1; 9:29; 11:20.

¹³⁹ Schmidt, “διασπορά,” 101–2.

¹⁴⁰ Meyer, *Gospel of John*, 336.

¹⁴¹ See also Bernard, *John*, 1:280.

the Roman government are both complicated and sensitive. Luke in Acts tells us that there were an increasing number of Gentiles entering the Christian community without accepting Jewish customs. On the other hand, faith in Jesus remained a minority option within Judaism. There were religious issues such as the matrilineal principle that made complex relationships even more complicated. After 70 C.E., Diaspora Judaism suffered serious ill effects from the Palestinian revolt, and began to avoid any association with apocalyptic messianic movements,¹⁴² especially those that prophesied the destruction of the Roman Empire, such as in Revelation. There are reasons for us to believe that much of the Jewish community had the inclination or even the action of handing the Christians over to the Roman authorities once Christians were perceived as disloyal to the emperor.¹⁴³ This possibly explains the reason the Johannine Diaspora, written after 70 C.E., is more or less an ambiguous connotation as compared to James and Peter.

Another consequence of the revolt of 70 C.E. is the parting of the ways between Christianity and Judaism in terms of philosophical literature.¹⁴⁴ The Diaspora Jews were horrified by the siege and capture of Jerusalem. Judaism without the Temple seemed to be unthinkable if not unacceptable. Josephus, one of the Diaspora Jews living in Rome in the 90s C.E., included the Temple cult as the first item in his list of the essentials of Jewish worship (*Ag. Ap.* 2.193–198).¹⁴⁵ Around 70 C.E., the rabbinic sages mainly

¹⁴² The most notable example is the imposition of the *fiscus Judaicus*. See Dio Cassius, 65.7.2; Reinach, “Fiscus Judaicus,” 566. Gager, *Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 60, mentions that Domitian broadened the scope of this taxation even to Jewish sympathizers around 90 C.E. Appian *Roman History* 11.8.50, recorded that Jews had to pay a higher poll-tax because they revolted so often.

¹⁴³ Brown, *Community of the Beloved Disciple*, 43; Lee, *Religious Thought of St. John*, 122; Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 221–26, 282–85; Keener, *Gospel of John*, 178.

¹⁴⁴ Goodman, “Diaspora Reactions to the Destruction of the Temple,” 28–29.

¹⁴⁵ See also Vermes, “A Summary of the Law by Flavius Josephus,” 289–303, on Josephus’ summary of the Law.

followed the traditions of the Pharisees. By that time, the writings of two most influential Pharisaic philosophers were Josephus and the Apostle Paul. Of Jewish literature composed in Greek after 70 C.E., only those of Josephus survived in any quantity. Of Christian literature, it can be summarized into a paragraph:

The Johannine Christians thus had good reasons to claim their continuing Jewishness, even if they, like most Christian communities, had experienced an influx of uncircumcised Gentile converts... Christianity's right to be seen as continuous with ancient Judaism is similarly a major feature of Lukan apologetic, especially in Acts 22–26... The Jewishness of the Matthean community seems never to have been in question (possibly of its location); Mark seems not to make it an issue either way; Paul works from the premise, qualifying it for the inclusion of Gentiles (Rom. 2:29; 11:18; Gal. 3:14, 29; 6:16; Eph. 4:17; 1 Thess. 4:5).¹⁴⁶

In addition to Keener's observations about the Johannine literature, Doering suggests that in the New Testament, 1 Peter, James, Acts 15:23–29, and Jude should be regarded as Diaspora Letters.¹⁴⁷ The exclusive use of the term "Diaspora" by James, Peter, and John in the New Testament probably reflects the unique Jewish characteristics of and extra attention paid by the Jerusalem Apostles to the Diaspora Jewish believers.

One curious thing remains unsolved. Every New Testament document is one way or another connected to Diaspora Jews. Every New Testament document was circulated among the Diaspora Jews. But it is curious that none except James, Peter, and John mentions the term Diaspora. Luke in Acts uses the verb, but not in a technical sense. Not even Paul, who has worked so closely with the Diaspora Jews, mentioned it. This is a riddle.

In conclusion, the seven epistles by the four authors grow into a tightly knitted

¹⁴⁶ Keener, *Gospel of John*, 179.

¹⁴⁷ Doering, "First Peter as Early Christian Diaspora Letter," 226–29. In terms of genre or letter type, Doering defines Diaspora Letters as those that "involve attribution (factual or fictitious) to an authoritative addressor and communication with Judeans or Jews resident outside the Land of Israel or on its fringes" (225). Outside the New Testament, the strongest influence of the Diaspora letter traditions can be perceived in 1 Clement (226).

web of literary works. James and 1 Peter are linked together by their similarities in tradition and addressees. Jude and 2 Peter are literarily tied together, or dependent on each other. James and Jude are identified brothers. The Epistles of Peter both alleged to Petrine authorship, and linked with internal evidences. The three Johannine Epistles are believed to be written by the same author or school of authorship. Finally, the three pillars of Jerusalem, James, Peter, and John, are connected by their connection to the Diaspora Jews.

(V) Jerusalem Apostolic Theology

In short, there are reasons to argue for the internal coherence of the Jerusalem Apostolic Writings. One is Paul's list of the apostolic "pillars" of James, Peter and John in Gal. 2.9. Rather than merely arranged according to the relative length of each of the texts, the present order of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles has likely been influenced by Paul's list of the Jerusalem Apostles. Or Paul's list is influenced by the order of prominence in the Jerusalem church. This list may also indicate the implicit judgment that this collection contains the authoritative (or even unified) teachings of the apostles.

Moreover, as far as the authors of these epistles are concerned, the Epistles of James, 1 and 2 Peter, and Jude give clear information while the Johannine Epistles do not. While modern readers suffer from the ambiguity of this information, it would appear that early readers might not think the same way. There is general agreement that the authors could only introduce themselves simply as "James," "Peter the Apostle," "Jude the brother of James," and even "The Elder" (Ὁ πρεσβύτερος) if they were well-known enough in the early Christian movement. Except for the Epistle of James, all the others

reflect levels of personal knowledge of Jesus and his teachings. If the celebrity rating and theological concerns that emerge from these epistles are considered, they also fit well with Gal 2 and Acts 15.

Interesting sets of associations exist among these writers. (1) There is a theological linkage between James and 1 Peter. Both of them encourage the Diaspora Jews to have perseverance in times of suffering. (2) There is a literary linkage between Jude and 2 Peter. The type and degree of literary dependence suggest some degree of intentional connection between these two texts. (3) James with Jude mingles well with their connection to the holy family of Jesus. The Jerusalem Apostles in terms of their writings begin with a letter from “James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ” (James 1:1) and conclude with a letter from “Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James” (Jude 1). (4) The Petrine Epistles are linked directly together by their alleged authorship, although such claim entertains doubt by historical critics. Moreover, the author of 2 Peter claims itself to be the second letter (2 Peter 3:1), intentionally implies there is a first one bearing the same name. (5) Internally, the Johannine Epistles constitute a sub-collection within the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles. All three letters shared a common Christological confession and were addressed to a network of local churches. Externally, this sub-collection of Johannine Epistles, together with the Gospel of John and Revelation, constitute the Johannine corpus collected around the historical author John. (6) James, 1 Peter, and the Johannine writings are linked together by their exclusive reference of the Diaspora in the New Testament.

This is the second criterion of constructing a Jerusalem Apostolic Theology.

Unlike the Theology of the Gospels, which focuses on the central figure Jesus, and unlike

Pauline Theology, which depends on the common authorship of Paul, the collection of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles derives its theology through the literary linkage among themselves. This leads to the discussion of the third criterion of developing a Jerusalem Apostolic Theology.

The Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles contribute to some theological messages that have addressed the needs of the early church. Time and space delimits us from extensive and elaborate treatment on this subject. But it is obvious from the web of associations among these writers that they have common and intertwined theological interests.

Both James and 1 Peter are interlaced by the deep passion with the Diaspora Jews on the problem of Christian suffering (e.g. James 1:2–4; 1 Pet. 1:6–7). Whereas 1 Peter takes an intense theological approach to *theologia crucis*, understanding suffering as meaningful participation in the sufferings of Christ, James follows an entirely pragmatic approach,¹⁴⁸ understanding it as building maturity or wholeness.¹⁴⁹ They both emphasize the importance of perseverance. Their citations of the Old Testament are surprisingly similar.¹⁵⁰

Both Jude and 2 Peter cast light on the nature of primitive Christian eschatological hopes. Knight is right when he points out the fact that these two epistles are often read together and the recognition that 2 Peter uses Jude as a source makes it possible to see how eschatological belief developed in the period between which they

¹⁴⁸ James uses the term “faith” in the sense that it is pragmatic, in contrast to the purely intellectual assent to the truth (such as demons may render without being any thing bettered thereby in 2:19), which is dead. See Powell, “‘Faith’ in James and its Bearings on the Date of the Epistle,” 311–13; and Bruce, “Justification by Faith in the Non–Pauline Writings of the New Testament,” 75.

¹⁴⁹ McCartney, *James*, 52.

¹⁵⁰ For example, both cite Prov. 3:34 and 10:12 (James 4:6; 5:20; 1 Peter 5:5; 4:8). Both allude to Isa. 40:6–8 (James 1:10–11; 1 Pet. 1:24–25). For more thorough discussion on their similarities, see Schlatter, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, 67–73; and Bauckham, *James: The Wisdom of James*, 155–57.

were written. These epistles reveal how this eschatological hope was understood in Palestinian Jewish Christianity, whose situation is that people had been teaching and taught an ethical position which the authors believed to be wrong. Hence, the authors responded that judgment was an important part of the Christian eschatological tradition. The difference between Jude and 2 Peter is that the earlier document simply accepts that the *parousia* would happen (Jude 4) while the later one finds it necessary to justify that belief at some length.¹⁵¹

The author of the Johannine Epistles constructs a defense that focuses on two theological issues, namely Christology and faith. Jesus Christ is presented as the reality of the incarnation of the preexistent Word of God. His life is the ethical model for believers, and his death is the atoning sacrifice for their sins; through him they enjoy eternal life. Like James, Christian faith is a pragmatic one. It is an expression of Christian ethics. The author insists that faith cannot be separated from love.¹⁵² Faith expresses itself in terms of righteousness and sinlessness (1 John 2:29; 3:7).¹⁵³ More will be discussed in the canonical reconstruction in Chapter Four.

(VI) Conclusion

This chapter discusses the authorial function of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles through the construction of their theology. We are aware that all apostolic writings play the role of *regula fidei* in the early church before the formation of the canon. In the process of re-constructing the context of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles, some

¹⁵¹ Knight, *2 Peter and Jude*, 75–78.

¹⁵² Bruce, “Justification by Faith in the Non–Pauline Writings of the New Testament,” 77.

¹⁵³ Marshall, *Epistles of John*, 53–4.

scholars are alert to “Mirror-Reading” the epistles by over-relying on the internal evidences. But this worry does not apply to our current study. Although the term “theology” means different things to different scholars, this dissertation presumes that Jerusalem Apostolic Theology is linked to the Jerusalem Apostles, namely James, Peter, John, and Jude. There is a closely intertwined web of linkage among their writings. These epistles contribute theological messages to the needs of the early church.

The names of the Jerusalem Apostles fit Paul’s list in Gal 2:9. In the early stage in the Western church, the figures of the Jerusalem Apostles are more important than their writings. Hence, Wall is right to construct a unifying theology of these apostles in terms of the figures with the priority of James, rather than on systematic theological themes within each epistle. However, Wall’s proposal of a unifying theology of the Jerusalem Apostles is unnatural and too “mechanical.”

A high-level theology of the Jerusalem Apostles is suggested by establishing an intertwined relationship within this group of writings, emphasizing the authority of these people as the Jerusalem Apostles. A uniqueness of these apostles, as compared to the Gospels and Pauline Epistles, is their reference to the Diaspora, which separate these apostles from others. Thus, a bridge is built up between Jerusalem Jewishness and Diaspora Jewishness.

CHAPTER THREE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

(I) INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, much effort is made in the discussions and investigations of the authorial reconstruction of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles. As canonical writers, James, Peter, John and Jude have contributed to an important portion of the New Testament. The collection of their writings, which is generally known as the Catholic Epistles, form an indivisible literary unit. This is the first step towards the final product of canonization. In the next chapter, more on the final step of the final product of the canon will be examined. This chapter is between, and connects the two. The focus of this chapter is on the historical perspective of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles. The Jerusalem Apostles and their epistles played a significant role in the two partings of the ways.¹

In the first-century Greco-Roman world, Judaism, after successive exiles and returns from captivity, was divided into three main groups: (1) those who remained beyond the Euphrates, in Babylon and elsewhere, and were now subjects of the Parthian rulers; (2) those who returned to Palestine; (3) and those who lived as traders, professionals, and artisans. The last group of Jews were the most numerous of all, scattered throughout most of the larger towns of the Greco-Roman world, and, in some

¹ The issue about the parting(s) of the ways arouses the interests of many scholars. There is no simple, single parting of the ways. For more detailed discussions, refer to Becker, "Beyond the Spatial and Temporal *Lines*," 373–92; Boyarin, "Semantic Differences; or, 'Judaism'/'Christianity,'" 65–83, esp. 67–71; Fredriksen, "What 'Parting of the Ways'? Jews, Gentiles, and the Ancient Mediterranean City," 48–56; Fredriksen, "Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2," 532–64; Salvesen, "A Convergence of the Ways? The Judaizing of Christian Scripture by Origen and Jerome," 233–58. For the purpose of this dissertation, I propose that, historically, the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles can be reflected by the two partings of the ways: the parting of Christianity and first-century Judaism, and the parting of Gentile Christianity and Jewish Christianity.

provinces in the East, formed a part of the rural population as well.² As a historian, Frend delineates post-Exile Diaspora Judaism in terms of geographical locality. However, as pointed out in the previous chapter, the complexity of the issue is far more than this.

The Christian church did not simply erupt onto the scene as a fully developed and separate religious institution at a single moment fifty days after the death of Jesus. It was still a Jewish sect in appearance and in practice. Admitting that, we are left with two questions: (1) how this religious sect provoked the separation of Jewishness and non-Jewishness and eventually grew into a “new” religion; and (2) how this “new” religion harmonized the two diverse groups of members, Jewish believers and non-Jewish believers, and eventually maintained internal stability. The usual answer to these questions is both ideological and theological.

There are two partings of the ways. The growing separation between Christianity and first-century Judaism is the first parting. This model thinks of Judaism as essentially a constant and Christianity as a new development which grew out of Judaism to become a new religion. “After having tried long and hard to convince one another of their own conviction that they represented the true Israel, the Christian and Pharisaic roads grew further apart, finally reaching a reciprocal estrangement.”³ The religious leaders on both sides found it necessary to enjoin sharp borders, although in reality, the border would never be sharp.

The growing conflicts between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity marks the second parting. This model thinks of Jewish Christianity as essentially a constant and Gentile Christianity as a separation to form new norms of religious practice within

² Frend, *Early Church*, 15.

³ Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism*, 215.

Christianity. As early as the Jerusalem conference of Gal 2:1–10, leaders from Jewish and non-Jewish Christians tried to establish well defined borders between the two communities. The mainstream of Christian mission was like undergoing a “split-flow” into two tributaries. The border was identified as the division of mission to “the circumcised” and “the uncircumcised.” On the “circumcised” side of the border, those Jewish Christians who crossed this border were considered by others as having gone in the wrong direction. On the “non-circumcised” side, Gentile Christians who did not cross this border, were misconceived as apostate from the Jewish people.

The focus of this chapter is on the examination of these two partings of the ways in respect to the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles. It intends to reconstruct the background that leads to the final canonization of the Catholic Epistles through the window of historical context. In general terms, the mission of Paul is to bring gospel to the “uncircumcised” while the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is to the “circumcised.” But this is only generally speaking. The reality is that Paul has not rejected the Jewish people, and likewise, the Jerusalem Apostles have not rejected the Gentiles. The mission of the apostles is summarized in 1 Cor 9:20–21, “To the Jews, I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews. To those under the law I became as one under the law...so that I might win those under the law. To those outside the law I became as one outside the law...so that I might win those outside the law.” Therefore, the division of labor is more ideological than ethnic. That means, ethnically speaking, both Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles have already crossed the borders, openly, legally, and without controversy. What remains is the ideological part.

For the first parting of the ways, the Jerusalem Apostles had to solve ideologically

the tensions and persecutions Jewish Christians faced. From Torah to Gospels, Jewish Christians were misconceived by the Jews in the first century as betrayers of the Mosaic Laws and the faith of their ancestors. From synagogue to church, Jewish Christians were misjudged as Hellenized. In the secular world, Jewish Christianity was only a new branch having come out from Judaism. However, in the eyes of the Jews, the parting of the ways was something big deal. They perceived Christianity as a heresy⁴ that had turned away from orthodox rabbinic belief. This was a serious accusation. Therefore, the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is to maintain the separateness of the Jewish Christianity from first-century Judaism.

For the second parting of the ways, the Jerusalem Apostles had to solve the problems about the Jewish practices. In the eyes of the Gentile Christians, Jewish Christians were legalistic and strict observers of the Mosaic Laws. Sometimes the stubborn faithfulness of the Jewish Christians to Jewish practices were difficult for the Gentile Christians to comprehend (Acts 16:3; 21:20–25). The most crucial problem is the theological issue about salvation (Acts 15:1–2). Sometimes, Jewish Christians were mistaken as supporters of “salvation by work.” Therefore, the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is to maintain the unity of Christian faith within the church.

In general, the historical context of the two partings of the ways furnishes the background of the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles. The twofold mission of the Jerusalem Apostles can be reflected in their writings. The collection of the epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles addresses the doctrinal requests from the church to defend against

⁴ Ironically, the exact term the church used to apply to sects, like Marcionism or Docetism, that had turned away from orthodox Christian faith.

first-century Judaism and the heretics.⁵ At the same time, this same collection of writings of the Jerusalem Apostles addresses the subject of Christian conduct, in particular, Jewish practices within the Christian church.⁶

The first section of this chapter is assigned to provide the methodology of studying the historical contextual reconstruction of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles. This will clarify some terms and concepts. The second section of this chapter will discuss the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles from two approaches: (1) the approach of the New Perspective on Paul by E. P. Sanders and James Dunn, who attempt to interpret the conflict between first-century Judaism and Christianity as one between different pattern or practice of religion; and (2) the doctrinal history approach by F. C. Baur and Adolf Harnack, who look at the dispute between Jewish and Gentile Christianity as one between Judaistic particularism and Christian universalism. To conclude this section, J. B. Lightfoot, based on his rigorous historical analysis of the language and context of the key texts, offers what I think is an objective view of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles. The third section of the chapter will fill some “holes” in the historical reconstruction of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles and their writings.

(II) METHODOLOGY OF HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

(A) Defining “Jewish Christian(ity)” and “Gentile Christian(ity)”

The discussion of who Jewish Christians are, and what Jewish Christianity is, is

⁵ For example, 2 Pet 1:12–3:13; 1 John 2:18–29; 4:1–6; 2 John 7–11; Jude 3–16.

⁶ For example, James 1:19–5:6; 1 Pet 2:11–3:7; 2 Pet 1:3–11; 1 John 2:7–17; 3:1–24; 2 John 4–6; 3 John 5–12; Jude 17–23.

derived from the definition of which theology and praxis the party in question embraces.⁷ Occasionally we come across phrases which come close to similar definitions. In John 8:31, John speaks of “Jews who believed.” In Origen, *Cels.* 2.1, we read of “Jewish believers” and “believers who came from Judaism” (Origen quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.4). In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.5.2, we read of “Hebrew believers who had continued from apostolic times,” and *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.5 of “a Gospel according to the Hebrews.” In Jerome, *Epist.* 112.13, we hear of the “Nazoraeans,” which stands for both Jews and Christians. None of these are precise equivalents to Jewish Christians.

In this dissertation, I am content with the definition offered by Skarsaune. The term “Christian” is understood in the same sense as it is used in Acts 11:26, that is, a Christian is someone who holds Jesus to be Christ, the Messiah. Furthermore, he speaks of “Jewish Christian” not in an ideological sense.⁸ He divides Christians into two categories by an ethnic criterion. There are Christians from the Jews and from the Gentiles. Therefore, in this dissertation, a Jewish Christian is a Jewish believer in Jesus who, as a believer, still maintains a Jewish way of life. In contrast, a Gentile Christian is a non-Jewish Christian.⁹ This definition is also in accord with Gal 2:7–8, where Jewish

⁷ See, for example, Schille, “Christianity: Early Jewish Christianity,” 1:935–8; Hagner, “Jewish Christianity,” electronic edition, no page; and a comprehensive list of resources on the definition of Jewish Christian(ity) in Skarsaune, “Jewish Believers in Jesus in Antiquity,” 3–4n1.

⁸ The problem at issue is far more complicated than it seems. We are talking about two independent yet interdependent worldviews. A Jewish Christian may be at the same time a Christian Jew. Compare Neusner, *Emergence of Judaism*, 25–30, who defines the term “Israel” ideologically according to the Torah as “those who know God.” Israel first became Israel by accepting God’s dominion in the Torah. Gentiles can know God too if they become part of Israel. However, one basic distinctive of the Christian Jew is the emergence of the Israel’s worldview which flourishes basically from the Pentateuch, the Mishnah, and the Talmud. Adamson, *James*, 14, claims that James was not a Jewish Christian but a Christian Jew. James has become a Christian, but he is essentially a Jew. In Acts 21:20–25, we see how anxious the Christian Jews of the Jerusalem church, led by James, were for the maintenance ideologically of their old law over Jews not to be endangered.

⁹ Skarsaune, “Jewish Believers in Jesus in Antiquity,” 3–5. Skarsaune’s ethnic definition on Jewish Christianity is more plausible than Dunn’s ideological formalization of orthodox or normative Judaism.

Christianity is represented by the Jerusalem Apostles whereas Gentile Christianity by Paul.¹⁰

(B) Early Catholicism and the History of the Early Church

The earliest historical account of the conflict of Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles in early church is in the book of Acts. However, the nature of the conflict has been a matter of substantial debate. When writing on Acts 19:1–7, Käsemann says that the narrative

betrays, in common with all those allied to it, an ideological theology of history. Its characteristic feature is this: it reads back into the past as an historical reality the postulate of an *Una sancta* grounded on the apostolic fellowship and then, conversely, uses this postulate to validate the claims of the orthodox Church of his own times. Luke has overpainted and reshaped history in order to defend the *Una sancta apostolica* against the assault of the Gnostics and other heretics of his day. We can only understand him as an historian, if we have first understood him as a theologian. As a theologian he can only be understood from his doctrine of a legitimate Church.¹¹

There are different opinions on whether these second- or third-generation Christians consciously or unconsciously were developing their doctrine of “one holy, catholic and apostolic church.” There is no doubt about the existence of an inclination in church history to think of “the church of the first two centuries as gradually evolving from a

Dunn, *Partings of the Ways*, 24–48, describes monotheism, election, covenant, and Temple as the four pillars on which the Judaism of Jesus time was built, the axiomatic convictions round which the more diverse interpretations and practices of the different groups within Judaism revolved. The parting of the ways came about because Christianity, stemmed from Jesus, found it increasingly necessary to question and redefine each of these four axioms to a degree unacceptable to mainstream Judaism.

¹⁰ Although this definition seems over-simplistic, it does not rule out the discussion of the complexity of a pluralistic Judaism in this chapter. The focus of this chapter is on the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles within the historical context of diversity in the church. Nevertheless, Paul is a Jew, and his Jewishness is no less than the Jerusalem Apostles. Their mission differs. Beginning from second generation Christianity, the conflict is no longer between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles, but their advocates.

¹¹ Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes*, 148.

primitive community with a relatively simple belief structure into a complex organization with highly refined teachings and discipline.”¹² This way of understanding early church history is popular among historians and scholars. The question at issue is the debate over what Käsemann called “early Catholicism.”¹³

The argument has driven the decision of regarding Luke, the writer of Acts, as either a theological historian or a historical theologian. As a historical account, Acts is a sociological and historical monograph relating deeds for edification. Ladd gives special attention to the contributions of Ramsay, in particular, in his careful study of the geographical and archaeological historicity of Acts.¹⁴ Ramsay is a pioneer for those who have high regard for Luke as an ancient historian. He found that many of the details in Acts are more trustworthy than he thought before he began his study.¹⁵ However, many advocates of “early Catholicism” shrug aside the historicity in Acts, and argue that Acts reflects an advancement of institutional structures and doctrinal norms of the church, such as apostolic succession, church hierarchy, sacramentalism, and so on.¹⁶

The concept of early Catholicism faces a lot of criticisms. Polhill totally rejects early Catholicism for two reasons. First, the idea of the “delayed Parousia” has been

¹² Thielman, *Theology of the New Testament*, 484.

¹³ Käsemann, *New Testament Questions of Today*, 237.

¹⁴ Ladd, *Theology of the New Testament*, 347.

¹⁵ Bock, *Acts*, 9.

¹⁶ Käsemann, *New Testament Questions of Today*, 236–51; and “Ministry and Community in the New Testament,” 89–94. Käsemann won not a few advocates. Vielhauer, “On the ‘Paulinism of Acts,’” 33–50, defended the view that the theology of Acts is more that of “early catholicism than primitive Jewish Christianity. He stated four alleged inconsistencies between Paul and the Portrait of Paul in Acts relating to natural law, Jewish law, Christology, and eschatology. He also claimed that Luke in Acts has a place for natural theology but Paul does not, that Luke has no place for the cross but Paul emphasizes it, that Luke has abandoned the eschatological teaching but Paul affirms it. Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 16, 150, in his seminal work, argued that at the time Luke wrote Acts, the church has completely abandoned the primitive Christian eschatological expectation of the imminent return of Christ, and has substituted for it a theology of salvation history. The Christians needed to come to terms with their existence in the world through the agenda of the mission of the church.

greatly overplayed. The original eschatological fervor of the Christian community had not waned. The mission of the church was itself born out of the conviction that Christians were the people of God of the end time and were to be the light to the nations, who bore the message of God's decisive redemptive act in Christ. Second, the Holy Spirit is always transcendent in Acts. The true salvation-historical perspective of Luke-Acts is not that of a three-part periodization of earthly history but a two-part scheme where God in his Spirit continues from transcendence to work among his people on the earthly, historical level.¹⁷

Barrett correctly challenges the presence of early Catholicism in Acts.¹⁸ First of all, Barrett summarizes early Catholicism into four main points: (1) the over-emphasis on the importance of the apostles, and (2) the notion of a succession from the apostles as constituting the being of the church and providing its ministry; (3) the notion of a ministry which is essential to the being of the church, and (4) stress on the importance of the sacraments as means by which the ministry nourishes the life of the church.

In response to the first concern, Barrett reaffirms that Acts tells the story of the apostles in the first century. After the death of Judas, the apostles were restored to their original strength. The "new" twelfth apostle was chosen in such a way as Jesus made the original apostles. On the Day of Pentecost, it was Peter who stood up to speak to the bewildered crowd. The new converts were then led by Peter and John. In Acts 6, the twelve apostles appointed seven to serve table of the widows. After the persecution began, the apostles remained in Jerusalem. After the conversion of Paul, Peter made his way to Caesarea to bring the gospel to the Gentiles. This incident was later reported by Peter in the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15, which was led by James the brother of Jesus. The

¹⁷ Polhill, *Acts*, 53.

¹⁸ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, xciii–xcvii.

second half of Acts is attributed to Paul. The title “Acts of the Apostles” resolutely reflects the content of the writing.

The apostles were indispensable because they served as a symbol of the post-resurrection church and a valid continuation of the ministry of Jesus. Their importance cannot be transmitted to a succession because they and they alone bridge the cleavage between the time of Jesus and the time of the church, at the same time being witnesses to the resurrection, which meant that the Jesus who was crucified was also the continuing Lord of the church. In this perspective, Acts continues the pre-resurrection and resurrection gospel of the Gospel of Luke, and extends the same gospel into the post-resurrection message of Acts. Hence, if there is a succession in the early church, it is the gospel succession through the apostolic preaching.

In particular to the second concern about the question of apostolic succession in Acts as a proof of early Catholicism, Barrett goes forward to point out that the church in Acts has no uniform kind of calling those whom we may regard as ministers. At Ephesus there are called presbyters and overseers. In 20:28 Paul does not say that he had ordained the presbyter-bishops of Ephesus, but that the Holy Spirit had made them what they were. At Antioch there appear to have been no presbyters, but prophets and teachers (13:1). Philip was an evangelist; and there were the great Pauline assistants, such as Barnabas and Silas. The apostles could have no successors, but their task of bearing witness to the risen Jesus was shared by others. There is no trace of special authorization for apostolic succession that correspond to the similar teachings as suggested by 1 Clement or Ignatius. Therefore, there are footprints of ministry succession in Acts, but it is groundless to suppose any apostolic succession in the technical sense.

For the third concern of early Catholicism, it is unsound to conceive the church in Acts as an institutionalized catholic structure. Barrett argues that the vital principle is the word that is committed by Jesus to those who follow him and the Spirit of God by which this message is received and activated. No sign of church polity of any kind can be traced in Acts. The church was organized but not institutionalized.

Specific to the fourth claim that the new Catholicism in Acts includes sacramentalism, Barrett reminds that it is a common practice of the Christians to share from time to time a fellowship meal to recall and repeat the words of Jesus that the loaf symbolizes his body, and the cup is the new covenant in his blood. But there is no indication that the breaking of the loaf and the uttering of these words were confined to a special sort of person.

All in all, I agree with Barrett that there are elements in Acts showing the importance of the apostles, gospel and ministry succession through the teachings of the apostles, certain forms of ecclesiastical structure, and sacramental practice in the church in Acts. All these phenomena inevitably intensify the belief that, after the ascension of Christ, the apostles have taken up the role and responsibilities of preaching, teaching, and implementing the gospel of Jesus. The Acts of the Apostles does not reflect any early Catholicism.

The concept of early Catholicism as an application to the study of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles should be rejected for at least two reasons. First, the primary source of Jerusalem Apostles comes from the Gospels and Acts. Any ways of reading of the book of Acts will subsequently affect the interpretation of the epistles in the New Testament. As discussed in the previous chapter about the authorial reconstruction of the

epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles, the four authors from the three churches formed an indivisible unit of writings to serve the needs of the early church. Their mission is the continuance of that of Jesus. If Acts and the Catholic Epistles were second-century products, who or what filled the historical vacuum between the ascension of Jesus and then? Second, in the final product of the canon, the Book of Acts and the Catholic Epistles are tied together to form the *Apostolos*. This collection of writings displays some kinds of canonical function, which will be discussed in the next chapter. All evidences from the papyrological findings and patristic writings point to the same direction that it is impossible for an early Catholicism.

(III) DIFFERENT VIEWS

More and more efforts are injected into the study of the two partings of the ways: the parting of Judaism and Christianity, and the parting of Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity. An influence comes from contemporary scholars such as E. P. Sanders and James Dunn, and their advocates, who try to compromise the two “ways” through understanding the New Perspective on Paul. Another influential school of similar understanding comes from F. C. Baur and his Tübingen students,¹⁹ like Adolf Harnack, who explain about the conflict within the Christian church in the second century in terms of ecclesiastical dogma. A final view is offered by J. B. Lightfoot from the historical reconstruction of the biblical texts.

(A) Ed Parish Sanders (1937–)

¹⁹ On Baur’s influence on the history of the “early catholic” paradigm, see Vouga, *Geschichte des frühen Christentums*, 236–39; on Baur’s philosophy of religion, see Harris, *The Tübingen School*, 11–54.

One of the best known spokesmen of the New Perspective on Paul is E. P. Sanders. Some scholars believe that much of Sanders' approach was anticipated through prior historical-critical ideologies of Baur and the Tübingen school.²⁰ However, instead of presenting some superficial glimpses of theology, Sanders produces a comprehensive comparison of the system of thought between "Palestinian Judaism" and "Paulinism." He has devoted considerable energy to avoid the errors of past studies, nearly all of which based their comparisons on superficial similarities between religious "motifs."²¹ His solution is to compare one "pattern of religion" with another. Sanders finds it desirable

... to compare an entire religion, parts and all, with an entire religion, parts and all; to use the analogy of a building, to compare two buildings, not leaving out of account their individual bricks.²²

The problem Sanders recognizes is how to synthesize many different data into a single "pattern," which he can then compare with another pattern, similarly synthesized. He defines "pattern of religion" as

the description of how a religion is perceived by its adherents to *function*. "Perceived to function" has the sense not of what an adherent does on a day-to-day basis, but of *how getting in and staying in are understood*: the way in which a religion is understood to admit and retain members is considered to be the way it "functions."²³

Therefore, by a "pattern of religion," Sanders indicates the mechanism by which one religion works out its view of the social order: who makes up the community of the faithful and who does not. In order to get at the pattern for Judaism, Sanders examines three collections of writings, produced between 200 B.C.E. and 200 C.E., which he calls

²⁰ Such as Farnell, "The New Perspective on Paul," 204.

²¹ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 2–16.

²² Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 16.

²³ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 17.

“Tannaitic Literature,” “Dead Sea Scrolls,” and “Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.”²⁴ He finds that with the exception of *4 Ezra*, all assume a theology of “covenantal nomism”:

(1) God has chosen Israel and (2) given the law. The law implies both (3) God’s promise to maintain the election and (4) the requirement to obey. (5) God rewards obedience and punishes transgression. (6) The law provides for means of atonement, and atonement results in (7) maintenance or re-establishment of the covenantal relationship. (8) All those who are maintained in the covenant by obedience, atonement and God’s mercy belong to the group which will be saved.²⁵

These are the least common denominators shared by the three bodies of literature Sanders has identified. This is how Sanders synthesizes many different Judaismisms into one.

With these denominators as criteria, Paul’s pattern of religion cannot be described as “covenantal nomism.” Instead, we observe that Paul presents an “*essentially different type of religiousness from any found in Palestinian Jewish literature.*”²⁶ In another word, Paul and Palestinian Judaism are applying different usage of the “righteous” word-group:

...for to be righteous in Jewish literature means to obey the Torah and to repent of transgression, but in Paul it means to be saved by Christ. Most succinctly, righteousness in Judaism is a term which implies the maintenance of status among the group of the elect; in Paul it is a transfer term. In Judaism, that is, commitment to the covenant puts one ‘in,’ while obedience (righteousness) subsequently keeps one in. In Paul’s usage, ‘be made righteous’ (‘be justified’) is a term indicating getting in, not staying in the body of the saved. Thus when Paul says that one cannot be made righteous by works of law, he means that one cannot, by works of law, ‘transfer to the body of the saved.’ When Judaism said that one is righteousness who obeys the law, the meaning is that one thereby stays in the covenant.²⁷

Sanders also writes, “Salvation is by grace, but judgment is according to works; works

²⁴ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 24–5.

²⁵ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 422.

²⁶ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 543. Hooker, “Paul and ‘Covenantal Nomism,’” 48, comments on Sanders’ description of Paul’s pattern. She believes that Paul’s pattern is closer to Jewish “covenantal nomism” than Sanders allows. She points out that “...just as Palestinian Judaism understood obedience to the Law to be the proper response of Israel to the covenant on Sinai, so Paul assumes that there is an appropriate response for Christians who have experienced God’s saving activity in Christ.”

²⁷ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 544.

are the condition of remaining ‘in,’ but they do not earn salvation.”²⁸ For Paul, works means the participation in salvation.

Even though both Paul and Palestinian Judaism present soteriology from grace and works and expect the *parousia*, there is a basic difference between Paul and Palestinian Judaism. In respect of Paul, the basic question was the sequence of his own thought and how the parts were related to one another. According to Sanders, the sequence of the pattern of Paul’s religious thought is this: God has sent Christ to be the savior of all, both Jew and Gentile (and has called Paul to be the apostle to the Gentiles); one participates in salvation by becoming one person with Christ, dying with him to sin and sharing the promise of his resurrection; the transformation, however, will not be completed until the Lord returns; meanwhile one who is in Christ has been freed from the power of sin and the uncleanness of transgression, and his behavior should be determined by his new situation; since Christ died to save all, all [people] must have been under the dominion of sin, ‘in the flesh’ as opposed to being in the Spirit. It seems reasonable to call this way of thinking “participationist eschatology.”²⁹

This lies not on the goal (righteousness) but the means towards the goal. Sanders does not intend to come to a theological judgment on the inferiority or superiority of either Paul or Palestinian Judaism. He just wants to point out the fundamental difference between Paul and Palestinian Judaism: the prevailing religious type of Paul is “participationist eschatology” while that of Palestinian Judaism is “covenantal nomism.”³⁰

²⁸ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 543.

²⁹ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 549.

³⁰ Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 552.

Sanders further points out that at two points the break between Paul and Judaism is perceptible: the denial of the traditional Jewish doctrine of election, and the insistence of faith in Christ as the entry into the people of God. In practice, the entrance rite (baptism/circumcision) and the new entity (church/synagogue) are different in kind.³¹ Sanders believes that Martin Luther has misunderstood Paul.³² Paul fully espoused and observed a “work-ethic,” as long as the goal was the right one.³³ Law becomes wrong only because God has revealed another one.³⁴

Based on Sanders’ theory of the New Perspective on Paul, we now turn to the discussion of the relationship between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles. Such discussion leads to the following considerations. The goal of the discussion is not to develop a theory such as “New Perspective on the Jerusalem Apostles” in order to compare artificially with the New Perspective on Paul. Instead, it is the “pattern” inferred by Sanders that arouses our interest. According to my understanding, Sanders has a dual purpose: to destroy the legalistic works or the view of righteousness of Judaism, and to provide a new articulation of the pattern of religion found in Pauline Christianity emphasizing what God has done in Christ rather than focusing on anthropological categories such as sin. He tries to interpret first-century Judaism through the eyes of Paul. For the choice of literature, Sanders builds his theory of the New Perspective on Paul on Hebrew literature produced between 200BCE to 200CE. His choice of literature lacks wholeness, which makes it difficult to accept without reservation his understanding of

³¹ Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 207–09.

³² Sanders, *Paul, A Very Short Introduction*, 58.

³³ Sanders, *Paul, A Very Short Introduction*, 119.

³⁴ Sanders, *Paul, A Very Short Introduction*, 142.

Palestinian Judaism.³⁵

We mention that, based on the assumed theology of Sanders' "covenantal nomism" as criteria, Paul's pattern of religion presents a different religious group. But Sanders scarcely quotes the Jerusalem Apostles or their writings. Hence, his idea of Palestinian Judaism is Pauline, not of the Jerusalem Apostles. How about the Jerusalem Apostles? I think the Jerusalem Apostles can open dialogue with Sanders.

The soteriology of the Jerusalem Apostles consists of both "faith" and "work." The pattern of religion of the Jerusalem Apostles may be called "eternal visible realities."³⁶ Using Augustine's ideology, "faith" is the eternal reality of the human soul while "work" is the visible one. The two realities are governed by the same soul. The incorporation of both eternal and visible realities leads to a fuller function of the human soul. That means, for a Jewish Christian, "faith" contributes the invisible, inward religious sphere of the soul, and "work" reflects that inward religious life through visible, outward righteous act. For Augustine, salvation is by grace, but judgment is *not* according to works.

The eternal reality is best described in the salvation passage of 1 Pet 1:3–21. It is full of Old Testament images. At the Passover, the Israelites were protected by the sprinkling of the blood of the Paschal lamb. As in the making of the covenant at Sinai,

³⁵ In fact, Strange, "Ancient Judaisms," 1609, is right to point out that Sanders' argument encounters two difficulties. First, he never explains how all sources of a given collection constitute a coherent whole. Second and most important, Sanders never finds "covenantal nomism" whole in any one text. Rather, he takes one component of the pattern from this document and another from that one. The result is a pattern cobbled together from many different sources, but existing complete in none.

³⁶ Augustine's ontology consisted of a hierarchical structure of three levels of reality: the lowest level of the body, the highest level of God, and the middle level of human soul. Of the middle level of human soul, one can look up toward eternal reality by means of the higher reason, or one they can look down upon corporeal, visible reality by means of the lower reason. (Augustine, *Trin.* 12.15.24–25; 13.1.1–2; 14.1.3; 14.6.11). The higher and lower reason are not two separate faculties but simply two different functions of the same mind (12.3.3). Nash, "Wisdom," 886.

their covenant with God is established through their being sprinkled with the blood of Christ. As in Isa 53, Christ in his crucifixion carried our sins so that by his wounds we are indeed healed (1 Pet 2:22–24). Righteousness in God means the suffering of Christ on behalf of us (1 Pet 3:18). Christ did all this for us to arm us with the willingness to suffer in imitation of him (1 Pet 4:1, 13).³⁷ The Johannine equivalent can be found in 1 John 2:1–2 and 2:28–3:6.

The most elaborate discussion of the visible reality can be found in the theme of the “Law” in the Epistle of James. The law is spoken of as “perfect,” a law “of liberty,” and “royal.” Observing the law brings divine reward and eschatological blessing (1:22–25). The main passage dealing with the law and justification is 2:8–13 and 2:14–26 respectively. While quoting Lev. 19:18 to illustrate the essential core of fulfilment of the law, James does not reduce the whole law to just one single command of “love your neighbour as yourself.” Failure to observe the laws concerning adultery, murder and the other commands is incompatible with love of one’s neighbour as well.³⁸

Moreover, James refers only to the ethical code, and not the cultic function of the law. The fact that nothing is said, for example, about food laws, circumcision, or the temple, may imply two polarized opinions. Either it implies that, by natural assumption, the Jewish practice and observance of the law would continue, or that the silence here implies that the ethical law of “loving one’s neighbour” is more critical in terms of maintaining utmost benefit of the whole community. For whichever opinion, there is no indication that work is a criterion for judgment. Brooks concludes that the Epistle of James functions within the New Testament as a means of preventing the misinterpretation

³⁷ Davids, *First Epistle of Peter*, 19–20.

³⁸ Chester, “Theology of James,” 36–38.

and misapplication of Paul's teaching.³⁹

This leads to the study of the visible reality of love as the criteria for the invisible reality of the relationship with God in the Epistles of John. In 1 John, the chief passage dealing with these visible realities is 4:7–5:3. Love in the community characterizes those who claim fellowship with God. The love that God's nature calls for in response is simply to love (without an object: 4:8, 19). While God's act of love is complete, love for one another also invites further completion (4:12, 17, 18).⁴⁰ For the apostle, good works are *evidence* or *characteristics* of having received God's grace through faith. They are not *instrumental* for maintaining grace. Sanders' New Perspective on Paul is flawed and his major conclusions regarding Paul's teaching on righteousness and justification are incorrect.⁴¹

In conclusion, according to Sanders, the pattern of religion of Palestinian Judaism is "covenantal nomism." As God's covenantal people, the Jews have to practice cultic law in order to become righteous. Whereas Paul also talks about righteousness, his entry into the people of God is faith in Christ. Both Palestinian Judaism and Paul agree on "salvation by grace but judgment by works." To Paul, a person is saved by having faith in Jesus Christ, followed by participation in salvation by becoming one person with Christ.

For the Jerusalem Apostles, they do not follow the pattern of "covenantal nomism." They follow the pattern of "eternal visible realities." On the one hand, Jewish

³⁹ Brooks, "Place of James," 55.

⁴⁰ Lieu, *Theology of the Johannine Epistles*, 65–71.

⁴¹ O'Brien, "Justification in Paul," 89. Also, Gundry, "Grace, Works and Staying Saved in Paul," 12, wrote: "For Paul, then, getting in and staying in are covered by the seamless robe of faith as opposed to works, with the result that works come in as evidential rather than instrumental." See also O'Brien, "Justification in Paul," 89–95, for the discussion of the issue on "salvation by grace, judgment according to works."

believers as God's covenantal people keep on practicing Jewish cultic rites of the food laws, circumcision, and sacrificial rites. On the other, they are reminded of their new identity as messianic Jews that they have to practice outward ethical laws of love.

(B) James Dunn (1939–)

Another advocate of the New Perspective on Paul is James Dunn, who is as heavily influenced by historical-critical theory on the study of the relationship between Paul and Judaism as E. P. Sanders. To Dunn, Jesus was a Jew, and his disciples were all Jewish. In this sense, Christianity began as a movement within Judaism. He suggested that the Jesus movement within Judaism could be interpreted as a fresh expression of Israel's traditional religion. In his earlier work, Dunn tries to look closely at the nature of diversity in Judaism and at Christianity's place within that diversity. He points out that Second Temple Judaism, to a large extent, consisted of a range of four different interest groups. Josephus speaks of "sects" (*haireseis*)⁴² or "schools of thought," which are Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and Zealots (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.171; *War* 2.118). Each sect possessed its own documents. Dunn wants to point out that the concept of an orthodox Judaism was lacking because of the pluralistic nature in pre-70 Judaism. He wants to set up a common and unifying fourfold foundation of Judaism on which all diverse forms of Judaism built.⁴³ The same common heritage, which Dunn calls the "four pillars of Judaism," is a useful classification of what all Jews, Christian or non-Christian, had in

⁴² Cohen, *From Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 125, defines a sect as "a small, organized group that separates itself from a larger religious body and asserts that it alone embodies the ideals of the larger group because it alone understands God's will." Substantially, it is a heretical group. Dunn, *Partings of the Ways*, 24, claims that he is content with Cohen's definition.

⁴³ Dunn, *Partings of the Ways*, 25.

common. But I do not find Dunn's argument convincing because he perceives Judaism like talking of Judaistic sects in the plural. Just as every Christian belonged to a denomination, so every Jew belonged to one of the so-called Judaistic group. Bauckham is right to point out that Dunn's model of parting of the ways lacks reality. Nothing resembling the parting of the ways described by Dunn occurs.⁴⁴

In his more recent work, Dunn focuses conspicuously on the study of Paul, particularly about the law and Judaism. He builds upon the work of Sanders, and endorses Sanders' definition of Judaism as "covenantal nomism."⁴⁵ Relative to the study about Judaism, Dunn's scholarly research may be summarized into a few points.

First, Dunn's understanding on Jewish legalism can be characterized as the social function of the law. Although Dunn owes his success to Sanders, he disagrees with Sanders on some points. In Dunn's opinion, Sanders prematurely

concluded that Paul's religion could be understood only as a basically different system from that of his fellow Jews... The Lutheran Paul has been replaced by an idiosyncratic Paul who in arbitrary and irrational manner turns his face against the glory and greatness of Judaism's covenant theology and abandons Judaism simply because it was not Christianity...⁴⁶

This explains how Dunn goes against Sanders' view of Paul as arbitrary. The crux of his thesis is that

what Paul was objecting to was not the law *per se*, but the law seen as a proof and badge of Israel's election; that in denouncing 'works of the law' Paul was not disparaging 'good works' as such, but observances of the law valued as attesting membership of the people of God—particularly circumcision, food laws and Sabbath.⁴⁷

Thus, for Dunn, the term "works of the law" does not refer to good works in general or to

⁴⁴ Bauckham, *Jewish World around the New Testament*, 177–9.

⁴⁵ Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, lxx.

⁴⁶ Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 186–87.

⁴⁷ Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 11.

Jewish legalism, but should be limited to Jewish national-identity boundaries that excluded Gentiles from salvation, such as circumcision, Sabbath, and dietary restrictions, which Dunn terms the “social function of the Law.”⁴⁸ For Dunn, “Sanders did not follow through this insight⁴⁹ far enough or with sufficient consistency.”⁵⁰ For Jews, these social functions became the “test cases of covenant loyalty,” marking them out as the people of God.⁵¹

Second, Dunn believes that the Lutheran theology of “works of the law” as legalism was mistaken. Luther’s assertion that the “works of the law” referred to the whole law, not just the ceremonial parts, is due to misinterpretation of Galatians. Dunn regards Gal 2:16 as “the most obvious place to start” for understanding a New Perspective of Paul.⁵² In Gal 2:16, circumcision (2:1–10) and food laws (2:11–14) are the test cases of Jewish distinctiveness over against Gentiles which were in danger of splitting Christianity. The “works of the law” as summed up by these two test cases has made “covenantal nomism” an issue. The issue is

not whether membership of the people of God entailed various obligations (Paul had no doubt that it did), but whether it entailed an in effect sectarian interpretation of these obligations, whether it entailed obligations designed to exclude others, whether it entailed that Jew remain distinct from Gentile.⁵³

Dunn blames the Reformers for obscuring the idea that one can earn salvation by good

⁴⁸ Paul’s negative words in Galatians are not to good works in general but to a “particular ritual response,” that is, circumcision, dietary laws, Sabbath. Dunn, “New Perspective on Paul” 113. Dunn’s position is that Paul’s opposition to “works of the law” stemmed from the fact that these social functions of the law “confined the grace of God to members of that nation.” See Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 11–12.

⁴⁹ That is, covenantal nomism—getting in by grace but living within by works.

⁵⁰ Dunn, *Romans 1–8* lxvi.

⁵¹ Dunn, *Romans 1–8* lxxi.

⁵² Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 188.

⁵³ Dunn, *Galatians*, 137. The italic and brackets are original.

works, and claims that Paul is in opposition to making oneself acceptable to God by good works.⁵⁴

Third, Dunn believes that the table fellowship at Antioch is an issue for the tenseness of Petrine-Pauline relationship. At the early stage, within the Christian movement, the primacy and authority of the Jerusalem Apostles in matters of dispute would be generally acknowledged by the church at Antioch and by Paul.⁵⁵ In Gal 2:11–18,

the Gentile believers were already observing the basic food laws prescribed by the Torah; in their table-fellowship with the Jewish believers, in particular pork was not used, and when meat was served care had been taken to ensure the beast had been properly slaughtered. In this case what the men from James would have called for was a much more scrupulous observance of the rulings on what the dietary laws involved, especially with regard to ritual purity and tithing.⁵⁶

For Dunn, this interpretation of food ritual fits well into the language of Galatians 2 and the background of Palestine at that time.

Dunn further points out that an appeal to Peter on the issue of the food laws was a double-edged weapon. Peter at Jerusalem had agreed that faith in Christ made circumcision unnecessary, but the same Peter at Antioch had acted as though Gentiles are required to observe the Jewish food laws. Peter had raised the ritual barrier surrounding the table-fellowship in the church at Antioch. Paul's purpose here is to "move Peter away from the ambiguity of the opening statement (2:16a), from the ambiguity reflected in his conduct at Antioch, from the ambiguity regarding the acceptability of Gentiles who like him had 'believed in Messiah Jesus.'"⁵⁷ Dunn also believes that James, in Jas 2:17–26,

⁵⁴ Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways*, 179.

⁵⁵ Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, 136.

⁵⁶ Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, 154.

⁵⁷ Dunn, *Galatians*, 140.

seems to have spoken the same thing.⁵⁸ Hence, Dunn's interpretation opens the door decisively to justification by works.⁵⁹

Dunn is between two fires. He meets opposition from both Christian and Jewish scholars. Dunn's first problem is his hermeneutics. Obviously, some scholars are unhappy with Dunn's hermeneutics as well as his other works. For example, Dunn believes that the $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \mu\grave{\eta}$ of Gal 2:16 is to be taken as a strictly exceptive construction, so that the verse reflects a development in Paul's thought.

According to the most obvious grammatical sense, in this clause faith in Jesus is described as a *qualification* to justification by works of law, not (yet) as an antithetical alternative. Seen from the perspective of Jewish Christianity at that time, the most obvious meaning is that *the only restriction on justification by works of law is faith in Jesus as Messiah...* For in this verse we are seeing the transition from a basically Jewish self-understanding of Christ's significance to a distinctively different understanding, the transition indeed from a form of Jewish Messianism to a faith which sooner or later must break away from Judaism to exist in its own terms.⁶⁰

But Bruce pointed out that Dunn's translation, a grammatical solecism by such interpretation of $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu \mu\grave{\eta}$ as "except" runs "counter to the Greek idiom."⁶¹

Dunn's second problem is his argument lacks contextual concern. Schreiner regards Dunn's view not compelling. Arguing from his study, he points out that Dunn's

⁵⁸ Dunn, *Galatians*, 138.

⁵⁹ See also his elaboration that works are "restricted, qualified, more precisely in relation to Jesus as Messiah, but not denied." Dunn, "New Perspective on Paul," 112. Dunn relates again, "For Paul justification by faith had to do as much, if not more with the breaking down of the racial and national exclusiveness of Israel's covenant claims, than with his own personal experience of grace as persecutor of the Church of God." See Dunn, "Justice of God," 11. Regarding Rom. 3:27–30 where Paul's theme of boasting crescendos, he asserts, "justification by faith is a corollary of Jewish monotheism, directed primarily against the exclusiveness of Israel's own claim upon that one God." See Dunn, "Justice of God," 12; cf. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 153–55, 158–59, 183–94. In Rom 10:3, he again asserts, "Once again the belief against which justification by faith is directed is the belief that Israel's privilege and prerogative as God's elect people had to be established and defended against Gentile encroachment." See Dunn, "The Justice of God" 12; cf. Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 595–96.

⁶⁰ Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 195, 198.

⁶¹ Bruce, "Paul and the Law in Recent Research," 125.

view of “works of the law” fails to observe correctly with the contextual argument that Paul builds in Rom 2:17–29 in relationship to Rom 3:20, 28. Paul slides from “works of the law” (Rom 3:20, 28) to “works” in general (Rom 4:2, 4, 6). In short, “works of the law” refers to doing all that the law requires.⁶² Fitzmyer comes to similar conclusion from texts in the Qumran literature that “works of the law” in Paul designates the law in its entirety.⁶³

The third problem of Dunn is his conceptual ambiguity. While trying not to be too harsh on Dunn, Silva points out that Dunn erred in what Sanders has erred before “with an understanding of ‘legalism’ that is at times fuzzy and ambiguous, at other times quite misleading,” and has “an inadequate understanding of historical Christian theology.” Moreover, the question of “the individual’s relation to God” plays no substantive role at all in Dunn’s description of Paul’s theology. Dunn completely neglected some of the apostle’s most explicit statements on the subject at hand, including Rom 4:4–5; 11:6; Eph 2:8–10; and Phil 3:9.⁶⁴

A more vigorous criticism of Dunn for his delusion of real Judaism comes from Neusner. In his first edition of *The Partings of the Ways*, Dunn carelessly wrote,

For the Judaism which focused its identity most fully in the Torah, and which found itself unable to separate ethnic identity from religious identity, Paul and the Gentile mission involved an irreparable breach.⁶⁵

and

Christianity began as a movement of renewal breaking through the boundaries first within and then round the Judaism of the first century. At its historic heart

⁶² Schreiner, “‘Works of the Law’ in Paul,” 227; Schreiner, *New Testament Theology*, 527; and Schreiner, *Paul, Apostle of God’s Glory in Christ*, 110–12.

⁶³ Fitzmyer, *According to Paul*, 18–35.

⁶⁴ Silva, “The Law and Christianity,” 347–52.

⁶⁵ Dunn, *Partings of the Ways* (1991), 230.

Christianity is a protest against any and every attempt to claim that God is our God and not yours, God of our way of life and not yours, God of our “civilization” and not yours...against any and every attempt to mark off some of God’s people as more holy than others, as exclusive channels of divine grace.⁶⁶

Dunn is criticized for his reading Judaism through the figure of Paul. He appeals to the particularity and ethnicity of Judaism, as against the meta-ethnic, universalizing power of Christianity to reach out beyond the ethnic Israel. For Neusner, Dunn’s formulation of matters is his claim that Judaism in its normative sources takes second place in the hierarchy of religions because it is ethnic, while Christianity overspreads the bounds of ethnic identification.⁶⁷

Dunn’s intent is good, but his conclusion is shaky. He attempts to bridge the gap between Palestinian Judaism and Christianity with a fresh expression of Israel’s traditional religion. Just as mentioned above, Dunn falls into the same trap that Sanders has once fallen. Dunn neglects what Sanders has neglected. Both of them build up their theory of Palestinian Judaism through the eyes of Paul. Why not the Jerusalem Apostles? My conclusion to Sanders also applies to Dunn here. Sanders and Dunn, to my understanding, attempt to “deny” that there is actually a parting of first-century Judaism and Christianity by exaggerating the similarities on both sides. This is contrary to the major premise of this chapter. The mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is to address the doctrinal requests from the church to defend against first-century Judaism and the heretics.

(C) Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860)

⁶⁶ Dunn, *Partings of the Ways* (1991), 258–59. Italics original. These two paragraphs did not appear in his second edition of the book.

⁶⁷ Neusner, *Recovering Judaism*, 2–3.

In methodology, Baur correlates a philosophy of history and an objective study of the data. Fact and interpretation are important, and must work together in a continuous dialectical relationship.⁶⁸ He understands New Testament history as the one of doctrine. On the one hand, Baur rejects a supernaturalism in which God is thought to intervene the history process. On the other hand, he opposes a pure rationalism which ignores God's manifestation in history. He also believes that each literary composition, including the Bible, can be viewed in the light of the author's theological intention, a method called "tendency criticism." He dates individual New Testament writings in relation to their tendency, and to understand the canon as a kind of diplomatic document evidencing the coming together of Jewish and Gentile Christianity in the form of early Catholicism.⁶⁹

Baur is consistent in emphasizing that Paul is independent of and not subordinate to the Jerusalem Apostles. But this is contrary to patristic witnesses. According to Baur, the transaction between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles began with his Damascus experience. Paul asserted that he received his gospel not from human but directly from God. After he had received the charge to declare the gospel, he did not confer with flesh and blood. Only at the expiration of three years did he go to meet with the Jerusalem Apostles. Even then, his aim was by no means to get the Jerusalem Apostles to grant him authority to follow his calling, but only to make the acquaintance of Peter.⁷⁰ The overall significance of Paul's apostolic labors can be summarized on the fact that

... he was a specially called Apostle, and independent of all the other Apostles. In this way only could he claim for his view of Christianity the authority which the other Apostles claimed for theirs; and it is perfectly clear how critical a point this

⁶⁸ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 1:260.

⁶⁹ Paget, "Definition of the Terms," 30.

⁷⁰ Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, 1:108–09. As discussed in the last chapter, "to get acquainted with" should be translated as "to make enquiry of."

was for Paul, and how much weight he attached to those appeals which he made with so much emphasis to the well-known facts of history as the sufficient confirmation of his right.⁷¹

Baur describes the history of the church according to three chronological periods. The first deals with the conflicts between Paul and Judaism and comprises the events from the beginning to 70 C.E. He believes that the meeting described in Acts 15 and Galatians 2 is of decisive importance. The two accounts describe the same event, but are drastically different. According to Galatians, the dispute was between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles, whereas according to Acts, Paul's opponents were the Pharisaic-minded members of the church. Baur notes that the author of Acts tries to conceal the real Pauline-Petrine conflict.⁷² The meeting resulted in two gospels, two spheres of mission, and a continuing battle between Jewish particularism and Pauline universalism.⁷³

During this period of time, only four of the letters attributed to Paul truly represent the historical situation of the apostolic period and the authentic position of the apostle: Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans.⁷⁴ These letters reflected the battle between Paul and his Judaizing opponents. At Galatia, Paul pointed out to Peter how inconsistent and halting his Jewish Christian position was. The conversation and the whole tone of the apostle bore witness how sharp the personal collision between Paul and Peter must have been. It is not surprising to find that the scene at Antioch made a deep impression on the mind of the age, and left behind very lasting effects. Baur asserts that throughout all the Epistles of Paul, there is not the slightest indication that the two great apostles ever drew nearer to each other in after years. He makes use of the second-

⁷¹ Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, 1:110.

⁷² Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, 1:119–20.

⁷³ Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, 1:125.

⁷⁴ Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, 1:245–49.

century work, the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, to conclude that the Jewish Christians had not yet learned to forgive the harsh word which the apostle Paul had spoken of the man who is regarded as the chief of the apostles.⁷⁵

The second period of church history, from the post-apostolic age to the early decades of the second century, is the era of reconciliation. The documents that recorded the harmony that developed between Jewish and Pauline Christianity include Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, the Synoptic Gospels, Acts, and the pseudo-Pauline letters. Baur believes that this reconciliation took place from both sides. On the one hand, the Jewish Christians replaced circumcision with baptism and depicted Peter as a promoter of the Gentile mission. On the other, the Gentile Christians erode the doctrine of justification by faith with the notion that Hebrews, James, and 1 Peter affirmed the importance of work.

Baur placed the Epistles of James and 1 Peter earlier than the Pastoral Epistles. He asserted that the pseudonymous Epistle of James presupposes the Pauline doctrine of justification. Its tendency is “distinctly anti-Pauline” and “contends against a one-sided conception of the Pauline doctrine, which was dangerous to practical Christianity...against the Pauline formula of justification.”⁷⁶ The function of the Epistle of James in the second century was polemical against Paulinism, though it was not the only function.⁷⁷ Baur also claimed that what applied to the Epistle of James applied to that of 1 Peter.⁷⁸ On the Pauline side, they were willing to co-operate with the Jewish Christian party. To show their sincerity, the Pauline party “places in the mouth of their

⁷⁵ Baur, *Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 1:55.

⁷⁶ Baur, *Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 1:128.

⁷⁷ Baur, *Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 1:129.

⁷⁸ Baur, *Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 1:130–31.

apostle Paul a series of pastoral instructions which he cannot possibly have thought of, but the inculcation of which was now in the interest of Paulinism as well as of Jewish Christianity.”⁷⁹ The third period of church history is the era of final accommodation evidenced in the Pastoral Epistles, 2 Peter, and the Gospel of John. Some modern scholars agree with Baur on this content of accommodation, but disagree on the date of these writings.⁸⁰

Baur’s creative powers of comprehensive conception and profound insight prove that no serious scholar would ignore his philosophical and historical-critical approach to the issue. Baur’s study contributes to our study of the Catholic Epistles. He noted that the core thrust of the early Church problem is the conflict between Pauline Christianity and Jewish Christianity. He recognized the individual writings of the Jerusalem Apostles, but under the influence of the concept of early Catholicism, he never considered them as a unified entity. The function of the Catholic Epistles, like the Pauline Epistles, is to harmonize the conflict between the two polarities. He also comprehended that the lengthy history of this relationship within the church was divided into stages. His historical-critical methodology has influenced many others.⁸¹

However, Baur’s imagination is also problematic. For him, the New Testament

⁷⁹ Baur, *Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 1:128.

⁸⁰ For example, Thielman, *Theology of the New Testament*, 485–86, believes that in 2 Peter, which was written by Peter when he was close to death, “the process of reconciliation between Pauline and Petrine Christianity reaches a climax. Here the author makes the apostle Peter embrace the apostle Paul as a brother,... and describes Paul’s letters as canonical Scripture.”

⁸¹ For example, Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Age*, 234, takes a similar approach. He believes that the Paulinism–Judaism struggle within the church developed in three stages. First, in the period of Acts 15 and the six earliest epistles of Paul, the main issue is circumcision, and the Judaizers follow and disrupt the Pauline mission. Second, in the time of the later Pauline letters and the epistles of Peter and Jude, the opposition takes two different forms: asceticism or licentiousness. Third, in the era of the Johannine literature, the opposition begins to move in the direction of Gnosticism. As in Baur, Stanley’s research mentions how some of the Catholic Epistles are related to the historical development of the Christian Church.

was interpreted by exclusively “natural” criteria. Wherever a miracle occurred, the narrative was inauthentic and fictional. This negative perspective on the exclusion of supernatural elements continued in the works of von Harnack.⁸² This enables him to base his assumptions on tendency criticism and early Catholicism. As a result, he dates most of the writings of the New Testament to the second century. The writings of the Jerusalem Apostles are ripped to bits.

Another problem of Baur is his excessive reliance on the Pseudo-Clementine literature. Baur claimed that the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* provide critical evidence for the continuing hostility of some parts of Jewish Christianity to Paulinism and for the wide gulf between early Jewish and early Gentile Christianity.⁸³ This split between Petrine and Pauline Christianity not only existed in earliest times, but had also extended to the subsequent centuries. But Baur’s view on the Pseudo-Clementine writings has lost gravity of many scholars. The manifestation of the true prophet takes place within a dualistic system of counterparts of good/bad or right/wrong. Based on this system of counterparts, Paul is viewed as the counterpart or antithesis of Peter. Birdsall is right to point out that because of this false doctrine of adversarial counterpart, the “Pauline claim to a vision of the risen Christ is countered by an exegesis of vision and their recipients: visions are a means of Divine communication with an enemy of God, and show anger, not approbation. The polemic...engages with the canonical text, here with the Acts accounts of Paul’s conversion, and draws too upon the confession of Caesarea Philippi and the account in Galatians of the confrontation of Peter and Paul at Antioch.”⁸⁴

⁸² Harris, “Baur, Ferdinand Christian,” 34–35.

⁸³ Baur, “Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde,” 116.

⁸⁴ Birdsall, “Problems of the Clementine Literature,” 353–54.

It remains a fixed point that controversy arose in Antioch over questions of practice affecting the possibility of intimate fellowship between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians. In fact, the problems of Antioch submerge so far as the Galatians record goes, although we have no reason to assume that they disappear altogether. For example, the *Didascalia Apostolorum* appears to show a part of the Syriac church where there were still distinctively Jewish Christians, but the emphasis is upon praxis.⁸⁵

Likewise, Jones notes that there have been two tendencies of research on Baur's dependency on Pseudo-Clementine writings. Some scholars maintain Baur's general position on the dating and importance of the Jewish Christians, while others have tried to refute Baur either by denying the importance of the Jewish Christian element in the Pseudo-Clementine writings or by assigning a late date to it.⁸⁶ I agree with Stanton that both views are too simplistic. The Pseudo-Clementine writings disclose part of the history of the authority of Peter and James, and contain invaluable evidence for the distinctive ethos and views of the Jewish Christians. However, there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that the varied anti-Pauline references are a result of the unending conflict between Petrine and Pauline Christianity.⁸⁷

(D) Adolf von Harnack (1895–1930)

Harnack inherited from Baur the idea of historical development, and the conviction that Christianity is a historical phenomenon, to be studied by critical

⁸⁵ Birdsall, "Problems of the Clementine Literature," 361, notes that the "*Didascalia* may show how such a community as the Clementines presuppose was swallowed up in the great church."

⁸⁶ Jones, "Pseudo-Clementines," 87

⁸⁷ Stanton, "Jewish Christian Elements in the Pseudo-Clementine Writings," 323–24.

methods.⁸⁸ History is the realm of God's realm of God's revelation, and the apex of that revelation is Jesus Christ. History is key for understanding reality.

The history of dogma, in that it sets forth the process of the origin and development of the dogma, offers the very best means and methods of freeing the Church from dogmatic Christianity, and hastening the inevitable process of emancipation, which began with Augustine. But the history of dogma testifies also to the unity and continuity of the Christian faith in the progress of its history, in so far as it proves that certain fundamental ideas of the Gospel have never been lost and have defied all attacks.⁸⁹

Here, Harnack proposes that the aim of the history of dogma is twofold: to explain the origin of this dogmatic Christianity, and to describe its development that testifies the unity and continuity of the Christian faith.

We can see Harnack's position of the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles in his understanding of the New Testament as "a union of the three groups, Synoptic Gospels, Pauline Epistles, and Johannine writings, in which are expressed the richest contents of the earliest history of the Gospel."⁹⁰ The first epistle of Peter belongs to the Pauline circle.⁹¹ Regarding the prominence of Paulinism over the Jerusalem Apostolicity in the early church, Harnack believes that the separation of the church from Judaism was decisive. Paul, having extended the gospel to the Gentiles by speaking of something new of the Old Testament, played a leading role in the shift from religion to theology.⁹²

Paulinism

is a religious and Christocentric doctrine, more inward and more powerful than any other which has ever appeared in the Church. It stands in the clearest opposition to all merely natural moralism, all righteousness of works, all religious

⁸⁸ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:123–24.

⁸⁹ Harnack, *Outlines of the History of Dogma*, 7–8.

⁹⁰ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 1:96.

⁹¹ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 1:96n1.

⁹² Harnack, *Outlines of the History of Dogma*, 7–8.

ceremonialism, all Christianity without Christ.... One might write a history of dogma as a history of the Pauline reactions in the Church, and in doing so would touch on all the turning points of the history.⁹³

Likewise, the author of the Johannine writings is “abrupt antijudaism.”⁹⁴ He also

portrayed a Christ who clothes the indescribable with words, and proclaims as his own self-testimony what his disciples have experienced in him, a speaking, acting, Pauline Christ, walking on the earth, far more human than the Christ of Paul and yet far more Divine, an abundance of allusions to the historical Jesus and at the same time the most sovereign treatment of the history.⁹⁵

While Baur’s study lays the foundation of the conflict between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles, Harnack further distance their gap by over-magnifying Pauline Christology and Pauline Christianity.

Harnack is right to admit that the first parting of first-century Judaism and Christianity is decisive. However, his fatal blow is his hypothesis that Paul is more prominent than the Jerusalem Apostles. Peter is regarded as an inclusion into the Pauline circle. When Harnack thinks that Paul played a leading role in the shift from religion to theology when he shared the gospel to the Gentiles, he made the implication that New Testament theology is almost exclusively Pauline. This paves the way of the second parting between Jewish and Gentile Christianity.

Another error Harnack has made is his exaltation of the heretic Marcionism. He makes himself a disciple of Marcion by perceiving him as a heroic figure who emulated Paul, abandoned the Hebrew Bible, and created the New Testament canon.

Marcion after the Apostolic Fathers; Irenæus, Clement and Origen after the Apologists; Augustine after the Fathers of the Greek Church; the great Reformers of the middle ages from Agobard to Wessel in the bosom of the medieval Church; Luther after the Scholastics; Jansenism after the council of Trent:—Everywhere it

⁹³ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 1:135–36.

⁹⁴ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 1:198.

⁹⁵ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 1:197.

has been Paul, in these men, who produced the Reformation.⁹⁶

Harnack believes that Marcion was not Gnostic. Marcion's setting aside the Old Testament was an act of reforming Christianity basing on the Pauline Gospel.⁹⁷ He was "the only Gentile Christian who understood Paul."⁹⁸

The third fatal mistake of Harnack is his proposition that the process of the canonical development toward ecclesiastical dogma is disastrous. On the one hand, Harnack accurately points out that the process of canonization was first triggered by the heresies. The witness of the literature of the New Testament to the original, dynamic gospel remained a positive force in the continuing history of Christianity. "Therefore the creation of the New Testament after the apostolic age and until today is the greatest and most beneficial fact of church history."⁹⁹ It is true that the heresies of the early church, including the Marcionites, the Gnostics and the Montanists, provoked the church to crystallize the apostolic gospel into the Christian creed, canon, and episcopacy.¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, Harnack imposed a "curse" on canonization. His "curse" can best be summarized into four points. First, the process of canonization relegated some documents to oblivion and thereby obscured the history of the origin of early Christian

⁹⁶ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 1:136.

⁹⁷ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 1:266–84.

⁹⁸ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 1:89.

⁹⁹ Harnack, *Entstehung der christlichen Theologie*, 73.

¹⁰⁰ Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*, 17, has realized that in the early church, the heresies "had come into existence of extremely varied content (especially the Gnostic writings), some of which advanced high claims to authority and often afforded grievous scandal to simple believers." Specifically, Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*, 33, mentions "the Marcionites and Gnostics." Thus, the blessing of having the New Testament canon is to restrict authoritative revelation to the apostolic witness in face of the Montanist claim to new disclosures of the Spirit (Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*, 34.) Although "the Gnostic crisis did indeed create the idea of Apostolic–Catholic as applied to writings, and brought about a selection of works which included the whole material of the future New Testament, it was the Montanist, not the Gnostic crisis, that brought the idea of the New Testament to final realisation and created the conception of a closed Canon." (Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*, 38; italic original.)

literature. When the authority of the New Testament was formalized, Christianity became a dead dogmatic, running the risk of becoming a religion of the book, encouraging the distortion of the vital message into dogma. Second, although canonization brought an end to the multiplying of legends about Christian origins, it provided sources for an exegesis that could spin out new theological myths such as fantasies about Christology and the Trinity. Third, canonization raised Pauline Christianity to place of honor. Fourth, the New Testament fostered a simple, vital religion that prevented Christian doctrine from deteriorating into philosophy of religion.¹⁰¹

In short, Harnack articulated a theology of “imbalance of power” between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles. He has denied the Jerusalem Apostles official status in the reconstruction of church history of the first four centuries. Unlike Baur, he denied, or neglected, most of the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles. One of the reasons of his denial or negligence comes from the comparatively late and scattered acceptance during the process of canonization. In Harnack’s research, the Jerusalem Apostolicity was just an appendix to Paulinism. This fact is best demonstrated by his attempt to give an explanation of the late and gradual emergence of the Epistles of James in the history of the canon with his hypothesis that the prescript is secondary, that is, the document existed originally as an anonymous writing and, consequently, did not achieve respect.¹⁰²

Both Baur and Harnack rightly identified that the parting of the ways between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christians occurred early in the first century, and extended into the second and third. The Antioch controversy was crucial to this parting,

¹⁰¹ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:133.

¹⁰² Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, 487–88.

which was further intensified by the two spheres of mission of Paul and Peter. The church was able to access most of the epistles of Paul more easily than the Catholic Epistles during the first two or three centuries. Under the influence of the research by Baur and Harnack, the church fails to appreciate the function of the Jerusalem Apostles and their writings.

(E) Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828–1889)

Lightfoot, one of the famous Cambridge Triumvirate, adopted a theological view of history as a progressive process in which God is at work. God is revealed in history, and the supreme action of God is the incarnation, that is, the Logos embodied in Christ. This unique record of God's revelation is found in the Bible.¹⁰³ One of Lightfoot's major works is his reconstruction of the history of the early church, which is contra Tübingen. He wrote commentaries on the Pauline Epistles of Galatians, Philippians, and, in one volume, Colossians and Philemon, among which, Galatians was crucial. All four scholars mentioned above in this chapter drew their conclusions based partly on their understanding, rightly or wrongly, of Galatians, especially Gal 1:18–2:14.

In the introduction of his commentary to this Epistle, Lightfoot investigated the people and location of the churches addressed. He concluded that they were the ethnic Gauls of north Galatia. He detected development in Paul's ongoing battle with the Judaizers. He also quoted from Eusebius to illustrate that there were Judaizing sects, such as the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, that clung to the Jewish law with a stubborn grasp and forcing others to observe with rigour. This is different from the study of Dunn who

¹⁰³ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:66.

quoted from Josephus, nominating Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and Zealots as the prevailing sects or schools of thought at that time (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.171; *War* 2.118). To the end of his commentary on Galatians, Lightfoot appends a dissertation on “St Paul and the Three.”¹⁰⁴ This essay lets Lightfoot reconstruct the history of the apostolic age. He asserts that, after the resurrection of Jesus, only three of his immediate disciples continue in the tradition. This is understood as the mission delegated by Jesus recorded in Acts 1:4–5, 7–8 to the disciples, headed by the Jerusalem Apostles, and guided by the Holy Spirit. The three Jerusalem Apostles mentioned by Lightfoot are Peter, John and James, the brother of the Lord. Lightfoot traces the relation of Paul to these three leaders according to three periods of early Christian history.

In the first period, Lightfoot noted the expansion of the church of Jewish believers, and an extension of the church to the Hellenists. He believed that Peter played a major role in breaking new ground to this new mission. This move covered the period from Pentecost to his withdrawal from Jerusalem after his delivery from prison. With the growth of the Hellenist Christians, there were questions to be settled. The first and obvious issue is recorded in Acts 6:1–6. The interests of the Hellenistic widows had been neglected in the daily distribution of alms. Hence the Hellenists brought up a complaint against the Hebrews, which was finally met by the appointment of seven persons specially charged with providing for the wants of these neglected poor. According to Lightfoot, this incident displayed suspicion and distrust among the Jewish and Greek-speaking Christians, which eventually reproduced estrangement within the church. By this appointment, the Hellenistic members obtained status in the church. The effects of

¹⁰⁴ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 291–374.

this measure soon became visible. Two out of the seven stood prominently forward as the champions of emancipation: Stephen the preacher and martyr of liberty, and Philip the practical evangelist.¹⁰⁵ The location of ministry shifted away from Jerusalem to Samaria. Before long, Philip broke through a second and formidable line of defense by evangelizing to and baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch. Another line of defense was broken when the gospel had extended to Cornelius, this time, through Peter, the Apostle to the circumcised, under the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

In the second period, the decisive event was the Jerusalem Council which settled the disputed points between the Jewish and Pauline churches, and affirmed Paul's Gentile mission.

The Gentiles were no longer refused admission into the Church unless first incorporated with Israel by the initiatory rite. But many questions remained still unsettled. What was their exact position, when thus received? What submission, if any, must they yield to the Mosaic law? Should they be treated as in all respects on an equality with the true Israelite? Was it right for the Jewish Christian so far to lay aside the traditions of his race, as to associate freely with his Gentile brother? These must necessarily in time become practical questions, and press for a solution.¹⁰⁶

There were indeed changes within the church. It was not only the quantity of newcomers but also the ingredients of the church comers that stimulated the changes. In addition to the Jerusalem Council, Lightfoot raised two more incidents that further expedited the status of the Gentile believers. These two incidents were the withdrawal of the apostles from Jerusalem, and the Gentile alms that relieved the devastating famine on Palestine.

The twelve years, which according to an old tradition our Lord had assigned as the limit of their fixed residence there, had drawn to a close. So, consigning the direction of the mother Church to James the Lord's brother and the presbytery, they depart thence to enter upon a wider field of action. Their withdrawal must

¹⁰⁵ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 297.

¹⁰⁶ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 302.

have deprived the Church of Jerusalem of half her prestige and more than half her influence. Henceforth she remained indeed the mother Church of the nation, but she was no longer the mother Church of the world.¹⁰⁷

According to Lightfoot, the designated time of twelve years of residence of the Jerusalem Apostles in Jerusalem was past. Lightfoot implied that Jerusalem gradually lose the status of mother church of the Christendom.

About the same time of the apostolic withdrawal, another incident also contributed to hasten the elevation of the Gentile churches. A severe famine devastated Palestine. Collections were made at Antioch, and relief was sent to the brethren in Judea. Lightfoot wrote,

By this exercise of liberality the Gentile Churches were made to feel their own importance: while the recipients, thus practically confessing their dependence, were deposed from the level of proud isolation which many of them would gladly have maintained.... Again and again the alms of the Gentile Christians were conveyed by the hands of the Gentile Apostles, and the Churches of Judea laid themselves under fresh obligations to the heathen converts.¹⁰⁸

The power balance was shuffled by this new “who helps whom” relationship. As a result of these two incidents, the gospel thus entered upon a new career of triumph. The primacy of the Church passed from Peter to Paul, from the apostle to the circumcision to the apostle to the uncircumcised. The center of evangelical work was transferred from Jerusalem to Antioch.¹⁰⁹ Lightfoot also pointed out that the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15 has settled the points of dispute between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians.¹¹⁰

Here, Lightfoot points out that the bitter opposition Paul continued to encounter

¹⁰⁷ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 303. Lightfoot related this apostolic withdrawal with a tradition recorded by Apollonius that Jesus has commanded His apostles “not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years” (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.13).

¹⁰⁸ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 304.

¹⁰⁹ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 304.

¹¹⁰ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 305.

came from Jewish extremists, not from mainline Jewish Christianity as represented by James, Peter, and John. Except the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Ephesians, all Pauline Epistles referred

more or less directly to such opposition. It assumed different forms in different places: in Galatia it was purely Pharisaic; in Phrygia and Asia it was strongly tinged with speculative mysticism; but everywhere and under all circumstances zeal for the law was its ruling passion. The systematic hatred of St Paul is an important fact, which we are too apt to overlook, but without which the whole history of the Apostolic ages will be misread and misunderstood.¹¹¹

The church of Jerusalem was composed mainly of Jewish converts, who were not released from their Jewish religious obligations. The passion for the Mosaic law is only the least common denominator for the parties. Either the mother church of Jerusalem or the new evangelistic center of Antioch had no experience to handle the persecution from the Jewish extremists. The parting of the ways is inevitable.

Lightfoot noted that the two revolts in 70 C.E. and 135 C.E. had brought variable factors into the Jewish-Christian relationship. Before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., James had been slain, Peter had fallen a martyr at Rome, and John had retired to Asia Minor. After the destruction of Jerusalem, temple worship ceased and never be revived. A new church was built at Pella. The persecutions by the Romans were thought by some as a punishment from God for murdering holy people (Hegesippus in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2:23).

The second Jewish rebellion (132–135 C.E.), headed by Bar Kokhba, broke out in all major centers of Diaspora Jews. The cause of the revolt was related to the issues of the observance of Mosaic ordinances such as circumcision and the Sabbath. Again, the antagonism between Judaism and Christianity was brought to a head. There broke out a

¹¹¹ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 311.

widespread anti-Jewish sentiment which encouraged Marcionism. In consequence, a Gentile Christian was appointed as bishop of the church of Jerusalem. The Christians were allowed to return to Jerusalem, but the Jews were expelled. The major components of the church of Jerusalem shifted from the circumcised to the uncircumcised.

A change occurred in the third period, when heresies emerged and harmony restored. The relation of heresy and harmony seems like chalk and cheese. The first four centuries of Christian history is characterized by the existence of heretical philosophy and movements that stirred up conflicts in the church, but at the same time indirectly facilitated the making of creeds, canonization of the New Testament, and subsequently harmony in the church. We will handle the topic of heresy separately and shortly.

According to Lightfoot, the churches were eventually freed from their connection with Judaism. The main line of Jewish Christianity, even in Jerusalem, became increasingly united with the Gentile believers. This harmony is faithfully described in the Acts of the Apostles, which is not an unhistorical harmonization of Peter and Paul (as Baur supposed), but a reliable historical document confirmed by Paul's Epistles.

Lightfoot's investigation highlights at least four important points. First, he emphasized the important roles played by the Jerusalem Apostles in terms of church authority. Second, Peter cleared his name by playing a major role in the early mission to the Gentiles. Third, the Jerusalem Council showed that Paul's opposition did not come from the Jerusalem Apostles. Fourth, the Jerusalem Apostles were closely and peacefully connected with the Gentile believers. For Lightfoot, there are two partings of the ways, one solved, one not. There was time when the relationship between the Jewish and Gentile Christians grew tense. But this parting of the ways was soon solved. But for those

“half-Judaic, half-Christian brotherhood,” no unity is possible.¹¹²

Lightfoot argued against early Catholicism, and defended the authenticity and reliability of the early Christian documents in support of an orthodox interpretation of early Christian history. In the main, Lightfoot takes a position between rationalist critics on the left and the uncritical orthodox on the right. He is devoted to careful reading of the original sources in their historical context.¹¹³

The historical contextual perspective on the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles can best be reflected and summarized in the following.¹¹⁴ (1) First recognition from the Jerusalem Apostles: Paul first visited Jerusalem in order to seek enquiry of Peter for the purpose of obtaining instruction in the facts of the gospel. He got general recognition of the position and authority for the freedom of the Gentile church. However, Paul faced uncompromising resistance from the rabbinic Jews in Jerusalem. In view of this, Paul attempted to build up a reconciliatory climate with the rabbinic Jews by telling them that he was not anti-Judaic. But at the same time, he was distinctly separated from the policy and principles of the Jews at that time, whom Paul regarded as false brothers and spies in the Christian camp. The first parting of the ways occurred. (2) Second recognition from the Jerusalem Apostles: The Jerusalem Apostles found no fault with Paul’s gospel, and had nothing to add to it. It is confirmed that a separate sphere or a division of labor was assigned to each: mission to the circumcised, and mission to the uncircumcised. There is no implication that the gospel preached to the Gentile would differ from that preached to the Jews. Such an idea is alien to the whole spirit of the passage. (3) First shift of position:

¹¹² Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 373.

¹¹³ Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:66.

¹¹⁴ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 350–1.

Notwithstanding their distinct spheres of work, Paul was requested by the Jerusalem Apostles to collect the alms of the Gentiles for the poor members of Judea. To this request, Paul responded cordially. (4) Second shift of position: After the second Jewish revolt in 135 C.E., antagonism between Jewish and Gentile Christianity existed in the church of Jerusalem. The second parting of the ways occurred. (5) Harmony: There were heretical influence on the church. In opposition to these heretic teachings, the church eventually came up to the process and product of canonization.

(IV) HERESIES

As mentioned above, the study of the heresies constitutes a portion of the historical context of the Jerusalem Apostles. Under the influence of Baur and the Tübingen school, Harnack explains the conflict within the Christian church in the second century in terms of ecclesiastical dogma. He highlights the influence of Gnosticism, Marcion, and Montanism which represent the acute secularization or hellenization of Christianity. The greatest threat of Gnosticism is its conspiracy to change religion into dogma. The whole process following on from Jesus is described as the hellenization of Jesus' message. The simple Jesus message was turned into a complex of philosophical categories of Hellenism. That is why, in Harnack's mind, Marcion was as important a theologian as Augustine and Luther. The Apostle Paul came into direct conflict with Judaism because he conceded too much to Judaism.¹¹⁵ Lightfoot also mentioned two of the heresies, the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, that brought impacts on the stability of the church.

¹¹⁵ Harnack, *New Testament Studies*, 88.

The focus of the following is not on the general study on the heresies in the early church. Rather, in order to confine our study of heresies to the benefit of our understanding of the Jerusalem Apostolicity and their writings, we selectively focus on Gnosticism, Marcionism, and Ebionism. To conclude this section on heresies, Augustine's *On Faith and Works* is quoted for the reason that this piece of work can fill some of the holes in the historical reconstruction of the church, and that it concludes this section.

(A) Gnosticism

Harnack's ecclesiastic dogma approach won the support of some scholars. Modern scholarship has used this term as a label for a wide variety of religious phenomena of the second and third centuries. Metzger has examined the intensity of influence Gnostic teachers had on the Church. As early as the first century, the New Testament furnishes several indications that the invasion of Christianity by Gnosticism has already been in progress. "Here and there we find a sharp polemic against sectarians who claim superior knowledge (Col. 2:8, 18; Tit. 1:16; 2 Tim. 3:7) and who have appropriated the term *gnosis* (1 Tim 6:20). The heretics denounced in 2 Peter and Jude show some affinity with the Cainites."¹¹⁶

By mid-second century, several systems of Gnostic thought had developed. They utilized writings of the New Testament and produced rival gospels, acts, and apocalypses. In response,

the Church was compelled to (a) to develop her own creed into a clear system, for the false *gnosis* had to be opposed by the more precise definition of the true; (b) to determine which writings she could regard as authoritative, for each of the Gnostic schools had its own special revelation; and (c) to seek for a just view of

¹¹⁶ Metzger, *Canon of the New Testament*, 76; and Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.31.

the relation of Judaism to Christianity, and of the permanent value of the Old Testament, which many Gnostics rejected.¹¹⁷

Metzger ascertains how the heretic Gnosticism, and in fact heretics in general, utilized the awareness, discussion, and recognition of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles.¹¹⁸ The most natural and effective way to correct the false is to teach the truth. The fact that the church was compelled to develop her own creed and canon, as Metzger observed, is unquestionable.

(B) Marcionism

McDonald examines how Marcionism affects the development of the canon. Marcion's important position related to the canon is twofold: his rejection of the Old Testament, and his exclusion of the Catholic Epistles from the New Testament.¹¹⁹ Using McDonald's examination as a blueprint, a few things about Marcionism are worth noting:

(1) According to McDonald, Marcion rejected the Old Testament because he rejected all Jewish influences on the early Christian proclamation. This rejection of Jewish teachings may have stemmed from the current anti-Jewish sentiment that was widespread in the Roman Empire following the second Jewish rebellion in Palestine against Rome in 132–135 C.E.¹²⁰ Thus, we have reason to believe that Marcion rejected the Jerusalem Apostles because of their Jewishness.

(2) One of the leading themes of the Marcionite Prologues is the opposition of Pauline teaching to Judaizing Christianity. In most of the Prologues it is emphasized that

¹¹⁷ Metzger, *Canon of the New Testament*, 77.

¹¹⁸ For more detailed discussion of the impact of Gnosticism on the New Testament, refer to Perkins, "Gnosticism and the Christian Bible," 355–71.

¹¹⁹ For further study of Marcionism, see McDonald, *The Biblical Canon*, 324–32;

¹²⁰ McDonald, *The Biblical Canon*, 326.

the recipients of the Pauline Epistles had received the word of truth, but had been led astray by false apostles. This implies that Paul was the apostle par excellence, and the other apostles, including the Jerusalem Apostles, were false.¹²¹

(3) Marcion's purpose of his Prologues was not so much an insight into the value of a limited number of New Testament writings or even an establishment of a fixed biblical canon. Rather, Marcion believed that the Christian gospel of absolute love was contrary to the legalistic and oppressive law of the Jewish Scriptures that was taught by the early Jerusalem church leaders, especially Peter and James.¹²² In this sense, it is justified to believe that for Marcion, the teachings of the other apostles, including James, Peter, and John, were false.¹²³

(4) The canon of Marcion may have been the first that was publicly proposed, but its initial purpose did not serve as a canon in the sense as what we understand in canonical criticism today. On the contrary, the Marcion canon provoked controversy in the church. In addition, its introduction of Petrine and Johannine elements was designed as a "counterweight to the influence of Marcion and St. Paul."¹²⁴ The final form of the New Testament has been shown to contain a number of features that Marcion did not anticipate.¹²⁵ In short, "Marcion was not a major influence on the formation of the New Testament; he was simply a Marcionite."¹²⁶

(5) There is no consensus that the Marcionite Prologues presupposes a proto-

¹²¹ Metzger, *Canon of the New Testament*, 94–95.

¹²² McDonald, *The Biblical Canon*, 326.

¹²³ De Bruyne, "Prologues bibliques d'origine marcionite," 1–16.

¹²⁴ Evans, *Tertullian Adversus Marcionem*, xvi.

¹²⁵ Balás, "Marcion Revisited," 95–108; and Barton, "Marcion Revisited," 35–62. For example, Marcion did not deal with the criteria for canonicity.

¹²⁶ Barton, "Marcion Revisited," 62.

canon.¹²⁷ On the contrary, the investigation of the Marcionite controversy confirms that at least two of the Catholic Epistles, namely 1 Peter and 1 John, were known to the Church Fathers.¹²⁸

(6) The purpose of Irenaeus's *Against Heresies* is to argue against the Marcionites.¹²⁹ Irenaeus uses both Pauline and Petrine passages.¹³⁰ The scenario of a conflict between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles is missing at least in the Western church in the second century. This may be due to the fact either that both apostolate have found a common enemy, which is Marcionism, or that there exists no conflicts at all.

(C) Ebionism

The Ebionites is a group of Jewish Christians attested from the second to fourth century.¹³¹ They were scattered in Rome and other great centers of the Diaspora. In theory and in practice, they were purely Pharisaic. They maintained that the law was binding on all Christians alike, and regarded Gentile believers as impure because they refused to conform. They held a low Christology. Unlike the Nazarenes,¹³² they rejected

¹²⁷ Dahl, "The Origin of the Earliest Prologues to the Pauline Letters," 262–63.

¹²⁸ Irenaeus was the first Christian writer to quote 1 Peter and 1 John by name. (*Adv. Haer.* 3.11.8)

¹²⁹ Some scholars are doubtful that the heresy in Irenaeus' mind is the Marcionites. Norris, "Irenaeus," 39–42, believes that Irenaeus is referring to the Valentinians. But Norris does not earn much support.

¹³⁰ For example, when talking about body resurrection of believers, Irenaeus quotes 1 Cor. 13 to support his argument. He also cites 1 Pet. 1:8, introducing the text as something "this it is which has been said also by Peter" (5.7.2). In 5.36.3, when talking about the resurrection of the righteous, he quotes Rom. 8:21 and 1 Cor. 2:9, and attributes them to "the apostle," which he refers to Paul, then alludes to the later portion of 1 Pet. 1:12 ("which the angels desire to look into") in quotation without attributing the text to Peter. He does the same in 3.16.9 and 4.37.4. Irenaeus quotes 1 Pet. 1:12 in 2.17.9 and 4.34.1 as well. In all three uses one gets the sense that the text had become a saying of sorts that functioned as a shorthand reference to 1:10–12 and its support for the unity of the prophet's foretelling and the evangelists' forth-telling of Christ.

¹³¹ See Klijn and Reinink, *Patristic Evidence*, 19–43.

¹³² The Nazarenes was a small and insignificant sect dwelling beyond the Jordan in Pella and the

the authority and the writings of Paul, branding him as an apostate. Lightfoot identified the Ebionites as “the direct spiritual descendants of those false brethren, the Judaizers of the apostolic age, who first disturbed the peace of the Antiochene Church and then dogged St Paul’s footsteps from city to city, everywhere thwarting his efforts and undermining his authority.”¹³³

Although Marcionism and Ebionism existed since the second century, they belonged to the two sides of polarity. Marcionism upheld Paulinism and totally rejected Jewish Christianity whereas Ebionism supported Jerusalem Apostolicity and rejected Gentile Christianity. When discussing the role of heresy in the formation of the canon, Metzger points out that the debate over the date of the formation of the New Testament canon involves “a difference of definition rather than facts.”¹³⁴ What he implies is that the rise of the authoritative writings is related to the quest for them. When various opposing heresies existed and polarized the church, the quest for the canon is inevitable.

(D) *On Faith and Works*

Augustine wrote the book that is entitled *On Faith and Works* to reply to some anxious enquires from educated laity, who wrote something which distinguished good works from Christian faith. They say that it was possible to obtain eternal life without good works but not without Christian faith. The nature of this question is quite similar to the subject of research by Sanders and Dunn, but they are under different system of

neighboring places at the close of the fourth century. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 318, identified this sect as the remnant of the fugitive Jerusalem church that refused to return from their exile during the Jewish revolts. They held themselves bound to the Mosaic ordinances. They recognized the work and mission of Paul and of the liberty of the Gentile church. The Nazarenes held a high Christology.

¹³³ Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 322,

¹³⁴ Metzger, *Canon*, 24.

thought. In this book, Augustine shows that not only “how Christians ought to live, that is, those who have been regenerated by the grace of Christ, but also what kind of person we should admit to the bath of regeneration” (Augustine, *Retractationes* 2.38).

Let us now consider the question of faith. In the first place, we feel that we should advise the faithful that they would endanger the salvation of their souls if they acted on the false assurance that faith alone is sufficient for salvation or that they need not perform good works in order to be saved. This, in fact, is what some had thought even in the time of the apostles. For at that time there were some who did not understand certain rather obscure passages of St. Paul, and who thought therefore that he had said: Let us do evil that there may come good. (Rom. 3:8) They thought that this was what St. Paul meant when he said: The law entered in that sin might abound. And where sin abounded, grace did more abound. (Rom. 5:20)...As we said above, this opinion originated in the time of the apostles, and that is why we find some of them, for example, Peter, John, James, and Jude, writing against it in their epistles and asserting very strongly that faith is no good without works. (Augustine, *f. et op.* 21)

The essay proceeds by way of an intertextual reading of the apostolic epistles, balancing passages from Paul with those of James, Peter, John, and Jude in order to arrive at a wholly apostolic understanding of faith and works.

The question under discussion “is very dangerous,...which would not have developed...if it had been studied in connection with Scripture” (*f. et op.* 49). It seems that the issue about faith and works must be both very damaging and very urgent.¹³⁵ The situation is not new.¹³⁶ According to Augustine, even at the times of the apostles, some people misinterpreted the teaching of Paul. They think that faith is sufficient for salvation.

¹³⁵ Perl, *Aurelius Augustinus, Drei Bücher über den Glauben*, xxi, remarks that the urgency of this work can be seen because Augustine was busy with so many other writings such as *De unico baptismo contra Petilianum* in 410, *De spiritu et littera* in 412, and in 413 the beginning of *De civitate Dei*. In *Retractationes* Augustine places *De fide et operibus* immediately after the *De spiritu et littera*.

¹³⁶ During Augustine’s time, there were two heresies: the heresy of justification by work alone, and the heresy of justification by faith alone. He rejects both of them. Specifically in his *On Faith and Works*, he refutes the opinion which says that they who live vilest and most disgraceful life, even though they continue to live in this way, will be saved and gain eternal life, as long as they believe in Christ and receive his sacraments (Augustine, *f. et op.* 27, 49).

Some even say: Let us do evil that good may come” (Rom 3:8). During Augustine’s time, the situation is similar. He points out that the apostles Peter, John, James, and Jude insist very strongly in their epistles on the necessity of good works. These Jerusalem apostles write against those certain unrighteous men who misinterpret Paul’s teaching, and assert “very strongly that faith is no good without works” (*f. et op.* 21). He points out that Peter in his second epistle (3:8–11) warns the faithful that, although there are in Paul some passages hard to understand, nevertheless he has the same mind on the question of eternal salvation as have all the other apostles (*f. et op.* 22).

Then Augustine elaborates his point, mentioning these four names. James “is so opposed to those who think that faith can save without good works that he compares them to devils” (*f. et op.* 23). Peter urges the faithful to live good and holy lives worthy of the new heavens (*f. et op.* 22). John “does not promise any easier condition to those who want to believe in God and at the same time lead a life of sin” (*f. et op.* 42). Jude told us that these heretics “mixed with the good in the participation of the sacrament and in the love feasts of the people (*f. et op.* 46). Augustine reminds us how the apostles describe these unrighteous men, “St. Peter calls them *fountains without water*; St. Jude, *clouds without water*; and St. James says that *their faith is dead*” (*f. et op.* 46, italics original).

There are certain things that we can induce from Augustine’s *On Faith and Works*. He wrote his work because of emergent need. Some lay leaders suggest that salvation can be obtained by faith only, neglecting good work. This is heretical. Their teaching influences others in the church in laxity in discipline, and moral standard of candidate of baptism. More far-reaching influence is that it conveys an erroneous teaching on salvation. The situation at Augustine’s time is not new because the same things had

happened during the times of the apostles. Paul teaches that salvation is not from work alone but by faith. There are those who twisted Paul's teaching to salvation is not from work but by faith alone. The writings of the Jerusalem Apostles, namely James, Peter, John and Jude, correct these erroneous teachings by emphasizing justification of work after salvation. Augustine treated these writings as a whole, and these writings serve as a counterbalance to the Pauline epistles.

(V) CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have focused on the two partings of the ways. The first parting of the ways is between first-century Judaism and Christianity. The second parting is between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity. For the first parting, the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is to maintain separateness because they are on different ways that will never intersect again after they have parted. For the second parting, the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is to harmonize because they share the same gospel with Paul, and in fact with all other gospel writers.

There is no single or simple parting of the ways. Becker's work is important in the study about the parting of the ways. He explicates that there are, in fact, many "partings," and they happen in different places at different times in different ways. Furthermore, the rabbinic Judaic and Christian communities continued to be intertwined in certain ways at certain times.¹³⁷ The system of thought applied by Sanders and Dunn tries to convey the message that the tension between the two ways of Judaism and Christianity actually comes from their different ways of interpreting the same "way." The common

¹³⁷ Becker, "Beyond the Spatial and Temporal *Lines*," 392.

denominator is “Jewishness.” However, their result is not convincing.

Baur and Harnack use vigorous terms to present the severity of the tension between Paulinism and Jerusalem Apostolicity that existed at the earliest stage of church history, and extended into the fourth century. The church has taken many years to go through various stages, and to overcome different difficulties, before arriving at a stability or balance of power. However, Baur and Harnack have injected too much imagination into their construction of history. I conclude that Lightfoot has come up to a reconstruction of history that points to the harmonious compromise between the two parties.

From a positive perspective, Harnack’s elaboration on Marcionism contributes the awareness that the existence of heretics is, in fact, a catalyst towards the setting up of a standard of belief or canon. The church needs the right voice to correct the wrong one. This way of thinking is further supported by Augustine’s work of *On Faith and Works*, in which he correctly points out that the teachings of both Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles play equally important role in the church. The canon is the convergence of the “ways.”¹³⁸

¹³⁸ See how Salvesen, “A Convergence of the Ways,” 258, argues for the convergence of Judaism and Christianity as a result of the Judaism of the Christian Scriptures.

CHAPTER FOUR: A CANONICAL PERSPECTIVE

(I) INTRODUCTION

Historical criticism as an interpretative method has played an important role in the study of reconstructing the events lying behind the texts of the Jerusalem Apostles. However, it becomes increasingly difficult to interpret the text if the scholar focuses too much on these events and histories and neglects the text. In order to interpret the text, the scholar should not only be concerned with the historical events *behind* the text, he or she must look *through* the biblical text.¹

Canonical criticism involves both the historical events and the text; furthermore, it does not merely pay attention to the individual text but also a group of text as a whole. It traces the history of the function of those authoritative traditions which ended up in one of the canons. It concerns not only with events through the text, but also with events through different texts as a whole.² It is ironic that “the more fully the individual documents of the New Testament have been understood, the less intelligible the New Testament as a whole has become, both historically and theologically.”³

Comparatively, canonical criticism is a young but consequential development of the other biblical criticisms. Parsons states,

Canonical criticism emerged, in part, in response to a growing sense of the inadequacy of the historical-critical method in dealing with the message of the biblical texts. This dissatisfaction has ranged from those who wish to abandon the historical-critical method altogether to those who wish to subordinate historical criticism to some other interpretative matrix (such as the canon).⁴

¹ Clarke, “Canonical Criticism,” 175.

² Sanders, *Canon and Community*, 37.

³ Gamble, *New Testament Canon*, 13.

⁴ Parsons, “Canonical Criticism,” 255; brackets original.

Moreover, canonical criticism handles the final form of the canon⁵ as well as the process⁶ towards the final form. During the process, one is passionate “to see in extant manuscripts...what ancient and medieval believing communities actually had available to them and how they used what they had.”⁷

Based on the above information, the focus of this chapter is not on the digging for the canonization of individual writings of the Catholic Epistles, which would only make even worse the “chaotic state of scholarly opinion.”⁸ Instead, this chapter seeks to view the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles through the lens of the process as well as the final product of the canonization of the collection of their Epistles. Three resources contribute to this study.

The first resource is *papyrological evidence*, which is the scientific study of the direct evidence of the extant manuscripts of the New Testament. The study will show the physical attributes of the manuscripts. This resource helps us understand the practice of reading and grouping the biblical books by the early churches according to various

⁵ Childs, *Exodus*, xiv–xv, states that it is “the final text, the composite narrative, in its present shape which the church...accepted as canonical and thus the vehicle of revelation and instruction...[T]he study of the prehistory has its proper function within exegesis only in illuminating the final text.” Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 183–84, writes: “The reason for insisting on the final form for scripture lies in the peculiar relationship between text and people of God which is constitutive of the canon. The shape of the biblical text reflects a history of encounter between God and Israel. The canon serves to describe this peculiar relationship and to define the scope of this history by establishing a beginning and an end to the process...The significance of the final form of the biblical text is that it alone bears witness to the full history of revelation...It is only in the final form of the biblical text in which the normative history has reached an end that the full effect of this revelatory history can be perceived...But it is the full, combined text which has rendered a judgment on the shape of the tradition and which continues to exercise an authority on the community of faith.”

⁶ Sanders, *Canon and Community*, 18–45, defends the legitimacy of interpreting the Bible through understanding the canonical process antiquity and a means of revitalizing the concept of canon as the book of the churches and the synagogues. This process involves selectivity and repetition in new situations of traditions which the member of the community found to be of value. In Sanders’s view, the final form of the canon is an important stage, yet it is only one of many previous stages.

⁷ Sanders, “Scripture as Canon for Post-Modern Times,” 58.

⁸ Nienhuis and Wall, *Reading the Epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude*, 3–8.

traditions and geographical locations. The second resource, which is closely related to the first, is *patristic witnesses*, which is an indirect evidence of quotations and allusions to texts of the New Testament from early Church Fathers. This resource furnishes two important kinds of information that facilitates our understanding of the process of the canonization of the Catholic Epistles: the prominent figures of the Jerusalem Apostles, and the authoritative writings of these Apostles. The third resource is *internal evidence*. This resource serves the purpose of reading the Epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles together with the Acts of the Apostles as one unit, according to their placement in the canon.

(II) PAPYROLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Although the Catholic Epistles were not collected as smoothly as were the Gospels and Pauline Epistles in the early church, portions of individual books such as James and Jude are found among the earliest papyrus manuscripts.⁹ Some of the individual texts were in circulation as early as the end of the second century.¹⁰

The Epistle of James is best preserved in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri of P²⁰, P²³, and P¹⁰⁰. P²³, containing James 1:10–12, 15–18, dated around 200 C.E., is proto-Alexandrian, showing the greatest agreement with Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi Rescriptus. P²⁰, containing James 2:19–3:9, dated early third century, also proto-Alexandrian, shows

⁹ For general information about the early papyri and codices, see Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*; Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*; and Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography & Textual Criticism*. For information of manuscripts on specific biblical books or passages, see Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament*, and *New Testament Text and Translation Commentary: Commentary on the Variant Readings of the Ancient New Testament Manuscripts and how They Relate to the Major English Translation*.

¹⁰ Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts*, 38; and Comfort, *New Testament Text and Translation Commentary*, xxi–xxii.

the greatest agreement with Sinaiticus and Vaticanus. P¹⁰⁰, containing James 3:13–4:4; 4:9–5:1, dated late third or early fourth century, concurs with the Alexandrian witnesses of P⁷⁴, Alexandrinus and Vaticanus.

The whole corpus of 1 and 2 Peter, and the whole book of Jude are well preserved in the Papyrus Bodmer VII-VIII of P⁷². Dated around 300 C.E., P⁷² has clear Alexandrian affinities with Vaticanus and Alexandrinus. Another fourth century Alexandrian manuscript P⁸¹ containing 1 Pet 2:20–3:1, 4–12, has more affinity with Sinaiticus than with Vaticanus. Alexandrian is the best witness for these epistles.

The best manuscript for the Johannine Epistles is Vaticanus, followed by Sinaiticus. A portion of 1 John exists in one third-century Oxyrhynchus papyrus, P⁹, but it is fragmentary, and its textual character is unreliable. A portion of 2 John exists in one third-century parchment manuscript, 0232 (or P. Ant. 12). This manuscript is an accurate copy of 2 John.¹¹

The contents of P⁷² include Jude and 1–2 Peter together with seven non-canonical writings, in the order of three non-canonical, Jude, another four non-canonical, and then 1–2 Peter. According to Wasserman, the rich amount of scriptural cross-references and common theological themes in the codex does support the notion of a consciously theological collection. He believes that there is only one scribe who is responsible for the copying of P⁷². This same scribe is ascribed to a Christological tendency, and displays examples of liturgical and paraenetic harmonization, a trait that

¹¹ Roberts, *Antinoopolis Papyri*, 25–26, believes that 0232 is the earliest extant witness to a collection not only of the Johannine Epistles, but of the entire Catholic Epistles. But Kruger, “The Date and Content of P. Antinoopolis 12,” argues that P. Ant. 12 was a fifth century witness, and originally held the book of Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles. Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*, 122, contends that this “was a separate and distinct gathering of the Johannine writing by the year AD 300 or even earlier.”

places the copyist in the contest of community life and church worship.¹²

Based on the textual evidence, the four oldest extant codices¹³ that were produced during the fourth and fifth centuries are important to the study of the collection of the Catholic Epistles. They are: Sinaiticus, Vaticanus,¹⁴ Alexandrinus,¹⁵ and Ephraemi Rescriptus.¹⁶ In terms of the Catholic Epistles, the following features can be observed.

(1) The seven writings of the Catholic Epistles were at first circulated separately. At some stage, they were brought together, but not in one place at one time.¹⁷ The archetype of the surviving textual tradition of the Catholic Epistles is not a single manuscript with a seven-letter collection. There are no extant textual witness to these epistles that prove the existence of any collection of Catholic Epistles before the fourth century.

¹² Wasserman, *Epistle of Jude*, 41–2. However, Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 100, suggests that the textual character of P⁷² is different for 1–2 Peter and Jude. They categorize the text of 1–2 Peter as “normal” while that of Jude is “free,” both with certain peculiarities. Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*, 123, writes that “by as early as the third century, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude were considered a subcorpus and copied together, even if they were later bound with other manuscripts for particular theological purposes.

¹³ Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament*, 24–25, suggests that these four manuscripts presented a complete edition of the New Testament at the time of their production. None of these manuscripts served as a master copy for any of the others, and that they were produced independently. Furthermore, each of these manuscripts constitutes a complete edition of the Christian Bible. They all contain the writings of the Old Testament followed by the New Testament.

¹⁴ According to Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 5*, both Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus belong to the Alexandrian text that is considered to be the best text and the most faithful in preserving the original.

¹⁵ Codex Alexandrinus demonstrates a Byzantine text-type. Kenyon, *The Codex Alexandrinus*, 9–11, believes that Luke–Acts and the Catholic Epistles come from the same scribe.

¹⁶ Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament*, 25, states that the fragmentary character of the Codex Ephraemi does not allow a detailed reconstruction of the original sequence of writings. Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts*, 63, states that this codex represents the best text of the Catholic Epistles. According to Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 49, Ephraemi Rescriptus “seems to be compounded from all the major text types, frequently agreeing with the later Koine of Byzantine type, which most scholars regard as the least valuable type of New Testament text.”

¹⁷ This is in conflict with Trobisch’s “canonical edition” theory. He suggests that all extant manuscripts are descended from a canonical edition, and that the individual writings did not circulate widely when they were in their initial stages of existence as separate entities. Trobisch, *First Edition of the New Testament*, 21–22.

(2) From the evidence given to us about 0232, P⁷² and P²³, it is possible that by the late second century and probably by the third century, at least parts of the Catholic Epistles were being gathered together into recognizable groupings.¹⁸

(3) All four oldest codices show that the Acts of the Apostles and the General Epistles are compiled together into one single unit to form the *Apostolos*.¹⁹ In addition, the sequence and the number of the letters within the collection are the same. The collection of Catholic Epistles consists of seven letters, the sequence of which is James-Peter-John-Jude. The fact that the Acts and the Catholic Epistles are given the same recognition is crystal clear.

(4) The superscriptions of the Catholic Epistles consist of two main elements: the name of the author, and the genre description “Epistle.” This genre description is included for the first book of the seven epistles only, the Epistle of James. In the epistles that follow, only the name of the authors and numbering, where applicable, are indicated. Jude is the last book among the Catholic Epistles closing the collection unit of the *Apostolos*.

(5) Superscriptions were not part of the authors’ text. Hence, the practice of superscriptions may reflect a homogenous redactional trait of the collection of the Catholic Epistles. In the manuscript tradition, the earliest attestation of the epithet “Catholic” is found in Codex Alexandrinus in the subscription of the *Apostolos*.

(6) The reasons for tying Acts and the Catholic Epistles together by positioning the latter behind the former are only conjectural. But it is probable that the Jerusalem

¹⁸ Porter, *How We Got the New Testament*, 124.

¹⁹ Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament*, 34, calls this compiled collection of Acts and Catholic Epistles the *Praxapostolos*.

Apostolic form of Christianity, as distinguished from the Pauline form, was still the mainstream. As Bauckham says, “Nothing about the canon *requires* us first to learn what Christianity is from Paul and then to see what James and others have to add.”²⁰

(7) Contrary to the order customary in English Bibles, virtually all manuscripts of the New Testament places the Catholic Epistles immediately after Acts and before the Pauline Epistles.²¹ This sequence follows the pattern of the Jerusalem Apostles of Gal. 2:9. While on the contrary, Paul claimed that he was “the least of the apostles:” (1 Cor 15:9). The presence of these seven Epistles of a general character, along with the Pauline Epistles, was intended to document the consensus among the chief apostles concerning the rule of faith.²²

(8) Another explanation for this shape of the *Apostolos* comes from Trobisch, who sets up a project to reconstruct a “First Edition” (or “Canonical Edition”) of the New Testament with the application of editorial concept.²³ He believes that the final redaction of the New Testament reflects the editorial concept of the implied authorship. It is assumed that the editors of this so-called Canonical Edition were interested in establishing links between the brothers of Jesus, the twelve disciples, and Paul. The link between the Jerusalem Apostles follows the pattern of Gal 2:9. Unlike the Pauline

²⁰ Bauckham, *James*, 116, italics original.

²¹ This is true of Vaticanus and Alexandrinus which have the sequence of Gospels–Praxapostolos–Pauline Epistles–Revelation. In contrast, Sinaiticus follows the sequence of Gospels–Pauline Epistles–Praxapostolos–Revelation. Metzger, *Canon*, 296n2: This sequence was adopted in the editions of the Greek New Testament published by Lachmann (1842–50), Tischendorf (1869–72), Tregelles (1857–79), Westcott and Hort (1881), Baljon (1898), von Gebhardt (1901), and von Soden (1913).

²² Metzger, *Canon*, 295–96.

²³ Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament*, 45–77. Trobisch’s effort has promoted the interest of the recovery of the original text of the New Testament. But the greatest difficulty at issue is that there are so many unsolved uncertainties about the topic.

Epistles, the Catholic Epistles are not arranged according to their length.²⁴ The final redaction of the Canonical Edition demonstrates an interest in minimizing the conflict between the Jerusalem Apostles and Paul, and Acts displays this harmonizing tendency.²⁵

(9) In the Vulgate, from which the order within the Western Bible, Protestant and Catholic is determined, Acts is detached from the Catholic Epistles, and is placed between the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. This arrangement may be due to “accepted” list of Eusebius. But this has potentially relegated the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles to the category of an appendix and has confirmed the theological dominance of Paul, or the subservience of the Jerusalem Apostles, in modern scholarship.²⁶ This Latin canon, in fact, does not add any weight to our understanding of the *Greek* manuscripts of the New Testament.

One of the tasks of this chapter is to inquire the interrelation of the New Testament textual criticism and the formation of the canon. First of all, earliest codices mentioned earlier (Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi Rescriptus) do not represent exactly the “whole New Testament.”²⁷ It is commonplace that some of the manuscripts relevant to our current investigations consist of writings that did not constitute parts of the New Testament. For example, P⁷² contains the whole corpus of 1 and 2 Peter, and the whole book of Jude, it does not prove that these three epistles

²⁴ Trobisch, *First Edition of the New Testament*, 135n37.

²⁵ Trobisch, *First Edition of the New Testament*, 80.

²⁶ Goswell, “The Order of the Books of the New Testament,” 234.

²⁷ Vaticanus also contains *Baruch*, *Epistle of Jeremiah*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Sirach*, *Judith*, and *Tobit*; Sinaiticus includes *Barnabas* and *Hermas*; Alexandrinus adds *1–2 Clement*; Ephraemi Rescriptus lacks 2 Thessalonians and 2 John, but contains *Sirach* and *Wisdom of Solomon*. If the NA27 represents the “whole New Testament” we read today, these codices do not. Schmidt, “The Greek New Testament as a Codex,” 476, claims that the earliest two “complete New Testament” codices dated ninth/tenth century and tenth/eleventh century.

belonged to the collection of Catholic Epistles, nor were they canonical.²⁸ Instead, in an *Apostolos* manuscript, the textual character of Acts differ from that of the Catholic Epistles. Moreover, even among the Catholic Epistles themselves it may differ for each one, depending on the manuscripts from which they were copied.²⁹ Such observations invite scholars to look for explanations for the early Christian utilization of the codex form.

I regard Hurtado's proposal as plausible.³⁰ There has been a decisive development in the publication and circulation of early Christian literature that rapidly established the codex in Christian use. It is fascinating that we not only have early Christian texts that belong to the second and third centuries, but also have remnants of the physical forms in which these texts were copied, transmitted, and used in Christian circles. On the one hand, we should avoid simplistic, superficial conclusions that if a text was copied in a codex, this signaled that the text was used as Scripture. On the other hand, it is reasonable to judge that from the second century, Christians were seeking to place in one codex multiple texts that they wished to link in some common regard and usage as Scripture.³¹ Having said these, it is still impossible to recover a single original reading because all textual evidences only present us collections of interpretive rewritings of traditions.³² At

²⁸ Epp, "Issues in the Interrelation of New Testament Textual Criticism and Canon," 491–92, maintains that the odd arrangement of the order of three non-canonical, Jude, four non-canonical, and 1–2 Peter causes one to wonder whether Jude and 1–2 Peter were fully considered to be fully canonical by the fourth-century Christian who made up this codex. See also Filson, "More Bodmer Papyri," 57.

²⁹ Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 50.

³⁰ Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 43–89, suggests that from the study of the codex activities from the second and third centuries, Christians from that period liked to use codices for venerable writings. This study gives us important information about the circulation and resolution of authoritative writings. Whereas, scholars like Epp, "Codex and Literacy," 18, 22–24, think that the codex form of writings became fashionable because of their portability.

³¹ Perhaps this explains the corpus of P⁴ + P⁶⁴ + P⁶⁷.

³² Parker, *Living Text of the Gospels*, 78–93.

the end, it is community acceptance, reflected by patristic usage, that become authoritative.³³

(III) PATRISTIC WITNESSES

Another source of information to help us understand the process of canonization of the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles comes from the witnesses of Church Fathers. The history of patristic witnesses paralleled that of the textual development. If we know how the Church Fathers, such as Origen, Tertullian, or Jerome, quoted certain passages of the Scriptures in their writings, we know how those passages stood in manuscripts of the second, third, or fourth century.

Before going into specific patristic witnesses, we have to admit the limitations in the scope of this study. There are three things that remain uncertain: (1) we are uncertain whether the Fathers had the original form of manuscripts before him; (2) we are uncertain whether the Fathers actually quoted directly from these original manuscripts; and (3) we are uncertain about the source of these manuscripts.³⁴ There are no easy answers to these questions. However, the *geographical locality* of certain text-types in different periods of time and the witnesses of patristic quotations is indispensable to reconstruct the history of the biblical text-type and text. This section will examine the patristic witnesses according to their geographical locality.

(A) Alexandria

³³ Epp, "Issues in the Interrelation of New Testament Textual Criticism and Canon," 512.

³⁴ See similar precautions tendered by Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism*, 205–08.

Based on the fact that there is a close affinity between the earliest and most reliable textual evidence and the Alexandrian Church, we have reason to believe that the Alexandrian Fathers have played an unparalleled role in the development of the New Testament canon.

(1) Clement of Alexandria (150–215)

Clement made use of 1 Peter, 1–2 John, and Jude in his writings. He quoted 1 Peter a number of times. Clement regarded Peter’s writing to be sacred when he quoted from 1 Pet 2:12, “Above all, we are to keep in mind what was spoken sacredly...” (*Paed.* 3.11). Twice in his quotations, he mentioned “Peter in his epistle says...” (*Strom.* 3.18 and 4.20; cf. 1 Pet 1:21–22 and 1:14–16), noting that the “epistle” is singular, which is probably 1 Peter at issue.

In similar stance, Clement quoted 1 John many times and wrote commentaries on both 1 and 2 John. Once when he quoted 1 John 5:16–17, he referred 1 John as “his larger epistle” (*Strom.* 2.15). Clement was probably not aware of a third epistle of John when he used the comparative adjective “larger” to compare two epistles instead of the superlative.

Clement also quoted Jude 5–6, 11 to demonstrate God’s punishment for those who had sinned like the Sodomites, Cain and Balaam (*Paed.* 3.8). On another occasion, when Clement quoted from Jude 16, he referred that “Jude spoke prophetically in his letter...” (*Strom* 3.2).

For the letter of James, it is more convincing to assert that Clement had alluded to James 2:8 when he used the term “kingly” to describe the commandment of love in *Strom.* 6.19. In like manner, Clement referred to James 4:6 or 1 Pet 5:5 when he said that, “The

Scripture says to them: ‘God resists the proud but gives grace to the humble.’” (*Strom.* 3.6), although he might have directly quoted from Prov 3:34. According to Eusebius, Clement

has given in the Hypotyposes abridged accounts of all canonical Scripture, not omitting the disputed books,—I refer to Jude and the other Catholic epistles, and Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter. (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.14.1)

The point at issue is the definition of the “disputed books.” Eusebius once called these books of James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude as “disputed books” (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.3).

There is no reason we should think that Eusebius would have another definition here.

Taking the Epistle of James at face value, Clement included it in the canonical Catholic Epistles, although its canonicity was disputable. However, it is not usual to mark “Jude and the other Catholic Epistles” by name, not James. Thus, Clement was aware of the Epistle of James, or proto-James.³⁵

For unspecified reasons, Clement did not quote James heavily. However, more important than acknowledging the epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles is Clement’s indication about the significance of the figures of the Jerusalem Apostles. With respect to their prominence, Eusebius stated that

Clement in the sixth book of his Hypotyposes writes thus: “For they say that Peter and James and John after the ascension of our Saviour, as if also preferred by our Lord, strove not after honor, but chose James the Just bishop of Jerusalem.” But the same writer, in the seventh book of the same work, relates also the following things concerning him: “The Lord after his resurrection imparted knowledge to James the Just and to John and Peter, and they imparted it to the rest of the apostles, and the rest of the apostles to the seventy, of whom Barnabas was one. (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.1.3–4)

³⁵ Nienhuis-, *Not by Paul Alone*, 47–52, argues that Clement had knowledge of the figure of James, but not the Epistle of James. He is probably right to acknowledge the widespread elevation of the Jerusalem Apostles, but fails to convince for the unawareness of the Epistle of James. See Johnson, *Letter of James*, 129, that the knowledge of the Epistle of James could have reached Alexandria at an early stage through the media of *1 Clement* and *the Shepherd of Hermas*.

For Clement, James was chosen by the Jerusalem Apostles according to the preference of the Lord, to be the bishop of Jerusalem. The importance of James, John, and Peter is reflected by the conferment of the divine knowledge to the rest of the apostles. This elevation came about on the basis of their having received post-resurrection knowledge from Jesus himself. This provides additional evidence for the existence of a widespread elevation of the Jerusalem Apostles in the late second century.

(2) Origen of Alexandria (185–253)

Origen was Clements' student. As anticipated, he made great progress in advancing our understanding Jerusalem Apostolicity through the window of the Alexandrian school, but later established a school in Caesarea. Origen was a prolific writer. He set up a library in Caesarea, which has left no physical traces for archaeology to uncover. Yet we can say a good deal about his fashion of gathering, reading, interpreting, and composing books. He traveled a lot,³⁶ and accumulated Jewish, Christian, and philosophical books. Porphyry was among those philosophers that wrote anti-Christian books, which became part of Origen's collection in his library.

The Bible was at the heart of Origen's library. He collected multiple copies of biblical texts. His interest in textual problems may have been stimulated by a visit he made to Rome around the year 215, where he engaged in heated controversies over Gnosticism with various Christian teachers.³⁷ He was a textual critic of his time.³⁸ Origen

³⁶ For Origen's chronology, see Nautin, *Origène*, 363–409.

³⁷ Clements, *Peri Pascha*, 98–100.

³⁸ Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 214: In many cases he mentioned various readings, and stated which was found "in most manuscripts," or "in the oldest manuscripts," or "in the best manuscripts."

relied heavily on the massive commentaries and exegetical works.³⁹ He was the first Church Father who has commented on all twenty-seven writings of the New Testament. Moreover, he was the first who explicitly referred to those writings that were later reckoned “disputed” by Eusebius. He was also the first witness to use the term “catholic” in association with some of the writings by the Jerusalem Apostles.⁴⁰

The Epistle of James

Origen is the first person who straightforwardly cites the Epistle of James by name. This Epistle was quoted by Origen several times. He spoke at length of the brothers of Jesus in his *Commentary on Matthew*. Whereas he mentioned that Jude has written an epistle, he mentioned James as a brother of Jesus in the same place without saying anything of his epistle (*Comm. Matt.* 10.17). However, instead of identifying James with his epistle, Origen affirmed that James was a person of high esteem.

James is he whom Paul says in the Epistle to the Galatians that he saw, “But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord’s brother.” And to so great a reputation among the people for righteousness did this James rise, that Flavius Josephus ... said, that these things happened to them in accordance with the wrath of God in consequence of the things which they had dared to do against James the brother of Jesus who is called Christ. (*Comm. Matt.* 10.17)

According to Origen, James’ high reputation was established for his righteousness within the apostolic Church. In addition to human respect is God’s revenge on the persecutors of James.

In addition to the awareness of the Epistle of James, Origen used James as a balance of the teaching on faith and work. The passage of James on “faith without works

³⁹ Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, 56–60.

⁴⁰ For example, *Comm. Jo.* 1.23, 2.18, and 6.18.

is dead” (James 2:17, 20, 26)⁴¹ was among the most heavily discussed by the Church Fathers.⁴² When the difference between Paul and James became a matter for discussion, Origen harmonized them.⁴³ When facing conflicts like this, Origen enhanced the authority of this Jerusalem Apostle by explicating Paul in light of James.⁴⁴ Under the influence of Origen, the Alexandrian Church made heavy use of James.⁴⁵

The Epistles of Peter

Origen made extensive use of 1 Peter. His favorite verses from 1 Pet 2:5 and 2:9 were quoted many times. These verses offered Alexandrian typological reading and allegorical interpretation of the Jerusalem temple in the Old Testament (*Comm. Jo.* 10.20 and 10.23). Origen also wrote that Peter “has left one acknowledged epistle; perhaps also a second, but this is doubtful” (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.8). Other than these, he nowhere quoted or even mentioned 2 Peter in any of his own writings that have come down to us in Greek.⁴⁶

The Epistles of John

⁴¹ For James 2:20, some traditions read ἡ πίστις χωρὶς ἔργων νεκρά ἐστὶν instead of ἡ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων ἀργή ἐστὶν.

⁴² See Johnson, *Brother of Jesus*, 78n73, the list of Church Fathers, such as Athanasius, Chrysostom, and Cyril of Jerusalem, who used James 2:20–26 in their massive discussions. Origen also applied this passage in his exhortation in *In Librum Jesu Nave Homilia* 10.2 (PG 12:881), *Selecta in Psalmos* 30.6 (PG 12:1300), *Commentarium in Johannem* 19.6 (PG 14:569), and *Commentarium in Epistulam ad Romanos* 8.1 (PG 14:1159).

⁴³ Origen, *Commentarium in Epistulam ad Romanos* 2.12 (PG 14:900), claimed that James’ exhortation was addressed specifically to the baptized.

⁴⁴ Johnson, *Brother of Jesus*, 77–79.

⁴⁵ For example, Dionysius the Great (190–264), *Commentarium in Lucam* 22.46 (PG 10:1596), and Alexander of Alexandria (273–328), *Acta Sincera Sancti Petri* (PG 18:466).

⁴⁶ Metzger, *Canon*, 139.

The references and quotations to 1 John sent the message of Johannine Christology that corresponded to the Johannine Gospel.

And since we have made mention of the Paraclete, and have explained as we were able what sentiments ought to be entertained regarding Him; and since our Saviour also is called the Paraclete in the Epistle of John, when he says, “If any of us sin, we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins;” let us consider whether this term Paraclete should happen to have one meaning when applied to the Saviour, and another when applied to the Holy Spirit. Now Paraclete, when spoken of the Saviour, seems to mean intercessor. For in Greek, Paraclete has both significations—that of intercessor and comforter. On account, then, of the phrase which follows, when he says, “And He is the propitiation for our sins,” the name Paraclete seems to be understood in the case of our Saviour as meaning intercessor; for He is said to intercede with the Father because of our sins. In the case of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete must be understood in the sense of comforter, inasmuch as He bestows consolation upon the souls to whom He openly reveals the apprehension of spiritual knowledge. (2.7.4)

One of the most frequently cited passages on Jesus’ atonement for sin is 1 John 2:1 – 2 (*Princ.* 2.7.4; *Cels.* 3.49; 4.28; 8.13). In particular, what is declared about the identity of Jesus as the Saviour in 1 John is directly related to that of the Holy Spirit as the Comforter in the Gospel of John. Other references to 1 John include *Princ.* 1.1.1; 1.5.5; 3.6.1; 4.1.28; *Cels.* 1.48; 2.71; 4.29; 5.51; 7.34. In addition, when Origen quoted 1 John 5:19, this Epistle is considered as Scripture (*Princ.* 2.3.6).⁴⁷ Origen also stated that John has perhaps left a second and third epistles, but not all consider them genuine: (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.10).

The Epistle of Jude

Another favorite for Origen is Jude. For the letter of Jude, Origen wrote:

⁴⁷ Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 54, suggests that the association of 1 John with the gospel probably explains why Origen is not yet thinking of the Johannine letters as belonging to a discrete collection of non – Pauline letters, categorizing them instead as part of the larger Johannine witness. But Origen should have in his mind the Epistles of John, which are independent on the Gospel of John, as implied by Eusebius, in the fifth book of Origen’s *Expositions of John’s Gospel*,” (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.7)

And Jude, who wrote a letter of few lines, it is true, but filled with the healthful words of heavenly grace, said in the preface, “Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ and the brother of James.” (*Comm. Matt.* 10.17)

In addition, Origen made a number of references to Jude (*Comm. Matt.* 10.24; 13.27; *Princ.* 3.2.1; *Cels.* 2.67). It is certain that Origen not only was aware of the Epistle of Jude, but also made use of it. The uncertainty is his meaning of “healthful words of heavenly grace.”

The Catholic Epistles

In another place, Origen talked about the authors of the Scriptures, through his allegorical interpretation on the overthrow of the walls of Jericho.

But when our Lord Jesus Christ comes, whose arrival that prior son of Nun designated, he sends priests, his apostles, bearing “trumpets hammered thin,” the magnificent and heavenly instruction of proclamation. Matthew first sounded the priestly trumpet in his Gospel; Mark also; Luke and John each played their own priestly trumpets. Even Peter cries out with trumpets in two of his epistles; also James and Jude. In addition, John also sounds the trumpet through his epistles, and Luke, as he describes the Acts of the Apostles. And now that last one comes, the one who said, “I think God displays us apostles last,”¹⁹ and in fourteen of his epistles, thundering with trumpets, he casts down the walls of Jericho and all the devices of idolatry and dogmas of philosophers, all the way to the foundations. (*Hom. Jos.* 7.1)⁴⁸

We should not regard this piece of material as Origen’s intention of producing a canonical list. Rather, this is an early stage of evidence of a subsequent canon list. Origen mentioned that the trumpets are not only “sounded” but also cried out in the format of “epistles” as in the situation of Peter, James, Jude, and John.⁴⁹ The number of the epistles

⁴⁸ For a discussion on the authenticity of this account, see Metzger, *Canon*, 139–140.

⁴⁹ Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 55–63, tries to create a case of Origen, claiming that Origen has quoted James but without identifying the Epistle of James. Focusing on two texts in particular about Origen’s use of James from *Comm. Jo.* 20.10, and *Comm. Rom.* 4.1 and 4.9, he believes that Origen was aware of, and made elaborate use of, the Epistle of James to reconcile the calling to good works with Pauline teaching on justification by faith. But the collection of the Catholic Epistles has not reached the

by the Jerusalem Apostles is not specified, most probably seven, but at least six, since more than one epistle is attributed to John. The order of the books reflects a connection between Origen and his use of textual manuscripts can be found likewise in the.⁵⁰ In just one or two decades, there was a clear development of the use of the Catholic Epistles beyond Clement.

(3) Athanasius of Alexandria (295–373)

Athanasius was trained in the catechetical school in Alexandria. In respect of the concern of this chapter, one of his contributions is his canonical list of the New Testament, which, according to Athanasius, is

the four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Afterwards, the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles (called Catholic), seven, viz. of James, one; of Peter, two; of John, three; after these, one of Jude. In addition, there are fourteen Epistles of Paul, written in this order. ... And besides, the Revelation of John. These are fountains of salvation, that they who thirst may be satisfied with the living words they contain. In these alone is proclaimed the doctrine of godliness. Let no man add to these, neither let him take ought from these. (Ep. fest. 39.5–6)

Athanasius provided a canonical list that was adopted by the third Council of Carthage in 397. This list served as a closed canon, nothing to be added and nothing to be taken out.

His list agrees with the earliest major manuscripts, including Vaticanus, and

stage of recognition as a canonical one. The Epistle of James was not yet authoritative enough to anchor the collection. But to me, it is obvious that Origen has acknowledged that James has sounded the trumpet in the format of an epistle. Origen also cited James frequently. See Johnson, *Brother of Jesus*, 69n35.

⁵⁰ Origen's order of the Catholic Epistles is the same as Codex Claromontanus, which originates in the Eastern Church. For the description on this codex, see Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts*, 82; Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 51; Metzger, *Canon*, 140; and Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 145. The focus here is the textual relationship of Origen's writings. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism*, 214, states that Origen mentioned reading various manuscripts. We might not agree to his opinion of what the best manuscripts are. But at least we learn what readings were extant in Egypt and Palestine in his lifetime, and what readings were preferred by a trained scholar and a textual student of unusual ability. The character of the New Testament text used by him differs in different works. In some, it is of the δ -type, but as a rule his preference is for the β -type, of which he is the most eminent ally among the Greek Fathers.

Sinaiticus (and later Alexandrinus) in this period, most of them are Eastern lists. In particular, three areas of agreement were observed. First, there exists the collection of seven Epistles, titled “Catholic.” Second, the canonical order within this canonical is James, Peter, John and Jude. Third, the Acts of the Apostles and Catholic Epistles are linked together as a unit, which is separated from the Pauline Epistles.

Scholars believe that there is a close connection between the canonical list of Athanasius and the formation of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus.⁵¹ This gives us a clear message. In terms of the hermeneutical, historical and canonical function of the Catholic Epistles, both patristic witnesses and textual evidence were pointing to the same direction. We find the same notion of the compilation of the Acts and the Catholic Epistles together into one single unit to form the *Apostolos*. Moreover, the name “apostles” attributes to both the Acts and the Jerusalem Apostolicity, such as mentioned in Acts 9:27, 15:2, 4, 6, 22; 16:4, who lived in Jerusalem and worked in the mission to the Jews.

(B) Palestine

Palestine has been an important place in church history. Jerusalem is the sacred place of the Jewish Temple and the headquarter of the Christian Church. James was the first bishop of the Jerusalem church. Its importance is further unfolded by the establishment of the theological library by Pamphilus in Caesarea,⁵² which played an

⁵¹ For example, Birdsall, “The Codex Vaticanus: Its History and Significance,” 33, believes that the date of the Festal Letter gives us a marker for the period within which Codex Vaticanus might have been produced; and Brogan, “Another Look at Codex Sinaiticus,” 20–25, speculates that Origen and Didymus the Blind had access to, and even made corrections to, the proto-Sinaiticus text. It is also suggested that Athanasius had connection to Codex Sinaiticus because of his close textual affinity to the correction of Sinaiticus. During Athanasius’ lifetime, Codex Sinaiticus was most likely transcribed. Athanasius is the earliest witness of a reading that appears in later biblical manuscripts and/or the corrections of Sinaiticus.

⁵² Eusebius wrote *Life of Pamphilus* (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.32.3), which is now lost, and adopted the name

important part in the textual history of the New Testament. This library provided the venue for restoring the library of Origen and copying biblical manuscripts.

(1) Eusebius of Caesarea (260–340)

Pamphilus's library in Caesarea opened the door to the academic research for Eusebius. For twenty-seven years, Eusebius can access without much difficulty the writings of the Church Fathers. This adds weight to his evidence on textual matters. In fact, Hahneman suggests that Eusebius did not create any canon list; he just interwove various texts in order to create the impression that each of these Church Fathers, such as Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, had a canon.⁵³ Eusebius was but the first redactor of canon lists. Eusebius's canon list reads:

First then must be put the holy quaternion of the Gospels; following them the Acts of the Apostles. After this must be reckoned the epistles of Paul; next in order the extant former epistle of John, and likewise the epistle of Peter, must be maintained. After them is to be placed ... the Apocalypse of John,... These then belong among the accepted writings. Among the disputed writings, which are nevertheless recognized by many, are extant the so-called epistle of James and that of Jude, also the second epistle of Peter, and those that are called the second and third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person of the same name. (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.1–3)

In addition, the Catholic Epistles gained public familiarity at that time. Eusebius wrote,

These things are recorded in regard to James, who is said to be the author of the first of the so-called catholic epistles. But it is to be observed that it is disputed; at

Pamphilus in honor of his mentor. The fact that Eusebius learned many of the practices that he applied to books from Pamphilus is unquestionable. According to Jerome, Eusebius in his *Life of Pamphilus* wrote, "What lover of books was there who did not find a friend in Pamphilus? If he knew of any of them being in want of the necessities of life, he helped them to the full extent of his power. He would not only lend them copies of the Holy Scriptures to read, but would give them most readily, and that not only to men, but to women also if he saw that they were given to reading. He therefore kept a store of manuscripts, so that he might be able to give them to those who wished for them whenever occasion demanded." (Jerome, *Ruf.* 1.9.) See also Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.33.4; 7.32.25; 8.13.6; and Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 75; *Epist.* 84.10; *Ruf.* 1.2, 9; 2.6, 27. Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, 191, sustain that Pamphilus collected and corrected manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments.

⁵³ Hahneman, *Muratorian Fragment*, 133, 136.

least, not many of the ancients have mentioned it, as is the case likewise with the epistle that bears the name of Jude, which is also one of the seven so-called catholic epistles. Nevertheless we know that these also, with the rest, have been read publicly in very many churches. (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.25)

On the Epistles of Peter, Eusebius wrote,

One epistle of Peter, that called the first, is acknowledged as genuine. And this the ancient elders used freely in their own writings as an undisputed work. But we have learned that his extant second Epistle does not belong to the canon; yet, as it has appeared profitable to many, it has been used with the other Scriptures. (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.3.1)

Eusebius has no problem with the list of the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Paul, 1 John, and 1 Peter, and the Book of Revelation as “accepted writings” of the divine Scripture: (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.2). He categorizes James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John as “disputed writings which are recognized by many” (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.3). Obviously, the “disputed” are writings that do not enjoy the same esteem of the “accepted.” The difficulty in interpreting Eusebius’ comment is that we are blurred by the ambiguity of his termination. There are different models of interpreting the terms of “accepted,” “disputed,” and “spurious,” and no one model is more distinguished than others.⁵⁴

The questions at issue in our current discussion is the inclusion of these “disputed” writings into Eusebius’s canon list.⁵⁵ Eusebius did not disclose the protocol which forms the canon. He did not reveal by whom, why, and under what criteria the books were regarded as “accepted” or “disputed.” Was it because of the frequency of quotations, the quarrel of the heresies, the voices of the Church Fathers, or the preference of the emperor? The reader is totally ignorant. Even Eusebius finds that some of the

⁵⁴ For example, Metzger, *Canon*, 203–05; Bruce, *Canon of Scripture*, 198–200; McDonald, *Biblical Canon*, 308–10; Dungan, *Constantine’s Bible*, 69–87.

⁵⁵ See discussion offered by Kalin, “The New Testament Canon of Eusebius,” 386–404; and Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 63–68. See also Dungan, *Constantine’s Bible*, 54–93, on the examination of the criteria used by Eusebius. Dungan believes that Eusebius has applied “true, genuine, and acknowledged” as the three tests of canonicity of a writing. (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.6).

Catholic Epistles are “disputed,” they are “read publicly in many churches” and are “profitable to many.” The result is that even though there are so many unanswered questions, the seven Catholic Epistles are still included in Eusebius’s canon list.

In contrast with Athanasius, Eusebius was less determinate to the collection of the Catholic Epistles. What were disputed to Eusebius were not to Athanasius. Moreover, in relation to the order of canonical books, Eusebius departed from Athanasius, who had a deep affinity with the best manuscripts. What made Eusebius separate from Athanasius? This question cannot be answered with any certainty, but it can provide a focus for our study.

We can address this question from the historiographical perspective. When establishing the canon of the New Testament, the elaborate efforts Eusebius made to pigeonhole the sacred texts may have rested on precedents set by Pamphilus, who must certainly have reflected at some point about the contents of the Christian segments of the “Holy Scriptures” (Jerome, *Ruf.* 1.9) that he gave away.⁵⁶ It seems certain that Pamphilus applied some standard methods of collation and correction to the Gospels and the New Testament texts.⁵⁷ For Pamphilus, Christian texts were like the relics of a holy martyr,⁵⁸ and correcting and copying Christian texts was form of ascetic religious act. Moreover, Pamphilus used his library no only as a source for Christian teachings, but also as an

⁵⁶ See Metzger, *Canon*, 201–03, for a possible influence of Pamphilus and the contextual setting in Jerusalem on Eusebius.

⁵⁷ Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism*, 42–72; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 124–25. The fashion of collation and correction can be contemplated by the scholium to Esther reproduced in the Codex Sinaiticus, which states this explicitly: “Antoninus, the confessor, collated, and I, Pamphilus, corrected the volume in prison, by the favor and enlargement of God.”

⁵⁸ Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 75, wrote that Pamphilus “inflamed with love of sacred literature, that he transcribed the greater part of the works of Origen with his own hand and these are still preserved in the library at Caesarea... And if it is such joy to have one epistle of a martyr how much more to have so many thousand lines which seem to me to be traced in his blood.”

arsenal for theological arguments, in particular, against the enemies of Origen. Eusebius joined Pamphilus to toil together on this polemic work.⁵⁹ Based on our knowledge of the scribal activities of Pamphilus, it is almost certain that the canon list of Eusebius, together with his categorization of the “accepted writings” and “disputed writings,” is not independent of Pamphilus. However, if this is the situation, it would be difficult to explain why Eusebius, being sympathetic with the martyrs, with Pamphilus being one among them, found some of the Catholic Epistles not accepted.

We can also look at this question from the politics perspective. Since the Arian controversy, Constantine has acted as a “general bishop constituted by God” (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 1.44). It is very dubious for an emperor like him to involve so deeply in the internal affairs of the Christian Church. Constantine’s heavy-handed intervention invested the Nicene Creed with a unique, inviolable status. Superficially, Constantine has achieved his goal of calming the dispute and the Council of Nicea has arrived at consensus. But in actuality, the Council of Nicea not only failed to bring harmony to the Eastern Church, but sharpened the divisions and inaugurated a whole new phase of ecclesiastical politics.⁶⁰

In order to equip the new churches built in his new city of Constantinople, Constantine sent an order to Eusebius for fifty new Bibles (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 4.36.). However, Eusebius did not explain why Constantine chose him. Dungan suggests two reasons. First, Eusebius came from Caesarea, which was the authoritative center for Scriptural textual studies. Origen’s Hexapla was still in the library there. The Caesarean

⁵⁹ See Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, 178–232, for a thoroughgoing and meticulous study on Eusebius, and in particular, Pamphilus influence on Eusebius.

⁶⁰ Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 225. See also Dungan, *Constantine’s Bible*, 94–125, his analysis on the political component on the making of the New Testament canon.

library was like a landmark for Bible production. Second, Eusebius had just published his *Ecclesiastical History*, a most impressive demonstration of which books belonged in the Catholic New Testament and which did not.⁶¹

In another respect, we may look at the question from the tension perspective. Eusebius possessed a noncombatant personality. He has to “neutralize” between the dispute and the receptiveness of these disputed writings. As Eusebius the historian, he has to classify the books in relation to canonicity, dividing into the canonical and the uncanonical. As Eusebius the churchman, he has to classify the books in relation to orthodoxy, dividing into the orthodox and the unorthodox.⁶² He has to be neutral between history and theology, and academic and pastoral. In consequence, he marginalized the disputed writings, but at the same time incorporated them into the canonical list. It is this noncombatant personality that appealed to Constantine. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that the reason behind the fact that Eusebius has broken off from the Eastern tradition, and created a Western one is more political than ecclesiastical.

(2) Cyril of Jerusalem (315–386)

Cyril was influential in Palestinian theology. He prepared some catechetical instructions for faith followers. It is not surprising that these notes were taken down for the purpose of presenting a summary of Christian doctrine and practice. Cyril included a list of the books of the New Testament. He mentioned that in addition to the four Gospels,

⁶¹ Dungan, *Constantine's Bible*, 121–22. But it is more probable that before the publication of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius already played an important role in Constantine's church affairs. See also Bruce, *Canon of Scripture*, 203–205, for the possibility of Constantine's manipulation on the selection of canonical books.

⁶² Scholars recognize the tension of Eusebius. In 1915, von Dobschütz, “The Abandonment of the Canonical Idea,” 416–29, realized this tension. One century later, Nienhuis and Wall, *Reading the Epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude as Scripture*, 29, come to the same notion.

there are

also the Acts of the Twelve Apostles; and in addition to these the seven Catholic Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude; and as a seal upon them all, and the last work of the disciples, the fourteen Epistles of Paul. But let all the rest be put aside in a secondary rank. (Cyril, *Catechetical Lectures*, 4.36.)

The position of the *Apostolos* in the list is the same as in Athanasius's list and Codex Vaticanus. The interesting comment on the Pauline Epistles invites further discussion. According to Cyril, the Pauline Epistles represent "the last work of disciples" and function as "a seal" upon the other writings. There is no surprise that the Jerusalem Church shows favor to the Jerusalem Apostles.

The narrative flow of Acts begins with the apostles in Jerusalem and moves outward from there, culminating in the work of Paul. Jerusalem Apostolicity represents the initial Jewish mission whereas Pauline Apostolicity the subsequent Gentile mission. One also notes that, in Gal 1:17, Paul calls the Jerusalem Apostles "those who were already apostles before me." In similar stance, in 1 Cor 15:8, Paul designates himself as "last of all," that is, after Peter, the twelve, James, and the remaining apostles.

The last does not necessarily mean the least. Bauckham suggests that we should not take Cyril's presentation to imply subordination of Paul to the Jerusalem Apostles. It only emphasizes the priority of the center (Jerusalem) in relation to the movement out from the center (Gentile mission).⁶³ Regardless, it is obvious that Cyril followed the trend that Acts be linked with the Jerusalem Apostles, with their writings functioning as the representative of the twelve. These writings then appear to find their fulfillment in Paul's letters, which function as "a seal upon them all."

⁶³ Bauckham, *James*, 116.

(C) Syria

After his conversion, Paul visited Syria between his two meetings with James in Jerusalem (Gal 1:21). The unique situation of the Syrian church represents a significant canonical tradition that is different from the rest of contemporary Eastern Christianity.⁶⁴ In terms of politics, culture, and language, the Syriac-speaking church with its center around the cities of Edessa and Arbela of *Eastern Syria* was different from the Greek speaking church with its center at Antioch of *Western Syria*. Specifically, the difference in government allowed Antioch of Western Syria, which lay within the boundaries of the Roman Empire, to become very much a part of the broader Greek Church. In terms of the development of the canon, the Nestorian Eastern Syrian Church circulated the shorter version of Peshitta with three major Catholic Epistles⁶⁵ while in the Monophysite Western Syrian Church the minor Catholic Epistles were also included in the Peshitta.

We do not have much evidence of the canon history of Syria. In the second century, Tatian (110–172) was a student of Justin Martyr. He prepared the well-known long accepted *Diatessaron*. He “rejected some of Paul’s Epistles, believed this especially...ought to be declared to be the apostle’s...” (Tatian, *Fragments XI*). He knew of Paul and his Epistles, but did not mention any of the Jerusalem Apostles or their writings.

Just at the dawn of the Peshitta, according to the early tradition and legends embodied in the *Doctrine of Addai* (around 400), it was written that

the Law and the Prophets and the Gospel from which you read every day before the people, and the Epistles of Paul which Simon Cephas sent us from the city of Rome, and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles which John the son of Zebedee sent us

⁶⁴ Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 79–81; and Metzger, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, 3–98.

⁶⁵ That is, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John.

from Ephesus—from these writings you shall read in the Churches of the Messiah, and besides them nothing else shall you read.⁶⁶

There are some interesting facts about this prescription. The Gospel (singular) should refer to Tatian's *Diatessaron*. The writings mentioned serve the function similar to the *regula fidei* or canon of the church. The list of books does not mention any of the Catholic Epistles. The sequence of Gospel-Pauline Epistles-Acts follows that in the Codex Sinaiticus. The role of the Jerusalem Apostles Peter and John is only the deliverer of the Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles respectively. In fact, in the Syrian Church, among the apostles, Peter, Paul and John are most frequently mentioned. Moreover, Peter has a prominent position because Christ has made him the chief of the apostles, and has entrusted the keys of souls.⁶⁷

It worths mentioning that the Apostolic Canons 85 from Western Syria (ca. 380) helps us understand the shape of the Syriac canon. It lists the Catholic Epistles to include “two Epistles of Peter; three of John; one of James, and one of Jude.” Both Apostolic Canon 85 and the Canon 39 of the Council of Carthage in 397 gave priority to Peter.⁶⁸

The arrival of the Peshitta helped solve the tension between Paulinism and Jerusalem Apostolicity within the Antiochian Syrian Church. Johnson records an incident about an exchange of letters between a Monophysite Bishop of Halicarnassus and a Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch. The question of discussion is on faith and works as

⁶⁶ This paragraph and the following note is quoted from Metzger, *Canon*, 114. The translation of the Syriac text is that of Phillips, George. *The Doctrine Addai, the Apostle*. London, 1876. Howard, George. *The Teaching of Addai*. Chico, 1981, 93, supplies his own translation.

⁶⁷ Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, 172.

⁶⁸ The priority of Peter in the Council of Carthage may be due to the influence of the Latin canon. The sequence in Apostolic Canon 85 may follow the principle of length: two epistles of Peter occupy 403 stichoi, three epistle of John 332 stichoi, James 247 stichoi, and Jude 71 stichoi. See Metzger, *Canon*, 299. The similarities between the two Canons do not prove dependency. Johnson, *Brother of Jesus*, 70–71, suggests that the Alexandrian Church favors James the moralist who is more sympathetic with the monastic churches there. In contrast, the Antiochian Church of Syria comparatively shows less favor to James.

taught by Paul and James. They came to a harmonizing resolution, based on the principle that “the holy writings and the Fathers have always handed on to us a harmonious teaching” (*PG 85:1178*).⁶⁹

The “holy writings” mentioned here refer to the Peshitta. The scenario in Syria of the need for such harmony is difficult to reconstruct. But the atmosphere is similar to that which triggered Augustine to write his *On Faith and Work* in North Africa. From the apologetic perspective, the Church needs to defend the orthodox faith through the use of the writings of Jerusalem Apostolicity. From the church unity perspective, the Church needs to balance the teachings from both Pauline and Jerusalem Apostolicity.

As a result of the unique situation and history of the Syrian Church, there is confusion in the canon list and order of the Catholic Epistles, or as a whole the New Testament. It is difficult to pronounce a canon in the Eastern Church. According to a tabulation made by Westcott, in the tenth century, no fewer than six different lists of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were received in the Greek Church.⁷⁰

(D) Asia Minor

Patristic witnesses of the shape and shaping of the canonization of the Catholic Epistles in Asia Minor were sketchy. However, by the time the New Testament was canonized, the Church of Asia Minor was more desolate than that of Syria. The earliest witness of the apostolic writings in Asia Minor may trace back to Polycarp (69–155), Bishop of Smyrna. He is a link between the apostles and the apostolic fathers. In *The Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians*, there are references and quotes to 1 Peter and 1

⁶⁹ Johnson, *Brother of Jesus*, 79–80.

⁷⁰ Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, 227.

John, some of which are parallel to Acts.⁷¹

Of the later witnesses, the list of Epiphanius (315–403), Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, begins with the four Gospels and fourteen letters of Paul but follows with “those that come before these, including the Acts of the Apostles in their times and the Catholic Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude” (Epiphanius, *Panarian* 76.5). Here again, the Catholic Epistles are separated from the Pauline Epistles and are specifically linked with the text that tells of the Acts of the Apostles “in their names.”⁷² When he quoted 1 John, he identified, “For the apostle John says in his Epistle...” (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 48.1.6).

The Cappadocian Fathers slighted James. Gregory of Nyssa (330–395) never mentioned James. Gregory of Nazianzen (329–389) admitted the canonicity of the seven Catholic Epistles, but did not appear to have ever quoted them by name. He only referred James in several occasions.⁷³ Basil the Great (330–379) identified “James the Apostle” and “James in the canonical letter.”⁷⁴

In Asia Minor, John Chrysostom (347–407), who later became Bishop of Constantinople, like other Asiatic Fathers, showed no appeal to any of the minor Catholic Epistles.⁷⁵ However, he used James enthusiastically, quoted James 48 times, using 20 separate verses, and even composed a commentary on James.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 123–30.

⁷² Hahneman, *Muratorian Fragment*, 200–205, is also aware that there seems to be a connection between Epiphanius and Eusebius, and the Muratorian. See also McDonald, *Biblical Canon*, 374–75; and Metzger, *Canon*, 197–98.

⁷³ Westcott, *General Survey of the History of the Canon*, 517.

⁷⁴ Johnson, *Brother of Jesus*, 71.

⁷⁵ Westcott, *General Survey of the History of the Canon*, 442; Metzger, *Canon*, 214–15.

⁷⁶ Johnson, *Brother of Jesus*, 72.

(E) Rome and Gaul

(1) Irenaeus of Lyons (130–200)

The Western story of the canonization of the Catholic Epistles is different from the East. Irenaeus was one of the earliest patristic witnesses in the Western Church.⁷⁷ He grew up in Smyrna in Asia Minor, under the preaching of Polycarp, the bishop there and then. He probably studied in Rome for a period of time before moving to Lyons. Thus, he represented a link between East and West. He was the first to state the four Gospels as canon. In addition, he also included a list of apostolic writings, quoting all as “Scripture” along with the Old Testament.

Irenaeus is the first Church Father to cite 1 Peter. Three times he quoted 1 Peter and ascribed to Peter the Apostle (*Adv. Haer.* 4.9.2; 4.16.5; 5.7.2). Elsewhere there are quotations from the same letters that are not ascribed to him (*Adv. Haer.* 1.18.3; 3.16.9; 4.8.3; 4.20.2; 4.37.4), and 1 Pet 1:12 is his favorite book to quote (*Adv. Haer.* 2.17.9; 4.34.1; 5.36.2). He quoted 1 and 2 John as the work of John the disciple of the Lord (*Adv. Haer.* 1.16.3; 3.16.4; 3.16.7; 3.16.8).⁷⁸ There is one fairly clear quotation of James 2:23 (*Adv. Haer.* 4.16.2), but its source is not given, nor is any reference made to James.⁷⁹

Irenaeus was silent on Jude.

⁷⁷ The date and place of origin of the Muratorian Fragment is still unsettled. But more and more scholars abandon the idea of a second-century Roman origin of the Muratorian Fragment—and instead argue for a fourth-century Eastern origin. See Hahneman, *Muratorian Fragment*, 200–205; Sundberg, “Canon Muratori,” 1–41; Bruce, *Canon of Scripture*, 158–61; and McDonald, *Biblical Canon*, 369–78.

⁷⁸ In *Adv. Haer.* 3.16.8, Irenaeus cites both of 1 John 4:1–2 and 2 John 7–8 as coming from the same Epistle of John. This may be due to the possibility that these texts were originally received as a single text.

⁷⁹ Bruce, *Canon of Scripture*, 176–77. Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 36, argues that the description of Abraham as the “friend of God” in James 2:23 is widespread in earlier literature, the traditional label is found throughout Jewish literature (e.g. *Sabr.* 56; *Abr.* 89; 273; *Jub.* 19.9; *T. Abr.* 1.7; 2.3, 6; *Apoc. Abr.* 10). Thus, there is no safeguard for Irenaeus knowing the letter of James, and against the possibility that both Irenaeus and James are each appealing to an earlier source in this instance.

When discussing the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy about Christ's virgin birth, Irenaeus appealed to the authority of the tradition of the apostles. "For Peter, and John, and Matthew, and Paul, and the rest successively, as well as their followers" (*Adv. Haer.* 3.21.3). If treated out of context, it is peculiar for Irenaeus to name Matthew instead of James among the authoritative apostles as Peter, John, and Paul. However, here Irenaeus is appealing to the apostolic tradition of the Gospel writers, not the canonical writers.⁸⁰ During his time, the gospel was transmitted through apostolic succession through bishops and elders.⁸¹

Irenaeus did not undermine the authority of James. On the deliberation of the doctrines of the apostles, James spoke authoritatively and had the last word in the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15 (*Adv. Haer.* 3.12.14). Regarding the controversy of Gal 2:11–14, Irenaeus wrote:

And the apostles who were with James allowed the Gentiles to act freely, yielding us up to the Spirit of God. But they themselves, while knowing the same God, continued in the ancient observances; so that even Peter, fearing also lest he might incur their reproof, although formerly eating with the Gentiles, because of the vision, and of the Spirit who had rested upon them, yet, when certain persons came from James, withdrew himself, and did not eat with them. And Paul said that Barnabas likewise did the same thing. Thus did the apostles, whom the Lord made witnesses of every action and of every doctrine—for upon all occasions do we find Peter, and James, and John present with Him—scrupulously act according to the dispensation of the Mosaic law, showing that it was from one and the same God; which they certainly never would have done, as I have already said, if they had learned from the Lord [that there existed] another Father besides Him who appointed the dispensation of the law. (*Adv. Haer.* 3.12.15)

For Irenaeus, Peter, James, and John offered an important witness in support of the continuity of salvation history revealed in the Mosaic law. The Jerusalem Apostles did

⁸⁰ The apostolic tradition of the Gospel writers are: Peter–Mark, John, Matthew, and Paul–Luke.

⁸¹ Metzger, *Canon*, 154. According to Metzger, Irenaeus in his *Adversus Haereses* quoted 1075 passages from almost all the books of the New Testament: 626 from the Gospels, 54 from Acts, 280 from Pauline Epistles, 15 from non-Pauline epistles, and 29 from the Book of Revelation. This shows that at that time the Gospels were most appealing to or intended for the general public.

not teach the existence of another God, “but gave the new covenant of liberty to those who had lately believed in God by the Holy Spirit” (*Adv. Haer.* 3.12.14). On this basis, he defends Peter’s infamous withdrawal from the Gentile fellowship as an act of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit from the same God, who gave the Jews the Mosaic law previously, gave the Gentiles the new covenant of liberty now. The Jerusalem Apostles, Peter in particular, end up playing the role of the catalytic agent in proclaiming the continuity of old and new covenants.

The Jerusalem Apostles were always present with the Lord, and were made witnesses of “every action and of every doctrine”; therefore their witnesses cannot be excluded as Marcion had claimed.

With regard to those (the Marcionites) who allege that Paul alone knew the truth, and that to him the mystery was manifested by revelation, let Paul himself convict them, when he says, that one and the same God wrought in Peter for the apostolate of the circumcision, and in himself for the Gentiles. Peter, therefore, was an apostle of that very God whose was also Paul; and Him whom Peter preached as God among those of the circumcision, and likewise the Son of God, did Paul [declare] also among the Gentiles. For our Lord never came to save Paul alone... (*Adv. Haer.* 3.13.1)

Irenaeus acknowledged a division of labor, not a division of doctrine, in God’s saving work between Peter, who represents the apostolate of the circumcision, and Paul, who represents that of the Gentile. Irenaeus has consolidated the authority of the

tradition derived from the apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul... For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere, inasmuch as the apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously by those [faithful men] who exist everywhere. (*Adv. Haer.* 3.3.2)

In another place, Irenaeus wrote that

Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the

Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. (*Adv. Haer.* 3.1.1)

According to Irenaeus, Peter is the most influential apostle of the Church, although his contention might be based on prejudice owing to his close connection with the Roman Church. In short, four things are obvious. (1) Although references to the Pauline writings far outweigh the Petrine, both persons are invoked. They are invoked as the “most glorious” apostles. (2) Peter always comes before Paul. (3) Among the Jerusalem Apostles, Peter stands far above the others. (4) Peter is an instrument of the Holy Spirit, even his behavior appears to be infamous in human eyes.

(2) Hippolytus (170–235)

Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, was a student of Irenaeus, and was the last Christian author of Rome who employed the Greek language for his writings. With regard to the Catholic Epistles, he accepted 1 Peter, and 1 and 2 John. He is the first Christian writer to reflect a knowledge of 2 Peter.⁸² Furthermore, he should have known James and Jude at least slightly.⁸³

(3) Jerome (342–420)

⁸² For example, Hippolytus said that staying away from heretics would save one from the judgment of “the rayless scenery of gloomy Tartarus” (σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας, 2 Pet 2:4; *Haer.* 10.33). The heretics, “abashed and constrained by the truth, have confessed *their errors* for a short period, but after a little, wallow once again in the same mire.” (2 Pet 2:22; *Haer.* 9.2). Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 45, argues for the possibility “wallowing in the mire” is of proverbial nature, hence this saying in *Haer.* 9.2 does not for certain prove knowledge of 2 Peter. But I admit that the phrase “σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας” in *Haer.* 10.33 is a citation from 2 Peter.

⁸³ The “A Discourse by the Most Blessed Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, on the End of the World, and on Antichrist, and on the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ” by the so-called Pseudo-Hippolytus of Rome contains citations and allusions from 2 Peter, 1 John and Jude. I am doubtful to this source because it contained dubious and spurious materials. *ANF* 5:244.

Jerome was born in Italy, learned Greek and Latin in Rome, and later journeyed to Gaul and to the East where he immersed in ascetic practices. At this time, he came across some Jewish Christians and began to learn Hebrew. Then he went to Antioch, where he was ordained, and later in Constantinople studied with Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa. In 382, he returned to Rome, where he undertook the revision of the Latin Bible on the basis of the Greek New Testament and the Septuagint. Eventually, he revisited the East including Antioch, Jerusalem and Egypt where he listened to Didymus the Blind. In 386, he made Bethlehem his home for the rest of his life, serving as the abbot of a monastery.

The significance of Jerome's life is his training as a scholar in the Latin tradition, and his periods of residence in the East that informed him of the major canon traditions of the church of his day. Like Irenaeus, he has enabled his role as a mediator between the East and the West. In his letter to Paulinus, the bishop of Nola, in 394, Jerome included all our twenty-seven books in the order of Gospels-Pauline Epistles-Catholic Epistles-Acts-Revelation.

The apostles James, Peter, John, and Jude, have published seven epistles at once spiritual and to the point, short and long, short that is in words but lengthy in substance so that there are few indeed who do not find themselves in the dark when they read them. (*Epist.* 53.9)

Note that: (1) Jerome did not call them "Catholic Epistles" in this context; (2) These epistles, which are seven in number, are linked with Acts; (3) They follow the order of the Eastern sequence of James-Peter-John-Jude; (4) Jerome commended them as "short in words but lengthy in substance." Augustine, in his *Doctr. chr.* 2.8.13, shared the same canonical list as Jerome, but had a different order (Peter-John-Jude-James). The Catholic Epistles are followed by Acts in their lists.

In his *Lives of Illustrious Men*, Jerome illustrated biographical sketches of James, Peter, John, and Jude. For James, he wrote that

James, who is called the brother of the Lord, surnamed the Just, ... after our Lord's passion at once ordained by the apostles bishop of Jerusalem, wrote a single epistle, which is reckoned among the seven Catholic Epistles and even this is claimed by some to have been published by some one else under his name, and gradually, as time went on, to have gained authority. (Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 2)

History reveals that James gained authority bit by bit in the East, especially under the influence and widespread use by the tradition of the school of Origen. The eventual acceptance of the Epistle of James as part of Scripture for the Western Church seemed to be inevitable. During Jerome's time, James had already been translated into Latin in a variety of Old Latin versions. Even within the local Roman Church, or the whole Western Church, James was in wide circulation, and was used by their bishops since the second century. For political and ecclesiastical reasons, it is more natural and pertinent for the Western Church to compromise with the East by accepting James than to stir up confrontation by rejecting it. At the end, under the instruction of Pope Damasus, James was included in the list.⁸⁴

For Peter, Jerome wrote that

Simon Peter, himself chief of the apostles, after having been bishop of the church of Antioch and having preached to the Dispersion...wrote two epistles which are called Catholic, the second of which, on account of its difference from the first in style, is considered by many not to be by him. Then too the Gospel according to Mark, who was his disciple and interpreter, is ascribed to him. (*Vir. ill.* 1)

Jerome also mentioned other books ascribed to him which are rejected as apocryphal. In the Western Church, Peter is the chief of the apostles. In Jerome's list, Peter is the first of the illustrious men. Jerome defended the Petrine authorship of 2 Peter, arguing that the

⁸⁴ Rope, "The Text of the Epistle of James," 103–29; and Johnson, *Brother of Jesus*, 98.

apostle used different amanuenses for each epistle (*Epist.* 120.11).

For John, Jerome wrote that John,

the apostle whom Jesus most loved, ...wrote also one *Epistle* which begins as follows "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes and our hands handled concerning the word of life" which is esteemed of by all men who are interested in the church or in learning. The other two of which the first is "The elder to the elect lady and her children" and the other "The elder unto Gaius the beloved whom I love in truth," are said to be the work of John the presbyter..." (*Vir. ill.* 9. *Italic original.*)

John is another illustrious man. Jerome ascribes 1 John to John the apostle and evangelist, but links the author of 2 and 3 John with another John, "John the elder," as Papias guessed (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.5).

For Jude, Jerome wrote that Jude

the brother of James, left a short epistle which is reckoned among the seven catholic epistles, and because in it he quotes from the apocryphal book of Enoch it is rejected by many. Nevertheless by age and use it has gained authority and is reckoned among the Holy Scriptures. (*Vir. ill.* 4)

Jerome gave the reason why Jude was rejected by many and yet reckoned in the New Testament. He was content with the fact that texts once considered dubious had "by age and use" gained authority as canonical Scripture.

In short, Jerome's attitude towards canonicity differs from some of his predecessors in that he appears to be undisturbed by doubts over authorship. He gives the impression that he has private reservations on some of the canonical books. But since by this time the collection of the seven Catholic Epistles has practically been affirmed, this canon list is not to be modified.⁸⁵ He succeeded the Eastern tradition on the authority of James, but at the same time conformed to the priority of Peter in the Western Church.

⁸⁵ Bruce, *Canon of Scripture*, 228.

(F) North Africa

(1) Tertullian of Carthage (160–215)

Tertullian was one of the most important figures who worked against the Marcionites, and contributed to the development of the New Testament canon. He was an influential theologian. His writings treated a wide range of topics. One of the terms he used is *regula fidei*, or “the rule of faith,” by which “he signified the common fundamental belief of the Church, orally received by the churches from the apostles and orally transmitted from generation to generation as the baptismal creed.”⁸⁶ Another term for the authoritative writings of faith is *instrumenta doctrina* or “instruments of doctrine,” which he referred to the Old and New Testaments of the Scriptures (*Praescr.* 38; *Adv. Marc.* 4.1; *Adv. Prax.* 20).⁸⁷ By applying various vocabularies to denote the canonical writings, Tertullian succeeded to transmit the richness of the meaning of the canon.

It is quite evident that Tertullian quoted and used the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles. Tertullian quoted 1 John 4:1–3, and developed it into a discussion of the antichrist (*Adv. Marc.* 5.16). He quoted passages from 1 Peter and 1 John together (*Scorp.* 12). When Tertullian reckoned that Marcion was the “antichrist” (*Jejun.* 11.5; *Adv. Marc.* 5.16), he probably referred to 1 John 2:18, 29 and 2 John 7–10. In discussing the authority of Enoch, Tertullian quoted from Jude 14 that “Enoch possesses a testimony in the Apostle Jude” (*Cult. Fem.* 1.3).⁸⁸ Tertullian did not cite James, 2 Peter, and 3 John.

⁸⁶ Metzger, *Canon*, 158.

⁸⁷ See Bruce, *Canon of Scripture*, 181–82, for discussion on Tertullian’s use of *instrumenta* and *testamentum*.

⁸⁸ Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 40: “Though evidence of use is rather meager, such a statement says much about the status of Jude in Tertullian’s day, as the appeal to “the apostle Jude” is presented as the decisive argument to end all arguments. If an apostolic writing approved 1 Enoch, what Christian can deny its validity?”

Of crucial importance is the way in which Tertullian gave us a more proper understanding of Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem Apostles as identified in Gal 2:9.

Tertullian wrote that,

had Marcion even published his Gospel in the name of St. Paul himself, the single authority of the document, destitute of all support from preceding authorities, would not be a sufficient basis for our faith. There would be still wanted that Gospel which St. Paul found in existence, to which he yielded his belief, and with which he so earnestly wished his own to agree, that he actually on that account went up to Jerusalem to know and consult the apostles, "lest he should run, or had been running in vain;" in other words, that the faith which he had learned, and the gospel which he was preaching, might be in accordance with theirs. Then, at last, having conferred with the (primitive) authors, and having agreed with them touching the rule of faith, they joined their hands in fellowship, and divided their labours thenceforth in the office of preaching the gospel, so that they were to go to the Jews, and St. Paul to the Jews and the Gentiles. (*Adv. Marc.* 4.2. Brackets original.)

Tertullian insisted that Paul lacks authority on his own. Marcion was inadequate in his exclusive devotion to Paul and Luke. Marcionite literature cannot serve as authoritative. Paul's revelation was subjugated to the authority of the "primitive authors," that is, the Jerusalem Apostles. Who and what these authors were Tertullian did not explain. But the rule of faith or the Scriptures become the unifying factor of the two ways that had parted during Tertullian's day. If Marcion has generated division between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles in the Western Church, Irenaeus has opened the door for the fixation of the gap by harmonious joining hands in fellowship and division of labour between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles, and Tertullian made the door open broader.

It should also be noted that in Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.* 1.20; 4.3; 5.3, he continued to maintain that all three Jerusalem Apostles be linked together as a unit. According to Tertullian, all three of the Jerusalem Apostles were reproved by Paul in Gal 2, not simply Peter alone. In his judgment against Marcion, Tertullian consistently places Paul among and even beneath the triad of these Apostles of Jerusalem.

(2) Cyprian (200–258)

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, appears to have used only 1 Peter and 1 John. For use of 1 Peter, Cyprian appeals to the teachings about good conduct, humility, the example of Christ's sufferings, and the meaning of baptism, and humbleness (such as *Epistles* 6.3; 14.3; 19; 55.2; 73.11; 74.15; 75.2; *Treatises* 9.9). For use of 1 John, Cyprian appeals to the teachings on the renunciation of sin, precautions against the teaching of the antichrist, keeping God's commandment, and spiritual victory (such as *Epistles* 8; 24.2; 51.18; 54.7; 55.1; 69.3; 72.15; 75.1; *Treatises* 1.6, 9, 14; 2.7; 4.14; 8.16; 9.9). In the Council of Carthage in 256, Cyprian recorded the citation of 2 John 10–11 by Aurelius, the bishop of Chullabi, as a teaching by the Apostle John regarding the need for lapsed Christians to be baptized again (*ANF* 5:572).

(IV) INTERNAL EVIDENCE

The third resource that help facilitate our understanding of the shape of the canon of the Catholic Epistles is through reading these Epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles together with the Acts of the Apostles as one single unit according to their placement in the canon. The papyrological evidence shows that the position of Acts developed along two different traditional lines. One tradition positions Acts after the Gospels and before the Pauline corpus as reflected in the Western Church. Another tradition positions Acts in connection to the Catholic Epistles as a unit of the *Apostolos*, and then followed by the Pauline corpus, as represented by the Eastern Church, and in the codices of Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus. "Both lines of tradition are important, but the second order

remained the dominant one in the manuscript evidence throughout the Middle Ages.”⁸⁹

Unfortunately, this dominant role was submitted to the other since the Reformation, under the illusion that this collection of the Jerusalem Apostles was just an appendix to the non-Jerusalem apostolic writings.

The order of positioning the epistles is not a matter of right and wrong, but it reflects the determination for interpretation.⁹⁰ Biblical texts from different ages continue to reflect a certain quality of their original life. They play an authoritative role within a community of faith.⁹¹ The canonical form of the *Apostolos* must have its interpretative values. I cannot find any convincing reasons why we should abandon the form of the *Apostolos* by sandwiching the non-Jerusalem Epistles between Acts and the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles. The Acts of the Apostles supplies the narrative context for the apostolic epistles. There are two approaches to read the *Apostolos* with interpretative orientations: Smith’s intertextual approach of reading Acts being a cross-reference commentary on the Catholic Epistles, or Wall’s intertextual approach of developing a unifying theology of the Catholic Epistles Collection.

(A) Smith: Acts Being a Cross-Reference Commentary on the Catholic Epistles

Acts played a strategic hermeneutical role in the canonical process of the Catholic Epistles. According to Trobisch, from a narrative-critical approach, because the Jerusalem Apostles are the protagonists of the plot of Acts, to the reader of the New Testament, the reference to their letters might be considered very clear in its opening sentences. The

⁸⁹ Childs, *Reading the Epistles of Paul*, 225

⁹⁰ Goswell, “The Order of the Books of the New Testament,” 235.

⁹¹ Childs, *Biblical Theology*, 105.

editors of the New Testament wanted their readers to read Acts in the context of the Epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles and Paul. Although Acts does not quote from any of their letters, Acts functions as a narrative commentary to the Epistles, resolving the conflict between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles articulated in Gal 2:1–15 in particular. Acts explains the letters, and the letters explain Acts.⁹²

Moreover, Smith argues that Acts seems to provide the historical and canonical foundation for the reading of these epistles. The Catholic Epistles should be read in light of the book of Acts. When we come to the Venerable Bede's commentary, we notice an interesting phenomenon. Bede's commentary on the Catholic Epistles has a substantial number of references to Acts, especially in the sections on James and 1 Peter. Bede's commentaries on Acts and the Catholic Epistles provide the canon critic with an opportunity to see how an early interpreter of Scripture understood the relationship between Acts and the Catholic Epistles.⁹³

In his preface of the Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles, Bede followed Jerome in the list and order of the Jerusalem Apostles. Although Peter and John the Apostles are accustomed to be ranked as more important, the Epistle of James is placed first because he received the government of the church of Jerusalem, in accord with the order in Gal 2:9. More important is the implication that James and Peter wrote to the dispersed Jewish believers in first generation Christianity.⁹⁴ The cross-reference to the theme of the Diaspora in James offers the link between Acts and the Catholic Epistles within the *Apostolos*.

⁹² Trobisch, "Acts as a Narrative Commentary," 121–23.

⁹³ Smith, *Canonical Function of Acts*, 93–95: In view of all these examples in Bede's commentary, it is probable that there is a very close intertextual connection between these two collections of writings.

⁹⁴ Bede, *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*, 3–4.

For the Epistle of James, Bede commented on James 1:1 where the author addresses “the twelve tribes in the Dispersion.” Bede connected the Dispersion to Acts 8:1 which describes the persecution that broke out in Jerusalem after Stephen was martyred, that

a great persecution broke out at that time in the church which was at Jerusalem, and all except the apostles were dispersed throughout the districts of Judea and Samaria. Therefore he sent a letter to these who were dispersed, who suffered persecution for righteousness’ sake.... All these, then, were in dispersion because of different calamities, exiles from their native land and harassed by their enemies in countless slaughters, deaths and hardships wherever they were, as church history amply demonstrates. But we read also in the Acts of the Apostles that they had already been dispersed far and wide ...⁹⁵

Here, Acts 8:1 provides the historical framework for Bede’s reading of James.⁹⁶

Moreover, placing James first comports with his character portrait in Acts where he is leader of the Jerusalem Church (Acts 12:17; 15:13–21; 21:17–26).⁹⁷

For the Epistles of Peter, in Bede’s commentary on 1 Pet 1:1, Bede identified the recipients of the letter, the “newcomers of the dispersion” (“newcomers” in Latin are called “converts” in Greek), with those present “on the holy day of Pentecost, when the apostles received the Holy Spirit.” Some of these people became newcomers (or converts)

⁹⁵ Bede, *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*, 7–8.

⁹⁶ Other places in James that show cross-reference to Acts include: (1) James 3:1, “Not many of you should become teachers for you know that we who teach will be judged with greater strictness.” Bede wrote that the Acts of the Apostles teaches that there was in their day great eagerness among believers to spread the word more widely, such as Apollo, who was perfect to the task of preaching. But there were others “with great ineptitude, coming down from Judea to Antioch, were teaching that unless believers from among the gentiles were circumcised according to the law of Moses they could not be saved...Blessed James, therefore, removed them and teachers of their kind from the responsibility of [preaching] the word lest they be an obstacle to those able to carry it out properly.” (2) James 2:25 uses Rahab as an example to illustrate that after a person having turned towards better things, that person is obliged to show deeds of mercy to others, just like Gamaliel who counteracted the plot of killing the apostles by the council of the Jews in Acts 5:33–40. (3) James 3:6 alludes the “tongue is a fire” to the “tongues of fire and filled with the Holy Spirit” (Acts 2:3–4). (4) James 3:17 refers “wisdom full of modest” to Peter’s docile attitude in the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15:1–30 and the Antioch controversy of Gal. 2:11–14. Peter, though agitated, bowed to Paul’s rebuke.

⁹⁷ Nienhuis and Wall, *Reading the Epistles of James, Peter John and Jude*, 30.

as recorded in Acts 2:11. Bede further elaborated that the newcomers “of the dispersion” means that they were dispersed from Jerusalem in the persecution that followed the death of Stephen or at least ill-treated for their faith as read in the Acts of the Apostles.⁹⁸

For the Epistles of John, in 1 John 3:24, the author says, “by this we know that he abides in us, by the spirit which he has given us.” Here Bede refers to Acts 2:1–4 that in the earliest times of the Church, the Holy Spirit caused believers to speak in tongues that they had never studied. But now, the Church does not need external signs. Instead, faith and love demonstrate the presence of the Spirit within the Christian. Bede’s pneumatology shed new light on reading Acts together with the Johannine Epistles as a unit.⁹⁹ In a sense, the Acts of the Apostles is of the Acts of the Holy Spirit on the apostles, whose work in the early days of the Church is manifested through external signs of spiritual gifts, but later through internal growth of spiritual fruit (Gal 5:22–23).¹⁰⁰

Based on the conviction that there is canonical, historical and hermeneutical relationship between Acts and the Catholic Epistles, Acts can be read as a cross-reference commentary on the Catholic Epistles. But Smith’s suggestion of reading intertextually these two sets of writings is not well-conceived. One of the reasons is that Bede applied

⁹⁸ Other places in the Petrine Epistles that Bede made use of cross-reference to Acts are: (1) In 1 Pet 5:1, Peter states that he is a witness of the sufferings of Christ. According to Bede, Peter is talking about himself having “suffered prison, chains, and scourging for the name of Christ, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles.” (Acts 5:40; 12:3–4). (2) In 2 Pet. 3:1, the author says, “I am writing this second letter to you, in [both of] which I am stirring up your sincere mind in admonition.” Bede comments that when Peter uses “in which,” he means either in both letters or in those to whom he is writing the letters. In either way, according to Bede, both 1 and 2 Peter were written for the same group of recipients, who are the dispersed believers. (3) Other places of cross-reference are 1 Pet 2:8; 2:9; 3:8; 3:19–20; 5:5; 5:12.

⁹⁹ In fact, to a larger scale, the work of the Holy Spirit is closely associated with Stephen, Peter, John, James, and Paul in Acts. It is a common thread that runs through all the apostles.

¹⁰⁰ Other places of cross-references in the Johannine Epistles are 1 John 1:7; 2:1; 2:2; 2:9; 5:3; 5:11, 16, and 3 John 8. Bede’s commentary on Jude contains no explicit reference to Acts. His identification of Jude with Thaddaeus is an excusable mistake, so far as he identifies Jude with one of the Jerusalem Apostles.

no systematic research on the theology of the Jerusalem Apostles, nor historical critical investigation on their writings. While having recognized that Bede's commentary on the Catholic Epistles has a substantial number of references to Acts, we, to be fair, should also admit that there are far more unrelated passages between them, which might not be legitimately related. Anyhow, Smith's suggestion is an example of only a primitive study of a new perspective on reading the *Apostolos*.

(B) Wall: A Unifying Theology of the Catholic Epistles Collection

Treating Acts as a commentary on the apostolic epistles in the New Testament is supported by other scholars. According to Wall, this line of study yields the fruitful suggestion that Acts is reserved and positioned in the New Testament "*as the context within which the canonical conversation between the Pauline and non-Pauline collections is understood.*"¹⁰¹ He also suggests that Acts, as the hermeneutical context for reading the Pauline and non-Pauline Epistles, can function as a unifying reality.¹⁰²

Hence, Wall attempts to construct a unifying theology of the Jerusalem Apostles based on the literal content of their epistles. He believes that the final shape of the seven-letter form of the canonical Catholic Epistles is based on at least three assertions. First, James functions as a "frontispiece" to the collection of the Catholic Epistles.¹⁰³ James is a presentation of the theology of the collection, which means that the function of James as a canonical writing is for the purpose of drawing the Jerusalem Apostles together. The authenticity of the Epistle of James is of no importance. It is the portrait of James in Acts

¹⁰¹ Wall, "The Acts of the Apostles in Canonical Context," 120; italics original.

¹⁰² Wall, "The Acts of the Apostles in Canonical Context," 122–23.

¹⁰³ Wall, "The Priority of James," 153.

that gives reason for James as frontispiece to the collection.¹⁰⁴

Second, authorship has a minor voice in the canon debate. These Catholic Epistles were shaped into a collection alongside the book of Acts. Since Acts indicates that Peter, and to a lesser extent John as well, was the initial spokesperson for the Jerusalem community and James became the leader of that community, their voices ought to be heard along with Paul. However, whether or not the “historical James” is the source for the sayings in the Epistle of James is of no interest to this study. It is the *function* of the Epistle of James in the collection of the Catholic Epistles that is more important. Third, it is the book of Acts, rather than Galatians 2, that gives shape to the collection of the Catholic Epistles, taking cues from the book of Acts and the memory of James as leader of the Jerusalem church. Acts plays a strategic hermeneutical role in the canonical process as an early catholic narrative that has moderated the conflict between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles.¹⁰⁵

According to Wall, the thematic agreements of James and Acts could serve as the rubric for a unifying theology of the Catholic Epistles. Using James as “frontispiece” to the grammar of the collection’s unifying theology, Wall builds up five themes in the theological framework in James,¹⁰⁶ which in turn help decipher the Petrine epistles, the

¹⁰⁴ Wall, “A Unifying Theology of the Catholic Epistles,” 22. This assertion is further developed and elaborated by Nienhuis, *Not by Paul Alone*, 159–60, who argues for a pseudonymous origin of the Epistle of James. According to Nienhuis, there was a lack of theological coherence in the universal Christianity in the early church. The Church has to find a two-sided support for their mission in the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles. As such, the Epistles of 1 Peter and 1 John were honored, but not so much as those of Paul. The insertion of James and prioritizing the Epistle of James at this time is necessary for offering a more theologically orthodox representation of the earliest mission to Jews, as well as facilitating a more vigorous defense against the distortion to which the Pauline message proved susceptible.

¹⁰⁵ Wall, “Acts and James,” 129–33.

¹⁰⁶ Wall, “A Unifying Theology of the Catholic Epistles,” 30. The five themes are: (1) Human suffering tests the faith community’s love for God. (2) In response to the suffering of God’s people, God discloses a “word of truth” exemplified by Jesus. (3) In obedience to this word, the community must practice “pure and undefiled” behavior as the public mark of friendship with God. These purity practices

Johannine epistles, and Jude. Based on the synthesis of the theological conceptions, Wall creates a unifying theology of the Catholic Epistles.¹⁰⁷

In his 2003 edition of “A Unifying Theology of the Catholic Epistles,” Wall includes the following five themes as a grammar for his theological framework:

- 1) Human suffering tests the faith community’s love for God;
- 2) In response to the suffering of God’s people, God discloses a “word of truth” exemplified by Jesus;
- 3) In obedience to this word, the community must practice “pure and undefiled” behavior as the public mark of friendship with God. These purity practices include conciliatory speech, sharing goods, rescuing wayward believers, and hospitality;
- 4) Theological orthodoxy is made effective only when embodied in loving works;
- 5) Finally, the future reward of steadfast obedience to God’s word is eternal life with God.¹⁰⁸

For Wall, the above theological grammar introduced by James is not the counterpart, but the complement of Paul’s more missional subject matter that sinners are initiated into life with God by their public profession of faith.¹⁰⁹ Wall also claims that this approach to the Catholic Epistles as a discrete biblical collection, read by the theological grammar of James, regulates and transforms how their intracanonical relationships with the Pauline corpus are assessed. Moreover, the canonical process of gathering together diverse writings of the Catholic Epistles into a collection is consistent with the theological purpose of the *regula fidei*. The hermeneutics of the canonical process were of coherence, not dissonance.¹¹⁰

include conciliatory speech, sharing goods, rescuing wayward believers, and hospitality. (4) Theological orthodoxy is made effective only when embodied in loving works. (5) Finally, the future reward of steadfast obedience to God’s word is eternal life with God.

¹⁰⁷ Wall, “A Unifying Theology of the Catholic Epistles,” 30–40. For a summary of the final form of this unifying theology, see Wall, “Catholic Epistles,” 574.

¹⁰⁸ Wall, “A Unifying Theology of the Catholic Epistles,” 30.

¹⁰⁹ Wall, “A Unifying Theology of the Catholic Epistles,” 28.

¹¹⁰ Wall, “A Unifying Theology of the Catholic Epistles,” 29.

Lately, Nienhuis and Wall jointly produced a 2013 edition of “The Unifying Theology of the Catholic Epistle Collection,” on which two revisions were made. First, instead of the five themes of James, they decide to adapt Tertullian’s Rule of Faith in organizing, or re-organizing, their theological reflections.¹¹¹ Second, based on Tertullian’s Rule of Faith, they have made revision to form a new content of “The Unifying Theology of the CE Collection” with the following theological themes:

- (1) The CREATOR GOD Is One God, Who Produced All Things Out of Nothing through His Own Word Sent Forth
- (2) CHRIST JESUS Is This Word Sent Forth into the World to Redeem God’s Creation, Disclose God’s Truth, and Exemplify God’s Love
- (3) The COMMUNITY OF THE SPIRIT Forms Loving Fellowship with God by Following God’s Word
- (4) CHRISTIAN DISCIPLES Follow God’s Word When Responding to Various Trials, Thus Purifying Themselves of Sin and Proving Their Love for God
- (5) THE CONSUMMATION of God’s Promised Salvation at Christ’s Coming Will Restore God’s Creation, Reveal God’s Victory over Death, and Reward the Community’s Obedience to God’s Word¹¹²

Nienhuis and Wall believe that this new version of the grammar of Tertullian’s Rule of Faith may better facilitate the continuing intracanonical conversations among Scripture’s different but complementary theologies. Subsequent to this new version of grammar, they also provide as internal grammar of the epistles a number of intertextual readings which show that this collection is the result of an intentional, deliberate movement at some point in the canonical process. These intertextual connections traced in the conclusion by reading James as the frontispiece, then showing how 1 Peter takes up themes from James. The chapter steps through the letters in canonical order, attempting to connect the letters from James to 1 Peter, from 1 Peter to 2 Peter, and so on until Jude which concludes the

¹¹¹ Nienhuis and Wall, *Reading the Epistles of James, Peter John and Jude*, 71–3, “There is only one God, and He is none other than the Creator of the world, who produced all things out of nothing through His own Word, first of all sent forth” (Tertullian, *Praescr.* 13).

¹¹² Nienhuis and Wall, *Reading the Epistles of James, Peter John and Jude*, 258–72.

whole collection.¹¹³

Nienhuis and Wall's efforts break new ground on the subject, and their work is commendable. They are right to assert that the Catholic Epistles were shaped into a collection alongside the book of Acts, which concurs with the manuscript readings and canon lists of the *Apostolos* in the East. Moreover, they commend an interpretive approach to these seven Catholic Epistles, which are edited into one unified piece of literary work. However, there are two aspects that need further inquiry about the "unifying theology" of the Catholic Epistles.

First is the balance between unity and diversity. Both the Gospels and Pauline Epistles focus on a central figure: the Gospels on Jesus Christ and Pauline Epistles on Paul. Even so, each Gospel and each epistle in the Pauline corpus carries its distinctiveness. For the Catholic Epistles, there are four figures attributing seven epistles. Therefore, we celebrate the unity of the Catholic Epistles corpus, and at the same time respect the uniqueness of each of the writers. I think canonical reconstruction of the writings is important in our understanding and reading the Catholic Epistles, but is no more and no less important than the authorial and historical reconstructions. Although the voice of authorship in canonical criticism is not of primary importance, it is not totally silent. The so-called "unifying" theology of Nienhuis and Wall is actually like re-shaping these epistles to the shape that is alien to their original intention.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Nienhuis and Wall, *Reading the Epistles of James, Peter John and Jude*, 252–57.

¹¹⁴ For example, Nienhuis and Wall, *Reading the Epistles of James, Peter John and Jude*, 255, state that there are clear verbal and thematic linkages between 2 Peter and 1 John that center around the motif of witness because both 2 Peter and 1 John claim to be written by an eyewitness. But I think intertextual allusion of this kind is too unnatural and artificial because witness language also appears in Acts, John, and 1 Peter. Another example is that both used the term "ψευδοπροφῆται" to describe false prophets. Again, the apostasy language is embodied in the whole New Testament. As Barr, *Semantics of Biblical Language*, 269, points out, recent biblical theology demonstrates false emphasis on "word-concepts" instead of "sentence-concepts."

Second is the theology proper of the unifying theology. Simply speaking, what Nienhuis and Wall offers is a sketch of the theological themes on the Trinity, Ecclesiology, and Eschatology found within the collection of the Catholic Epistles. This unifying theology does not break away from the form and limitation of dogmatic theology. The intention of achieving the theological coherence of the collection of the Catholic Epistles is matched.¹¹⁵ But theological coherence should not be the goal. Having said this, I want to make it clear that the approach to developing a unifying theology of the Catholic Epistles collection is what New Testament scholars should do. The point of departure is on the ideology behind the development.

(V) TOWARDS A CANON-LOGICAL THEOLOGY OF THE JERUSALEM APOSTLES:

MY PROPOSAL

To pick up the loose end I left in Chapter Two about developing the Jerusalem Apostolic theology as a methodology of reconstructing the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles, it is very clear that James, Peter, John, and Jude all were theologians, and were the first theologians of the early church. Their writings are theological writings. They wrote theology according to the Theology. The Theology, which was first transmitted in oral form, ultimately appeared in the canonical end-product.

In addition, scholars have argued in a variety of ways that there is a significant relationship between Acts and the epistles which follow.¹¹⁶ The canonical reality of the *Apostolos* is an evidence that Acts found its significance as the context for understanding

¹¹⁵ Nienhuis and Wall, *Reading the Epistles of James, Peter John and Jude*, 247–48.

¹¹⁶ For example, Knox, “Acts and the Pauline Letter Corpus,” 279–87, proposes a historical relationship between Luke and Paul.

the non-Pauline witnesses. Acts envisages not only a universalist Paul, but also a universalist James, Peter, and John. Acts retains the theological diversity found within the apostolic witness. Yet we should expect such a diversity to be useful in forming a single people for God.¹¹⁷

Therefore, two proposals are offered. First is a reconstruction of the Theology of the Jerusalem Apostles that is canon-logical.¹¹⁸ This Theology is attributed to the Jerusalem Apostles. We have already seen that the Jerusalem Apostles have played their role of fundamental importance first in the authorial stage, developed in the historical stage, and eventually in the canonical stage. Although each epistle had its own journey of reception into the canon, their solo voice should not be undermined. The church should consider the oneness of their relationship even from the authorial stage. The Jerusalem Apostolicity is made up of four authors from three locations carrying one Theology. This Theology is canon-logical in the sense that it is part of the Theology of the *Apostolos*, describing the reality that the Acts of the Apostles is hermeneutically, historically, and canonically related to the Jerusalem Apostles.

The second proposal is a literary scheme for the canon-logical arrangement of the *Apostolos* by rearranging the individual writings within this corpus. The largest scheme for reading the New Testament is to read it as one theology writing, regardless it is

¹¹⁷ Wall, "Acts of the Apostles in Canonical Context," 121–2. Nevertheless, Wall also points out that this canonical intention is opposite to Luke's original intention.

¹¹⁸ The term "canon-logic" was first introduced by Outler, "The 'Logic' of Canon-Making and the Tasks of Canon-Criticism," 263–76. Wall, "Canonical Criticism," 302–303, adopted the term and referred to the canonical logic that suggests "the final literary form of the New Testament canon... Along with the final placement of writings and collections within the biblical canon, new titles were provided for individual compositions, sometimes including the naming of anonymous authors... The importance of any one biblical voice for theological understanding or ethical praxis is focused or qualified by its relationship to the other voices that constitute the whole canonical chorus." Simply speaking, canon-logical reconstruction of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles refers to the logic behind which these writings were collected and placed as is reflected by their canonical reality.

composed of corpuses and monographs. Books in the New Testament are always read contextually, not necessarily according to their canonical placement. Without downplaying the theological implication of the canonical placement, we edit the placement of the writings according to various criteria to form formulate different reading options, for the purpose of seeking new connections within the *Apostolos*.

(A) Canon-Logical Theology of the Jerusalem Apostles

This section does not aim at developing into detail the Theology, but highlights some theological themes of *Apostolos*. An elaboration of this section requires an independent investigation. To my understanding, the Theology of the *Apostolos* at least consist of the following topics:

(1) The Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit is mentioned more than fifty times in the *Apostolos*. The unparalleled references to the Holy Spirit in the *Apostolos* establish the unifying function of the apostolic leaders. Moreover, the Holy Spirit is the impulse to drive the key characters in the Acts, like Peter's testimony of the conversion of the Gentiles. Through the characterization of the Holy Spirit and the association of that Spirit with each canonical authority, Acts has constructed a paradigm that would provide the developing catholic hierarchy with a basis for appropriating the entire developing canon as a united witness to their theology.

The image of the Holy Spirit as divine breath or wind implies a moving God in human affairs, in particular in the creation, in revitalization of Israel, and in divine inspiration of the Scriptures. This image of the "breath" of God can easily be associated in the *Apostolos*. (1 Pet 1:12; 2:4–10; 2 Pet 1:21; 3:5–7; 1 John 2:20–28; 3:24; 4:1–6;

Jude 19–20.) The Jerusalem Apostles receive the Holy Spirit, speak in tongues, preach with boldness, make predictions, and confer the Spirit on others. (Acts 2:4; 4:31; 5:32; 8:17; 11:28.)

(2) Apostolic Authority: The canonizing community has formed the Bible to mediate God’s message. One of the criteria of selection and decision of which writings should be canonized depends on the authority of the writing. In the *Apostolos*, the common denominator of the Acts of the Apostles and the Jerusalem Apostles is the “Apostles.”¹¹⁹ Wall points out that the significance of the title “Acts of the Apostles” lies in the shift of attention away from the Holy Spirit towards the apostles. Such a shift parallels the ecclesial movement during the first and second centuries away from charismatic authority to institutional authority, away from pneumatic claims to those rooted in notions of apostolicity. Hence, the title “*Apostolos*” in the canon reality implies that James, Peter, John, and Jude are the direct, immediate successors of Jesus in authority.

Perkins points out that both the Apostolic Church and the Gnostics claimed apostolic authority in one way or another. A shift occurred during the late second century, arguments tended to be based on traditions associated with particular apostles.¹²⁰ If the key authoritative figures in biblical history are identified as the Israelite prophets, Jesus, Paul, and the Jerusalem Apostles, then we have a corresponding representation in the canon. Thus, the book of Acts plays the role of the affirmation of Apostolicity.

¹¹⁹ Wall, “Acts of the Apostles in Canonical Context,” 123, wrote that “titles provide clues as to how the canonizing community intended a particular composition to function within the Second Testament canon,” and that a title “envisages a theological claim for apostolic authority which helps to shape an appropriate context for reading the apostolic writings which follow.”

¹²⁰ Perkins, *Gnosticism*, 180–81.

Moreover, the Church Fathers who recognized the value and authority of Acts saw support in the text for their claims of apostolic succession. Apostolic authority helps shape an appropriate context for reading the apostolic writings, such as James in Acts helps shape the context for reading the Epistle of James. Hence, the theology of the *Apostolos* should include the both the characters and their writings.

(3) Jewishness: Acts focuses that the church is a mission community. Since we emphasize that the relationship between the Jerusalem Apostles and Paul is a matter of division of labor, not division of doctrine, and since the Church preaches both the Catholic Epistles and the Pauline Epistles alike, the message of the Church should underline both the Jewish side as well as the Hellenistic side of the same doctrine, regardless what that doctrine is. We grow up in the church under the shadow of the Western canon, theology, and practice. From salvation to Sunday worship, we are by default more Pauline than not. We teach and preach Jewish practices like Sabbath, the holiness code, and the temple rites without understanding their real meaning. But the Jewish side of the same doctrine is embedded in Acts and the Catholic Epistles. Accordingly, the church has to make extra efforts in recovering the church's appreciation towards the Jerusalem Apostles and their writings.

(4) Mission: Mission in the *Apostolos* can be understood in two distinct ideas: mission as evangelism, and mission as embassy. When we say that the *Apostolos* demonstrates a theology of mission, we think of sharing and spreading the life and work of Jesus, including incarnation, the cross and ascension, and the parousia. The Acts is the historical account of the extension and expansion of the gospel of the Gospels. The mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is to make sure that the message of the salvation of

Jesus can be carried out according to God's plan. Hence, the obvious side of the mission of Peter includes his preaching on the day of Pentecost, his healing of the crippled beggar, his denunciation of Ananias and Sapphira, and so on.

But in consideration of mission as embassy, the role of the Jerusalem Apostles may not be obtained from superficiality. The mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is more about invisible realities such as God's will, theology, mentality, ideology and authority. It is recommended that the theology of the Jerusalem Apostles should also include the themes of "partings of the ways" and "balance of power" because these will influence the practice of the mission as evangelism.

(B) Reading the Catholic Epistles with Literary Rearrangement of the *Apostolos*

There is a break at Acts 16:6 that divides the Book of Acts into two sections: 1:1–16:5 and 16:6–28:31. From the aspect of geographical locality, the gospel was preached in the east in the first section of the book. In 16:6, the Holy Spirit forbade them to speak to the word in Asia. The gospel was first carried forward to the continent of Europe, which is the beginning to "the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8). From the aspects of redactional criticism, there are five "we" passages in the second section of Acts 16:6–28:31, but there is none in the first section. For the "we" passages, there are many things can be said.¹²¹ According to Porter, the "we" passages pay little attention to things Jewish,¹²² but are interested in the missionary travels of Paul.¹²³ They provide a very straightforward account of Paul's movement from Asia Minor to Europe, back to

¹²¹ The "we" passages include Acts 16:10–16; 20:5–15; 21:1–18; 27:1–29; 28:1–16. See Porter, *Paul in Acts*, 10–66, an elaborate research on the "we" passages.

¹²² Porter, *Paul in Acts*, 64.

¹²³ Porter, *Paul in Acts*, 33–34.

Palestine, and then to Rome as the destination.¹²⁴ We can be sure that the “we” source is exclusively Pauline.

From the aspects of division of labor, the Jerusalem Apostles were active until the closure of the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15. Since 16:6, they faded out and there is no mention of any of them for the rest of the Book of Acts, except for James in the “we” passage of Acts 21:18. We may conclude in general terms that Acts 1:1–16:5 depicts the mission work of the Jerusalem Apostles to the circumcised, and Acts 16:6–28:31 depicts the mission work of Paul the Apostle to the uncircumcised. The break at Acts 16:6 is missional, literal, and theological. The canonical significance of Acts as a bridge between the Gospels and the apostolic Epistles is indisputable. My proposal here is to read the Catholic Epistles as if there were a literary rearrangement of the contents of Acts and the apostolic Epistles in a canon-logical way: Acts 1:1–16:5-Catholic Epistles-Acts 16:6–28:31-Pauline Epistles. In this way, it looks more logical for reading Acts and the relative epistles hermeneutically, historically, and theologically.

(VI) CONCLUSION

The journey for the collection of the Catholic Epistles into the canon is a lengthy one. Three sources of information help us understand the process and product of the canonization of this corpus of the Bible. Papyrological evidence is scanty. From the extant fragments of manuscripts, we know that writings of James, Peter, John, and Jude were in circulation maybe as early as the second century. The best of the manuscripts come from the Alexandria text-type. Manuscripts originating from the East were typical

¹²⁴ Porter, *Paul in Acts*, 64.

in the list and order of the Catholic Epistles. They were joined together with the book of Acts to form the unit of *Apostolos*. James was usually placed as the first of the Catholic Epistles.

Patristic history offers ample access to the writings and quotations of the Church Fathers. Each of the Jerusalem Apostles and each of their writings were used and quoted as early as the second century. Eastern patristic tradition prioritized James, whereas Western tradition Peter. Evidence also shows that the Christian Church made use of authoritative writings for upholding orthodox doctrines and for edifying the Church. In the fourth century, the canon was finalized. The final Greek New Testament still maintained the priority of James and the unity of the *Apostolos*.

Based on the final canonical shape of the *Apostolos*, we have reasons to believe that the book of Acts has developed a hermeneutical, historical and canonical relationship to the Catholic Epistles. Smith introduces Bede's commentaries as an example of reading Acts as a cross-reference commentary on the Catholic Epistles. Wall and Nienhuis read the Catholic Epistles intercanonically and intertextually, and have developed a unifying theology of the Catholic Epistles collection. My proposal to the canonical reconstruction of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is the "canon-logical theology of the Jerusalem Apostles" and the "reading the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles as if there were a literary rearrangement of the *Apostolos*."

CONCLUSION

(I) A SUMMARY

This dissertation has achieved the following things:

(1) **The Problem.** Biblical scholars have paid little attention to the Catholic Epistles, namely the Epistles of James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude. There are various reasons, such as the late recognition by the church, lack of central figure and message, and their placement in the English Bible. As a result, many efforts are made to investigate the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, and comparatively much less the Catholic Epistles. Over the past ten years, new resources have been invested into the study of the Catholic Epistles, but the outcome is still unsatisfactory. This is due to the fact that either scholars have called attention to the research on individual epistles which ends up with a more diversified corpus of Catholic Epistles, or they have injected new methodologies that do not address the real problem.

As a matter of fact, the Catholic Epistles depict four central figures, James, Peter, John, and Jude. They are the Jerusalem Apostles. From the end-product of the canon of the New Testament, the seven writings authored by these four figures were compiled together, which were further combined with the Book of Acts to form the *Apostolos*. It is proposed that the Catholic Epistles should be more appropriately called the Epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles. The center of concern is on both the figures and their writings. I also argue for the unity of the Epistles of the Jerusalem Apostles as a collection. The Jerusalem Apostles possess a mission, which can be reconstructed through authorial, historical, and canonical approaches.

(2) **Authorial Reconstruction.** The Jerusalem Apostles were the first theologians of

the church, whose function is to extend and expand the mission portrayed in the Gospels. Their theology was first preserved through oral tradition, and was eventually written and circulated in the church. By applying the term authorship, I refer to the author, the amanuensis, the scribal writer, an alleged writer, or a school of writers. The places of origin of these four authors are different. James and Jude wrote from Jerusalem; Peter wrote from Rome; and John wrote from Asia Minor. James and Jude are the most Jewish of these epistles. They wrote to the Diaspora Jews. Peter wrote to the Diaspora Jews in the eastern part of Asia Minor, the locality of John is in the western part. Who actually penned the epistles is not important in this dissertation. More important is how the church perceived these writings.

During the process of canonization, these seven epistles by the four authors grew into a tightly knitted web of literary works. James and 1 Peter are linked together by their similarities in tradition and addressees. Jude and 2 Peter are literarily tied together. James and Jude are identified as brothers. The Epistles of Peter both alleged to Petrine authorship, and linked with internal evidences. The three Johannine Epistles are believed to be written by the same author or school of authorship. Finally, the three pillars of Jerusalem, James, Peter, and John, are connected by their association with the Diaspora Jews.

The idea of Jerusalem Apostolic Theology is proposed here, but the development of the idea is continued under canonical reconstruction in Chapter Four.

(3) Historical Reconstruction. Biblical scholars who are sensitive to the historical context of the process of canonization would not find it difficult to realize that there are two partings of the ways in church history. The first parting is between first-century

Judaism and Christianity. From the viewpoint of the Roman Empire, Christianity is like a sect which has separated from first-century Judaism. From the religious viewpoint, it is a parting of the ways, not because of ethnicity but of ideology. Sanders, the pioneer of the New Perspective on Paul, proposes that first-century Judaism and Christianity can be compared by their pattern of religion. He concludes that there is a theology of “covenantal nomism” working behind first-century Judaism, which is absent in Paul’s theology. Dunn, an advocate of New Perspective on Paul, attempts to harmonize first-century Judaism and Paulinism, but he is criticized in many ways by scholars, in particular, his hermeneutical fallacy.

The second parting is between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity. Baur correlates a philosophy of history. He suggests that Paul is independent of, and not subordinate to, the Jerusalem Apostles. He recognizes that there exists conflict and tension between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles as early as the Antioch controversy of Gal 2:11–14. This conflict lasts for centuries. Baur is criticized by his reliance on the concept of early Catholicism. Harnack is influenced by Baur. He further distances the gap between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity by over-magnifying Paul to a position higher than the Jerusalem Apostles. Harnack is criticized for his exaltation of the heretical Marcionism. This tension between Paul and Peter that Baur and Harnack recognize is prolonged after the deaths of the apostles involved for two more centuries by the augmentation of the heresies, as shown by Augustine’s *On Faith and Works*. The historical reconstruction of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is concluded with the study of Lightfoot’s commentary. The conclusion is that the rise of the heresies indirectly functions as an incentive for the church to seek the rule of faith, which is the canon.

(4) Canonical Reconstruction. From process to product, the canon plays an indispensable role to the reconstruction of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles. External evidences, including papyrological, and patristic evidences, are discussed. Papyrological evidences show that Acts is compiled with the Catholic Epistles to form the unit of the *Apostolos*. As early as the second century in Alexandria, some of the writings of the Catholic Epistles were in circulation. Alexandria and Caesarea are important centers of Christian literature. A reconstruction of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles is included in the next section of this conclusion.

Canon criticism as historical critical methodology suggests hermeneutical, historical, and canonical relationship of Acts and the Catholic Epistles. The proposal of Acts being a cross-reference commentary on the Catholic Epistles by Smith and that of a unifying theology of the Catholic Epistles collection by Wall are examined. I offer my proposal of developing a canon-logical theology of the Jerusalem Apostles, and a reading the Catholic Epistles with a literary rearrangement of the *Apostolos* as Acts 1:1–16:5-Catholic Epistles-Acts 16:6–28:31-Pauline Epistles in the *Apostolos*.

It is a good idea to offer as an end-product of this dissertation a threefold authorial, historical, and canonical reconstruction of the mission of the Jerusalem Apostles.

(II) A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MISSION OF THE JERUSALEM APOSTLES: AUTHORIAL, HISTORICAL, AND CANONICAL

At the beginning of the early church, the book of Acts served to establish the legitimacy of the apostolic interpretation of the gospel and the apostles. After the ascension of Jesus, the disciples remained in Jerusalem waiting for the Holy Spirit. The Jerusalem Apostles were among them. These leaders were the first group of people who

continued the mission of Jesus portrayed in the Gospels. The first conflict between the Jewish and Greek-speaking believers took place in Acts 6:1 on the issue of daily distribution of food. The problem was solved with the election of the seven. The martyrdom of Stephen depicted another type of conflict. The conflict this time was between first-century Judaism and Christians. There was a parting of the ways, where Paul was on the side of first-century Judaism, against Christianity. The church was persecuted. The Jerusalem Apostles remained in the church of Jerusalem, but some disciples chose to leave. During their station in Jerusalem, developed their apostolic theological thinking. The Jerusalem Apostolic Theology was at work when epistles bearing their names were composed and sent out.

Before long, Paul was converted, and within a short period of time, he sprang up as a leader of the church. During this period of time, people realized that there was potentially a conflict within the Christian Church between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles as result of the growing number of Gentile believers. A sketch of the events pertaining to the conflict can be found in Gal 1:18–2:14 and Acts 15:1–35. After a series of interviews, conferences, meetings, and councils, the conflict was resolved. Biblical accounts affirm to us that it is a matter of division of labor, not division of doctrine, between Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles. They are apostles called by God to spread the gospel, Paul focusing on the Gentiles while the Jerusalem Apostles on the Jews.

But many people argue that the conflict, in fact, continued for centuries. The emergence of heresies, such as Gnosticism, Marcionism, and Ebionism, triggered the rivalry between the two parties. It is not Paul and the Jerusalem Apostles any more, since most of the apostles by then had already passed away. It is their advocates. For simplicity,

we label these two parties Paulinism and Jerusalem Apostolicity because of their depiction of the apostolic figureheads. Some scholars differentiate between Hellenistic and Jewish Christianity according to their “pattern of religion.” Others call their struggle the “parting of the ways.” Regardless, the tense atmosphere called for immediate action. At the turn of the first century, the Gospels and Pauline Epistles, together with some writings of Apostolic Fathers, were well circulated, used, and taught in the Church to soothe the tension.

Information about textual activities before 150 C.E. is scarce. Indications show that the invasion of Christianity by Gnosticism was in progress since the first century, and became more active in the second. We find polemics against the Gnostics in some of the Pauline Epistles, 1 John, 2 Peter, and Jude. In addition to Gnosticism, there were other heresies like Encratism and asceticism that created false theological and ethical teachings. The adverse influence of the heresies remained for centuries. The church was compelled to develop a system of doctrines. Some people call it *regula fidei* or *instrumentia doctrina*, which eventually led to the determination of authoritative writings.

With the publication of the Marcionite Prologues, the need for authoritative writings seemed to be obviously pressing. Marcion, whose active work was in Rome, did not include any of the Catholic Epistles. As compared with the popularity of the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, quotations of the Catholic Epistles by the Church Fathers were late and scanty. Pauline Christianity triumphed, and it was now the Jerusalem apostolate of James, Peter, and John which needed legitimating. Polycarp contributes a few quotations of 1 Peter and 1 John. In the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr referred to James and the Petrine Epistles infrequently. As Augustine later pointed out,

the debate on “faith and work” brought negative and destructive impacts on the Church.

By the end of the second century, the evidence of patristic quotations in a fuller sense began. The Apostolic Fathers were not only practical churchmen who were interested in church operations. They were theologians as well, who opened up to an expanding biblical tradition. Irenaeus (130–200) was trained in the East, but developed his literary activity in the West. He carried with him Eastern texts to the West. He also explicitly attacked the Marcionites. Faithful to the arrangement of the *Apostolos* in the Greek manuscripts, he showed high respect to the Jerusalem Apostles, particularly Peter, James and John. Jude was not mentioned. According to Irenaeus, James had spoken authoritatively in the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15. However, faithful to the ecclesiastical tradition of the Roman Church, he uplifted Peter to an even higher position. In particular, Peter was the head of the Jerusalem Apostles, who in turn were superior to the Apostle Paul.

In another region of the Roman Empire, Clement of Alexandria (150–215) witnessed to usage and quotations of 1 Peter, 1–2 John, and Jude. Jude was quoted because of his prophetic message of God’s judgment on the heretics. Moreover, he elevated James, John, and Peter as appointed leaders of the Church by the Lord. It should be noted that Clement owned a large library, and had a wide acquaintance with Greek literature of Jewish and Christian writers. For the New Testament, his quotations must be taken as representing a class of text which was at any rate current, and perhaps predominant, in the great literary capital of Egypt at the end of the second century. Some proto-Alexandrian manuscripts like P²³ and P²⁰, both containing writings of James, may be dated during this period of time. Hence, Clement was probably the first Church Father

who developed his argument for the Jerusalem Apostles on serious textual and literary research.

By the end of the second century, in the Latin Church, Tertullian of Carthage quoted and used the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles except James, 2 Peter, and 3 John. Tertullian quoted 1–2 John, and reckoned that Marcion was the “antichrist.” Tertullian also believed that the Jerusalem Apostolicity of James, Peter, and John were linked together as a unit, and their function is to serve as a counterpart to Paulinism. This shows that the impact of heresies has spread all over the Christian world. For textual purposes, we are not sure whether his basis of text is on the Greek manuscripts, or on an early Latin version of the New Testament. At the break of the third century, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, made extensive use of 1 Peter and 1 John. Cyprian is the most important patristic witness to the text of the Latin Bible in use in northern Africa. Due to their limited access to the best manuscripts, it is not surprising they might be unaware of some of the writings of the Catholic Epistles.

At the beginning of the third century, Origen succeeded and superseded his teacher Clement in the Alexandrian school. He commented on all twenty-seven writings of the New Testament. He talked about the Catholic Epistles as a whole, as well as the writings of the Jerusalem Apostles individually. James was used as a balance of the teaching on “faith and work.” Origen was an unmatched textual scholar among his contemporaries. In addition to biblical manuscripts, his library contained a range of technical works for use in Bible study. In particular, he had a diverse collection of commentaries on the Scriptures, by a variety of interpreters. He is considered a textual critic of the New Testament because in many cases he showed interest in and knowledge

of manuscripts, although we might not accept his opinion as to what the best manuscripts were. But at least we learn what readings were extant in Egypt and Palestine in his lifetime, what readings were preferred by a trained textual scholar, and the character of the text used by him. His preference is for the Alexandrian text. It is possible that his text is of proto-Vaticanus or proto-Sinaiticus type.

Later, by the end of the third century in Caesarea, Pamphilus restored the library of Origen, copied Biblical texts, and preserved the manuscripts. It was to Caesarea that the great textual scholar of the West came to study and to gather materials. Hence, the torch was handed on from Alexandria to Rome, and from Rome, in the form of the Vulgate, its effects spread over all the western church. By this time, the Catholic Epistles were attached with Acts to form the *Apostolos*.

Syria was the venue for the Antioch controversy of Gal 2:11–14. The Syriac church, which is closely related to both Peter and Paul, became a center of missionary works since the first century. In contrast, James was not readily accepted on some occasions because of the theological competition between the Antiochean and Alexandrian schools. While the latter showed favor to James, the former did the opposite. The Antiochean church was supported by the Cappadocian Fathers in Asia Minor. However, in facing the issues of “faith and work,” both churches in Antioch and in Asia Minor had to include James and his Epistle. This ambivalent attitude was at last resolved by the inclusion of the whole corpus of the Catholic Epistles in their larger Peshitta.

The fourth century marked the age of theological controversies and canonization of the New Testament. The Council of Nicea in 325 and the Council of Constantinople in 381, which were called to settle the Arian controversy, only marked the beginning of the

ecumenical councils. For political and ecclesiastical purposes, it is natural for the church and the Roman Empire to set up an official, standardized documentation of faith, which we call the “canon.”

For twenty-seven years, Eusebius of Caesarea found most of the material for his works in the library of Pamphilius. He can reach the best of the manuscripts (like P⁷², which contains 1–2 Peter and Jude, and P⁸¹, which contains 1 Peter) and codices (like Vaticanus and Sinaiticus). There must be many, many others that, unfortunately, we are not able to gain access to today. He made extensive use and quotations of the twenty-seven New Testament canonical writings in his *Ecclesiastical History*. During his lifetime, the New Testament was canonized. Almost at the same time, Athanasius of Alexandria contributed his canonical list of the New Testament. Whereas Athanasius clung on to the original eastern tradition of the order of writings in his canon, Eusebius inclined to exhibit a western one. The original eastern tradition followed by Athanasius includes all seven Catholic Epistles in the order of James, Peter, John and Jude. The Catholic Epistles are grouped with Acts to form the collection of the *Apostolos*.

Finally, in the capital of the Roman Empire, Jerome produced his Latin Vulgate, bringing forth a canonical list that is obviously Western in preference. Jerome was a textual scholar by profession. His travels and his acquaintance with Greek manuscripts give his evidence special weight as that of a trained student of textual criticism. No fixed text-type is attributed to him. It is probable that Jerome had association with a proto-Claromontanus text. The commentaries by the Venerable Bede in the eighth century were greatly influenced by Jerome and his Vulgate.

(III) CONCLUSION

There are three keys to reading this dissertation. The purpose of this dissertation is to help readers engage an important but neglected collection of the Catholic Epistles in the Bible. Attempts are made to illustrate and present an approach to these epistles not as the sum of seven diverse parts but as a holistic unit. Integration is the first key to this dissertation. Integration is understood in two senses: integration of these seven epistles under the common denominator of the Jerusalem Apostles, and integration of the authorship, historical development, and the final canonization of these writings of the Jerusalem Apostles.

Without avoiding the difficult and debatable theological nuances, efforts are made to simplify as much as possible the basic but important concepts, but at the same time without over-simplifying the theology that pertains to my argumentation. Systematization is the second key to this dissertation. The notions of one collection of the Jerusalem Apostolic Epistles, two partings of the ways, three geographical locations of the origin of the writings, and four authors are introduced to try to make reading this dissertation easy.

Toward the end, I invite dialogue with those who agree and disagree with my ideology of reading the Catholic Epistles as a corpus by proposing a reconstruction of the Jerusalem Apostolic Theology and a hypothetical literary rearrangement of the *Apostolos*. Contemplation of new ways of thinking of the Jerusalem Apostles is the third key to this dissertation. These are the issues that can be pursued further. This conclusion may just be a new beginning.

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