

THE MAKING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT DOCUMENTS

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION SERIES

Editors

R. ALAN CULPEPPER
ROLF RENDTORFF

Associate Editor

DAVID E. ORTON

Editorial Advisory Board

JANICE CAPEL ANDERSON · MIEKE BAL
PHYLLIS A. BIRD · ERHARD BLUM · ROBERT P. CARROLL
WERNER H. KELBER · EKKEHARD STEGEMANN
ANTHONY C. THISELTON · VINCENT L. WIMBUSH · JEAN ZUMSTEIN

VOLUME 39



THE MAKING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT DOCUMENTS

BY

E. EARLE ELLIS



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
1999

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ellis, E. Earle (Edward Earle)

The making of the New Testament documents / by E. Earle Ellis.

p. cm. -- (Biblical interpretation series, ISSN 0928-0731 ; v. 39)

Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

ISBN 9004113320 (cloth : alk. paper)

I. Bible. N.T. -- Criticism, Textual. I. Title. II. Series.

BX2325.E65 1999

225.6'6 dc21

99-19912

CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Ellis, E. Earle:

The making of the New Testament documents / by E. Earle Ellis. -

Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 1999

(Biblical interpretation series ; Vol. 39)

ISBN 90-04-11332-0

ISSN 0928-0731

ISBN 90 04 11332 0

© Copyright 1999 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To the memory of
JOHN C. HARGETT (1844-1918)
Confederate Soldier
Farmer
Methodist Lay-Preacher

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	xv
ABBREVIATIONS	xix
I. <i>From Traditions to the New Testament</i>	1
Introduction	1
The Making of the Gospels	2
Presuppositions and Method	3
World-View	3
Literary Genre	5
Method	6
A Review and Assessment of Current Criticism	11
Tradition and Redaction/Composition Criticism	11
Source Criticism	14
Classical Form Criticism	19
A Reappraisal of the Formation of New Testament	
Traditions	28
Charism and Order in Earliest Christianity	28
The Pauline Churches.....	29
The Gospel Traditions	30
The Circles Transmitting Gospel and Epistolary	
Traditions	32
The Relationship between the Apostolic Missions	33
The Formation of the Gospels as a Corporate	
Enterprise	36
The Formation of the Epistles as a Corporate	
Enterprise	39
The Formation of New Testament Documents as	
the Enterprise of Prophets	42
Conclusion	45
II. <i>The Making of the New Testament Letters</i>	49
Introduction	49
The Literary Character of the Letters	49
A. Deissmann	49
Other Classifications	50
A Letter Form or Genre?	50
The Authorship and Composition of the Letters	52

Authorship	52
The Quest for Preformed Traditions	52
The Use of Traditions in the Early Christian Missions	53
General Considerations	53
The Traditioning Process in Earliest Christianity	53
Criteria for Identifying Traditional Pieces	59
The Mutual Use of Traditions in Apostolic Missions	60
Traditions in the Pauline Letters	69
Traditions in I Corinthians: A Test Case	69
Jesus-Traditions	70
Old Testament Expositions (Midrashim)	78
Congregational Regulations	81
Confessions	87
A Hymn to Love	91
Conclusion	94
Traditions in Other Pauline Letters	94
Romans	94
II Corinthians	99
Galatians	101
Philippians	103
Ephesians	105
Colossians	108
I Thessalonians	111
II Thessalonians	114
The Pastoral Epistles	116
Conclusion	116
Traditions in Hebrews, James and Jude	117
Hebrews	117
James	119
Jude	120
Traditions in I and II Peter	120
II Peter	120
I Peter	133
The Composition of the New Testament Epistles	138
Traditions in Luke-Acts	140
Conclusion	141
III. <i>Traditions of the Johannine Mission</i>	143
Introduction	143
Author or Authors	143

The Gospel: Unity or Collection	147
The Context of the Johannine Writings: School or Circle	150
The Making of the Johannine Literature	153
Traditions in John's Gospel	154
Narrative Traditions	154
Ten Synoptic-like Traditions	154
Traditions Common to the Gospels of John and Luke	162
Narratives Peculiar to John's Gospel	165
Discourses and Sayings	172
Expository and Other Traditions	173
'I Am' and 'Amen' Sayings	179
Conclusion	181
Traditions in First John	183
The Appeal to Tradition	185
ἀκούειν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς	185
μένειν ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ	186
τηρεῖν	188
Traditions Introduced by Formulas	189
ἀκούειν ὅτι	189
εἰδέναι ὅτι, γινώσκειν ὅτι	191
οὗτός ἐστιν	193
Other Traditions	195
Synoptic-like Traditions	195
Traditions in Common with Other Apostolic Missions	196
Traditions in Common with John's Gospel	199
Authorship, Date and Provenance	200
The Opponents	202
Doctrinal Aberrations	203
Ethical Aberrations	205
Possible Rejections of a Future Parousia and of Physical Resurrection	205
Traditions in Revelation	208
Introduction to Revelation	208
Unity	208
Date	210
The False Teachers	217
Author	219

Types of Traditions	222
Appeal to Tradition	222
Old Testament Traditions	223
New Testament Traditions	226
Hymns	230
Vice Lists	232
Conclusion	233
IV. <i>The New Testament Documents in the History of Early Christianity</i>	238
Introduction	238
Fix-Points for Placing the Documents	239
Events in the Roman World	239
The Scandal of Caligula's Statue AD 40	242
Agrippa's Reign over Judea AD 41-44	242
Gallio's Governorship of Achaia AD 51-52	243
The Earthquake at Laodicea AD 60	245
Nero's Persecution of Christians AD 65-68	246
The Destruction of Jerusalem AD 70	247
Events Specific to the Early Church	248
Jesus' Earthly Ministry AD 28-33	248
Luke-Acts: A Key to the History of Earliest Christianity	251
Peter's Departure from Jerusalem c. AD 42	255
Paul's Famine Visit to Jerusalem and his First Letter c. AD 46, 49	255
Paul's Mission to Greece and his First Aegean Ministry AD 50-58	260
The Missions of James, Peter and John in the 50s	263
Paul's Imprisonment and Letters at Caesarea AD 58-60	266
Paul's Imprisonment and Letter at Rome AD 61-63	275
Paul's Mission to Spain and his Second Aegean Ministry AD 63-67	278
The Flight of Jerusalem Christians to Pella c. AD 66	284
Hebrews: A Hellenist's Final Plea to the Hebraists AD 68-70	285

The Death of James and the End of the Jacobean Mission AD 62-66	288
The Martyrdom of Peter and the Literature of his Mission AD 55-65	293
The Later Mission of John and the Concluding New Testament Documents c. AD 65-95	306
The Relationship of the Four Apostolic Missions and the Dating of New Testament Writings	307
The Patristic Evidence	307
I Clement	307
Second Century Writings	308
The Literary Evidence	310
Common Traditions Used by Different Apostolic Missions	310
The Opposition Common to the Missions	314
The Significance of AD 70	318
Conclusion	319
The Significance of Preformed Traditions for the	
Authorship of New Testament Epistles	320
Nineteenth Century Literary Criticism	320
Pseudepigraphal Theories and the Baur Tradition	320
The Hypothesis of 'Innocent' Apostolic Pseudepigrapha	322
Nineteenth Century Literary Assumptions	324
Twentieth Century Literary-Critical Developments	325
The Role of the Secretary in Antiquity	326
The Implications of Preformed Traditions for the Nature of Authorship	327
Conclusion	328
Conclusion	329

APPENDICES

I. <i>The Making of Gospel Narratives</i>	333
Introduction	333
A Classification of Synoptic Narrative Episodes.....	336
Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels	337
Narrations of Jesus' Mighty Acts	337
Narrations of Other Events in Jesus' Life and Ministry	339

Nine Post-Resurrection Narratives	339
The Structure of the Narrative Episodes	340
Exorcisms	340
Sabbath Healings	341
Other Healings	341
Raising the Dead	343
Other Nature Miracles	344
Narratives of the Infancy and of the Ministry	345
Post-Resurrection Narratives	348
Formation and Features of Synoptic Narratives	349
Two Narrative Patterns	349
Healing Episodes	349
Narrative Midrash	350
Geographical Settings	351
Oral and Written Formulation and Transmission	352
Some Compositional Tendencies of the Evangelists	354
Matthew	354
Mark	354
Luke	355
The Circle(s) that Formed the Narrative Episodes	355
II. <i>The Date and Provenance of Mark's Gospel</i>	357
The Patristic Witnesses	357
Papias	358
Markan Order and Peter's Teaching	358
Markan Composition during Peter's Ministry	358
Old Latin Prologue	359
The Transmission of Mark's Gospel after	
Peter's Death	359
The Prologue and the Dating of Mark's Gospel	360
Irenaeus	360
The Transmission of Mark's Gospel during	
Peter's Ministry	361
Irenaeus and the Dating of Mark's Gospel	361
Clement of Alexandria	363
Conclusion	365
Peter's Initial Journey to Rome	366
Peter's Widespread Ministry	366
Peter's Possible Journey from Corinth to Rome AD	
53-54	367
Indicators of the Date and Provenance of Mark	368

The Tradition of a Roman Provenance	368
The Literary Evidence of a Palestinian Provenance ..	369
The Credibility of a Caesarean Provenance	370
A New Reconstruction	372
III. <i>The Origin and Making of Luke-Acts</i>	377
The Background of the Research	377
The Early Tradition	377
Author	377
Title	378
Authority	379
The Fourfold Gospel	380
Luke and the Other Gospels	381
The Beginnings of Modern Research	382
Challenge to Lukan Authorship	382
The Synoptic Problem	384
F. C. Baur	386
Trends in the Twentieth Century	387
The Literary Unity of Luke-Acts	387
The Text of Luke	388
The Date of the Composition of Luke-Acts	389
The Formation and Structure of the Gospel	391
The Relation of the Gospel to its Sources	391
The Two Document Hypothesis	391
The Aramaic Matthew Hypothesis	393
The Proto-Luke Hypothesis	394
Q and L Materials	395
Structure and Theme	395
Authorship	397
The Case for Lukan Authorship	397
Mid-Twentieth Century Objections	398
The Continuing Hegelian Factor	399
The Place of Luke-Acts in Early Christianity	400
IV. <i>Traditions in the Pastoral Epistles</i>	406
Criteria	407
Traditions Introduced by Formulas	407
The Faithful Word	407
'Knowing This That'	411
'These Things'	413
Other Preformed Traditions	416

The Significance of Preformed Traditions for Author- ship	418
The Historical Place of the Pastorals	422
V. <i>A Regulation for Wives at I Cor 14:34-35</i>	426
The Character of the Passage	426
An Interpolation?	426
The Rough Connection to the Context	427
The Relationship to Traditions at I Tim 2:9-3:1a and I Pet 3:1-7	428
The Confusion of Theological Difference with Chronological Distance	428
The Presence of I Cor 14:34-35 in all Extant Manuscripts	430
Paul's Regulation of the Ministry of Wives	430
The Meaning of <i>γυνή</i>	430
Paul's Similar Teachings Elsewhere	431
The Context of I Cor 14:26-40	432
I Cor 14:34-35: A Preformed Tradition	433
VI. <i>Ferdinand Christian Baur and his School</i>	435
Theological Background	435
Historical Reconstruction	440
Indexes	
Index of Passages	447
Index of Modern Authors	503
Index of Subjects	515
MAP	519