

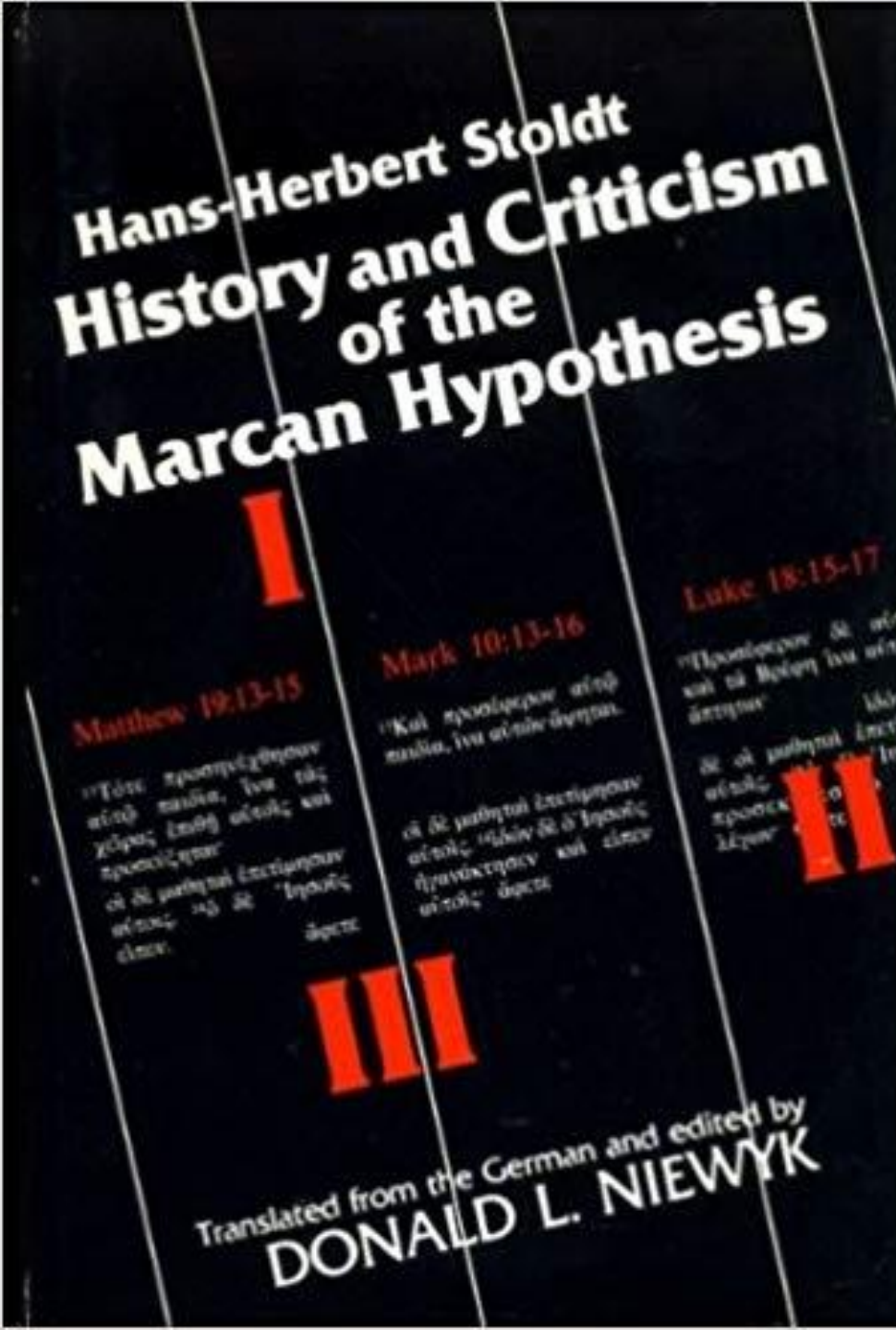
# The Gospels – Who, When Why and How?

Session 1 – Who and When! - **Today**

Session 2 – Why and How! – **Next Term**

# The Gospels – Who, When Why and How?

Session 1 – Who and When



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“...the sources of the Gospels is justifiably regarded as one of the most difficult research problems... **no other enterprise in the history of ideas has been subject to anywhere near the same degree of scholarly scrutiny.**”

History and Criticism of the Marcan Hypothesis, Hans-Herbert Stoldt, 1977 (translated 1980)

**While there is more that could be said than can ever be read in a life-time, this session will quickly **review** some of the **key reasons** behind the **return to a traditional view of the Gospels**.**

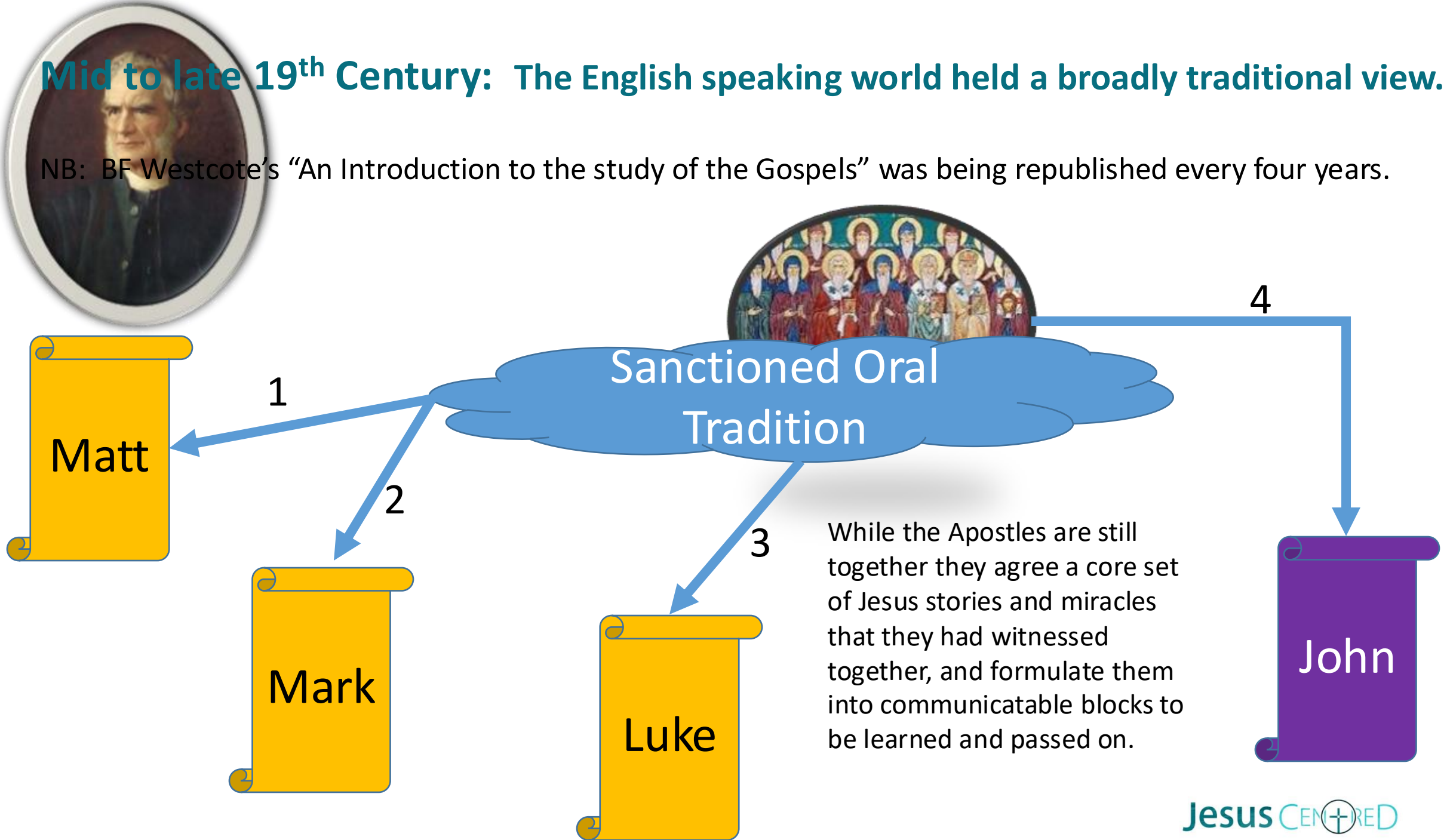
# Matthew, Mark, Luke and John?

The early church held (pretty) unanimously to the idea that the Gospels were written in the order we now know them by, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John and by people carrying those names. They knew who these people were and their relationship to their eyewitness sources.

In addition Greco-Roman private libraries were arranged according to the author's name. So all copies of the Gospels would have needed tagging from the very beginning, even if the content didn't explicitly name the author.

## Mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> Century: The English speaking world held a broadly traditional view.

NB: BF Westcote's "An Introduction to the study of the Gospels" was being republished every four years.



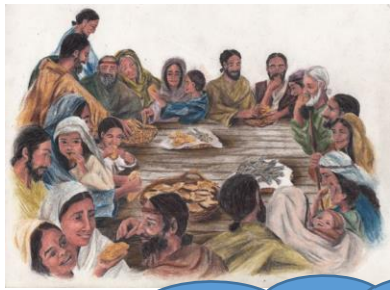
## But around the same time in Germany....

The **Tubingen School** founded by **Ferdinand Christian Baur** developed an approach to the origins of Christianity which saw the whole NT develop from a conflict between a Jewish-Jesus-Sect and a Pauline Gentile-Jesus-Sect.



Local Oral Tradition

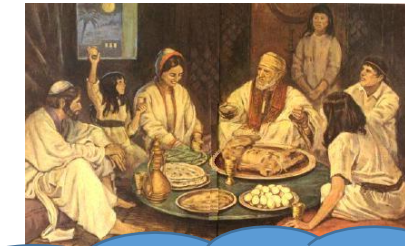
Texts



Local Oral Tradition

Texts

NT



Local Oral Tradition

Texts

## But around the same time in Germany....

This fitted well with a theory of oral tradition that was being developed from the study of folklore. It allowed for the basic stories of the Gospels to be amended and embellished over time to account for the miracles. This became the Form Criticism of theologians like Rudolf Bultmann in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Putting these theories together required lots of time for stories to develop, various written to develop and the to be consolidated and dominant versions to emerge in the second Century AD!



So Baur claimed that John's Gospel had to have been written in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century because...

- It evidenced a theology that was too highly developed to reflect the early state of Christianity.
- It evidenced a Greek versus Jewish way of thinking.
- It was dependent on the Synoptic Gospels, which were also written late.

“Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien”, Tübingen:  
Verlag und Druck, 1847 page 239.

**None of these points has survived the passage of time, but radical scepticism and preference for the latest possible dating have.**

## Of course there was a response...

In 1897 Adolph Harnack was rejecting the Tübingen approach, but met them on some of their assumptions. So he concluded that...

- while the Gospel of John was a late invention, the synoptic Gospels and Acts had first started to be written down in the first century in the AD 60s and 70s.
- ... but had been developed/added to over time, i.e the birth narratives and the bigger miracles like walking on water were a reflection of later theological thinking.

See “Chronologie des altchristlichen Litteratur”, 1897.

This is still roughly the default position today..

# Matthew, Mark, Luke and John?

"Today it is no exaggeration to claim that a whole spectrum of main assumptions underlying Bultmann's *Synoptic Tradition* (form criticism) must be considered suspect."

Werner Kelber, Professor Emeritus in Biblical Studies, Rice University.

*The Oral and Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q.* 1997 Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p. 8

Taken from the Wikipedia entry on "Form Criticism"

But...

Academia still feels compelled to default to an overly-critical approach to the Gospels and, on the other hand, people with "faith" ignore issues which would help them see Jesus in His social, historical, cultural and prophetic context.



# Current scholarly consensus:

- Mark: 65-70 AD
- Matthew: 80's AD
- Luke: 80's AD
- John: 90's AD

But these **dates are still skewed late for one reason only...**

To accommodate scholars who do not believe Jesus could have predicted the fall of Jerusalem and who require time for miracle stories to grow and be accepted by the Church.

Note: Jerusalem fell in 70 AD after 5 years of unrest.

**Today, we are going to see that a traditional view of the development of the Gospels is a better fit with modern evidence.**

**Next time we are going to reconstruct how they got written within the history covered by the book of Acts.**

**First a comment on those dates...**

Every time someone looks at the whole NT together they conclude it was all written earlier than the consensus...

In 1976 liberal New Testament scholar, John A. T. Robinson, published the first comprehensive treatment of the dating of the NT books since Harnack's "Chronologie des altchristlichen Litteratur", published 80 years earlier in 1897.

## Robinson concluded...

...That there were no clear grounds for dating any book of the New Testament as after AD 70 because not one book makes reference to the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, whereas early Christian writings are awash with references to these events.

(Note how the the fulfilment of the famine prophecy of Agabus, makes a big impact on the shape of Acts ...)

And that James was the first book to be written, perhaps within 20 years of Jesus' death.

## In addition...

**Robinson** wrote: ...that past scholarship was based on a "tyranny of unexamined assumptions" and an "almost wilful blindness", (taken from Wikipedia).

In response **C.H Dodd** responded: "I should agree with you that much of the late dating is quite arbitrary, even wanton; the offspring not of any argument that can be presented, but rather of the critic's prejudice that, if he appears to assent to the traditional position of the early church, he will be thought no better than a stick-in-the-mud."



## Robinson's dates...

- Matthew: 40-60 AD
- Mark: 45-60 AD
- Luke: 55-62 AD
- John: 40-65 AD

Note: Matthew and Mark are back in traditional order, but Luke and John are not.

## A note of dating John's Gospel

Robinson saw no reference to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in any New Testament book, BUT... **Revelation** is ambiguous...

In it, **John** sees a **New Jerusalem** and a **Heavenly Temple** which could either be seen as **prophecy** before the **physical destruction of the old**, or the **prophetic meaning of their recent loss**.

I am going to **tentatively assume the latter** -which will put the writing of John's Gospel later than Robinson assumes but not much.

## But it doesn't stop there...

In the 1980s, **Jean Carmignac**, a scholar who for some years was a member of the team working on the Dead Sea Scrolls, published “The Birth of the Synoptics”.

He argues: Matthew and Mark were written like many of the Qumran scrolls in an intermediate form of Hebrew, ready for Greek speakers.

This compelled him to date the Synoptic Gospels early!

(“The Birth of the Synoptics” was translated and published in English in 1987, a year after Carmignac died).

# Carmignac's dates

## Latest Possible Dates

- Mark first draft completed by 50 AD. Final version 55 AD.
- Matthew: 55-60 AD
- Luke: 58-60 AD

## But Probable Dates

- Mark: first draft around 42 AD. Final version 45 AD
- Matthew: 50 AD
- Luke: a little after 50 AD.

Note: Carmignac has reverted to the priority of Mark!

# John Wenham in “Redating Matthew, Mark and Luke”, 1992

Supported Carmignac’s views on datings but not order...

**Wenham** puts:

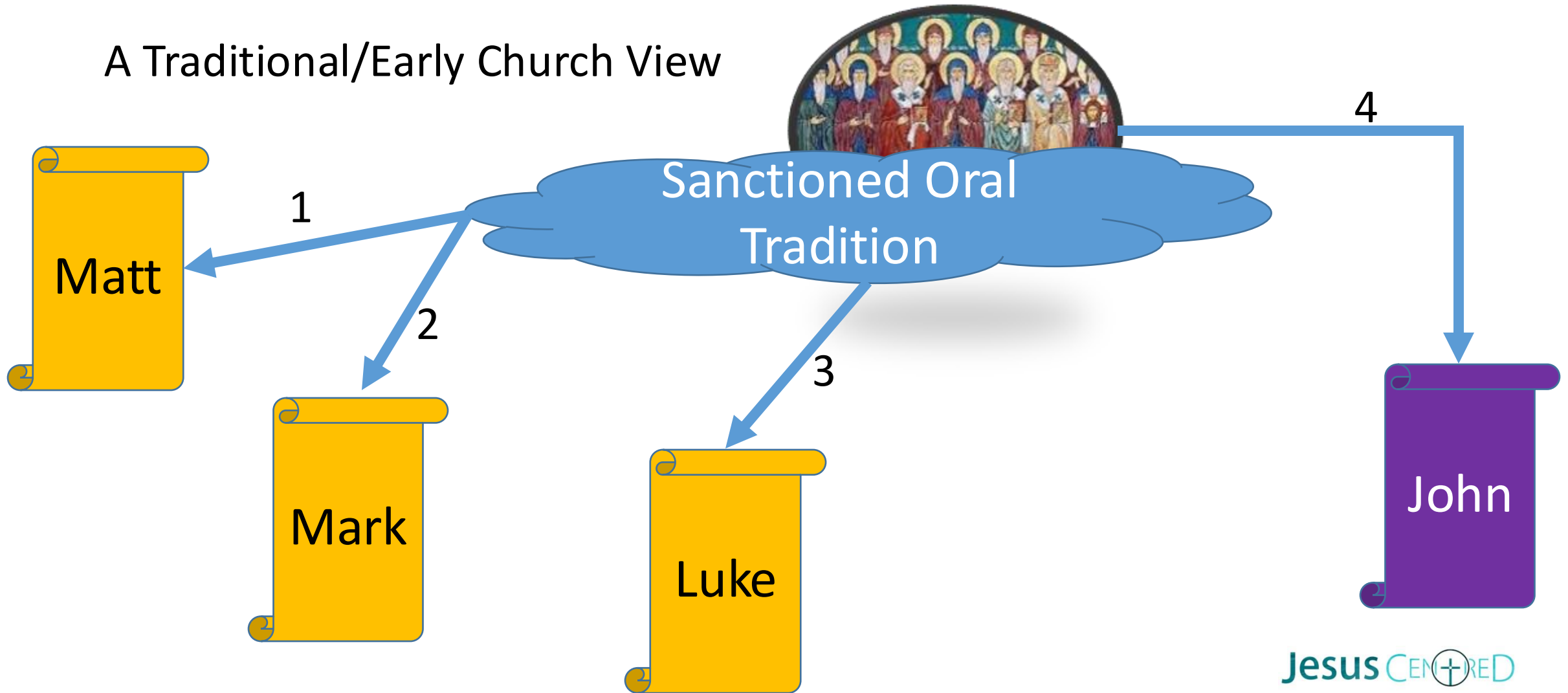
- **Matthew:** first draft, perhaps just the “didache” before 42 AD persecution. (Carried by Peter to Rome)
- **Mark:** Just after 44 AD, but perhaps started in 42 AD. Working with Peter before he left Rome in 44 AD.
- **Luke:** First draft (starting chapter 3) 49-55 AD while in Philippi. Supplemented 57-59 AD while in Palestine and completed by 62 AD for Paul’s defence.

**Wenham's view is in line with the view is in line with the Early Church fathers but doesn't allow the time needed for most "Document" theories of the development of the Gospel's still held and taught even by Evangelical academics.**

**So I wanted to put it to the test!**

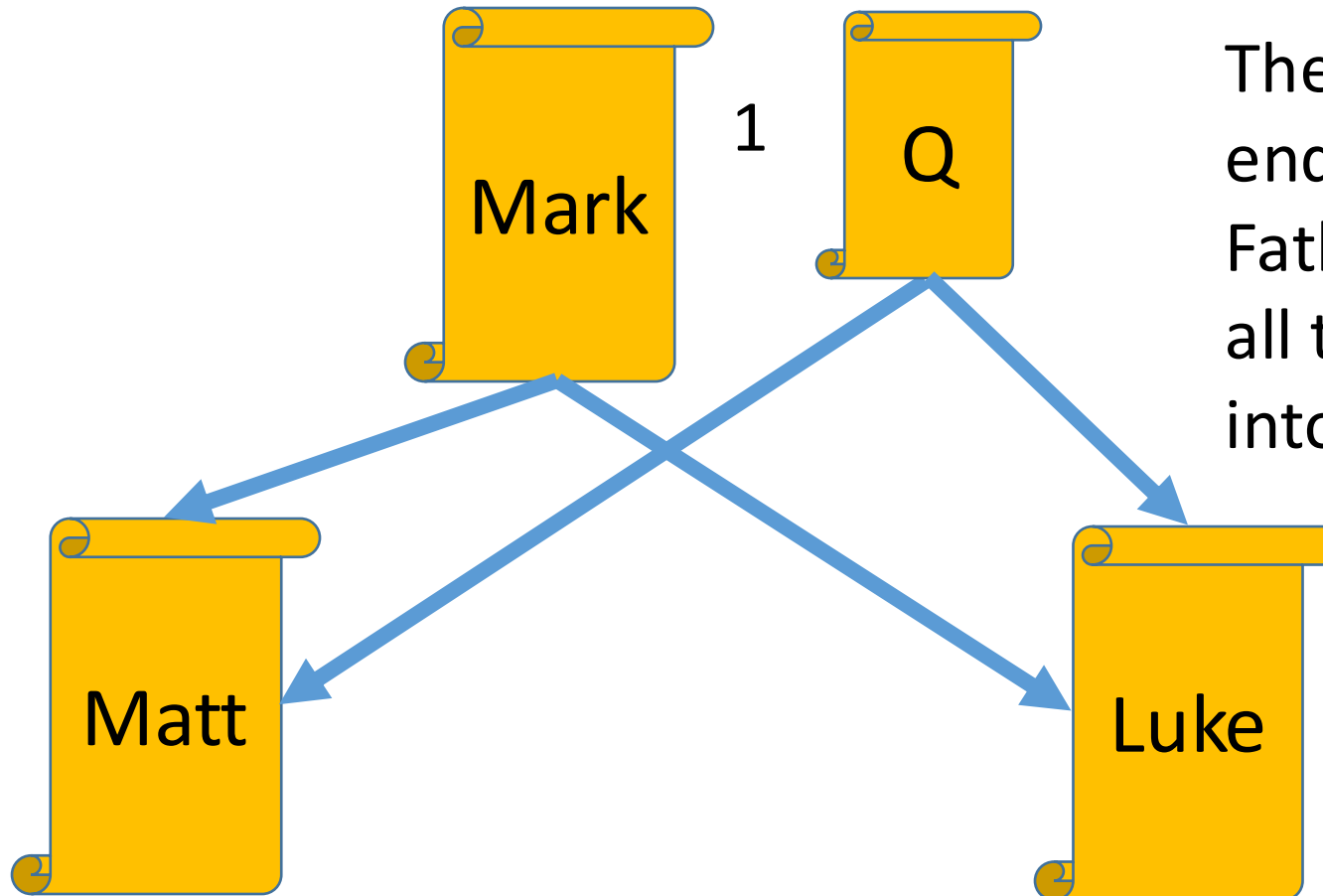
# Gospel Development...

A Traditional/Early Church View



# Gospel Development... The Two Document synoptic solution – a 20<sup>th</sup> Century Favourite!

The relationship of the synoptic Gospels



The order of writing so strongly endorsed by the Church Fathers is thrown out... putting all their traditions and insights into the irrelevant pile!



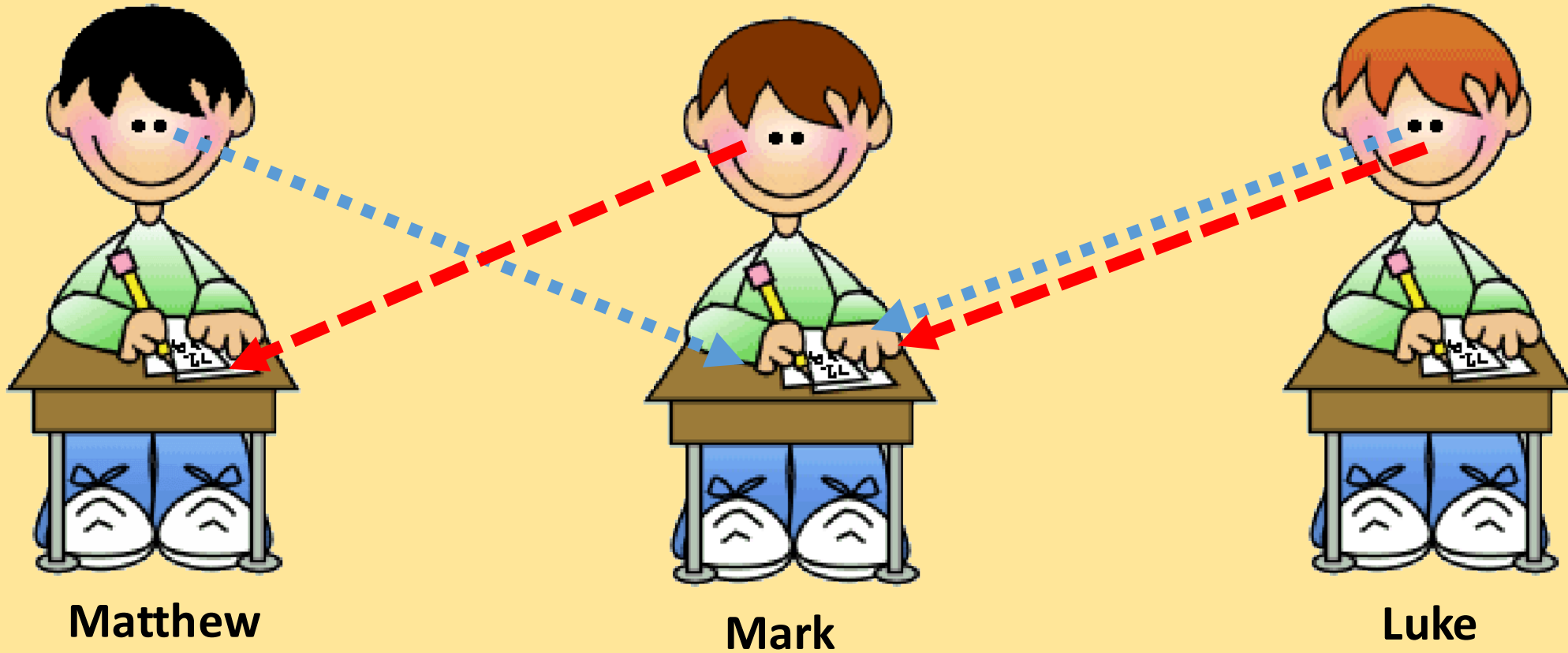
# The Two Document Theory

... made Mark the first Gospel to be written down

The logic was:

- Mark's language and flow was rough and ready and almost patched together, whereas Matthew and Luke were both much more deliberate Gospels ... they exhibit thought in structure and infrastructure.
- Mark uses Aramaic terms that make it feel closer to the events
- Where there was disagreement of order or details between the synoptic Gospels, Mark was always the neutral ground, implying that Matthew and Luke had both copied Mark! (or ?)

# The Lachman\* Fallacy



You get the same patterns of agreement and difference whether Matthew copies Mark or Mark copies Matthew!

\*Lachman never actually believed Matthew and Luke copied Mark

# Short Matthew v Detailed Mark

Matthew 9:1-9	Mark 2:1-12
<p><sup>1</sup> And getting into a boat he crossed over and came to his own city.</p>	<p><sup>1</sup> And when he returned to Capernaum after some days, it was reported that he was at home.</p> <p><sup>2</sup> And many were gathered together, so that there was no more room, not even at the door. And he was preaching the word to them.</p>
<p><sup>2</sup> And behold, some people brought to him a paralytic, lying on a bed...</p>	<p><sup>3</sup> And they came, bringing to him a paralytic carried by four men. <sup>4</sup> And when they could not get near him because of the crowd, they removed the roof above him, and when they had made an opening, they let down the bed on which the paralytic lay.</p>
<p>...And when Jesus saw their faith, he said to the paralytic, "Take heart, my son; your sins are forgiven."</p>	<p><sup>5</sup> And when Jesus saw their faith, he said to the paralytic, "Son, your sins are forgiven."</p>

# Short Matthew v Detailed Mark

Matthew 9:1-9	Mark 2:1-12
<p><sup>3</sup> And behold, some of the scribes said to themselves, “This man is blaspheming.”</p>	<p><sup>6</sup> Now some of the scribes were sitting there, questioning in their hearts, <sup>7</sup> “Why does this man speak like that? He is blaspheming! Who can forgive sins but God alone?”</p>
<p><sup>4</sup> But Jesus, knowing their thoughts, said, “Why do you think evil in your hearts?”</p>	<p><sup>8</sup> And immediately Jesus, perceiving in his spirit that they thus questioned within themselves, said to them, “Why do you question these things in your hearts?”</p>
<p><sup>5</sup> For which is easier, to say, ‘Your sins are forgiven,’ or to say, ‘Rise and walk’?</p> <p><sup>6</sup> But that you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins”—he then said to the paralytic—“Rise, pick up your bed and go home.”</p>	<p><sup>9</sup> Which is easier, to say to the paralytic, ‘Your sins are forgiven,’ or to say, ‘Rise, take up your bed and walk’?</p> <p><sup>10</sup> But that you may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins”—he said to the paralytic— <sup>11</sup> “I say to you, rise, pick up your bed, and go home.”</p>

# Short Matthew v Detailed Mark

Matthew 9:1-9	Mark 2:1-12
<p><sup>7</sup> And he rose and went home.</p> <p><sup>8</sup> When the crowds saw it, they were afraid, and they glorified God, who had given such authority to men.</p>	<p><sup>12</sup> And he rose and immediately picked up his bed and went out before them all, so that they were all amazed and glorified God, saying, "We never saw anything like this!"</p>
<p><sup>9</sup> As Jesus passed on from there, he saw a man called Matthew sitting at the tax booth, and he said to him, "Follow me." And he rose and followed him</p>	<p><sup>13</sup> He went out again beside the sea, and all the crowd was coming to him, and he was teaching them. <sup>14</sup> And as he passed by, he saw Levi the son of Alphaeus sitting at the tax booth, and he said to him, "Follow me." And he rose and followed him.</p>

# Long Matthew v Abbreviated Mark

Matthew 13:1-53	Mark 4:1-34
<p><sup>1</sup>That same day Jesus went out of the house and sat by the lake. <sup>2</sup>Such large crowds gathered around him that he got into a boat and sat in it, while all the people stood on the shore. <sup>3</sup>Then he told them many things in parables, saying:</p>	<p><sup>1</sup> He began to teach again by the sea. And such a very large crowd gathered to Him that He got into a boat in the sea and sat down; and the whole crowd was by the sea on the land. <sup>2</sup> And He was teaching them many things in parables, and was saying to them in His teaching...</p>
<p><i>... Followed by 7 parables, 2 explanations, 2 prophecy fulfilments.</i></p>	<p><i>...Followed by 2 of Matthews parables, 1 unique parable, 1 explanation, 4 short proverbial soundbites (found elsewhere), 1 conclusion about other explanations.</i></p>
<p><sup>34</sup> All these things Jesus spoke to the crowds in parables, and He did not speak to them without a parable.</p>	<p><sup>33</sup> With many such parables He was speaking the word to them, so far as they were able to hear it; <sup>34</sup> and He did not speak to them without a parable; but He was explaining everything privately to His own disciples.</p>

# Note: Mark's oblique references to Matthew

1. Mark refers to **many** parables but only gives three.
2. The phrase “**was saying to them in His teaching...**” implies that what follows is a selection.
3. Mark concludes admitting there where “**many such parables**”, he is conscious that many readers will know them.
4. Likewise he is conscious that some readers will know of further parable explanations so he finishes with “**He was explaining everything privately**”
5. Note we find similar acknowledgment of omissions in the incidents where Jesus teaches against the Pharisees, Matthew 23, Mark 12; and in the incident regarding paying the poll tax, Matthew 17, Mark 9.

# So...

1. We can see that Mark only covers the same events covered by Matthew but when he does he expands Matthew's eye-witness detail. Note this expansion can also explain Mark's dropping of two people in favour of the better known more colourful of the two.
2. Note when abbreviating Mark often nods towards his readers possibly knowing that there is more that could be said here that they may already be aware of.

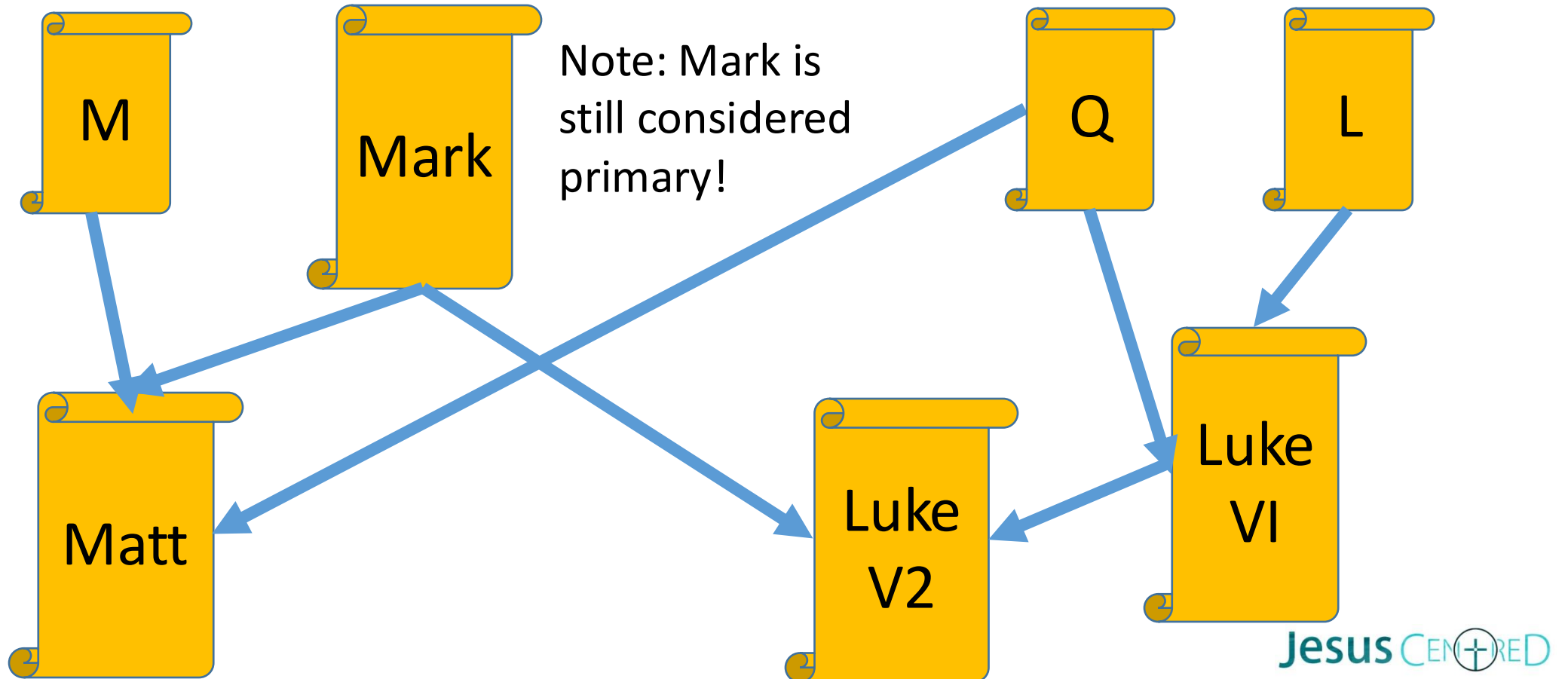
The Traditional view of order is looking pretty good!



# The Two Document solution

– Doesn't hold up under detailed study... so was replaced

First by a **four** source document solution



# But even that didn't hold up and things degenerated...

Into **multi-source** and **intermediate** solutions

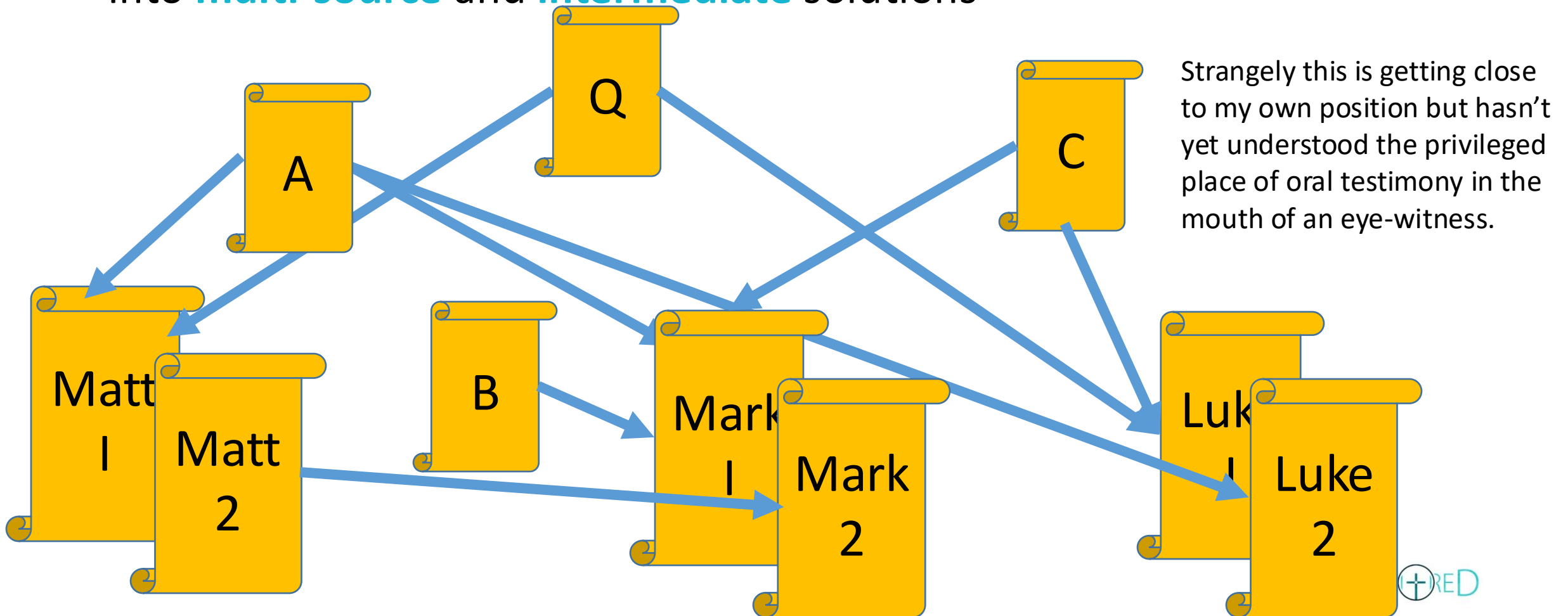
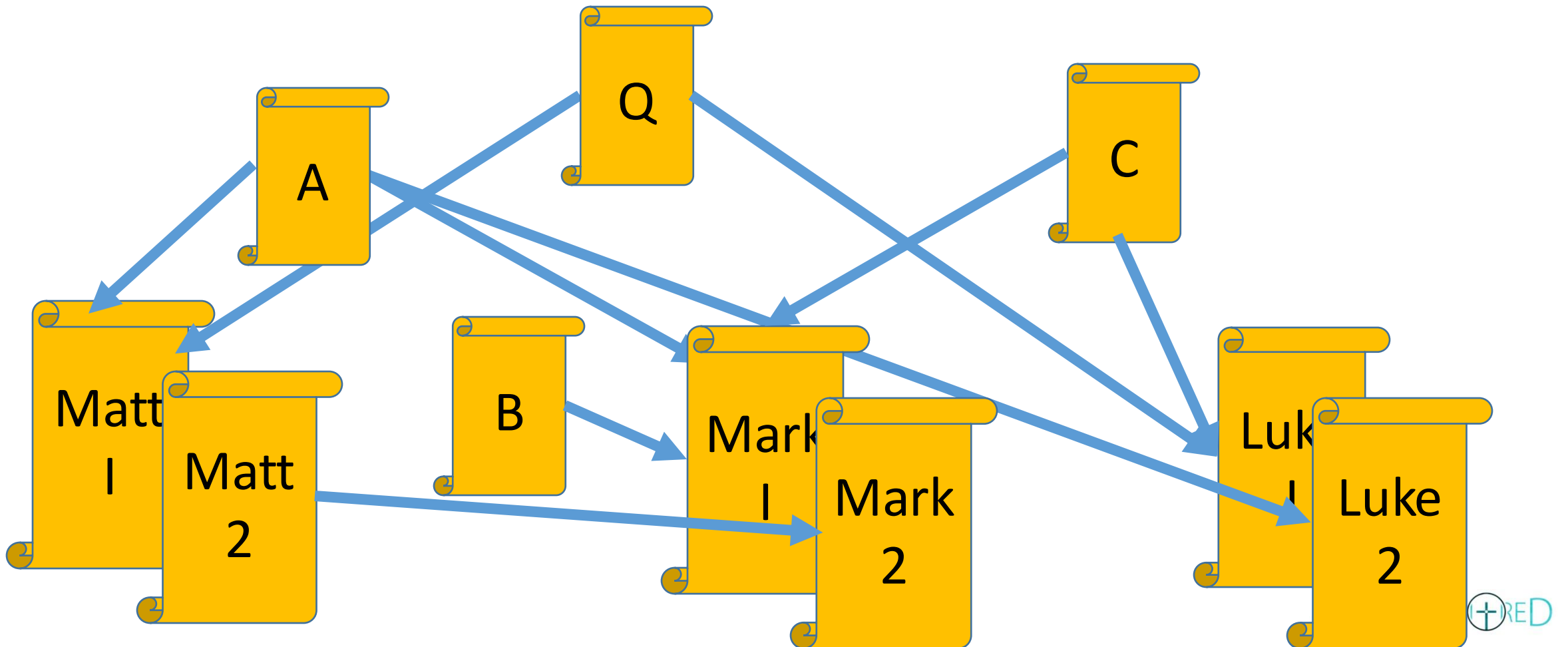


Diagram showing a typical modern **multi-source** and **intermediate steps** solution to how the Synoptic Gospels got written.



## Papias (c 60-130) quoted by Eusebius (c 300)

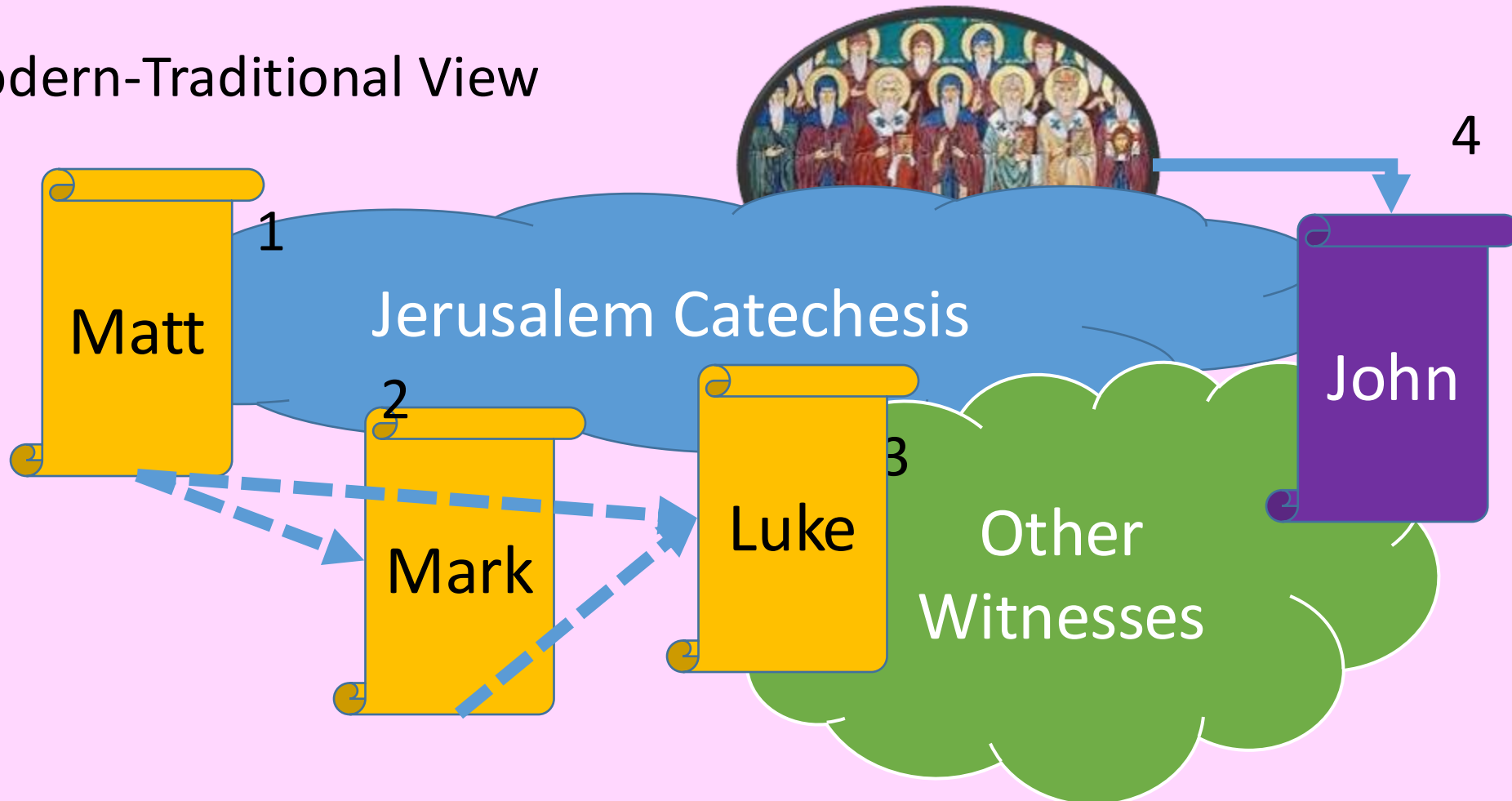
“If by chance anyone who had attended on the elders should come my way, I enquired about the words of the elders, what Andrew or Peter said or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew or any of the others of the Lord’s disciples, whatever Aristion and the Elder John, the Lord’s disciples, were saying.

**For I did not think that information from books would profit me as much as information from a living and surviving voice”**

- *Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 3.39.3-4.*

# Gospel Development...

A Modern-Traditional View



# The Gospels – Early Church Traditions

## Matthew

- Also known as Levi
- One of the 12 apostles
- Was a cynical civil servant by training
- Was Martyred

# Papias (c 60-130) quoted by Eusebius (c 300)

"Matthew compiled the reports in a Hebrew dialect but each interpreted them as he could."

- *Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 3.39.16*

Papias sourced his knowledge to "John the Elder" and "Aristion" both of whom were "disciples" of Jesus.

# Irenaeus (c 115-200)

"**Matthew** composed his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language while Peter and Paul proclaimed the gospel in Rome and founded the community. After their death/departure Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, handed on his preaching to us in written form..."

*Irenaeus, Adversus Haereses. 11.1.1.*

Irenaeus was a disciple of Polycarp who had been a disciple of John the Apostle



## Pantaenus (died c190) quoted by Jerome (c 400)

“He[Pantaenus] went to the Indians and the tradition is that he found there among them, some there who had known Christ. The Gospel according to Matthew had preceded his coming, for Bartholemew... had left them the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew letters .”

Jerome HE 5.10.3

He goes on to say that Pantaenus brought this Hebrew version of Matthew back to Alexandria...

# Epiphaneus, (c 315 -403), Bishop of Salamis

“They[Ebionites and Nazoreans] have the Gospel According to Matthew, complete and in Hebrew”

Adv Haer 29.9.4

His mention of the Nazoreans provides a corroboration with an independent statement by Jerome...

# Jerome, (c 347-420), Translator of the Vulgate

“Matthew... was the first to compose a Gospel ... in Hebrew...

**Further the Hebrew is preserved to this present day in the library at Caesarea... ... I had leave also given me to copy it by the Nazaraeans in Beroea a city of Syria who use this work.”**

De Vir III 3

Note: Jerome's Nazaraeans are Epiphaneus' Nazoreans.

# Criticism and Solution

Most modern scholarship has rejected the idea of an Aramaic origin to Matthew's Gospel, because the Greek version has none of the tell-tale grammatical markers of translation.

But in 1987 Jean Carmignac, a member of the team working on the Dead Sea Scrolls, published "The Birth of the Synoptics". (note the work had previously published in French)

In it he argued that both Matthew and Mark and parts of Luke were full of Aramaic and Hebrew markers.

# A quick note on Aramaisms in Matthew.

**Matthew's** explanation:

“ You shall call his name Jesus for he shall save his people from there sins” Matthew 1:21

...makes no sense in Greek or English, but in Aramaic would have sounded like....

“You shall call his name **Salvation**(Yeshua) for **he shall save**(Yoshua) his people from there sins” Matthew 1:21

# A quick note on Aramaisms in Matthew.

It was customary for Jews to substitute the metonym “heaven” for God in everyday speech, we see this in all the Gospels for instance in Jesus’ question:

“Was the baptism of John from Heaven(i.e God) or Men?” [Luke 20:4](#)

But in Hebrew and Aramaic the word for heaven is a plural noun, Shamayim/ (like Elohim).

An Aramaic speaker who wrote well in Greek with replace the plural shamayim/ܫܡܝܝܢ with the singular Greek ouranos/οὐρανός ....

# A quick note on Aramaisms in Matthew.

... But in translating a revered text the plural was often retained. This happens a lot in the Septuagint (which had different translators for different sections).

It happens a lot in Matthew too, in particular in Matthews unique phrase: “the Kingdom of Heaven” (used 34 times) which actually reads “The Kingdom of Heavens<sup>s</sup>” / “η βασιλεια των ουρανων”

In all the other Gospels this double Aramaism has become “the Kingdom of God” a phrase that Matthew also uses, but just 6 times.

# A quick note on Aramaisms in Matthew.

Matthew uses the Greek word **ΤΟΤΕ** (which means “then” in Greek in the proper sense of “at that time”) 90 times in a more casual Aramaic that way simply means “the next thing I’m about to tell you ...”

The Hebrew text of Matthew has **אז**/az H227, which regularly means “then” but is much broader.

Mark uses **ΤΟΤΕ** just 6 times, all in parallel passages to ones found in Matthew. In Matthew’s telling of these stories has used **ΤΟΤΕ** 51 times!

Note Luke uses the word 14 times in his Gospel.



# The Gospels – Early Church Traditions

## Mark

- Also known as John Mark
- Part of the first missionary team
- Part of a Key Family in the Jerusalem Church
- May have been the young man in Gethsemane

## Papias (c 60-130) quoted by Eusebius (c 300)

“**Mark** became Peter’s interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not indeed in order... for he had not heard the Lord nor had he followed him... So that **Mark** did nothing wrong in writing down single points as he remembered them, for to one thing he gave attention, to leave out nothing of what he had heard and to make no false statements in them.”

*Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 3.39.14ff*

# Irenaeus (c 115-200)

"After their (Peter and Paul) death/departure **Mark**, the disciple and interpreter of Peter , handed on his preaching to us in written form..."

*Irenaeus, Adversus Haereses. 111.1.1.*

Note: This does not mean it wasn't written until after Peter and Paul had died or left Rome, just that **Mark's Gospel** kept Peter's witness alive.

# Clement of Alexandria (c 150-215) quoted by Eusebius (c 300)

“...the **Gospel according to Mark** came into being in this way: When Peter had publicly preached the word at Rome... those present... exhorted **Mark**... who had followed him[Peter] for a long time and remembered what had been spoken and make a record of what was said; and he did this and distributed the Gospel among them that asked him. And when the matter came to Peter’s knowledge he neither strongly forbade it nor urged it. ”

*Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 6.14.6ff*

# Clement of Alexandria in comments on 1 Peter

“**Mark** the follower of Peter, (while Peter was publicly preaching the Gospel at Rome in the presence of certain of Caesar’s knights was putting forward many testimonies concerning Christ), being requested by them... wrote from the things that were being spoken by Peter **the Gospel that is according to Mark.**”

*Adumbrationes ad 1 Peter 5:13*

# Further traditions regarding Mark.

Early Church writing universally make Mark the first leader of the church in Alexandria where he dies during Nero's reign.

- This is still the teaching of the Coptic church today.
- The Roman Martyrology for 25<sup>th</sup> of April includes St Anianus who was Mark's successor in Alexandria

If this tradition isn't true why make a claim to a character that has so little about them in scripture itself?

## Further traditions regarding Mark.

“[The Churches] ... in Egypt and in Alexandria itself did he [Simon] again, not by his own means but by Mark his disciple, Erect” - Eusebius Theophania 4.7

“In the eighth year of Nero, Annianus was the first after Mark the Evangelist to receive charge of the Diocese of Alexandria.”  
– Eusebius H.E 2.4

## Further traditions regarding Mark.

“... Taking the Gospel which he[Mark] himself had composed, he went to Egypt and... formed a church... He died in the eighth year of Nero and was buried at Alexandria, Annianus succeeding him.” – Jerome (De. Ver 111.8)



# Markan Documents.

In Jan 2015, work on scraps of documents extracted from an Egyptian death mask unambiguously dated prior to 90 AD where leaked before peer review and publication...

Because they came from Mark's Gospel... The full report originally due in 2016 has been delayed because of it's increased significance.

Prior to this, a damaged scrap from a Qumran cave sealed in 68 AD is a better fit with text from Mark than any other known Jewish document.

# Confirmation of Matthew and Mark's origins in the Gospel of Thomas ?

“Jesus said to his disciples:

‘Make comparison; tell me whom I am like’.

**Simon Peter** said to him, ‘you are a righteous angel.’

**Matthew** said to him, ‘you are like a wise philosopher’

**Thomas** said to him, ‘Master, my mouth is completely unable to say whom you are like.’”

*Saying 13 of the Gospel of Thomas variously dated 40-250 AD.*

# The Gospels – Early Church Traditions

## Luke

- Wrote more of the New Testament than any one else.
- Close travelling companion of Paul
- Was extremely well educated.
- A doctor
- He remained unmarried until martyred at the age of 84.

# The Gospel of Luke in Paul's letters

**Origen** tells us that Luke's Gospel is being referred to by Paul in writing to the Corinthians ([2 Corinthians 8:18](#)).

“And we are sending along with him the brother who is praised by all the churches **because of\*** the gospel”

... but this was written in 55-56 AD.

\* G1722 “εν”/“en” is often translated “because of” see [Matthew 26:31,33](#)

# Anti-Marcionite Prologue to Luke (c200-400).

“**Luke**, was a Syrian of Antioch, by profession a physician. He had become a disciple of the apostles and later followed Paul until his [Paul's] martyrdom. Having served the Lord continuously, unmarried and without children, filled with the Holy Spirit he died at the age of 84 years in Boeotia

Although there were Gospels already in existence... [He] moved by the Holy Spirit composed the whole Gospel in the districts around Achaia.”

# The Muratorian Canon... a damaged list of NT texts from around 170 (from a copy c700)

“The third book of the Gospel is that according to **Luke**. **Luke**, the well-known physician, after the ascension of Christ, when Paul had taken with him as one zealous for the law, composed it in his own name, according to [the general] belief....”

# A Puzzle...

“In the same books Clement has inserted a tradition of the primitive elders with regard to the order of the Gospels as follows. He said that the Gospels first written were those which include the genealogies”

Eusebius quoting Clement quoting the Elders, HE 6.14.5

It is likely the confusion has crept in in the multiple layers of reference.

# Some confusion...

“ Yet he[Luke] himself had not seen the Lord in the flesh; and therefore, as he was able to ascertain events, so indeed he begins to tell the story from the birth of John.”

Muratorian Canon, 7<sup>th</sup> Century copy of 2<sup>nd</sup> century list

**BUT....**



# Some confusion...

***“Eutropius.*** How many disciples did Christ have?

***Adamantius.*** First, twelve, and afterwards, seventy-two, those sent to preach the Gospel. Mark and Luke were from among the seventy-two, who along with the apostle Paul preached the gospel.”

Dialogue of Adamantius against the Marcionites, (written c300)

“Adamantius” is thought to be a pseudonym for Origen

# Some confusion...

“And he sent seventy-two others as well to preach, among whom were the seven who were put in charge of the widows, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas and Nicolaus—

but before them was Matthias, who was included among the apostles in place of Judas. After these seven, and Matthias who preceded them, he sent **Mark** and **Luke**, Justus, Barnabas and Apelles, Rufus, Niger and the rest of the seventy-two.”

**Epiphanius of Salamis, Panarion 4:3-4. 4<sup>th</sup> Century.**

# Was Luke a Jew or Gentile...

The view that **Luke** was not a Jew is entirely based on **Colossians 4:11-14**.

“...and Jesus who is also called Justus; These are the only fellow workers for the Kingdom of God who are from the circumcision... Epaphras... sends you his greetings  
...**Luke**, the beloved physician, sends you his greetings, and Demas”

A plain reading implies Epaphras, **Luke** and Demas are not Jews.

# Colossians 4:11-14 - thoughts

But **Luke** was with Paul when he was accused of bringing a gentile into the temple, the gentile is named as Trophimus the Ephesian.

*“And when **WE** had come to Jerusalem .... Paul went in with **US**...*

*... ‘he has even bought Greeks into the Temple’... for they had previously seen Trophimus...in the city with him.”*

**Acts 21:17-22.**

# Colossians 4:11-14 - thoughts

Furthermore Epaphras is also thought to be Jewish...

Epaphras took the Gospel to the Colossians on behalf of Paul... who always went first to the Jews in the synagogue!

# Colossians 4:11-14 - thoughts

Note the phrase “from the circumcision” is used of various groups in the NT, J Wenhem lists four groups...

- Jews
- Jewish Christians who thought circumcision was necessary for salvation.
- Jewish Christians who, like James, thought it important to maintain their personal Jewishness
- Judaisers who opposed Paul

# Colossians 4:11-14 - thoughts

In Colossians, Paul references a dispute over Jewish observance in the church...

*“Let no one act as your judge in regard to food or drink ....festival, new moon or Sabbath day...”* Colossians 2:16

So **Luke** is probably a Hellenized Jew rather than a Gentile.

# Luke: Lucius or Lucanos?

Origen reports in his commentary on Romans (early third century) that “Lucius, Paul’s kinsman ([Romans 16:21](#)) is Luke the evangelist.

But for a long time scholars argued that this was wrong, Luke was short for Lukanos not Lucius! But the discovery inscriptions at the Men Askaenos sanctuary at Pisidian Antioch use both Luke and Lucius for the same person.



# Luke: Lucius

Ephrem of Syria

“But Saul and Barnabas, who carried food for the saints in Jerusalem, returned with John who was called Mark and so did Luke of Cyrene. But both these are evangelists and wrote before the discipleship of **Paul**, and therefore he **used to repeat everywhere from their gospel**”

Ephrem Syriac from a translation by FC Conybeare.

# Luke:Lucius

The Lucius of Romans is probably the Lucius of Acts

“Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, **and Lucius of Cyrene**, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul”  
[Acts 13:1](#)

Who is probably one of those that first came to Antioch

“... some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, when they came to Antioch, spoke to the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus.”  
[Acts 11:20](#)

# Paul quotes from the Gospel of Luke.

*“For the scripture says: ‘you shall not muzzle the ox as it treads out corn’; and, ‘**the worker is worthy of his wages** (ο εργατης του μισθου αυτου)”*  
1 Timothy 5:18

*“Stay in that same house, eating and drinking what they give you, for **the worker is worthy of his wages** (ο εργατης του μισθου αυτου)”*  
Luke 10:7

# Paul quotes from the Gospel of Luke.

Matthew has the same concept but different wording

*“For the scripture says: ‘you shall not muzzle the ox as it treads out corn’; and, ‘the worker is worthy of his wages (ο εργατης του μισθου αυτου*  
1 Timothy 5:18

*“no bag for the journey, or an extra tunic, or sandals or staff, for the worker deserves his provisions(ο εργατης της τροφης αυτου).”*

Matthew 10:10

# The Gospels – Early Church Traditions

## John

- Disciple, Apostle or Elder?

# John seems to acknowledge other Gospels and that his contains a different perspective...

“Now Jesus performed many other miraculous signs in the presence of the disciples, which are not recorded in this book.” [John 20:30](#)

# John...

“The fourth of the Gospels is that **of John**, [one] of the disciples. To his fellow disciples and bishops, who had been urging him [to write], he said, 'Fast with me from today to three days, and what will be revealed to each one let us tell it to one another.' In the same night it was revealed to **Andrew**, [one] of the apostles, that **John** should write down all things in his own name while all of them should review it..”

Muratorian Canon, 7<sup>th</sup> Century copy of 2<sup>nd</sup> century list

# The tradition ties in nicely with the conclusion of the Gospel...

“This is the disciple who testifies about these things and has written these things, and **we** know that his testimony is true. There are many other things that Jesus did. If every one of them were written down, I suppose the whole world would not have room for the books that would be written.”

John 21:24-25



# Polycrates writes at age 65 in c195 CE

Defending the date of Easter he refers to seven great witness in his tradition..

“Philip, one of the twelve... moreover John too, he who leant back on the Lord’s breast, who **was a priest, wearing the sacerdotal plate**; both **witness and teacher**, he has fallen asleep at Ephesus... Polycarp too... etc”

Quoted by Eusebius Hist Eccle 5.24.2ff

Witness = Gospel writer, Teacher = Letter writer ?

# How many John's? 1, 2, 3 or 4?

John the Apostle  
(son of Zebedee)

John the Disciple

1 or 2!

John the Elder

The Beloved Disciple  
(A priest)

# We have already seen that...

## Paul refers to Luke's gospel in 55-56 AD:

“And we are sending along with him the brother who is praised by all the churches **because of\*** the gospel” [2 Corinthians 8:18](#).

## Paul quotes from Luke's gospel around 63 AD:

“*For the scripture says: ‘you shall not muzzle the ox as it treads out corn’; and, ‘**the worker is worthy of his wages** (ο εργατης του μισθου αυτου)’*” [1 Timothy 5:18](#)

“Stay in that same house, eating and drinking what they give you, for ***the worker is worthy of his wages*** (ο εργατης του μισθου αυτου)” [Luke 10:7](#)

# Some final thoughts on dating...

In **Mark**, Peter pays the temple tax:

No explanation is given as to the role or style of collection of this tax which ceased with the destruction of the Temple in 70AD.

**Matthew and Mark** add the phrase “let the reader understand” after Jesus comment about the abomination that makes desolate, Caligula set up his image in the Jerusalem temple in 40 AD for a few months before his assassination. The comment makes most sense in the immediate aftermath of this event.

# Now we should consider Caesar's Name ...

## In Acts, (which impact the date of Luke):

Luke always places his history in context the reign of the Caesar or other civic leader it happened under.

- In the fifteenth year of Tiberius when Pontius Pilot was Governor of Judea...
- This happened when Claudius was emperor

Paul appeals to Caesar but with no reference to which Caesar...

- We can see that Caesar is Nero, but in 67-68 AD there were 5 Caesars.
- If Acts was written after 68 AD Luke would surely have told us Caesar's name.

## And Revelation, (which impacts the date of John):

The number of the beast, 666 was the gemmatric value of "Nero Caesar" who had executed both Peter and Paul. If Revelation had been written too much after 68 AD both the cryptic reference and its power would have been lost.

## ... And Genre

Questions of Genre when reviewing ancient literature have only been researched in the last few decades, and have only been applied to the Gospels since 1992 (see Richard Burridge “What are the Gospels?”).

### All four Gospels fit the pattern of Greco-Roman Biography:

- **John and Luke** clearly present themselves as the expert end of this spectrum, **historic eye-witness biography**. As such the author had to have been part of events and would have named witnesses who could have been interrogated at the time of publication.
- **Matthew and Mark** have eye-witness features, but Matthew is more in the style of teaching notes/manual for a rabbi or philosopher and Mark reads more like a series of witness statements than a full witness history. They are still ancient Biography.

# Eyewitness Testimony

Mark and John both structure the main section of their Gospels in an “eye-witness inclusion”

i.e. after the introduction, the main eye-witness is named before anyone else then, at the conclusion, the eye-witness is named after everybody else.

# Eyewitness Testimony

## Mark

**Start** - 1:16 “...going along by the Sea of Galilee He (Jesus) saw **Simon and Andrew**...”

**End** - 16:7 (original ending is v8): “...but go tell His disciples **and Peter**...”

## John

**Start** - 1:35-40 **An anonymous disciple** and Andrew then Peter...

**Ends** - 21:24 “And **this is the disciple** who bears witness...”



# Eyewitness Testimony – Named Characters

There is a striking correlation of the frequency and style of names given in the Gospels with new statistical analysis of 1<sup>st</sup> century Jewish names in Palestine.

Note these figures do not correlate with Jewish names in the diaspora nor in different time periods. (Derived from ossuaries, Josephus, rabbinic texts and the full NT)

It is highly unlikely that this correlation would occur unless the Gospels really were contemporary eyewitness accounts.

# Eyewitness Testimony

Feature (source “Jesus and the Eyewitnesses” – R Baukham, Eerdmans)	All	Gospels	Diff- erence
% of men with the two most popular male names, Simon and Joseph	15.6	18.2	2.6%
% of men with one of the nine most popular male names	41.5	40.3	1.2%
% of men with a unique name across all sources	7.9	3.9	4%
% of women with the two most popular male names, Mary and Salome	28.6	38.9	10.3%
% of women with one of the nine most popular male names	49.7	61.1	11.4%
% of women with a unique name across all sources	9.6	2.5	6.9%

**Note:** The relatively smaller sample size for female names means that larger differences are less significant and to be expected. **All differences are insignificant.**

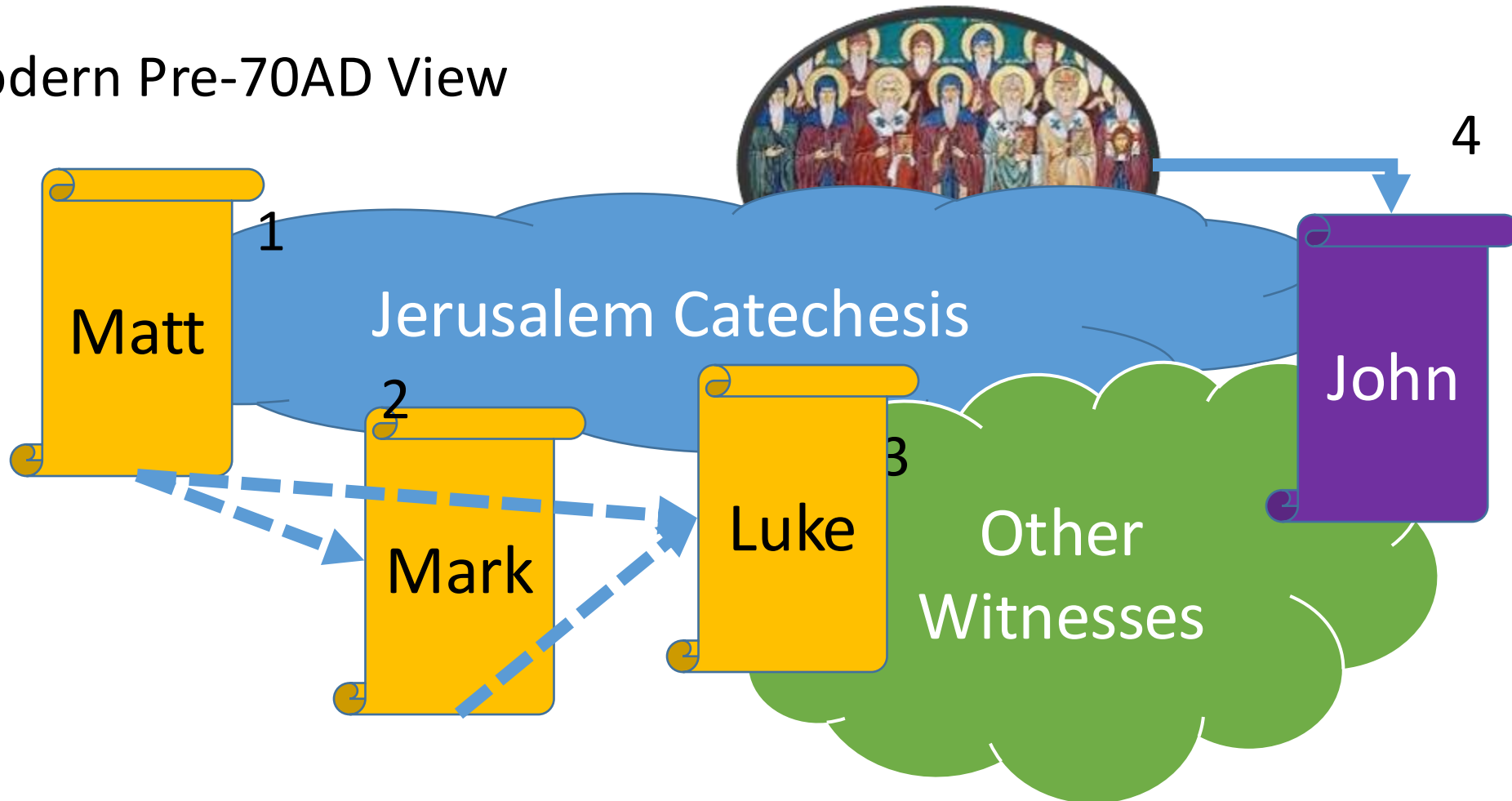
# Finally we should consider...

The recent [resolution of Calendar issues](#) in the Gospels.

Differing calendar traditions were lost after the destruction of the Temple in 70 AD. Scholars have called trivial details about dates “the most puzzling” in all of scripture. The reconstruction of various calendars since the 1980s has now resolved these issues.

# The model we are going explore...

A Modern Pre-70AD View



# The End of this Session!

There is increasing but almost begrudging acceptance that something like the view of the Early Church is the best fit for the evidence we have...

Perhaps **C.H Dodd** got it right when he said (as we saw earlier): " ...if he [the scholarly critic] appears to assent to the traditional position of the early church, he will be thought no better than a stick-in-the-mud."

# The Gospels – Who, When and Why?

Session 2 – A Fresh Take on a Traditional View

# Constructing the history of the development of the Gospels

To fit an early oral tradition!

# John Wenham's dates:

A reminder...

Wenham puts:

- **Matthew:** first draft, perhaps just the “didache” before 42 AD persecution. (Carried by Peter to Rome)
- **Mark:** Just after 44 AD, but perhaps started in 42 AD. Working with Peter before he left Rome in 44 AD.
- **Luke:** First draft (starting chapter 3) 49-55 AD while in Philippi. Supplemented 57-59 AD while in Palestine and completed by 62 AD for Paul's defence.
- **John:** Is not covered but we will assume during the 60s as per JAT Robinson



# Where are we going?

Roughly speaking there are **three decades or so** between

the start of the Church (**AD33**)

and

the destruction of the temple (**AD70**)

during which **all books of the New Testament, (bar perhaps Revelation)**  
**are written.**

We are going to see how in these years...

# Where are we going?

Decade 1: The Apostle's Teaching is structured, taught and written down in the first drafts of an Aramaic Matthew and a Greek Mark

Decade 2: These two Gospels allow the Church to expand further, during this period a Gentile friendly first version of Luke is developed and Mark gets an extended ending.

Decade 3: Matthew gets a new beginning, Luke gets new material and a final edit to tie it to Acts. John's Gospel is prompted, written and authorised.

# Some colour coding to help along the way....

**RED - Key people** standing behind the writing and formation of the Gospels  
(NB. Not in red once the gospel has been done)

**GREEN** - **Slightly speculative statements** which are consistent with scripture and fit the story but we can't be 100% sure happened exactly like that

**PURPLE** – **historical figures/events** which help tie down dates etc.

# Pentecost to Persecution. 33-35 AD - overview

Following Jesus' instruction, all his core followers are in Jerusalem to build the first gathered mega-church. Around 10,000 people within a year or so.

During this period the Apostles are teaching centrally, but there is also teaching going on house to house. There is a need to consolidate standard versions of the stories and teachings of Jesus.

They select key incidents between themselves and tell the stories from a generic perspective with occasional "fulfilment" comments.



# 33 AD:

- **May** time: The church is birthed at Pentecost. 3,000 followers.
- Soon grows to over 5000, [Acts 4:4](#)
- The Apostles work together to select and teach key events, miracles and teaching from Jesus ministry , [Acts 2:42](#). These would have been from the start of when they first encountered Jesus , during John the Baptist's ministry, [Acts 1:21-22](#). **Matthew has probably (in the Greek tradition of discipleship) taken notes in shorthand of Jesus teaching during this period.**
- The church grows daily, [Acts 5:14](#)



## Early 34 AD:

- There is a controversy with the Hellenist Jews about food distribution. This work is preventing the apostles from their important teaching work. [Acts 6:1](#))
- 7 new leaders are appointed from the group 72 disciples.
- The 12 are left freer to consolidate and structure oral periscopes for the Jerusalem church, [Acts 6:4](#).



## As we saw...

“And he sent **seventy-two** others as well to preach, **among whom were the seven who were put in charge of the widows, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas and Nicolaus—**

but before them was **Matthias**, who was included among the apostles in place of Judas. After these seven, and Matthias who preceded them, he sent **Mark** and **Luke**, Justus, **Barnabas** and Apelles, Rufus, Niger and the rest of the seventy-two.”

Epiphanius of Salamis, Panarion 4:3-4. 4<sup>th</sup> Century.



# Late 34 AD:

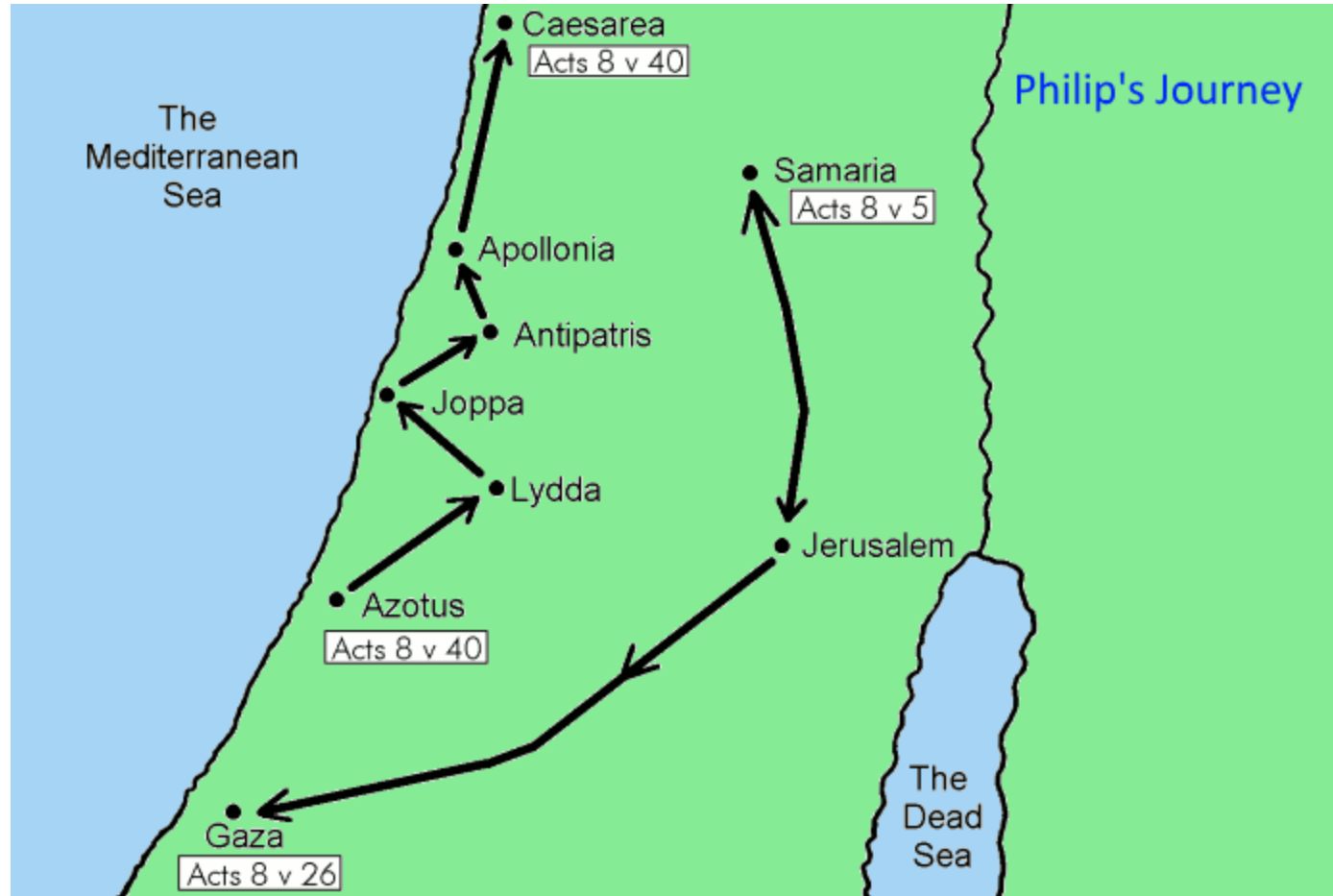
- Stephen gets into an argument with Jerusalem's Hellenist community (Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians and Arabians), who drag him before the Council, [Acts 6:9-12](#).
- Stephen is martyred, [Acts 7](#).
- Saul start's hounding believers **some key people are scattered...** some towards Syria.
- **Philip** goes to Samaria, [Acts 8:5](#), **Peter** and **John** join him, [Acts 8:14](#).
- There is a Samaritan Pentecost [Acts 8:16-17](#). The fire John had wanted to call down on the Samaritans was now happening!

30AD                      40AD                      50AD                      60AD                      70AD

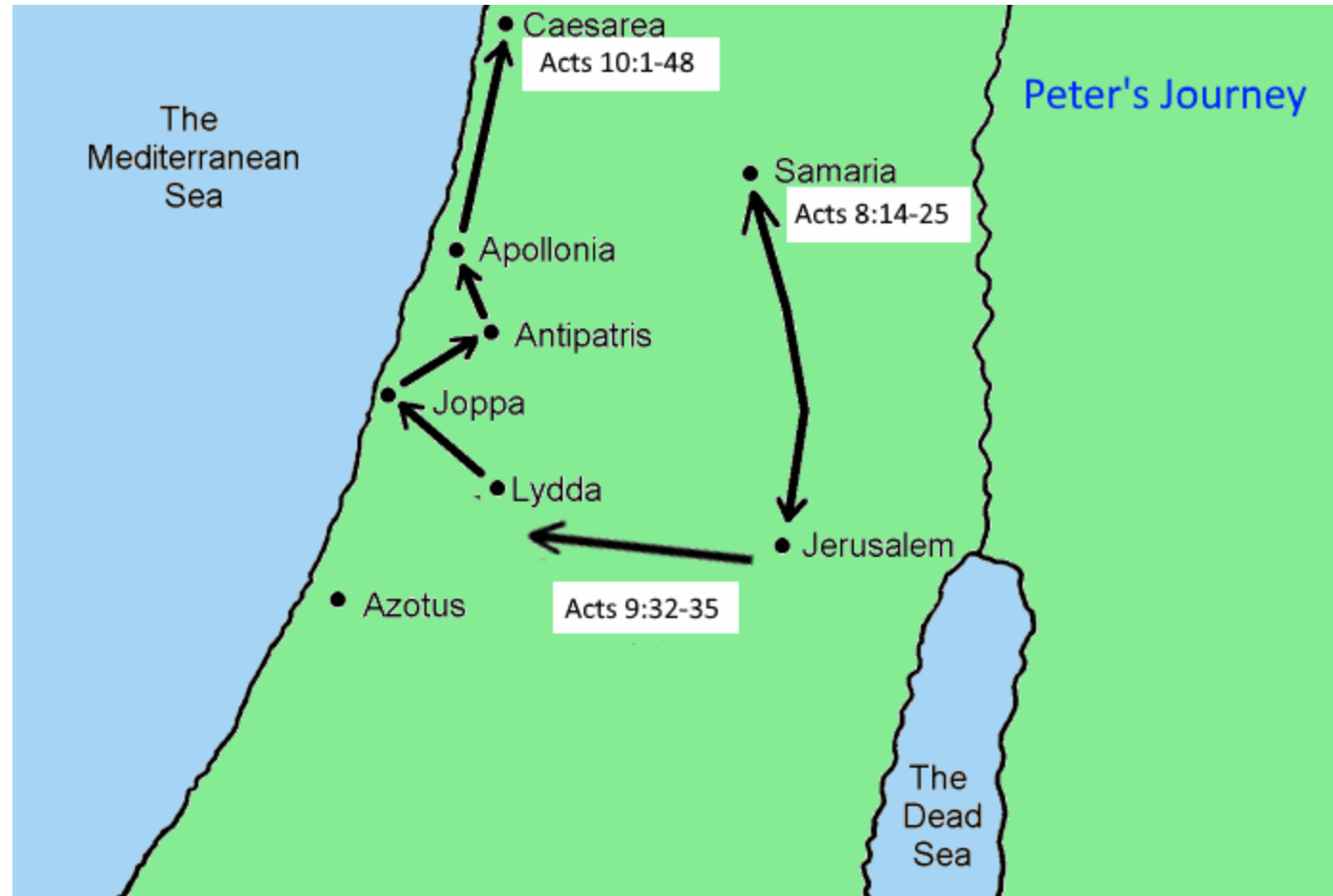




# Philip's Travels: Acts 8:5-40



# Peter's first ministry trip: Acts 8:14-10:48



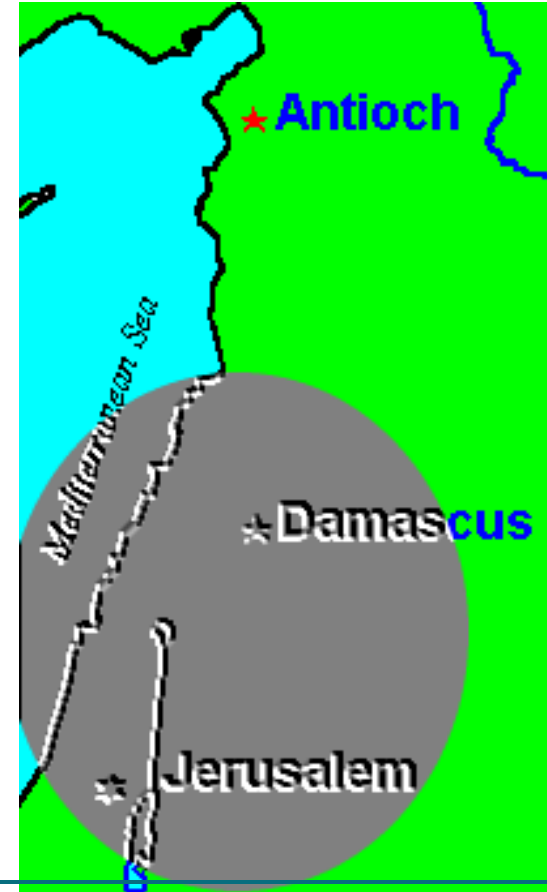
## 35 AD:

- The persecution continues. **Lucius** of Cyrene (one of the 72) heads towards Antioch the third largest city in the Roman Empire, Other stop get Cyprus, [Acts 11:20 & 13:1..](#)
- With the Jerusalem church being dispersed, there is a need to start committing individual stories to paper... initially in loose leaf format. **Matthew** leads this process writing in Greek styled Aramaic, which suits the all-Hebrew Church.
- Saul plans to persecute the Samaritan Church and gets authority to do so...



# The Church's Reach in 35 AD

- About 100 miles radius shifted towards the north of Jerusalem



30AD                      40AD                      50AD                      60AD                      70AD



# Adding colour to the narrative. 35-41 AD - overview

**Peter** has to flee to Rome. Teaching from the Apostles' agreed and authorised script, he naturally add details and colour where he was a key player.

In Rome, a Greek version of the Gospel is wanted and people want it **the way Peter told it...**

So **Mark** starts writing what he has heard, using authorised **Matthew** as a reference for order where he doesn't know any better but using Peter's order in events that involve him.



## 35-36 AD:

- Saul sets out for Damascus to persecute the Church there but gets blinded and converted on the way! ([Acts 9:1-9](#))
- Saul goes to Damascus for a short period where he gets healed ([Acts 9:19](#))
- Saul takes a trip to Arabia ([Galatians 1:17](#)), partly because he has abandoned his commission but also for discipleship/study. Saul would have needed a source about Jesus, he has not met an apostle at this point. [Matthew's written periscopes or something like them must exist at this point if Jesus can be learnt about in obscurity.](#)
- Saul (now Paul) returns to Damascus with knowledge of the Gospel, he starts preaching and "confounding the Jews", ([Acts 9:22](#)). He starts his own synagogue, ([Acts 9:25](#))



# 37 AD:

- Caligula becomes emperor after Tiberius and makes his childhood friend **Herod Agrippa** king of the territory that Philip the Tetrarch had reigned over.
- In Damascus there is a plot to kill Paul.
- Paul escapes to Jerusalem with Barnabas where he formally meets **Peter** and James (Jesus' brother), ([Acts 9:26-28](#), [Galatians 1:18-19](#)).
- The Church is cautious of Paul so he spends his time with the Hellenists, ([Acts 9:29](#)) who had gotten Stephen killed. Soon they want to kill Saul too.
- The believers send Paul away to Tarsus (in Cilicia) via Caesarea (at the bottom of Syria), ([Acts 9:30](#), [Galatians 1:21-24](#))

30AD                      40AD                      50AD                      60AD                      70AD



# 37-38 AD: a period of peace and stability.

- **Peter** starts itinerating, significant miracles in Lydda, Sharon and Joppa lead to massive church growth in those towns, (Acts 9:31-10:48).
- **Peter** is in Caesarea, Cornelius is converted, **Peter** returns to Jerusalem to report back. Perhaps **Philip** has made it to Caesarea where he makes a home, (Acts 21:8)
- Herod Agrippa is given Galilee and Peraea by Caligula
- The Jerusalem Church hear about gentile converts in Antioch, perhaps **Lucius** has preached at a festival, Josephus us tells that many Romans and Greeks attended them.
- **Barnabas** is sent to help, (Acts 11:20-24). Barnabas is very likely to have brought the latest version of Matthew writings, probably not yet a complete scroll...

30AD                      40AD                      50AD                      60AD                      70AD





# 40 AD: a period of unease.

- Barnabas brings Paul from Tarsus to help at Antioch, ([Acts 11:25-26](#))
- Caligula, who has started dressing as various gods declares he is one with the title **Neos Helios**. He sets up his image in the temple of Jerusalem, the abomination of desolation in Jesus prophecy about difficult times, [Matthew 24:15](#). The period of peace for the church looks under threat.
- Matthew completes the first draft of his Gospel, probably starting at chapter 3. In deference to the unease and Jesus' warning he leaves certain sensitive characters anonymous, ([see Matt 26:7-13](#)).



# 41 AD: unease grows.

- Caligula removes his image from the temple just before he is assassinated in January, but it has served as a sign, even to leave Jerusalem.
- Perhaps with a sense of unease, some Jerusalem prophets visit Antioch. They may have bought Matthews first edition scroll with them. One, Agabus, prophesies a coming famine, still a few years off, (Acts 11:27), **Note:** Jesus references famine with the abomination of desolation in Matthew's Gospel.
- **Herod Agrippa** backs Claudius against the senate and persuades the Senate to accept Claudius as Emperor. Herod Agrippa is given Samaria and Judea plus other territories, he is the most powerful Jewish King since Herod the great.



30AD                      40AD                      50AD                      60AD                      70AD



# The start of the written text. 42-45 AD - overview

As the Church spreads further and further afield, and as more and more believers have to take on leadership roles, the need for written versions of the oral catechesis that has worked well in and around Jerusalem grows.

Matthew's individual periscopes need to be strung together into longer narratives.



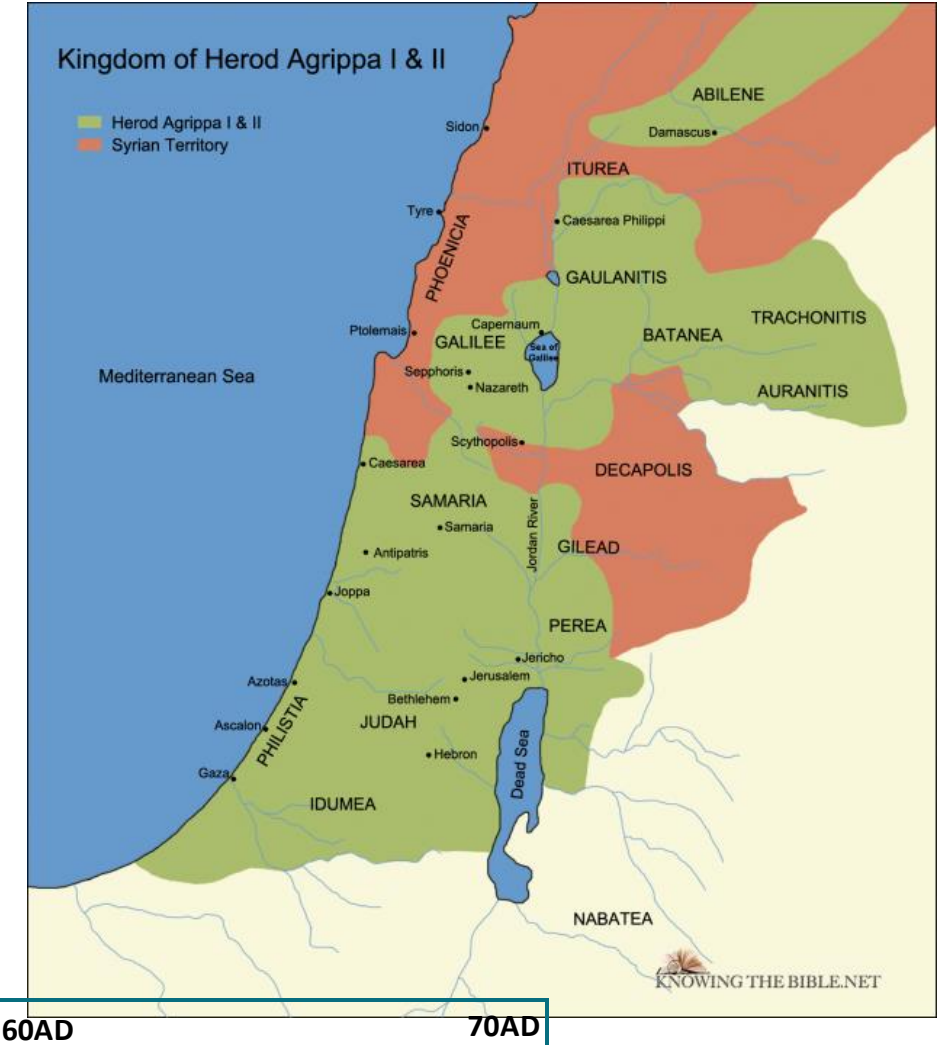
## 42 AD: unease grows.

- **Herod Agrippa** is the most powerful Jewish King since Herod the great. He gifts a huge amount of money to the Temple and under his patronage James the apostle is Martyred and Peter arrested during the feast of Unleavened Bread/Passover, (Acts 12:1-4)
- **Peter** is supernaturally released and finds the church praying at the house of **John Mark**, (Acts 12:5-12)
- **Peter** leaves immediately for “another place”, (Acts 12:17), he sends a message to James who he puts in charge of the Jerusalem church. He probably takes his wife with him (1 Corinthians 9:5), and **John Mark** goes with him! They take with them a scroll version of **Matthew's** written account of the apostles' teaching.
- Agrippa is looking for **Peter** so none of Agrippa's Kingdom is safe for **Peter**.



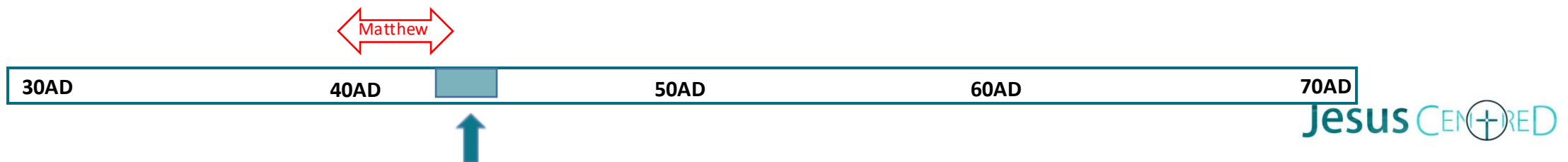
# Agrippa's Kingdom in 42 AD

- Note how it covers all the key areas the church has been expanding into.
- According to Early Church traditions, from this period all of the 12 start itinerating/relocating their bases for pragmatic reasons.
- Note Matthew's Gospel is their authorised teaching.



# 42-44 AD: founding the Roman Church.

- Late 42 AD Peter arrives in Rome. From Eusebius onwards Peter's oversight of the Church in Rome has been credited with lasting 25 years to his execution in 67 AD.
- Over the next 18 months, Peter presumably meets Priscilla and Aquilla, and at some point members of the Praetorian guard become part of the church, (see Clement of Alexandria ca 150 AD quoted by Eusebius, *Adumbrationes ad 1 Peter 5:13*).
- Bartholomew leaves Jerusalem at this difficult time carrying Matthew's Gospel to India.

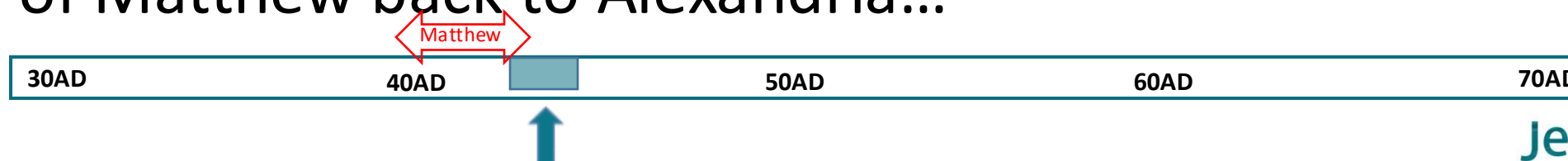


# Pantaenus (died c190) quoted by Jerome (c 400)

“He[Pantaenus] went to the Indians and the tradition is that he found there among them, some there who had known Christ. The Gospel according to Matthew had preceded his coming, for **Bartholemew**... had left them the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew letters .”

- Jerome HE 5.10.3

He goes on to say that Pantaenus brought this Hebrew version of Matthew back to Alexandria...



# 44 AD: The Gospel in Greek.

- King Agrippa dies.
- Word reaches Peter in Rome who leaves John Mark (possibly in charge) to carry a report back to the Jerusalem church.
- **Mark** is asked by the Roman Church to record **Peter's** versions of the Gospel stories. Unless they are Jewish they don't read or speak Aramaic.





# 44 AD: The Gospel in Greek.

- **Mark starts writing Peter's teaching down** as he remembers Peter telling it. He relies on the order in Aramaic Matthew, unless there is a different order in a run of incidents in which Peter was the key link character. In which case he amends the order.
- **He ends his gospel at 16:8** because Peter has simply asserted that he has met the risen Jesus and was circumspect about his first private resurrection encounter.
- **Mark** preserves the same anonimities as Matthew as would have Peter in their oral telling as it has been a tough few years for eye-witnesses.



# 45 AD: Prophecy fulfilled.

- The first of a run of poor harvests across the Roman empire starts pushing up food prices, in response to Agabus' prophetic word The Antioch Church takes up an offering and assigns Barnabas and Paul to carry it to Jerusalem.
- Mark follows Peter's footsteps, making his way back to Jerusalem with a copy of his Gospel.
- Note the events as they relate to Jesus prophecy in Matthew: famine, persecution and the "abomination of desolation"... These are birthpangs.



# Luke starts his Gospel. 46-57 AD

**Lucius/Luke** gets hold of John Marks gospel to go alongside Matthew's authorised version. Like John Mark, Luke was one of the 72, a follower of Jesus for at least his last year of ministry, and as such Luke had his own stories plus detailed knowledge of and access to others who were also witnesses.

He decides to research and construct a Gospel in format that deliberately draws on the conventions of classical eye-witness historical biography. Neither Matthew nor Mark do. He starts his Gospel at what is now Chapter 3 in line with Aramaic Matthew and Mark's "witness statement".



## 46 AD: Famine starts to bite.

- Paul and Barnabas take the offering down to Jerusalem and meet formally with Peter and James and the four create a consensus on how to understand Salvation by Faith amongst gentiles as well as Jews.
- Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch with John Mark, ([Acts 12:25](#)) who has his version of the Gospel with him

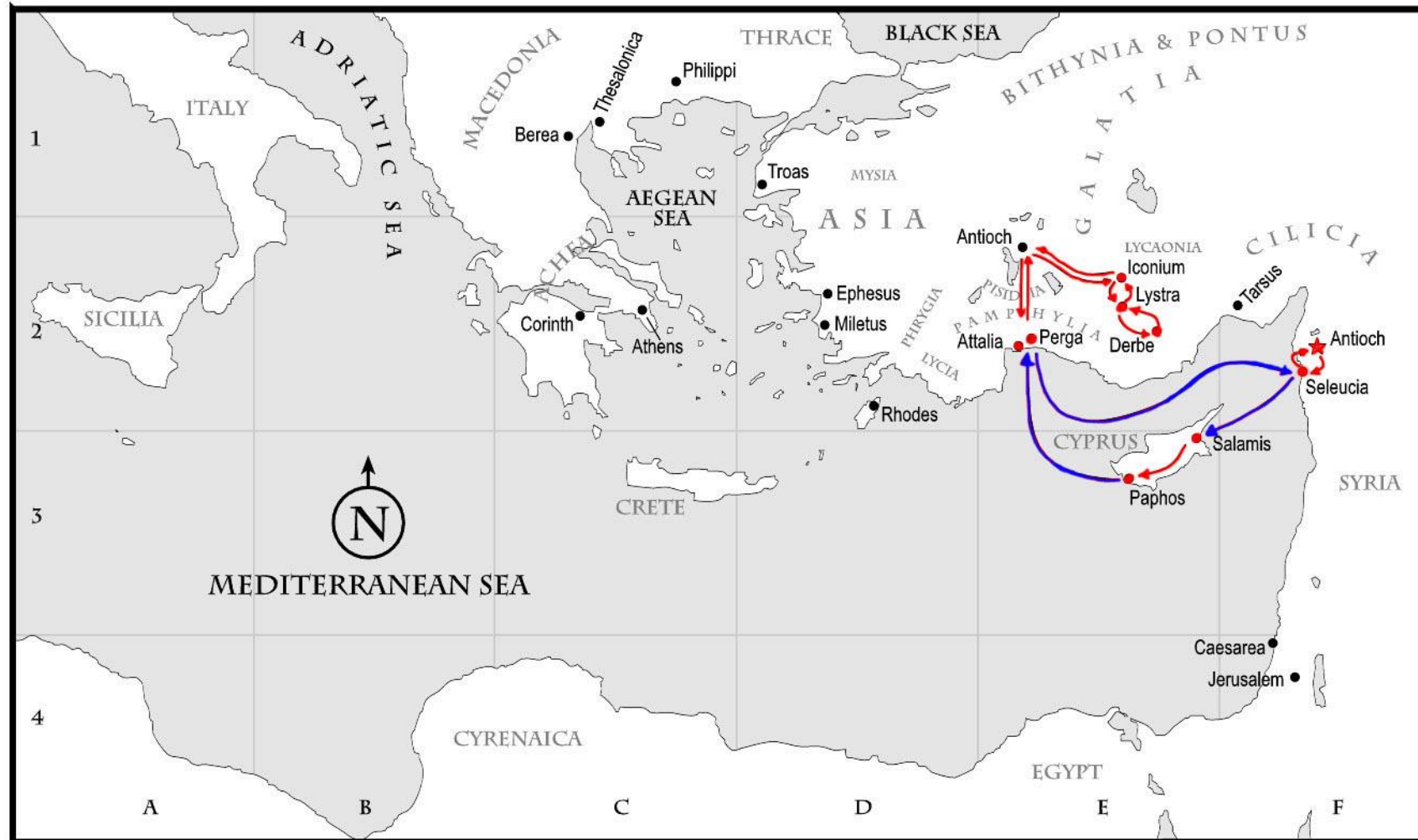


## 47 AD: Famine starts to bite.

- Now with a Greek Gospel, Barnabas and Paul are set apart for the first missionary journey. John Mark sets out with them, he adds kudos as a witness and author. They preach right across Cyprus, Barnabas' home.
- John Mark leaves the team at their first stop after Cyprus, Perga in Pamphylia and returns to Jerusalem.
- Paul and Barnabas continue into the territories inhabited by ethnic Galatians (though not the Roman Province of Galatia)
- Peter is perhaps re-visiting the Palestinian churches

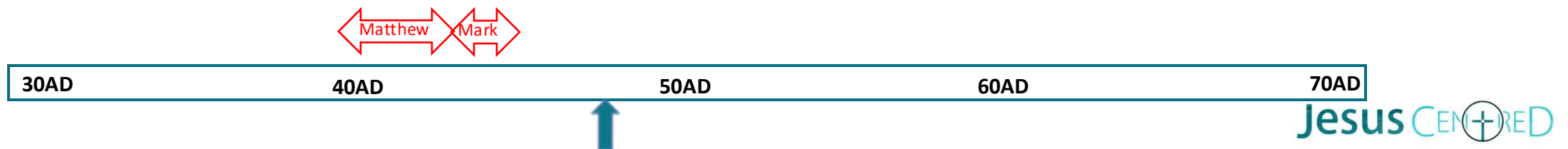


# Paul's first missionary journey



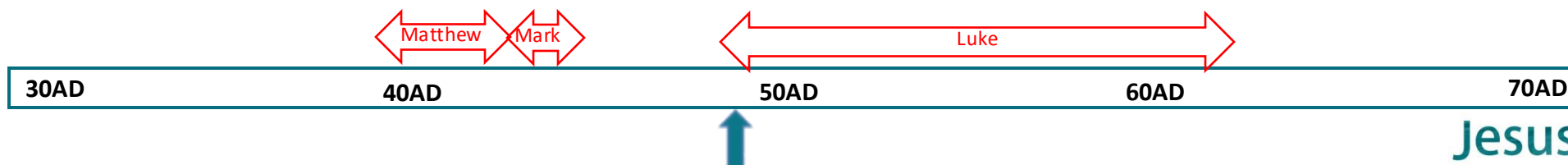
# 48 AD: Back in Antioch.

- Paul and Barnabas realise the benefits of a written Greek gospel to the gentile world.
- **Lucius, Luke for short** now has Aramaic Matthew plus Greek Mark, like John Mark he was a part of the 72. As a Hellenist, he realises he can write a cross-over Gospel for the Greek speaking world.
- In Jerusalem, James (perhaps in Peter's absence) is struggling with his what he is hearing about how Paul understands grace, though he has met with Paul they had just a single discussion, perhaps John Mark's account of the Cyprus mission has been unflattering. So **James writes his letter** to illustrate that Faith isn't whatever you want it to be.
- James' letter is carried by Jewish believers to all parts of the growing church. They take an even harder line and it becomes a means to divide Jewish believers from Gentile believers, (**Acts 15:1 Galatians 2:12**). Peter comes up to visit the Antioch church but this time he is not eating with Gentiles. Paul Challenges him.
- After Peter's visit, **Paul writes Galatians** as they have been affected by the issue
- The Antioch Church decides Paul and Barnabas need to visit Jerusalem and get a formal agreement on how to work forward.



# 49 AD: The Jerusalem Council.

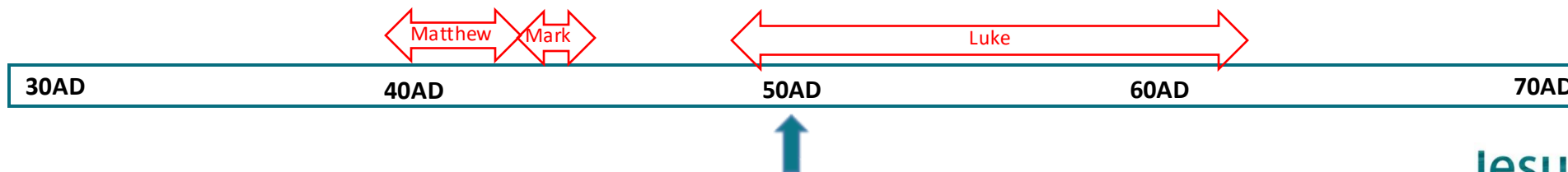
- At the Council, the Jew and Gentile problem is resolved by James, who has been part of the problem. He sees Amos' prophecy about the return of the Tabernacle of David as relating to the Church.
- This key spiritual breakthrough is balanced by a kick back... Jews including Priscilla and Aquilla and other Jewish Christians are expelled from Rome By Claudius because of a riot attributed to "Chrestus".
- Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch. John Mark is there, Barnabas wants to take John Mark and his Greek gospel back to the churches they had established on their first trip, but Paul will not have it. They split and John Mark travels with Barnabas, *it is perhaps during this work that Mark extends the ending of his Gospel.* Without John Mark it is likely Paul would still have carried Mark's Gospel with him as he sets out to re-visit the churches at Derbe and Lystra bringing the report from the Jerusalem council.





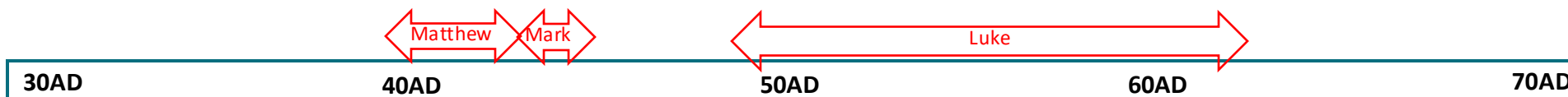
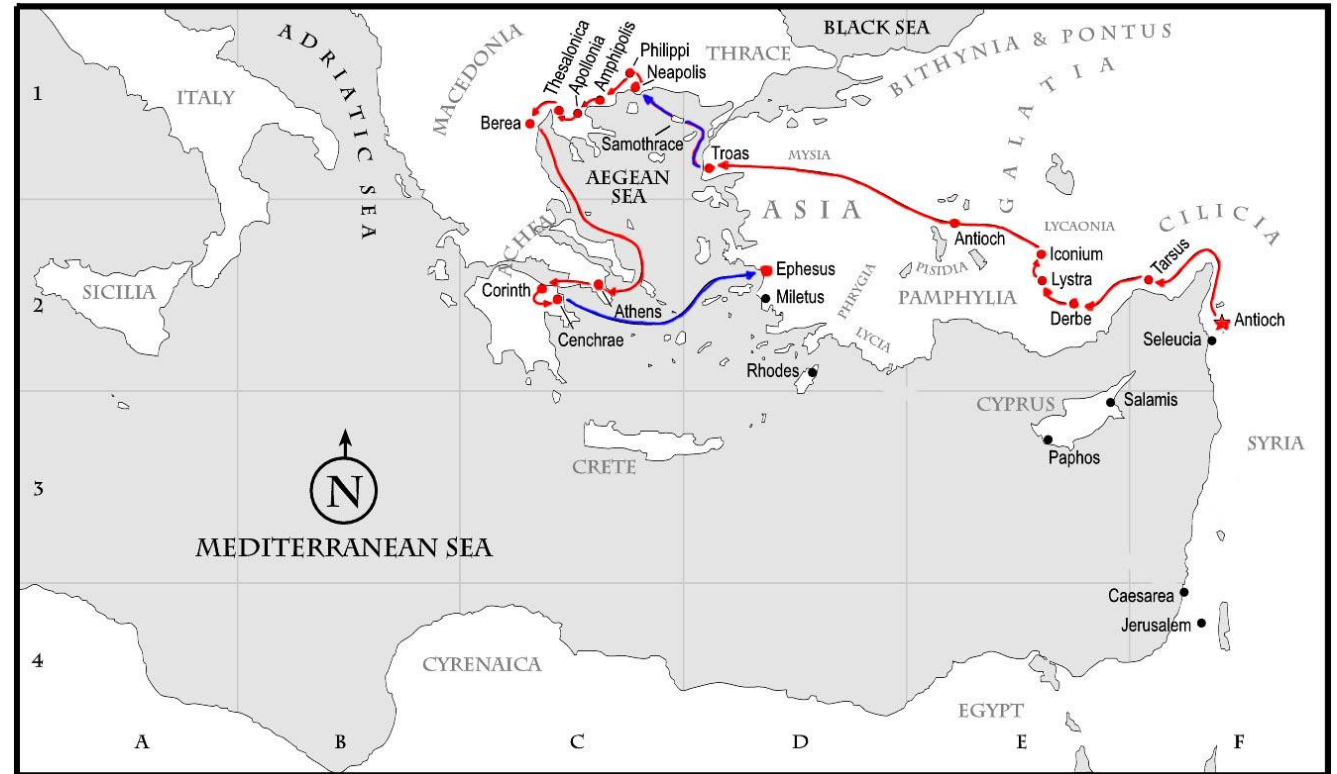
# 50 AD: The Second Missionary Journey.

- Paul is prevented from going to Bythinia in Asia Minor by the Holy Spirit. Peter is possibly in the region at this time... Note: **Peter** writes to the churches in the region from his base in Rome during the 60's, (1 Peter 1:1).
- Paul and Silas are joined at Troas by Luke carrying a rough draft of his Gospel. They set off together for Macedonia. They stop in Philippi where Luke stays, perhaps to complete his first draft of the gospel while leading the church.



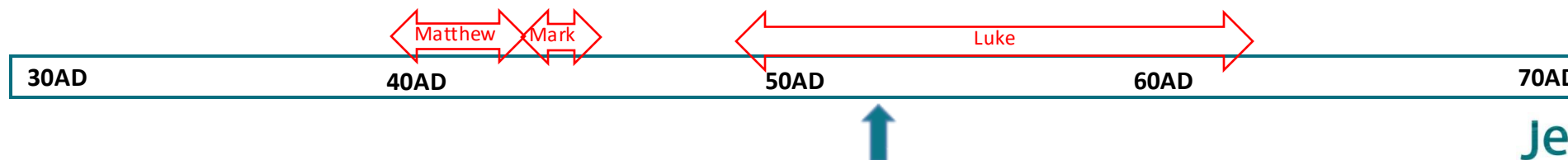
# 51 AD: The Second Missionary Journey.

- Paul travels through Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and arrives at Corinth.
- Here he meets Pricilla and Aquila who have started a business there after being expelled from Rome.
- They employ Paul, [Acts 18:1-2](#)



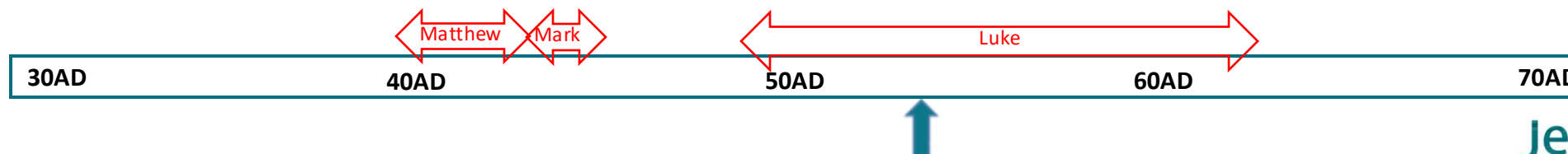
# 52 AD: The Second Missionary Journey.

- From his base in Corinth, Paul writes two letters to the Thessalonian church that he has had to leave in a rush
- Paul is brought before Gallio after he has been beaten up, Acts 18:17
- Luke's Gospel is coming together!



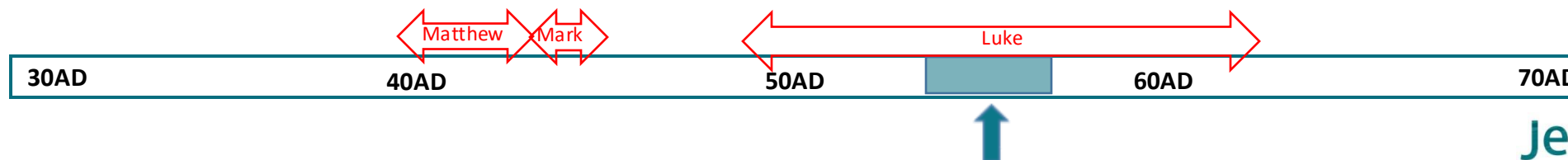
# 53 AD: The Second Missionary Journey.

- Paul sets out for Ephesus via Cenchrea with Priscilla and Aquila.
- At Ephesus Paul goes just once to the synagogue and leaves for Antioch, Priscilla and Aquila stay in Ephesus where they meet and train Apollos.
- Paul arrives back in Antioch.
- Paul start a slow journey back to Ephesus through the churches he has already planted. [Acts 18:23](#)



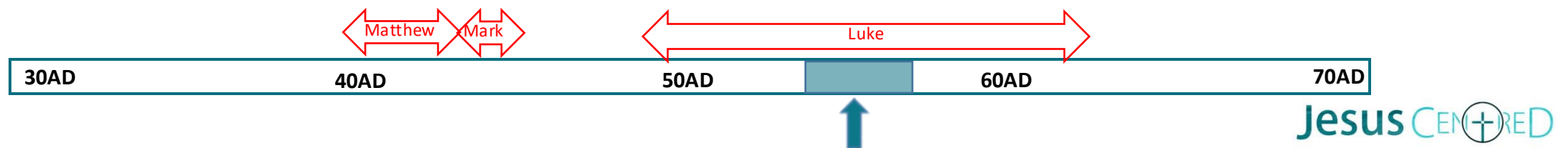
# 54-57 AD: A base in Ephesus...

- Paul arrives back in Ephesus
- Claudius dies, Nero becomes emperor!
- Over the next 2-3 years Paul establishes a missions base with a team of itinerating ministers they plants churches in the surrounding towns, 54-57 AD, [Acts 19](#). They keep the Aegean hub connected.
- Epaphras plants a church in Colossae.



# 54-57 AD: Luke's Gospel arrives!

- Paul writes 1&2 Corinthians and possibly Philippians
- We can infer that Paul visited Corinth and Philippi and other lots of churches while based at Ephesus, 1 Cor 16:5-12; 2 Cor 8-9.
- In Philippi, **Luke** gives Paul his first draft of a Greek friendly gospel. Paul is delighted and they start distributing copies throughout the Aegean Churches.
- It is in recounting his ministry over the last year that Paul refers to Luke's Gospel, 2 Corinthians 8:18 (Probably first draft of three)



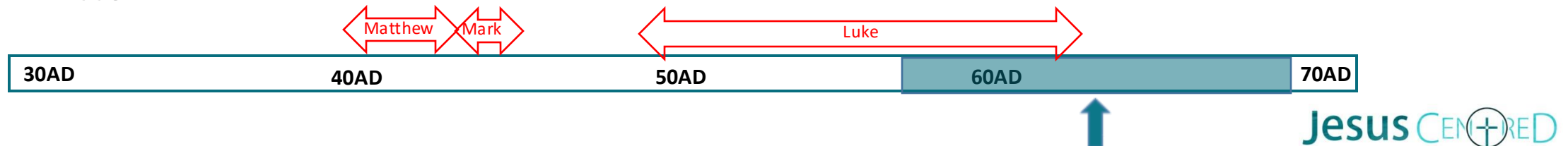
# The need for new perspectives. 57-69 AD

We now **have three Gospels**, one of which Mark is circulating in two formats, Paul is carrying a version ending at 16:8, Barnabas is carrying the extended version.

All three start with John the Baptist and Jesus Baptism all three have the same perspective, Luke has some different stories from the Period when Jesus sent out the 72, but there is so much more that could be said.

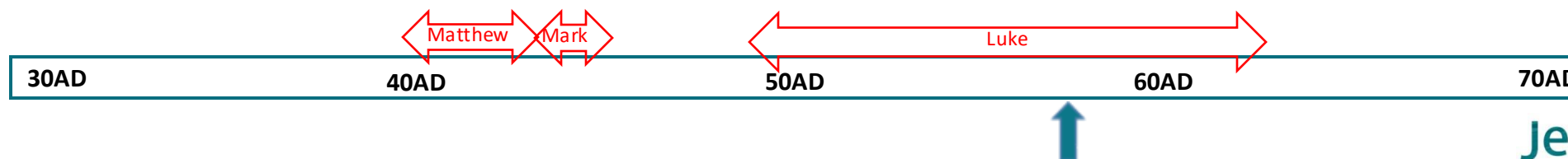
Now that the core events and message have been captured there is a new confidence in adding reliable elements outside of the pure oversight of the 12.

Over the next decade two gospels will get new starts and a new gospel will get written.



# 57 AD: Paul's Route to Rome

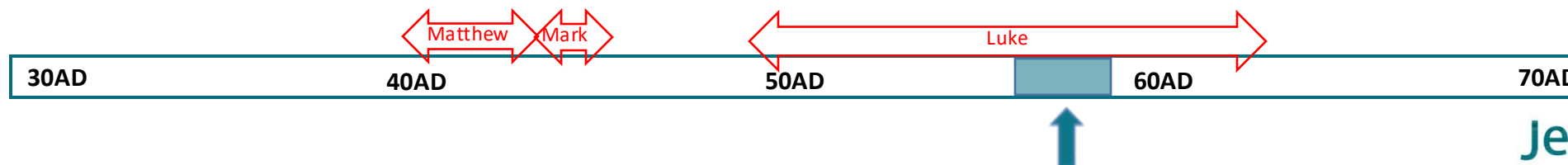
- Toward the end of Paul's circuits around the Aegean Churches, Paul writes Romans from Corinth telling them he will visit soon. Peter doesn't seem to be in Rome at this point.
- Paul takes a last circuitous pastoral tour heading to Jerusalem before he visits Rome and then Spain. He picks up Luke in Philippi.
- Paul, Luke and other travel to Jerusalem, they are received by "James and all the elders", (No reference to Peter, who is perhaps headed slowly for Rome via the Churches he has planted in Samaria, Syria and Asia Minor; nor John who according tradition will soon make his base in Ephesus along with other apostles and elders).
- A chain of events start that leaves Paul under arrest in Caesarea, where Philip now lives. He is held there for 2 years.



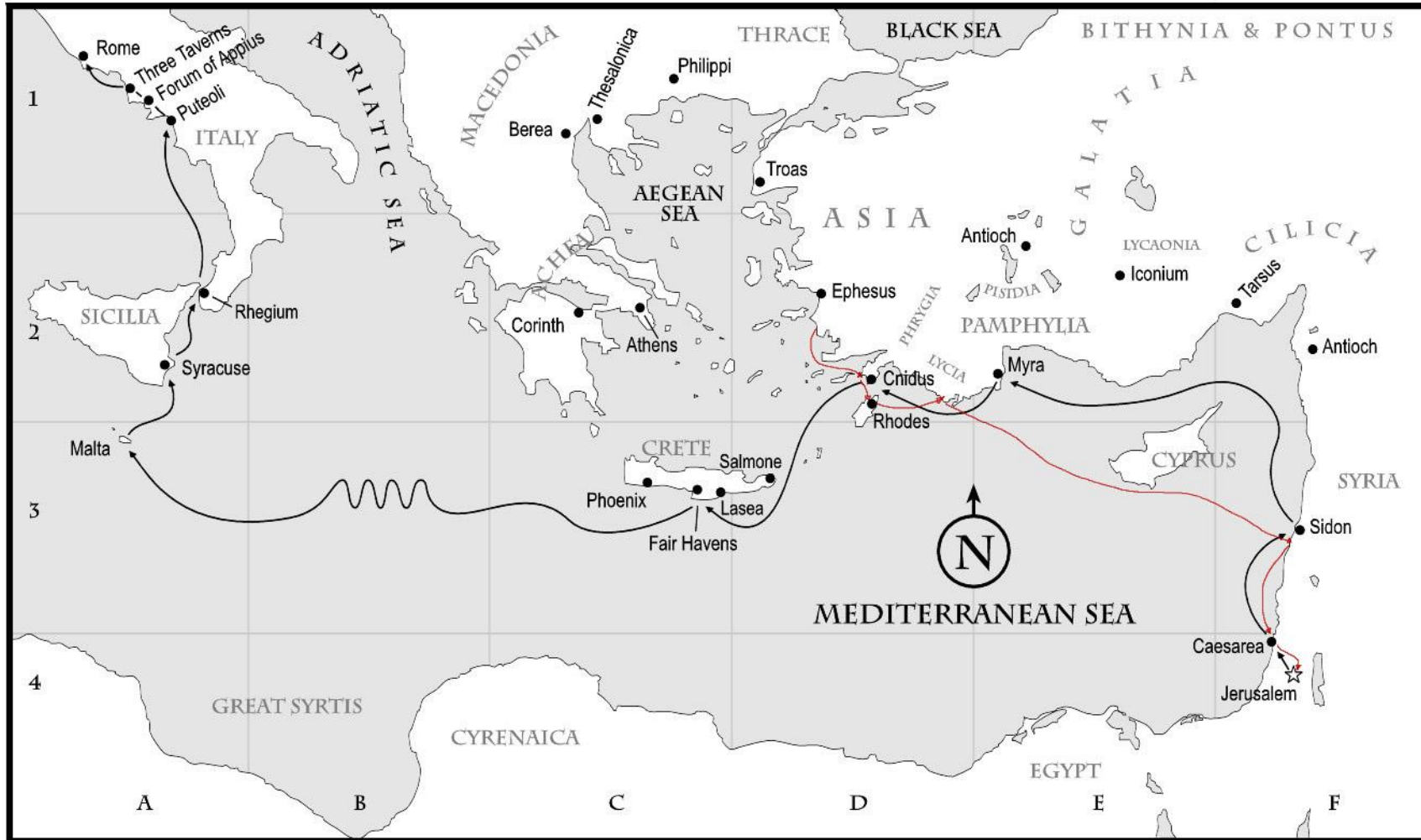


# Late 57 to 59 AD: Paul under arrest

- Paul is under arrest in Caesarea where Philip is based.
- There are now three Gospels in Jerusalem as the church becomes more and more familiar with the core stories, there is a growing desire and willingness to add in important information from trusted witnesses.
- Luke collects some stories from James about Jesus' childhood and early years, this includes Mary's lineage and stories from Mary's sister Salome and wider family. he looks to track down those that witnessed the things he did not and at the same time collects other eye-witness accounts of the early days of the church, i.e Philip the Evangelist, Clopas and Simon, Jesus uncle and cousin on Joseph's side.

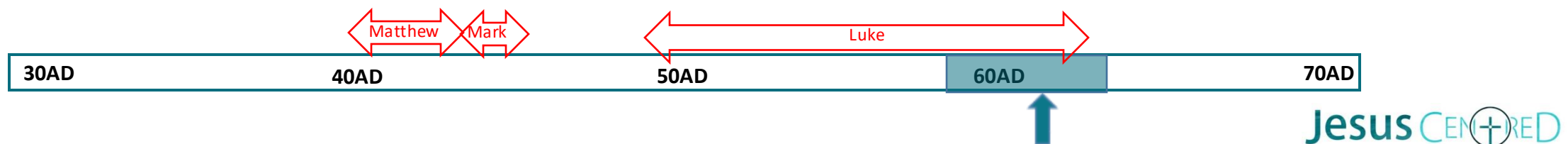


# Paul's journey to Rome



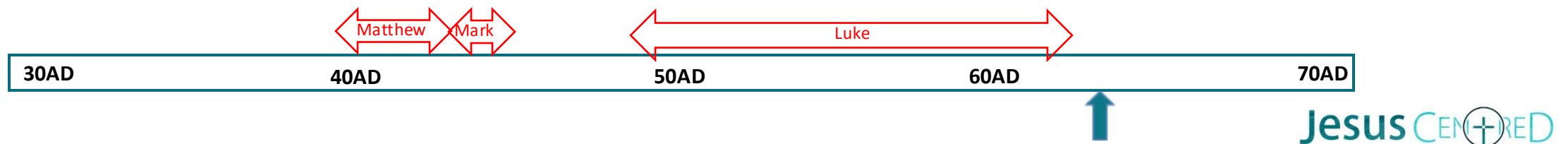
# Late 59-63 AD: Paul and Peter in Rome.

- Perhaps inspired by Luke's activity, Matthew and/or the Jerusalem eldership includes Joseph's view on Jesus' birth in Matthew's gospel. The account would be known by Clopas. Note Luke's nativity story focusses on the family during pregnancy and birth, Matthew's on Joseph's ancestry and the difficulties in the early months protecting his wife and "son" from Herod.
- In Rome, Paul writes [Ephesians](#), [Colossians](#), [Philemon](#). (note I treat Philippians as written from Ephesus).
- Luke compiles Acts as part of Paul's defence, in doing so he makes final editorial changes to his gospel so that the two books work together as two volumes of one book.
- At some point it seems Peter arrives in Rome too.



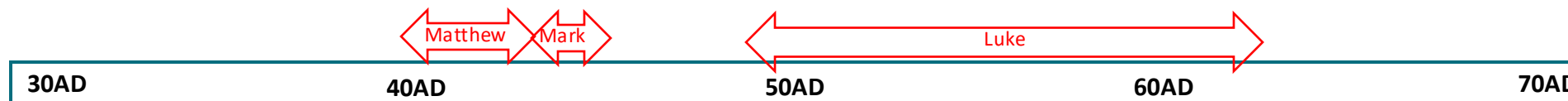
# 63 AD: Paul departs Peter in Rome.

- At some point it seems Peter arrives in Rome too.
- Paul is acquitted, he meets with Titus in Crete, [Titus 1:5](#).
- He goes on to to Nicopolis, [Titus 3:12](#) where he wrote 1 Timothy and Titus.



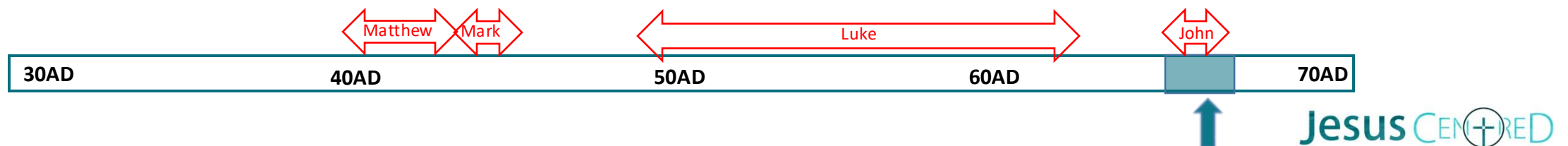
# 64 AD: Peter's final year.

- In July a fire starts destroying much of Rome.
- Nero blames the Christians and arrests Peter.
- There is evidence that Paul did go onto Spain as intended.
- Peter is crucified upside down on ???
- The new travels back to Jerusalem.



# 65-67 AD: Paul's invisible journey.

- According to legend Paul makes it to Britain, considered the ends of the earth by the Romans, note on names in Paul's letters.
- In Jerusalem or possibly Ephesus, the elders under Andrew's leadership consider the proposal for a new-view Gospel. After a night in prayer and a revelation to Andrew they decide to let John write it, they will endorse it.
- John writes his Gospel.

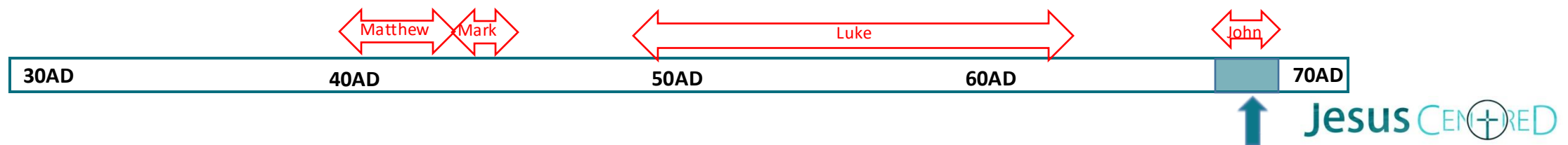


# Paul's final journey



# 67-69 AD: The ends of the Apostles.

- Paul returns to Rome, he is re-arrested in the on-going persecution of Christians after the fire of Rome. He writes 2 Timothy.
- Executed by beheading sometime between 67-69 AD.
- Nero dies in 68 AD.
- During the same period relations between Judea and Rome deteriorate. the Jerusalem Church and its remaining Elders and Apostles are leaving for good.
- 69 AD is the year of four Emperors! Galba, Otho, Vitellius followed by Vespasian...





# 70 AD: Jerusalem and the Temple destroyed.

The Roman army is led by Titus who will become Emperor after Vespasian.

## This is the End of the Age.

