

CHAPTER SIX

SALVATION-HISTORY AND THE PAROUSIA
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The interpretations of New Testament eschatology which we have now reviewed have been questioned on grounds of methodology and of theology. It is difficult, we maintain, without expressly *re*-interpreting the New Testament message, to evade the conclusion that the New Testament as a whole works with the concept of a salvation-history of which the Parousia is an integral part: and without resorting to a dubious methodology, it is difficult to account for the specifically future phase of this total salvation-history by referring it to the early church alone, or to one particular line of thought current within the early church. All three theses reviewed here abandon or call in question the reality of salvation-history and its overall pattern. Schweitzer abandons the reality of salvation-history for the idea of mystic communion and the inspiration of Jesus' example. Bultmann substitutes for the idea of a salvation-history the idea of a new 'self-knowledge', a new 'gnosis'. Dodd, in less radical fashion, imperils the reality of the total salvation-history by his re-interpretation of the idea of the End.

On the other hand, many scholars regard the concept of salvation-history as fundamental to the New Testament.¹ We give now a brief account of the arguments in support of this view—which will serve as a postscript to the arguments already reviewed and as an introduction to our examination later of the view of those who regard the Parousia hope itself as an integral part of the New Testament message, but find the apparent insistence on its imminence problematical.

The abandonment of a salvation-historical understanding of the gospel goes back to the earliest days of the church. Both

¹ From the very many we mention Cullmann, *Time: Christology: Heil als Geschichte*; Filson, *The N.T. against its environment*; Richardson, *Introduction*; Taylor, *Names: Life and Ministry*; Stauffer, *Jesus*; Manson, *Jesus*; Roberts, *Kingdom of God*.

Ebionism and Docetism shrank from the belief that the Divine could actually come into history, into the particularity of history in the form of an individual person: and so, in their opposite ways, they evacuated the life of Jesus of its saving quality.¹ It is clear why Docetism should have been congenial to the Gnostics, for though fundamentally a Christological concept, it is acceptable only where salvation is thought of as mystical enlightenment (γνώσις) where 'the concrete is resolved into the abstract' and 'redemption is a deliverance from the material world, which is regarded as intrinsically evil',² and where the cosmic dimension of salvation is exchanged for individual concern for present communion with the divine and a safe destiny.³ The mysteries, too, intending to impart salvation through knowledge and emancipation from the fetters of human existence, had no place for a salvation-history. The struggle to affirm a real salvation-history continued through the Trinitarian debates⁴ and the Christological controversies.⁵

Salvation-history and the Old Testament:

We have already seen⁶ that the concept of salvation-history is quite fundamental to the Old Testament. The Creation narratives are clearly written from the standpoint that they prepare for and make possible a salvation-history.⁷ The Covenant is regarded as God's manifestation of his concern for the fortunes of Israel, and this concern is seen to accompany Israel's history⁸ and, ultimately, to have a universal outreach.⁹ The Old Testament resolutely refuses to look upon history (even the history of other nations) divorced from the relation it bears to salvation, or upon salvation outside

¹ Cf. Cullman, *Time*, pp. 127ff.

² Scott, 'Gnosticism', in *E.R.E.* VI, pp. 233f.: cf. Gal. 4, 4. Rom. 1, 3. 9, 5. Heb. 2, 14. I Jn. 1, 1-3. 4, 1-3. 2, 22. II Jn. 7. Col. 1, 9-22. 1, 26-27. 2, 3. 2, 8-9. 3, 10; 16. Ignatius Eph. 7, 18. Smyrna chs 1-6. Polycarp Phil. 7, 1-2. Irenaeus ad. Haer. III: 3, 4. Justin Dial. 35.

³ Cf. Gardner, 'Mysteries', in *E.R.E.* IX, p. 81.

⁴ Cf. Kelly, *Doctrine*, pp. 223ff., esp. p. 233.

⁵ Cf. Kelly, *Doctrine*, pp. 263ff.: Bethune-Baker, *Introduction*, pp. 249ff.: Prestige, *Fathers*, pp. 94ff.

⁶ Cf. above chapter 2, pp. 7ff. Anderson, *Introduction*, p. 237.

⁷ Cf. Barth, *C.D.* III/1, pp. 63ff.: Whitehouse, in *Essays in Christology*, pp. 115ff.: also Ps. 119, 89-90. I Chron. 29, 11. Is. 48, 12.

⁸ Cf. Ex. 33, 16. 19, 9. 33, 12-23.

⁹ Cf. Jer. 16, 19. Ps. 22, 7. Zech. 8, 22. Zeph. 3, 10. Is. 11, 10. 30, 23f. 65, 20-25. Dan. 7, 27, etc.

of its historical context. The significance of this for the understanding of the New Testament is obvious.¹

Salvation-history and the New Testament:

Evidence that the *early church* understood its faith and life in terms of a salvation-history is found in the earliest preaching and the earliest confessions of faith. The early speeches of Acts² reveal a major emphasis upon past events, supremely the death and resurrection of Jesus³ of which the disciples are witnesses⁴ and which form the fulfilment of the promises contained in past salvation-history.⁵ The significance of this fulfilment is applied to the present⁶ and to the future,⁷ and it is evident that such preaching cannot be understood apart from its salvation-historical context.

The shortest credal confession, 'Jesus is Lord' (κύριος Ἰησοῦς)⁸ and the expanded summaries of faith⁹ presuppose the idea of salvation-history. Faith is based on the fulfilment of God's promises in Christ, culminating in his present Lordship.¹⁰ It is not fortuitous

¹ One need only note the extensive use of the O.T. (cf. the N.T. Nestle ed., P.W.B. 1952, pp. 658ff.) its imagery and language: and the place of Temple and synagogue worship (Lk. 4, 16, Acts 3, 1, 9, 20, 13, 5, 13, 14, 14, 1, 17, 1, 18, 4, 19, 8) in early christian life.

² Cf. Acts 2, 14-36; 38-41. 3, 12-26. 4, 8-12. 5, 29-32. 7, 2-53. 8, 31-36. 10, 35-43. 13, 17-41. Whilst Dibelius, *Studies*, pp. 138ff., Cadbury, *Luke-Acts*, pp. 187ff., Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 96f. and others regard these speeches as unauthentic, there is much to be said in favour of their authenticity—cf. Knox, *Acts*, pp. 9ff., Dodd, *Apostolic Preaching*, pp. 20ff., Bruce, *Acts*, *ad loc*—or at least the authenticity of ideas if not also of form—cf. Erhardt, 'The construction and purpose of the Acts of the Apostles', in *S.T.* XII, 1958, pp. 45ff.

³ Cf. Acts 2, 22-23, 3, 13-14; 15, 4, 10, 5, 30; 31, 7, 53. (8, 35). 10, 37-39; 40-41. 13, 27-29; 30. Cf. Evans, 'Kerygma', in *J.T.S.* (NS) 1956, pp. 25ff.

⁴ Cf. Acts 2, 32, 3, 15, 5, 32; 10, 39; 41, 13, 31.

⁵ Cf. Acts 2, 16-21, 3, 12; 18; 22-26. 4, 11. ? 5, 30, 7, 2-47; 52, 8, 32f. 10, 43, 13, 17-23; 27; 32-37.

⁶ Jesus reigns and works (2, 33-36, 3, 21, 4, 10, 5, 31, 10, 37): the Spirit is given (2, 16-21, 5, 32): therefore repent and believe! (2, 38-41, 3, 19, 5, 31, 7, 51, (8, 37), 10, 43, 13, 40).

⁷ Jesus will judge (3, 20f. 10, 42): salvation will come (4, 12, 5, 31, 10, 43, 13, 38).

⁸ Cf. Acts 11, 17. Rom. 10, 9. I Cor. 12, 3. Phil. 2, 11. Col. 2, 6. Arndt-Gingrich, *Lexicon*, for biographical detail, cf. Foerster, *T.W.N.T.* III, pp. 1038ff.: O'Neill, 'The use of κύριος in the Book of Acts', in *S.J.T.* VIII, 1955, pp. 155ff.: Cullmann, *Confessions*; Kelly, *Doctrines*, pp. 459ff.: Cullmann, *Worship*, pp. 12ff.: Bultmann, *Theology* I, pp. 51 and 121ff.

⁹ Cf. I Pet. 3, 18-22. Phil. 2, 6-11. I Cor. 15, 3f. II Cor. 4, 5.

¹⁰ Cf. Cullmann, *Confessions*, p. 58.

that the future phase of salvation-history is not immediately brought into the credal confessions,¹ for the Parousia hope is not the basis of faith but faith's necessary corollary and is expressed initially in prayer. Other early tradition can be detected in sections of catechetical instruction:² ethical behaviour is enjoined here both on the basis of the past acts of God in Christ³ and also with a view to the fulfilment of the Christian eschatological hope,⁴ and so must be seen in its relation to the entire salvation-history. Christian hope is expressed in such obedience, and also in the prayer *μαρνα θα*.⁵ The connection of this prayer in Did. 10, 6 with the eucharistic liturgy⁶ is important, for here *μαρνα θα* must share the salvation-historical character of that meal. Hence Cullmann⁷ writes, 'This ancient prayer . . . points at the same time backwards to Christ's appearance on the day of his resurrection, to his present appearance at the common meal of the community and forwards to his appearance at the End, which is often represented by the picture of a Messianic meal'. It seems, therefore, that the concept of a salvation-history runs through the early church's preaching, teaching, worship and prayer.

The salvation-historical significance of *Paul's teaching* is under-evaluated by Schweitzer,⁸ by Dodd⁹ and by Bultmann,¹⁰ whereas many find in the idea of salvation-history the context for his entire teaching.¹¹ Paul appears to regard the present as a time in

¹ Cullmann, *Confessions*, pp. 58f., finds it first in II Tim. 4, 1. Robinson, *Coming*, p. 33, n. 1, regards this as hardly a credal formula. For its occurrence in the Apostolic Fathers and later, cf. Kelly, *Creeds*, chapter 3 and *Doctrines*, pp. 462ff.

² Cf. I Thess. 2, 13, 4, 1-8. II Thess. 2, 15; 36. etc.

³ Cf. I Thess. 5, 9-11. Rom. 12, 1ff. etc.

⁴ Cf. I Pet. 4, 7. Rom. 13, 12. etc. Dodd in *N.T. Essays*.

⁵ Though I Cor. 16, 22 is neutral, the translated form in Rev. 22, 20 is clearly a prayer. Cf. Cullmann, *Worship*, p. 13; Kuhn, in *T.W.N.T.* III, pp. 500f.

⁶ If the connection is right—cf. Dix, *Shape of Liturgy*, pp. 90ff.

⁷ *Worship*, p. 14.

⁸ In the claim that Paul saw the present in an immediate relationship to the imminently awaited Parousia, and therefore ignored a real time element (cf. recently Vielhauer, 'Zur Paulinismus der Apostelgeschichte', in *Ev.T.* X, 1950-51, pp. 1ff.).

⁹ In the thesis that Paul abandoned eventually any specific hope in the Parousia (cf. above pp. 50f.).

¹⁰ In his interpretation of hope in Paul in terms of an openness to the future ('The openness of Christian existence is never-ending'—*Primitive Christianity*, p. 208. cf. further, *Theology* I, pp. 190ff.: *Primitive Christianity*, pp. 185ff.)

¹¹ Cf. Munck, *Paul: Davies, Rabbinic Judaism*: Cullmann, *Heil als Geschichte*

which the new aeon has begun¹ though the old continues.² The tension between the past acts on which faith rests and the future phase of salvation-history towards which hope strains, is a strictly temporal tension between a 'then' in the past and a 'then' in the future (e.g. II Cor. 1, 10). Between these two points stands the present characterised by mission³ and the presence of the Spirit.⁴ The present tension is interpreted by Bultmann as one between *Weltlich* and *Entweltlich*, but the expressions of the tension are so full of temporal terms ('waiting', 'day', 'now', 'then' 'inherit') that such a re-interpretation is hardly justified.⁵ Further, the present is not a mere phenomenon, nor simply a haphazard continuum, but has a definite content and progression fore-ordained and divinely directed.⁶ To be true to Paul, we can neither say that salvation is simply personal encounter or understanding, nor that history is a mere phenomenon, but that salvation is fully historical and that history is entirely embraced by the intention of salvation.

The assessment of *Luke* as theologian and historian is a foremost problem to-day.⁷ Conzelmann,⁸ particularly, maintains that Luke departs from early eschatology and, under the pressure of the Parousia delay, alters the tradition in favour of his own historicising.⁹ But this thesis both diminishes the centrality of a salvation-history concept in the thought of Paul and of the earliest community

and many older works, e.g. Nock, *Paul: Stewart, A Man in Christ: Kennedy, Last Things*, etc.

¹ Cf. e.g. Col. 1, 12f. II Cor. 5, 14f. Gal. 6, 14f.

² Men continue to die (I Cor. 11, 30. I Thess. 4, 13f.) and continue to sin (I Cor. 1, 11f. 5, 11f.) because evil still works in the world (II Cor. 2, 11. Gal. 4, 8) and men still need to be admonished and encouraged to obedient behaviour (Gal. 5, 4. 6, 6. Rom. 12, 1ff. etc.).

³ Hence Paul is anxious to further the mission (I Cor. 9, 23. II Cor. 10, 16. Rom. 15, 19ff.) and in no way hinder the progress of the gospel (I Cor. 9, 13. II Cor. 6, 3-4).

⁴ Cf. II Cor. 1, 22. 5, 5. Eph. 1, 14. Rom. 8, 23. etc.

⁵ Such a tension would be accessible to human reason, whereas for Paul it is a mystery which must be revealed — Rom. 11, 25; 33.

⁶ Cf. Phil. 1, 12f. Rom. 9-11 (Cullmann, *Time*, pp. 163ff. Sanday and Headlam, *Romans, ad loc*) II Thess. 2, 6ff. Col. 1, 22-29. Rom. 11, 13. I Cor. 9, 16.

⁷ Cf. Barrett, *Luke the Historian* for an introduction and an indication of the place this problem holds to-day.

⁸ *Mitte, passim*: cf. also Grässer, *Problem*: Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 90ff. Käsemann, in *Z.T.K.* II, 1952, pp. 272ff. and in *Z.T.K.* LI, 1954, pp. 125ff. Vielhauer, in *Ev. T.* 1952, pp. 1ff.

⁹ *Mitte*, p. 81.

(discussed already) and also exaggerates any distinctive emphasis in Luke. The following examples support this latter contention:

i. It is said that Luke treats John the Baptist no longer as the eschatological forerunner,¹ but only as a prophet of the Old Israel.² However, it is noteworthy that Mk. 1, 6 (= Mtt. 3, 4) — a description which places the Baptist firmly within the epoch of the prophets — is omitted by Luke. Conzelmann argues³ that Lk. 3, 10ff. is typically Lukan since the judgement is no longer 'near': it is, however, important to notice that Luke has retained the original (? Q) connection with 3, 9 (cf Mtt. 3, 10) so that Lk. 3, 10-14 appear to be only an expansion of the demand of v. 8 in the light of the imminent judgement, v. 9. Further, the ἀπὸ τότε of Lk. 16, 16 is probably only a stylistic alteration, not necessarily intending a meaning distinct from Matthew's ἕως ἄρτι (Mtt. 11, 12).⁴

ii. Luke is said to have written the first 'life of Jesus'.⁵ However, Mtt. 1-2, though betraying different motifs, has a similar emphasis on the 'historical Jesus' and even Mark appears to be interested in the objective, historical events of Jesus' life.⁶ Further, if the Lukan prologue is to be taken seriously, it appears that others had already shown the same interest,⁷ and also that Luke's concern was not simply an historical, but also a pastoral one (cf 1, 4).

iii. Luke is said to be especially concerned with the present as an epoch rather than a *Zwischenzeit*.⁸ To be sure, his special parables stress the character of Christian behaviour,⁹ but this concern represents rather an emphasis than a special theological standpoint.

¹ Cf. Mk. 1, 4. Mtt. 3, 2. 4, 17.

² Cf. Lk. 1, 9, 28-36. 3, 15. 3, 10-14. 9.9, 16, 16. Conzelmann, *Mitte*, pp. 86, 95; Grässer, *Problem*, pp. 180f.; Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 89.

³ *Mitte*, pp. 86f.

⁴ Cf. under Mk. 14, 62 below, pp. 139f. Contrast Grässer, *Problem*, p. 182.

⁵ Cf. Conzelmann, *Mitte*, pp. 124ff.; Käsemann, in *Z.T.K.* LI, 1954, pp. 125ff. and Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 88, n. 3.

⁶ Cf. Robinson, *Problem*, *passim*: Moule, in *N.T. Essays*, pp. 165ff. Leaney, *Luke, ad. loc.* 1, 4.

⁷ Lohse, 'Lukas als Theologe der Heilsgeschichte', in *Ev.T.* XIV, 1954, pp. 256ff. argues that the πολλοί of 1, 1 cannot be taken literally, referring actually (he says) to Mark and 'Q' only. Perhaps, however, the 'many' should be treated more seriously (cf. Barrett, *Luke the Historian*, p. 21): in any case, Luke means that he is *not* the first to be occupied with such a narrative.

⁸ Conzelmann, *Mitte*, pp. 181ff.

⁹ Cf. 10, 29-37. 13, 6-9, 15, 11-32. 18, 9-14. 16, 19-31. 18, 1-8. 12, 13-21. 16, 1-13.

Mark is by no means *unconcerned* about the ethical aspect of faith in Jesus Christ.¹

iv. It is alleged that Luke no longer has the note of urgency so characteristic of the earliest church.² This, however, cannot be maintained consistently,³ and, if Lk. 13, 6-9 is actually Luke's alternative to Mk. 11, 12 ff.,⁴ it is interesting that he has preferred a parable in which urgency is the key-note.

v. The redactional-critical method appears to encourage exaggerated emphases. An example may suffice here to establish the point. Conzelmann⁵ finds throughout Lk. 21 a conscious alteration of Mk. 13.⁶ An analysis suggests that Conzelmann has made more of the differences than should be allowed:

Lk. 21, 7 is said, by the shift of setting to eliminate the eschatological significance of the Temple's destruction. Yet the connection remains in Lk. 21, 5-6, and the question in v. 7 is a question of the date of the Temple's destruction, to which an answer is given in terms of the End itself (vv. 8ff.).

Lk. 21, 8 is said to reject a near expectation. Certainly Luke adds *ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικεν* but this is exactly parallel to the false claims ('*Ἐγὼ εἰμι*') which Mk. 13, 6 warns will be made. The words 'the end is not yet' (Mk. 13, 7) and 'these things are the beginning of travail' (Mk. 13, 8) are clearly intended to discourage a *false Naherwartung*, and to encourage watchfulness.

Lk. 21, 9 similarly: but Mark's *ἀλλ' οὐπω τὸ τέλος* gives the same sense as Luke's *ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθέως τὸ τέλος*, and Luke, far from eliminating an imminent hope by his use of *πρῶτον*, is more precisely temporal in his expression than Mark with *δεῖ γενέσθαι*.

Lk. 21, 12 is said to emphasise universal proclamation as the chief factor in the present. But Mk. 13, 10 is entirely parallel (cf. the temporal *πρῶτον* and the divine constraint in *δεῖ*). Many question the authenticity of Mk. 13, 10⁷ but the main grounds for this

¹ Cf. Mk. 3, 35. 7. 6ff. 9. 35. 10, 5f.

² Cf. Conzelmann, *Mitte*, p. 129; Cadbury, *Luke-Acts*, p. 292; Grässer, *Problem*, pp. 178ff.

³ Cf. Cadbury, *Luke-Acts*, p. 292. The two references, Lk. 13, 6-9 and Lk. 18, 8 (*ἐν τάχει*) are highly significant.

⁴ Leaney, *Luke*, *ad loc.*

⁵ *Mitte*, pp. 107ff.

⁶ Conzelmann regards Mk. 13 as Luke's source; contrast Beasley-Murray, *Future*, p. 226.

⁷ Cf. Jeremias, in *T.B.* XX, 1941, p. 217; Klostermann, *Markus*, *ad loc.*

appear unsound.¹ Conzelmann further claims that Lk. 21, 12 presents a definite pattern, persecution being seen as the preface to the final end. But in Mk. 13, 10 and 13, 13 a similar conviction appears: persecution and witness form a period prior to the end itself.

Lk. 21, 19 is said to emphasise *ὕπομονή* as the climax and to show that Luke was thinking in terms of a *long duration* of the church. Yet the expression 'he that endureth to the end . . .' (Mk. 13, 13) seems to carry a similar emphasis.

Lk. 21, 6 and 18 are said to emphasise God's providence. However, the same emphasis occurs in Mk. 13, 12-13 too.

Lk. 21, 20f. is said by Conzelmann to correct Markan ideas about the Temple destruction and the fall of Jerusalem by historicising these events and removing their eschatological connection and character. Yet Lk. 21, 22 shows that Luke regarded the fall of Jerusalem as the fulfilment of prophecy, and thus to have a salvation-historical context. Verse 25, which refers to the cosmic signs which herald the end, follows (as in Mk. 13, 24f. also) without any discontinuity the mention of the fall of Jerusalem and the mission to the Gentiles, so that the entire section (vv. 20-26) is seen as 'signs' of the End.

Lk. 21, 25-28 is said, by Conzelmann, to push the Parousia into the background. Yet there is no significant change from the pattern of Mark 13. Both gospels introduce the section as a phase chronolo-

Conzelmann, *Mitte*, p. 108; Grässer, *Problem*, p. 5, pp. 159f. Kümmel, *Promise*, pp. 84f.

¹ The grounds are a) that the verse interrupts the continuity between vv. 9 and 11: but this might only mean that an authentic saying has been inserted by an editor (cf. Cranfield, *Mark*, pp. 399f.) b) that the idea is foreign to Jesus: however, the idea of a universal mission goes back to the O.T. (cf. Bosch, *Heidenmission*, pp. 17ff.; Cullmann, in *E.M.* 1941, pp. 98ff.), is found in Judaism (cf. Ps. Sol. 11, 1; 8. 17, 43. etc.) and was to some degree accepted by the Pharisees of Jesus' day (Beasley-Murray, *Future*, pp. 194f. asks 'was Jesus more narrow?'). Jesus' restriction of his ministry to the Jews can be understood as provisional (cf. Bosch, *Heidenmission*, pp. 76f.) Taylor, *Mark*, *ad loc.* thinks that the Gentile mission problems could not have arisen in the early church if this verse (Mk. 13, 10) had been known as a word of Jesus: but Cranfield, *Mark*, *ad loc.* and Schniewind, *Markus*, *ad loc.* point out that the real problem of Gentile mission was not whether or not there should be such a venture, but whether or not the heathen converts should go through the stage of being Jews. (If the reading of *ἄ* in Acts 2, 5 were to be preferred, it would appear that Gentiles were included from the first: but see Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 135, n. 9 and Barth, *C.D.* III/4, p. 322).

gically subsequent to the 'tribulation' and mission (Mk. 13, 24, Lk. 21, 24-25). Both refer to cosmic events (Lk. 21, 26 adds tribulations on earth, but these are assumed as continuing to the End in Mk. 13, 20; 22). Lk. 21, 28 cannot mean that the Parousia itself is still only near, since it is already spoken of in v. 27: it is probable that v. 28 refers to that aspect of the Parousia which is spoken of in Mk. 13, 27, so that Luke is right in saying that when these things begin to happen 'our redemption draws nigh'. Lk. 21, 29-31 is said to historicise eschatology further by asserting that only during the final cosmic stage is the Kingdom of heaven 'nigh'. The sense, however, is exactly parallel to that of Mk. 13, 28-29.

We suggest, therefore, that Luke's emphases are only emphases and not the result of a quite different or new standpoint. These emphases do not prove that Luke's central concern was the Parousia delay or that he felt it necessary to reformulate earlier hopes,¹ for he shares his salvation-historical standpoint, as we have seen, with the early church and Paul—and, as we shall now suggest, with *John*.

Bultmann² regards the primitive eschatology as demythologized by the Fourth Gospel. But the basis of the gospel appears to be still the life of Jesus understood as historical phenomenon,³ and we may notice the frequent temporal connections throughout and the geographical data.⁴ John does not attempt a separation of Jesus' significance for salvation from the historical particularity of his life, death and resurrection. The Prologue is condensed salvation-history, drawing out the significance of the 'Word made flesh' in its backward reference through Covenant history in its narrow sense into the general history of creation and pre-creation. Similarly the

¹ A good case can be made out for other aims and pressures behind Luke's composition: cf. Dibelius, *Studies*, pp. 146ff.: Ehrhardt, in *S.T.* XII, 1958, pp. 45ff.: Leaney, *Luke*, pp. 5ff.: and most recently O'Neill, *Theology of Acts*, p. 168.

² Cf. *Johannes, passim: Theology*, II, pp. 3ff.

³ Bultmann, *Theology*, II, p. 8, maintains that the history-of-salvation perspective as a whole is lacking in John. But it is fair to notice that John gives us his theological views only in the form of a life of Jesus and it is arguable that this historical life meant, to John, much more than a mere symbol or paedagogic tool.

⁴ Cf. temporal data in Jn. 1, 29; 35; 43. 2, 1; 12. 3, 22. 4, 43. 5, 1; 9. 6, 1; 22. etc. and geographical data in Jn. 1, 28; 43. 2, 1; 12. 3, 22. 4, 3; 43; 46. 5, 1; 2. 6, 1. etc.

conclusion of the gospel¹ looks to the future, to the mission arising from Jesus' own mission (20, 21f.) and, perhaps, hinting at the final End (20, 31). The *past* phases of salvation-history are emphasised in chapters 1-12 apparently because the theme throughout is the demand for faith. In chapters 13f. it is the believing community which is addressed and the hope centred upon the future phases of salvation-history becomes more prominent.² The centrality of the concept of salvation-history in the Fourth Gospel is well brought out in its treatment of the Sacraments. In both baptism and the last supper the tokens of the presence of the risen Lord with his community point back to his historical life, and forward to his final coming.³

It is hardly necessary to examine the remaining New Testament evidence,⁴ and we conclude with the following résumé. Salvation-

¹ I.e. chapter 20. Chapter 21 we take to be a secondary addition (cf. Barrett, *John*, p. 479).

² Cf. further below, pp. 212f.

³ Baptismal imagery runs throughout (1, 19-34. 3, 1-21. 3, 22-36. 5, 1-19. 9, 1-39. 13, 1-20. 19, 34) and so connects the sacrament with the whole course of Jesus' Life. The theme runs backwards (to John the Baptist, 1, 19f. and to Moses, 3, 14) and forward to the consummation at the End (3, 5. 3, 13-14). Eucharistic imagery also runs throughout (2, 1-11. 4, 1-30. 6, 1-13. 6, 26-65. 13, 21f. 19, 34. 21, 5-14). The theme again runs backward (to the manna of the old Covenant, 6, 41-51: to the Passover meal as proto type of the Crucifixion, 13, 1. 18, 28) and forward to the pouring out of the Spirit and the Messianic meal (4, 14. 4, 24) (cf. Cullmann, *Worship*, pp. 37ff.).

⁴ In the Pastorals, the right order emphasised (cf. I Tim. 1, 3-4. 3, 1ff. 4, 1f. II Tim. 1, 13. 2, 2. 3, 1f. 4, 3. Titus 1, 5f. 2, 1f. etc.) is understood as right evaluation of the salvation-history as it centres on Jesus—the fulfiller of the old promises (I Tim. 1, 15. 2, 5. 3, 16. 4, 10. 6, 13-14. II Tim. 1, 9f. 2, 8-9. Titus 1, 1-3. 2, 11. 3, 7), the present Lord (I Tim. 1, 12. 6, 14-15) and the one who will come at the End (I Tim. 4, 10. 6, 14-15. II Tim. 1, 18. 4, 1. Titus 2, 13. 3, 7). The divine ordering of this history is attested (I Tim. 2, 6. II Tim. 1, 9).

In the Catholic Epistles Jesus' life and work are presented as the fulfilment of prophecy (I Pet. 1, 10-11, 2, 24. 3, 18f. II Pet. 1, 19f. 2, 5f. 3, 2f. Jude 5f.). It is from this standpoint that the present and future are viewed. In the future, the salvation-history line reaches out to the Parousia (James 5, 7-8. I Pet. 1, 8; 13. 4, 7. II Pet. 3, 8f. I Jn. 2, 28.) The present is a period of patient waiting and obedience (James 1, 3f. 5, 7-11. I Pet. 3, 14. 4, 7f. II Pet. 1, 10. 3, 9) and of mission through the Spirit (I Pet. 1, 12. I Jn. 1, 20. 4, 2-3). Hebrews opens with a salvation-history summary (1, 1-4). In 2, 1-4 and 9-11 (also 12, 2. 13, 8) we find further summaries. The present period is one in which men are called to pay 'earnest heed' to the gospel proclamation (2, 1) and is therefore regarded as a merciful provision (11, 39). In the Book of Revelation the assurance of Jesus' return (1, 6. 3, 3; 12. 19, 11f. 22, 7; 20) is based on the Covenant of God with man. The line of salvation-history

history is a basic conception of the entire New Testament. From the centre, Jesus Christ, the line of salvation-history runs backwards through the covenant to creation and beyond, and forwards through the church and its mission to the Parousia and beyond. That God gives to certain events special significance is a 'mystery' (Rev. 10, 7) not obvious to human understanding but requiring to be revealed.¹ So that such revelation is an integral part of salvation-history, making faith (the confession of past phases of salvation-history) possible and with it the corollary, hope (in future phases of salvation-history yet to be unfolded).

There are numerous indications that Jesus himself held firmly to the concept of salvation-history which we have traced in Old and New Testaments. His submission to John's baptism is instructive, for the Baptist's work is orientated about the salvation-history expectation of Elijah prior to Messiah's appearing.² The Baptist's preaching, too, μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (Mk. 1, 4) can only be understood by reference to the Old Testament.³ Jesus' submission to John's baptism indicates sympathy with his salvation-history standpoint. Jesus' own preaching is likewise based upon the concept of salvation-history. The summary, Mk. 1, 15, is very probably an editorial compilation, but there is no reason to suppose that Mark or his source has misrepresented the substance of Jesus' message,⁴ and the terminology is charged with the concept of

extends backwards (so cf. 13, 8, 5, 5-6, 15, 3). The present period is one in which the gospel is proclaimed (6, 11, 7, 3f. 14, 6, 22, 17) calling forth faith and repentance (1, 3, 2, 1-3, 22) and there is a withholding of the End until the gospel has been fully proclaimed (6, 10, 7, 3f. 8, 1), whilst the faithful long for the End (3, 10, 6, 10, 22, 20) and the interim judgements and 'comings' take their course (3, 20, 9, 5ff. 12, 6).

¹ Cf. I Cor. 2, 10. Lk. 10, 21. Gal. 1, 16. Eph. 3, 5. Warfield, *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible*, p. 80.

² Cf. Mal. 4, 5. John's dress and diet were modelled, clearly, on Elijah's (II Kings 1, 8). The Synoptists agree in prefacing John's work with words of prophecy relating to the expected salvation, Mtt. 3, 3. Mk. 1, 2-3. Lk. 3, 4-6. Cf. Mal. 3, 1. Is. 40, 3-5. Cf. also Jn. 1, 23. Is. 40, 3.

³ Cf. Grundmann, in *T.W.N.T.* I, pp. 305ff. Behm and Wurthwein, in *T.W.N.T.* IV, pp. 947ff. Cranfield, *Mark*, pp. 44ff. Luke emphasises this context (cf. 1, 5-25, 1, 39-80, 3, 1-20), but cf. also Mtt. 3, 1-16. Mk. 1, 2-8. Jn. 1, 6-37. Robinson, *Problem*, pp. 22f.

⁴ Sharman, *Son of Man*, pp. 99f. contends this, but Kümmel, *Promise*, p. 25, n. 18 shows his arguments to be inadequate. Rawlinson, *Mark*, p. 13 says 'Mark's sentence . . . does admirably sum up the essence of our Lord's primary message.'

salvation-history (πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς¹ and ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ).² The terms which Jesus used of himself or apparently accepted from others³ are all understandable only in terms of the Old Testament and its pattern of salvation-history. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Jesus saw his role as fulfilling the expectation to which past stages of salvation-history and successive experiences of Covenant relationship looked in hope. Further, his own death and resurrection are seen as divinely ordained⁴ and to have 'prophetic' significance: that is, they cannot be understood apart from their place in salvation-history.⁵ The mission of the church is viewed, most probably, as a significant stage in the ongoing salvation-history.⁶ The fall of Jerusalem is seen from the same standpoint—not from some other (secular) position.⁷ And the Parousia is similarly understood. Although the End event is to be of a different texture from the events prior to it,⁸ it will be a real presence of Christ in the context of history and the total cosmic structure—i.e. it is a further phase in salvation-history.⁹

¹ Cf. Cranfield, *Mark*, p. 63. Marsh, in *T.W.B.* pp. 258ff. Barth, *C.D.* III/2, pp. 457ff.

² Cf. Schniewind, *Markus*, p. 16.

³ Cf. above chapter 3, pp. 42ff.

⁴ Mk. 8, 31. 9, 31. 10, 33 par. cf. Grundmann in *T.W.N.T.* II, pp. 21ff.

⁵ Cf. Lk. 13, 32f. Mk. 14, 3-9. 14, 22-31.

⁶ Cf. further below, pp. 95ff.

⁷ It is not sufficient to see it as merely the outcome of political events (Beasley-Murray, *Future*, p. 199 mentions the view of V. G. Sinklovitch that Jesus forecast its doom from this standpoint *alone*).

⁸ Cf. e.g. Lk. 17, 24 par.

⁹ Cf. Cullmann, *Early Church*, p. 144: *Time*, pp. 60f., 109. Barth, *C.D.* III/2, pp. 447ff. 464f.