

CONTENTS

Preface	xv	
PART I	Setting the Scene	1
1	The Target and the Arrows	3
	1. Introduction: The Target	3
	2. The Arrows	11
	(i) Shooting at the Sun	11
	(ii) Resurrection and History	12
	(a) The Senses of 'History'	12
	(b) No Access?	15
	(c) No Analogy?	16
	(d) No Real Evidence?	18
	(iii) Resurrection in History and Theology	20
	(a) No Other Starting-Point?	20
	(b) Resurrection and Christology	23
	(c) Resurrection and Eschatology	26
	3. The Historical Starting-Point	28
2	Shadows, Souls and Where They Go: Life Beyond Death in Ancient Paganism	32
	1. Introduction	32
	2. Shadows, Souls, or Potential Gods?	38
	(i) Introduction	38
	(ii) Witless Shadows in a Murky World?	39
	(iii) Disembodied but Otherwise Fairly Normal?	45
	(iv) Souls Released from Prison?	47
	(v) Becoming a God (or at least a Star)?	55
	3. Further Life from within the World of the Dead?	60
	(i) Introduction	60
	(ii) Eating with the Dead	61
	(iii) Spirits, Souls and Ghosts	62
	(iv) Returning from the Underworld	64
	(v) Cheating Death: The <i>Scheintod</i> Motif in Novels	68
	(vi) Translated to Be With the Gods	76
	(vii) Transmigration of Souls	77
	(viii) Dying and Rising Gods	80
	4. Conclusion: The One-Way Street	81
3	Time to Wake Up (1): Death and Beyond in the Old Testament	85
	1. Introduction	85
	2. Asleep with the Ancestors	87

(i) Next to Nothingness	87
(ii) Disturbing the Dead	93
(iii) The Unexplained Exceptions	94
(iv) The Land of No Return	96
(v) The Nature and Ground of Hope	99
3. And Afterwards?	103
(i) Introduction	103
(ii) Delivered from Sheol?	103
(iii) Glory after Suffering?	105
(iv) The Basis of Future Hope	107
4. Awakening the Sleepers	108
(i) Introduction	108
(ii) Daniel 12: The Sleepers Wake, the Wise Shine	109
(iii) The Servant and the Dust-Dwellers: Isaiah	115
(iv) On the Third Day: Hosea	118
(v) Dry Bones and God's Breath: Ezekiel	119
(vi) Resurrection and the Hope of Israel	121
5. Conclusion	127
4 Time to Wake Up (2):	
Hope Beyond Death in Post-Biblical Judaism	129
1. Introduction: The Spectrum	129
2. No Future Life, or None to Speak of: The Sadducees	131
3. Blessed (and Disembodied) Immortality	140
4. Resurrection in Second-Temple Judaism	146
(i) Introduction	146
(ii) Resurrection in the Bible: The More Greek the Better	147
(iii) New Life for the Martyrs: 2 Maccabees	150
(iv) Judgment and Life in God's New World: Resurrection and Apocalyptic	153
(v) Resurrection as the Vindication of the Suffering Wise: The Wisdom of Solomon	162
(vi) Resurrection, in Other Words: Josephus	175
(vii) Resurrection at Qumran?	181
(viii) Pseudo-Philo, <i>Biblical Antiquities</i>	189
(ix) Pharisees, Rabbis and Targumim	190
5. Resurrection in Ancient Judaism: Conclusion	200
PART II	
Resurrection in Paul	207
5 Resurrection in Paul (Outside the Corinthian Correspondence)	209
1. Introduction: The Early Christian Hope	209
2. 1 and 2 Thessalonians	213
3. Galatians	219
4. Philippians	225
5. Ephesians and Colossians	236
6. Philemon	240
7. Romans	241
(i) Introduction	241
(ii) Romans 1—4	242

(iii) Romans 5—8	248
(iv) Romans 9—11	260
(v) Romans 12—16	263
8. Interlude: The Pastoral Epistles	267
9. Paul (outside the Corinthian Correspondence): Conclusion	271
6 Resurrection in Corinth (1): Introduction	277
1. Introduction: The Problem	277
2. Resurrection in 1 Corinthians (apart from Chapter 15)	278
(i) Introduction	278
(ii) 1 Corinthians 1—4: God's Wisdom, God's Power, God's Future	280
(iii) 1 Corinthians 5—6: Sex, Lawyers and Judgment	286
(iv) 1 Corinthians 7: Marriage	291
(v) 1 Corinthians 8—10: Idols, Food, Monotheism and Apostolic Freedom	292
(vi) 1 Corinthians 11—14: Worship and Love	294
3. Resurrection in 2 Corinthians (apart from 4.7—5.11)	297
(i) Introduction	297
(ii) 2 Corinthians 1—2: Suffering and Comfort	300
(iii) 2 Corinthians 3.1—6.13: the Apostolic Apologia	302
(iv) 2 Corinthians 6.14—9.15: Fragments?	307
(v) 2 Corinthians 10—13: Weakness and Power	307
4. Conclusion: Resurrection at Corinth	309
7 Resurrection in Corinth (2): The Key Passages	312
1. 1 Corinthians 15	312
(i) Introduction	312
(ii) 1 Corinthians 15.1—11	317
(iii) 1 Corinthians 15.12—28	329
(a) Introduction	329
(b) 1 Corinthians 15.12—19	331
(c) 1 Corinthians 15.20—28	333
(iv) 1 Corinthians 15.29—34	338
(v) 1 Corinthians 15.35—49	340
(a) Introduction	340
(b) 1 Corinthians 15.35—41	342
(c) 1 Corinthians 15.42—9	347
(vi) 1 Corinthians 15.50—58	356
(vii) 1 Corinthians 15: Conclusion	360
2. 2 Corinthians 4.7—5.10	361
(i) Introduction	361
(ii) 2 Corinthians 4.7—15	362
(iii) 2 Corinthians 4.16—5.5	364
(iv) 2 Corinthians 5.6—10	369
(v) Conclusion	370
3. Conclusion: Resurrection in Paul	372
8 When Paul Saw Jesus	375
1. Introduction	375
2. Paul's Own Accounts	378

	(i) Galatians 1.11–17	378		(iv) Polycarp: <i>Letter and Martyrdom</i>	486
	(ii) 1 Corinthians 9.1	381		(v) <i>The Didache</i>	488
	(iii) 1 Corinthians 15.8–11	382		(vi) <i>Barnabas</i>	489
	(iv) 2 Corinthians 4.6	384		(vii) <i>The Shepherd of Hermas</i>	491
	(v) 2 Corinthians 12.1–4	386		(viii) Papias	492
	3. Paul's Conversion/Call in Acts	388		(ix) <i>The Epistle to Diognetus</i>	493
	4. Conversion and Christology	393	3. Early Christian Apocrypha		494
	5. Conclusion	398	(i) Introduction		494
			(ii) <i>The Ascension of Isaiah</i>		495
PART III	Resurrection in Early Christianity		(iii) <i>The Apocalypse of Peter</i>		496
	(Apart from Paul)	399	(iv) 5 Ezra		498
			(v) <i>The Epistula Apostolorum</i>		499
9	Hope Refocused (1):		4. The Apologists		500
	Gospel Traditions Outside the Easter Narratives	401	(i) Justin Martyr		500
	1. Introduction	401	(ii) Athenagoras		503
	2. Resurrection in Mark and its Parallels	404	(iii) Theophilus		506
	(i) Healing	404	(iv) Minucius Felix		508
	(ii) Challenge	405	5. The Great Early Theologians		510
	(iii) The Future Vindication of Jesus	408	(i) Tertullian		510
	(iv) Puzzles	411	(ii) Irenaeus		513
	(a) Herod	411	(iii) Hippolytus		517
	(b) The Disciples' Perplexity	414	(iv) Origen		518
	(v) The Sadducees' Question	415	6. Early Syriac Christianity		527
	(a) Introduction	415	(i) Introduction		527
	(b) No Marriage in the Resurrection	420	(ii) <i>The Odes of Solomon</i>		528
	(c) God of the Living	423	(iii) Tatian		531
	(d) Patriarchs, Exodus and Kingdom	426	(iv) <i>The Acts of Thomas</i>		532
	3. Resurrection in the Matthew/Luke Material (Sometimes Known as 'Q')	429	7. 'Resurrection' as Spirituality? Texts from Nag Hammadi and Elsewhere		534
	4. Resurrection in Matthew	434	(i) Introduction		534
	5. Resurrection in Luke	435	(ii) <i>The Gospel of Thomas</i>		534
	6. Resurrection in John	440	(iii) Other Thomas Literature		537
	7. Resurrection in the Gospels: Conclusion	448	(iv) <i>The Epistle to Rheginos</i>		538
			(v) <i>The Gospel of Philip</i>		541
			(vi) Other Nag Hammadi Treatises		544
			(vii) <i>The Gospel of the Saviour</i>		546
			(viii) Nag Hammadi: Conclusion		547
10	Hope Refocused (2):		8. The Second Century: Conclusion		551
	Other New Testament Writings	450			
	1. Introduction	450	12	Hope in Person: Jesus as Messiah and Lord	553
	2. Acts	451	1. Introduction		553
	3. Hebrews	457	2. Jesus as Messiah		554
	4. The General Letters	461	(i) Messiahship in Early Christianity		554
	5. Revelation	470	(ii) Messiahship in Judaism		557
	6. Conclusion: Resurrection in the New Testament	476	(iii) Why Then Call Jesus Messiah?		559
			3. Jesus, the Messiah, is Lord		563
11	Hope Refocused (3):		(i) Introduction		563
	Non-Canonical Early Christian Texts	480	(ii) Jesus and the Kingdom		566
	1. Introduction	480	(iii) Jesus and Caesar		568
	2. Apostolic Fathers	481	(iv) Jesus and YHWH		571
	(i) <i>1 Clement</i>	481	4. Conclusion: Resurrection within the Early Christian Worldview		578
	(ii) <i>2 Clement</i>	483			
	(iii) Ignatius of Antioch	484			

PART IV	The Story of Easter	585
13	General Issues in the Easter Stories	587
	1. Introduction	587
	2. The Origin of the Resurrection Narratives	589
	(i) Sources and Traditions?	589
	(ii) The <i>Gospel of Peter</i>	592
	(iii) The Form of the Story	596
	(iv) Redaction and Composition?	597
	3. The Surprise of the Resurrection Narratives	599
	(i) The Strange Silence of the Bible in the Stories	599
	(ii) The Strange Absence of Personal Hope in the Stories	602
	(iii) The Strange Portrait of Jesus in the Stories	604
	(iv) The Strange Presence of the Women in the Stories	607
	4. The Historical Options	608
14	Fear and Trembling: Mark	616
	1. Introduction	616
	2. The Ending	617
	3. From Story to History	625
	4. Easter Day from Mark's Point of View	627
15	Earthquakes and Angels: Matthew	632
	1. Introduction	632
	2. Ruptured Earth and Rising Corpses	632
	3. The Priests, the Guards and the Bribe	636
	4. Tomb, Angels, First Appearance (28.1-10)	640
	5. On the Mountain in Galilee (28.16-20)	642
	6. Matthew and the Resurrection: Conclusion	645
16	Burning Hearts and Broken Bread: Luke	647
	1. Introduction	647
	2. Luke 24 and Acts 1 within Luke's Work as a Whole	649
	3. The Unique Event	656
	4. Easter and the Life of the Church	659
	5. Luke and the Resurrection: Conclusion	660
17	New Day, New Tasks: John	662
	1. Introduction	662
	2. John 20 within the Gospel as a Whole	667
	3. The Contribution of John 21	675
	4. The Gospel Easter Stories: Conclusion	679
PART V	Belief, Event and Meaning	683
18	Easter and History	685
	1. Introduction	685
	2. The Tomb and the Meetings	686
	3. Two Rival Theories	697

	(i) 'Cognitive Dissonance'	697
	(ii) A New Experience of Grace	701
	4. The Necessary Condition	706
	5. The Historical Challenge of Jesus' Resurrection	710
19	The Risen Jesus as the Son of God	719
	1. Worldview, Meaning and Theology	719
	2. The Meanings of 'Son of God'	723
	(i) Introduction	723
	(ii) Resurrection and Messiahship	726
	(iii) Resurrection and World Lordship	728
	(iv) Resurrection and the Question of God	731
	3. Shooting at the Sun?	736

Bibliography 739

Abbreviations 739

1. Stylistic Shorthands	739
2. Primary Sources	739
3. Secondary Sources, etc.	741

A Primary Sources 745

1. Bible	745
2. Other Jewish Texts	745
3. Other Early Christian and Related Texts	746
4. Pagan Texts	747

B Secondary Literature 751

Indexes 780

Index of Ancient Sources 780

1. Old Testament	780
2. Apocrypha	784
3. Pseudepigrapha	785
4. Qumran	786
5. Josephus	787
6. Philo	787
7. Rabbinic Works	787
8. New Testament	788
9. Christian and/or Gnostic Works	799
10. Greco-Roman Texts	802
11. Persian Texts	806
12. Egyptian Texts	806

Index of Modern Authors 807

Index of Selected Topics 812