

# Contents

Abbreviations — XV

Translations — XVII

## Chapter 1: Introduction — 1

- 1 A note on nomenclature — 2
- 2 Hans Conzelmann and post-war debates about uneschatological Luke — 3
- 2.1 The reception of Conzelmann's work — 6
- 2.2 Oscar Cullmann and a linear schema of history and its end — 9
- 3 Genre, rhetoric, and Graeco-Roman comparisons — 14
- 4 This study — 19

## Chapter 2: Genre, themes that transcend genre, and the approach of this study — 21

- 1 The importance and limits of genre — 21
- 1.1 Ancient and contemporary genre theory and practice — 23
- 1.2 Maintaining precision regarding genre — 28
- 1.3 Views shared across ancient texts of different genres — 29
- 2 This study's approach to examining Luke's conception of history — 32
- 2.1 Mapping understandings of history in Luke's context — 32
- 2.2 Building a series of detailed case studies — 33
- 2.3 Expanding the scope of texts relevant to Luke's cultural context — 35
- 3 The case study texts — 37
- 3.1 Texts chosen for analysis — 40
- 3.2 Texts omitted from detailed discussion — 51
- 3.3 General approach to Luke/Acts — 54
- 4 The aspects of history discussed in the following chapters — 56

## Chapter 3: The direction and shape of history — 57

- 1 Introduction: the importance of schemas of history — 57
- 2 Texts without a sense of an endpoint to history — 63
- 2.1 Hints of positive progress in history — 63
- 2.2 Steady continuation of history — 73
- 2.3 Decline in history — 76

3	Periodised history with an end — <b>80</b>
3.1	Progress to the end of history — <b>82</b>
3.2	Steady continuation of history with an end — <b>87</b>
3.3	Decline in teleological history — <b>107</b>
4	Periodised and teleological history in Luke/Acts — <b>113</b>
4.1	Times and periods in Luke/Acts — <b>115</b>
4.2	Teleological history in Luke/Acts — <b>129</b>
4.3	The direction of history in Luke/Acts — <b>132</b>
5	Conclusion — <b>133</b>

**Chapter 4: Determinism and divine guidance of history — 135**

1	Introduction — <b>135</b>
2	The forces in history — <b>138</b>
2.1	τύχη/ <i>fortuna</i> — <b>140</b>
2.2	πρόνοια/ <i>providentia</i> — <b>146</b>
2.3	ειμαρμένη/ <i>fatum</i> — <b>149</b>
2.4	ἀνάγκη/ <i>necessitas</i> — <b>154</b>
2.5	δεῖ — <b>157</b>
2.6	Summary: personal and impersonal forces in history — <b>164</b>
3	Prophetic insights into the future — <b>166</b>
3.1	Prophetic insights according to Polybius, Diodorus, Valerius, and Tacitus — <b>166</b>
3.2	Prophecy in Virgil's <i>Aeneid</i> — <b>170</b>
3.3	Prophecy, determinism, and divine guidance in the study's remaining texts — <b>172</b>
3.4	Summary: prophetic signs and determinism — <b>183</b>
4	Prophetic insight and the divine plan in Luke/Acts — <b>184</b>
4.1	Prophecy in Luke/Acts: interpreting the past and assuring for the future — <b>185</b>
4.2	Assurance of the divine βουλή in Luke/Acts — <b>192</b>
5	Conclusion — <b>203</b>

**Chapter 5: Human responsibility and freedom — 205**

1	Introduction — <b>205</b>
2	Interactions of, or conflicts between, divine and human agency — <b>208</b>
3	Engaging with Deuteronomistic approaches to divine and human agency — <b>212</b>
3.1	Deuteronomistic approaches — <b>213</b>

- 3.2 Extensions of Deuteronomistic themes in late Second Temple texts — 217
- 3.3 Other spiritual forces in late Second Temple texts — 229
- 3.4 Θεομάχοι — 231
- 4 Divine and human responsibility in other texts — 235
- 4.1 Human responsibility and divine action — 235
- 4.2 The divine *as* the opponent — 239
- 5 Summary: divine and human agency in the key texts — 241
- 6 Interactions between divine and human agency in Luke/Acts — 242
- 6.1 Attributions of responsibility in explanations of the past — 243
- 6.2 Θεομάχοι in Luke/Acts — 246
- 6.3 Human response and reversal in Luke/Acts — 251
- 7 Conclusion: human response in Luke/Acts — 266

#### Chapter 6: The present and the end of history — 269

- 1 Introduction — 269
- 2 The present and the future in non-teleological texts — 272
- 3 The historical present *is* the *telos*: Virgil's *Aeneid* — 276
- 3.1 Virgil's portrait of the end — 276
- 3.2 The significance of the "now" in the *Aeneid* — 278
- 3.3 The consequences of aligning the present with the end — 281
- 4 The present and the end of history in late Second Temple texts — 283
- 4.1 The relationship between the present and the end — 283
- 4.2 Consequences of the dynamic relationship between the present and the end — 296
- 5 The present and the end of history in Luke/Acts — 301
- 5.1 The events of the end in Luke/Acts — 301
- 5.2 The placement of the present in Luke's schema of history — 303
- 5.3 The character of life in the present according to Luke — 309
- 6 Conclusion: hope, politics, and invitation at the end of history — 330

#### Chapter 7: Conclusion — 336

- 1 Luke's eschatology and its effects — 336
- 2 Assessment of method — 339
- 3 Salvation history and post-war concerns — 342

**Appendices — 345**

Appendix 1: ὁ αἰών in the Gospels and Acts — 345

Appendix 2: ὁ καιρός in the Gospels and Acts — 346

Appendix 3: ὁ χρόνος in the Gospels and Acts — 347

Appendix 4: ἡ ὥρα in the Gospels and Acts — 348

Appendix 5: ἡ ἡμέρα in the Gospels and Acts — 349

**Bibliography — 353**

**Index of ancient sources — 380**

**Index of modern authors — 408**

**Index of subjects — 414**