

#### THE FIRST CHRISTIAN HISTORIAN

As the first historian of Christianity, Luke's reliability is vigorously disputed among scholars. The author of the Acts is often accused of being a biased, imprecise and anti-Jewish historian who created a distorted portrait of Paul. Daniel Marguerat tries to avoid being caught in this true/false quagmire when examining Luke's interpretation of history. Instead he combines different tools—reflection upon historiography, the rules of ancient historians and narrative criticism—to analyse the Acts and gauge the historiographical aims of their author. Marguerat examines the construction of the narrative, the framing of the plot and the characterization, and places his evaluation firmly in the framework of ancient historiography, where history reflects tradition and not documentation. This is a fresh and original approach to the classic themes of Lucan theology: Christianity between Jerusalem and Rome, the image of God, the work of the Spirit, the unity of Luke and the Acts.

DANIEL MARGUERAT is Professor of New Testament at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, and a leading scholar on the book of *Acts*. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Le jugement dans l'évangile de Matthieu* (2nd edn, 1995) and *How to Read Bible Stories* (in collaboration with Yvan Bourquin, 1999).



SOCIETY FOR NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

MONOGRAPH SERIES

General Editor: Richard Bauckham

121

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN HISTORIAN



# The First Christian Historian

Writing the 'Acts of the Apostles'

DANIEL MARGUERAT

Université de Lausanne, Switzerland

Translated by Ken McKinney, Gregory J. Laughery and Richard Bauckham





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011–4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Daniel Marguerat 2002

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2002 First paperback edition 2004

Typeface Times 10/12 pt System LAT<sub>F</sub>X2<sub>E</sub> [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Marguerat, Daniel, 1943-

[Première histoire du christianisme. English]

The first Christian historian: Acts of the Apostles / Daniel Marguerat; translated by Ken McKinney, Gregory J. Laughery and Richard Bauckham

p. cm. (Society for New Testament Studies monograph series; 121)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 81650 5 (hardback)

1. Bible. N.T. Acts – Historiography. I. Title. II. Monograph series (Society for New Testament Studies); 121.

BS2625.6.H5513 2002 226.6'067–dc21

2002019251

ISBN 0 521 81650 5 hardback ISBN 0 521 60949 6 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2004



In memory of Dom Jacques Dupont (1915–1998)



## **CONTENTS**

	Preface	page xi
1	How Luke wrote history How does one write history? Luke: the position of a historian Conclusion: Luke at the crossroads of two historiographies	1 2 13 25
2	A narrative of beginnings Seeking a literary genre The point of view of Luke the historian Conclusion: the Gospel and the apostle	26 26 34 40
3	The unity of Luke–Acts: the task of reading Luke–Acts, a narrative entity Three unifying procedures Permanence and suspension of the Law Conclusion: Luke–Acts, a diptych	43 47 49 59 63
4	A Christianity between Jerusalem and Rome Paul, Barnabas, Timothy and others Semantic ambivalence: a Lucan rhetorical device A theological programme of integration Conclusion: integration of the opposing poles	65 66 68 75 82
5	The God of Acts Two languages to speak of 'God' How are the history of God and human history articulated? Conclusion: the God of Luke	85 86 92 107
6	The work of the Spirit The Church between fire and the Word The Spirit builds the Church 'They spoke the Word of God with boldness' The Spirit and unity	109 110 113 118 121

ix



## x List of contents

	Free or captive Spirit?	124
	Conclusion: a pragmatic of the Spirit	128
7	Jews and Christians in conflict	129
	Israel, a two-sided face	130
	A prophetic model of rupture	136
	The turning-point of history	141
	Openness and closure (Acts 21–28)	147
	Conclusion: continuity and rupture	151
8	Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5. 1–11):	
	the original sin	155
	Five readings of the text	156
	The narrative structure of Acts 2–5	158
	The community, the Spirit and the Word	164
	An original sin	172
	An ethic of sharing	176
	Conclusion: an original sin in the Church	177
9	Saul's conversion (Acts 9; 22; 26)	179
	A series of three narratives	183
	What is specific to each narrative	191
	Conclusion: an enlightening role in Acts	203
10	The enigma of the end of Acts (28. 16–31)	205
	The problematic of the ending of Acts	206
	A rhetoric of silence	210
	Acts 27–28 and the displacement of the reader's expectation	216
	The last theological disputation (28. 17–28)	221
	Paul the exemplary pastor (28. 30–31)	226
	Conclusion: the power of the end	229
11	Travels and travellers	231
	The narrative function of travel in the book of Acts	236
	Images of travel in Graeco-Roman culture	239
	The semantics of the journey in the book of Acts	246
	Conclusion: the memory of a time when the Word travelled	256
	Bibliography	257
	Index of passages	282
	maex of passages	202



## **PREFACE**

Luke, not Eusebius of Caesarea, was the first Christian historian. In antiquity, he was the first to present a religious movement in a historiographical manner. As for all historians, the aim of Luke is identity. When he recounts the birth of Christianity, its undesirable rupture with Judaism, and then the universal adventure of the Word, the author of Acts offers the Christianity of his time, an understanding of its identity through a return to its origins.

My reading of the historiographical work of Luke combines two procedures of investigation: historical criticism and narrative criticism. I am convinced that the understanding of a biblical writing requires that it be immersed in the historical milieu of its production (this is the epistemological credo of the historical-critical method). Constantly, in the course of the study, I shall be examining the culture and codes of communication of the ancient Mediterranean world to which Luke and his readers belong. However, the author of Acts is also a storyteller; the tools of narrative criticism help to identify the strategy of the narrator, the organization of the story, and the programmatic clues for reading that he has sown in his text.

One of the insights defended in this book is that we cannot reach the theology the author has written into his work without adopting the itinerary he imposes on his readers; this itinerary is the twists and turns of the narrative. I think that narrative reading makes it possible to do justice to the thinking, often scorned by scholars, of this talented story-teller. Because he tells his story well, Luke's thinking is not systematic. In rediscovering the hidden architecture of his work, one discovers the mastery and coherence of this great historian and theologian, without whom Christianity would be ignorant of most of its origins.

This book is the translation of eleven chapters of my work *La première histoire du Christianisme (Actes des apôtres)* (Lectio Divina 180; Paris, Cerf and Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1999). Chapter 10 has been published in a slightly abridged form in David P. Moessner, *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel* (Harrisburg, PA, Trinity Press International, 1999), pp. 284–304.

xi



## xii Preface

Begun in November 1992 at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley (where I was an invited scholar), the French version was completed in June 1999 at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland). Its argumentation has profited from the questions and suggestions of countless colleagues, students and friends, many of whom are cited in the footnotes. The preparation of the book owes much to my assistant Emmanuelle Steffek, whose work was invaluable, checking the references, the bibliography, and the multiple re-drafts. The English version depends on the talent of three translators, Ken McKinney, Gregory J. Laughery and Richard Bauckham, whom I congratulate on their patience in understanding my French. I am particularly indebted to Richard Bauckham for having reread and corrected the English text, and to David Alban and Valérie Nicolet, whose competencies were precious in checking the final version. The English translation was made possible through a grant of the 'Société Académique Vaudoise', and the generosity of a donor.

I wonder if Luke benefited from as much support. I hope so.