

A consensus developed in all schools of Islamic Law that the male apostate must be put to death, while most schools agreed that female apostates should be dealt with in the same way. In modern times, influential South Asian Islamist author Maulana Abū al-Aʿlā Maudūdī affirmed the medieval consensus in his book, *The Punishment of the Apostate According to Islamic Law*.

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Gordon Nickel

See also → Conversion; → Persecution; → Sin, Sinners

## Apostle

- I. New Testament
- II. Christianity
- III. Islam
- IV. Literature
- V. Visual Arts
- VI. Film

### I. New Testament

**1. Issues in Defining "Apostle."** Scholars have debated the meaning of ἀπόστολος (often translated "apostle"), since J. B. Lightfoot's seminal work (Lightfoot 1981; originally 1865). A few linguistic issues raised in the study of ἀπόστολος invite clarification. First, the word is used in a general sense as well as a semi-technical sense in the New Testament. A few of the 80 occurrences of ἀπόστολος are used to express the more generic idea of one who is sent (cf. John 13:16 where the noun is essentially defined by πέμπω, "to send;" "an ἀπόστολος is not greater than the one who sends him/her"). The occurrences at Phil 2:25, 2 Cor 8:23, and Heb 3:1 (Christ as ἀπόστολος), also fit this category. Most occurrences of ἀπόστολος, however, fit a semi-technical sense by referring to a group of leaders within the early church who fulfilled a role vested with some authority. Scholars have debated the defining features of this group and the resulting breadth of its membership. E.g., some scholars understand the "apostles" to be limited to the "Twelve" and Paul, while others recognize a number of additional New Testament leaders to belong to the apostolic group, including James and Barnabas. A complicating issue is the somewhat circular interplay between defining the sense of ἀπόστολος (e.g., a witness of Jesus' earthly ministry; cf. Acts 1:21–22) and identifying its referent (e.g., the Twelve).

A second linguistic issue in defining the term ἀπόστολος is its much-discussed etymology. Early

discussion of the origin of its New Testament usage explored its possible derivation from the Semitic *šālīah* concept. Though introduced by Lightfoot, Rengstorf has provided the most detailed argument for the connection between ἀπόστολος and the *šālīah* figure of rabbinic Judaism (Rengstorf 1952: 11–24). The *šālīah* speaks and acts not out of self-authorization but from the sender's authorization (cf. John 13:16). The greatest difficulty with this argument is the post-New Testament dating of the evidence for a direct connection between *šālīah* and ἀπόστολος. A resulting second stage of research emerged in the middle of the 20th century, arguing for the novelty of the New Testament ἀπόστολος concept. While most of these scholars argued for a solely Christian origin of the concept, Schmithals (1969: 114–192) traced its Christian usage to a gnostic redeemer figure. In recent research, there has been a modification of the view that ἀπόστολος is of Jewish derivation, focused on the HB/OT and the Jewish sending tradition as the source for both ἀπόστολος and *šālīah* concepts (Agnew 1986: 94).

**2. Primary New Testament Usage: Paul and Acts. a. Paul.** Occasionally, Paul uses the term ἀπόστολος in a general sense to refer to those sent by and acting for churches. In Philemon 2:25, Erastus is called "[the Philippians'] ἀπόστολον." In 2 Corinthians 8:23, Paul refers to two believers who have assisted with the Jerusalem collection as "ἀπόστολοι of the churches" (cf. 8:19). Scholarly consensus understands these uses of ἀπόστολος to convey the sense of "messenger(s)."

Paul's other uses of ἀπόστολος carry a more restricted, semi-technical, sense. Typically translated as "apostle," these occurrences refer to those with specific leadership credentials and tasks. Paul mentions several such credentials, which include having witnessed the resurrected Jesus (1 Cor 9:1; 15:3–8; cf. Acts 1:22); having been commissioned as an itinerant missionary or church planter (Gal 1:1, 8–10; Clark 1989: 56; Agnew 1986: 77); and performing mighty works in the spread of the gospel (Paul's "signs of a true apostle"; 2 Cor 12:12). Yet if Schnackenburg (1970: 301) is right that Paul "did not know of a uniform concept of apostleship [with] clear-cut criteria," care should be taken to allow for flexibility in Paul's sense(s) of the term.

Even in Paul's semi-technical use of ἀπόστολος, he refers to a broad group: the Twelve (δώδεκα), himself, and a number of other "apostles." Paul affirms his own apostolic role and authority as equal to that of the Jerusalem apostles (likely, the Twelve and James; Gal 1:19). In Galatians 1–2, he argues that his apostleship has come directly from Christ apart from human mediation (1:1, 10–12, 16–20; cf. ἀπόστολος in his other epistolary greetings: Romans; 1–2 Corinthians; cf. Ephesians, Colossians, 1–2 Timothy, and Titus). In addition, Paul speaks of his distinctive role as apostle to the Gentiles (Rom 11:13; Gal 2:7–9; cf. 1 Tim 2:7).

Paul also describes others with this narrower use of ἀπόστολος, though some have argued for further subdivision (e.g., Cerfaux's [1962: 191–94] intermediate “missionary” category between “messengers” and “apostles”; cf. also Clark 1989: 62; Barrett [1970: 71–73] delineates eight usages). In his semi-technical usage of ἀπόστολος, Paul seems to focus on those believers who have seen the resurrected Jesus (1 Cor 9:1; 15:5–7) and, as such, witness to the gospel of the risen Lord (1 Thess 2:7–8). In his reference to the Jerusalem apostles, he includes James (1 Cor 15:7; Gal 1:19; cf. Clark for issues translating the latter; Clark 1989: 60). In 1 Cor 15:5–7, a wider group is envisioned: “he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. Then he appeared to more than five hundred brothers and sisters ... Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles.” “All the apostles” seems to include more than Cephas, the Twelve, and James, so that “this category could have been considerably larger than the few names we know” (Bauckham 2002: 180; cf. Rengstorf 1952: 44).

Not surprisingly then, Paul specifically names other “apostles” beyond the Twelve, James, and himself. While defending his own apostolic rights, Paul refers to Barnabas as one with such rights (1 Cor 9:6). Also, in 1 Thess 2:7, Paul states, “we might have made demands as apostles of Christ.” The “we” in this case is Paul and likely Silvanus (1:1; Silvanus; i.e., Silas of Acts 17:4), since Paul recalls their initial mission to the Thessalonians. Given that Paul is again referring to the rights of apostles, he seems to include Silvanus in a category of ἀπόστολος that carries some measure of authority (possibly Timothy as well; cf. Schnackenburg 1970: 270), though this instance is debated.

Finally, Paul describes Andronicus and Junia as “my relatives ... prominent among the apostles” (Rom 16:7). Paul refers to these two (presumably, husband and wife; cf. 16:3) as apostles of prominence, making it unlikely that the two are ἀπόστολοι in the sense of messengers, though there has been significant questioning of their inclusion in the apostolic circle (e.g., Burer/Wallace 2001: 84–90; Schnackenburg 1970: 293). One issue raised is the gender of Junia. Scholarship in much of the 20th century assumed the masculinity of Junia(s) (e.g., Barrett 1970: 85). Nevertheless, as Epp (2005) has argued on lexical and historical grounds, Junia is most certainly a woman. From another angle, some have read the phrase ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀπόστολοις as “well known to the apostles,” arguing on grammatical grounds against their inclusion as apostles (e.g., Burer/Wallace 2001: 84–91). Yet this exclusive argument has received significant and compelling critique from both Epp (2005: 72–78) and Bauckham (2002: 172–80). Most likely Paul is here referring to two apostles, a man and a woman, who “were in Christ” before he was. The latter de-

scription coheres with the temporal reference to his own apostleship in 1 Cor 15:8–9 (cf. Bauckham's suggestion that Junia might be Johanna of Luke 8 and 24, a resurrection witness; Bauckham 2002: 181–86).

Finally, Paul's references to “false/super apostles” in 2 Cor 11:5, 13 and 12:11 indicate that some coming to Corinth could claim to be apostles on a par with Paul himself (11:12). The very fact of their possible acceptance as apostles by the Corinthians (11:13) and Paul's extended argument against their apostleship support a broader scope of apostleship. (For a similar situation elsewhere, cf. Rev 2:2).

**b. Luke-Acts.** In the few occurrences of ἀπόστολος in the synoptic gospels (Mark 3:14; 6:30; Matt 10:2; Luke 6:13; 9:10; 11:49; 17:5; 22:14; 24:10), the term is often qualified by the “twelve” (for δώδεκα ἀπόστολος elsewhere in New Testament, cf. Jude 17; Rev 21:14). Key issues surrounding these occurrences include whether the concept goes back to Jesus (Rengstorf 1952: 32–41; Schmithals 1969: 72; Kirk 1975: 258–59) and whether the Synoptics demonstrate a more rigid identification of the apostle concept with the Twelve that derives from the time of their composition. On the latter issue, Rengstorf has argued that the linking of the two terms argues against their complete identification (Rengstorf 1952: 33). Of importance for this issue is whether the unified testimony of the Synoptics concerning the Twelve as reconstituting Israel's 12 tribes necessitates a strong link between the Twelve and the ἀπόστολος concept.

Initial references to ἀπόστολος in Acts (of 28 occurrences) come in the early scene where the pre-Pentecost believing community chooses one who had been with Jesus in his earthly ministry to take the place of Judas (Acts 1:15–26). The restoring of the number 12 as symbolic for representing reconstituted Israel is clearly important here. That Matthias is not mentioned again in the rest of Acts demonstrates the centrality of this symbolism. Most other occurrences of ἀπόστολος in Acts refer to the Twelve, who proclaim and witness to the gospel about Jesus the Messiah and lead the early believing community (e.g., Acts 1:2; 2:37; 4:33; 5:29; 9:27; 15:2 [coupled with “elders”]; 16:4).

Yet, there are two uses at Acts 14:4, 14 that refer to Paul and Barnabas as apostles. A prominent interpretation of these verses in light of Acts 1:21–22 has assigned 14:4, 14 to a pre-Lukan source or tradition (Klein 1961: 211–12; Roloff 1981: 36; Best 1992: 310). Alternately, Barrett has argued that “the unofficial use of ‘apostle’ as ‘missionary’ slips through” here (Barrett 1970: 49; also Cerfaux 1962: 196). By these arguments, some have essentially confined technical usage of ἀπόστολος in Acts to the Twelve. Yet the narrational placement of this expanded referent for ἀπόστολος in Acts 14 may indi-

cate that Luke intends such a broadening of the apostle category precisely as the church's mission proceeds to Gentiles (as Marshall hints; Marshall 1970: 106).

**c. Relationship between Paul and Acts.** The development between the use of ἀπόστολος in the Pauline corpus and in Luke-Acts has been a significant point of scholarly discussion given that most New Testament usages occur in these two sets of works and since their uses of ἀπόστολος are quite distinct (for occurrences apart from Acts and Paul not already mentioned, cf. the greetings of 1 and 2 Peter and Rev 18:20). Some have suggested a fossilizing of the concept of apostle from early Pauline fluidity to the entrenched equation of apostle with the Twelve (supposedly) from Acts. Others, such as Kirk, have argued for a more unified picture across the New Testament (Kirk 1975: 249).

While attention to development is important, the flexibility of the term's usage by each writer (since ἀπόστολος is not yet fully a technical term for Paul or Luke) should caution against too rigid a construal of ἀπόστολος. In addition, often implicit in developmental views is a favoring of earlier, fluid ideas without necessarily representing well why Luke might limit his usage of ἀπόστολος for his audience and purposes. By locating development even within Luke's usage (i.e., in his narrative movement of the gospel witness expanding to Gentiles), a more nuanced construal of development emerges. In both Paul and Acts the semi-technical usage of ἀπόστολος is broader than the Twelve, though the author of Acts does not have theological (or historical) reasons to refer to others besides Paul and Barnabas. It is possible to avoid a simplistic view of uniformity without superimposing a value-laden grid on the differences between the Pauline letters and Acts.

**3. Conclusion.** Although there is rather broad consensus that the origin of the New Testament ἀπόστολος concept lies in Jewish antecedents, debate continues over its New Testament usage. In part, ongoing deliberation arises from the inability of etymology to define fully what has become a semi-technical term in the New Testament. Part of the difficulty of defining the term also comes from the interplay of sense and referent in many of its New Testament occurrences, especially those in Paul and Acts. In its semi-technical use, ἀπόστολος seems to refer to one who has some measure of authority in witnessing to and preaching the risen Christ. As such, ἀπόστολος can refer to other church leaders beyond the Twelve and Paul. Acts extends its referent to Paul and Barnabas; Paul describes an even wider group with the term.

In the end, the overarching picture of the New Testament use of ἀπόστολος drawn by various scholars may differ significantly depending on what ideas and whose testimony receive primary at-

tention and how development of the concept is constituted. The composite portrait that emerges will impact an understanding of apostolicity in its application to the church. That various religious traditions can claim different notions of apostolic authority or even continuation of the office of apostle suggests that the New Testament material variously configured and prioritized can support diverse readings.

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Jeannine K. Brown

## II. Christianity

■ Greek Patristics and Orthodox Churches ■ Medieval Times and Reformation Era ■ New Churches and Movements

### A. Greek Patristics and Orthodox Churches

The New Testament presents a variety of usages for the term apostle ranging from the basic meaning of "sent one" (e.g., 2 Cor 8:23; Phil 2:25) to employment for the office of the Twelve and Paul (e.g., Luke 6:14–16; Acts 1:13–26; 1 Cor 15:9; cf. Pol. *Phil.* 9:1). While there has been general consensus that these differences represent an evolution of the term from the "functional" to the "official" over time, it would seem that this is an overly precise dichotomy. As a survey of the period shows, the two meanings, while distinguishable, remained inter-related in the minds of the patristic and early medieval writers. The apostolic status is dependent upon election by Christ and the reception of the gift of the Holy Spirit, with the subsequent function of being sent with an authoritative message.

The variety of the New Testament usage of apostle is mirrored in the earliest post-apostolic writings. The *Didache* speaks of apostles in a general functional sense, without reference to the 12 apostles (11:3). At around the same time, the Twelve are given a central position as the messengers of Christ in the Christian addition to the *Ascen. Isa.*

(3:13–21). The very lack of preparation of the apostles was to reveal God's supernatural power (*Pseudo-Barnabas* 5:9–10; Justin, *Apol.* 1.39). Just as Christ had been sent by God, now the apostles were sent by Christ and empowered by the Holy Spirit (1 *Clement* 42.3). Thus the apostles go out as envoys, representing, and equipped by, the one who sent them. The apostles are depicted in the *Acts Thom.* 1 as gathering to apportion the regions of the world for evangelism (cf. also Justin, *Apol.* 1.49; Aristides, *Apol.* 2). Besides this role of worldwide preaching, one can also see at an early date the function of the apostolic message as authoritative teaching (Papias in Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.39; Aristides, *Apol.* 2).

If the apostles were sent by Christ, as Christ had been sent by God (cf. Heb 3:1), then naturally the apostles would in turn appoint others to continue their work. These bishops and deacons are mentioned as the “first fruits” of the apostolic ministry (1 *Clem.* 42.4). The gnostics apparently claimed that the apostles only preached part of their message publicly, reserving the rest as secret tradition (Irenaeus, *Haer.* iii.12.6). In response, the demonstration of the succession of bishops from an apostolic source became an important part of establishing the orthodoxy of a local church. This seems to have started with Hegesippus (in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.11; iii.32.1–2; iv.8.1), but apostolic succession came to be used generally by the orthodox as a polemical tool (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.6.5; Tertullian, *Praescr.* 32). The link to the apostles not only secured a line of authority, but also ensured a “certain spiritual gift of truth” (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.26.2) and the proper understanding of Scripture (Origen, *Princ.* 4.2.2). The bishops were instituted by the apostles, who themselves were instituted by Christ, thus forming a great “chain of ordination” (Cyprian, *Ep.* 66.4.1). Authority was ascribed to the apostles because they had faithfully transmitted “the discipline they had received from Christ” (Isidore of Seville, *Or.* 6.2.50) and this authority was passed on to their successors (*Apost. Con.* 7.46).

While all the apostles were considered foundational to the church, there was a tendency, especially in the West, to stress the Petrine foundation of Rome and thereby demonstrate the primacy of that See (cf. Matt 16:18–19). Jerome stated that it is for the unity of the church that Peter was appointed the head of the apostles (*Adv. Jov.* 1.26) and Leo the Great affirmed that the church “ever finds Peter in Peter's See” (*Serm.* 2.2) and his faith is perpetual in his successors (*Serm.* 3.3).

Writers throughout the period continued to underline both the status and the function of the apostles and their successors. They are nobler than Moses and the prophets (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Lect.* 14.26) and the days of the apostles were to be set aside as days of rest (*Apos. Con.* 8.33). For Augustine, not only did the apostles transmit Christ's

message, but in some sense Christ himself was present in them (*Enarr. Ps.* 86.3). Due to their unique position as eyewitnesses to Christ and his passion, they were due special honor (John of Damascus, *Fid. Or.* 15). And yet, even with the continued focus on apostolic status, there is still an emphasis on apostolic function. In a striking example from the end of our period, Bede stated that Pope Gregory, in spite of his Papal office, still functioned as a true apostle by sending Augustine to England (*Ecll. hist.* 2.1).

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Jon Robertson

## B. Medieval Times and Reformation Era

For medieval belief, it is essential to see the church as founded on the apostles. Apostolicity as a sign of the church becomes concrete by the personal dimension of the apostles, an idea that is often symbolized by the image of the apostles as the pillars on which the church is built. They are both originators and permanent governors of the church, as Gregory the Great points out in the preface to the liturgy of the feast of St. Peter and Paul. The main source for apostolic teaching is the Apostles' Creed, mentioned by Rufinus in the 4th century, but firstly witnessed with its full text in the *Scarapsus* of Pirmin in the 8th century. Even if this text is understood as the complex essence of the biblical text, at the same time the creed testifies to the apostles safeguarding the tradition of the church. This belief made it possible to see the apostles as holders of a tradition unrecorded in scripture but rather given to them by the Holy Spirit and promulgated to the succession of the believers, as Thomas of Aquinas points out with reference to 2 Thess 2:15.

Both as a group and individually, the apostles became objects of devotion. The term “apostle” was mostly used in a wider sense, first for Paul as the apostle to the Gentiles, then to the Twelve who were remembered as apostles. Sometimes, the difficulty surrounding the enumeration of the Twelve

has been resolved by putting Paul himself at the place of Matthias, the apostle elected after the exclusion of Judas (Acts 1:23–26). But mostly, 12 was just the symbolic number that gave the apostolic college presence in liturgy, e.g., in the 12 crosses of consecration or in the ritual foot-washing on Maundy Thursday, which manifested the obedience of the bishops to John 13:15. In this ceremony, members of the parish represented the whole circle of apostles. While the western tradition seems not to have adopted the eastern tradition of a Feast of all Apostles, there were also rites to hold the group in veneration, especially the Feast *divisio apostolorum* in the middle of July (usually the 15th) that remembered the apostle's farewell, when each of them went to another direction of mission. Over time, the feasts of individual apostles grew in importance, beginning with Peter, and by the 9th century most were celebrated with their own feasts.

The outstanding importance of Peter in the circle of the apostles also had consequences for local devotion: the tomb of Peter, and later the tomb of Paul, made Rome the center of apostolic tradition. But in a strict sense this was not the only apostolic see, even, the other way round, most bishop sees tended to reconstruct their history as rooted in an apostolic foundation, not only by the apostles themselves, but also by their envoys, as in Trier, e.g., which was founded by three messengers of Peter. In the long run, it was not only the story of apostolic foundation that made bishop sees a center of devotion, but also the presence of a tomb that gave occasion for Europe's greatest pilgrimages in the Middle Ages, as e.g., at Santiago of Compostela.

The importance of the apostolic tradition not only in terms of piety but of authority for Christian belief and practice developed early and led to the normativity of apostolicity as an institutional foundation, and above all to the establishment of the bishop's office understood as the present actualization of the apostle's office. There are two concepts underlying this development: While on the one hand, the notion of a *sedes apostolica* is increasingly identified with the see of Rome and its double apostolic roots, on the other hand, in medieval times the idea still remains of a direct collective succession of all bishops from Jesus' apostles. The strictest articulation of the first is the *Dictatus papae* of Gregory VII that states all apostolicity derives from Rome itself. Regarding the latter, in the ecclesiastical tracts of William of Ockham and others in the 14th century and within the conciliarist debates of the 15th century, the idea of a collective ruling of the church based on a collective succession to the apostles became vigorous in the struggle against papal monarchy.

Other ideas about the apostles motivated critics of the official church. The memory of the apostles

was not only concentrated in official church documents and offices, but could also frame special forms of life outside the institution. From the early Middle Ages on, many saw the monastic life as the fullest realization of apostolic behavior. Besides this, there was a tendency to identify missionaries with the apostles, as is shown in the last Chapter of the *Vita* of Ansgar (d. 865). While these forms of apostolic imitation were used within the established church, they were also used to confront and challenge it. For example, in the 12th century, a movement called *vita apostolica* emphasized the ideal image of the apostolic church as modeling a simple and poor way of life. This was the origin of the mendicants. While this movement was integrated into the church, it remained a critical power against ecclesiastical pretensions, as is especially evident in the Franciscan Order.

Concerning the personal dimension of apostolicity, the focus of reformation thought was centered on Paul. This was the pattern for the conversion of M. Luther, and he gave impetus for understanding the gospel in a new light. But for Luther as for other reformers, the relevance of apostles was strictly bound to their message, as Luther stated in the preface to the Letter of James in the Bible translation of 1522:

Whatever does not teach Jesus Christ himself, this is not apostolic in any way, even if were Peter or Paul who teaches it. The other way round, whatever preaches Jesus Christ himself, this will be apostolic, even if it is done by Judas, Annas, Pilate or Herode. (WA.DB 7.384)

Nevertheless, the reformers insisted on participating in the collective piety of the apostles because they were seen as dignified examples of righteous belief in Jesus Christ. The image of this seems to be the depiction of Peter in A. Dürer's *Four Apostles* (see → plate 8), where the combination of the traditional motif of the key and the open Bible, held by John beneath the eyes of Peter and presenting John 1, shows the reformation desire to fulfill apostolicity by the foundation of scripture. This also gave shape to liturgical memory: mainly in Southern Germany, reformatory ecclesiastical orders observed the feasts of the apostles, acknowledging that they signify the gospel itself.

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Volker Leppin

### C. New Churches and Movements

In the modern period, several schismatic or completely new movements in Britain and America revived the New Testament office of apostle. In the 1830s, followers of Edward Irving formed the Catholic Apostolic Church upon a restored college of "apostles" in England, and Joseph Smith, Jr. re-

vived the office in establishing the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in North America. In the early 20th century and then increasingly in the 1990s, segments within the Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal movements lifted up the office of apostle and the spiritual gifts associated with it.

All three movements share a common restorationist interpretation of history, asserting that shortly after the age of the apostles the church was beset with apostasy or concessions to the Roman Empire. Those who had been entrusted with the purity of the Christian faith had utterly failed but now God ushered in a new era by restoring the apostolic foundation of the church. All three movements appealed to Eph 2:20 and 4:11 to support their contention that living apostles (and prophets) are the true authorities of the church. Specifically, they claimed continuity between their apostles and the foundational apostles of the New Testament church who were given unique revelatory and authoritarian roles.

While this article focuses on three representative “apostolic” movements, it is not exhaustive. Restorationist movements in modern Christianity are characteristically accompanied by discussion about and often implementation of either successors to or representatives of the twelve “apostles” of Jesus.

**1. Catholic Apostolic Church.** In early 19th-century Britain, evangelical revivals fraught with millenarian enthusiasm prompted interest in return to the “pure” foundation of the church, including the restoration of so-called “apostolic” practices. By the late 1820s, the reinstatement of the “apostles” was given explicit articulation by Edward Irving (1792–1834), a minister in the Church of Scotland, and Henry Drummond, the wealthy MP from Albury (Surrey), who attracted a circle of radical evangelicals. Irving was emboldened by millennial expectations, foreign missionary expansion, and the miraculous displays of prophecy and tongues speech in western Scotland in 1830 and then in his own church in Regent Square (Church of Scotland), London in 1831, to reconstitute the primitive church on the foundation of the twelve apostles. Following his expulsion by the Presbytery of London, Irving and his followers (“Irvingites”) relocated in Newman Street. Soon prophetic utterances took on a life of their own and Irving’s lead diminished while Drummond and others emerged as restored “prophets and apostles” in a new movement of “the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church” (by happenstance in 1851 the group came to be called the Catholic Apostolic Church).

By 1835 the “prophets” identified, called, and commissioned the 12 apostles of the “Second Sending” as rulers of the church universal (1 Cor 12:28) in accord with the four-fold ministry of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastor/teachers (Eph

2:11). The apostolate belonged to no local church or diocese, but through the guidance of the Holy Spirit the 12 declared the mysteries of God, insured pure doctrine, worship, and discipline, maintained unity, and guided the temporal affairs of the church. To that end, the apostles were sent out to determine the state of Christianity in continental Europe and to invite all those churches that conformed to the Catholic Apostolic Church to confirm their allegiance. Not surprisingly, their ecumenical overtures were rebuffed by other church bodies and soon thereafter the apostles established congregations among those who accepted their teachings.

By 1855 three apostles had died and the question of succession was raised. The surviving apostles at Albury decided that because Scripture provided no instruction for appointing new apostles, neither should they. However, the “angel” (the moniker Irving gave to the customary title of bishop) of a Berlin congregation thought otherwise and in 1860 and 1861 prophetically called three “angels” to the office of “apostle” with the full support of the “angel” of Hamburg. The Albury apostles excommunicated these offending “angels,” thus leading to the “Hamburg schism” and the creation of the German Christian Apostolic Mission (now the New Apostolic Church) in 1863 and a Dutch branch in 1893.

The eventual deaths of the original 12 Albury apostles (the last died in 1901) led to the gradual extinction of the Catholic Apostolic Church, though various schismatic branches continue to exist in Europe, South Africa, Australia, and the United States.

**2. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.** Included among the revelations that Joseph Smith, Jr. received in restoring the true church of Jesus Christ were those pertaining to a revived apostolic order. The authority of the apostolic calling was first given to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery by the New Testament apostles Peter, James and John in early 1830. The group of Jesus’ 12 disciples was then reconstituted by Joseph as the Quorum of the Twelve (also known as the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the Council of the Twelve, the Twelve Apostles, or the Twelve) having the same authority as the original 12 apostles. The Latter-day Saints Quorum was ordained to the Melchizedek Priesthood in 1835 as “special witnesses of the name of Christ in all the world,” “to officiate in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the Presidency of the Church,” “to build up the Church, and regulate all the affairs of the same, in all nations,” “being sent out, holding the keys, to open the door by the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and first unto the Gentiles and secondly unto the Jews” (*Doctrines and Covenants* 107: 23, 33, 35). The Quorum of the Twelve has continued in uninterrupted succession to this day and fulfills the same duties

outlined in the *Doctrines and Covenants* and by Jesus in his instruction to his disciples (Matt 16:19; 28:19–20), namely, the overall supervision of the church and overseeing the spread of the gospel message around the world.

In organizational structure and authority, the Twelve hold life tenure and serve under the First Presidency (comprised of the President and two counselors). Together these 15 men are divinely directed as “prophets, seers, and revelators” of the vast spiritual and temporal resources of the Latter-day Saints. Vacancies among the Twelve are filled by the First Presidency, by revelation, though in consultation and prayer with existing members of the Quorum. Final decisions must be unanimous (cf. Acts 1:15–26). Upon the death of the President, the Quorum becomes the presiding council of the church. The apostle holding the longest tenure presides over the Quorum until he himself is chosen as the new president.

The Community of Christ (formerly known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) maintains the Council of Twelve Apostles in ways similar to the larger Latter-day Saints. However, unlike in the Latter-day Saints, women serve as apostles and the overall posture of the Council is one of progressive stands on social, justice, and ecumenical issues.

**3. New Apostolic Reformation.** In many Pentecostal and Charismatic circles, the espousal of contemporary apostles is premised on the conviction that the four- or five-fold ministry (if one separates “pastors” and “teachers”) in Eph 4:11 is part of a divine act of restoring Christian leadership to its original pattern. Perhaps the one person in the United States most responsible for advocating the present-day office of apostle is C. Peter Wagner, whose many books and organizations promote what he calls “the New Apostolic Reformation.” This reformation, avers Wagner and other proponents, is the culmination of previous or existing apostolic movements found in African Independent Churches, Chinese House Churches, Latin American Grassroots Churches, and the Independent Charismatic Movement in the United States.

Advocates of present-day apostles see themselves participating in a divine historical moment. Beginning with restoration of the “true biblical church” in the Protestant Reformation and progressing through the centuries in various evangelical, holiness, Pentecostal, Latter Rain, charismatic, faith, and prophetic movements, at the end of the 20th century and now into the 21st, God has restored the apostolic ministry to bring divine order and structure. Just as the apostolic age knew no denominations, so this second apostolic age is “post-denominational.” And just as the first apostolic age was marked by the outpouring of the Spirit in supernatural signs, wonders, and miracles,

so today’s Spirit-led apostles have been given the supernatural power to heal, raise the dead, receive divine revelations, and defeat demonic powers.

Globally, the apostolic movement thrives in independent churches – from the house-church movement to mega-churches – in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, where supernatural “signs and wonders” signal “the restoration of all things” (Acts 3: 20–21), including the ancient order of the apostles.

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David W. Kling

### III. Islam

The Qur’an contains two terms that relate to apostle: a messenger sent by God, *rasūl*, and a particular apostle of Jesus, *ḥawārī*.

*Rasūl* functions in a similar way to the New Testament ἀπόστολος and the use of the verb *šalahi* in the Hebrew Bible. The noun *rasūl* appears 236 times in the Qur’an, and its plural, *rusul*, another 95 times. In its more general use, God sends a messenger to each people, *umma* (S 10: 47; 16: 36; cf. 23: 44; 40: 5). The messengers identified in the Qur’an include Noah, Lot, Ishmael, Moses, Shu’ayb, Hūd, Šāliḥ, and Jesus, while the list of prophets is longer. The distinction between them in Muslim thought is that the *rasūl* is at the head of an *umma*, or perhaps that the *rasūl* is a lawgiver provided with a revealed book.

Most scriptural references to “the messenger” or “his messenger” are understood by Muslims to refer to Muḥammad. The link is made explicitly at S 48: 29: “Muḥammad is the apostle of God” (cf. S 3: 144; 33: 40). This messenger is sent to a people to whom God has not yet sent a warner (S 28: 46; 32: 3; 34: 44).

A general characteristic of God’s messengers is to deserve obedience: “We sent no messenger except that he should be obeyed, by God’s leave” (S 4: 64). A series of verses command the audience of the Qur’an to “obey God and his messenger” (S 3: 32; 4: 59; 5: 92, etc.). Some 11 such imperatives hold God and the messenger together, and one verse commands obedience to the messenger alone (S 24: 56). In the context of one such verse comes the statement, “Whoever obeys the messen-

ger obeys God" (S4:80). The jurist al-Shāfi'ī (d. 820) cited these verses to support his argument that Islamic law should be based firmly on the practice, *sunna*, of the Prophet of Islam. In all, the phrase, "God and his messenger," occurs more than 85 times in the Qur'an. The two are also held together in the Muslim confession of faith, where only Muhammad is specified as God's messenger.

The term *ḥawārī* occurs in the Qur'an at S3:52, 5:111–12, and 61:14. At its first occurrence, Jesus asks, "Who will be my helpers unto God?" The *ḥawāriyyūn* answer, "We will be helpers of God; we believe in God; witness our submission" (S3:52). Elsewhere, the apostles ask Jesus for a table spread with food, saying that this would be a proof that Jesus has spoken the truth. Jesus prays to God for the table, and God grants it (S5:112–15). At S61:14 the believers are exhorted to follow the example of the apostles who answered Jesus' call to become God's helpers. The *ḥawāriyyūn* may also be referred to in S57:27, where "We ordained in the hearts of those who followed [Jesus] compassion and mercy."

The word *ḥawārī* is generally regarded as a borrowing from Ethiopic, in which *ḥawāryā* is the term used for the 12 apostles of Jesus. However, most Muslim commentators regard it as a pure Arabic word.

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Gordon Nickel

#### IV. Literature

In the Hellenistic Greek of the Septuagint and the Gospels, the transitive verb ἀποστέλλειν ("to send") takes as its object the bearer of a message – any message, but not infrequently a message from God. The cognate term for the bearer is ἀπόστολος. In the divine context, ἀπόστολος is specialized in the same direction as the associated terms ἄγγελος (God's messenger) and προφήτης (God's spokesman): by extension, God's apostle is also his angel and prophet.

Thus, in the sole OT occurrence of the term, the blind prophetess Ahijah is God's ἀπόστολος of misfortune to the wife of Jeroboam (3 Kgs 14:6, where the Septuagint is translating the Hebrew *shaluakh*; contrast the specialization of the corresponding Aramaic *shalakh*, "agent," "deputy"). Likewise God "sends" Christ to preach the kingdom of God in the cities of Galilee (Luke 4:43), "sends" his Word to the children of Israel (Acts 10:36), "sends" an angel to release Peter from Herod's prison (Acts 12:11), and assigns Paul the mission (ἀποστολή) of advancing obedience to the

faith among the Gentiles (Rom. 1:5). In this sense of spokesperson on God's behalf, the apostles figure metaphorically in Christian literature as models for the faithful and modest interpretation of Scripture (see John Donne's "The Litany," stanza 9 [ca. 1609]) and as the ambassadors par excellence of the Good News of Christ's ministry, ambassadors miraculously enabled by the Holy Spirit to speak fluently and forcefully in the very languages of those who are in dire need of Good News (see John Milton, *Paradise Lost* 12.495–502 [1667]).

An explicit definition of "apostle" is helpful in fixing the messenger's way of being, but the apostle is preeminently a missionary, a man or woman entrusted with an act; and the apostolic mission (ἀποστολή) is an act in very much the Aristotelian sense – a coherent πράξις with a beginning, middle and end rooted in the response, unfolding over time, of a particular character to a particular challenge. The temporal dimension of the apostle's intensely practical way of being is most richly defined implicitly, in the course of telling his or her story. In short, from the literary standpoint, the ἀποστολή is a theme in search of a narrative genre.

By a happy circumstance of literary history, a highly appropriate genre was available to would-be hellenistic biographers of apostles, in the form of the so-called Greek Romance. What made the Romance appropriate was its preoccupation with the quests, adventures, and narrow escapes of its heroes as they wander through a Mediterranean setting beset by piracy, imperial war, charlatan wonderworkers and other predators, seers and soothsayers of all kinds, and (above all) the devotees of various cults of rebirth and regeneration vying for dominance in the religious world of late antiquity. True to these thinly veiled religious commitments, blind Fortune in the Greek Romance is forever turning out, in retrospect, to have been a mask of Providence. These and other distinctive features are unified by the idiom of a cosmopolitan culture, the Hellenistic culture shared by the Apuleius of Madaura, the Phoenician Heliodorus, the Alexandrian Achilles Tatius, and Xenophon of Ephesus.

The result of assimilating this narrative structure to the task of defining the mission shared by Peter, Paul, Barnabas, and Philip is the canonical book aptly entitled Acts of the Apostles – in which the original word for "act" (πράξις) turns out to capture the full range of this term's connotations: moral, strategic, logistic, and even theatrical. It will be worthwhile, in what follows, to note some key preoccupations that Acts shares with its fictional counterparts, and bequeaths to the Renaissance literary traditions that are its heirs. Of these heirs there are at least three: Utopia, Pastoral, and Romance. What survives of Acts in these traditions is not so much the figure of the apostle himself as the array of distinctive apostolic preoccupations, some-



times pursued by the heirs with full commitment but often in a critical spirit and with a measure of irony. To that sensibility we now turn.

If there is a scene of Acts that epitomizes its pervasive humanist universalism, it is probably the episode in which Peter arrives in Caesarea, on invitation, at the gate of Cornelius the centurion, only to find the host prostrate before him in a worshipful attitude, apparently convinced that the apostle's purity tradition forbids him to enter the house of a Gentile. Peter reassures Cornelius by dismissing as unholy – as condemned by God himself – any such idea of the holy: “Stand up ... God has shown me that I should not call anyone profane or unclean.” (Acts 10:26, 28). The scene ends with the amazement of the Jewish onlookers at hearing God praised in unison by members of Cornelius' polyglot household: “the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out even on the Gentiles” (Acts 10:45). Throughout the exchange, Paul has been exercising a form of this gift of tongues – the hermeneutic gift par excellence that descends on the Apostles in tongues of flame on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:2–11).

The same universal φιλανθρωπία (love of humanity) is shown toward Paul and his party by the naïve hospitality of aborigines on the island of Melite (Acts 28:2; cf. Rom 2:14–15), and in a more reflective way by Paul himself in his disputations with the “Hellenizers” of Damascus (Acts 9:29), and with the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers of Athens, where Paul (like Socrates before him) is accused of being a “messenger” (καταγγελεύς) of foreign gods (Acts 17:18). In worshipping at the altar of “the unknown God,” the Athenians, says Paul, are acknowledging the God Paul has come to proclaim. For Greeks as for Jews, that transcendent and hence inscrutable God (Isa 45:15) is no dweller in any manmade temple, since he himself is the temple in which all men dwell. Once again (Paul's deploys his Hellenism with benign cunning), it is no less than the illustrious Stoic poet Aratus who celebrates humankind as the “race” (γένος) of God himself. Not only all persons, but all ethnicities are God's handiwork – branches of a single community (Acts 17:18–34). In view of this version of the cosmopolitan ideal, there is probably a pointed irony in the fact that the superstitious Lystrians take Paul, the chief spokesman among their Christian visitors, for Hermes, the patron of go-betweens and interpreters – the archetypal master of dialogue between cultures (Acts 14:12). The Lystrians, it seems, inadvertently hit the mark.

The notion of a universal human community is complemented in Acts, as elsewhere in the New Testament, by the notion of a way of life, or civil order, that would, if given the opportunity, bring individual communities together under the rule of charity that is the core of what apostles have been

sent to teach. A notoriously controversial part of this way of life is the command, treated as a categorical duty, to hold all wealth in common and to distribute it according to the needs of one's fellows (Acts 4:32–35), an obligation that the hapless Ananias and Sapphira pay a terrible price for flouting (Acts 5:1–11).

The corresponding notion of civil obligation fictionally reproduced in Tommaso Campanella's *Città del Sole* (1602, pub. 1623) is no doubt partly inspired by the rationalistic version of community of property in Plato's *Republic*, but a Christian exponent like Campanella can argue that, in Paul's well-known view, basic axioms of morality are an instinctive part of the human moral conscience; this is what it means for the Gentiles to be a law unto themselves (Rom 2:14–15). Among these axioms, Campanella can claim to find the obligation to share one's property with the community at large. Of course the general run of people will bridle at this. But the fact that a fallen human nature finds a truth unacceptable does not convert the truth into a falsehood. By contrast, Thomas More's treatment of communism in *Utopia* (1516) is shaded by the skeptical alter ego he has provided, in the Dialogue of Counsel, as a corrective to the enthusiasm of the fictive informant about the Utopian polity (the alienated traveller Raphael Hythlodæus). The effect is a Socratic irony and ambiguity that raise questions about the Utopian project, in either its apostolic or Platonic form, without answering them.

Unlike the civil society of Utopian fiction, fully urbanized civil society, as viewed through the prism of Greek romance, is a grave threat to the precarious innocence possible to fallen human nature in a simpler pastoral society. That unsophisticated condition, corruptible but not yet perverse, becomes the subject of expanded pastoral fictions like Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1502) and its imitations. In the ecclesiastical satire of Mantuan and Milton, the metaphors of the pastoral fiction become explicitly apostolic in our current sense, as when Peter, the pilot of the Galilean lake, is brought on to rebuke the British Church in Milton's *Lycidas* (1638). The equivalent church-governance use of pastoral metaphor in Acts is put in the mouth of Paul in his valediction to his Ephesian disciples:

Keep watch over yourselves and over all the flock, of which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers (ἐπίσκοποι), to shepherd the church of God that he obtained with the blood of his own Son. I know that after I have gone, savage wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock. Some even from your own group will come distorting the truth in order to entice the disciples to follow them. (Acts 20:28–30)

The most resonant echo of the apostolic sensibility in Renaissance literature occurs in the treatment of magic and conversion in the so-called Symbolic Ro-

mances of Shakespeare. In Acts, the ontological gulf between the transformative powers of matter and spirit – of the mage and the apostle – is vividly drawn in the uneasy entente between Simon Magus and Philip and the imperfect conversion of Simon (Acts 8:9–25). That gulf reappears in the contrast between the two successive masters of Shakespeare’s enchanted island in *The Tempest*, Sicorax and Prospero. The exercise of Prospero’s illusionary art results in the spiritual conversion of his mortal enemy the King of Naples and even of his would-be betrayer and murderer Caliban, “this thing of darkness [that] I acknowledge mine.” The vision contrived by Prospero for the conversion of the King is (pointedly) a communion table snatched away from him until his repentance. Prospero himself experiences a moral awakening and conversion in the course of *The Tempest* – from implacable hatred of his treacherous brother to a guarded but authentic forgiveness.

What Prospero does for others in *The Tempest*, the aptly named Paulina does for Leontes in *The Winter’s Tale*; the deeply guilty Leontes is brought to despair and self-condemnation – but eventually enabled (again, thanks to Paulina) to summon up the will to forgive himself. The transformative art of the apostolic figures Prospero and Paulina, like that of the apostles themselves in Acts, mingles charity with a benign cunning; it turns out to be a mystic union of sorts: the innocence of doves and the wisdom of serpents.

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Harold Skulsky

## V. Visual Arts

**1. Description of Normative Figure of the Apostle in the Visual Arts.** The 12 apostles, or disciples, are commonly illustrated in narratives from the life of Christ, particularly the events of the passion and the Last Judgment. In addition, they are rendered in close contact with the Virgin Mary during her final days on earth, her death and assumption. Crafted with little diversity in an homogeneous assemblage, the apostles are also more uniquely individualized within the group. They attend Jesus, witness his miracles and grieve at the time of his earthly demise. After the crucifixion,

the apostles’ allegiance is bequeathed to the Virgin Mary.

**2. Attribute and/or Symbol.** While each of the apostles has a distinctive symbol, their universal attribute is the esteemed relationship they share with Christ. In the pictorial arts, the apostles are depicted in various stages of life that include youth, maturity and old age. They are fashioned as clean-shaven or bearded, perceived with long or short hair, bushy locks or bald. Little distinguished by uniform height and weight, they are seen standing or seated in customary association with Christ. Frequently dressed in ancient Roman clothing, the apostles are presented as decorous in behavior, tidy in appearance and well-groomed. As a consequence of the Council of Trent and subsequently Caravaggio’s pictorial reform of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, artists focused on their unpretentious demeanor, transforming the apostles into more common men, dressed in humble and disheveled clothing, interpreted as rough in stature and unkempt.

The apostles are exposed as highly emotional men in representations of the Last Supper and in the portrayal of the death and assumption of the Virgin. Organized around a table at the Last Supper, the apostles dramatically react to Christ’s words, “one of you will betray me” (John 13:21). Surprised, angry and agitated, their response communicates Christ’s consequential message that anticipates his imminent death.

Seated at the foot of the Virgin’s bed or gathered by her side as she lies dying, the apostles respond through figural gestures and facial expressions that reveal a profound sense of mourning, sorrow and loss. In the pictorial arts, the apostles are permitted a display of grief that engages the beholder and amplifies the worshipper’s reception.

**3. Scriptural Episodes of the Apostle in the Visual Arts.** The scriptural episodes of the apostles in the visual arts include: Tribute Money; Supper in the House of Levi; Marriage at Cana; Christ Walking on Water; The Transfiguration; Entry into Jerusalem; Christ Washes the Feet of the Apostles; Last Supper (Holy Sacrament); Betrayal; Miraculous Draught of Fish; Ascension; Pentecost; Last Judgment; Death and Assumption of the Virgin.

**4. Frequent Iconographic Motifs of the Apostle in the Visual Arts.** In the later Middle Ages, the apostles accompanied the prophets of the OT on cathedral facades and in illuminated manuscripts. Crafted individually or with other saints, they are included in devotional themes, such as a “Sacred Conversation,” where they are placed adjacent to the “Virgin Enthroned with the Infant Jesus.” The apostles appear repeatedly in the pictorial arts. During the Baroque, they are portrayed in the most dramatic roles that consist of bearing witness to Christ’s passion as well as the Virgin’s death and

assumption. Regularly found in thrones, the apostles traditionally surround Christ and emotionally support him from the time of their calling to the end of his life. Sustained reception of the apostles in the visual arts depended upon the demonstration of their compassion, camaraderie and suffering. Provoking pathos from the viewer, their presence, in close proximity to Christ or the Virgin Mary, functioned to draw the spectator into the painterly realm in order to reinforce faith and to share in their humanity.

**Works. Multiple Scenes:** ■ *Altarpieces/Fresco Cycles/Series:* Simon Bening and Workshop, *Sixteen Gospel Scenes from the Baptism to the Arrest*, panel from the *Stein Polyptych*, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; Circle of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Altarpiece of the Passion*, Philadelphia Museum of Art; Duccio, *The Maesta Altarpiece* (back), Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena; Albrecht Dürer, *Holy Men* (Three Apostles and St. Mark), Alte Pinakothek, Munich; Albrecht Dürer (Woodcuts), *Life of the Virgin, Assumption and Coronation* (Woodcut B. 94), Jan and Hubert van Eyck, *The Ghent Altarpiece* (interior), Cathedral of Saint Bavo, Ghent; Lorenzo Ghiberti (Bronze Sculpture), North Doors, Baptistery, Florence; Giotto, *The Scrovegni* (or *Arena*) *Chapel*, Padua. ■ *Apostles and Prophets:* André Beauneveu, *Psalter of Jean, Duc de Berry*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. ■ *Martyrdom of the Apostles:* Stephan Lochner, *Martyrdom of the Apostles Altarpiece*, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt a. M.; *Netherlandish* (Woodcuts), *Speculum humanae salvationis, Last Supper with Old Testament types*, Chapter XVI, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Hs 2505, fol. 27 verso, Darmstadt.

**Life of Christ:** ■ *The Tribute Money:* Masaccio, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine. ■ *Supper in the House of Levi:* Paolo Veronese, San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. ■ *Wedding at Cana:* Gerard David, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Juan de Flanders, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. ■ *Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter:* Perugino, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. ■ *Transfiguration:* Giovanni Bellini, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples; Raphael, Pinacoteca, Vatican, Rome. ■ *Entry into Jerusalem:* Simone Martini, Musée du Louvre, Paris. ■ *Holy Sacrament:* Dieric Bouts, *Blessed Sacrament Altarpiece*, Church of Saint Peter, Louvain; Joos van Ghent, *Altarpiece of the Communion of the Apostles*, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Ducal Palace, Urbino; Nicolas Poussin, *Eucharist*, Musée du Louvre, Paris. ■ *Last Supper:* Andrea del Castagno, Refectory, Sant'Apollonia, Florence; Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels; Albrecht Dürer (Woodcut) Woodcut B. 53; Taddeo Gaddi, Refectory, Santa Croce, Florence; Domenico del Ghirlandaio, Refectory, Ognissanti, Florence; Master I.A.M. of Swolle (Engraving); Leonardo da Vinci, Refectory, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan. ■ *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane:* Anon., *Saint Florian Altarpiece*, Foundation of the Augustinian Canons, Linz; Antwerp Mannerist, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. ■ *Miraculous Draught of Fishes:* Konrad Witz, *Altarpiece of Saint Peter*, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva. ■ *Betrayal:* Fra Angelico, San Marco, cell 33, Florence; Jean Pucelle, *Hours of Jeanne D'Evreux*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ms. 54.1.2, The Cloisters, New York. ■ *Scenes from the Passion of Christ:* French Painter of the late 15th century (Silk), *Parément de Narbonne*, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Hans Memling, Galleria Sabauda, Turin; Hans Memling, Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, Florence. ■ *Last Judgment:* Anon. Master, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels; Joos van Cleve, Metropolitan

Museum of Art, New York; Jan van Eyck, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Giotto, Arena Chapel, Padua; Coppo di Marcovaldo (Attr.), *Ceiling Mosaics, Baptistery*, Florence; Hans Memling, Narodowe Muzeum, Gdansk; Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome; Rogier van der Weyden, Hôtel-Dieu, Beaune.

**The Virgin Mary:** ■ Goswijn van der Weyden (Attr.), *Fifteen Mysteries and the Virgin of the Rosary*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. ■ *Death of the Virgin:* Caravaggio, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Andrea del Castagno and Michell Giambono, San Marco, Venice; Albrecht Dürer (Woodcut), Print Room, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Hugo van der Goes, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum), Bruges; Rembrandt (Etching and Drypoint), Print Room, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Veit Stross (Wood Sculpture), Church of Saint Mary, Cracow. ■ *Assumption:* Nanni di Banco, (with St. Thomas), Cathedral of Florence; Annibale Carracci, Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome; Annibale Carracci, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna; Joos van Cleve, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Köln; Correggio, Dome, Cathedral of Parma; Giovanni Lanfranco, Dome, S. Andrea della Valle, Rome; Rosso Fiorentino, Atrium, SS. Annunziata, Florence; Andrea del Sarto, Pitti Gallery, Florence; Titian, Santa Maria Gloriosa, Venice.

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Gina Strumwasser

## VI. Film

Apostles appear in practically all Jesus-movies (from *Life and Passion of Jesus Christ*, dir. Hatot, 1897, through *Color of the Cross*, dir. La Marre, 2006) and in the adaptations of the Acts of the Apostles (*Acts of the Apostles*, dir. Rossellini, 1968). In classical Bible movies they have witnessed Jesus' miracles, teaching, passion and resurrection and have been sent to the nations (*King of Kings*, dir. Ray, 1961). But they have remained almost anonymous. Only a few of them have been given more individual treatment, Matthew and Peter in *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (dir. Stevens, 1965) and *Jesus of Nazareth* (dir. Zeffirelli, 1977) being examples. Sometimes an apostle becomes a main character: Peter in *The Big Fisherman* (dir. Borzage, 1959) and the TV film *San Pietro* (dir. Base, 2005); John in *Apocalypse – Revelation* (dir.

Mertes, 2002); Thomas and his doubts in *Thomas* (dir. Mertes, 2001); Paul in *Le chemin de Damas* (dir. Glass, 1952), *Jesus* (dir. Moati, 1999), and *Saint Paul* (dir. Young, 2000). Judas remains the most popular among the filmed disciples, as a tragic (sometimes positive) character in numerous films (e.g., *The Kiss of Judas*, dir. Bour, 1909; *Jesus Christ Superstar*, dir. Jewison, 1973; *The Last Temptation of Christ*, dir. Scorsese, 1988; *Judas*, dir. Carner, 2004).

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Marek Lis

See also → Ambassador; → Apostles, The Twelve;  
→ Apostolic Succession; → False Apostles

## Apostles, Acts of the

→ Luke-Acts, Book of

## Apostles, Epistle of

The *Epistle of Apostles*, which was written in the mid-2nd century CE, probably in Egypt, but is only preserved in Coptic and Ethiopic, claims to be a letter from the 11 (!) apostles to churches all over the world. In form and content it is, however, a revelation dialogue. The author cites synoptic traditions, and especially John, in order to refute gnostic views, yet does not treat the New Testament texts as canonical. In asserting the authority of the resurrected Christ, the *Epistle of Apostles* in fact challenges texts that later became canonical.

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Katharina Heyden

## Apostles, The Twelve

**1. The Twelve.** Within the body of Jesus' disciples was an inner circle who is regularly called "the Twelve" (Matt 10:5; 26:14, 47; Mark 3:16; 4:10; 6:7; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; 14:10, 17, 20, 43; Luke 8:1; 9:1, 12; 18:31; 22:3; John 6:67, 70–71; 20:24; Acts 6:2; 1 Cor 15:5). Matthew also calls them "the twelve disciples" (10:1; 11:1; 20:17) and once "the twelve apostles" (10:2; cf. Rev 21:14). The expression "the Eleven" refers to the same group after the departure of Judas Iscariot (Matt 28:16 "the eleven disciples"; Mark 16:14; Luke 24:9; Acts 1:26; 2:14).

The circle of the Twelve goes back to Jesus' own ministry. His choice of them signifies his intention to prepare the community of God, representing the

whole of Israel's 12 tribes (cf. Jas 1:1; Rev 7:4–8). This people is assembled in view of the imminent coming of the Kingdom, but is already visibly gathered here and now in unity and for a common task.

The Twelve are named in four distinct lists (Matt 10:2–4; Mark 3:16–19; Luke 6:14–16; Acts 1:13). In each the names are given in three groups of four, a pattern that would help memorization and thus tradition. The same groups occur in all four lists, with some minor differences in the order of names within the groups (interestingly enough even between Luke and Luke-Acts). Simon Peter (simply Peter in Acts) is always named first, and with him in the first group are his brother Andrew and the two sons of Zebedee, James and John. In the second group are always Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew. James son of Alphaeus heads the third group, in which the only real discrepancy occurs: Matthew and Mark have the name Thaddeus (Lebbaeus in some texts) where Luke and Acts have Judas (Jude) son of James (these are commonly identified in order to resolve the problem). It is generally agreed that Simon "the Cananean" in Matthew and Mark is the same person as Simon "the Zealot" in Luke and Acts. Judas Iscariot is always named last (except in Acts, where he has already left the scene) and is qualified as the one who would hand Jesus over.

The number 12 is not fortuitous. There is an obvious reference to the 12 tribes of Israel and to the 12 patriarchs who are their eponymous ancestors. Behind that again may well lie a reference to the months of the lunar year and/or the signs of the Zodiac (cf. Gen 37:9): the earthly order reflects and is ratified by a cosmic or celestial order. After Judas' defection, the number has to be made up by the choice of Matthias (Acts 1:26); this does not happen after the martyrdom of James son of Zebedee (Acts 12:2) since he has achieved his task.

Jesus' choice of the Twelve looks ahead to "the renewal of all things" (Matt 19:28) or the coming of the Kingdom (Luke 22:29–30), when they will sit on 12 thrones, judging the 12 tribes of Israel. Similarly, in the heavenly city of Revelation, the gates are inscribed with the names of the 12 tribes of the sons of Israel, and the foundations of the wall bear the names of "the twelve apostles of the Lamb" (Rev 21:12, 14). At the same time, the commissioning of the Twelve recalls a foundational event in the history of Israel, namely the entry into the Land, when Joshua orders 12 stones to be erected as a memorial (Josh 4:1–9). Putting all this together, it seems that Jesus envisages a restored nation under new leaders. The New Testament has nothing to say expressly about the "ten lost tribes" (but cf. Luke 2:36; Rev 7:4–8).

At Qumran the number 12 was also significant. According to the *Community Rule* (1QS VIII, 1–5):

In the community council (there shall be) twelve men and three priests, perfect in everything that has been