

Copyright © 2006 Sanghee Michael Ahn

All rights reserved. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary has permission to reproduce and disseminate this document in any form by any means for purposes chosen by the Seminary, including, without limitation, preservation or instruction.

OLD TESTAMENT CHARACTERS AS CHRISTOLOGICAL
WITNESSES IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Sanghee Michael Ahn
December 2006

UMI Number: 3249809

Copyright 2006 by
Ahn, Sanghee Michael

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3249809

Copyright 2007 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

APPROVAL SHEET


**OLD TESTAMENT CHARACTERS AS CHRISTOLOGICAL
WITNESSES IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL**

Sanghee Michael Ahn


Read and Approved by:



John B. Polhill (Chairperson)



Mark A. Seifrid



Robert L. Plummer

Date November 1, 2006

To the heavenly Father,
the source of and reason for my being,
with genuine gratitude
for all the blessings
He bestowed upon me

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| PREFACE | vii |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | ix |
| LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES | xxiv |
| Chapter | |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| The Two Testaments and “Biblical Theology” Movement | 1 |
| Christology within Jewish Conceptual Bounds | 6 |
| Centrality of Christology in the Fourth Gospel | 7 |
| Johannine Christology from the Vantage Point of the Jewish Context | 11 |
| Thesis | 14 |
| History of Research | 15 |
| Justification for the Present Study | 38 |
| Methods and Terms | 41 |
| Contributions | 52 |
| Scope | 55 |
| Limitations | 57 |
| 2. THE PATRIARCHS | 59 |
| Introduction | 59 |
| Jacob | 60 |

| Chapter | Page |
|--|------|
| Allusion to the Bethel Theophany: John 1:51 | 60 |
| Jacob, the Provider of Water: John 4:10-14 | 70 |
| Abraham as Christological Witness: John 8:51-58 | 76 |
| Conclusion | 86 |
| 3. ELIJAH | 88 |
| Introduction | 88 |
| Elijah in Second Temple Judaism | 89 |
| Elijah in the Synoptic Gospels | 96 |
| Elijah in John's Gospel | 98 |
| Jesus as Elijah | 98 |
| John the Baptist as Elijah | 103 |
| John the Baptist Not as Elijah | 106 |
| Function of John the Baptist in John | 109 |
| Conclusion | 114 |
| 4. DAVID | 117 |
| Introduction | 117 |
| David in the Old Testament and the Second Temple Period | 117 |
| Davidic Messianic Expectations in the Old Testament | 120 |
| Davidic Messianic Expectations in the Second Temple Judaism | 122 |
| David in the Synoptic Gospels | 126 |
| Messianic Role of David in John | 127 |
| Conclusion | 151 |
| 5. MOSES | 153 |

| Chapter | Page |
|--|------|
| Introduction | 153 |
| Mosaic Images in the Old Testament and Early Judaism | 154 |
| Moses in the New Testament | 204 |
| Moses in the Gospel of John | 205 |
| Law through Moses, Grace through Jesus: John 1:16-17 | 206 |
| Serpent of Moses: John 3:14 | 220 |
| Witness and Accusation of Moses: John 1:45, 5:37-39, 46 | 225 |
| Allusions to the Exodus Events: John 6:14-15, 32-33 | 238 |
| Conclusion | 252 |
| 6. CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS | 252 |
| Summary of Foregoing Observations | 252 |
| Research Results | 254 |
| Implications for Study of John's Gospel | 256 |
| Suggested Further Research | 257 |
| Appendix | |
| 1. MESSIANISM/CHRISTOLOGY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN | 259 |
| 2. RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE AND THE FOURTH GOSPEL | 266 |
| 3. THE OLD TESTAMENT IN JOHN | 280 |
| 4. THE INTERNAL WELL OF LIVING WATER IN JOHN 7:38 | 285 |
| 5. EXPLICIT OLD TESTAMENT MATERIALS IN JOHN | 287 |
| 6. IMPORTANT SOURCES ON OT AND EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE | 291 |

| Chapter | Page |
|---|------|
| 7. THE USE OF RABBINIC MATERIALS FOR NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES | 294 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 297 |

PREFACE

I am sympathetic with a Johannine scholar who once expressed the inevitable indebtedness of scholarly adventures: “In many ways scholarship is a parasitic venture.” I could not agree more with the true nature of the statement especially in undertaking of writing this dissertation. A number of individuals sacrificially put into this study their time, finances, and much prayer. There is no way I will be able to pay back or even thank enough for their perpetual contributions. Acknowledging their names here is my pleasant duty and is the only way to express my sincere gratitude.

The idea of writing a dissertation like this one was conceived about two and a half years ago. Since then, my academic advisor, Dr. John B. Polhill made himself available to train and nurture a young seminary student become mature in a critically theological inquiry. However, it is his character and passion for the body of God which have made a strong impression on me. He saved me from a number of mistakes and provided guidance and encouragement so that I could reach this far. Dr. Robert H. Stein, for whom I had privilege to serve as his teaching assistant, has instilled in me the virtue of precision in theological discourses. Drs. Mark Seifrid, Rob Plummer (both as my committee members), and Andreas Köstenberger (as the external reader) also deserve my appreciation for the keen insights they shared with me. All the scholars mentioned above shaped the present work much better in form and content. But any shortcomings strictly remain upon myself.

I would also like to recognize very special friendship I have been privileged to enjoy with fellow students at SBTS, revs. Jaein Chong and Jaeyul Choi. Many prayers my family and I had with them are pricelessly precious. Prof. and Mrs. Tom Song of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, and the members of East Audubon Baptist

Church, Louisville, Kentucky and Onnuri All Nations Baptist Church, Arlington, TX also reduced the burden of writing a dissertation with their prayer and expressions of care. Mr. Alan Pearce and Dr. Michael Nicholson also rendered their service in proofreading the earlier drafts of this study. If this work sounds less wooden, they deserve the credit.

My family members willingly bore the burden concomitant to the completion of this project more directly than any other persons. My parents, Ghilsoo Ahn and Okhee Song, my brothers Sangin and Sangho Ahn and their families, my parents-in-law, Jeongjung Kim and , and my brother- and sisters-in-law and their families also shared their financial resources and prayer with me as if this work were their own. To my wife, Juhyun Judy Kim, and my daughter, Grace Hyeyoen Ahn, I extend my sincere gratitude for persevering this “time of trial” with me and for being a source of smile. Finally, I deeply thank God for saving me from the perennial suffering. He has led me here, supplied the necessary resources, and sustained me to stay on course. It is to Him that I dedicate this humble piece of query into his unfailing love for humankind through His only Son, Jesus Christ. Soli deo Gloria.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| 11QPs ^a | J. Sanders, ed. <i>The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11</i> |
| AASF | Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae |
| AASGE | Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum |
| AB | Anchor Bible |
| ABD | D. N. Freedman, ed. <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> |
| ABIG | Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte |
| <i>Abr.</i> | Philo <i>De Abrahamo</i> (On Abraham) |
| ABRL | Anchor Bible Reference Library |
| <i>AbrN</i> | <i>Abr-Nahrain</i> |
| AGAJU | Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums |
| <i>Ag. Ap.</i> | Josephus <i>Against Apion</i> |
| AGSU | Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums |
| AnBib | Analecta Biblica |
| <i>ANRW</i> | <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> |
| <i>Ant.</i> | Josephus <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> |
| ANTC | Abingdon New Testament Commentaries |
| ANTJ | Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum |
| <i>Anton</i> | <i>Antonianum</i> |
| AOAT | Alter Orient und Altes Testament |
| AOTC | Apollos Old Testament Commentary |
| <i>APF</i> | <i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i> |
| <i>Apo. Ab.</i> | <i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i> |

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>Apo. El. (C)</i> | <i>Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah</i> |
| ArBib | M. McNamara, ed. <i>The Aramaic Bible</i> |
| <i>As. Mos.</i> | <i>Assumption of Moses</i> |
| ATANT | Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments |
| <i>AThR</i> | <i>Anglican Theological Review</i> |
| <i>AUSS</i> | <i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i> |
| AUSDDS | Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series |
| <i>b.</i> | I. Epstein, ed. <i>The Babylonian Talmud</i> |
| Bar | Baruch |
| <i>BAR</i> | <i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i> |
| <i>B. Bat.</i> | <i>Baba Batra</i> (Babylonian Talmud) |
| BBB | Bonner biblische Beiträge |
| BBET | Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie |
| <i>BBR</i> | <i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i> |
| <i>BDAG</i> | W. Bauer et al., eds. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3 rd ed. |
| <i>BDB</i> | F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, eds. <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> |
| <i>BDF</i> | F. Blass, A. DeBrunner, and R. W. Funk, eds. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> |
| BECNT | Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament |
| <i>Ber.</i> | <i>Berakot</i> |
| <i>Ber. R.</i> | <i>Beršit Rabbati</i> |
| BETL | Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium |
| BEvT | Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie |
| BFCT | Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie |
| BG | Biblische Gestalten |
| <i>BHS</i> | R. Kittel et al., eds. <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . 4 th ed. |
| <i>Bib</i> | <i>Biblica</i> |

| | |
|----------------|--|
| BIS | Biblical Interpretation Series |
| <i>BJRL</i> | <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i> |
| BJS | Brown Judaic Studies |
| <i>BK</i> | <i>Bibel und Kirche</i> |
| <i>B. Mes.</i> | <i>BaBa Mesia</i> |
| <i>BN</i> | <i>Biblische Notizen</i> |
| BNTC | Black's New Testament Commentaries |
| BRS | Biblical Resource Series |
| BS | The Biblical Seminar |
| <i>BSac</i> | <i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i> |
| BSR | Biblioteca di scienze religiose |
| <i>BTB</i> | <i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i> |
| <i>BTF</i> | <i>Bangalore Theological Forum</i> |
| BThSt | Biblich-theologische Studien |
| <i>BTZ</i> | <i>Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift</i> |
| BU | Biblische Untersuchungen |
| BWANT | Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament |
| <i>BZ</i> | <i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i> |
| BZAW | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft |
| BZNW | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche |
| CBC | Cambridge Bible Commentary |
| CBET | Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology |
| <i>CBQ</i> | <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> |
| CBQMS | Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series |
| CBSS | Continuum Biblical Studies Series |
| CD | Damascus Document |
| <i>CH</i> | <i>Church History</i> |

| | |
|--------------|---|
| CIS | Copenhagen International Seminar |
| CM | Christianity in the Making |
| CNT | Companions to the New Testament |
| COQG | Christian Origins and the Question of God |
| <i>CovQ</i> | <i>Covenant Quarterly</i> |
| CQS | Companion to the Qumran Scrolls |
| <i>CRBR</i> | <i>Critical Review of Books in Religion</i> |
| CRINT | Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum |
| C RTP | <i>Cahiers de la revue de théologie et de philosophie</i> |
| <i>CurBS</i> | <i>Currents in Biblical Research</i> (formerly <i>Currents in Research</i>) |
| <i>DDD</i> | Becking, B., P. W. van der Horst, and K. van der Toorn, eds. <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> |
| <i>Det.</i> | Philo <i>Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat</i> |
| DJD | Discoveries in the Judaean Desert |
| <i>DJG</i> | J. B. Green, S. McKnight, and I. H. Marshall, eds. <i>Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels</i> |
| <i>DNP</i> | H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds. <i>Der neue Pauly</i> |
| <i>DNTB</i> | C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter, eds. <i>Dictionary of New Testament Background</i> |
| <i>DPHL</i> | G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid, eds. <i>Dictionary of Paul and His Letters</i> |
| <i>DRev</i> | <i>Downside Review</i> |
| <i>DSD</i> | <i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i> |
| <i>DSS</i> | F. G. Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls</i> |
| <i>DTT</i> | <i>Dansk teologisk tidsskrift</i> |
| EBib | Etudes bibliques |
| <i>EDNT</i> | H. Balz and G. Schneider, eds. <i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> |
| <i>EDSS</i> | L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam, eds. <i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> |

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Eduy.</i> | <i>Eduyyot</i> |
| EHPR | Études d'histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses |
| EHS | Europäische Hochschulschriften |
| EJIL | Early Judaism and Its Literature |
| Esdr | Esdras |
| <i>EstB</i> | <i>Estudios bíblico</i> |
| <i>ETL</i> | <i>Ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium</i> |
| <i>ÉTR</i> | <i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i> |
| <i>EuroJT</i> | <i>European Journal of Theology</i> |
| <i>EvT</i> | <i>Evangelische Theologie</i> |
| <i>EvQ</i> | <i>Evangelical Quarterly</i> |
| <i>ExpTim</i> | <i>Expository Times</i> |
| Ezek. Trag. | Ezekiel the Tragedian |
| FAT | Forschungen zum Alten Testament |
| FB | Forschung zur Bibel |
| FBBS | Facet Books Biblical Series |
| <i>FM</i> | <i>Faith and Mission</i> |
| FRLANT | Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments |
| FTS | Frankfurter Theologische Studien |
| <i>FZPhTh</i> | <i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i> |
| <i>Gen. Rab.</i> | <i>Genesis Rabbah</i> |
| GNT | Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament |
| GP | Gospel Profiles |
| GTA | Göttinger theologische Arbeiten |
| GTS | Gütersloher Taschenbücher Siebenstern |
| <i>GTJ</i> | <i>Grace Theological Journal</i> |
| <i>HALOT</i> | L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon</i> |

of the Old Testament: Study Edition

| | |
|-------------|---|
| HBIS | History of Biblical Interpretation Series |
| HBS | Herders biblische Studien |
| <i>HBT</i> | <i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i> |
| HCS | Hellenistic Culture and Society |
| HNT | Handbuch zum Neuen Testament |
| HO | Handbuch der Orientalistik |
| HSS | Harvard Semitic Studies |
| HTCNT | Herder's Theological Commentary on the New Testament |
| <i>HTR</i> | <i>Harvard Theological Review</i> |
| HTS | Harvard Theological Studies |
| <i>HUCA</i> | <i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> |
| <i>IBS</i> | <i>Irish Biblical Studies</i> |
| <i>ICS</i> | <i>Illinois Classical Studies</i> |
| <i>IDS</i> | <i>In die Skriflig</i> |
| <i>Int</i> | <i>Interpretation</i> |
| IR | Iconography of Religions |
| IRT | Issues in Religion and Theology |
| ISFCJ | International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism |
| JAC | Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum |
| <i>JBL</i> | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> |
| JBLMS | Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series |
| <i>JBQ</i> | <i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i> |
| JBT | Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie |
| JCHS | Jewish and Christian Heritage Series |
| JCPS | Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series |
| JDS | Judean Desert Studies |

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Jdt | Judith |
| <i>JETS</i> | <i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i> |
| <i>JJS</i> | <i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i> |
| JPSTC | The JPS Torah Commentary |
| <i>JQR</i> | <i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> |
| <i>JR</i> | <i>Journal of Religion</i> |
| <i>JRR</i> | <i>Journal from the Radical Reformation</i> |
| <i>JSHJ</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i> |
| <i>JSJ</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i> |
| JSJSup | Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism |
| <i>JSNT</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i> |
| JSNTSup | Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series |
| <i>JSOT</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i> |
| JSOTsup | Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series |
| <i>JSP</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i> |
| JSPSup | Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series |
| <i>JSS</i> | <i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> |
| <i>JTS</i> | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> |
| <i>J.W.</i> | <i>Josephus Jewish War</i> |
| <i>KD</i> | <i>Kerygma und Dogma</i> |
| KEK | Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament |
| KohlT | Kohlhammer Taschenbücher |
| KST | Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie |
| KT | Kaiser Taschenbücher |
| <i>Kul</i> | <i>Kirche und Israel</i> |
| <i>L.A.B.</i> | <i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i> (Pseudo-Philo) |
| <i>Lan</i> | <i>Landas</i> |

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| LD | Lectio Divina |
| LDSC | The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls |
| <i>Let. Aris.</i> | Letter of Aristeas |
| <i>Liddell & Scott</i> | H. S. Jones, ed. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> |
| <i>Liv. Pro.</i> | <i>The Lives of the Prophets</i> |
| <i>LKW</i> | <i>Lutherische Kirche in der Welt</i> |
| LNTS | Library of New Testament Studies |
| LSTS | Library of Second Temple Studies |
| <i>LTR</i> | <i>Lutheran Theological Review</i> |
| <i>LUOSA</i> | <i>Leeds University Oriental Society Annual</i> |
| LXX | A. Rahlfs, ed. <i>Septuagint</i> |
| <i>m.</i> | H. Danby, trans. <i>The Mishnah</i> |
| Macc | Maccabees |
| MdB | Monde de la Bible |
| <i>Meg.</i> | <i>Megillah</i> |
| <i>Midr. Pss.</i> | W. G. Braude, trans. <i>The Midrash on Psalms</i> |
| <i>Migr.</i> | Philo <i>De migratione Abrahami</i> |
| MNTC | Moffatt New Testament Commentary |
| MNTS | McMaster New Testament Studies |
| <i>Mos. (Moses)</i> | Philo <i>De vita Mosis</i> (Philo <i>On the Life of Moses</i>) |
| MP | Myth and Poetics |
| MT | The Masoretic Text |
| <i>Mut.</i> | Philo <i>De Mutatione Nominum</i> (<i>the Change of Names</i>) |
| NABPRSSS | NABPR Special Studies Series |
| NAC | New American Commentary |
| NASB | New American Standard Bible |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| NCB | New Century Bible |
| <i>NEA</i> | <i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i> |
| NEchtB | Neue Ecter Bibel |
| NEchtBAT | Neue Ecter Bibel zum Alten Testament |
| NEchtBNT | Neue Ecter Bibel zum Neuen Testament |
| NEchtBT | Neue Ecter Bibel Themen |
| <i>Neot</i> | <i>Neotestamentica</i> |
| <i>NGWG</i> | <i>Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> |
| NHMS | Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies |
| NIB | L. E. Keck, ed. The New Interpreter's Bible |
| NICNT | New International Commentary on the New Testament |
| NICOT | New International Commentary on the Old Testament |
| <i>NIDNTT</i> | C. Brown, ed. <i>New International Dictionary of the New Testament Theology</i> |
| <i>NIDOTTE</i> | W. A. VanGemeren, ed. <i>New International Dictionary of the Old Testament Theology & Exegesis</i> |
| <i>NovT</i> | <i>Novum Testamentum</i> |
| NovTSup | Novum Testamentum Supplement |
| NRSV | New Revised Standard Version |
| <i>NRTh</i> | <i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i> |
| <i>NTA (1963)</i> | E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, eds. <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> |
| <i>NTA (1991)</i> | W. Schneemelcher, ed. <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> |
| NTAbh | Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen (new series) |
| NTD | Das Neue Testament Deutsch |
| NTL | New Testament Library |
| NTOA | Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus |
| <i>NTS</i> | <i>New Testament Studies</i> |
| NTSI | The New Testament and The Scriptures of Israel |

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| NTT | New Testament Theology |
| NTTS | New Testament Tools and Studies |
| OBO | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis |
| ÖBS | Österreichische biblische Studien |
| ÖTKNT | Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament |
| OTL | Old Testament Library |
| <i>OTP</i> | J. H. Charlesworth, ed. <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> |
| OtSt | Oudtestamentische Studiën |
| PBTM | Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs |
| <i>PEGLMBS</i> | <i>Proceedings, Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies</i> |
| <i>Pesah.</i> | <i>Pesahim</i> |
| <i>Pesiq. Rab Kah</i> | <i>Pesiqta de Rab Kahana</i> |
| PFTUN | Publications de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Neuchâtel |
| PG | Patrologia Graeca (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857-66) |
| PNTC | Pillar New Testament Commentaries |
| <i>POC</i> | <i>Proche Orient Chrétien</i> |
| <i>Post.</i> | Philo <i>De posteritate Caini</i> |
| <i>Praem.</i> | Philo <i>De praemiis et poenis</i> |
| <i>Prob.</i> | Philo <i>Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit</i> |
| <i>ProEccl</i> | <i>Pro Ecclesia</i> |
| <i>ProtoBib</i> | <i>Protokolle zur Bibel</i> |
| <i>PRSt</i> | <i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i> |
| Ps.-Clem. <i>Recog.</i> | Pseudo-Clementine <i>Recognitions</i> |
| PSJCO | Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins |
| <i>Pss. Sol.</i> | <i>Psalms of Solomon</i> |
| PThSt | Paderborner theologische Studien |
| PTMS | Princeton Theological Monograph Series |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| PTS | Patristische Teste und Studien |
| PTSDSSP | The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project |
| <i>QC</i> | <i>Qumran Chronicle</i> |
| QD | Quaestiones disputatae |
| <i>RB</i> | <i>Revue biblique</i> |
| Rech | Recherches |
| <i>RevExp</i> | <i>Review and Expositor</i> |
| <i>RevQ</i> | <i>Revue de Qumran</i> |
| <i>RevScRel</i> | <i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i> |
| <i>RGG</i> | H. D. Betz, ed. <i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> . 4 th ed. |
| <i>RHPR</i> | <i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i> |
| <i>RivB</i> | <i>Rivista biblica</i> |
| <i>RSR</i> | <i>Recherches de science religieuse</i> |
| <i>RTL</i> | <i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i> |
| <i>RTR</i> | <i>Reformed Theological Review</i> |
| <i>Sanh.</i> | <i>Sanhedrin</i> |
| SANT | Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament |
| SubBi | Subsidia biblica |
| SBAB | Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände |
| SBEC | Studies in Bible and Early Christianity |
| SBLDS | Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series |
| SBLEJL | Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature |
| SBLSCS | Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series |
| SBLSP | Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers |
| SBLSS | Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series |
| SBLTT | Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations |
| SBS | Stuttgarter Bibelstudien |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| SBT | Studies in Biblical Theology |
| SBTS | Sources for Biblical and Theological Study |
| <i>ScEccl</i> | <i>Sciences ecclésiastiques</i> |
| SCHNT | Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti |
| <i>SCJ</i> | <i>Stone-Campbell Journal</i> |
| <i>ScrTh</i> | <i>Scripta Theologica</i> |
| SCSS | Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series |
| SDSSRL | Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature |
| <i>SecCent</i> | <i>Second Century</i> |
| SFSHJ | South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism |
| SHC | Studies in Hellenistic Civilization |
| SHJ | Studying the Historical Jesus |
| SHR | Studies in the History of Religions |
| <i>Sib. Or.</i> | <i>Sibylline Oracles</i> |
| SIJD | Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum |
| Sir | Sirach |
| SJ | Studies in Judaism (Studia Judaica) |
| SJLA | Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity |
| <i>SJOT</i> | <i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i> |
| <i>SJT</i> | <i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i> |
| <i>SK</i> | <i>Skrif en Kerk</i> |
| SNTSMS | Society for the New Testament Studies Monograph Series |
| <i>SNTSU</i> | <i>Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt</i> |
| <i>Somn.</i> | Philo <i>De Somniis</i> (On Dreams) |
| SP | Sacra Pagina |
| <i>SPAW</i> | <i>Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft</i> |
| <i>Spec.</i> | Philo <i>De specialibus legibus</i> |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>SPhiloA</i> | <i>Studia philonica Annual</i> |
| <i>SPhilo</i> | <i>Studia philonica</i> |
| SSSGA | Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate |
| SSEJC | Studies in Early Judaism und Christianity |
| <i>ST</i> | <i>Studia theologica</i> |
| STDJ | Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah |
| StPB | Studia Post-Biblica |
| Str-B | H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck. <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> . 6 vols. |
| <i>StudBibTh</i> | <i>Studia Biblica et Theologica</i> |
| <i>StudMonR</i> | <i>Studia Montis Regii</i> |
| SUNT | Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments |
| Sus | Susanna |
| SVTP | Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha |
| <i>SVTQ</i> | <i>St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly</i> |
| TANTZ | Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter |
| TBS | Tools for Biblical Study |
| TCBAI | Transactions of the Casco Bay Assyriological Institute |
| <i>TDNT</i> | G. Kittel, ed. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> |
| <i>TDOT</i> | G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> |
| <i>Tehar.</i> | <i>Teharot</i> |
| <i>TGI</i> | <i>Theologie und Glaube</i> |
| <i>Tg. Yer. I</i> | <i>Targum Yerušalmi</i> |
| <i>Tg. Yer. II</i> | <i>Targum Yerušalmi I</i> |
| <i>Them</i> | <i>Themelios</i> |
| THKNT | Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament |
| ThR | Theology and Religion |

| | |
|---------------|--|
| THS | Tyndale House Studies |
| <i>ThTo</i> | <i>Theology Today</i> |
| TI | Theological Inquiries |
| <i>TK</i> | <i>Texte & Kontexte</i> |
| TKNT | Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament |
| <i>TLZ</i> | <i>Theologisch Literaturzeitung</i> |
| Tob | Tobit |
| <i>TRE</i> | H. R. Balz, ed. <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> |
| <i>TRev</i> | <i>Theologische Revue</i> |
| <i>TRu</i> | <i>Theologische Rundschau</i> |
| <i>TS</i> | <i>Theological Studies</i> |
| TSAJ | Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum |
| <i>TTZ</i> | <i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift</i> |
| TUGAL | Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur |
| TW | Theologische Wissenschaft |
| <i>TynBul</i> | <i>Tyndale Bulletin</i> |
| <i>TZ</i> | <i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i> |
| UBS | B. Aland et al., eds. <i>The Greek New Testament</i> . 4 th ed. |
| UNDCSJCA | University of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity |
| UNT | Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament |
| UTB | Uni-Taschenbücher |
| <i>VE</i> | <i>Verbum et Ecclesia</i> |
| <i>Virt.</i> | Philo <i>De virtutibus</i> |
| <i>Vita</i> | Josephus <i>Vita</i> |
| <i>VT</i> | <i>Vetus Testamentum</i> |
| WBC | Word Biblical Commentary |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| WF | Wege der Forschung |
| Wis | Wisdom of Solomon |
| WMANT | Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament |
| <i>WTJ</i> | <i>Westminster Theological Journal</i> |
| WUNT | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament |
| <i>WW</i> | <i>Word & World</i> |
| y. | J. Neusner, ed. <i>The Talmud of the Land of Israel</i> |
| YJS | Yale Judaica Series |
| YPR | Yale Publications in Religion |
| <i>ZAW</i> | <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> |
| ZBKNT | Zürcher Bibelkommentare zum Neuen Testament |
| <i>ZDPV</i> | <i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> |
| <i>ZKT</i> | <i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i> |
| <i>ZNW</i> | <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> |
| <i>ZTK</i> | <i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i> |
| <i>ZWT</i> | <i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> |

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURE

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 1 Comparison of the Syriac and Latin versions of Ps.-Clem. <i>Recog.</i> on John the Baptist | 105 |
| Table 2 Contents of 4Q175 | 201 |
| Table 3 Various Structural Analyses of the Prologue | 209 |
| Figure 1 Four witnesses on behalf of Jesus’ mission and identity | 229 |
| Table 4 Direct Quotations with Introductory Formulae | 287 |
| Table 5 Direct Quotations without Introductory Formulae | 289 |
| Table 6 Introductory Formulae without Explicit Quotations | 289 |
| Table 7 OT Allusions Discussed in the Present Study | 290 |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Two Testaments and “Biblical Theology” Movement

The bipartite nature of the Christian Bible has posed a perennial dilemma for biblical theologians. One of the reasons for such a quandary lies in the considerable measure of incongruity that the two Testaments display with one another (and within themselves) notwithstanding a certain degree of commonality.¹ In the face of this observation, one group of scholars, especially some historical critics, has expressed skepticism toward the unity of the Old and New Testaments and further argued that “biblical theology” is possible only within certain confessional circles, reflecting reductionistic and positivistic methodology and *a priori* theological presuppositions.² A greater number of biblical theologians, however, are more optimistic about the possibility of constructing a critically analytical “biblical theology.”³ In this context, a large number

¹This question of disparity or diversity is at issue not only concerning the relation between the two Testaments but within the scope of the respective Testament. For the case of the New Testament, see James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity*, 3rd ed. (London: SCM, 2006). However, Dunn seems to have slightly shifted his stress from the diverse to the synthetic witness of the New Testament writings in his more recent work. Some of his observations are noteworthy: first, the impact the historical Jesus made upon his disciples was the formative force in shaping the present New Testament witnesses. Second, the oral communication environment facilitated a considerably conservative transmission process. Thus, he suggests the close connection between the first and third life settings. Idem, *Jesus Remembered*, CM 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 882-84. Dunn’s observation on the diversity (in the former book) indicates the difficulty inherent in the undertaking of “biblical theology.”

²Jon Douglas Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 106-26; Wolfhart Pannenberg, “Problems in a Theology of (Only) the Old Testament,” in *Problems in Biblical Theology: Essays in Honor of Rolf Knierim*, ed. Henry T. C. Sun and Keith L. Eades (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 275-80.

³John J. Collins, *Encounters with Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 11-44; John Barton, “Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective,” in *The Nature of New Testament Theology: Essays in Honour of Robert Morgan*, ed. Christopher Rowland and Christopher Tuckett (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 18-30. Therefore, they disregard the sharp disjunction between the “what it meant” and the

of attempts have been undertaken along this line. Furthermore, contrary to the observation of a prominent biblical theologian (“biblical theology is a subject in decline”),⁴ the topic “biblical theology” continues to be a subject of much discussion as evidenced by the recent installment of journal series, monographs, and commentaries that are related to this topic.⁵ For the sake of space, only two of more popular approaches in this rubric of movement can be mentioned: canonical and tradition-historical approaches.

Canonical Approach

On the one hand, the enterprise of “biblical theology” has received, however, more criticism than welcome. For instance, the canonical approach, one of the more prominent approaches to “biblical theology” is most popularly represented by B. S. Childs, who points to the importance of the present form of the biblical canon as it was received and interpreted by the early church. His assumption and methodology, however, have been frequently criticized for the ambiguity of his hermeneutical program and general ignorance of the original historical contexts.⁶ Furthermore, the paucity of this

peripheral “what it means” proposed by Krister Stendahl, “Biblical Theology, Contemporary,” in *IDB* 1:418-32. For more scholars who stress the differences in terms of a balanced tension or unity between the two Testaments, see David L. Baker, *Two Testaments, One Bible: A Study of the Theological Relationship between the Old and New Testaments*, rev. ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1991); Klaus Koch, “Two Testaments—One Bible: New Trends in Biblical Theology,” *BTF* 28 (1996): 38-58; Stephen Motyer, “Two Testaments, One Biblical Theology,” in *Between Two Horizons: Spanning New Testament Studies and Systematic Theology*, ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 143-64; Bernd Janowski, “The One God of the Two Testaments: Basic Questions of a Biblical Theology,” *ThTo* 57 (2000): 297-324; idem, “Biblical Theology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 716-31.

⁴Collins, *Encounters with Biblical Theology*, 11. A working definition of “biblical theology” is worthy of mention. C. H. H. Scobie defines “biblical theology” as “the ordered study of what the Bible has to say about God and his relation to the world and to humankind.” Charles H. H. Scobie, *The Ways of Our God: An Approach to Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 4-5.

⁵In addition to the monographs mentioned in this section, recent installments of such a prestigious series of monographs, journals, and commentary series signal the growing interest in the issues that the two-part-nature of the Bible generates. Cf. *Biblical Theology Bulletin*; *Overtures to Biblical Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1977-); *Horizons in Biblical Theology* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1979-); *Biblical Encounters* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981-); *Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie*, ed. Ingo Baldermann et al. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986-); *New Studies in Biblical Theology*, ed. D. A. Carson (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1995-); *The Two Horizons New Testament Commentary*, ed. Joel B Green and Max Turner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005-). Cf. Scobie, *The Ways of Our God*, 42-45.

⁶For critical responses to Child’s approach, see James Barr, *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 49-104; Dale A. Brueggemann, “Brevard Childs’ Canon

type of study in New Testament scholarship obliquely bears testimony to the exegetical obstructions intrinsic to pursuing such a venture.⁷ Finally, the advocates of such an attempt often place emphasis on the principal hermeneutical role of the receptive community. This reader-oriented tendency renders the canonical approach less attractive to the practitioners of the traditional historical-grammatical approach.⁸

Tradition-Historical Approach

A more positively received attempt than canonical criticism along the line of biblical theology, at least for the exegetes standing in the historical-critical tradition, is the tradition-historical approach, which seeks to find an overarching motif that weaves together the texts of the Old and New Testaments.⁹ Hartmut Gese and Peter Stuhlmacher

Criticism: An Example of Post-Critical Naiveté," *JETS* 32 (1989): 311-26; John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*, rev. ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 77-103; Collins, *Encounters with Biblical Theology*, 15-16; Hubert Frankemölle, "Biblische Theologie: Semantisch-historische Anmerkungen und Thesen," in *Studien zum jüdischen Kontext neutestamentlicher Theologien*, SBAB 37 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2005), 1-22. Also, Walter Brueggemann designates Childs' canonical approach as pre-critical and massively reductionistic. Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament with CD-ROM: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 91-93. James Barr evaluates Childs' terminology, "canonical intention," as "mystical phrase." James Barr, "Childs' Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture," *JSOT* 16 (1980): 13. For Childs' works, see Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970); idem, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); idem, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993). For those who positively welcome Childs' approach, see Mark G. Brett, *Biblical Criticism in Crisis?: The Impact of the Canonical Approach on Old Testament Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Paul R. Noble, *The Canonical Approach: A Critical Reconstruction of the Hermeneutics of Brevard S. Childs*, BIS 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

⁷For example, John Reumann notes the dearth of such an attempt by New Testament exegetes, see John H. P. Reumann, "Profiles, Problems, and Possibilities in Biblical Theology Today Part I," *KD* 44 (1998): 61-85; idem, "Profiles, Problems, and Possibilities in Biblical Theology Today Part II: New Testament," *KD* 44 (1998): 145-69. His observation and the survey of James Barr (*The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective* [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1999]) indicate the difficulty of establishing a framework of biblical theology from a viewpoint of New Testament studies.

⁸For examples of reader-oriented nature of this approach, see ; Scobie, *The Ways of Our God*; Walter Brueggemann, "Biblical Theology Appropriately Postmodern," in *Jews, Christians, and the Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures*, ed. Alice Ogden Bellis and Joel S. Kaminsky, SBLSS 8 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 97-108; idem, *Theology of the Old Testament with CD-ROM*; Christine Helmer and Christof Landmesser, eds., *One Scripture or Many?: Canon from Biblical, Theological and Philosophical Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). The essays in the latter anthology amply demonstrate that various Christian and Jewish traditions have interpreted their canons in different terms. However, an important hermeneutical question is neglected in their discussions, that is, whether or how the different interpretations of the various traditions and times exegetically and logically cohere with the meanings inherent in the texts discussed in their studies.

⁹Scobie, *The Ways of Our God*, 42-43.

are usually associated with this systematic reading of the two Testaments through “Zion,” or “Torah” leitmotifs.¹⁰ Gese argues, for instance, that successive Hebrew and Christian communities re-worked the previous generation’s doctrine of the law in the face of the present life setting. Thus, he finds several phases of the Hebrew belief in the law differently understood throughout the history of Israel. This reinterpreted law is the final product for the community of the time, but is fully comprehensible in light of the ultimately re-read law, the New Testament.¹¹ Some students of Gese and Stuhlmacher and other scholars have taken up this program, and put on a new dress, the “exile-and-restoration” theme.¹² Of course, Gese and Stuhlmacher, on the one hand, and the proponents of the “exile-and-restoration” theme, on the other, do not overlap exactly in their theological presuppositions and exegetical conclusions, but they do share much in

¹⁰Hartmut Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion* (Munich: Kaiser, 1974); idem, “The Law,” in *Essays on Biblical Theology*, trans. Keith Crim (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981), 60-92; Peter Stuhlmacher, “Das Gesetz als Thema biblischer Theologie,” *ZTK* 75 (1978): 251-80.

¹¹Hartmut Gese, *Essays on Biblical Theology*, trans. Keith Crim (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981), 15-25. However, the program of Gese has been criticized for some reasons, one of which is his hypothetical reconstruction of historical settings. Gerhard F. Hasel, “Biblical Theology: Then, Now, and Tomorrow,” *HBT* 4 (1982): 66-67; John Haralson Hayes and Frederick C. Prussner, *Old Testament Theology: Its History and Development* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1985), 244, 262; Henning Graf Reventlow, *Problems of Old Testament Theology in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 150-54.

¹²James Scott, ed., *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, JSJSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); idem, ed., *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, JSJSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2001); idem, “Jesus’ Vision for the Restoration of Israel as the Basis for a Biblical Theology of the New Testament,” in *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002), 129-43; Scott Hafemann, “Paul and the Exile of Israel in Galatians 3-4,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James Scott, JSJSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 329-71; idem, “Paul’s Argument from the Old Testament and Christology in 2 Cor 1-9: The Salvation-History/Restoration Structure of Paul’s Apologetic,” in *Corinthian Correspondence*, ed. Reimund Bieringer, BETL 125 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1996), 277-303. For a cautious recognition of the exegetical pitfalls in “exile-restoration” studies, see Mark A. Seifrid, “The ‘New Perspective on Paul and Its Problems,’” *Them* 25, no. 2 (February 2000): 8-12. Seifrid critiques the works of N. T. Wright, Frank Thielman, and James Scott (see N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, COQG 1 [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 268-79; Frank Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1994], 48-68; James Scott, “Restoration of Israel,” in *DPHL*, 796-805). Seifrid’s reservation on this approach is multi-layered. First, it ignores the personal aspect of Paul’s theology. Second, it downplays the positive attitude of Paul towards the city of Jerusalem. Third, the “exile” reading distorts some Jewish writings (e.g., Baruch, Judith, and the Qumran literature) that underscore, not the nationality, but personal piety on which the eternal security hinges. Finally, the writings of Paul themselves do not clearly reflect on his belief in the “exile” status of Israel. On the other hand, C. R. Seitz recognizes irreconcilable incongruities between the two Testaments and the critical exegetical misrepresentation on the part of the tradition-historical approach. See Christopher R. Seitz, “Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition History,” in *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002), 195-211. Also, a similar caveat is expressed in Gerhard Barth, “Biblische Theologie: Versuch einer vorläufigen Bilanz,” *EvT* 58 (1998): 384-99.

common as far as their methodological presupposition is concerned. That is, a unifying theme visibly runs through the Old and New Testaments and exegetes can unpack it without inflicting violence to the texts.

Despite the considerable degree of enthusiasm with which a number of biblical students received these types of studies, these studies seem to possess both strengths and weaknesses.¹³ One of the positive contributions seems to be their recognition of the presence of a unifying theme woven together in the two Testaments. However, a negative upshot is that they undercut or misrepresent the insurmountable centrality of God.¹⁴ In other words, they lose sight of the principal thrust of the Christian Bible. That is, the main agent of the salvation history is differently put forth in the two Testaments. This peculiarity is, however, seldom or inadequately addressed in both canonical and tradition-historical approaches.¹⁵ What is fundamentally lacking in their studies is an aggressive engagement with the fact that the first Testament is deeply steeped in a scrupulous promotion of monotheism vis-à-vis Yahweh worship, whereas the second Testament is ditheistically oriented with a disproportional emphasis on the second person of the God-head, Jesus Christ.¹⁶ These two varying portraits of the two God-heads

¹³This exile and restoration theme has been also implemented in John with particular attention to the allusions to the Exodus events in John 6. Diana M. Sawncutt, "Hungers Assuaged by the Bread from Heaven: 'Eating Jesus' as Isaian Call to Belief, the Confluence of Isaiah 55 and Psalm 78 (77) in John 6:22-71," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 48 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 218-51; Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 2003), 153-79; John Dennis, "The Presence and Function of Second Exodus-Restoration Imagery in John 6," *SNTSU* 30 (2005): 105-21.

¹⁴In addition, in view of the significance of the supposed programic exile-and-restoration framework, explicit reference to such a theme, for instance, in John's Gospel seems to be surprisingly sparse.

¹⁵Similarly, Mark Seifrid points out the grave oversight of the New Perspective. That is, it misses the Christo-centric emphasis of the New Testament writings. Mark A. Seifrid, "Paul's Use of Habakkuk 2:4 in Romans 1:17: Reflections on Israel's Exile in Romans," in *History and Exegesis: New Testament Essays in Honor of Dr. E. Earle Ellis for His 80th Birthday*, ed. Sang-Won Son (London: T & T Clark, 2006), 133-49. This criticism is also valid with reference to the exile and restoration motif studies.

¹⁶"The Bible is not one continuous tradition history, like a novel with a beginning, a middle and an end. Something stops, and a history of effects is set in motion that testifies to the form of the original canon and the differentiation of traditions, of various sorts, from it. . . . The problem for the early church was not what to do with the OT. Rather, in the light of Scripture whose authority and privileged status were everywhere acknowledged, what was one to make of a crucified messiah and a parting of the

constitute one of the most vexing questions posed upon biblical theologians, and they call for serious consideration. One of the more oversimplistic responses to this question has been undertaken by a group of scholars who played down the testimonies of the Old Testament while stressing the uniquely elevated place of New Testament Christology.¹⁷ The history of the biblical theology movement, however, generally disagrees with the sharp wedge that this movement has driven between the two Testaments, especially their presentation of the God-head.¹⁸

Christology within Jewish Conceptual Bounds

A more considerate attempt to account for this disparity has traced back the origin of Christology from the conceptual strands attested in the Old Testament and the subsequent Jewish traditions. This approach can be further divided into two sub-groups. The first sub-group, more popularly represented by Richard Bauckham and William Horbury, maintains that New Testament Christology can be understood within the bounds of Jewish monotheism. Although in much different measure, they both postulate that Christian Christology is somewhat an organic outgrowth from Jewish monotheism.¹⁹

ways?" Seitz, "Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition History," 205-10. Also, U. Wilckens recognizes that the unity of the resurrected Jesus with God is what legitimized the Christian reading of the Old Testament, not the historical reading of the Scripture. Ulrich Wilckens, "Monotheismus und Christologie," in *Der Sohn Gottes und seine Gemeinde: Studien zur Theologie der Johanneischen Schriften*, FRLANT 200 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 131-34.

¹⁷Marcion, Rudolf Bultmann, and Friedrich Baumgärtel can be classified under this category. Earle E. Ellis, "Foreword," in *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, Leonhard Goppelt, trans. Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), xi-xiv; Baker, *Two Testaments, One Bible*, 35, 68-69, 85-86.

¹⁸Another significant attempt along the lines of the biblical theology movement can be mentioned here. Francis Watson notes the artificial gap present between Old Testament, New Testament, and systematic theological studies. These "three autonomous interpretive communities" are "ideologically motivated" and their academic products "systematically distort their subject matter," which is the God of the gospel revealed in Jesus Christ as witnessed to by the Christian canonical Scriptures. Francis Watson, *Text and Truth: Redefining Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 6-7. Also, refer to his earlier study, idem, *Text, Church, and World: Biblical Interpretation in Theological Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994). Watson's studies are full of sound judgments and a great number of scholars would heartily share his concerns. However, how practically his points can be applied in theological discussions seems uncertain. Another stream of thought in the line of "biblical theology" is the salvation historical perspective, most popularly associated with Oscar Cullmann. Once widely criticized, this approach has been revived recently by Robert W. Yarbrough, *The Salvation-Historical Fallacy?: Reassessing the History of New Testament Theology*, HBIS 2 (Leiden: Deo, 2004).

¹⁹J. C. O'Neill, "The Trinity and the Incarnation as Jewish Doctrines," in *Who did Jesus Think*

However, as Hurtado has pointed out, “the binitarian” theology of early Christians differs significantly from the conventional Jewish monotheism. Accordingly, the Jesus event (not the Jewish heritage of nascent Christianity) must have been the principal impetus for the early Christian worship of the second God-head.²⁰

The other group has explored certain Jewish concepts (such as Son of Man or wisdom) and heroic protagonists, such as Moses, Elijah, or David, in an attempt to ascertain if they were seen as dormant messianic icons which were later translated into Christian Christology. This type of approach to New Testament Christology has found its way into the study of John’s Gospel, as well as into studies in other parts of the New Testament corpus. The present study aims primarily at assessing the value of the latter approach for understanding of the Gospel of John and its Christology in particular, by means of evaluating the Johannine texts that allegedly contain the traces of thought reflecting a Christology of Jewish heroes *redivivus* in view of the pertinent intertestamental Jewish writings that point to a *redivivus* eschatology.

Centrality of Christology in the Fourth Gospel

A student of the Fourth Gospel is immediately confronted with widely divided

He Was?, BIS 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 94-114; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, WUNT 2/70 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); Richard Bauckham, *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*, AGAJU 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); William Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM, 1998); idem, *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Twelve Biblical and Historical Studies* (London: T & T Clark, 2003); John Lierman, *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion*, WUNT 2/173 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 258-88; Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. S. North, eds., *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, JSNTSup 263 (London: T & T Clark, 2004).

²⁰Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, 2nd ed. (London: T & T Clark, 1998); idem, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); idem, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?: Historical Questions about Earliest Devotion to Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 111-204. In addition, against Stuckenbruck, a number of scholars find too little evidence for the angelomorphic messianic tie between early Judaism and early Christianity. J. Alexander Cunningham, “Christology and the Angel of the Lord,” *JRR* 6 (1997): 3-15; Darrell D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*, WUNT 2/109 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Gary Simmers, “Who is ‘The Angel of the Lord?’” *FM* 17 (2000): 3-16.

scholarly opinions on various issues surrounding John.²¹ There is, however, one aspect that seems to enjoy unanimity;²² that is, that Christology stands at the heart of the Gospel. In this respect, one can come to good terms with Eduard Schweizer's observation that everything in John is radically concentrated on Jesus: "In einer unvergleichlichen Radikalität konzentriert sich hier alles auf Jesus."²³ Similarly, Otto Schwankl also notes that all other aspects of John's theological concerns are subsumed under the rubric of Christology:

²¹For convenient and recent surveys of various issues expressed in recent Johannine scholarship, see Udo Schnelle, "Perspektiven der Johannesexegese," *SNTSU* 15 (1990): 59-72; idem, "Ein neuer Blick: Tendenzen der gegenwärtigen Johannesforschung," *BTZ* 16 (1999): 29-40; idem, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 4th ed., UTB 1830 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 479-555; Walter Schmithals, *Johannesevangelium und Johannesbriefe: Forschungsgeschichte und Analyse*, BZNW 64 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 3-214; Franz G. Untergaßmair, "Das Johannesevangelium: Ein Bericht über neuere Literatur aus der Johannesforschung," *TRev* 90 (1994): 91-108; Michèle Morgen, "Bulletin d'exégèse du Nouveau Testament: La littérature johannique," *RSR* 84 (1996): 277-303; idem, "Bulletin johannique," *RSR* 89 (2001): 561-91; idem, "Les écrits johanniques," *RSR* 93 (2005): 291-324; Stephen S. Smalley, *John: Evangelist and Interpreter*, 2nd ed., GP 4 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1998); Helge Kjær Nielsen, "Johannine Research," in *New Readings in John: Literary and Theological Perspectives Essays from the Scandinavian Conference on the Fourth Gospel in Århus 1997*, ed. J. Nissen and S. Pedersen, JSNTSup 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1999), 11-30; Klaus Scholtissek, "Johannine Studies: A Survey of Recent Research with Special Regard to German Contributions," *CurBS* 6 (1998): 227-59; idem, "Johannes auslegen I: Forschungsgeschichtliche und methodische Reflexionen," *SNTSU* 24 (1999): 35-84; idem, "Neue Wege in der Johannesauslegung: Ein Forschungsbericht I," *TGI* 89 (1999): 263-95; idem, "Johannes auslegen II: Methodische, hermeneutische und einleitungswissenschaftliche Reflexionen," *SNTSU* 25 (2000): 98-140; idem, "Johannine Studies: A Survey of Recent Research with Special Regard to German Contributions II," *CurBS* 9 (2001): 277-305; idem, "Neue Wege in der Johannesauslegung: Ein Forschungsbericht II," *TGI* 91 (2001): 109-33; idem, "Johannes auslegen III: Ein Forschungsbericht," *SNTSU* 27 (2002): 117-53; idem, "The Johannine Gospel in Recent Research," in *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research*, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 444-72; idem, "Johannes auslegen IV: Ein Forschungsbericht," *SNTSU* 29 (2004): 67-118; Francis J. Moloney, "Where Does One Look?: Reflections on Some Recent Johannine Scholarship," *Anton* 62 (2000): 223-51; Andrianjatovo Rakotoharintsifa, "Chronique johannique," *ÉTR* 75 (2000): 81-102; idem, "Chronique johannique II," *ÉTR* 78 (2003): 79-95; Konrad Haldimann and Hans Weder, "Aus der Literatur zum Johannesevangelium 1985-1994, Erster Teil, I: Historische Situierung und diachrone Analysen," *TRu* 67 (2002): 328-48; idem, "Aus der Literatur zum Johannesevangelium 1985-1994, Erster Teil, II: Historische Situierung und diachrone Analysen," *TRu* 67 (2002): 425-56; idem, "Aus der Literatur zum Johannesevangelium 1985-1994, Zweiter Teil: Synchrone Analysen," *TRu* 69 (2004): 75-115; Roland Bergmeier, "Fragen zur Interpretation der johanneischen Schriften: Homogenität und Widersprüche," *TZ* 60 (2004): 107-30; Robert Kysar, *Voyages with John: Charting the Fourth Gospel* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2005), 43-146; David L. Bartlett, "Interpreting and Preaching the Gospel of John," *Int* 60 (2006): 48-63.

²²For surveys of recent approaches to the Johannine Christology, see Paul N. Anderson, *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: Its Unity and Disunity in the Light of John 6*, WUNT 2/78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 1-32; James F. McGrath, *John's Apologetic Christology: Legitimation and Development in Johannine Christology*, SNTSMS 111 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 3-47; for the pre-existence of Jesus in particular, see Aquila H. I. Lee, *From Messiah to Preexistent Son: Jesus' Self-Consciousness and Early Christian Exegesis of Messianic Psalms*, WUNT 2/192 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 2-24.

²³Eduard Schweizer, *Jesus Christus: Im vielfältigen Zeugnis des Neuen Testaments*, 4th ed., GTS 126 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1976), 154.

Ein Hauptkennzeichen des Johannesevangeliums ist die enorme Konzentration auf die Christologie. Ihr gegenüber treten andere theologische Felder, etwa die Ekklesiologie oder die Ethik, merklich zurück; sie werden von der Christologie sozusagen aufgesogen oder neu gepolt.²⁴

He further goes on to spell out the centrality of Jesus in John on seven points: the Gospel's concentration on Jesus, concentration on his words, Christological self-understanding of Jesus, Christological confessions, Christological titles, missionary Christology, and the I-am sayings.²⁵

Even without entering into a meticulous discussion on such notions, however, this centrality of Christology simply makes a compelling case at least on two grounds. First, structurally speaking, the introductory prologue (1:1-18) and the concluding purpose statement (20:30-31) constitute an *inclusio* and stand out as pivotal points in John's overall narrative schemes.²⁶ Along with Martha's confession in the middle (John 11:27), both sections speak of Christology in the highest terms possible in Jewish thought

²⁴Otto Schwankl, "Aspekte der johanneischen Christologie," in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 349. Also, see C. K. Barrett, "Christocentric or Theocentric?: Observations on the Theological Method of the Fourth Gospel," in *Essays on John* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982), 1-18; Marinus de Jonge, "Christology, Controversy and Community in the Gospel of John," in *Christology, Controversy and Community: New Testament Essays in Honor of David R. Catchpole*, ed. David G. Horrell and Christopher M. Tuckett, NovTSup 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 209; Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, ed. Francis J. Moloney, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 249.

²⁵Schwankl, "Aspekte der johanneischen Christologie," 348-61.

²⁶Saeed Hamid-Khani, *Revelation and Concealment of Christ: A Theological Inquiry into the Elusive Language of the Fourth Gospel*, WUNT 2/120 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 151-53; C. Koch and K. Huber, "Konzentrisches Erzählkonzept im Johannesevangelium: Skizze eines Strukturierungsvorschlags," *ProtoBib* 12 (2003): 129-42. Jürgen Becker posits that the Johannine prologue is a later interpolation by the final redactor because the incarnation theme is neither repeated nor explicated in the rest of the Gospel. Jürgen Becker, "Ich Bin die Auferstehung und das Leben: Eine Skizze der johanneischen Christologie," *TZ* 39 (1983): 138-51. See also Appendix 3: The Significance of the Old Testament for the Fourth Gospel. His judgment suffers from a serious exegetical oversight in view of John's overall attitude towards the Old Testament. The evangelist repeatedly manifests a keen interest in presenting Jesus' identity and action in commensurate terms with the word of God, i.e., the fulfillment of the scripture. For instance, the bread speech in chapter 6 is sensible only when Jesus is taken to be the realized Word of God in view of Peter's confession in v. 68 which concludes the pericope ("Lord, to whom shall we go? You have the words of eternal life"). To take another issue with Becker, Labahn rightly observes that the Johannine prologue is programmatically placed at the beginning so as to unfold the unity of the Father and the Son for the rest of the Gospel. Michael Labahn, "Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Überlegungen zu einem spannungsreichen Verhältnis," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 188; similarly, Robert H. Gundry, "How the Word in John's Prologue Pervades the Rest of the Fourth Gospel," in *The Old Is Better: New Testament Essays in Support of Traditional Interpretations*, WUNT 178 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 324-62.

patterns, i.e., Jesus is portrayed as being equal to God (5:18; 10:33).²⁷ Secondly, the content of the Fourth Gospel points to Jesus whose origin, divine and human nature, and works are constantly brought to the forefront throughout John.²⁸ The recent insights

²⁷Klaus Scholtissek, "Neues Testament," in *Der Messias: Perspektiven des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, ed. Heiz-Josef Fabry and Klaus Scholtissek, NEChBT 5 (Würzburg: Echter, 2002), 88; idem, "Ich und der Vater, wir sind eins' (Joh 10,30): Zum theologischen Potential und zur hermeneutischen Kompetenz der johanneischen Christologie," in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 333-39; Andrew T. Lincoln, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John*, BNTC 4 (London: Continuum, 2005), 69. However, this statement is not to underestimate the sense in which Jesus is also presented as subordinate to God in John as the missionary Christology most prominently indicates. Cf. Wilhelm Thüsing, "Die johanneische Theologie als Verkündigung der Grösse Gottes," *TTZ* 74 (1965): 321-31; C. K. Barrett, "The Father is Greater Than I' (Jo 14, 28): Subordinationist Christology in the New Testament," in *Essays on John* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982), 19-36; Paul N. Anderson, *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: Its Unity and Disunity in the Light of John 6*, WUNT 2/78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 267; Christopher Cowan, "The Father and Son in the Fourth Gospel: Johannine Subordination Revisited," *JETS* 49 (2006): 115-35.

²⁸For discussions on the crucial importance of Christology for New Testament theology, see Bo Reicke, "Unity and Diversity in New Testament Theology," in *Good News in History: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke with a Contribution by Professor Reicke*, ed. E. L. Miller (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), 177; Peter Stuhlmacher, *How to Do Biblical Theology*, PTMS 38 (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1995), 15-29, 87-88; E. Earle Ellis, "Jesus' Use of the Old Testament and the Genesis of New Testament Theology," in *Christ and the Future in New Testament History*, NovTSup 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 20-37; Brad Green, "The Foundations of New Testament Theology," in *Interpreting the New Testament: Essays on Methods and Issues*, ed. David Alan Black and David S. Dockery (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2001), 489-90; Morna Hooker, "The Nature of New Testament Theology," in *The Nature of New Testament Theology: Essays in Honour of Robert Morgan*, ed. Christopher Rowland and Christopher Tuckett (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 75-92. Frank Thielman judiciously sums up the matter. "For all the distinctiveness of its discrete textual witnesses, the New Testament is remarkably homogenous in its commitment to these basic themes. It offers a compelling vision of reality . . . and it invites those who read its various texts sympathetically to adopt its Christ-centered vision of the universe as their own." Frank Thielman, *Theology of the New Testament: A Canonical and Synthetic Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 725. Similarly, Ferdinand Hahn states that the crucial point of reference for the entire New Testament traditions is the divine revelation in the person of Christ, from which all the questions concerning the New Testament derive. "Der entscheidende Bezugspunkt der gesamten neutestamentlichen Überlieferung ist die Offenbarung Gottes in der Person Jesu Christi. Jesu Verkündigung und Wirken stehen notwendigerweise am Anfang der urchristlichen Theologiegeschichte. Nun verbinden sich aber mit der Jesusüberlieferung und ihrer Stellung innerhalb einer neutestamentlichen Theologie zahlreiche Probleme." Ferdinand Hahn, "Das Zeugnis des Neuen Testaments in seiner Vielfalt und Einheit: Zu den Grundproblemen einer neutestamentlichen Theologie," in *Grundsatzfragen, Jesusforschung, Evangelien*, vol. 1 of *Studien zum Neuen Testament*, ed. Jörg Frey and Juliane Schlegel, WUNT 191 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 168. Also, see Hengel's penetrating assessment of the messianic downplay and overemphasis of the formative history of the early Christian communities suggested by Wrede. Hengel points to four aspects in which Wrede's postulation is at fault: his denial of historicity of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi, his misinterpretation of the Passion narratives, the disciples' sudden change of faith in Jesus from unmessianic to heavily messianic, and the inadequate recognition of the Galilean-Jewish origin of Jesus and his first hearers and disciples. Martin Hengel, "Jesus, der Messias Israels: Zum Streit über das 'messianische Sendungsbewußtsein' Jesu," in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity, Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Ithamar Gruenwald, Shaul Shaked, and Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 160. In a similar vein, F. Hahn critiques the history-of-religions program of Heikki Räisänen for his ignorance of the theological unity of the New Testament in its emphasis on "theo-logy" and Christology and the early Christian approval of such a concept. Ferdinand Hahn, "Eine religionswissenschaftliche Alternative zur neutestamentlichen Theologie?: Ein Gespräch mit Heikki Räisänen," in *Grundsatzfragen, Jesusforschung, Evangelien*, vol. 1 of *Studien zum Neuen Testament*, ed. Jörg Frey and Juliane Schlegel, WUNT 191 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 151-62, esp. 159-60 for the fundamental and integral place of Christology in early Christian theology.

gained from the genre-critical analysis of the four Gospels also call for an urgent need for Gospel scholarship to refocus upon the main character (i.e., Jesus) rather than the developmental history of the communities which allegedly underlie the shaping of the canonical Gospels.²⁹

Johannine Christology from the Vantage Point of the Jewish Context

If another consensus is to be designated, it would be the prominence of the Jewish religious/cultural milieu, with which a large number of Johannine exegetes associate the formation of the Fourth Gospel.³⁰ The foremost reason for such a judgment is due to the recent conclusion of Gospel scholarship that the historical origin of the Jesus tradition is deeply rooted in Jewish contexts.³¹ Unless a sharp bifurcation is to be placed between the first and the third life-settings (that is, between Jesus and his disciples, on the

²⁹Robert Guelich, "The Gospel Genre," in *The Gospel and the Gospels*, ed. P. Stuhlmacher (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 173-208; Mark W. G. Stibbe, *John as Storyteller: Narrative Criticism and the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 30-49; Richard Bauckham, ed., *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), esp., idem, "For Whom Were Gospels Written?" 9-48; "none of the four Gospels was written only for one particular community; far less do they simply reproduce the views of the one individual community. They give primarily the views of their authors" (Martin Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Collection and Origin of the Canonical Gospels* [Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000], 106-15, esp. 106-07 for the quote); David B. Capes, "Imitatio Christi and the Gospel Genre," *BBR* 13 (2003): 1-19; Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?: A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); idem, "Gospels," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 432-44; William Horbury, "'Gospel' in Herodian Judea," in *The Written Gospel*, ed. M. Bockmuehl and D. A. Hagner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7-30. For a recent survey of the research history, see Johannes Beutler, "Literarische Gattungen im Johannesevangelium: Ein Forschungsbericht 1919-1980," *ANRW* 2.25:2506-68; Robert H. Gundry, "The Symbiosis of Theology and Genre Criticism of the Canonical Gospels," in *The Old Is Better: New Testament Essays in Support of Traditional Interpretations*, WUNT 178 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 18-48. This point does not rest on whether or not the Gospels took on their literary form from a certain antecedent literary genre. Rather, the point is that the recent debates about the genre of the Gospels, in my opinion, demonstrate the centrality of the main character, Jesus.

³⁰Thomas Söding, "'Was kann aus Nazareth schon Gutes kommen?' (Joh 1.46): Die Bedeutung des Judenseins Jesu im Johannesevangelium," *NTS* 46 (2000): 21-41. This judgment should be self-evident due to the plain fact that John speaks of Jesus' identity exclusively in Jewish terms such as "Christ" and "Messiah." However, the dissensions of some scholars on this point require further discussion. See Appendix 2: "Religionsgeschichte and the Fourth Gospel."

³¹"The picture of Jesus that has [recently] emerged is more finely nuanced, more obviously Jewish . . . we read and read again the old Gospel stories and try to come to grips with the life of this remarkable Galilean Jew." Craig A. Evans, "Assessing Progress in the Third Quest of the Historical Jesus," *JSHJ* 4 (2006): 54.

one hand, and the theoretical writer/redactor responsible for the present form of John's Gospel, on the other), one cannot fail to notice the pervasive Jewish elements of the Jesus tradition, which characteristic also has been frequently criticized as lacking in the previous quests for the historical Jesus.³²

Another reason for approaching Johannine Christology from Jewish viewpoints owes to the way in which the fourth evangelist portrays the main character of his Gospel.³³ That is, that Jesus is depicted primarily and exclusively in Jewish eschatological terms, i.e., "Messiah" (twice) and "Christ" (19 times).³⁴ "Messiah" which is a Greek transliteration of the Aramaic word "*Masiha* (מָשִׁיחַ)," occurs within the entire New Testament corpus only in John (1:41; 4:25).³⁵ The Greek translation (Χριστός) of this Semitic title does not connote any redeeming figure in the Hellenistic extra-biblical usages and it always refers to objects or abstract ideas. Therefore, not to mention the Semitic semantic provenance, the Greek epithet "Christ" was not intelligible to Gentiles in the Hellenistic cultural and/or religious contexts with reference to an eschatological overtone as denoted in the Gospel of John.³⁶

As far as tradition-historical considerations are concerned, all NT texts with Χριστός are related to the OT and Jewish traditions. There is no secondary influence from secular Greek usage, which never applied Χριστός to persons;³⁷

³²“The third failure of previous quests [the Old and New Quests] has been the mistake of looking for a *distinctive* Jesus, distinctive in the sense of a Jesus *different* from his environment. This failure also has a twin aspect: first, the determination to find a non-Jewish Jesus.” James D. G. Dunn, *A New Perspective on Jesus: What the Quest for the Historical Jesus Missed* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 58 (italics original). An example of distancing these two Sitz-im-Lebens to a considerable extent is attested to in Eduard Lohse, *Grundriß der neutestamentlichen Theologie*, 5th ed., TW 5 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1998), 43-50. For a thorough critique of the New Quest and positive examination of the Third Quest, which locates the historical Jesus in the framework of Jewish apocalypticism, see N. T. Wright, *Jesus and Victory of God*, COQG 2 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 28-124.

³³Schwankl observes that the missionary Christology and the I-am sayings are particular traits of the Old Testament influence on John. Schwankl, “Aspekte der johanneischen Christologie,” 356-61.

³⁴David Rensberger, “The Messiah Who Has Come into the World: The Message of the Gospel of John,” in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 17; F. Hahn, “Χριστός,” in *EDNT*, 3:484.

³⁵W. Radl, “Μεσσίας, ου,” in *EDNT*, 2:412; *BDAG*, 634.

³⁶W. Grundmann, “Χριστός,” in *TDNT*, 9:493-96.

³⁷Hahn, “Χριστός,” 485.

Basically the word [Χριστός] describes a thoroughly secular, everyday process, and has no sacral undertone at all.³⁸

Therefore, Craig Keener comments that

“Messiah” was a Jewish category, not Gentile, so it is hardly plausible that the title was invented by later Gentile Christians. “Christ” was a natural way to translate “Messiah” into Greek, and so it translates “anointed one” regularly in the LXX. . . . That John, writing in Greek, should explicitly translate “Messiah” as “Christ (1:41),” need not indicate Gentiles in his audience, as some have thought; quite the contrary, John is the only NT writer to include the Semitic term at all.³⁹

Finally, the Johannine narratives which inquire of Jesus’ identity manifest repeatedly a tenacious recourse to the exclusive Jewish messianic ideas and expectations as forecast, according to John, in the utmost Jewish authority, the Old Testament. In this respect, Klaus Scholtissek’s assessment is illuminating. He posits that the Johannine Christology is fundamentally biblical theology in the sense that the fourth evangelist reformulates the Old Testament view of God, and applies it to Jesus the Nazarene in terms of Messiah.

Die joh Christologie ist grundlegend biblische Christologie: Sie rezipiert die alttestamentlich Bildsprache der Gotteszuwendung und Gottesnähe und legt ihre Christologie im Horizont der Schrift und Schriftverheißungen aus Wie den anderen Evangelisten geht es auch Johannes darum, das Heilsgeschehen in Jesus von Nazaret (seine Sendung, seinen Tod und seine Auferstehung) mit Hilfe der Kategorie des Messias bzw. Des Messianischen zu interpretieren. So sehr frühjüdische Messiaserwartungen, an die die christliche Verkündigung anknüpfte, christlichen Transformationsprozessen unterworfen werden, so klar und unverzichtbar stellt auch das JohEv die messianisch gedeutete Sendung Jesu in die Bundes-, Hoffnungs- und Verheißungsgeschichte Israels, die durch Jesus Christus endzeitlich neu begründet und aufgerichtet wird.⁴⁰

This aspect is most tangibly felt in the passion narratives in which the fourth evangelist depicts the suffering of Jesus as fulfilling the messianic qualifications as expected of the Old Testament.⁴¹

³⁸K. H. Rengstorf, “Χριστός,” in *NIDNTT*, 2:334.

³⁹Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 1:290; Lincoln, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John*, 64.

⁴⁰Klaus Scholtissek, “‘Ich und der Vater, wir sind eins’ (Joh 10,30): Zum theologischen Potential und zur hermeneutischen Kompetenz der johanneischen Christologie,” in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 341-42; idem, “Neues Testament,” 88. See also Appendices 1 and 2.

⁴¹See the section on the fulfillment themes of the Fourth Gospel in Appendix 3: The

As such, the aforementioned reasons lead one to conclude that Johannine Christology is dovetailed within the incipient Judaism, inclusive of the Old Testament. As a corollary, this judgment heuristically points to the ancient Jewish messianic antecedents as hermeneutically promising clues for a better understanding of Johannine Christology.⁴² Although this perspective does not promote the sheer exclusion of Hellenistic divine mediator types or traditions, it must, however, be acknowledged that the Jewish religious traditions require a substantially much closer scrutiny than other religious-cultural variables with reference to the formation of the Johannine Christology. In this respect, the comment made by Stephen Smalley is penetrating for the scope of this study.

Our consideration of the Jewish influence on the background to the Fourth Gospel leads us to the conclusion that John's ethos is at root more in touch with Judaism than Hellenism . . . but if we accept the description of John's background as 'Jewish-Hellenistic' . . . we must also recognize that the contact with Judaism is primary. The Hellenistic features of the Fourth Gospel tell us more about its final audience, that is to say, than about the background of its author or its tradition.⁴³

Thesis

In Judaism of the second temple period, Jewish messianic figures were often expected to play a *redivivus* role such as that of the king David, Moses, or the prophet

Significance of the Old Testament for the Fourth Gospel.

⁴²For a methodological survey of the Jewish messianic types studies, see James R. Davila, "Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron: Introductory Reflections on Divine Mediators and the Origins of the Worship of Jesus," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 3-18.

⁴³Smalley, *John*, 74. For further justifications for this judgment, see also a discussion on the recent reassessments of the so-called Bickermann/Hengel theory in Appendix 2. In contrast to the estimation of Bultmann, O. Betz notes that the approach to the Gospel of John from Hellenistic frameworks is fatal to the interpretation of John's Gospel despite its seemingly sparse citations of the Old Testament passages. "Das Johannesevangelium soll nach R. Bultmann von der Bindung an das Alte Testament weitgehend frei sein und in einem scharfen Gegensatz zum Judentum stehen; Zitate aus dem Alten Testament sind recht rar, und die Juden treten insgesamt als Gegner Jesu auf, als Vertreter der glaubenslosen, gottfeindlichen Welt. Deshalb gilt ihm das vierte Evangelium als ein hellenisiertes Glaubenszeugnis, in dem verschiedenartige Quellen verarbeitet sind: Eine 'Semeia-Quelle,' welche vor allem die Zeichen Jesu bot, eine Sonderquelle für die Leidensgeschichte und dazu eine gnostisierende Quelle von Reden, in dem rein himmlischer Offenbarer sich als den Bringer von Wissen und Wahrheit, von Licht und Leben, verkündigt. Aber solche Hypothesen sind für das rechte Verstehen dieses Evangeliums verhängnisvoll." Otto Betz, "Das Johannesevangelium und das Alte Testament," in *Wie verstehen wir das Neue Testament?* (Wuppertal: Aussaat, 1981), 87.

Elijah. Such language or metaphor, however, is strikingly absent in John. In view of this observation, therefore, this dissertation endeavors to make a case that the fourth evangelist presents the Old Testament characters primarily as witnesses to Jesus' messianic identity in contradistinction to conventional Jewish messianic hopes prior to or contemporary with the writing of John's Gospel. This conclusion, however, does not entail a sharp break between the Jewish Scriptures and the Fourth Gospel. One of the more conspicuous reasons lies in John's belief that Jesus is the fulfillment of the Jewish Scriptures and that their testimony is valid as far as it concerns his messianic characteristics.⁴⁴

History of Research

Theios Aner Theory

Before summarizing the contributions which sought to account for the Johannine Christology in light of the traditional Jewish messianic figures, it is worthwhile to comment on some previous attempts to resolve this question from the Hellenistic context. Hans-Jürgen Kuhn, for example, found no conclusive evidence that the evangelist spoke of Jesus in terms of a prophet.⁴⁵ He further noted the absence of a miracle-working messiah in Jewish tradition. Thus, he postulated a *theios aner* Christology for the Signs Source in which Jesus is referred to as "Son of God." Since the "Son of God" title is more akin to the Jewish context in his estimation, he dialectically came up with a merged conception of a Jewish "Son of God" and a Hellenistic miracle-working redeemer which he posited to be present in the Christology of the Signs Source in the Fourth Gospel.

Obwohl nicht nur Joh 1,35-42,44-50, sondern sogar das gesamte Neue Testament den Terminus θεῖος ἀνὴρ nicht kennt, die alttestamentlich-jüdische und auch die neutestamentlich-christlich beeinflusste Tradition das Adjektiv θεῖος kaum oder

⁴⁴Labahn, "Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium," 203-06.

⁴⁵Hans-Jürgen Kuhn, *Christologie und Wunder: Untersuchungen zu Joh 1,35-51*, BU 18 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1988).

überhaupt nicht zur unmittelbaren Charakterisierung von Menschen gebraucht, neigt die vorliegende Arbeit dazu, Jesus in der befragten Texteinheit als sog. göttlichen Menschen dargestellt zu sehen, wenn auch diese Redeweise nach wie vor schillernd bleibt. . . . Die vorliegende Auseinandersetzung mit dem Abschnitt 1,35-51 zeigt deutlich, daß Literarkritik bei der Frage nach der Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums ihren legitimen Stellenwert besitzt, daß zugleich der Blick sich auf die alttestamentlich-jüdische Tradition in ihrer ganzen Breite richten muß, wenn es um die Frage nach den Wundern in NT, näherhin bei Joh geht, daß zugleich aber auch die rein hellenistische Darstellung unbedingt der Berücksichtigung bedarf.⁴⁶

Despite some measure of popularity since 1960's, the *theios aner* theory, however, is deemed to be fraught with intrinsic methodical flaws.⁴⁷ John Polhill, for instance, offers a three-tiered caution.⁴⁸ First, the major sources cited to advocate the theory date back to from as early as the early third century A.D. onward. Thus, the serious anachronistic nature of the comparative approach hampers the alleged influence of the Hellenistic divine myths on Johannine Christology.⁴⁹ The advocates of the *theios-*

⁴⁶His point is that although the term, "theios aner" is explicitly stated nowhere in the New Testament, his analysis of the Fourth Gospel, and John 1:35-51 in particular, leads him to conclude that the Gospel reflects a fused expression, that of the Old Testament and Hellenistic myths, of a divine man with reference to Jesus. Kuhn, *Christologie und Wunder*, 554-56.

⁴⁷Variegated degrees of skeptical responses are found in the following studies: Martin Hengel, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976); Carl R. Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology* (Missoula: Scholars, 1977); Gail P. Corrington, *The "Divine Man": His Origin and Function in Hellenistic Popular Religion*, ThR 17 (New York: P. Lang, 1986); Barry L. Blackburn, *Theios Aner and the Markan Miracle Traditions: A Critique of the Theios Aner Concept as an Interpretative Background of the Miracle Traditions Used by Mark*, WUNT 2/40 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1991); Aage Pilgaard, "The Hellenistic Theios Aner—A Model for Early Christian Christology?" in *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism*, ed. P. Borgen and S. Giversen (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1995), 101-22; Erkki Koskeniemi, *Apollonios von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese: Forschungsbericht und Weiterführung der Diskussion*, WUNT 2/61 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994); idem, "Apollonius of Tyana: A Typical Theios Aner?" *JBL* 117 (1998): 455-67; idem, *The Old Testament Miracle-Workers in Early Judaism*, WUNT 2/206 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); Udo Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, THKNT 4 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1998), 17-19; Ian W. Scott, "Is Philo's Moses a Divine Man?" *SPhiloA* 14 (2002): 87-111.

⁴⁸John B. Polhill, "Perspectives on the Miracle Stories," *RevExp* 74 (1977): 389-99. Polhill traces the theological impetus of this movement back to Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1906) and Ludwig Bieler, *Theios Aner: Das bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum*, 2 vols. (Wien: Oskar Höfels, 1935-36). Ian Scott ("Is Philo's Moses a Divine Man?," 87) notes further developments and affirmations of the view in the following: Gillis P. Wetter, *"Der Sohn Gottes": Eine Untersuchung über den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannes Evangeliums, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Heilandsgestalten der Antike*, FRLANT 26 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1916); Hans Windisch, *Paulus und Christus: Ein biblisch-religionsgeschichtlicher vergleich*, UNT 24 (Leipzig: J. C. Hindrichs, 1934); Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1951), 1:130; idem, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 218-44; and Otto Weinreich, "Antikes Gottmenschenentum," in *Römischer Kaiserkult*, ed. Antonie Wlosok, WF 372 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978), 55-81.

⁴⁹A glance at other anachronistic presuppositions in the modern Johannine studies is offered in Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

aner theory usually claim the necessity of incipient oral traditions prior to their written stages. Granted that the existence of the extended period of an oral stage is certainly possible, however, a scientific query cannot be pursued on the basis of speculative oral traditions without any tangible evidence.

Second, the general characteristics of divine man myths are also problematic. In other words, the picture of a divine man is an artificially constructed one in that a number of recurring features are compiled from a number of sources so as to create a composite ideal figure. "The concept 'theios aner' is certainly freely used but seldom defined, and when it is defined, then so broadly that all figures rising out of antiquity might be subsumed under it."⁵⁰ It is thus doubtful as to whether the divine man image of Kuhn was created at his fingertips or it was actually circulated among the first century Mediterranean folks.

Finally, the history of religions approach, which Polhill labels as reductionistic, appears to assume an immense logical leap with great ease. Differently put, even if there are some parallel imageries and symbols between the miracle accounts of the Fourth Gospel and certain Hellenistic literature, they do not automatically necessitate a literary or social-cultural dependence between them (unless of course one document claims such relationship as the Gospel of John evinces a direct dependence on the Old Testament which is attested obviously in the Johannine fulfillment formulae). These alleged parallels might simply suggest the universal nature of hope for a miraculous and gracious redemption from the common human ordeals experienced in the majority of cultures.⁵¹

⁵⁰Gerd Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament*, SCHNT 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 161. The translation is Polhill's. Polhill, "Perspectives on the Miracle Stories," 391. Similarly, "In fact, many of the figures in Bieler's exhaustive collection of ancient sources were never called θεῖος ἀνὴρ by an ancient author. This recognition has given rise to questions about how much Bieler's influential picture of a single, defined 'archetype' for divine men was in fact created by his indiscriminate use of a single (anachronistic and imposed) title. . . . Bieler himself compounds so many features of the 'type,' many of which are represented by only one or two (often anachronistic) members, that the very notion of a unified figure begins to seem forced." Scott, "Is Philo's Moses a Divine Man?," 89-90.

⁵¹Cf. Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962): 2-13; Terence L. Donaldson, "Parallels: Use, Misuse and Limitations," *EvQ* 55 (1983) 193-210.

Thus, Polhill writes that

[t]here are parallels to nearly every detail of the Gospel miracles in the ancient literature—both as to form and content. This should come as no surprise. It is mere testimony to the fact that the miracle stories belong to the literary and social milieu of the first-century. One should expect an affinity with that milieu.⁵²

For the reasons discussed above, the juxtaposition of Johannine Christology with non-Jewish Hellenistic literature does not seem hermeneutically promising. Rather, a more obvious provenance of Johannine messianism is observed in references to the Old Testament symbols and figures, with which the fourth evangelist plainly and repeatedly associates.

Johannine Christology and the Jewish Messianic Figures

A number of studies sought to address the correlation between the Johannine Christology and the major Old Testament protagonists in John's Gospel. A brief chronological overview of selective studies on such topics will provide us with a glimpse into the development of the scholarly assessment of the issue.⁵³

T. F. Glasson. Thomas F. Glasson published one of the first modern book-length treatments that located a thematic linkage of John's Christology with an Old Testament messianic figure, Moses.⁵⁴ He argued that Jesus is presented as a second (or

⁵²Polhill, "Perspectives on the Miracle Stories," 392.

⁵³For another overview of the history of interpretation of the Old Testament figures and John, refer to Eric M. E. Wallace, "The Testimony of Moses: Pentateuchal Traditions and Their Function in the Gospel of John" (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2004), 28-43; Stan Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel: A Study of Ancient Reading Techniques*, JSNTSup 229 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002), 3-11. It is to be regretful that I was unable to obtain the work of Kastner. Reviews of his dissertation indicate general agreement with my assumption that John portrays Jesus as standing over most Old Testament figures, i.e., Jacob, Abraham, David, and Moses. See Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel*, 8-9. The bibliographic information of Kastner's study is as following: P. Josef M. Kastner, "Moses im Neuen Testament: Eine Untersuchung der Mosestraditionen in den neutestamentlichen Schriften" (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, 1967).

⁵⁴T. Francis Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, SBT 40 (London: SCM, 1963). Glasson's thesis is positively affirmed by Günter Reim, *Jochanan: Erweiterte Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (Erlangen: Der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1995), 110-54; Paul Trudinger, "A Prophet Like Me (Deut 18:5): Jesus and Moses in St John's Gospel, Once Again," *DRev* 113 (1995): 193-95; Dietmar Neufeld, "And When That One Comes?: Aspects of Johannine Messianism," in

new) Moses based on the typological parallels found in the Gospel and in some Jewish literature (the Old Testament and rabbinic documents). His study, however, has drawn some criticism, especially for his excessive detection of typology. For example, A. J. B. Higgins, in a critique of Glasson's association of the brazen serpent and Jesus, comments as follows: "The kind of exegesis offered here is in danger of becoming excessively typological. Not all the resemblances which Dr Glasson sees between Moses and Christ were necessarily or even probably present in the evangelist's own mind."⁵⁵ Furthermore, his uncritical use of the rabbinic materials (especially without regards to their dating issues) clouds the value of this otherwise fine study on the role of Moses in the Gospel of John.

Wayne Meeks. Wayne Meeks' doctoral dissertation accepted at Yale in 1965 was in many ways truly a ground-breaking attempt to account for Johannine Christology in terms of the Jewish expectation of the prophet like Moses, whom Meeks assesses to be regarded as the prophet-king *par excellence* in Judaism of the Second Temple period.⁵⁶ The fourth evangelist reveals a multi-layered understanding of Jesus. At first, he fulfills the functions expected of Moses (thus, Jesus being the true Moses). Then, the Christ does this in such a superior and exclusive way that Moses is stripped of those messianic functions and presented, not as a messianic type, but merely as a messianic witness to

Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, SDSSRL 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 127-28, 132-33. J. L. Martyn also sees the Mosaic typology as the starting point of genuine faith. J. Louis Martyn, "From the Expectation of the Prophet-Messiah like Moses . . .," in *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2003), 101-43.

⁵⁵A. J. B. Higgins, "review of T. F. Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*," *SJT* 18 (1965): 233. Glasson's book will be further scrutinized in detail in chap. 5.

⁵⁶What distinguishes Meeks' study from the previous scholarship is that he understands Moses not in separate terms but in the combination of both prophet and king. Meeks' original dissertation postdates Glasson's study by two years, but he is not aware of the latter work. Wayne A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, NovTSup 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1967). For a recent affirmation of Meeks' thesis, see John Lierman, *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion*, WUNT 2/173 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 79-123.

Jesus (thus, discounting Glasson's thesis significantly).⁵⁷ From this notion, he advances to postulate the *Sitz-im-Leben* of the alleged Johannine community as one standing in tension with a Moses-revered Jewish community.

Criticism of Meeks' study can be unfolded in three respects. First, his reconstruction of the Johannine community employs a mirror-reading based on oversimplistic deductions. It is not entirely clear as to why a certain Johannine interpretation should not have derived from the first *Sitz-im-Leben* (that of Jesus) instead of the third (that of the early church). Second, the broad scope and meticulous examination of relevant materials evident in his study is commendable.⁵⁸ The latter aspect, offering a broad overview on the Mosaic estimation in the intertestamental Judaism on the one hand, however, shades his conclusion. The reason is because he bases his thesis (that Jesus is the prophet-king Moses) disproportionately upon the Jewish literary evidences outside the Gospel of John. He investigates primarily two Johannine pericopae, John 7:37-52 and 18:28-19:22, devoting about 70 pages, while the examination of the extra-canonical literature takes up 220 pages. As a result, a reader suspects that Meeks has superimposed the idea of the extra-canonical sources onto the Johannine text. The final criticism is his heavy dependence upon non-mainstream Jewish sources, for example, some later Samaritan, Mandaean, and late rabbinic texts. The late dates of these writings significantly diminish the value of the parallels that Meeks finds in their texts. The direction of influence seems to be from John onto those Jewish texts in view of the dating of the documents. Furthermore, Meeks does not carefully account for

⁵⁷This unparalleled or contrastive nature of Moses and Jesus is supported by a number of scholars, for instance, John Painter, *The Quest for the Messiah: The History, Literature, and Theology of the Johannine Community*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 253-86; Peder Borgen, "John 6: Tradition, Interpretation and Composition," in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. de Boer, JSNTSup 84 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 269-71.

⁵⁸Meeks examines an extensive range of materials for his research. Along with the Old Testament and the Fourth Gospel, both Jewish and non-Jewish literature of the intertestamental period, later rabbinic documents, and the Samaritan and Mandaean sources are carefully examined in order to locate possible Mosaic parallels with the Gospel. His proposals will be further evaluated in chap. 5.

the conceptual affinities between John and those literatures but takes them for granted. Especially problematic is John's connection with the Mandaean sources, which is largely refuted in recent Johannine scholarship (see Appendix 2: "*Religionsgeschichte* and the Fourth Gospel"). Nevertheless, this work of Meeks has exerted a lasting impact on the subsequent Johannine studies that bear relevance to the identity and historical setting of the so-called Johannine community.

J. Louis Martyn. Similar to Wayne Meeks and Raymond E. Brown, J. Louis Martyn marks a watershed point in the history of Johannine research.⁵⁹ His contribution lies in the establishment of the Jewish hostility toward Jesus and his disciples as reflecting a historical reality of the later period.⁶⁰ This insight stands in stark contrast to his predecessors, who approached the Gospel in an abstract manner, for example, the existential interpretation of Bultmann. Based on his historical reading, Martyn further argued that the tension portrayed in the Gospel reflects not only that of the first *Sitz-im-Leben* but that of the third, that is, the life setting of the alleged Johannine community. Thus, "two-level drama" has become a popular entry framework for a study of John. Since the dual reflection of the first and third life settings was important for the understanding of the Gospel, Martyn came up with the Gospel's progressive portrayal of Jesus concerning the Mosaic prophet image. Differently put, although the earlier layers contain a positive Mosaic image of Jesus, the later editorial hands accentuate the faith in

⁵⁹Beside the work of Meeks reviewed above, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist, 1979).

⁶⁰J. Louis Martyn, "From the Expectation of the Prophet-Messiah like Moses . . .," in *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 101-23; idem, ". . . To the Presence of the Son of Man," in *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 124-43. For perceptive reviews of Martyn's contribution from the historical perspective of Johannine research, see D. Moody Smith, "The Contribution of J. Louis Martyn to the Understanding of the Gospel of John," in *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, J. Louis Martyn, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 1-18; idem, "Postscript for Third Edition of Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*," in *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, J. Louis Martyn, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 19-23. Martyn was not the first one to recognize this point. Yet, he still deserves credit since he was one of the first ones to reconstruct systematically the historical setting of the so-called Johannine community based on the textual examination of John's Gospel.

Jesus whose quality is far superior to that of Moses. Both Meeks and Martyn represent earlier form-critical attempts, which conveniently attributed the seemingly contradictory internal textual testimonies to different *Sitzen-im-Leben*. However, this deduction of the Johannine community has been rigorously criticized due to its artificial conjecture of the reality of writing (that, it is usually an individual who writes a book), underestimation of the competence of the final author (or redactor who is usually capable of resolving contradictory theologies in the final draft of writing), and the lack of concrete historical evidences for such an isolated and exclusive Christian community.⁶¹ The third point particularly deserves serious consideration. Since there is no explicit internal testimony to both early Christian and non-Christian records of the presence of such a community producing the Gospel of John, the burden of proof rests entirely on those who argue for the writing of the Gospel by a certain sectarian group. On the contrary, the early patristic witness, however, points to an individual author by the name of John.⁶²

Marinus de Jonge. Marinus de Jonge published a review article in which he considered the previously reviewed work of Meeks.⁶³ Regardless of some agreements

⁶¹For recent criticisms of Martyn's reconstruction of the developmental history of the Johannine community as reflected in the Johannine literature, see Peter Schäfer, "Die sogenannte Synode von Jabne," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums*, AGAJU 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 45-55; Reuven Kimelman, "Birkat ha-minim and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Jewish Prayer in Late Antiquity," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, ed. E. P. Sanders, Albert I. Baumgarten, and Alan Mendelson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 2:226-44; Gary M. Burge, "How Much of the Johannine Community Can We Find in the 4th Gospel?: Critical Analysis of R. Brown and J. L. Martyn" (Evangelical Theological Society Papers, 1982); Steven T. Katz, "Issues in the Separation of Judaism and Christianity after 70 CE: A Reconsideration," *JBL* 103 (1984): 43-76; Richard Bauckham, "The Audience of the Fourth Gospel," in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna und Tom Thatcher (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 101-06; Daniel Boyarin, "Justin Martyr Invents Judaism," *CH* 70 (2001): 427-61; Tobias Hägerland, "John's Gospel: A Two-Level Drama?" *JSNT* 25 (2003): 309-22; Robert Kysar, "The Expulsion from the Synagogue: The Tale of a Theory," in *Voyages with John: Charting the Fourth Gospel* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2005), 237-46; idem, "The Whence and Whither of the Johannine Community," in *Life in Abundance: Studies of John's Gospel in Tribute to Raymond E. Brown, S. S.*, ed. John R. Donahue (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2005), 65-81; Urban C. von Wahlde, "Archaeology and John's Gospel," in *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 523-86; Paul N. Anderson, "Aspects of Historicity in the Gospel of John: Implications for Investigations of Jesus and Archaeology," in *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 614-15.

⁶²Martin Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage: Ein Lösungsversuch*, WUNT 67 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 61-95.

⁶³Marinus de Jonge, "Jesus as Prophet and King in the Fourth Gospel," *ETL* 47 (1973): 160-

with Meeks at a few points, he parts ways with Meeks at one important point. That is, the themes “king” and “prophet” (and even the epithet “Christ”) are not central to John. Rather, the expressions “Son of Man” and “Son of God” are keys to Johannine Christology.⁶⁴

De Jonge’s notion might be correct that the Christological titles could possess higher hermeneutical priorities in John’s presentation of Jesus as Christ (his thesis is hypothetically accepted for argument’s sake at this point).⁶⁵ Nonetheless, he does not adequately address some important historical questions related to John’s Christological presentation, namely, how the evangelist concretely used such ambiguous and fluid terms as those epithets and how he also anticipated without further explanation the immediate understanding on the part of his hearers or readers. For instance, the term “Son of Man” occurs only three times in the entire Jewish writings of the Second Temple Judaism: Daniel 7, 1 Enoch 37-71, and 4 Ezra 13. However, the evidence is comparatively clear that the Danielic text had a heavy influence on the latter two. It is generally accepted that there was no widespread “Son of Man” messianism in pre-Christian Judaism.⁶⁶ Thus,

77; idem, “Christology, Controversy and Community in the Gospel of John,” in *Christology, Controversy and Community: New Testament Essays in Honor of David R. Catchpole*, ed. David G. Horrell and Christopher M. Tuckett, NovTSup 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 218-20.

⁶⁴Leander Keck, however, expresses his caution against the study of New Testament Christology concentrated only on the Christological titles. Leander E. Keck, “Toward the Renewal of New Testament Christology,” in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Marinus C. de Boer, JSNTSup 84 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 321-40.

⁶⁵Cf. “he is not simply a prophet like Moses as a second Moses, but the Son of God who came to do God’s will, that is: to give eternal life to all who believe.” de Jonge, “Jesus as Prophet and King in the Fourth Gospel,” 167-68.

⁶⁶Some exegetes arguably demonstrated a theological trait of “Son of Man” Christology in the Fourth Gospel. However, it still seems to remain a riddle as to how this alleged Johannine concept had been formulated, understood, and communicated in the first century Palestine setting. For studies on the Son of Man Johannine Christology, see Siegfried Schulz, *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Methodengeschichte der Auslegung des 4. Evangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957); Robert Maddox, “The Function of the Son of Man in the Gospel of John,” in *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology Presented to L. L. Morris on His 60th Birthday*, ed. Robert Banks (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 186-204; Francis J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man*, 2nd ed., BSR 14 (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1978); idem, “The Johannine Son of Man Revisited,” in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 177-202; Delbert R. Burkett, *The Son of Man in the Gospel of John*, JSNTSup 56 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991); Stephen S. Smalley, *John: Evangelist and Interpreter*, 2nd ed., GP 4 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1998), 240-43; Markus Sasse, *Der*

Seyoon Kim writes

Now, the question is whether there was an apocalyptic Son of Man messianism at the time of Jesus. Against the older assumption that there was in the pre-Christian Judaism an expectation for the Son of Man as the messiah, it has been rightly made clear recently that before the New Testament there was no such messianic *title* as “the Son of Man.”⁶⁷

Similarly, Geza Vermes reaches a four-fold conclusion concerning the use of the “son of man” based on his observation of the pertinent Jewish writings: (1) *bar nash* [in Aramaic uses] is a regular expression for ‘man’ in general, (2) *bar nash* often serves as an indefinite pronoun, (3) the Aramaic speaker often referred to himself, not as ‘I’, but as ‘the son of man,’ and (4) in none of the passages, not even in the Jewish messianic exegesis of Daniel 7, does the expression *bar nasha* figure as a title.⁶⁸ On the other hand,

Menschensohn im Evangelium nach Johannes, TANTZ 35 (Tübingen: Francke, 2000); Walter Wink, “‘The Son of Man’ in the Gospel of John,” in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 117-23. However, John Ashton suggests that the term merely functions to rouse the curiosity on the part of the reader concerning Jesus’ heavenly origin. John Ashton, “Son of Man,” in *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 337-73.

⁶⁷Seyoon Kim, *The Son of Man as the Son of God*, WUNT 30 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 19. Kim lists a number of scholars to support his statement: Moule, Schnackenburg, Leivestad, Marshall, Colpe, Lindars, Schweizer, and Fitzmyer. Kim, however, belongs to the group of scholars which maintains the Son of Man Christology was influenced by the Danielic tradition. Through a complicated linguistic analysis, R. Buth also postulates the Danielic background of Jesus’ self-designation, “Son of Man,” as a “quasi-title.” However, his proposal fails to take note of the destination or the intended audience of the Gospels, especially that of Mark. From his repeated explanations of Jewish customs and idioms, it is evident that the intended audience was not familiar with Semitic backgrounds. That such a courteous explanation is lacking with regard to the son of man phrase must have been mystifying to the original Markan reader, if the phrase were a quasi-title. See Randall Buth, “A more Complete Semitic Background for כְּבָרֵי מְשִׁיחַ, ‘Son of Man,’” in *The Function of Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 154 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 176-89. For a convenient survey on the son of man debate, see I. Howard Marshall, “The Son of Man in Contemporary Debate,” in *Jesus the Saviour: Studies in New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1990), 100-20. Marshall takes the middle of the road position that both views are possible. Similarly, for those who argue that “Son of Man” refers to both divine and human natures of Jesus, see William O. Walker, “John 1:43-51 and ‘The Son of Man’ in the Fourth Gospel,” *JSNT* 56 (1994): 31-42; Clay Ham, “The Title ‘Son of Man’ in the Gospel of John,” *SCJ* 1 (1998): 67-84.

⁶⁸Geza Vermes, “The Present State of the ‘Son of Man’ Debate,” in *Jesus in His Jewish Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 82. Also, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The New Testament Title ‘Son of Man’ Philologically Considered,” in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*, SBLMS 25 (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979), 143-60; Maurice Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979); idem, “Corporate Interpretation of ‘One Like a Son of Man’ (Dan 7:13) at the Time of Jesus,” *NovT* 18 (1976): 167-80; idem, “General, Generic and Indefinite: The Use of the Term ‘Son of Man’ in Aramaic Sources and in the Teaching of Jesus,” *JSNT* 29 (1987): 21-56; idem, “Method in Our Madness, and Madness in Their Methods: Some Approaches to the Son of Man Problem in Recent Scholarship,” *JSNT* 42 (1991): 17-43; idem, “Idiom and Translation: Some Aspects of the Son of Man Problem,” *NTS* 41 (1995): 164-82; idem, “Aramaic Idiom and the Son of Man Problem: A Response to Owen and Shepherd,” *JSNT* 25 (2002): 3-32; Otto Michel, “The Son of Man,” in *NIDNTT*, 3:613-17; Ferdinand Hahn, “Son of Man,” in *EDNT*, 3:387-88; James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, CM 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 760.

in intertestamental Judaism, the title “Son of God” referred to such a wide range of individuals that it is virtually impossible to speak of “Son of God” messianism (also, the link of “Son of God” with messianism is rather meager): “[S]on of God’ was always understood metaphorically in Jewish circles. In Jewish sources, its use never implies participation by the person so-named in the divine nature.”⁶⁹ Furthermore, it seems that it is, not the title (“Son of Man”) that confers the Christological qualifications to Jesus, but the various conceptual images and the events which are closely associated with Jesus in the Johannine narrative contexts that constitute the Christological characteristics proposed by the advocates of “Son of Man” Christology theory.⁷⁰

It is, therefore, logical to assume that the more concrete and definite messianic icons, such as David, Elijah, or Moses, would have more readily exhibited the messianic overtones of Jesus’ signs to the first century Jewish audiences than would the opaque conceptions, such as “Son of Man” or “Son of God” (this is especially true in view of the advocates of “Son of Man” Christology who cannot explicate why the evangelist does little to explain such an obscure Semitic phrase to the Hellenistic audience).⁷¹ De Jonge appears to overstate his case by downplaying the way in which the messianic identity of

⁶⁹Geza Vermes, “Jewish Studies and New Testament Interpretation,” in *Jesus in His Jewish Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 66. The emphasis could have been on the function, not on the ontic aspect with regard to the epithet “Son of God.” In other words, the title could have referred to the kind of individuals who do works in service of God.

⁷⁰John Painter, for instance, concludes that “there is no Son or Son of Man Christology in John.” His judgment is based on his exegesis of the Johannine “Son of Man” texts, which demonstrate high Christology through various themes (i.e., “descent and ascent,” “king and judge,” “from giver to gift,” “exaltation and glorification,” and “Messiah”). Thus, it is these themes or traditions that constitute the Johannine Christology, not the epithet “Son of Man” in these texts. In short, the term contributes too little to the heavenly origin of Johannine Christology. John Painter, “The Enigmatic Johannine Son of Man,” in *Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, ed. F. van Segbroeck et al., BETL 100 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1992), 1887; idem, *The Quest for the Messiah: The History, Literature and Theology of the Johannine Community*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 319-42. Also for the negation of “Son of Man” Christology in John, see Margaret Pamment, “The Son of Man in the Fourth Gospel,” *JTS* 36 (1985): 56-66; Mogens Müller, “Have You Faith in the Son of Man? (John 9.35),” *NTS* 37 (1991): 291-94.

⁷¹“The most appropriate background of the term when applied to Jesus was the sense ‘Messiah.’” Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:295. Cf. “Figural representation is . . . the basic recognition that the biblical authors employ images or figures familiar to their readers . . . to present their eschatological messages.” M. Jay Wells, “Figural Representation and Canonical Unity,” in *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2002), 113.

Jesus is carried over through, and often in contrast to, the terms of the traditional Jewish messianic figures, as found at many junctures in the Fourth Gospel.

Georg Richter, Francis Grob, and Wolfgang Bittner. Georg Richter and Francis Grob concurred with Glasson by expressing their understanding of Jesus' identity as a miracle-working prophet-messiah like Moses. They based their arguments on their exegesis of the "signs" passages in John (contra Kuhn).⁷² Their thesis was broadened by Wolfgang Bittner, who included David in the scope of messianic precursors in the Gospel (as it seems to be the most predominant messianic paradigm in antique Judaism). He argued that although miraculous signs are repeatedly and decisively linked with Jesus, John's Gospel refuses to associate Jesus with prophets. Rather, he is depicted as a prophet-messiah like Moses and David.⁷³

Marie-Émile Boismard. Marie-Émile Boismard also joined the interpretive tradition which explicates Johannine Christology in terms of ancient Jewish messianic figures. He based his thesis largely on his belief in John's indebtedness to the Samaritan tradition on Deuteronomy 18:18-19, and argued that the Moses-like-messiah stands at the center of Johannine Christology.⁷⁴ The majority and the most nascent redactional layers, according to him, speak of Jesus in terms of a new Moses or a prophet like Moses,

⁷²Georg Richter, "Die Fleischwerdung des Logos im Johannesevangelium," *NovT* 13 (1971): 81-126 and 14 (1972): 257-58; repr., in *Studien zum Johannesevangelium*, ed. Josef Hainz, BU 13 (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1977), 149-98. Richter especially concentrates on Deut 18:15-20. Francis Grob, *Faire l'œuvre de Dieu: christologie et éthique dans l'Évangile de Jean*, EHPR 68 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986).

⁷³Wolfgang J. Bittner, *Jesu Zeichen im Johannesevangelium: Die Messias-Erkenntnis im Johannesevangelium vor ihrem jüdischen Hintergrund*, WUNT 2/26 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1987). This evaluation of Richter, Grob, and Bittner is in large measure indebted to Marten J. J. Menken, "The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: A Survey of Recent Research," in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. de Boer, JSNTSup 84 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 311-15; and Neufeld, "And When That One Comes?" 135.

⁷⁴"My interpretation of Johannine thought is at the opposite pole from that of Bultmann: the Johannine Christ is situated above all in the line of the prophets, and especially of Moses, who were sent by God to reveal his will to men." Marie-Émile Boismard, *Moses or Jesus: An Essay in Johannine Christology* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Leuven: Peeters, 1993); trans., *Moïse ou Jésus: essai de christologie Johannique*, BETL 84 (Leuven: Peeters: Leuven University Press, 1988), xiv-xv.

although a small portion of the final redaction added the superiority of Jesus over Moses. The earlier redactional layers represent the attempt to evangelize the Samaritans while the latter the Jews, compelling the readers to choose between Moses and Jesus.⁷⁵

Margaret Daly-Denton. Margaret Daly-Denton has broken new ground in the study of Johannine Christology. She is the first one to recognize a large scale correspondence between David and Jesus in John.⁷⁶ Her judgment is based on a structural comparison of John (it is commonly argued that John has a bipartite structure) with the first two books of the Psalms to find close parallels between them. She then goes on to say that the structural analysis and some intertextual echoes demand an understanding of the Fourth Gospel in which Jesus fulfills and replaces the Mosaic institutions as the Davidic messiah.⁷⁷

Eric M. E. Wallace. In contrast to the previous studies that sought to elucidate Moses in John as an arch-type of Jesus, Eric Wallace sets out his study in the

⁷⁵The work of Boismard will be further assessed more in detail in chap. 5.

⁷⁶Minor exceptions to this current include the following: T. Francis Glasson, "Davidic Links with the Betrayal of Jesus," *ExpTim* 85 (1974): 118-19; Paul Trudinger, "Davidic Links with the Betrayal of Jesus: Some Further Observations," *ExpTim* 86 (1974-75): 278-79; idem, "Hosanna to the Son of David: St John's Perspective," *DRev* 109 (1991): 297-301.

⁷⁷Margaret Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms*, AGAJU 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2000). Although seemingly tenuous in John, the Davidic messiah theme is predominant from the viewpoint of the Old Testament and early Judaism. See F. Furman Kearley, "Davidic and Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Last Things: Essays Presented by His Students to Dr. W. B. West, Jr., upon the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jack P. Lewis (Austin, TX: Sweet, 1972), 74-95; John Bowman, "David, Jesus Son of David and Son of Man," *AbrN* 27 (1989): 1-22; Cleon L. Rogers, Jr., "The Promises to David in Early Judaism," *BSac* 150 (1993): 285-302; Yehezkel Kaufman, "The Messianic Idea: The Real and the Hidden Son-of-David," *JBQ* 22 (1994): 141-50; Kenneth Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*, EJIL 7 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 42-271; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, ABRL 10 (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 49-73; Rex Mason, "The Messiah in the Postexilic Old Testament Literature," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 338-64; Michael E. Fuller, "The Davidic Messiah in Early Jewish Literature," in *Spirit and the Mind: Essays in Informed Pentecostalism to Honor Dr. Donald N. Bowdle Presented on His 65th Birthday*, ed. Terry L. Cross and Emerson B. Powery (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000), 65-86; Daniel I. Block, "My Servant David: Ancient Israel's Vision of the Messiah," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 36-49. Chapter 4 will interact more in depth with Daly-Denton.

jurisdiction setting, especially that of the Old Testament.⁷⁸ Over against the court narratives of the Pentateuch, he maintains that the fourth evangelist depicts Moses as a witness on behalf of Jesus. Two conclusions of his dissertation are particularly pertinent for the present research. First, the Pentateuch is intimately woven throughout the Gospel of John. Thus, the knowledge of the foundational Jewish traditions is a crucial hermeneutical prerequisite on the part of the reader of John.⁷⁹ The second observation especially marks a watershed point in the study of Moses in the Johannine Gospel because Wallace points out the narrative contribution of Moses in terms of a witness role (not his typological prefiguration as often argued in the previous studies) in defense of Jesus who is “Son of God” and is also equated with Yahweh.⁸⁰

This brief summary of the previous contributions manifests a mixed tendency toward identifying John’s Christology. Concerning the comparative figures, primarily Moses and/or David are often central to the discussions. In terms of the narrative role pertaining to Johannine Christology, views range between a typological prefiguration and a messianic witness. Regardless of the various opinions, they all seem to be unanimous in pointing out the important Jewish heroic figures as standing in close connection with the Christology of the fourth Gospel.

Recent German Contributions with a Particular Emphasis on Scripture as Christological Witness

The use of the Old Testament in the Gospel of John has recently drawn a great

⁷⁸Eric M. E. Wallace, “The Testimony of Moses: Pentateuchal Traditions and Their Function in the Gospel of John” (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2004).

⁷⁹Thus, Wallace construes that what Moses wrote about Jesus in the law and the prophets (John 1:45) refers to the Pentateuch.

⁸⁰Although Wallace does not seem to be cognizant of the recent German scholarship on this point as will be reviewed in the following section, his thesis stands in accordance with a number of Johannine scholars who understand the function of the scripture and the Old Testament characters primarily as witness in John.

deal of scholarly attention. Some of these studies, especially written by German exegetes, have focused on the contribution of “Scripture” to the messianic identity of Jesus.⁸¹ Their assessment of the role of “Scripture” more or less forms a consensus. That is, “Scripture” functions as Christological witness. As such, a review of these studies bears a direct relevance on the present discussion on the narrative role of the Old Testament characters as Christological witnesses. The following review will provide a point of departure for the present investigation as to the correlation between the functions of “Scripture” and the Old Testament characters.

Martin Hengel. In a lengthy essay on the role of the Scripture in the Fourth Gospel, Martin Hengel argues for a three-fold thesis. First, the role of the Scripture is so great that John’s Gospel must be seen as both anti-docetic and anti-gnostic. Second, the Gospel presupposes one salvation history, and the picture of Israel is overshadowed in the present Jesus event, which the Old Testament figures accepted. Furthermore, they were content to be witnesses of this salvation history. Finally, the evangelist is to be understood as an original exegete of the Jewish texts better understood in view of Philo

⁸¹Some significant recent German contributions on the issue of the Old Testament in John, which are not reviewed here are worthy of mention. Most of these studies will be closely interacted with in the following chapters. Bertold Klappert, “Mose hat von mir geschrieben’: Leitlinien einer Christologie im Kontext des Judentums Joh 5,39-47,” in *Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Erhard Blum, Christian Macholz, and Ekkehard W. Stegemann (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990), 619-40; Martin Rose, “Manna: Das Brot aus dem Himmel,” in *Johannes-Studien: Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Johannes-Evangelium, Freundesgabe der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Neuchâtel für Jean Zumstein*, ed. Martin Rose, PFTUN 6 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1991), 75-107; Siegfried Kreuzer, “‘Wo ich hingehe, dahin könnt ihr nicht kommen’: Joh 7,34; 8:21; 13,33 als Teil der Mose Typologie im Johannesevangelium,” in *Die Kirche als historische und eschatologische Größe: Festschrift für Kurt Niederwimmer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Wilhelm Pratscher and Georg Sauer (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994), 63-76; Dieter Sänger, “‘Von mir hat er geschrieben’ (Joh 5,46): Zur Funktion and Bedeutung Mose im Neuen Testament,” *KD* 41 (1995): 112-35; Matthias Gawlick, “Mose im Johannesevangelium,” *BN* 84 (1996): 29-35; Michael Labahn, *Jesus als Lebensspender: Untersuchungen zu einer Geschichte der johanneischen Tradition anhand ihrer Wundergeschichten*, BZNW 98 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999); idem, *Offenbarung in Zeichen und Wort: Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte von Joh 6,1-25a und seiner Rezeption in der Brotrede*, WUNT 2/117 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); Klaus Scholtissek, *In ihm sein und bleiben: Die Sprache der Immanenz in den Johanneischen Schriften*, HBS 21 (Freiburg: Herder, 2000); Jean Zumstein, “Die Schriftrezeption in der Brotrede (Joh 6),” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 123-39.

and Qumran.⁸²

Andreas Obermann. In a dissertation inquiring into the use of the Old Testament in John's Gospel, Andreas Obermann reaches a six-fold conclusion. The Christological dimension is fundamental to John's understanding of the Scriptures. The Old Testament is an authoritative witness to Jesus as the Christ. The Scriptures and Jesus mutually interpret each other in the working of Jesus in the Christological light. The glory of Jesus is indispensable for the Christological understanding of the Scriptures. This shift of understanding (from the conventional Jewish understanding of the Scriptures as the supreme authority and the source of life) is due to the evangelist's memory and the guidance of the Paraclete. Finally, John was a scriptural theologian and the Old Testament was an important background in the formation of his theology.⁸³

Christian Dietzfelbinger. Christian Dietzfelbinger is one of the first, in recent years, to perceptibly recognize the unique Johannine presentation of the Scriptures. The typological rendering of the Old Testament characters does not stand out. Rather, the Scriptures as a whole remain exclusively as a witness for the Christological identity of Jesus. In contrast to the testimonies of the Old Testament, the Old Testament characters do not provide a typological prefiguration as a recipient of the divine revelation, which becomes available only through Jesus. The reason is because only he "looked at God; only he climbed up the heaven and down from it (3:13). Therefore, only he can give authentic information of God (1:18); in the OT, however, such notion is not

⁸²Martin Hengel, "Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangeliums auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese," in *"Gesetz" als Thema Biblischer Theologie*, JBT 4 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen, 1989), 249-88. A condensed version of this article is accessible in Martin Hengel, "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel," in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, JSNTSup 104 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994), 380-95.

⁸³Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate*, WUNT 2/83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996). A summary of his dissertation is found in Obermann, 425-30. A helpful review of this monograph is available in Andreas J. Köstenberger, "Review of Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*," *CRBR* 10 (1997): 200-02.

to be found.”⁸⁴ According to Dietzfelbinger, the evangelist explains the justification of the Jewish rejection of Jesus on the basis of Scripture’s anticipation and pre-witness in John.

Wolfgang Kraus. On the other hand, Wolfgang Kraus explicates the Scriptures in the strongest antithetical terms of all the Johannine exegetes under review.⁸⁵ With attention both to explicit citations of the Old Testament and to statements about “Scripture” in the Fourth Gospel, the author makes nine observations (summarized in pp. 18-19). First, in reference back to Genesis 1:1, John 1:1 equates the beginning of the Christ event (Christusgeschehens) with the beginning of the creation. Second, according to John 1:17, Moses and Christ (in John’s phrase, “law” and “grace and truth”) represent the old and the new order respectively, standing with each other in an antithetical relationship, or, at least, the latter replaces the former.⁸⁶ Third, the earlier νόμος does not apply to the Johannine community any longer. The bywords (“your” or “their law”) indicate this aspect (cf. 8:5, 17, 10:34, 15:25, 18:31). Only the new order of stipulations, embodied in Jesus (13:34), are relevant to the Johannine community.⁸⁷ Fourth, the Passion accounts of the Gospels altogether, particularly that of the Johannine Gospel, are to be understood as “arch-typical cult reports” in an anti-thesis to the Peshah Haggada. Fifth, the verb πληρουν is used in 18:9 and 18:32 concerning the word of Jesus. Therefore, the word of Jesus and the “Scripture” stand in the same stage. Sixth, the outcry of Jesus in John 19:28 (“it is

⁸⁴Christian Dietzfelbinger, “Aspekte des Alten Testaments im Johannesevangelium,” in *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion III, Frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hermann Lichtenberger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 208 (translation mine). Dietzfelbinger resolves the ambivalence by positing an attempt made by the final Johannine redactor to preserve two opposite opinions (which were present in the Johannine community) in tension. Idem, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, ZBKNT 4 (Zürich: Theologischer, 2001), 1:165-66.

⁸⁵Wolfgang Kraus, “Johannes und das Alte Testament: Überlegungen zum Umgang mit der Schrift im Johannesevangelium im Horizont Biblischer Theologie,” *ZNW* 88 (1997): 1-23.

⁸⁶Also, Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 53-56.

⁸⁷Dieter Sänger, “‘Von mir hat er geschrieben’ (Joh 5,46): Zur Funktion and Bedeutung Mose im Neuen Testament,” *KD* 41 (1995): 124.

finished”) indicates that the “Scripture” was completed (ἵνα τελειωθῆ ἡ γραφή). Seventh, the proper understanding for the “Scripture” is made possible only in view of the Jesus events, particularly the resurrection of Jesus (2:17, 12:15, 20:9).⁸⁸ Eighth, after the resurrection, the “Scripture” and the words of Jesus were fused with one another to become a unit (2:22 in the context of 2:18-22; see also 12:16, 20:8). Finally, in the bread of life discourse (John 6), it is not the scriptural quotations but the word of Jesus in verse thirty-five that occupies the central meaning.⁸⁹ The “Scripture” is subordinated to the words of Jesus thereby and possesses no independent relevance. Only in the light of the Jesus’ words and in reference to the Jesus event, the “Scripture” becomes comprehensible.

Based on these observations, Kraus reaches a four-fold conclusion (pp. 19-21). John understands the Scripture as a witness to Jesus; he also regards the Christ event to be the “fulfillment” of Scriptures; Jesus brings the imperfect Scripture to a “termination (Abschluß)”, and finally the Jesus event moves to the rank of “Scripture.”⁹⁰ In addition to these four points, Kraus makes one more important notion along the same line in another article. That is, John sees the abandoning of the old redemptive program which was being carried out in Judaism, and the new salvific program is put into effect in Jesus.⁹¹

In addition to his assessment of the role of “Scripture,” the brief mention of the

⁸⁸Ulrich Luz, “Das Neue Testament,” in *Gesetz*, ed. Rudolf Smend and Ulrich Luz, KT 1015 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1981), 120; Udo Schnelle, *Antidoketische Christologie im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur Stellung des vierten Evangeliums in der johanneischen Schule*, FRLANT 144 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 44; Wolfgang Schräge, *Ethik des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed., GNT 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 288.

⁸⁹Michael Theobald, “Schriftzitate im ‘Lebensbrot’-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6): Ein Paradigma für den Schriftgebrauch des vierten Evangelisten,” in *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, BETL 131 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 327-66.

⁹⁰For similar judgments related to the fourth notion, see Thomas Söding, “Die Schrift als Medium des Glaubens: Zur hermeneutischen Bedeutung von Joh 20:30f.,” in *Schrift und Tradition: Festschrift für Josef Ernst zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Backhaus and F. G. Untergassmair (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996), 351-54; D. Moody Smith, “When Did the Gospels Become Scripture?” *JBL* 119 (2000): 3-20; Francis J. Moloney, “The Gospel of John as Scripture,” *CBQ* 67 (2005): 454-68.

⁹¹Wolfgang Kraus, “Die Vollendung der Schrift nach Joh 19,28: Überlegungen zum Umgang mit der Schrift im Johannesevangelium,” in *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, BETL 131 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 635-36.

function of the Old Testament characters is of direct relevance for the present study (pp. 21-22). Kraus posits that John employs the Old Testament characters (Abraham, Isaiah, Moses, and John the Baptist) paradigmatically. In the accounts of these figures, the reception of the word of God is self-evident in the Old Testament. However, the Johannine depiction of these figures manifests some degree of ambivalence. For instance, Abraham is an ancestor, but not the father. He is jubilant, not over the birth of his son Isaac as Jews would have believed, but over his witness of “the day of Jesus (8:56).” Isaiah is a witness for Christ (12:41), both for the Jewish rejection of Jesus and the unbelief of Israelites in his time. Moses passed down the law, which cannot be broken (10:34). However, the community possesses a new commandment (13:34). Moses prefigures the giving up of the life of Jesus (3:16). The law was given through him, but Christ replaces it (1:17). The contrast exists, thus, between “law” on the one hand and “grace and truth” on the other side, not between Moses and Jesus, because Moses wrote about Christ (1:45, 5:39, 45). On the other hand, it is the law of the Moses, by which Jesus is delivered to death (18:31, 19:7). It is a misconception to believe that Moses would have given the heavenly bread (6:32), which sustained the Israelites, but it was not the bread of life. Finally John the Baptist stands within the rank of the Old Testament figures in John’s Gospel and plays an important witness role. However, he completely disappears as a person behind his witness for Christ (3:30). Kraus offers one of the more convenient overviews on John’s portrayal of the Scriptures and the Old Testament characters with much insight, although he seems to interpret the texts oversimplistically at times. His article is primarily focused on the role of Moses, and it will be closely reviewed in Chapter Five.

M. J. J. Menken. Marten Menken, a Catholic faculty member at the University of Utrecht, delivered a keynote address before the annual meeting of the New

Testament Society of South Africa in 1999.⁹² The kernel of his address is that the Scriptures and the Old Testament figures are employed as valid witnesses to the messianic identity of Jesus. In other words, their validity stands as far as they bear witness to the messianic identity of Jesus. However, they do not amount to the true revelation of God as revealed through Jesus, who according to the evangelist is the only true revelation (similar to Kraus' third and fourth conclusions).⁹³

William Loader. Although not a German himself but in substantial engagement with German scholarship, William Loader concurs with a number of other German exegetes.⁹⁴ His observation on the use of the Law in the Fourth Gospel enables him to posit several conclusions: first, “the Law [inclusive of more than the Pentateuch in the Fourth Gospel] matters because it points forward to Christ” (p. 73). The Scriptures [an equivalent of the Law in the Gospel] are not disparaged by any means because they were given by God with an implication that they bear divine authority. However,

⁹²M. J. J. Menken, “Observations on the Significance of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,” *Neot* 33 (1999): 125-43. A revised version of this article is found in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 155-75.

⁹³Similarly, “John presented Jesus as the one in whom God revealed himself as the Father of all humanity. In the process he showed that the law had genuine value, although this value was relative at the same time. It was a preliminary gift of God, whose role needed to be recognized and appreciated. One of its contributions was, in fact, to give birth to a new vocabulary by which the newness of Jesus could be expressed in relation to the law.” Xavier Léon-Dufour, *To Act according to the Gospel*, trans. Christopher R. Smith (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005), 63. Other significant contributions from Menken on the present subject are Maarten J. J. Menken, “The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: A Survey of Recent Research,” in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. de Boer, JSNTSup 84 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 292-320; idem, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996); idem, “The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John: Jn 10,34; 12,38; 19,24,” in *Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. C. M. Tuckett, BETL 131 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997), 367-93; idem, “Interpretation of the Old Testament and the Resurrection of Jesus in John’s Gospel,” in *Resurrection in the New Testament*, ed. Reimund Bieringer et al., BETL 165 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 189-205.

⁹⁴William Loader, “‘Your Law’—the Johannine Perspective,” in “. . . was ihr auf dem Weg verhandelt habt”: *Beiträge zur Exegese und Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Müller, Christine Gerber, and Thomas Knöppler, (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2001), 63-74. A slight revision of this article is also found in William Loader, “Jesus and the Law in John,” in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 135-54. This article in part grew out of a major section of the author’s previous book-length study, William Loader, *Jesus’ Attitude towards the Law: A Study of the Gospels*, WUNT 2/97 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), esp. 432-91.

“generally there is replacement [theme]: of the temple and related laws not because of its destruction, but because . . . they have been taken up and replaced by Jesus” (p. 73). In view of this estimation, “The role of the Old must now be redefined. Its role as the basis for cultic and ritual practice ceases. . . . Its role now is to testify through its words, stories and rituals to Christ” (p. 73). That is to say that, “John affirms the Law only as testimony to Christ” (p. 74).⁹⁵

Klaus Scholtissek. In response primarily to Menken and other German exegetes, Klaus Scholtissek, one of the most prolific German writers of this generation on the Fourth Gospel, reconsiders various viewpoints on the function of the Old Testament in John’s Gospel as proposed by Obermann, Menken, Kraus, Theobald, and Dietzfelbinger. He then goes on to classify them in three categories, namely, “the Christological fulfillment as abolition of the Scripture,” “cancellation of salvation history,” and “typological interpretation of Scripture.”⁹⁶ Ultimately, Scholtissek is largely dissatisfied with these preceding views because they demonstrate a minimalistic appreciation of the Scriptures in view of the Johannine remark that “the law cannot be broken.”⁹⁷

His article is, however, unpersuasive in two respects. On the one hand,

⁹⁵Similarly, “There seems to be a broad consensus that John sees the primary role of the Law as bearing witness to Christ.” Loader, *Jesus’ Attitude towards the Law*, 446. “The exclusive Christology appears therefore to leave no room for a dual authority: the Son and the Law. What once was said of the Law now belongs exclusively to Christ. . . . the Law cannot be seen as anything more than supporting evidence, but at least this remains. The treatment of John the Baptist provides a helpful analogy. John is neither dismissed nor allowed to stand beside Jesus as a second authority. Idem, “Jesus and the Law in John,” 152.

⁹⁶Klaus Scholtissek, “‘Die unauf lösbare Schrift’ (Joh 10,35): Zur Auslegung und Theologie der Schrift Israels im Johannesevangelium,” in *Johannesevangelium—Mitte oder Rand des Kanons?: Neue Standortbestimmungen*, ed. Thomas Söding, QD 203 (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 146-77.

⁹⁷The concern for anti-semitism seems to be a driving motive for Scholtissek’s writings. Klaus Scholtissek, “Die Brotrede Jesu in Joh 6,1-71: Exegetische Beobachtungen zu ihrem johanneischen Profil,” *ZKT* 123 (2001): 35-55; idem, “‘Geschrieben in diesem Buch’ (Joh 20,30): Beobachtungen zum kanonischen Anspruch des Johannesevangeliums,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 207-26; idem, “‘Ich und der Vater, wir sind eins’ (Joh 10,30),” 315-46.

Scholtissek's interpretation of John 10:35 is misleading since the phrase (that "the law cannot be broken") was quoted to undergird the validity of the Scripture's testimony to Jesus' identity as "Son of God" in the immediate literary context (as Menken's perceptive essay addresses the validity of the Scripture, that is, the Scripture is valid as far as it bears testimony to Jesus being Christ).⁹⁸ Second, he does not take into account the fourth evangelist's different use of the terms, *λόγος* ("word") and *γραφή* ("scripture"). The former refers to God incarnate while the latter points to the Mosaic writings.⁹⁹ It is suspected that his judgment is largely driven by an external concern for Jewish-Christian dialogue rather than by the internal textual witness.

Michael Labahn. A recent *Festschrift* to Johannes Beutler is devoted entirely to the questions concerning the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel.¹⁰⁰ Some of the essays from this volume are pertinent to the present discussion. Michael Labahn's essay addresses how the authority of Jesus supersedes that of the Old Testament. For him, Jesus is the hermeneutical key to Scripture, and the only passage to the true understanding of God:

Die Schriften und der gesandte Sohn stehen in einer qualifizierten und keineswegs gleich gelagerten Relation. Jesus ist der hermeneutische Schlüssel der Schrift—ohne den Gesandten ist Gott, der selbst und dessen doxa in Jesus sichtbar sind (1,14; 2,11; 12,41)—ungehört und ungeschaut.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸Kraus, "Johannes und das Alte Testament," 22; Loader, "Jesus and the Law in John," 145-46.

⁹⁹A similar exegetical oversight is observed in Bertold Klappert, "'Mose hat von mir geschrieben': Leitlinien einer Christologie im Kontext des Judentums Joh 5,39-47," in *Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Erhard Blum, Christian Macholz, and Ekkehard W. Stegemann (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990), 619-40. Both studies will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

¹⁰⁰Michael Labahn, Klauss Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, eds., *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004). Another anthology helpful for the understanding of John's historical backdrop is Jörg Frey and Udo Schnelle, eds., *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, WUNT 175 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 2004).

¹⁰¹Michael Labahn, "Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Überlegungen zu einem spannungsreichen Verhältnis," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klauss Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotman (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 185-206, esp. 204 for the quotation.

Labahn first recognizes that the recent German contributions to the theme of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel are set within the notion of the complex unity of the Father and the Son (p. 186).¹⁰² Within this unity, the Son is portrayed as the exclusive revelation of the Father. Thus, the Son possesses the revelatory superiority over Moses and the prophets chronologically, hermeneutically, and functionally. For Labahn, the hermeneutical key to Johannine Christology is, in this light, the concept of the pre-existent Logos, which legitimizes John's presentation of Jesus as the ultimate revelation of God himself.

There are two more essays from the *Festschrift* to Beutler that are pertinent to the present discussion. **Hans-Josef Klauck** advances nine distinct criteria by which Old Testament materials in the Gospel are to be identified.¹⁰³ **Michael Theobald**, on the other hand, explores the perplexing question of the function of the Jewish Patriarchs who seem to be downplayed in John. The first point in his three-fold conclusion is particularly germane to the present discussion. That is, for the evangelist, Abraham is exclusively a witness for Christ.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²See also Michael Theobald, "Gott, Logos und Pneuma: 'Trinitarische' Rede von Gott im Johannesevangelium," in *Monotheismus und Christologie: zur Gottesfrage im hellenistischen Judentum und im Urchristentum*, ed. Joachim Gnilka and Hans-Josef Klauck, QD 138 (Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 41-87; Ulrich Wilckens, "Gott, der Drei-Eine: Zur Trinitätstheologie der johanneischen Schriften," in *Der Sohn Gottes und seine Gemeinde: Studien zur Theologie der Johanneischen Schriften*, FRLANT 200 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 9-28; Udo Schnelle, "Trinitarisches Denken im Johannesevangelium," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klauss Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 367-86.

¹⁰³Hans-Josef Klauck suggests a practical criterion. He differentiates (1) marked quotations, (2) unmarked quotations, (3) allusions, (4) echo, (5) biblical language, (6) telling figures and telling sample (pattern), (7) general statements about the Scripture, (8) Jewish interpretation traditions and techniques, (9) Christian reception. Hans-Josef Klauck, "Geschrieben, erfüllt, vollendet: die Schriftzitate in der Johannespassion," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klauss Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 140-57.

¹⁰⁴Michael Theobald, "Abraham—(Isaak—) Jacob: Israels Väter im Johannesevangelium," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klauss Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 158-84. The other two conclusions are (1) this first observation does not imply the Johannine community being a "fatherless" society. Rather, the polemic is leveled against the synagogue of Jewish Christianity; and (2) a hermeneutical consideration pivotal for the Fourth Gospel is the past projection of the Johannine Christianity's self-denial suffered by the contemporary synagogue. Theobald made an important observation relating to the present discussion. His examination of the "bread speech" in John 6

Justification for the Present Study

Scripture as Christological Witness

A cursory review of the previous contributions shows that much has been already inquired of the messianic role of the Old Testament figures in the Fourth Gospel. However, three observations call for further research on the issue. First, for the last fifteen years or so, important insights have emerged particularly among German scholarship concerning the role of the Scriptures and the ancient Jewish figures in the Fourth Gospel. In their discussions, it is frequently acknowledged that Christology is an important hermeneutical key to John's interpretation of the Old Testament.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the Scriptures and the Old Testament figures coherently play, as a whole (with some generalization), a witness function for the messianic identity of Jesus.¹⁰⁶ Recent scholarly literature, especially dissertations on the Fourth Gospel written in the English language, however, has largely ignored these important contributions, with few exceptions.¹⁰⁷

reveals that Jesus is not the interpreter of the Scripture but is "the authoritative revealer" by which scripture can be properly understood. This understanding entails the radical paradigmatic hermeneutical shift in that the Old Testament loses the relevance for the history of Israel and has meaning only in relation to the Jesus event. Idem, "Schriftzitate im 'Lebensbrot'-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6)," 327-66.

¹⁰⁵Cf. "John's school utilized the OT and Jewish wisdom tradition in a consistently christological fashion." Peter Stuhlmacher, "My Experience with Biblical Theology," in *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002), 186.

¹⁰⁶The witness function of Scripture is beginning to be noted in English speaking scholarship. "But that Word is rightly understood only by those who see that it refers to the Logos who was manifested most completely in Jesus. In fact, Scripture is not really the direct self-disclosure of the Father, but testimony to the Son whom the Father has made known. The witness of Scripture, though true, cannot be anything but partial and provisional; and those who read it truthfully must realize that 'Moses and the prophets bear witness to Jesus.' . . . *Scripture is the enduring record of those who saw the activity of the divine Logos prior to its appearance in Jesus and then testified to what they had seen.*" Paul Miller, "They Saw His Glory and Spoke of Him": The Gospel of John and the Old Testament," in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, MNTS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 127-51 (italics original). Also, John Painter, *The Quest for the Messiah: The History, Literature and Theology of the Johannine Community*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 32. Miller also notes the coherent witness function of the Old Testament figures in the Gospel. Miller, "They Saw His Glory and Spoke of Him," 137-48.

¹⁰⁷This oversight is attested in Daly-Denton, "David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms" (Ph.D. diss., Trinity College, Dublin, 1996); Saeed Hamid-Khani, "Revelation and Concealment of Christ: A Theological Inquiry into the Elusive Language of the Fourth Gospel" (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1997); Diana M. Swancutt, "Hungers Assuaged by the Bread from Heaven: 'Eating Jesus' as Isaian Call to Belief, the Confluence of Isaiah 55 and Psalm 78 (77) in John 6:22-71," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 48 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 218-51; Timothy J. Scannel, "Fulfillment of Johannine Signs: A Study of John 12:37-50" (Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1998); James F. McGrath,

Lack of Study on the Role of the Old Testament Characters

Second, in spite of a plethora of studies on the messianic prefigurative role of the Old Testament characters in John, only selective personages (such as Moses or David) have been treated in isolation. No attempt has been made so far to probe into whether all the Old Testament figures that appear in John's Gospel play a coherent function in relation to his Christology. The absence of this type of comprehensive treatment is striking in light of the key importance of the Old Testament figures played in the intertestamental period. Maier, for instance, characterizes this period as having an increased interest in personalities within both Judaism and incipient Christianity.¹⁰⁸ For

"John's Apologetic Christology: Legitimation and Development in Johannine Christology" (Ph.D. diss., University of Durham, 1998); Stan Harstine, "The Functions of Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel and Responses of Three Ancient Mediterranean Audiences" (Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1999); Steven B. Nash, "Kingship and the Psalms in the Fourth Gospel" (Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2000); Stephen S. Kim, "The Relationship of the Seven Sign-Miracles of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel to the Old Testament" (Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 2001); Jamie Clark-Soles, "Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Social Function of the Use of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2001); Andrew C. Brunson, "The Coming One: An Intertextual Study of Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John" (Ph.D. diss., University of Aberdeen, 2001); Paul M. Hoskins, "Jesus as the Replacement of the Temple in the Gospel of John" (Ph.D. diss., Trinity International University, 2002); Gary T. Manning, Jr., "Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period" (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2003), and Wallace, "The Testimony of Moses: Pentateuchal Traditions and Their Function in the Gospel of John" in chronological order of their appearance. For example, Manning ignores a bulk of some important recent contributions. He (*Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period*, JSNTSup 270 [London: T & T Clark, 2004], 2) takes into account the writings of Freed, Menken (1999), Reim (1974), and Schuchard, leaving out Dodd, Noack, Hanson, Westermann, Reim (1995), Obermann, Beutler (1998), Daly-Denton, and Hamid-Kahni only to count the monographs that appeared by the year 2000. Cf. Edwin D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, NovTSup 11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965); Günter Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*, SNTSMS 22 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Bruce G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture: The Interrelationship of Form and Function in the Explicit Old Testament Citations in the Gospel of John*, SBLDS 133 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1952); Bent Noack, *Zur Johanneischen Tradition: Beiträge zur Kritik an der literarkritischen Analyse des vierten Evangeliums* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1954); A. T. Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991); Claus Westermann, *The Gospel of John in the Light of the Old Testament*, trans. S. S. Schatzmann (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998); Günter Reim, *Jochanan: Erweiterte Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (Erlangen: Der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1995); Johannes Beutler, *Studien zu den johanneischen Schriften*, ed. Gerhard Dautzenberg and Norbert Lohfink, SBA 25 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998).

¹⁰⁸"Kennzeichnend ist für diese Zeit allgemein ein gesteigertes Interesse an Persönlichkeiten und Figuren." Johann Maier, "Schriftrezeption im jüdischen Umfeld des Johannesevangeliums," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 56. Especially the Abrahamic figure played an important apologetic role for the defense of Christianity. *Ibid.* Also, "Die schon im Alten Testament erkennbare und sich im frühen Judentum fortsetzende Tendenz, daß Abraham die beiden anderen Stammväter weit überflügelt, hat sich hier voll durchgesetzt." Rainer Albertz, "Isaak II: Neues Testament," in *TRE*, 16:296.

instance, a discussion on the messianic contribution of the Jewish patriarchs in the Gospel is virtually absent in recent Johannine studies.

Legitimacy of Tradition-Historical Approach

As a corollary to those two inquiries, the propriety of the *traditionsgeschichtlich* approach for the Johannine Gospel should be reckoned, as it has become an almost accepted presupposition that there was a continuous tradition of thoughts in Jewish writings of the intertestamental period bridging the two Testaments. Thus, this approach adequately accounts for not only some particular expressions but the basic theological frameworks attested to in the canonical scope of the Christian Bible and other Jewish documents of the intertestamental period.¹⁰⁹ A glimpse of this presupposition is observed in the following statement of a Tübingen exegete.

Die Methode, die der Einheit der Bibel am ehesten gerecht wird, möchte ich als traditions-geschichtliche Auslegung bezeichnen: Es gilt, der Schrift des Alten Testaments und ihrer Auslegung zu folgen, zunächst im nachbiblischen Judentum, sei es palästinisch oder hellenistisch, dann im Neuen Testament selbst und schließlich im rabbinischen Schrifttum, das zwar erst nach der neutestamentlichen Zeit abgefaßt wurde, aber in seinem mündlichen Stadium teilweise in diese zurückreicht. Von daher ergeben sich auch Kriterien für Recht und Grenze der formgeschichtlichen Methode.¹¹⁰

Therefore, it seems to be an opportune juncture to reconsider the methodical legitimacy of the approach, at least for the Gospel of John, vis-à-vis an examination of the Gospel's self-claim on the messianic prefigurative and/or witness role of the Old Testament

¹⁰⁹For instance, "a heavenly, transcendent Messiah was not a unique invention of the Christian community but the outgrowth of reflection that had its roots in Judaism." Neufeld, "And When That One Comes?" 140.

¹¹⁰Otto Betz, "Das Johannesevangelium und das Alte Testament," in *Wie verstehen wir das Neue Testament?* (Wuppertal: AUSAAT, 1981), 14-20, especially 17 for this citation. Here it should be also noted that Betz uses the terminologies with different definitions. As for him, "the form-historical method" designates the extreme history of religions assumptions, such as maintained by Rudolf Bultmann. Similarly, another Tübinger bears testimony to such a view. "Denn daß das Neue Testament ohne die Kenntnis der zeitgenössischen jüdischen Geschichte und Religion historisch weithin unverständlich bleibt, wird heute kaum mehr bestritten. Daß es jedoch umgekehrt selbst eine wichtige Quelle für die Erforschung des Judentums seiner Zeit darstellt, wird erst allmählich erkannt." Martin Hengel, "Das Johannesevangelium als Quelle für die Geschichte des antiken Judentums," in *Judaica, Hellenistica, et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II*, ed. Martin Hengel with Jörg Frey and Dieter Betz, WUNT 109 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 294-95.

protagonists in view of their depictions in early Judaism.

Methods and Terms

Diachronic and Synchronic Approaches

There has been a tendency in biblical scholarship to bifurcate the approaches to New Testament studies into diachronic and synchronic studies, and to argue in favor of one at the expense of the other. For instance, Martin Hengel, in his inaugural address as the president of Society for New Testament Studies, expressed an outcry for the immediate need to return to a sound diachronic approach in the discipline of New Testament studies.¹¹¹ To give an example from the opposite pole, Larry Chouinard asserts that “the literary paradigm is logically prior to the historical analysis” in the inquiry of the Gospel Christology (although, in my opinion, he offers little justification as to why the opposite cannot be the case).¹¹²

The sharp schism between the two, however, has been lately recognized as artificial and unnecessary, and accordingly, some practitioners of historical criticism have adopted in some measure positive insights offered by literary critics.¹¹³ That is, the extremely fragmentizing tendency of the diachronic approach (i.e., identifying multiple redactional layers resulting from various historical situations) probably does not

¹¹¹Martin Hengel, “Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft (Presidential Address, SNTS, Chicago, August 1993),” *NTS* 40 (1994): 321-57; an English translation of the article is found in Martin Hengel, “Tasks of New Testament Scholarship,” *BBR* 6 (1996): 67-86. Hengel calls the narrative approach merely “a fad.” The first half of the abstract of his address is as following: “New Testament scholarship must move beyond its current preoccupation with faddish methods (as evidenced by several variations of the so-called new literary criticism) and return to a solid grounding in history, primary source materials, archaeology, and competence in the pertinent languages.” *Ibid.*, 67. John Ashton’s notion is also valid that narrative criticism neglects the formative historical aspects of the Fourth Gospel and the difference between fictional and non-fictional texts. John Ashton, “Narrative Criticism,” in *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 141-65.

¹¹²Larry Chouinard, “Gospel Christology: A Study of Methodology,” in *New Testament Interpretation and Methods: A Sheffield Reader*, ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 69. A recent analysis of the Johannine literary structure, however, militates against the suggested merits of a conventional literary investigation of the Fourth Gospel. See Peter F. Ellis, “Understanding the Concentric Structure of the Fourth Gospel,” *SVTQ* 47 (2003): 131-54. Ellis’s analysis of the Johannine literary structure strongly suggests the pervasive orality at its writing stage of the Fourth Gospel.

¹¹³For an example of this tendency, see Robert H. Stein, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels: Origin and Interpretation*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 274-75.

accurately reflect the reality of writing.¹¹⁴ As such, an individual document within the entire New Testament corpus should be treated as a coherent literary unity in view of its literary context.¹¹⁵ This notion entails the importance of considering the narrative flow. Although an excessive preoccupation with complex structural analysis must be equally avoided (such as reconstructing a sophisticated chiasmic structure), a considerable measure of exegetical benefit can be gained by paying attention, first, to the immediate context that precedes and follows a pericope under discussion and, second, to the overall literary schema of the entire document (i.e., the central message of the Fourth Gospel). Accordingly, recent biblical scholarship displays the increasing awareness of the exegetical benefits gained by combining the two approaches. This recognition results in the integration of these two methods, instead of their mutual exclusion, and seems to have provided a more productive venue for Gospel studies.¹¹⁶ This trend generated a new

¹¹⁴For a convenient survey of various form, source, and redactional proposals for the Gospel of John, see Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, ed. Francis J. Moloney, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 40-89. Markku Kotila also observes the consensus of German Johannine scholarship (Bultmann, Becker, Schnackenburg, Schulz, and Gnllka) that assumes three redactional layers present in the Gospel of John. Markku Kotila, *Umstrittener Zeuge: Studien zur Stellung des Gesetzes in der johanneischen Theologiegeschichte*, AASF 48 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1988), 3.

¹¹⁵“Als Ergebnis ist festzuhalten: Die Frage nach der Kohärenz muß der Frage nach Brüchen und Spannungen vorgeordnet werden. Denn die Frage nach der Kohärenz zielt auf die Ermittlung der Form im Sinne eines sinnvollen Zusammenhanges. Diese vorordnung besagt für die traditionsgeschichtliche Arbeitsweise nur, daß sie stärker als bisher von der Einheit von Form und Inhalt ausgehen muß und daher vor allem auch den Zusammenhang des Ganzen erklären sollte.” Klaus Berger, *Exegese des Neuen Testaments: Neue Wege vom Text zur Auslegung*, 3rd ed., UTB 659 (Wiesbaden: Quelle und Meyer, 1991), 32. This point is reinforced in view of the growing awareness of the oral nature of the first century communication pattern. “Oral stories do not continue to circulate as isolated, independent units until they are drawn together in written texts, as form criticism has traditionally supposed. Rather, individual stories tend to aggregate into a larger, more or less coherent overall oral narrative focused on a hero or heroes, and such an oral narrative is likely to underlie the gospels. . . . Knowledge of first-century media culture suggests that such a written source [signs source] is improbable. . . . Furthermore . . . the level of FG [the Fourth Gospel]’s Greek suggests reliance on oral memory rather than use of written source texts.” Joanna Dewey, “The Gospel of John in Its Oral-Written Media World,” in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 248-49.

¹¹⁶For a notion of this tendency in general, see Adela Yarbro-Collins, “Narrative, History, and Gospel,” *Semeia* 43 (1988): 145-53; David R. Catchpole, “Source, Form and Redaction Criticism of the New Testament,” in *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament*, ed. S. E. Porter, NTTS 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 167-88; Margaret M. Mitchell, “Rhetorical and New Literary Criticism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 615-17. For the Gospel of John in particular, see Martinus C. de Boer, “Narrative Criticism, Historical Criticism, and the Gospel of John,” *JSNT* 47 (1992): 35-48; Stanley E. Porter, “Can Traditional Exegesis Enlighten Literary Analysis of the Fourth Gospel?: An Examination of the Old Testament Fulfillment Motif and the Passover Theme,” in *Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. C. A. Evans and W. R. Stegner, JSNTSup 104 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994), 396-428; Steve Motyer, “Method in Fourth Gospel Studies: A Way out of

approach, namely, “composition criticism,” which recognizes the competence of the final author (the contribution of redaction criticism) and the importance of the final form of the Gospels (the contribution of literary criticism). Accordingly, the once seen irreconcilable approaches (synchronic and diachronic) appear to have converged into a more productive method of research.¹¹⁷ With such a judgment in mind, this study utilizes an eclectic approach.

Intertextuality

Category of intertextuality. First of all, a recent notion of intertextual dynamics in the Fourth Gospel, which is primarily synchronic in its presupposition, will be taken into account. In order to meet this end, certain Old Testament materials contained in John need to be identified.¹¹⁸ Several scholars have suggested a certain set of criteria to detect the use of the Old Testament in the New. For instance, I. Howard Marshall identifies seven areas in which the New Testament writers made use of the Old Testament: (1) the influence of the language of the Old Testament; (2) the influence of the style of the Old Testament; (3) literal reference to events; (4) literal reference to commands; (5) literal reference to prophecies; (6) typological reference; and (7)

the Impasse?” *JSNT* 66 (1997): 27-44; Smalley, *John*, 126-28; Helge Kjær Nielsen, “Johannine Research,” in *New Readings in John: Literary and Theological Perspectives Essays from the Scandinavian Conference on the Fourth Gospel in Århus 1997*, ed. J. Nissen and S. Pedersen, JSNTSup 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1999), 12-14.

¹¹⁷The arbitrary nature of the previous redaction approach which inherited the context-downplaying tendency from form and source criticisms is noted in D. A. Carson, “Redaction Criticism: On the Legitimacy and Illegitimacy of a Literary Tool,” in *Scripture and Truth*, ed. D. A. Carson and John D. Woodbridge (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 119-46. Carson’s generally skeptical attitude towards redaction criticism is shared by Randall Tan, but he suggests a possibly more productive improvement of the approach. Randall K. J. Tan, “Recent Developments in Redaction Criticism: From Investigation of Textual Prehistory Back to Historical-Grammatical Exegesis?” *JETS* 44 (2001): 599-614. The co-authored introduction to the New Testament by Carson and Moo is more favorable to redaction approach than the aforementioned Carson’s article. D. A. Carson and Douglas J. Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 103-12.

¹¹⁸Stanley Porter laments that the previous researches into the New Testament use of the Old Testament have suffered from the imprecise usage of terminologies employed by different scholars. Stanley E. Porter, “The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology,” in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSS 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 79-96.

allegorical reference.¹¹⁹ More specifically, Anthony T. Hanson suggests five ways in which the Old Testament is utilized in the Gospel of John: (1) the use of written scriptural sources without formal introductions, (2) citations with formal indications (i.e., the so-called fulfillment formulae), (3) quotations without formal introductions, (4) Christological use of the scriptural concepts, and (5) the Old Testament influence on narrative style.¹²⁰ A third example is from Hans-Josef Klauck, who suggests nine criteria by which to define the presence of the Old Testament in John's Gospel: (1) marked quotations, (2) unmarked quotations, (3) allusions, (4) echo, (5) Biblical language, (6) telling figures and telling sample (pattern), (7) general statements about the Scripture, (8) Jewish interpretation traditions and techniques, and (9) Christian reception.¹²¹

The criteria of Marshall, however, seem more difficult (than that of Klauck's formal criteria) to apply because his categories demand *a priori* hermeneutical judgments, whereas those of Hanson are not comprehensive enough (for instance, the use of the conceptual symbols and Old Testament figures is not accounted for). As such, this dissertation will employ the criteria suggested by Klauck. However, a primary consideration will be given only to the first four categories (citations with an introductory formula, citations without an introduction, allusions, and echoes) with reference to the Old Testament characters while due attention will be also paid to the rest of the five aspects as deemed necessary.¹²² In terms of Marshall's categories, all but the first two

¹¹⁹I. Howard Marshall, "An Assessment of Recent Developments," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 9-10.

¹²⁰Anthony T. Hanson, "John's Technique in Using Scripture," in *The New Testament Interpretation of Scripture* (London: T & T Clark, 1980), 157-76.

¹²¹Klauck, "Geschrieben, erfüllt, vollendet," 143-44.

¹²²For the stylistic and linguistic influence of the Old Testament on the New, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979). Another example of criteria to discern the Old Testament quotations in the New includes the following: (1) introduction of the quotation by an explicit quotation formula; (2) an interpretative gloss accompanying the quotation, and (3) syntactical tension between the quotation and its New Testament context. Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*, SNTSMS 74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1992), 65-82. For more

are directly related to this study.

A word of caution, however, is in order at this juncture concerning the definitions of “allusions” and “echoes.” Although there is a general consensus that allusions encompass echoes, some scholars have sought to clearly demarcate between the two. For instance, Richard Hays put forward seven tests to discern echoes: availability, volume, recurrence, thematic coherence, historical plausibility, history of interpretation and satisfaction.¹²³ However, some of these categories are quite difficult to define clearly. For instance, it is virtually impossible with a high degree of certainty to determine the availability (whether certain scriptural material was known to the reader) and history of interpretation (how a certain scriptural text was understood in the community to which the readers belonged) primarily because the business of identifying the so-called community of each New Testament writing is highly subjective.¹²⁴ While Hays himself recognizes the elusive nature of establishing objective criteria for allusions and echoes, nonetheless, he is concerned more with being too loose with his criteria than with being too restrictive:

Although the foregoing texts are serviceable rules of thumb to guide our interpretive work, we must acknowledge that there will be exceptional occasions when the texts fail to account for the spontaneous power of particular intertextual conjunctions. Despite all the careful hedges that we plant around texts, meaning has a way of

essays on the methodology of intertextuality and its implications for the study of the New Testament, see R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1982), 259-63; Steve Moyise, “Intertextuality and Biblical Studies: A Review,” *VE* 23 (2002): 418-31; Dennis L. Stamps, “Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament as a Rhetorical Device: A Methodological Proposal,” in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, MNTS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 9-37; R. Timothy McKay, “Biblical Texts and the Scriptures for the New Testament Church,” in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, MNTS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 38-59; James H. Charlesworth, “Towards a Taxonomy of Discerning Influence(s) between Two Texts,” in *Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament: Festschrift für Christoph Burchard zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Dieter Sänger and Matthias Konrad, NTOA/SUNT 57 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Academic, 2006), 41-54.

¹²³Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 29-32. R. Hays notes that echo is a subtler allusion: “The concept of allusion depends both on the notion of authorial intention and on the assumption that the reader will share with the author the requisite ‘popular library’ to recognize the source of the allusion; the notion of echo, however, finesses such questions.” *Ibid.*, 29.

¹²⁴For a thorough critique of Hays’ criteria to discern echoes, see Christopher Tuckett, “Paul, Scripture and Ethics,” in *New Testament Writers and the Old Testament: An Introduction*, ed. John M. Court (London: SPCK, 2002), 71-97.

leaping over, like sparks.¹²⁵

Hays' observation of the difficulty to identify the intertextual dynamics is probably valid, but the scientific aspect of our exegesis requires a particular nature of repeatability. That is, an exegete must be able to repeatedly demonstrate the intertextual dynamics in the crucible of exegesis by means of the available data, i.e., the Old Testament, the extant intertestamental Jewish documents, and the New Testament. Other exegetes, such as Greg Beale, point to the authorial intention as a valid criterion to demarcate allusions from echoes. Echoes, thus, differ from allusions in that they are the product of the author's sub-consciousness.¹²⁶ Although this notion seems to more closely reflect the reality of writing, it still does not completely avoid a sense of obscurity.¹²⁷ Once the relevant citations of and allusions (or references) to the Old Testament characters are

¹²⁵Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 32-33. Richard Hays' application of his criteria is also somewhat obscure. "Echoes linger in the air and lure the reader of Paul's letters back into the symbolic world of Scripture. Paul's allusions gesture toward precursors whose words are already heavy with tacit implications." *Ibid.*, 155. The arbitrary nature of Hays hermeneutical program is attested in Richard Hays, "Can the Gospels Teach us How to Read the Old Testament?" *ProEccl* 11 (2002): 412-15. Here Hays is primarily concerned with the role of the original readers. However, in practice, his own theological agenda (or that of those who share his) overshadows his hermeneutics. In his interpretation of Psalm 69:9 alluded to in John 2:17, he colors his reading with the themes of vindication of Jesus and the restoration of Israel, both of which are not clearly indicated as the primary interest of the Gospel at least on the surface level in John 2 or in the rest of the Gospel. See "Thus, a reading of Psalm 69 after the passion and resurrection of Jesus would disclose that the Psalm is to be read as a poetic depiction of the suffering and vindication of Jesus the Messiah, whose voice 'David' had anticipated. . . . One implication of such a reading is that the meaning of Jesus' resurrection is not to be understood apart from Israel's hope for deliverance and restoration." *Ibid.*, 413-14. For a further critique of his reading, see page 136 of chap. 4 (footnote 52).

¹²⁶G. K. Beale stresses a "reasonable or persuasive explanation of authorial motive" to discern the presence of allusion. Gregory K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), 307-11; *idem*, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, JSNTSup 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1999), 62-67; Jon Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Literary Allusions and Interpretation of Revelation 8:7-12*, AUSDDS 11 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1988), 172-75; Steve Moyise, "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, Steve Moyise, JSNTSup 189 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000), 18-19; Alan D. Hultberg, "Messianic Exegesis in the Apocalypse: The Significance of the Old Testament for the Christology of Revelation" (Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2001), 41-43; Gary T. Manning, Jr., *Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period*, JSNTSup 270 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 13-14.

¹²⁷This difficulty of identifying allusive presence of the Old Testament traditions is also noted in Martin Hengel, "Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangeliums auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese," in *"Gesetz" als Thema Biblischer Theologie*, ed. Ingo Baldermann and Dwight R. Daniels, JBT 4 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen, 1989), 275, 282-87; Michael Theobald, "Schriftzitate im 'Lebensbrot'-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6): Ein Paradigma für den Schriftgebrauch des vierten Evangelisten," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, BETL 131 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 327 n. 2.

identified, an inquiry will proceed as to how such appropriation of the Old Testament materials (or traditions) contributes to the Johannine Christology.¹²⁸

Implication of orality. The observation of different criteria as mentioned above, however, is in no way meant to disparage their contributions and insights, but rather to demonstrate the complexities inherent in this type of study. Thus, it seems best to limit this study to citations and strong allusions. Faint allusions or echoes could be merely a creation of a reader's imagination, therefore, interfering with the results of this research. As such, overly subtle allusions and echoes will be excluded from serious consideration, although at times they will be briefly addressed when relevant. With this remark, it must be also said that this investigation is undertaken with certain exegetical predilections. That is, instead of a reader-oriented approach, this study is more interested in the authorial intention (which characterizes the diachronic orientation of this research) and the meaning inherent in the text.¹²⁹ The reason lies in an opinion that the attempts to retrieve the meaning of the author or the text better account for the first century

¹²⁸Jean Zumstein identifies five areas of research related to this type of investigation in John: (1) the source of the Old Testament tradition (i.e., MT or LXX), (2) the exact nature of appropriation (i.e., citation, allusion, or echo), (3) the possibility of utilizing certain Jewish hermeneutical traditions (i.e., haggadah or targumic), (4) the social setting of the Old Testament appropriation (i.e., pre-Christian or Jewish theology), and finally (5) conservative or creative hermeneutical use of the Old Testament tradition. The present study is primarily concerned with none of the questions he raises. The main question asked is the Christological contribution of the Old Testament characters in John. Jean Zumstein, "Die Schriftrezeption in der Brotrede (Joh 6)," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 123-24.

¹²⁹For an article that articulates the value of author-oriented hermeneutics, see Robert H. Stein, "The Benefits of an Author-Oriented Approach to Hermeneutics," *JETS* 44 (2001): 451-66. Also see the value of the author-oriented intertextual studies: Harstine, "The Functions of Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel and Responses of Three Ancient Mediterranean Audiences," 9-15. For a study that stresses the importance of readers who confer various meanings to the text, see Hieke Thomas, "Vom Verstehen biblischer Texte: Methodologisch-hermeneutische Erwägungen zum Programm einer 'biblischen Auslegung,'" *BN* 119-120 (2003): 71-89. But, see Ashton's bleak critique of reader-response reading: "Reader-response theorists do their best to guard their first-time readers from any knowledge that might sully the purity of their responses and prevent them from reacting to the text in the way that they (the theorists) have imagined. But ignorant as they are, they must know *something*, and *what* they know . . . will be prescribed by the theorists who are their only-begetters. It is hard to see this procedure as anything other than aleatory exegesis of the worst kind. . . . Why not face the fact that implied readers, as they are called, are simply doing the exegetes' job for them, but with one hand tied behind their back? Undo the knot and they are transformed into real readers, free to use whatever tools are lying to hand. These are the tools of historical criticism." John Ashton, "Studying John," in *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 199.

Mediterranean communication pattern, namely, orality as its default mode.¹³⁰ The importance of orality is increasingly recognized in recent Gospel scholarship, and it entails two important exegetical corollaries in particular. First, unlike visual communication models, such as reading, the orality in human communication is much less conducive for meditations on some literary devices, such as, complicated typology, subtle symbolism, and extended chiasmic structures.¹³¹ Second, orality and its concomitant eyewitness aspect reinforce the crucial role of individuals—especially those eyewitnesses of the original Jesus traditions—in the transmission and formulation of the Gospel traditions. As a consequence, they buttress the reliability of the Gospel traditions.¹³²

¹³⁰For studies on the corollaries of the oral dynamics for New Testament scholarship, see Birger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity with Tradition and Transmission in Early Christianity*, 2nd ed., BRS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); idem, "The Gospel Tradition," in *Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-É. Boismard, W. R. Farmer, F. Neirynck, Jerusalem 1984*, ed. David L. Dungan, BETL 95 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1990), 497-545; Paul J. Achtemeier, "Omne Verbum Sonat: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *JBL* 109 (1990): 3-27; Henry Wansbrough, ed., *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, JSNTSup 64 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991); Samuel Byrskog, *Story as History—History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History*, WUNT 123 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); Robert H. Stein, "Is Our Reading the Bible the Same as the Original Audience's Hearing It?: A Case Study in the Gospel of Mark," *JETS* 46 (2003): 63-78. For expressions of such a caution more directly impinging upon the study of the Fourth Gospel, see Dewey, "The Gospel of John in Its Oral-Written Media World," 239-52; Ellis, "Understanding the Concentric Structure of the Fourth Gospel," 131-54. These studies in various degrees point to the reliability of the oral tradition and the important role of individual witnesses in transmitting and formulating the Gospel traditions.

¹³¹James Dunn also notes the corollary of this nature of orality. The fluidity and flexibility of the original oral tradition makes implausible the recent confidence of complicated form and source reconstructions with regards to the Gospel of John. James D. G. Dunn, "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition," in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. Henry Wansbrough, JSNTSup 64 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 351-79; idem, "Jesus in Oral Memory: The Initial Stages of the Jesus Tradition," *SBLSP* 39 (2000): 287-326; idem, "Altering the Default Setting: Re-Envisaging the Early Transmission of the Jesus Tradition," *NTS* 49 (2003): 139-75. However, it must be also noted that the prevalence of orality does not necessarily exclude the possibility of the use of written traditions in the writing of John's Gospel as Paul Achtemeier seems to presume. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture*, xvi-xvii.

¹³²"If the Form Critics are right, the disciples must have been translated to heaven immediately after the Resurrection. . . . [Many eyewitnesses of the Gospel events] did not go into permanent retreat; for at least a generation they moved among the young Palestinian communities, and through preaching and fellowship their recollections were at the disposal of those who sought information." Vincent Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition: Eight Lectures*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1949), 41-42; Martin Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Collection and Origin of the Canonical Gospels* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000), 143; Arthur J. Dewey, "The Eyewitness of History," in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 59-70; Richard Bauckham, "The Eyewitnesses and the Gospel Traditions," *JSHJ* 1 (2003): 28-60. For a brief review of the previous generation's skepticism over the historical reliability of the Fourth Gospel, see William Baird, *From Deism to Tübingen*, vol. 1 of *History of New*

Religious Comparative Analysis

In addition to the attention given to intertextual dynamics, the religious comparative analysis of early Judaism and John's Gospel, which is diachronic in its orientation, will be undertaken so as to shed light on the alleged affinity between the Fourth Gospel and its most closely related religio-cultural backdrop, namely, early Judaism (see Appendix 2 for the necessity and relevance of religious-historical discussions). This inquiry, however, does not seek traces of direct dependence between them. Rather, it attempts to demonstrate the presence and/or degree of theological backgrounds and climate of thoughts that are common to both streams of religious expressions.¹³³ In the process of this comparative investigation, furthermore, the provenance of the intertestamental Jewish materials will be carefully weighed. Although it is commonplace to acknowledge the presence of variegated soundings within early Judaism, it is totally another matter to claim that the early Judaism of the diaspora settings (for example, that of the Egyptian context) and Palestinian Judaism exerted an equal amount of influence on the formation of John's Gospel. Due to spatial restraints, it cannot be fully discussed here, but it is assumed that the train of Jewish thought stemming from a Palestinian origin was much more at work in the birth of the Fourth Gospel than its counterparts in the wider pan-Mediterranean world (for a detailed discussion of the importance of the Palestinian Jewish traditions, see appendix 2: *Religionsgeschichte* and the Fourth Gospel). The primary and secondary sources frequently consulted in the course of this research include the materials listed in Appendix 6.

Chronological boundaries of early Judaism. Finally, another

Testament Research (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 311-19.

¹³³For an example of such an approach, see Robert McL. Wilson, "Philo and the Fourth Gospel," *ExpTim* 65 (1953): 47-49; Catherine Hezser, "Diaspora and Rabbinic Judaism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 128-29.

methodological caveat needs to be mentioned. This study takes into account the Jewish writings written in the period that ranges from 400 B.C. to A.D. 100. To indicate the Jewish conceptual currents of this period, three expressions will be used interchangeably without any significant distinction in meaning: early Judaism, intertestamental Judaism, and second temple Judaism. Some scholars have expressed reservation to restricting the scope of Jewish literature up to A.D. 100 because they believe that much later Jewish sources (usually early rabbinic literature) manifest coherent conceptual currents with the earlier documents (for the same reason, they disagree with the categorization of early Judaism or second temple Judaism).¹³⁴ However, the scientific nature of this study requires concrete and tangible evidences. It is exegetically unwarranted to base an argument on speculative deduction. The exegetical danger of comparing the body of literature from this period (from A.D. 200 onward) with the New Testament writings has been noted, especially in view of the possible Christian influence on later Jewish documents (for example, see the discussions on the use of the rabbinic and Samaritan writings in chap. 5, pp. 194-200 and Appendix 7: “The Use of the Rabbinic Materials for New Testament Studies” in this dissertations).¹³⁵ Therefore, whenever the intertestamental Jewish writings are referred to, thus, their date, reception in early Judaism, and possible Christian influence will be taken into consideration.

Terms

Typology and prefiguration. The importance of typology or prefiguration bears direct relevance upon the present study. In the wake of the rise of modern historical criticism, allegorical and typological studies encountered serious dismissal. On

¹³⁴William Horbury, “Rabbinic Literature in New Testament Interpretation,” in *Herodian Judaism and New Testament Study*, WUNT 193 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 221-35.

¹³⁵Morton Smith, “Comparison of Early Christian and Early Rabbinic Tradition,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 169-76; Johann Maier, “Schriftrezeption im jüdischen Umfeld des Johannesevangeliums,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 79-88.

the other hand, some evangelical scholars sought to salvage the New Testament figurative interpretations by carefully distinguishing between allegory and typology.¹³⁶ The present investigation is not primarily concerned with the legitimacy of such a venture. Rather, typology or prefiguration is understood in a broad sense as the ancient would have.¹³⁷ Thus, the definition of typology or prefiguration does not directly impinge upon the result of this study.¹³⁸ What is primarily at issue is whether the fourth evangelist presents the Old Testament as messianic prefiguration and, if that is the case, how much he lays the emphasis on such depiction.

Messiah and Christ. Another clarification of terms is related to “Messiah” and “Christ.” As briefly discussed earlier and addressed more in depth in Appendix I (Messianism/Christology and the Gospel of John), these two nomenclatures do not overlap exactly in the domain of semantics. Probably, the epithet “Messiah” comprises a larger range of referents than “Christ” does, but “Christ” also possesses a unique connotation. That is, he is the exclusively supreme divine being.¹³⁹ With this notion in

¹³⁶Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982); Baker, *Two Testaments, One Bible*; Gordon P. Hegenberger, “Introductory Notes on Typology,” in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts: Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 331-41.

¹³⁷Moisés Silva, “Has the Church Misread the Bible?” in *Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation: Six Volumes in One*, ed. Moisés Silva (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 44-57.

¹³⁸However, for the sake of advancing a study as this one, a working definition is worthy to mention: “A type is a biblical event, person, or institution which serves as an example or pattern for other events, persons, or institutions.” Hegenberger, “Introductory Notes on Typology,” 327.

¹³⁹Suffice it to point to the definition of Charlesworth for the present discussion. “This eschatological figure [the Messiah] will inaugurate the end of all normal time and history. I, therefore, use the term ‘Messiah’ in its etymological sense, to denote God’s eschatological Anointed One, the Messiah.” James H. Charlesworth, “From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity: The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 4; idem, “Introduction: Messianic Ideas in Early Judaism,” in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 1. G. Oegema’s definition covers a wider range: “a priestly, royal or otherwise characterized figure, who will play a liberating role at the end of time.” Gerbern S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba*, JSPSup 27 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 26. For a Jewish perspective that points to the Christian claim to the divinity of Jesus as that which demarcates “Christ” from “Messiah,” see the following statement: “Where Christianity parts company from all other religions, including Judaism, signifies the systemic center of Christianity—all Christianities. That point, of course, is Jesus Christ. What, in particular, about Jesus Christ matters (from

mind, however, these two terms will be used interchangeably (as the fourth evangelist identifies “Christ” with “Messiah”) in the present study without a significant distinction in meaning, mainly for the sake of convenience.

Contributions

Old Testament Characters as Christological Witnesses

The main question this study seeks to answer is whether or not the Old Testament figures in the Fourth Gospel play a coherent role as Christological/messianic witnesses (as Scripture does), as some German exegetes have recently argued. Their thesis will be tested through conventional exegeses of the Johannine pericopae which either directly mention or allude to the traditional Jewish heroic figures. If the thesis stands intact, then it will be compared with the perception of the Old Testament figures pertaining to messianism in the Jewish literature of the second temple period. This comparison, however, will remain at a secondary level of investigation as the main focus of the research will be devoted to the role of the Old Testament characters within the canonical confines of the Johannine Gospel. The findings from this proposed research are hoped to illuminate some of the hermeneutical and theological insights crucial for an appropriate appreciation of the New Testament and the Gospel of John in particular. First, this study is expected to articulate theological claims the evangelist makes to his first century readers/hearers over against its Jewish background in his presentation of the Old Testament Jewish figures with reference to the Christology of the Fourth Gospel.

the perspective of Judaism in particular) is not the claim that he was and is the Messiah, or that he was and is God incarnate, or that he taught and teaches Torah over and above the Torah of Sinai and in fulfillment of that first Torah. What matters is that Jesus Christ for Christianity uniquely is the Messiah, uniquely is God incarnate, uniquely reveals Torah against which all other Torah falls short. . . . After all, everyone knows, when it comes to mere mortal sages, we of holy Israel have hundreds who compare in wisdom and piety and supernatural insight; and prophets, priests, and martyrs to compare as well. What we do not have is God incarnate in one person only, and what we have not known is the Messiah in any one person—at least, not yet.” Jacob Neusner and Bruce D. Chilton. *Jewish-Christian Debates: God, Kingdom, Messiah* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 215-16.

Affinity between Early Judaism and John

Second, this proposed project will demonstrate the degree of affinity between the Gospel and the Jewish milieu of the Second Temple period. The conclusions adduced from this observation will point to somewhere other than the Old Testament or the Jewish intertestamental literature for the genesis of the Johannine Christology. Scholars have suggested the Jesus event¹⁴⁰ as the provenance (or more specifically the post-Easter perspective)¹⁴¹ or the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.¹⁴² An implication of this second aspect will touch upon the legitimacy of *Traditionsgeschichte* as a proper interpretive method for the Gospel of John on the basis of the conclusions drawn from the first two inquiries.¹⁴³ As a corollary, a hermeneutical doubt is cast over the typological and/or simplistic salvation-historical approach to the New Testament vis-à-vis the function of Old Testament characters with reference to the Johannine Christology.¹⁴⁴ In this venue, some scholars have already expressed their skepticism over the history of traditions approach. For instance, Mogens Müller posits that the history of traditions approach undertaken by Stuhlmacher and Gese is in fact reading the Bible from the perspective of the Old Testament onto the New. That attempt, he believes, will naturally lead to where

¹⁴⁰Kraus, "Johannes und das Alte Testament," 20; Mogens Müller, "Neutestamentliche Theologie als Biblische Theologie: Einige grundsätzliche Überlegungen," *NTS* 43(1997): 475-90; and Walter Schmithals, "Das Alte Testament im Neuen," in *Paulus, die Evangelien, und das Urchristentum: Beiträge von und zu Walter Schmithals*, ed. C. Breytenbach, AGAJU 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 563-614; Schwankl, "Aspekte der johanneischen Christologie," 362-67. A colleague of mine, Lars Kierspel, deserves credit for directing me to the works of Müller and Schmithals.

¹⁴¹Scholtissek, "'Die unauflösbare Schrift' (Joh 10,35)," 166-67.

¹⁴²Hengel, "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel," 389-91. The role of the Holy Spirit in shaping John's use of the Old Testament was first proposed by Albrecht Thoma, "Das Alte Testament im Johannes-Evangelium," *ZWT* 22 (1879): 311, cited in Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 5.

¹⁴³For a convenient summary of Gese's methodological presuppositions, see Seitz, "Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition History," 195-211.

¹⁴⁴So does Reim ward off the typological interpretation of the Old Testament messianic texts in John. "Typologie ist bei Johannes also nicht Wiederkehr des Gleichen, was in der Urzeit geschah, in der Endzeit, sondern das, was in der Urzeit geschah, ist Hinweis auf das Geschehen des Eigentlichen in der Christuszeit." Reim, *Jochanan*, 268.

it came from, "Judaism."¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Christopher Seitz perceptibly sets the issue under perspective when he writes,

The problem for the early church was not what to do with the OT. Rather, in the light of a Scripture . . . , what was one to make of a crucified messiah and a parting of the ways? It is this dimension of early Christian use of the OT that is attenuated in tradition-historical approaches of the Gese-Stuhlmacher variety.¹⁴⁶

Competency of Redactor/Author of John

Finally, if a coherent role of the Old Testament characters in the Gospel narratives is established, it will bolster, to some degree, the integrity of the final form of the Gospel text in contradistinction to those who assume various phases of a redactional process before the finalization of the present Gospel (and they are confident to identify beyond reasonable doubt the different layers of sources).¹⁴⁷ For instance, some of the

¹⁴⁵Müller, "Neutestamentliche Theologie als Biblische Theologie," 490.

¹⁴⁶Seitz, "Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition History," 210-11.

¹⁴⁷The unity of the Fourth Gospel is closely tied to the question of authorship. Built upon the assumption of a community product, some scholars suggested various sources that are sort of coarsely woven into the present form of John's Gospel. Bultmann initiated the theory, and R. T. Fortna has rendered by far the most elaborate reconstruction of the theory. Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. George R. Beasley-Murray (Louisville: Westminster, 1971), 113, 632-35, 681; R. T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel*, SNTSMS 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); idem, *The Fourth Gospel And Its Predecessor: From Narrative Source to Present Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). On the other hand, clumsy Johannine editorial traces were allegedly detected first by Eduard Schwartz, "Aporien im vierten Evangelium," *NGWG* 14 (1907): 342-72; 15 (1908): 115-88, 497-560. The positions proposed by Bultmann, Fortna, and Schwartz, however, have been repeatedly and convincingly refuted in the recent advancement of gospel scholarship which has expressed a serious caveat against the notion of the Gospels as the literary product of communities through an extended period of time with a result in theological tension in the Gospel. For such a concern in general for the Gospels, see Bauckham, *The Gospels for All Christians*; Mike Bird, "Bauckham's *The Gospel for All Christians* Revisited," *EuroJT* 15 (2006): 5-14. For the Gospel of John in particular, see Eduard Schweizer, *Ego Eimi: Die religionsgeschichtlich Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der johanneischen Bildreden, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Quellenfrage des vierten Evangeliums*, FRLANT 56 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939); D. Moody Smith, *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel: Bultmann's Literary Theory*, YPR 10 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); George Mlakushyil, *The Christocentric Literary Structure of the Fourth Gospel*, AnBib 117 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1987); Eugen Ruckstuhl, "Johannine Language and Style: The Question of Their Unity," in *L'Évangile de Jean: Sources, rédaction, théologie*, ed. M. de Jonge, BETL XLIV (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1977), 125-48; Eugen Ruckstuhl and Peter Dschulnigg, *Stilkritik und Verfasserfrage im Johannesevangelium: Die Johanneischen Sprachmerkmale auf dem Hintergrund des Neuen Testaments und des zeitgenössischen hellenistischen Schrifttums*, NTOA 17 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1991); Barnabas Lindas, "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel," in *L'Évangile de Jean: Sources, rédaction, théologie*, ed. M. de Jonge, BETL 44 (Leuven: Peeters, 1987), 107-24; Gary M. Burge, "The Literary Seams in the Fourth Gospel," *CovQ* 48 (1990): 15-25; Martin Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage: ein Lösungsversuch*, WUNT 67 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1993); Gilbert van Belle, *The Signs Source in the Fourth Gospel: Historical Survey and Critical Evaluation of the Semeia Hypothesis*, BETL 116 (Louvain: Peeters, 1994); and Hans-Joachim Schulz, *Die apostolische Herkunft der Evangelien: Zum Ursprung der Evangelienform in der urgemeindlichen Paschafeier*, 3rd ed., QD 145 (Freiburg: Herder,

recent linguistic investigations of the Fourth Gospel point out that the hypothetical sources and layers cannot be exhibited linguistically and the language of the Gospel is consistent throughout John. Therefore, contrary to the common view that the evangelist was a clumsy editor who wittingly or unwittingly preserved various tensions between Jesus and the Old Testament figures (either from a history of religions or socio-political point of view), the consistent and coherent role of various ancient Jewish characters concerning Christology will, if proven, bear witness to the competent editorial ability of the final redactor, as Jeffrey Staley has observed.

If redaction critics are correct to conclude that FG [the Fourth Gospel] reflects to fifty years of editing, it is remarkable that the current text also reflects an unusual rhetorical unity on the themes of 'authority' and 'witness.' . . . a two-tiered motif of witnessing is reflected in the three major redactional stages in FG's composition history Throughout FG, no one comes to Jesus without the assistance of another person the Signs Source exhibits a strategy remarkably similar to the one isolated earlier in the three 'formative redactional periods' of the Johannine Community.¹⁴⁸

Scope

Unless one is prepared to venture upon the writing of a *magnum opus* on the historical Jesus (such as Dunn's *Jesus Remembered*), he/she will have to, at some points, presuppose and assume certain aspects instead of proving every statement with careful

1997), 292-391; E. Earle Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, BIS 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 147-83, 233-37; Thomas Popp, *Grammatik des Geistes: Literarische Kunst und theologische Konzeption in Johannes 3 und 6*, ABIG 3 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001). Cf. Andreas Köstenberger, "Frühe Zweifel an der johanneischen Verfasserschaft des vierten: Evangeliums in der modernen Interpretationsgeschichte," *EuroJT* 5 (1996): 37-46. Recently, Ferdinand Hahn assessed the previous form critical approaches to the Gospel of John. In light of the literary unity of the Gospel, he construes that it is unnecessary to differentiate the tradition from redaction (against Jürgen Becker and Rudolf Schnackenburg). He further traces the core concept of the Gospel to the evangelist, not to the Johannine community (against Hartwig Thyen and Rudolf Bultmann). Ferdinand Hahn, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 1:586-87.

¹⁴⁸Jeffrey L. Staley, "What Can a Postmodern Approach to the Fourth Gospel Add to Contemporary Debates about Its Historical Situation?" in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 53-55. The proposed outcome of this study is expected to yield a similar implication of Culpepper's literary analysis of John that John contains a high degree of literary integrity. R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983). One of the recent examinations of the Johannine characters also shares the same judgment. "Eine dritte Richtung hat seit den Arbeiten von Schweizer (1939) und Ruckstuhl (1951) aufgrund der Erarbeitung sprachlicher Besonderheiten, welche das Joh von den Synoptikern und den übrigen Schriften des NT abhebt, betont, daß sich die hypothetisch erschlossenen Schichten und Quellen sprachlich nicht aufweisen lassen, die Sprache des Joh vielmehr durchgehend und in allen seinen Teilen stark vom Endverfasser geprägt sei." Peter Dschulnigg, *Jesus Begegnen: Personen und ihre Bedeutung im Johannesevangelium* (Münster: Lit, 2002), 8.

qualifications. This study proceeds in line with those who see Jesus as standing primarily in a Jewish messianic light.¹⁴⁹ Generally speaking, Johannine Christology has been investigated in two ways: one in the form of Jewish messianic prefigurations (David, Elijah, or Moses), and the other through abstract titles and symbols (Son of God, Son of Man, wisdom, etc.). It is the former that seems to have had closer affinities with ancient Judaism. The conceptions of the latter category in the intertestamental period are known to be notoriously slippery and elusive, not to mention their meager reference in terms of messianology. Consequently, the comparison of the former category with its conception in the Fourth Gospel will reveal more evidently the points of contact between early Judaism and Johannine Christianity. There is certainly some degree of disparity between Christian Christology and Jewish messianism. This study intends to explore the possibility of early Christian appropriation of the early Jewish messianic hopes through heroic figures.¹⁵⁰ The scope of this study includes Moses, David, Elijah (and John the Baptist), and two of the Jewish arch-patriarchs (Abraham and Jacob). Not only do these figures emerge prominently on the surface of the Jewish literary structures but they were held in high esteem in early Judaism as messianic prefigures. For the latter reason, the prophet Isaiah is excluded from the scope of this research regardless of his conspicuous Christological witness role in John. Although Jacob and Abraham do not usually occur

¹⁴⁹For instance, Peter Stuhlmacher, *Jesus of Nazareth—Christ of Faith* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993); James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origin of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 3rd ed. (London: SCM, 2003); idem, *Jesus Remembered*, CM 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 615-764; Marinus de Jonge, *Jesus, the Servant Messiah* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Markus Bockmuehl, *This Jesus: Martyr, Lord, Messiah* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1996); N. T. Wright, *Jesus and Victory of God*, COQG 2 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996); and Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998). For a summary of other proposals that seek to account for the historical Jesus in terms other than a Jewish messiah, see Ben Witherington, *The Jesus Quest: The Third Search for the Jews of Nazareth*, 2nd ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1997), 42-196.

¹⁵⁰James Charlesworth correctly notes the danger of imposing New Testament Christology onto the Old Testament messianism. The former category unanimously identified Jesus with Christ, but the latter construed the idea via a variety of the so-called messianic figures, such as, prophets, priests, and kings. James H. Charlesworth, "From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity: The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 3-35.

in the intertestamental Jewish eschatological contexts (as messianic prefigures), they are included for their symbolic status as the heads of Israel.

Limitations

In spite of several considerable merits, there are also some limitations to this proposed research. Although a comprehensive comparison of the perceptions of the Jewish heroic figures as a messianic prefiguration and/or witness in the Fourth Gospel and contemporary Judaism is highly desirable, the vast scope of such inquiry is hardly viable. Furthermore, an initial investigation has detected virtually no point of contact between the two distinct Jewish spheres of religious expressions (this is especially due to the lack of the motif of the Jewish antique figures as messianic witness not to mention the dearth of a systematized understanding of the messianic prefigures in early Judaism). Therefore, the present study limits its scope within the understanding of the Jewish antique figures as presented in the Fourth Gospel.

Another limit of the study involves the method of the present inquiry, that is, that an investigation of the messianic paradigms of the Old Testament figures in early Judaism will take its point of departure primarily from the secondary literature due to the enormous purview of the primary sources which contain the messianic ideas and figures in the Jewish writings of the Second Temple period. Some of the significant notions on the Old Testament figures concerning messianism referred to in the secondary literature will be examined in view of their original texts.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Although a first-hand investigation of the primary materials is highly desirable, the spatial limit of the present project precludes such an ambitious endeavor as the dissertations of Meeks and Behrens have amply proven. Meeks dealt with only the Mosaic messianic paradigm in 500 plus pages in his dissertation. Even the role of one Old Testament protagonist or the use of certain Old Testament texts in John deserves a dissertation-length study. Cf. Eugene Hotz, "L'Interpretation de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Evangile selon Saint-Jean" (Ph.D. Diss., Neuchatel, 1943); Wayne A. Meeks, "Jesus as King and Prophet in the Fourth Gospel" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1965); Gillian P. Bampfylde, "Old Testament Quotations and Imagery in the Gospel according to St. John" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hull, 1967); Phil G. Bowersox, "The Use of Isaiah 6:10 in John 12:40 and the Theology of Rejection" (Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1978); Mark William Woods, "The Use of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel: The Hermeneutical Method Employed in the Semeia and Its Significance for Contemporary Biblical Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1980); Eugene W. Pond, "Theological Dependencies of John's Gospel on Isaiah" (Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1985);

Cherian Thomas, "Jesus the New Moses: A Christological Understanding of the Fourth Gospel" (Th.D. diss., Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1989); Stan Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel: A Study of Ancient Reading Techniques*, JSNTSup 229 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002); Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*; Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 2003); Manning, *Echoes of a Prophet*; and Rainer K. W. Behrens, "The Use of Moses Traditions in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to John's Use of the Old Testament" (Ph.D. diss., University of Gloucestershire, 2004); Wallace, "The Testimony of Moses." Even a study of a seemingly insignificant character such as Jacob, who is explicitly mentioned only twice throughout the Gospel, can take up a lengthy inquiry. See David H. Johnson, "Our Father Jacob: The Role of the Jacob Narrative in the Fourth Gospel Compared to Its Role in the Jewish Bible and in the Writings of Early Judaism" (Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1992).

CHAPTER 2

THE PATRIARCHS

Introduction

The Gospel of John makes no mention of Isaac. It is not too surprising in view of the rare occurrence of his name in the entire corpus of the New Testament. Furthermore, even in the Old Testament and early Judaism, Isaac and Jacob are already subsumed under the arch-forefather, Abraham: “Die schon im Alten Testament erkennbare und sich im frühen Judentum fortsetzende Tendenz, daß Abraham die beiden anderen Stammväter weit überflügelt, hat sich hier voll durchgesetzt.”¹ Not only the arch-patriarch occupied a crucial place for the matter of identity, he was also seen in a messianic prefigurative light in some early Jewish and Christian sources.² The portrayal of the Jewish patriarchs in John, however, differs slightly from these traditions in that the Samaritans seem to regard Jacob as their progenitor (4:12) and the Jews, Abraham (8:39, 53). More strikingly, Jesus appears not to acknowledge the significance of the typical Jewish perception of Abrahamic fatherhood (esp., “Abraham, your father,” 8:56). In

¹Rainer Albertz, “Isaak II: Neues Testament,” in *TRE*, 16:296; Johann Maier, “Schriftrezeption im jüdischen Umfeld des Johannesevangeliums,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 56.

²For some of the discussions on the importance of Abraham in early Jewish and Christian sources, see G. Mayer, “Aspekte des Abrahambildes in der hellenistisch-christlichen Literatur,” *EvT* 32 (1972): 118-27; Friedrich. E. Wieser, *Die Abrahamvorstellungen im Neuen Testament*, EHS 23/317 (Bern: Lang, 1987); Jeffrey S. Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews: Abraham in Early Christian Controversy* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991); Rodney A. Werline, “The Transformation of Pauline Arguments in Justin Martyr’s Dialogue with Trypho,” *HTR* 92 (1999): 79-93; Craig A. Evans, “Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Man of Faith and Failure,” in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed. Peter W. Flint, SDSSRL 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 149-58. For a discussion on the messianic appropriation of the Abrahamic traditions, see Moshe D. Herr, “L’Herméneutique juive et chrétienne des figures bibliques à l’époque du deuxième Temple, de la Mishna et du Talmud,” in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Ithamar Gruenwald, Shaul Shaked, and Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa, TSAJ 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 99-109.

contrast to other New Testament writings and the assessment of some Johannine exegetes, the fourth evangelist does not eagerly claim the spiritual lineage of the patriarchs for Christ.³ Rather, the patriarchs serve as mere witnesses to Jesus' messianic/Christological identity, most remarkably of his pre-existence. The present chapter will discuss the portrayals of the forefathers in early Judaism and how they cast different pictures in John. In light of the exegetical examination of the Johannine narratives that mention and allude to Abraham or Jacob, the latter part of the chapter will probe into their narrative function with particular regards to the Christology of John.

Jacob

One of the three Jewish forefathers, Jacob, appears twice in the Gospel of John, alluded to in 1:51 and explicitly mentioned twice by name in 4:10-14. This study will delve into the former passage first.

Allusion to the Bethel Theophany: John 1:51

καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὄψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεωγῶτα καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
(John 1:51, NA²⁷)

And he said to him, "Very truly, I tell you, you will see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man." (John 1:51, NRSV⁴)

³Christian Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, ZBKNT 4 (Zürich: Theologischer, 2001), 1:261-65. Cf. "He [God] has helped his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy, according to the promise he made to our ancestors, to Abraham and to his descendants forever" (Luke 1:54-55); "What then are we to say was gained by Abraham, our ancestor according to the flesh?" (Rom 4:1).

⁴Unless noted otherwise, all English scriptural quotations in this study are taken from New Revised Standard Version. For a survey of scholarship on John 1:51, see Francis J. Moloney, *The Johannine Son of Man*, 2nd ed., BSR 14 (Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1978), 23-41; Barnabas Lindars, *Jesus Son of Man: A Fresh Examination of the Son of Man Sayings in the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 145-57. For a survey of various suggestions for the religious background of the term "son of man" in this text, see Douglas R. A. Hare, *The Son of Man Tradition* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 80-81. Some exegetes construe the suffering servant traditions (e.g., Isa 42-53, Pss 78-80) behind the son of man in the present text. Hugo Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel: Interpreted in Its Relation to Contemporaneous Religious Currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic-Oriental World* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1929; reprint, Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1968), 36; Stephen S. Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man Sayings," *NTS* 15 (1969): 288; F. F. Bruce, "The Background to the Son of Man Sayings," in *Christ the Lord: Studies in Christology Presented to Donald Guthrie*, ed. Harold H. Rowdon (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1982), 56-58; David H. Johnson, "Our Father Jacob: The Role of the Jacob Narrative in the Fourth Gospel Compared to Its Role in the Jewish Bible and in the Writings of Early Judaism" (Ph.D. diss., Trinity

Narrative context. Jacob, son of Isaac, is alluded to in John 1:51, which echoes the Bethel account in Genesis 28. Structurally speaking, verse 51 concludes the first chapter of the Gospel which is marked by a recurrent witness theme.⁵ For example, John the Baptist carries out this “witness” motif in the first chapter. Verses 7 and 8 of the first chapter of John mark a pivotal point in the Baptist’s ministry of “witness”: “He came as a witness to testify to the light, so that all might believe through him. He himself was not the light, but he came to testify to the light.” The witness ministry of the Baptist for Christ is spelled out in the rest of the chapter. His testimony concerning Christ is first directed to “the Jews of Jerusalem” in verses 19-28, first indirectly (vv. 19-24) and then directly (vv. 25-28).⁶ He aims his next witness at “the people who came to hear him” in verses 29-34. The next day, the Baptist’s witness is extended to some of his own disciples in verses 35-37. The eye-witness nature of the latter two pericopae enhances the level of credibility of John’s witness.⁷ In addition, the force of his witness is further evidenced in some of his disciples’ (Philip and Nathanael) turning to Jesus upon departure from their first mentor in verses 38-50. These preceding occurrences of the “witness” theme culminate in the concluding statement of verse 51, which is presented in the form of an affirmative answer to the new disciple’s Christological confession, “you

Evangelical Divinity School, 1992), 205-06. Contrary to their judgments, the present text and the immediate literary contexts do not underscore the suffering servant motif of Jesus. In this respect, Hare’s comment is appropriate: “It is thus, the opened heaven and the movement of the angels that express the point of the verse not the name the ‘son of man’; the latter merely serves to identify Jesus as the person who is related to heaven in this way.” Hare, *The Son of Man Tradition*, 85.

⁵This structural analysis is indebted to George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 2nd ed., WBC, vol. 36 (Nashville: Nelson, 1999), 22-23; Udo Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, THKNT 4 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1998), 56.

⁶Klaus Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, rev. ed., TKNT 4 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 1: 86-94.

⁷The eye-witness motif is also an important characteristic in John. See Urban C. von Wahlde, “The Witnesses to Jesus in John 5:31-40 and Belief in the Fourth Gospel,” *CBQ* 43 (1981): 385-404; Andrew T. Lincoln, “The Beloved Disciple as Eyewitness and the Fourth Gospel as Witness,” *JSNT* 85 (2002): 3-26. For the witness motif in the trial setting in the Gospel of John, see Eric M. E. Wallace, “The Testimony of Moses: Pentateuchal Traditions and Their Function in the Gospel of John” (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2004), 44-118.

are the Son of God, you are the King of Israel” (v. 49).⁸

The prediction of Jesus is disclosed to Nathanael, a true Israelite (possibly a proto-example of the New Testament Christians).⁹ Two analogous features call for this prophecy to be taken as an allusion to the Bethel account in Genesis 28:12.¹⁰ First, the beholders of the visions are called “Israel” and, second, the wordings of the vision in both accounts are identical (“you will see the heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending”). Therefore, exegetes commonly recognize an analogy present in the text, identifying the son of man as the anti-type. However, opinions vary as to the type, i.e., Jacob, the stone, the ladder, and the place, of which the proponents of Jacob and the

⁸In this pericope (John 1:35-51, Jesus’ calling of disciples), Jesus’ identity is unfolded in four steps: rabbi (v. 38), son of God (v. 49), king of Israel (v. 49), and son of man (v. 51). C. Langner suggests that these four titles here proleptically function to summarize the mission and life of Jesus. That is, as a rabbi Jesus provides his teachings, as son of God he was condemned, as king crucified, and as son of man he was resurrected. As glaringly as it sounds, however, his interpretation seems to be without much textual support in this text or in view of the entire scope of the Gospel. In particular, it is doubtful whether Jesus was resurrected as “son of man.” Cf. Cordula Langner, “Was für ein König ist Jesus?” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 250. In addition, the confession of Nathanael has been puzzling exegetes since it appears to be too mature at such an early stage of the Gospel. Three interpretations have appealed to a number of exegetes. First, this confession is polemically directed at the unbelieving Jews. Therefore, it must be read retrospectively from the end to the beginning. Alternatively, others posit that Nathanael’s confessional statement is only provisional, that is, it merely reveals the amazed emotion of the new disciple. Finally, still some others point to the emphatic function of the confession in relation to the omnipotent supernatural divinity of Jesus. For the former view, see Ludger Schenke, *Johannes: Kommentar* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1998), 50; Joachim Gnilka, *Johannesevangelium*, 5th ed., NEBNT 4 (Würzburg: Echter, 1999), 21-22; for the second, Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:94-97; for the last aspect, see Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann, “König Israels, nicht König der Juden?: Jesus als König im Johannesevangelium,” in *Messiasvorstellungen bei Juden und Christen*, ed. Ekkehard Stegemann (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1993), 47; Stefan Schreiber, “Rätsel um den König: Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Herkunft des König-Titels im Johannesevangelium,” in *Johannes aenigmaticus: Studien zum Johannesevangelium für Herbert Leroy*, ed. Stefan Schreiber and Alois Stimpfle, BU 29 (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2000), 58-59.

⁹Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 56. “Darin ist Nathanael wahrhaft Israelit, dass in ihm die von den Propheten bezeugte und verheissene endzeitliche Rettung des Volkes Gottes exemplarisch und damit proleptische in Erfüllung geht. Nathanael ist wahrhaft Israelit dergestalt, dass er auf die eschatologische Existenz des Volkes Gottes und auf die Errettung durch Jahweh hinweist und eine ganze Reihe von Prophetentexten lesen und in eschatologischem Kontext erneut verstehen lehrt.” Johann A. Steiger, “Nathanael—Ein Israelit, an dem kein Falsch ist: Das hermeneutische Phänomen der Intertestamentarizität aufgezeigt an Joh 1,45-51,” *BTZ* 9 (1992): 53.

¹⁰For an allusion to Ezek 1:1, see Gilles Quispel, “Nathanael und der Menschensohn (Joh 1 15),” *ZNW* 47 (1956): 281-83; Gary T. Manning, Jr., *Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period*, JSNTSup 270 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 150-60. The brevity of the parallel phrase (viz., “heaven . . . opened”), however, makes it difficult to make a convincing case for a strong allusion between John and Ezekiel. For a survey of various later rabbinic interpretations of the Bethel accounts, see James L. Kugel, “The Ladder of Jacob,” in *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 9-35.

ladder as an extension of the place represent two more popular views than others.¹¹ The Hebrew Scripture is somewhat ambiguous as to the antecedent of the third person singular masculine pronominal suffix, **בו**, since he/it could refer back to either Jacob or the ladder (**סֶלֶם**) upon which the traffic of angels took place.

סֶלֶם מוֹצֵב אֲרָצָה וְרֵאשׁוֹ מוֹנִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִמָּה וְהֵנָּה מִלְאֲכֵי אֱלֹהִים עֹלִים וְיֹרְדִים בּוֹ
וְהֵנָּה (Gen 28:12, *BHS*⁴)

However, the Septuagint clarifies the antecedent of the demonstrative pronoun as it shifts the gender into feminine (**ἐπ' αὐτῆς**).¹² Thus, it is clearly upon the ladder where the angels were ascending and descending.

ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἑστηρικμένη ἐν τῇ γῆ ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτῆς (Gen 28:12, *LXX*)

Jacob-Jesus typology. Taking the pronoun as referring to Jacob, however, some exegetes see a typology present between Jesus and Jacob. They typically detect John's intentional opting for the Hebrew tradition over the Greek.¹³ This view is further argued for in view of some Jewish hermeneutical traditions, notably in Targum, Philo, and some of the early rabbinic interpretations of the present text.¹⁴ Two conspicuous

¹¹For Jacob, see Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:61; for the stone at Bethel, see Justin, "Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew," *ANF*, 86.2; J. C. O'Neil, "Son of Man, Stone of Blood (John 1:51)," *NovT* 45 (2003): 374-81; for the ladder as an extension of the place, see Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 1:488-89; for the place (Bethel), see Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 1:320; Barnabas Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, NCB (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972), 122; Jürgen Becker, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3rd ed., ÖTKNT 4 (Würzburg: Echter, 1991), 1:125; Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 56; Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:103-05; Andreas Köstenberger, *John*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 84-87.

¹²Another change from *MT* is the shift of Hebrew participles to finite verbs in the imperfect tense. John W. Wevers, ed., *Genesis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 271. In this respect, the Greek text of John follows more closely the Hebrew verb forms than those of the *LXX*. Both *MT* and John use participles for the traffic of the angels. Johnson, "Our Father Jacob," 197.

¹³C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922), 116; Johnson, "Our Father Jacob," 203-08.

¹⁴Hugo Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel: Interpreted in Its Relation to Contemporaneous Religious Currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic-Oriental World* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1929; reprint, Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1968), 33-42; Martin McNamara, "The Targums and Johannine Literature," in *Targum and Testament: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible, a Light on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 146-47; Craig A. Evans, "Old Testament in the Gospels," in *DJG*, 588; Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:490-91; George J. Brooke, "The Temple Scroll and the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 106-10. For a survey of such interpretive traditions, see Jerome H. Neyrey, "The Jacob Allusions in Joh 1:51," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 586-605;

aspects stand out in these Jewish traditions: first, the traffic of the angels is inferred or explicitly stated to have taken place on Jacob and, second, these texts present Jacob as the focal point of the vision, promoting him into a rank of the righteous.¹⁵

For instance, midrashic *Genesis Rabbah* (composed in the fourth through fifth centuries A.D.) on Genesis 28:12 recounts Jacob's image engraved in heaven and the angels' ascending and descending upon him in order to examine his facial features.

R. Hiyya the Elder and R. Yannai: One of them said, "they were going up and coming down' on the ladder." The other said, "they were going up and coming down' on Jacob." The one who says, "they were going up and coming down' on the ladder,' has no problems. As to the one who says, "they were going up and coming down' on Jacob," the meaning is that they were raising him up and dragging him down, dancing on him, leaping on him, abusing him. For it is said, "Israel, in whom I will be glorified" (Isa 49:3). [So said the angels,] "Are you the one whose visage is incised above?" They would then go up and look at his features and go down and examine him sleeping.¹⁶

Targum Neofiti on Genesis (the tenth through eleventh centuries A.D.) also follows the interpretive tradition of Jacob's image engraved in heaven.

And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder was fixed on the earth and its head reached to the height of the heavens; and behold, the angels that had accompanied him from the house of his father ascended to bear good tidings to the angels on high, saying: "Come and see the pious man whose image is engraved in the throne of Glory, whom you desired to see." And behold, the angels from before the Lord ascended and descended and observed him.¹⁷

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan renders an analogous understanding of the Bethel account that the righteousness of Jacob and his image in heaven take the center stage in the discourse.

He had a dream, and behold, a ladder was fixed in the earth with its top reaching towards the heavens. And behold, the two angels who had gone to Sodom and who had been banished from their apartment because they had revealed the secrets of the

Christopher Rowland, "John 1.51, Jewish Apocalyptic and Targumic Tradition," *NTS* 30 (1984): 498-507; William Loader, "John 1:50-51 and the 'Greater Things' of Johannine Christology," in *Anfänge der Christologie: Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. F. Hahn, C. Breytenbach, and H. Paulsen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 255-74.

¹⁵Cf. Philo *De Somniis* 2.19 calls Jacob "the practiser [of virtue]."

¹⁶Jacob Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis*, BJS 106 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1985), 13. Similarly, *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis II*, trans. H. Freedman (London: Soncino, 1951), 626.

¹⁷Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti I: Genesis*, ArBib 1A (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1992), 140.

Lord of the world, went about when they were banished until the time that Jacob went forth from his father's house. Then, as an act of kindness, they accompanied him to Bethel, and on that day they ascended to the heavens on high, and said, "Come and see Jacob the pious, whose image is fixed in the Throne of Glory, and whom you have desired to see." Then the rest of the holy angels of the Lord came down to look at him.¹⁸

In view of these rabbinic traditions, thus, there seems to be sufficient reason to posit a Jacob-Jesus typology.¹⁹

Ladder-Jesus typology. However, the interpretive judgment that sees a Jacob-Jesus typology in the present text under discussion poses a problem. The difficulty is two-fold. First, the advocates of such a view unfairly represent the rabbinic traditions which testify contradicting pictures, not to mention the anachronistic importation of the rabbinic materials onto the New Testament text (see Appendix 7: "The Use of the Rabbinic Materials in New Testament Studies"), and, second, they ignore the narrative context of the Johannine pericope (i.e., it is Nathanael and Jacob who behold the visions). For instance, *Genesis Rabbah* records the uncertainty among some rabbis concerning the place upon which the traffic of the angels took place. In addition, other Jewish texts, notably *the Ladder of Jacob* and *Targum Onkelos*, clearly state that it was upon the ladder where the angels traveled. These two texts also do not reveal the centrality of Jacob *vis-à-vis* his righteousness:²⁰ "There were twelve steps leading to the top of the ladder And while I was still looking at it, behold, angels of God ascended and descended on it."²¹

¹⁸Michael Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, ArBib 1B (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1992), 99-100.

¹⁹For the adherents of this view, see C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 245-49; McNamara, *Targum and Testament*, 147; Rowland, "John 1.51, Jewish Apocalyptic and Targumic Tradition," 498-507; Johnson, "Our Father Jacob," 202-03; and John H. C. Neeb, "Jacob/Jesus Typology in John 1,51," *PEGLMBS* 12 (1992): 83-85; E. Earle Ellis, "Background and Christology of John's Gospel," in *Christ and the Future in New Testament History*, NovTSup 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 87.

²⁰Moses Aberbach and Bernard Grossfeld, ed., *Targum Onkelos to Genesis: A Critical Analysis together with an English Translation of the Text* (New York: Ktav, 1982), 169.

²¹H. G. Lunt, "Ladder of Jacob," in *OTP*, 2:407.

A greater number of more recent commentators, thus, correctly recognize a correspondence, not between Jacob and Jesus, but between the Son of Man and the ladder or Bethel, a place where God manifested himself to human beings.²² Then the anti-type of Jacob is Nathanael. Hence verse 15 can be rendered as follows: “Like Jacob, you [Nathanael] will witness the divine theophany bestowed upon the Son of Man.”

However, some commentators are still hesitant to accept the presence of a Jacob-Nathanael typology in the text. Schnackenburg, for instance, offers a three-fold skepticism.²³ First, the vision is promised not only to Nathanael but also to the disciples since the number of the verb ὄψεσθε (“you will see”) in verse 51 is in the plural. Second, seeing Jesus being pierced and raised up (as some exegetes take the referent of this vision to be) is different from seeing the heaven opened. Third, John is taking only an element of Jacob’s vision, namely, the image of the ladder and the ascending and descending of angels. As for Schnackenburg, thus, to find a large scale correspondence between the Bethel account and John 1:51 is to press the symbolism beyond what the textual evidences permit. However, his dismissal of the typology calls for a more nuanced examination of the present text. Literary devices such as imagery, symbolism, and

²²W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 298; Michael Theobald, *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos: Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh*, NTANF 20 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1988), 288; idem, “Abraham—(Isaak—) Jacob: Israels Väter im Johannesevangelium,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Labahn, K. Scholtissek, and A. Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 159-63; A. T. Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 37-39; Michèle Morgen, “La promesse de Jésus à Nathanaël (Jn 1:51) éclairée par la hagaddah de Jacob-Israël,” *RevScRel* 67 (1993): 16; William O. Walker, “John 1:43-51 and ‘The Son of Man’ in the Fourth Gospel,” *JSNT* 56 (1994): 31-42; Walter Wink, “‘The Son of Man’ in the Gospel of John,” in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna und Tom Thatcher (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 118-19; Paul M. Hoskins, “Jesus as the Replacement of the Temple in the Gospel of John” (Ph.D. diss., Trinity International University, 2002), 184-85. In this respect, Philo’s understanding of the ladder seems distant from that of John since he records that “by the ladder in this thing, which is called the world, is figuratively understood the air, the foundation of which is the earth, and the head is the heaven.” Philo *Somn* 1.133. Some others still suggested that the ladder refers to the cross, see F. F. Bruce, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 88; Margaret Pamment, “The Son of Man in the Fourth Gospel,” *JTS* 36 (1985): 58-66.

²³Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 1:322; similarly, Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, AB 29 (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 83. Michaelis also sees the verse as a mere reflection of the synoptic materials. Wilhelm Michaelis, “Joh 1:51, Gen 28:12 und das Menschensohn-Problem,” *TLZ* 85 (1960): 564-66.

typology should be interpreted on their own rights and not too literally, such as one would read historical writings. Schnackenburg is certainly correct in insisting on inclusion of other disciple(s) as the recipients of the vision and not limiting it exclusively to Nathanael. Nonetheless, it is hard to avoid the notion that Nathanael is depicted as an inclusive representative of the disciples and presented somewhat as a descendant and/or spiritual realization of Jacob (Israel) only without the fraudulent disposition characteristic of the forefather.²⁴ In addition, an attempt to find detailed one-on-one correspondences in an analogy is to misunderstand such a literary genre. It is the context of John 1:51 (i.e., a [true] Israelite seeing a vision) and the resemblance (or the verbatim quotation in the case of this text) of the language that warrant the finding of an analogy.

Contents of theophany. Once the agents of the typology are established, the contents of the visions need to be clarified. From the Johannine text, on the one hand, it is clear that the Son of Man is the focus of the Johannine theophany. On the other hand, the exact nature of the theophany is uncertain. The cross event, Jesus' baptism, the subsequent signs, and the second coming have been variously proposed but all seem to fall short of a firm conclusion.²⁵ However, the most important aspect of this typology concerns the presence of a polemic over against the Old Testament and the contemporary Jewish traditions. In other words, in lieu of the well-known Johannine axiom that "no

²⁴Morgen, "La promesse de Jésus à Nathanaël (Jn 1:51)," 19; Hoskins, "Jesus as the Replacement of the Temple in the Gospel of John," 185-86. Taking one individual representing a group of people is a Johannine literary device. For examples, one disciple for all (13:10; 14:5-7; 8:10), Nicodemus for all Jews (3:10-12), Jesus for all Jews (4:20), the Samaritan woman for all Samaritans (4:21-22). Wilhelm Michaelis, "Joh. 1,51, Gen. 28,12 und das Menschensohn-Problem," *TLZ* 85 (1960): 563. For an argument for the integral part of 1:51 within its literary context, see Johnson, "Our Father Jacob," 194-97.

²⁵For the cross event, see Peter Dschulnigg, "Die Berufung der Jünger Joh 1,35-51 im Rahmen des vierten Evangeliums," *FZPhTh* 36 (1989): 443-45; Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:105; for the ensuing signs, see Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 105-06; Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1:83; Herman Ridderbos, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 95; Köstenberger, *John*, 86; for Jesus' earthly life, see John B. Polhill, "John 1-4: The Revelation of True Life," *RevExp* 85 (1988): 449-50; for the second coming, see Hubert Windisch, "Joh i 51 und die Auferstehung Jesu," *ZNW* 31 (1932): 199-204; William Loader, "John 1:50-51 and the 'Greater Things' of Johannine Christology," in *Anfänge der Christologie: Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. F. Hahn, C. Breytenbach, and H. Paulsen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 255-74.

one has seen God” (John 1:18; 5:37; 6:46), an interesting exegetical question can be posed as to whether John is making a counter-claim that Jacob, the Johannine proto-type of a genuine Israelite, was a witness to the pre-existent Christ instead of God.²⁶ An affirmative answer to this question is possible since the Jewish traditions (OT, Targum, and Philo) on the Bethel account almost unanimously opt for Jacob’s witness of God on the ladder.²⁷ Then, this intentional shift or clarification would have made quite an impression on the audience familiar with the current Jewish traditions.

This observation is intriguing and will certainly strengthen the thesis of the present dissertation since it infers Jacob’s eyewitness of the pre-existent Son of Man as interpreted by some early church commentators.²⁸ Differently put, the confession of Nathanael can be read into Jacob’s vision so that Jacob bears witness to the Christological identity of Jesus in terms of his pre-existence, the divine sonship, and the headship of Israel (John 1:49).²⁹ However, this construal remains in the realm of a

²⁶Jerome H. Neyrey, “The Jacob Allusions in Joh 1:51,” *CBQ* 44 (1982): 594; Reim, *Jochanan*, 154-55; Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:61; Theobald, “Abraham—(Isaak—) Jacob,” 163 (n. 28). Cf. Christian Dietzfelbinger, “Aspekte des Alten Testaments im Johannesevangelium,” in *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion III, Frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Lichtenberger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 208; and Michael Labahn, “Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Überlegungen zu einem spannungsreichen Verhältnis,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Labahn, K. Scholtissek, and A. Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 204.

²⁷“And behold there was a ladder firmly planted on the earth, and the Lord was standing steadily upon it; and he said, I am the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac, be not afraid.” Philo *Somn* 1.3. “And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder was fixed in the ground, while its top reached towards heaven; and behold, angels of the Lord were going up and down on it. And behold, the Glory of the Lord was standing over him, and He said, ‘I am the Lord, the God of your father Abraham and the God of Isaac.’” Aberbach and Grossfeld, *Targum Onkelos to Genesis*, 169-70. Also, this view that Jacob saw God at Bethel is commonly argued in recent Old Testament studies; for instance, see John Van Seters, “Divine Encounter at Bethel (Gen 28,10-22) in Recent Literary-Critical Study of Genesis,” *ZAW* 110 (1998): 503-13; and Michael Oblath, “‘To Sleep, Perchance to Dream . . .’: What Jacob Saw at Bethel (Genesis 28.10-22),” *JSOT* 95 (2001): 117-26.

²⁸For instance, Justin *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo* 86.2, in *Opera quae exstant omnia*, ed. B. de Montfaucon, rev. J. -P. Migne, PG, vol. 6 (Paris: J. -P. Migne, 1885), 680. For a more detailed study on the patristic interpretation of the Bethel account in John 1:51, see Willy Rordorf, “Gen 28,10ff und John 1,51 in der patristischen Exegese,” in *Johannes—Studien: Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Johannes—Evangelium, Freundesgabe der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Neuchâtel für Jean Zumstein*, ed. M. Rose (Zürich: Theologischer, 1991), 39-46.

²⁹For a study of Nathanael as a witness to a realization of the Old Testament messianic hopes, see Craig R. Koester, “Messianic Exegesis and the Call of Nathanael (John 1.45-51),” *JSNT* 39 (1990): 23-34.

reader-oriented hermeneutic, which often evades a reasonable exegetical control. Accordingly, it is without definite certainty that such reading can be claimed as being intended by the fourth evangelist.

A more natural reading of the present text, therefore, can be suggested here which bears, in our judgment, a more important bearing on the Johannine shift of the place of the angelic traffic, i.e., from on the ladder to on the Son of Man. In the Hebrew text of Genesis 28:12, Jacob is portrayed as a mere observer of the divine theophany. This passive aspect on the part of Jacob is further elaborated on by an extended divine promise in the following verses (Gen 28:13-15) since it is the divine providence that will enact the redemptive program through Jacob. On the other hand, in John 1:51, the focus of the vision motif is shifted onto Jesus (he even assumes the role preserved for God). The centrality of Jesus in this discourse is evidenced in the immediately preceding context, Nathanael's Christological acknowledgment, which is positively affirmed by this prediction of the Jacob theophany motif. In addition, another noteworthy change is the announcer of the theophany. In the Genesis account, it is God who reveals the unfolding of his own salvation historical plan. However, it is Jesus himself in the Johannine account who discloses the theophany which captures a divine revelation of the Son of Man.³⁰ These two apparent shifts set forth the centrality of Jesus in the present Johannine text.

Summary. In conclusion, therefore, the aforementioned observations suggest that John 1:51 speaks of the christological characteristics of Jesus in the backdrop of Jacob's theophany motif which serves an affirmative function of Jesus' messianic identity as reflected in the mouth of a genuine Israelite, Nathanael. Moreover, the present

³⁰The angels are often used to depict the delivery of the divine revelation in Jewish traditions. Reim, *Jochanan*, 103, 255-56. "In this piece of elaborate typology Jesus corresponds to 'the Lord' in the Bethel vision, the Lord who stood at the top of the ladder: but he also corresponds to the ladder itself, since the point of the midrash is to emphasise that Jesus is now the place where God is permanently to be found, both in heaven and on earth." Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel*, 37.

Johannine text illuminates Jesus as the focal point of the divine revelation (or the divine redemptive history) in view of the immediate narrative context and the Old Testament background and sets the stage for the unpacking of the replacement and/or contrast theme that follows in the subsequent chapters.³¹

**Jacob, the Provider of
Water: John 4:10-14**

ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· εἰ ᾔδεις τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων σοι· δός μοι πεῖν, σὺ ἂν ᾔτησας αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκεν ἅν σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν. λέγει αὐτῷ [ἡ γυνή]· κύριε, οὔτε ἄντημα ἔχεις καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶν βαθύ· πόθεν οὖν ἔχεις τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν; μὴ σὺ μείζων εἶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ, ὃς ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν τὸ φρέαρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔπιεν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ θρέμματα αὐτοῦ; ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· πᾶς ὁ πίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου διψήσει πάλιν· ὃς δ' ἂν πίη ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγή ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. (John 4:10-14, NA²⁷)

Jesus answered her, “If you knew the gift of God, and who it is that is saying to you, ‘Give me a drink,’ you would have asked him, and he would have given you living water.” The woman said to him, “Sir, you have no bucket, and the well is deep. Where do you get that living water? Are you greater than our ancestor Jacob, who gave us the well, and with his sons and his flocks drank from it?” Jesus said to her, “Everyone who drinks of this water will be thirsty again, but those who drink of the water that I will give them will never be thirsty. The water that I will give will become in them a spring of water gushing up to eternal life.” (John 4:10-14)

Narrative context. The fourth chapter of the Gospel of John should be seen in a natural narrative tie with the second chapter.³² Two observations in particular warrant such judgment. First, the recurrent keyword μαρτυρία (“witness”) and its cognate words weave together chapters 2 through 4 (John 2:25; 3:11, 26, 32; 4:39, 44). In those pericopae, the testimonies offered by the minor characters lead to the explicit manifestation of Jesus’ christological identity, i.e., Mary’s disclosing of Jesus’ divine

³¹Theobald, “Abraham—(Isaac—) Jacob,” 163.

³²Cf. “Like much of the Fourth Gospel, its first four chapters are rather episodic, more a patchwork quilt than a seamless robe. It is recurrent themes rather than a continuous narrative that bind them together. To be sure, there is some narrative development. The prologue sets the stage for the Gospel story. The witness to the incarnate Word begins in 1:19-51. Two miracles, or ‘signs,’ both located at Cana (2:1ff. and 4:54ff.), bracket the following three chapters. Through these signs and the conversations with Nicodemus, John the Baptist, the Samaritan woman, and the disciples, the reader is led to an increasing understanding of Jesus as revealer and of the proper response to him.” Polhill, “John 1-4,” 445.

power, John the Baptist's verbal testimony of Jesus as Christ converting his disciples into Jesus', and the Samaritan woman's witness resulting in the Samaritans' confession of Jesus as the redeemer. In the present pericope, Jesus' discourse with the Samaritan woman leads her to escalating faith in Christ (a Jew v. 9 → greater than Jacob v. 12 → a prophet v. 19 → the Messiah v. 26 → her leading the villagers to Jesus v. 30 → the villagers' confession of Jesus as the savior of the world v. 42).³³

Second, the replacement or contrast theme that permeates these texts requires these chapters to be seen as a narrative unit.³⁴ As the plain water for Jewish purification practices was changed into better wine (John 2:1-11), so the water of Jacob's well that quenches the human thirst only temporarily will be replaced with the water of Jesus that enlivens the human soul perennially (John 4:1-15). Also, as the old temple is replaced with the spiritual temple of Jesus' body (John 2:13-22), so the true worship will supersede the superficial old cultic rituals in Jerusalem and in Gerazim when the new age is initiated (John 4:19-26).³⁵ As the serpent of Moses was lifted, so "Jesus must be lifted so that everyone who believes in him may have eternal life" in contrast to the Israelites who did not live even to see the Promised Land (John 3:14-15).³⁶ Furthermore, this new redemptive paradigm is marked by the breaking of the ethnic barrier, i.e., the exclusivity

³³R. Alan Culpepper, *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 91.

³⁴Hoskins, "Jesus as the Replacement of the Temple in the Gospel of John," 157-215. For a brief summary of the replacement theme in John, see D. A. Carson, "John and the Johannine Epistles," in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 253-6; idem, *The Gospel according to John*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 180-83; Frank Thielman, "Grace in Place of Grace: Jesus Christ and the Mosaic Law in John's Gospel," in *The Law and the New Testament: The Question of Continuity*, CNT (New York: Crossroad, 1999), 92-110; Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 147-49. For a study that interprets the Gospel as a whole in terms of the fulfillment and replacement of Jewish symbols and institutions, see John W. Pryor, *John: Evangelist of the Covenant People: The Narrative and Themes of the Fourth Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992).

³⁵This contrast theme is noted in a number of commentaries on John, for example, Beasley-Murray, *John*, 58-59.

³⁶Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:590. Wengst also notes that the present pericope is in continuation with the comparison of John the Baptist with Jesus. Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:160.

of Israel, as Jesus embraces these Samaritans in his ministry.³⁷

Some exegetes note possible parallels in this anecdote to other incidents at the well recorded in the Old Testament, i.e., the encounters of Abraham's servant, Jacob, and Moses, with their future wives (or the master's wife in the case of Abraham's steward) coupled with the unfaithful wife of Hosea 2.³⁸ In view of some analogous elements such as meeting a woman by a well, these allusions are possible and probably the parallels will increase the force of the contrast theme in the narrative. However, it seems a special pleading to argue that the fourth evangelist had those allusions in mind as such because encountering of male and female at a well would not have been extremely sparse even in ancient times.³⁹

Jacob's well. The Old Testament does not mention Jacob's ever digging a well, nor that he gave it to his son(s). Genesis 33:19; 48:22 and Joshua 24:32 only comment on the purchase of Shechem for Joseph, which is the locale of Jacob's well in John 4:5 (as it is addressed as Sychar in the Gospel).⁴⁰ Some Jewish traditions record

³⁷For the exclusive reception of the gift of God by Israel in Jewish literature, see Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel*, 150-52.

³⁸Neyrey, "Jacob Traditions and the interpretation of John 4:10-26," 425-26; Jean-Louis Ska, "Jésus et la Samaritaine (Jn 4): Utilité de L'ancien Testament," *NRT* 118 (1996): 641-52; Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:586-91; Theobald, "Abraham—(Isaak—) Jacob," 170; Ton Veerkamp, "Die Frau am Jakobsbrunnen: John 4,4-42," *TK* 27 (2004): 71-96; Tina Dykesteen Nilsen, "The True and the False: The Structure of John 4,16-26," *BN* 128 (2006): 61-64.

³⁹Carson, *The Gospel of John*, 232-33; Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, 187. "There are no real parallels between the OT stories and the Samaritan narratives as it now stands . . . A striking difference between the Johannine account and these OT stories lies in the centrality of marriage in the Patriarchal accounts. This is not clearly an issue in 4:1-42, even though Jesus is called 'the bridegroom' in 3:29, and even though some notion of wooing (in the sense of persuading the woman) is clearly present." Teresa Okure, *The Johannine Approach to Mission: A Contextual Study of John 4:1-42*, WUNT 2/31 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), 88.

⁴⁰Sychar was situated at the foot of Mount Ebal in the Shechem valley. Historically speaking, Sychar probably became the new center of Samaritan life after the destruction of Shechem in the second century B.C.E. H. M. Schencke, "Jacobs-brunnen-Josephsgrab-Sychar," *ZDPV* 84 (1968): 159; Zdravko Stefanovic, "Jacob's Well," in *ABD*, 3:608; Martin Hengel, "Das Johannesevangelium als Quelle für die Geschichte des antiken Judentums," in *Judaica, Hellenistica, et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II*, ed. Martin Hengel with Jörg Frey and Dorothea Betz, WUNT 109 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 293-334; Urban C. von Wahlde, "Archaeology and John's Gospel," in *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 556-59. For a brief introduction to Shechem and Jacob's well in Jewish history, see Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:164-65. The Samaritan Pentateuch changes the place of the sacrifice of Isaac from הַמְרִיָּה ("Moriah": Gen 12:6-7; 33:20) to הַמְרִיָּה ("the place of vision"). This

interesting legends concerning Jacob and a well, such as, the traveling well and Jacob's performing a miracle of water surging itself to the surface of the well. *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* attests that "Jacob was seventy-seven years old when he went forth from his father's house, and the well went with him."⁴¹ This well could have followed him to Shechem and it may well be the reason why the Samaritan woman associated the well with Jacob.

Some commentators often bring up another Jewish tradition about Jacob, which could have been contrasted with Jesus' living water. In these legends, Jacob is said to have the water surge to the top of the well and overflow.

And the fourth miracle: the stone which all the pastors had come together to roll away from over the mouth of the well and could not, when our father Jacob came he raised it with one hand and gave to drink to the flock of Laban, his mother's brother. And the fifth: when our father Jacob raised the stone from above the mouth of the well, the well overflowed and came up to its mouth, and was overflowing for twenty years—all the days that he dwelt in Haran.⁴²

Therefore, some exegetes believe that this tradition sets the stage for Jesus' reply about his living water, i.e., springing or gushing out water in contrast to the stagnant water in Jacob's well.⁴³ An echoing of this tradition may well have been intended in the text but the insufficiency of the internal textual evidence precludes a firm conclusion.

shift opens up a possibility that Isaac was sacrificed not in Jerusalem ("Moriah," 2 Chr 3:1) but in Shechem. As a result, all three patriarchs are related to the Samaritan territory. Reinhard Pummer, *The Samaritans*, IR 23/5 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 10. Because of the seeming congeniality to Samaritans, some exegetes posited some type of Samaritan influence on this pericope. For an overview of such scholarly judgments, see Margaret Pamment, "Is There Convincing Evidence of Samaritan Influence on the Fourth Gospel," *ZNW* 73 (1982): 221-30. However, such a judgment suffers from the uncritical use of literature (see pp. 168-71). For an archaeological survey of the location in the time of Jesus, see Jürgen Zangenberg, "Between Jerusalem and Galilee: Samaria in the Time of Jesus," in *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 416-18.

⁴¹*Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* 35 in *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer (The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great) according to the Text of the Manuscript belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna*, trans. Gerald Friedlander (New York: Bloch, 1916), 263.

⁴²Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti I: Genesis*, ArBib 1A (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1992), 139-40. Cf. José Ramón-Díaz, "Palestinian Targum and the New Testament," *NovT* 6 (1963): 75-80.

⁴³McNamara, "The Targums and Johannine Literature," 145-46; Neyrey, "Jacob Traditions and the Interpretation of John 4:10-26," 423. Πηγὴ ὕδατος in John 4:14 literally means "gushing out, flowing, or springing" water. "πηγή, ἦς," *BDAG*, 810. However, these rabbinic witnesses are not earlier than second century C.E. Yet the contrast of the provisions of Jacob and Jesus still stands in the Johannine text.

The contrast of Jacob's water with Jesus'. Although various elements in the discourse of Jesus and the Samaritan woman are subject to dispute,⁴⁴ one aspect is certain, that is, the gift of Jesus (the gift of God in v. 10 is equivalent to the living water of Jesus in vv. 14-15) is greater than that of Jacob even in the face of the patriarch's impressive ability to supply abundantly for himself, his sons, and their cattle.⁴⁵ The Samaritan woman did not expect this to be true (because of her use of $\mu\eta$ in front of her question in v. 12) but Jesus' answer to her question articulates this point in three ways.⁴⁶ First, Jacob's well meets a temporary human need for a while whereas the water of Jesus quenches the human thirst perennially. Second, Jacob was able to offer an external provision which men had to visit over and over again, but the gift of Jesus is internalized in the heart of men so as to remain effective forever (also see Appendix 4).⁴⁷ Lastly and most importantly, the gift of Jesus essentially supersedes that of Jacob in that the former leads to spiritual rejuvenation (this internalized well refers to the incoming of the Holy

⁴⁴Scholarly interpretations are divided over the meaning of "the gift" and the symbolic referent of "the water" in the discourse. It seems to refer to the living water and more specifically either the word of Jesus, the Logos (cf. Jer 2:13, Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:167-68, 170) and/or the Holy Spirit (Köstenberger, *John*, 150). The sacramental referent theory for the living water is ruled out due to its evident internalized characteristic in v. 14 (Polhill, "John 1-4," 454-55). For the eschatological connotation of the Johannine "living water," see Dale C. Allison, Jr., "The Living Water (John 4:10-14, 6:35c, 7:37-39)," *SVTQ* 30 (1986): 143-57. In view of John 7:38 where "the indwelling of the well" clearly refers to the Holy Spirit, the gift in this pericope should involve some elements of the Spirit as well. For the religious background of "living water," refer to Jeremiah (2:13, 17:13) and Ezekiel (chap. 47), Isaiah (12:3), Sirach (15:3, 24:21); 1 Enoch 48:1. Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:104-05; Köstenberger, *John*, 152. Noteworthy is a possible polemic of Jesus' gift against the Torah, which is often depicted as "water" or "well" in the Second Temple Judaism (see Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:602-05). Then, the implication is that Jesus' water supplants the Torah since it is internal, eternal, and spiritual over against the opposite characteristics of the Torah. Such symbolic reading is attractive but still is without definite textual proofs.

⁴⁵Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:102. Some scholars posit that the fourth evangelist incorporated the Samaritan Christian tradition into this text. George Wesley Buchanan, "Samaritan Origin of the Gospel of John," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, SHR 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 163. The argument is refuted by Margaret Pamment, "Is There Convincing Evidence of Samaritan Influence on the Fourth Gospel," *ZNW* 73 (1982): 221-30.

⁴⁶Udo Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, NTD 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 82.

⁴⁷The internalized gift of Jesus is superior to the gift of Jacob since the latter is restricted by its locality. The same is true for the following comparison of the place for the true worship, which transcends the limitation of locality (whether Jerusalem or Samaria). Thielman, "Grace in Place of Grace," 94-96.

Spirit later, see 7:38-39).⁴⁸ This last aspect stands in stark contrast to the earthly oriented nature of the woman's interest which is symbolically reflected in her history with six men. This manner in which the provision of Jesus surpasses that of Jacob rhetorically illustrates the overall superiority of Jesus, i.e., the unraveling of the salvation history is greater through Jesus than through the Jewish heroic figure. This theme occurs pervasively throughout the Gospel of John, for instance, with Jacob in chapter 4, Abraham in chapter 8, and Moses in 1:17, 6:32, 35.⁴⁹

Summary

Some conclusions can be induced from the observations noted above concerning the narrative function of Jacob for Jesus' christological identity. In only a couple of pericopae in which the forefather is mentioned or alluded to (John 1:51; 4:10-14), he provides a point of comparison to connote the prominence of Jesus. Jesus and Jacob share a common ground in that they take part in the redemptive program. However, the points of contrast surpass the common denominator in these pericopae: Jesus is the focal point of the divine revelation and salvific program while Jacob remains at the fringe merely as a witness in the first pericope; in the latter, whereas Jacob provides an earthly and tentative means to sustain life, the gift of Jesus offers an efficient resource for eternal spiritual transformation.

Briefly put, these two texts portray the magnificent divine redemptive ministry unfolded through Jesus. In light of such insight, Jacob is presented as a witness who foreshadowed it. This inauguration of the new divine redemptive history takes on such a radically different level from that of Jacob that the theme of "replacement" is probably

⁴⁸Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:169; Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:103-05. O. Betz notes the theme of worship in spirit and truth and argues that this text echoes Joshua 24, in which Israelites are summoned to returned to true worship as well as the semantic synonyms of Jesus and Joshua. Otto Betz, "Das Johannesevangelium und das Alte Testament," in *Wie verstehen wir das Neue Testament?* (Wuppertal: AUSAAT, 1981), 103-05. The visibility of allusions, however, seems to be subject to question.

⁴⁹Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:103.

adequate to characterize this shift, especially in John 4. Yet a sense of contact-points still exists since Jacob's involvement in the redemptive history echoes and, therefore, bears witness to this new progression of the centuries-old program first exclusively put forth in Israel and now expanded to embrace the broader ethnic groups with the incoming of Jesus into human history.⁵⁰

**Abraham as Christological
Witness: John 8:51-58**

ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐάν τις τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον τηρήσῃ, θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. εἶπον [οὖν] αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· νῦν ἐγνώκαμεν ὅτι δαιμόνιον ἔχεις. Ἄβραάμ ἀπέθανεν καὶ οἱ προφῆται, καὶ σὺ λέγεις· ἐάν τις τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσῃ, οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται θανάτου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. μὴ σὺ μείζων εἶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἄβραάμ, ὅστις ἀπέθανεν; καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἀπέθανον. τίνα σεαυτὸν ποιεῖς; ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς· ἐὰν ἐγὼ δοξάσω ἑμαυτόν, ἡ δόξα μου οὐδέν ἐστιν· ἔστιν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ δοξάζων με, ὃν ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγνώκατε αὐτόν, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα αὐτόν. κὰν εἴπω ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα αὐτόν, ἔσομαι ὅμοιος ὑμῖν ψεύστης· ἀλλὰ οἶδα αὐτόν καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τηρῶ. Ἄβραάμ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη. εἶπον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς αὐτόν· πενήκοντα ἔτη οὐπω ἔχεις καὶ Ἄβραάμ ἐώρακας; εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἰησοῦς· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, πρὶν Ἄβραάμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί. (John 8:51-58, NA²⁷)

Very truly, I tell you, whoever keeps my word will never see death.” The Jews said to him, “Now we know that you have a demon. Abraham died, and so did the prophets; yet you say, ‘Whoever keeps my word will never taste death.’ Are you greater than our father Abraham, who died? The prophets also died. Who do you claim to be?” Jesus answered, “If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing. It is my Father who glorifies me, he of whom you say, ‘He is our God,’ though you do not know him. But I know him; if I would say that I do not know him, I would be a liar like you. But I do know him and I keep his word. Your ancestor Abraham rejoiced that he would see my day; he saw it and was glad.” Then the Jews said to him, “You are not yet fifty years old, and have you seen Abraham?” Jesus said to them, “Very truly, I tell you, before Abraham was, I am.” (John 8:51-58)

⁵⁰“The question asked in John 4:12, “Are you greater than our father Jacob?” formally resembles the one put to Jesus in 8:53, “Are you greater than our father Abraham?” Together the two questions belong to a theme in the Gospel which asserts Jesus’ superiority to the founding fathers of traditional Jewish religion. The thrust of the questions suggests that Jesus not only replaces Jacob, Abraham, and Moses vis-à-vis God’s revelation, but that an absolute claim is made on his behalf: he is greater than these, he supplants them with new revelation, a new cult and a new covenant.” Neyrey, “Jacob Traditions and the interpretation of John 4:10-26.” 420-21. Similarly, “Was die Grunderzählung mit ihrer Szenerie vom Jakobsbrunnen an leisen Tönen anklingen lässt, das überführt der Evangelist durch seinen Einschub Vv. 10-15 in Eindeutigkeit, allerdings ist diese von einer Art, dass sie jeglichen Gedanken an eine ‘heilsgeschichtliche’ Kontinuität ausschließt. Jesus ist kein neuer Jakob, er und seine *Gabe* sind von ganz anderer Qualität, in ihm bricht etwas auf, was Jakob *nicht* zu ‘geben’ vermochte” (italics original). Theobald, “Abraham—(Isaak—) Jacob,” 171.

Narrative Context

Commentators frequently note that the Gospel of John breaks into two parts: the book of Signs (1:19-12:50) and the book of Glory (13:1-20:31) with the prologue (1:1-18) and the epilogue (21:1-25) sandwiching them in between.⁵¹ Indeed, the first book is replete with miraculous signs: turning water into wine (2:1-12), the healing of royal official's son (4:43-54) and of the lame man (5:1-47), the feeding of the multitude (6:1-71), the healing of the blind man (9:1-41), and the climactic raising of Lazarus from death (11:1-57). These signs serve to reinforce the messianic identity and divinity of Jesus as the crowd attests in John 7:31: "Yet many in the crowd believed in him and were saying, 'When the Messiah comes, will he do more signs than this man has done?'"

In addition, lengthy speeches and controversies with Jews are interspersed between these signs materials. Just as the signs serve to expose the messianic identity of Jesus, these extended discourses also engender the messianic faith in Jesus on the part of the hearers of the dialogues: "When they heard these words, some in the crowd said, 'This is really the prophet.' Others said, 'This is the Messiah'" (7:40-41a).⁵² In brief, the previous signs and discourses (chaps. 2-7) stir the prolonged argument with Jews (ch. 8), in which the identities of Jesus and his interlocutors are called into question. In the course of these debates, Abraham is brought into the fore as a vehicle by which the status of Jesus is measured.

With regard to Abraham, the eighth chapter of John contains three disputes (8:31-38; 39-47; 48-59) between Jesus and his opponents.⁵³ The first two of the three

⁵¹For instance, see Köstenberger, *John*, 10-11.

⁵²Urban C. von Wahlde, "'You Are of Your Father the Devil' in Its Context: Stereotyped Apocalyptic Polemic in John 8:38-47," in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, JCHS 1 (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001), 419-20.

⁵³These interlocutors are consistently designated as Ἰουδαῖοι 4 times in this pericope (31, 48, 52, and 57). This ethnic description has generated a plethora of debates. For example, see the six representing essays in the following anthology, R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, eds., *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, JCHS 1 (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001); Johannes Beutler, "The Identity of the 'Jews' for the Readers of John," 229-38; Henk Jan de Jonge, "'The Jews' in the Gospel of John," 239-59; Martinus C. de Boer, "The

concern the status of Jesus' interlocutors, namely, whether or not they are descendants of Abraham. It is the last debate (8:51-58) that leads explicitly to the revealing of Jesus' identity in comparison with the quality of the patriarch. This pericope can be further broken down into two parts: (1) the immortality of Jesus and of Abraham (vv. 52-55); (2) and Abraham's witness to the pre-existent Jesus (vv. 56-58).

Immortality of Jesus and of Abraham

Jesus' emphatic exclusive claim (i.e., the immortality of the ones who keep Jesus' words in v. 51) provokes the Jews' comparison of Jesus with their identity figures, Abraham and the prophets (vv. 52-53).⁵⁴ The expression "to taste death" does not occur either in the Hebrew or Greek Old Testament versions. However, some other ancient Jewish writings contain such an idiom, for example, *Pseudo-Jonathan Targum* on

Depiction of 'the Jews' in John's Gospel: Matters of Behavior and Identity," 260-80; Raymond F. Collins, "Speaking of the Jews: 'Jews' in the Discourse Material of the Fourth Gospel," 281-300; Peter J. Tomson, "'Jews' in the Gospel of John as Compared with the Palestinian Talmud, the Synoptics, and Some New Testament Apocrypha," 301-40; and Adele Reinhartz, "'Jews' and Jews in the Fourth Gospel," 341-56. For the research history on the topic, see, Reimund Bieringer and Didier Pollefeyt, "Open to Both Ways . . . ? Johannine Perspectives on Judaism in the Light of Jewish-Christian Dialogue," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 11-32; Jörg Frey, "Das Bild 'der Juden' im Johannesevangelium und die Geschichte der johanneischen Gemeinde," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Labahn, K. Scholtissek, and A. Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 33-54; Raimo Hakola, *Identity Matters: John, the Jews and Jewishness*, NovTSup 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 10-16, 225-31. Wengst (*Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:338-39) identifies this group of Jews as apostate former-Christian Jews whereas Schnelle classifies them as simple "dialogue partners" which group represents one of the eight categories he identifies as the uses of "Jews" in John (Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 164). Caron construes "Jews" representing "pseudo-Judaism." Gérald Caron, *Qui sont les Juifs de l'Évangile de Jean?* Rech 35 (Quebec: Bellarmin, 1997), 260-73. Lars Kierspel associates the "Jews" with the unbelieving world. Lars Kierspel, "ΚΟΣΜΟΣ and ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ in the Fourth Gospel: Parallelism, Function, and Context" (Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2006; publication pending in WUNT, Mohr Siebeck). Kierspel's view has precedence in Eduard Lohse, *Grundriß der neutestamentlichen Theologie*, 5th ed., TW 5 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1998), 132-33. Recently, Hunn identifies the term referring to various groups. Debbie Hunn, "Who Are 'They' in John 8:33?" *CBQ* 66 (2004): 387-99.

⁵⁴Abraham stands out in three ways in the OT: the father of Jewish people, the original source of blessing for the Jewish people, and the identity figure of the Jewish people in his epithet, "the God of Abraham." In early Jewish literature, four main themes are often related to the patriarch: a tenacious monotheist, a receiver of the divine covenant, possession of virtues, and finally his intercession and ascension to heaven. N. L. Calvert, "Abraham," in *DJG*, 3-4. For a lengthy survey of the intertestamental Jewish literature on Abraham's monotheistic faith as a Jewish model, see Nancy Calvert-Kooyis, *Paul, Monotheism and the People of God: The Significance of Abraham Traditions for Early Judaism and Christianity*, JSNTSup 273 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 6-84.

Deuteronomy 32:1.⁵⁵ Thus, the confused reaction of the Jewish listeners seems to be an attempt to set Jesus up in a trap since the immortality of souls was not an uncommon concept in the time of Jesus.⁵⁶

Nonetheless, the challenge of the Jews boils down to the order to which Jesus belongs. It can be paraphrased as following, “our heroic ancestors belong to the terrestrial order. Are you, Jesus, claiming otherwise?”⁵⁷ Their question is exactly the same as the Samaritan woman’s inquiry with the same negative expectation indicated by a particle μή and these two verses demonstrate a typical example of Johannine ironies:

μή σὺ μείζων εἶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ (8:53)
μή σὺ μείζων εἶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ (4:12)

The comparison of Jesus’ status with that of the Jewish arch-forefather, however, is appropriate and effective since Abraham possessed a high status in ancient Judaism.⁵⁸ Sirach, for instance, records that no one in ancient times had the glory equal to Abraham’s: “Abraham was the great father of a multitude of nations, and no one has been found like him in glory” (*Sirach* 44:19). Another important element pertinent to the present reference to the forefather is the ancient Jewish belief in the eternal duration of souls via resurrection. Although the state of soul after death in early Judaism is known to be multi-faceted and a systematic inquiry of such theme is notoriously elusive due to the Greek influence of the soul mortality belief, the expressions of the eternal duration of souls are commonly found in early Jewish literature.⁵⁹ For example, Josephus indirectly

⁵⁵Ernest G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy*, ArBib 5B (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1997), 88. Further, Wengst (*Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:356) lists more sources that contain the idiom; *4 Esdra* 6:26; *BerR* 9:5; *WaR* 18:1; *PesR Hosafa* 1:1. Also the Wisdom of Solomon and 4 Maccabees are permeated with the concept of the enduring state of souls.

⁵⁶Ludger Schenke, *Johannes: Kommentar* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1998), 178.

⁵⁷Theobald, “Abraham—(Isaak—) Jacob,” 181.

⁵⁸For the summaries of Abraham’s status in early Judaism, see Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 261-62; James E. Bowley, “The Compositions of Abraham,” in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. C. Reeves, SBLEJL 6 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1994), 215-38. The latter finds that the ancient portraits of Abraham conform to two models: the righteous and faithful patriarch or the expert astrologer.

⁵⁹Richard Bauckham, “Life, Death, and the Afterlife in Second Temple Judaism,” in *Life in the*

attests to the widespread belief in the eternal existence of souls in the first-century Palestine: “They [Sadducees] also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades” (Josephus *Jewish War* 2.165b); “But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this: That soul dies with the bodies. . . . but this doctrine is received but by a few” (Josephus *Antiquities* 18.16-17). Thus, the more recent generation of scholars tends to recognize the presence of a widespread belief in the eternal endurance of souls in Jewish culture and the soul immortality after death in Greek thoughts.⁶⁰ For the former, one can refer to Mark 12:24-27, and for the latter Philo and 4 Maccabees clearly attest to such belief.⁶¹ In particular, the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, represent ideal figures who attained immortality by means of the overcoming of fleshly desires, practice of virtues, and martyrdom: “But as many as attend to religion with a whole heart, these alone are able to control the passions of the flesh, since they believe that they, like our patriarchs Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, do not die to God, but live to God” (4 *Macc* 7:18-19).

For the nature of mankind is mortal, but that of virtues is immortal; and it is more

Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament, ed. Richard N. Longenecker, MNTS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 80-95. I have incurred a debt of gratitude to my supervisor, John B. Polhill, who advised me to adopt more refined terms on this point. The Jewish concept, “the eternal duration of soul,” differs from the Greek soul immortality idea in that the former is enabled via resurrection.

⁶⁰George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*, HTS 26 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); Günther Stemberger, *Der Leib der Auferstehung: Studien zur Anthropologie und Eschatologie des palastinischen Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (ca. 170 v. Chr.-100 n. Chr.)*, AnBib 56 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972); idem, *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 68-73; Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study*, StPB 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 132-69, 293-99; Emile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?: histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, 2 vols., EBib 21-22 (Paris: Lecoffre, 1993); Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological Approach*, 2nd ed., BRS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 121; Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, eds., *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning*, JSJSup 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 2:315-41; C. D. Elledge, *Life after Death in Early Judaism: The Evidence of Josephus*, WUNT 2/208 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), esp. 53-80. For the widespread influence of Pharisaism in the Hasmonean period, see Lester L. Grabbe, “Israel from the Rise of Hellenism to 70 CE,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 292-93. On the contrary, for a view that sees the competing religious movements without dominance, see Judith M. Lieu, “Movements,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 372-81.

⁶¹See F. Gerald Downing, “The Resurrection of the Dead: Jesus and Philo,” *JSNT* 15 (1982): 42-50; Fred W. Burnett, “Philo on Immortality: A Thematic Study of Philo’s Concept of Palingenesia,” *CBQ* 46 (1984): 447-70; Alan F. Segal, “Some Observations about Mysticism and the Spread of Notions of Life after Death in Hebrew Thought,” *SBLSP* 35 (1996): 385-99.

reasonable that the name of the everlasting God should be conjoined with what is immortal than with what is mortal, since what is immortal is akin to what is imperishable, but death is hostile to it. (Philo *Abr.* 55)

Fourth Maccabees also notes the enduring life of Abraham through his martyrdom: “They knew also that those who die for the sake of God live to God, as do Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the patriarchs” (4 *Macc* 16:25). Accordingly, at first glance, Abraham and Jesus share a common ground that they are related to the eternal endurance of souls (that is, “the eternal life” in the Johannine language) and/or its analogous concept, the soul immortality.⁶²

However, on closer reading, a contrasting element between the two persons is observed in view of the Jewish belief in Abraham.⁶³ That is, for the forefather, the enjoying of eternal life was dependent upon his virtuous deeds, i.e., the obedience of Torah and martyrdom. On the other hand, the eternal life bestowed by Jesus hinges upon the condition of keeping his own word, i.e., the word of Jesus. This prerequisite indicates a self-divine claim on the part of Jesus, evoking “biblical language for obeying God’s law and word.”⁶⁴ This startling assertion is unmistakably further clarified in verses fifty-six through fifty-eight, which induced Jews’ attempt to hurl stones at Jesus in verse fifty-nine.

Abraham’s Witness of the Pre-Existent Jesus

In verses fifty-six and fifty-eight, Jesus makes a distinctive messianic

⁶²The mode of the enduring existence of souls does not affect the comparative analysis of Abraham and Jesus since the present inquiry concerns on whom their eternal existence is dependent.

⁶³However, the incomplete nature of this comparison should be noted. The extant sources do not allow us to recover the comprehensive picture of the early Jewish beliefs (especially, in the time of Jesus within the Pharisaic circle) in the soul after life. The Pharisaic doctrine on the issue is only partially known primarily through the witness of Josephus. Thus, the result of this comparison could be a reflection of the difference between the Hellenistic and Semitic conceptual frameworks, rather than a broader category, “early Judaism,” and the Gospel of John. For a more detailed discussion on the Pharisaic beliefs on the resurrection of souls, see Claudia Setzer, *Resurrection of the Body in Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Doctrine, Community, and Self-Definition* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 21-36.

⁶⁴Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:765. It must be also noted that the Jews misunderstood Jesus in that they took him to mean that one will never die physically if he keeps the word of Jesus (as the Greek mythology envisages). This never-dying promise stands in stark contrast with Abraham, who enjoyed the eternal life upon resurrection at the *eschaton* in Jewish beliefs. However, it does not seem to be what Jesus meant by “not tasting death.”

statement, elucidating his pre-existence to which Abraham bears testimony. Especially, verse fifty-six has rendered a perennial riddle to Johannine exegetes.⁶⁵ The word used to depict Abraham's witness of Jesus is ἡγαλλιάσατο, an aorist tense and middle voice of ἀγαλλιάω in the present text. Some exegetes posit that this expression is reminiscent of Abraham's laugh in Genesis 17:17 and 18:2-13 where the angels disclose the birth of Isaac.⁶⁶ These commentators point to some ancient Jewish writings, such as, *Jubilees* 15:17, *Targum Onkelos* on Genesis, and Philo (*De Mutatione Nominum* 154-75).⁶⁷ In these texts, Abraham is presumed to have encountered God and received an eschatological revelation (cf., “τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν, my day” in verse fifty-six echoes the eschatological language of the Old Testament). This group of writings tends to manifest a shift of emphasis which stresses the virtue of Abraham, especially his faith in the face of the divine promise concerning the birth of Isaac. Especially, for example, *Targum Onkelos* changes the verb of the original Hebrew text into one that renders a positive nuance with the result being an emphasis on Abraham's faith.⁶⁸ Philo, in addition, attests to the tendency to sanctify this patriarch as well: “And immediately afterward he says, ‘Abraham believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for righteousness’” (Philo *Mut.* 177). However, it is comparatively clear that, in the Old Testament contexts, the laughter of Abraham serves the same function as that of Sarah in

⁶⁵For a convenient summary of the history of research on the text, see Linwood Urban and Patrick Henry, “‘Before Abraham Was I Am’: Does Philo Explain John 8:56-58?” *SPhilo* 6 (1979-1980): 157-95.

⁶⁶Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, 335; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 2:221; Ernst Haenchen, *John: A Commentary on the Gospel of John*, ed. Robert W. Funk and Ulrich Busse, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 2:29; Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel*, 126-28; Theobald, “Abraham—(Isaac—) Jacob,” 181; Michael Labahn, “Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Überlegungen zu einem spannungsreichen Verhältnis,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 197-98.

⁶⁷For the influence of Jubilees on the present text, see Pierre Grelot, “Jean 8:56 et Jubilés 16:16-29,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 621-28; Mark J. Edwards, “‘Not Yet Fifty Years Old’: John 8:57,” *NTS* 40 (1994): 449-54; of Philo, Urban and Henry, “‘Before Abraham Was I Am’”; of Isaianic background, Edwin D. Freed, “Who or What was before Abraham in John 8:58,” *JSNT* 17 (1983): 52-59; Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 295-307; and recently of Ps 118, Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 302-16.

⁶⁸Aberbach and Grossfeld, *Targum Onkelos to Genesis*, 104.

that they reflect a misapprehension of the divine prophecy.⁶⁹

In addition to these texts, another group of ancient Jewish texts entertains the idea of Abraham taking a journey into the heavenly realm, including *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo)*, and some rabbinic Midrashim.⁷⁰ For instance, *the Apocalypse of Abraham* offers an elaborate account of Abrahamic visions.⁷¹ Chapters 1 through 8 report Abraham's rejection of idolatry and his request to know the living God. The rest of the book (chaps. 9-32) recounts his celestial expedition in which he receives visions concerning the end times.⁷²

The implications of these texts adduced in the Johannine commentaries are as follows. If the first group is taken into view as the conceptual background of the present text, either Abraham eye-witnessed the pre-existent Son in his previous earthly ministry prior to the incarnation or the forefather comprehended the implications of the unfolding of the redemptive history through his son, Isaac.⁷³ When the second group of Jewish writings is taken into account, John suggests Abraham's eye-witness of the pre-existent Son in his heavenly abode.⁷⁴

⁶⁹So is it in Philo *Legum Allegoriae* III.218.

⁷⁰“And you [God] loved him [Abraham] and to him only you revealed the end of the times, secretly by night” (*4 Ezra* 3:14, *OTP*, 1:528); “After these things, I showed it [the new Jerusalem] to my servant Abraham in the night between the portions of the victims” (*2 Bar* 4:4, *OTP*, 1:622); “And he said to him, ‘Is it not regarding this people that I spoke to Abraham in a vision, . . . when I lifted him above the firmament and showed him the arrangements of all the stars . . . and on account of his blood I chose them . . . I will reveal everything I am doing to Abraham’ (*L.A.B. [Pseudo-Philo]* 18:5, *OTP*, 2:325); *Gen. Rab.* 44:12 (Freedman, *Genesis*, 367-68); and *Ber. R.* 44:21.

⁷¹The document is considered to be originally written in Hebrew, but the extant manuscripts have survived only in Slavonic and date back to the first to second centuries C.E. R. Rubinkiewicz, “Apocalypse of Abraham,” in *OTP* 1:681-82.

⁷²*Apo. Ab.* 9-32 (*OTP*, 693-705).

⁷³Labahn, “Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium,” 198.

⁷⁴Martin Hengel, “The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,” in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, JSNTSup 104 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994), 387. Menken also opts for the latter view at the absence of explicit reference to earthly activities of Jesus in John (with an exception in the prologue where the Son's participation in the creation is recorded). As convincing as his argument goes, his case seems to be based too much on the silence of the evangelist. M. J. Menken, “Observations on the Significance of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,” in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 166-69.

Nonetheless, similar to the passages examined earlier in this study, the dearth of explicit textual evidence precludes any firm judgment on whether or to what extent the present text directly refers to certain contemporary and/or later Jewish traditions on Abraham's reception of visions. No matter which view reflects better the original reading of the fourth evangelist, the concept of Abraham's knowledge of the end time, or more specifically, his encounter with God was probably not too foreign to the first audience (who were presumably familiar with the common concurrent Jewish traditions about the patriarch) of this narrative, but it was his specific witness of the pre-existent Jesus that perplexed the hearers in verse 56.

Temporal Priority of Jesus over Abraham

Abraham's witness of the pre-existent Christ in verse 56 leads to a more revealing christological statement in verse 58 in terms of the chronological priority of Jesus over Abraham.⁷⁵ The Greek text of verse 58 has drawn a good deal of attention from commentators due to the presence of the so-called "*ego eimi*" construction: "before Abraham was I am (πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί)." Although it is somewhat common to relate all the occurrences of Johannine "I-am" sayings with a deifying nomenclature, the present usage lacks sufficient analogous ancient parallels so that it makes a special pleading.⁷⁶ However, its predicate clause (i.e., "before Abraham was") warrants a theistic reading, namely, prolonging the current existence of Jesus at least by two millennia. In this respect, commentators detect an allusion to the Old Testament

⁷⁵For the importance of the temporal priority for Johannine Christology, see Labahn, "Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium," 188-98. The chronological priority is a typical Johannine expression, which the Synoptics do not attest to. For the idiom similarly applied to John the Baptist earlier, see John 1:15, 30. Marinus de Jonge, "John the Baptist and Elijah in the Fourth Gospel," in *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul & John in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. R. T. Fortna and B. R. Gaventa (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 303.

⁷⁶Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 515, 530-31. An example of deifying this Johannine I-am construction without careful qualifications is found in Verlyn Verbrugge, "Exegetical Insight: Present Active Indicative," in *Basics of Biblical Greek: Grammar*, ed. William D. Mounce, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), 129.

divine descriptions, particularly, Exodus 3:14 and Isaiah 43:10.⁷⁷ While one may not agree with the conceptual background and exact nature of this I-am saying, it is quite obvious from the reaction of Jews in verse 59 that the hearers of Jesus took it as an offense of blasphemy (in v. 59), which infringement in ancient Jewish culture was often dealt with stoning to death (Lev 24:16, 23; *Jos Ant.* 4.202).⁷⁸ The hostile reaction of the Jews in verse fifty-nine disproves their self-claim of being “the children of Abraham” because, in stark contrast to their ill-reception, the forefather took delight in witnessing to Jesus.⁷⁹

Summary

In the present text (John 8:51-59), a clash between two groups of individuals is observed. The group of Jews brings forth Abraham as their ideal progenitor from whom their physical lineage originated and from whom they also inherited their status (as Abraham was free, the Jews conceived to have been free in v. 33). On the other hand, to Jesus, the forefather functions merely as a witness to the pre-existent divine characteristics of Jesus. In other words, the validity of Abraham stands as long as it verifies the divine nature of Jesus in terms of his pre-existence.⁸⁰ Furthermore, it is not

⁷⁷For the former, see Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel*, 308-10; for the latter, Keener (*The Gospel of John*, 1:770-2) cites Ethelbert Stauffer, *Jesus and His Story*, trans. Richard Winston and Clara Winston (New York: Knopf, 1960), 176-78; Philip B. Harner, *The “I Am” of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Johannine Usage and Thought*, FBBS 26 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970), 15-17; David M. Ball, “I Am” in *John’s Gospel: Literary Function, Background, and Theological Implications*, JSNTSup 124 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1996), 195-98; Richard Bauckham, *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 55; for both, Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:360.

⁷⁸“One who blasphemes the name of the LORD shall be put to death; the whole congregation shall stone the blasphemer. Aliens as well as citizens, when they blaspheme the Name, shall be put to death” (Lev 24:16); “He that blasphemed God, let him be stoned, and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner” (*Jos Ant.* 4.202).

⁷⁹Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:269. “The Jews’ appeal to Abraham is rejected in two different ways: first, it is said that their relationship to Abraham is wrong, and then it is said that Abraham has only a subsidiary role to play in the divine drama as a witness of Jesus. What Jesus says of Abraham is close to what he has earlier said of Moses. Both Abraham and Moses are portrayed as witnesses of Jesus.” Raimo Hakola, *Identity Matters: John, the Jews and Jewishness*, NovTSup 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 194.

⁸⁰“Die heiligen Schriften und Abraham werden durchaus als identitätsstiftende Autoritäten anerkannt. Allerdings werden sie in ein Gefüge eingeordnet, in dem der präexistente Sohn das

the Jewish arch-forefather but Jesus who is truly superior since his revelation comes directly from the Father (8:16-19, 26, 29, 38, 42) and he can impart redemption from sin (8:32-36, 51).

Conclusion

In this chapter, three passages in John (1:51; 4:10-14; 8:58-58) have been investigated that contain explicit references to or allusions to the Jewish patriarchs, namely, Abraham and Jacob. An exegetical examination of these passages reveals a consistent characterization of the two personages and they serve the same function of confirming the messianic identity of Jesus. Some conclusions can be drawn from the preceding assessment of these texts in view of the surrounding literary contexts and related questions raised earlier in the first chapter. First, the messianic witness function of Abraham and Jacob fits nicely in the overall narrative flow of the chapters which surround the texts under discussion. As the focus of chapters one through eight is directed at Jesus with particular reference to his messianic identity, the two prominent Jewish patriarchs consistently play the supportive role to corroborate the Johannine Christology.

Second, although the Jewish forefathers were conceived as ideal and identity figures in second temple Judaism, just as the Jews and Samaritans regard them with admiration in John, they remain satisfied as witnesses for Christ in the present texts. On the one hand, their introduction to the discourses provides a contact point, with which the onset of the new redemptive history through Jesus stands in continuity, namely, with the outworking of the Old redemptive history, most remarkably in their foreshadowing of the divine characteristics of the Messiah. Just as the salvific outworking was unraveled through Jacob in the Old Testament, so will it be through Jesus in John. On the other

entscheidende Kriterium ist." Labahn, "Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium," 197; "Zwar wird Abraham für die an Jesus Glaubenden nicht als Stammvater und Identitätsfigur herangezogen, so doch als Christus-Zeuge." Theobald, "Abraham—(Isaak—) Jacob," 181.

hand, the patriarchs are presented as the point of comparison/contrast since they demonstrate the enormous magnitude of the radical unfolding of the new redemptive program. This surpassing and superseding nature of the new redemptive history is reflected upon the divine nature of Messiah and the gift that is bestowed through him.

Lastly, the observations inferred from the second point call into question the congruity of John's Gospel with ancient Judaism.⁸¹ Dissimilar to the non-canonical Jewish writings of the intertestamental period, the fourth Gospel does not promote the virtuous characteristics of Jacob and Abraham (although it does not rigorously disavow them). The fourth evangelist also does not conceive the forefathers as the spiritual progenitors since they cannot offer what this new redemptive program avails to believers through the Messiah.

⁸¹“Much of the literature which sees the Fourth Gospel as being dependent on rabbinic traditions needs to be seriously questioned. The use of the Jacob traditions in the Fourth Gospel presupposes that the reader has some sort of access to the Jacob Narrative (either oral or written). But it does not presuppose a knowledge of the traditions of early Judaism and especially of the rabbinic traditions found in the targumim and midrashim. The intertextuality involved in interpreting the Jacob Narrative in the Fourth Gospel is quite restricted. It seems reasonable that any hints elsewhere in the Gospel to Jewish traditions may be more reflections of the historical situation being described than part of the intention of the Evangelist. In the passages studied in this dissertation it has been shown that there is no hint that rabbinic traditions are in view beyond what can be gathered from the biblical text itself.” Johnson, “Our Father Jacob,” 251-52.

CHAPTER 3

ELIJAH

He confessed and did not deny it, but confessed, "I am not the Messiah." And they asked him, "What then? Are you Elijah?" He said, "I am not." "Are you the prophet?" He answered, "No." Then they said to him, "Who are you? Let us have an answer for those who sent us. What do you say about yourself?" He said, "I am the voice of one crying out in the wilderness, 'Make straight the way of the Lord,'" as the prophet Isaiah said" (1:20-23).

Introduction

Unlike Abraham and Jacob, some Jewish documents portrayed Elijah, David, and Moses as eschatological redemptive figures. As such, it is necessary to treat their messianic images in the period in a separate section. As far as Elijah the Tishbite (1 Kgs 17:1) is concerned, he exerted a prominent influence in early Judaism and in the New Testament. The dimension of the eschatological prophet (i.e, Elijah *redivivus*), in particular, emerged as a more conspicuous one out of various characteristics and hopes related to Elijah such as a miracle worker or his translation into heaven.¹ This aspect is arguably most tangibly addressed in the New Testament, especially, in the Gospels. Accordingly, it is worthwhile to probe into that particular expectation of Elijah *redivivus* in the second temple Judaism so as to understand the possible use of such portrayal in John within a broader conceptual milieu.² Such an endeavor, however, entails a number

¹"Elijah appears as the only figure whose personal eschatological return was expected in the Old Testament . . . he is the only eschatological *redivivus* figure of the Old Testament." Géza G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library*, STDJ 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 184.

²Öhler disfavours the label, "Elijah *redivivus*," since the prophet never died but was only translated into heaven alive. Markus Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament: Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des alttestamentlichen Propheten im frühen Christentum*, BZNW 88 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 3. His point is valid because the term literally denotes the dead being brought back to life. Joynes, on the other hand, suggests "Elijah *reditus*" instead, but her suggestion has not found a wide acceptance yet. Christian E. Joynes, "A Question of Identity: 'Who Do People Say That I Am?': Elijah, John the Baptist and Jesus in Mark's Gospel," in *Understanding, Studying and Reading: New Testament Essays in Honour of John*

of questions as following: How Elijah was perceived by Jews in the intertestamental period, especially with reference to messianic hopes; how the messianic expectations regarding the prophet were received in the New Testament and, particularly, the Gospel of John; and, finally, whether or not the Fourth Gospel presents Elijah as a messianic prefigure. In order to address these issues, this chapter begins with the perception of Elijah in the second temple period.

Elijah in Second Temple Judaism

The Jewish traditions related with Elijah *redivivus* can be classified into three broad categories: eschatological expectation primarily in terms of his reconciliation ministry (as described in the MT, LXX, and Sirach); the apocalyptic return of the prophet with the result of the militant subjugation of the unrighteous; and settling legal disputes. The witnesses of the third category are mostly attested in rabbinical writings, which variously date from the end of the first century A.D. onward.³ They represent late traditions that are least reflected in the New Testament, and thus, are hardly pertinent to the present investigation.

Eschatological Reconciliation Ministry

Malachi. It is commonplace to take the point of departure for an examination of the Jewish expectations of Elijah *redivivus* from the very last verses of Malachi, which also bear testimony to an impressive way to conclude the entire scheme of the Hebrew

Ashton, ed. Christopher Rowland and Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, JSNTSup 153 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 16. The epithet "Elijah *redivivus*" remains in use in the present study due to its popular usage. Another justification for the use of such a term is because we mean, by the nomenclature, a figurative conception of a prophetic figure who works "in the spirit and power of Elijah" (Luke 1:17), not the physical return of the Tishbite. Cf. Walter C. Kaiser, "Witnessing and Expecting the Arrival of Elijah—Malachi 4:4-5," in *The Uses of the Old Testament in the New* (Chicago: Moody, 1985), 77-88.

³For examples of the third category, see "it is [families of] this sort that Elijah will come to declare unclean and to declare clean, to put out and to draw near (*m. Eduy.* 8:7); "let it lie there until Elijah comes" (*m. B. Mes.* 1:8); "Utensils of gold and of glass he should not touch them until Elijah comes" (*m. B. Mes.* 2:8); "but leave the whole sum until Elijah comes [and no one will be paid off]" (*m. B. Mes.* 3:4); "And the rest of the money [received for the sale of the larger one] is left until Elijah comes" (*m. B. Mes.* 3:5). For the use of the Elijah tradition in the rabbinic writings, see Gerd Häfner, *Der verheißene Vorläufer: Redaktionskritische Untersuchung zur Darstellung Johannes des Täuflers im Matthäusevangelium*, SBB 27 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1994), 337-38.

canon with the anticipation of the prophet's return⁴: "Lo, I will send you the prophet Elijah before the great and terrible day of the LORD comes. He will turn the hearts of parents to their children and the hearts of children to their parents, so that I will not come and strike the land with a curse" (Mal 4: 5-6). Coupled with a previous prophecy concerning the messenger who will "prepare the way before God" in Malachi 3:1, this Elijah *reditus* theme of Malachi 4:5-6 constitutes an *inclusio* and expresses a tenacious hope of the prophet's return. His return is hoped to reconcile the bond between the fathers and sons before the wrath of God strikes them.

Sirach. Further elaborations of the eschatological Elijah conception appear in some later Jewish traditions. For instance, the Septuagint broadens the scope of the prophet's reconciliation ministry so as to encompass the relationship between the people with their neighbors, along with the fathers with their sons (καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ).⁵ On the other hand, Sirach demonstrates a glimpse of the Jewish hope for the national restoration along with individual reconciliation vis-à-vis the return of Elijah: "At the appointed time, it is written, you [Elijah] are destined to calm the wrath of God before it breaks out in fury, to turn the hearts of parents to their children, and to restore the tribes of Jacob" (Sir 48:10).⁶ These three passages voice more or less a

⁴For surveys of the conception of Elijah in the intertestamental period and related issues, see J. Jeremias, "Ἡλ(ε)ιας," in *TDNT*, 2:928-34; Horst Seebaß, "Elia I:Altes Testament," in *TRE*, 9:498-502; Nico Oswald, "Elia II: Judentum," in *TRE*, 9:502-04; Dieter Zeller, "Elia und Elischa im Frühjudentum," *BK* 41 (1986): 154-60; Johannes M. Nützel, "Eliojah- und Elischa-Traditionen im Neuen Testament," *BK* 41 (1986): 160-71; Eric L. Friedland, "'Elia der Prophet möge bald mit dem Messias kommen': Messianismus in der Pesach-Haggada des fortschrittlichen Judentums," in *Der Messias*, ed. Ernst Dassmann and Günter Stemberger, vol. 8 of *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1993), 251-71; Thomas W. Overholt, "Elijah and Elisha in the Context of Israelite Religion," in *Prophets and Paradigms: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker*, ed. Stephen Breck Reid (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1996), 94-111; Hartmut Gese, "Zur Bedeutung Elias für die biblische Theologie," in *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. J. Ådna, S. J. Hafemann, and O. Hofius (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 126-50; Gerold Necker, "Elia II: Judentum," in *RGG*, 2:1211-12; Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament*, 1-30; idem, "Elijah und Elischa," in *Alttestamentliche Gestalten im Neuen Testament: Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie*, ed. Markus Öhler (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999), 185-87; Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 184-204.

⁵Another change from the Hebrew to the Greek text is that the day of the Lord is "great and glorious (μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ)," not "great and dreadful (הַיְהוָה הַגָּדֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא)."

⁶R. Horsley judges this text to be reflective of a popular rabbinic belief in the Persian and

unified hope of reconciliation in the aftermath of Elijah's return, a hope of unity and restoration at the individual level and at the national level (with the latter being of lesser emphasis).⁷

Apocalyptic Militant Subjugation

Sibylline Oracles and the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah*. The second category of the Elijah *redivivus* anticipation often entailed the military subjugation of the unrighteousness. The *Sibylline Oracles*, for example, envisage the return of Elijah that will precipitate the apocalyptic judgment.

Then the Thesbite, driving a heavenly chariot at full stretch from heaven, will come on earth and then display three signs to the whole world, as life perishes. . . . And then a great river of blazing fire will flow from heaven, and will consume every place, land and great ocean and gleaming sea, lakes and rivers, springs and implacable Hades and the heavenly vault. But the heavenly luminaries will crash together, also into an utterly desolate form. For all the stars will fall together from heaven on the sea. All the souls of men will gnash their teeth, burning in a river, and brimstone and a rush of fire in a fiery plain, and ashes will cover all (*Sib. Or.* 2:187-204).⁸

Similarly, the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah* announces the return of Elijah and Enoch who will come to slay "the son of lawlessness."

After these things, Elijah and Enoch will come down. They will lay down the flesh of the world, and they will receive their spiritual flesh. They will pursue the son of lawlessness and kill him since he is not able to speak. On that day, he [the antichrist] will dissolve in their presence like ice which was dissolved by a fire. He will perish like a serpent which has no breath in it. They [Elijah and Enoch] will say to him, "Your time has passed by for you. Now therefore you and those who believe you will perish." They will be cast into the bottom of the abyss and it will be closed for

Hellenistic periods. His reasoning is based on the fact that the entire book of Sirach is disinterested in eschatological matters. Horsley is right to say that this Elijah *redivivus* text stands out in Sirach, but he certainly overestimates the place of the text in contemporary Judaism based on one appearance. Richard A. Horsley, "Like One of the Prophets of Old: Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 440.

⁷In addition to the Malachi texts, J. D. Martin detects an echo of Isa 49:6 which speaks of the restoration of the tribes of Jacob and the nation of Israel. James D. Martin, "Ben Sira's Hymn to the Fathers: A Messianic Perspective," in *Crises and Perspectives: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Polytheism, Biblical Theology, Palestinian Archaeology, and Intertestamental Literature, Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference, Held at Cambridge, U.K., 1985*, ed. Johannes Cornelis de Moor, *OtSt* 24 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 107-23.

⁸*OTP*, 1:349-50. The origin of the *Sibylline Oracles* is presumed to be a mixture of Jewish and Christian with the strong imprints of the latter. John J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone, *CRINT* 2/2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 377.

them (*Apoc. El. [C] 5:32-35*).⁹

In this apocalyptic expectation of the prophet's return, he is also sometimes associated with Phinehas the zealot (*Tg. Yer. I Ex 6:18; Tg. Yer. I Num 25:12; L.A.B. 48; Liv. Pro. 21:1*). Because of his connection with the Levites, Elijah was sometimes considered a priestly figure as early as the second-century B.C.¹⁰ However, some of the documents (esp. *The Sibylline Oracles* and the *Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah*) that contain this strand of thought display traces of a Christian influence and most of them (the rabbinic writings) do not predate the Gospel of John.¹¹

Nag Hammadi and Qumran

The prominence of Elijah is not attested in the Nag Hammadi and the Qumran library. For the former, it could be envisaged that the strong miracle-working image of the prophet would have circumvented the sect's rigorous penchant to emphasize gnosis, that is, saving knowledge (or revelation), which Beltz characterizes as "a mark of thorough Hellenization."¹² Nonetheless, the dearth of reference to Elijah in the Qumran library is surprising in light of its pervasive enthusiasm about the end times.¹³ Only one

⁹*OTP*, 1:752-53. The same document contains a longer version of the account of the return of Elijah and Enoch in 4:7-20. The explicit mention of "antichrist" and the similar language of the book of revelation suggest a Christian influence on this literature, which dates back to first to fourth centuries A.D. Richard Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Christian or Jewish," *JBL* 95 (1976): 447-58.

¹⁰R. Meyer, "'Elia' und 'Ahab': (Tg. Ps.-Jon. zu Deut. 33,11)," in *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel: Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Otto Betz, Martin Hengel, and Peter Schmidt, *AGJU* 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 356-68; and Uwe Gleßner, *Einleitung in die Targume zum Pentateuch*, *TSAJ* 48 (Tübingen: Mohr Seibek, 1995), 185-87.

¹¹Daniel J. Harrington, "Biblical Text of Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," *CBQ* 33 (1971): 1-17; Robert Hayward, "Phinehas—the Same is Elijah: The Origins of a Rabbinic Tradition," *JJS* 29 (1978): 23; Horsley, "Like One of the Prophets of Old," 439.

¹²Elijah is mentioned by his name only once in the Nag Hammadi library and the document containing his name demonstrates a Christian influence: "Die namentliche Nennung des Elia im Rheg ist singular. . . . Der Elia redivivus des Rheg scheint dafür zu sprechen, daß der Verfasser ein christlicher Gnostiker war und der Brief zu dem Harnackschen Typ der Gnosis (akute Hellenisierung des Christentums) gehört." Walter Beltz, "Elia redivivus: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Verbindung von Gnosis und Altem Testament," in *Altes Testament-Frühjudentum-Gnosis: Neue Studien zur "Gnosis und Bibel"*, ed. Karl-Wolfgang Tröger (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1980), 138.

¹³"*Elijah redivivus* was not a distinctively [Qumran] sectarian figure, in the sense that the messiah of Aaron, or the Teacher at the end of days, was. The Elijah-like eschatological prophet had clear scriptural bases and did not require a sectarian perspective. He did not, however, figure as prominently as the Davidic messiah in the literature of the time, and presumably he was not as well established in popular

mention of Elijah by name appears in 4Q558, which is an Aramaic citation of Malachi 3:23.¹⁴

4Q521. 4Q521 consists of possible allusions to the accounts of Elijah in 1 Kings and Malachi 3:24.¹⁵

[For the heav]ens and the earth will listen to his anointed one For he will honour the pious upon the throne of an eternal kingdom, freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twis[ted]. . . . And the Lord will perform marvelous acts such as have not existed, just as he sa[id,] [for] he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live, he will proclaim good news to the poor and . . . he will lead the . . . and enrich the hungry. . . . It is su[re:] The fathers will return towards the sons. (4Q521 2 ii 1, 7-8, 11-13; 2 iii 2)¹⁶

Three observations suggest that “the anointed one (יְשׁוּעָה in the original Qumran script)” in the text should be taken as an allusion to the hope of Elijah *redivivus* (although a good portion of this passage is also cast over against Isa 61).¹⁷ First, the obeying of the heavens was recounted in the Old Testament only with reference to Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1-18:46).¹⁸ Second, only Elijah and Elisha are related to raising the dead in the Old Testament narratives (1 Kgs 17; 2 Kgs 4) and the subsequent Jewish traditions.¹⁹ Finally,

belief” (italics original, brackets added). John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, ABRL 10 (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 122.

¹⁴4Q174 is briefly suggested as possibly reflecting the Qumran belief in the end-time figure like Elijah. Julio T. Barrera, “Elijah,” in *EDSS*, 1:246. For an overview of various issues at stake in the messianic figure of 4Q558, see Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 187-88. He concludes that the Elijah *redivivus* of 4Q558 is the result of an extra-Qumranic influence which displays theological affinities with Malachi and Ben Sirach on Elijah the eschatological prophet. *Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁵Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament*, 16-22. The first fragment of 4Q558 reads “. . . evil . . . their . . . who . . . the eighth as an elected one. And see, I . . . to you I will send Eliyah, befo[re . . .] po[w]er, lightning and met[eors . . .] . . . and . . . again . . .” *DSS*, 2:1114-15.

¹⁶*DSS*, 2:1044-45.

¹⁷Collins finds parallels between this Qumran document and Isa 61:1. It is of special interest that both texts call the prophet “anointed,” which term is never applied to Old Testament prophets with the only exception of Elisha (1 Kgs 19:6) and Isaiah (“the spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me,” Isa 61:1). John J. Collins, “Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Qumran—Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 113.

¹⁸“By the word of the Lord he [Elijah] shut up the heavens and also three times brought down fire” (Sir 48:3).

¹⁹“You [Elijah] raised a corpse from death and from Hades, by the word of the Most High” (Sir 48:5); “The resurrection of the dead comes through Elijah” (*m. Sotah* 9, end); “Everything that the Holy One will do, he has already anticipated by the hands of the righteous in this world, the resurrection of the dead by Elijah and Ezekiel” (*Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 76a), the last quotation is cited in Collins, *The Scepter and*

the phrase, “the turning of the fathers to their sons,” is a comparably clear echo of the language of Malachi 4:6.²⁰

וְהָשִׁיב לִב־אֲבוֹתָם עַל־בְּנֵיהֶם וְלִב־בְּנֵיהֶם עַל־אֲבוֹתָם (Mal 3:24a, BHS)
באים אבות על בנים (4Q521 2 iii 2b, DSS)²¹

However, what is questionable with this passage is that this series of thoughts is extremely thin in view of the entire corpus of the sect’s massive collection of documents, so much so that this particular document is believed not to have originated from within the community, but to have been imported from outside.²² No matter what the provenance of the belief was, however, the hope of the eschatological Elijah (that is, Elijah *redivivus*) is not unattested, although not predominant either, in second temple Judaism prior to and contemporaneous with the shaping of John’s Gospel.²³

the Star, 119. Puech also reconstructs the Hebrew text of Sir 48:11 to read, “Blessed is he who sees you [Elijah] before he dies, for you [Elijah] give life and he will live.” Émile Puech, “Ben Sira 48:11 et la Résurrection,” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Harold Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 81-89, cited in Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 119.

²⁰“At the appointed time, it is written, you [Elijah] are destined to calm the wrath of God before it breaks out in fury, to turn the hearts of parents to their children . . .” (Sir 48:10). For similar judgments that identify the divine agent of this passage as Elijah *redivivus*, see John Strugnell, “Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 234; Collins, “Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 112-16; Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran*, WUNT 2/104 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 332-42; Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 188-90; John C. Poirier, “The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 227-28; Michael Becker, “4Q521 und die Gesalbten,” *RevQ* 18 (1997): 73-96. The last scholar opposes Puech’s multiple referent interpretation. Cf. Émile Puech, “Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521),” *RevQ* 15 (1992): 475-522; idem, “Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism,” in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 554-64.

²¹Martínez and Tigchelaar translate the phrase as following: “The Fathers will return towards the sons.” *DSS*, 2:1045.

²²Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 117-22. In addition, the lack of typical Qumran vocabularies reinforces such a judgment. Collins, “The Works of the Messiah,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 106; idem, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, LDSC (New York: Routledge, 1997), 89, 128-29; Devorah Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman, STDJ 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 48; idem, *Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, part 4 of *Qumran Cave 4, XXI: Parabiblical Texts*, DJD 30 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 13. Contra, Émile Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4, XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)*, DJD 25 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 25, 36-38; Poirier, “The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran,” 221-42. The latter construes that Elijah constitutes the dominant messianic paradigm in the Qumran community along with Moses. However, his argument appears to rest too much on extra-Qumranic textual evidence.

²³Horsley is generally skeptical about the widespread expectation of such an eschatological

Scribal Expectation of Elijah's Return

One of the most intriguing questions, and also one pertinent for the present inquiry, has been debated as to whether there was an expectation of Elijah's coming as a messianic forerunner in the intertestamental period. Morris Faierstein argued, in contrast to the scholarly consensus at the time of his writing, that all the Jewish texts previously alleged to conceive of Elijah's return as a messianic forerunner postdate Jesus' time (often under Christian influence) and that there are no clear literary examples which correlate Elijah with the Messiah in the Jewish eschatological texts.²⁴ In opposition, Dale Allison called for a more nuanced reading of the Jewish eschatological texts that describe Elijah as the harbinger of the *eschaton*, because the day of the Lord in Jewish conceptual patterns, he contended, implies the return of Messiah (for his case, Allison refers to IQS 9:1; *T. Levi* 18:1-9; *T. Jud.* 24:1-6).²⁵ In defense of Faierstein, Joseph Fitzmyer responded that the Messianic texts adduced by Allison do not explicitly connect the Day of the Lord with the coming of the Messiah.²⁶ Markus Öhler, who has conducted one of the most recent and comprehensive investigations on Elijah with reference to his conception in the second temple period, also sides with Faierstein and Fitzmyer.²⁷ This brief review indicates that the synoptic accounts of certain scribes' expectation of Elijah's return as messianic forerunner probably reflect a marginal current of rabbinic interpretations or they could be indebted to the hands of the synoptic redactors.

prophet before the time of Jesus. Horsley, "Like One of the Prophets of Old," 437-43. Cf. "there appears to be very little textual attestation of any concept of an eschatological prophet in Jewish society during the early period of Roman domination. . . . there was some expectation of the return of Elijah, but that expectations of an eschatological prophet or of the coming of the a prophet like Moses, if present in the minds of some, were not important factors in Jewish literature at the time of Jesus." *Ibid.*, 443.

²⁴Morris M. Faierstein, "Why Do the Scribes Say That Elijah Must Come First," *JBL* 100 (1981): 75-86. His examination covers a wide range of Jewish literature (such as the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, the Qumran scrolls, Philo, and the rabbinic literature).

²⁵Dale C. Allison, Jr., "Elijah Must Come First," *JBL* 103 (1984): 256-58.

²⁶Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "More about Elijah Coming First," *JBL* 104 (1985): 295-96.

²⁷Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament*, 12-30; idem, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God," *JBL* 118 (1999): 461-76. Also, Horsley ("Like One of the Prophets of Old," 443) and Xeravits (*King, Priest, Prophet*, 184-90) share this judgment.

The implication of Faierstein's, Fitzmyer's, and Öhler's studies is that we cannot cast the picture of Elijah depicted in the Synoptic Gospels onto that of the Fourth Gospel. Much confusion over the role of Elijah in John can be cleared up when we take the Johannine portrayal of Elijah on its own right, independent of the Synoptics. Another point that needs to be taken into consideration is that a great deal of Jewish tradition on Elijah does not have much congruity with John's Gospel. There are questions about whether the category of the apocalyptic prophet was influenced by the Christian apocalyptic traditions such as the revelation of John and whether the category of the legal judge represents later rabbinic developments. Thus, it would be exegetically safe to delimit the scope of the pertinent Jewish Elijah traditions to Malachi (the MT and LXX), Sirach, and 4Q521 for this present research into the eschatological prophet conception in the Gospel of John.²⁸

Elijah in the Synoptic Gospels

The preceding survey on Elijah in the intertestamental period reveals his predominant influence in that period as expressed in three distinct hopes.²⁹ The prophet continued to occupy an important place in the Pseudepigrapha, his distinction is carried more strongly over in the New Testament period.³⁰ Among all the ancient Jewish heroic figures, he is most frequently mentioned in the New Testament (29-30 times) after Moses (80), Abraham (73), and David (59).³¹

In the Synoptic Gospels a somewhat unified picture emerges concerning the prophet. That is, the expectation of his return and his subsequent role is envisaged vis-à-

²⁸Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament*, 12.

²⁹"No biblical figure influenced later Judaism more than Elijah." Jeremias, "Ἡλ(ε)ίας," 928; Gese, "Zur Bedeutung Elias für die biblische Theologie," 127.

³⁰Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament*, 12.

³¹Jeremias, "Ἡλ(ε)ίας," 934.

vis John the Baptist.³² Matthew and Mark concur on the identification of the Baptist as Elijah on the lips of Jesus.³³ In Mark, it is recognized that John's coming as Elijah *redivivus* is in terms commensurate with the prediction of the Scripture: "But I tell you that Elijah has come, and they did to him whatever they pleased, as it is written about him" (Mark 9:13).³⁴ The Matthean parallel (Matt 17:12a) appears to be attuned with this Markan tradition: "but I tell you that Elijah has already come, and they did not recognize him." Earlier in the same Gospel (Matt 11:14), Jesus unmistakably identifies the Baptist with the prophet: "He is Elijah who is to come."³⁵ On the other hand, the Lukan rendering of the connection between the two figures is more oblique, characterizing John as only possessing the qualities attached to the prophet: "With the spirit and power of Elijah he will go before him, to turn the hearts of parents to their children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the righteous, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord" (Luke 1:17).³⁶

³²D. L. Bock, "Elijah and Elisha," in *DJG*, 204-05. Michael Tilly surveyed the image of the prophet as perceived in Palestinian Judaism at the time of John the Baptist. According to his comparative analysis of the Synoptic portrayals and contemporary Jewish understanding, the fellow Jews would have understood John the Baptist as a prophet based on his appearance and the content of his preaching. Michael Tilly, *Johannes der Täufer und die Biographie der Propheten: Die synoptische Täuferüberlieferung und das jüdische Prophetenbild zur Zeit des Täufers*, BWANT 7 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994). For another comparative survey of John the Baptist in light of the contemporary prophetic tradition, see Joan E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism*, SHJ (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 261-316.

³³A. M. Okorie, "Jesus and the Eschatological *Elijah*," *Scriptura* 73 (2000): 189-92.

³⁴The misunderstanding of the bystanders seems to be a rhetorical device to prepare readers for the confession of the centurion on the messianic identity of Jesus. Mark F. Whitters, "Why Did the Bystanders Think Jesus Called upon Elijah before He Died (Mark 15:34-36)?: The Markan Position," *HTR* 95 (2002): 119-24.

³⁵"Matthew develops John's role in terms of his relation to the Kingdom of Heaven and his identity as Elijah." Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*, SNTSMS 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 28. For another study that positively identifies John the Baptist with Elijah and his high authority in Matthew, see Hubert Frankemölle, "Johannes der Täufer und Jesus im Matthäusevangelium: Jesus als Nachfolger des Täufers," *NTS* 42 (1996): 196-218.

³⁶Kaiser, "Witnessing and Expecting the Arrival of Elijah," 77-88. Cf. R. J. Miller, who mistakenly in my estimation, argues that Luke identifies Elijah with John the Baptist and Jesus interchangeably. Robert J. Miller, "Elijah, John, and Jesus in the Gospel of Luke," *NTS* 34 (1988): 611-22.

Elijah in John's Gospel

An examination of the role of Elijah in John, however, sets a Johannine exegete in a quandary. The reason is partly because the Gospel seems to lack any explicit references or allusions to the prophet; and no synoptic parallels that affirm the association of the prophet with the Baptist are found. Furthermore, more strikingly, John the Baptist, whom the Synoptic Gospels unanimously portray as Elijah *redivivus*, blatantly renounces his contemporaries' inquiry on whether or not he is Elijah or the prophet, presumably an eschatological figure, in John 1:21. As such, Walter Wink's statement appears to be warranted: "The [fourth] evangelist . . . sharply contradicts the earlier tradition [of the Synoptics] that John was Elijah. For him the idea of a forerunner is anathema."³⁷ Some explanations, therefore, have been offered to remedy the seeming inconsistency. Before turning our attention to such attempts, it is worthwhile to mention a group of scholars who maintain that it is Jesus, not John, who reflects the role of Elijah *redivivus*.³⁸

Jesus as Elijah

Cullmann, Schnackenburg, and Robinson. In a conclusion to a section which deals with the concept of the eschatological prophet in the New Testament, Oscar Cullmann defines the presence and use of the idea of Jesus as Elijah in John:

The synoptic writers did not express their personal faith in Jesus by means of this conception [the eschatological Elijah, or Elijah *redivivus*]. On the other hand, it does seem to have had a certain meaning for the writer of the Fourth Gospel. His particular emphasis of the fact that the Baptist rejected for himself the title of the Prophet, the returned Elijah, suggests that the writer of John wants to reserve this title for Jesus—along with other Christological designations and concepts³⁹

³⁷Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*, 89.

³⁸Studies that understand the Johannine Jesus as the eschatological Elijah to a large extent do not appear in recent years. For the past examples of such an approach, see Reginald H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (New York: Scribner, 1965), 46-48, 67, 125-29, 167-73; Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, rev. ed., NTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 13-50; Ferdinand Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity* (London: Lutterworth, 1969), 352-406; J. Louis Martyn, "We Have Found Elijah," in *Jews, Greeks, and Christians: Essays in Honor of William David Davies*, ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs, SJLA 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 181-219; reprinted in *The Gospel of John in Christian History*, TI (New York: Paulist, 1979), 9-54.

³⁹Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 37. Cullmann also represents pre-critical scholarship on Jewish messianism via a prophetic figure. "Jesus appears not only as a prophet but as *the*

Cullmann's conclusion is based on his observation of John the Baptist's denial of being Elijah. Likewise, Schnackenburg also notes that "when John the Baptist denies that he is 'the prophet' or an eschatological figure of salvation like Elijah (1:21, 25), this indirectly reinforces the idea that Jesus is this 'prophet' or 'Elijah.'"⁴⁰ In support of this view, Cullmann further points to the early chapters of Acts (esp. 3:22; 7:37) which, he believes, preserve a tradition of Elijah *redivivus* Christology.⁴¹ Similarly, J. A. T. Robinson detects an element of Elijah-like Christology in Acts 3, where Peter calls for repentance on the basis of identifying Jesus with the one promised by a series of prophets. This prophet is expected to properly restore everything to God's rule, and, to Robinson, this restoration theme evokes Elijah *redivivus* motif (Mal 3).⁴²

According to this very primitive Christology (Acts 3:12-26) [a earlier belief that understood Jesus as a prophetic figure], Jesus is quite explicitly the Prophet like Moses (as he is also in Stephen's speech in Acts 7:37). It should hardly therefore come as a shock to find that he *is equally evidently Elijah in all but name*. . . . Jesus was indeed to be the Christ. But he was Elijah first.⁴³

Prophet, the final Prophet who should 'fulfill' all prophecy at the end of time. We shall see that the expectation of such a prophet with a very definite task to perform at the end of time was widespread in Judaism at the time of Jesus." Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 13 (italics original). However, R. Horsley simply refutes this view. "But there is very little evidence for any Jewish expectation of an eschatological prophet prior to the early Christian communities' interpretation of Jesus (and John the Baptist) and the emergence of rabbinic Judaism following the crisis created by the Roman devastation of Jewish Palestine in A.D. 70." Horsley, "Like One of the Prophets of Old," 437.

⁴⁰Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Jesus in the Gospels: A Biblical Christology* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1995), 271.

⁴¹Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 38.

⁴²See especially v. 21: "Who must remain in heaven until the time of universal restoration that God announced long ago through his holy prophets."

⁴³J. A. T. Robinson, "Elijah, John and Jesus: An Essay in Detection," *NTS* 4 (1958): 277. For a critique of Cullmann and Robinson on this issue, see John Knox, "'Prophet' in New Testament Christology," in *Lux in lumine: Essays to Honor W. Norman Pittenger*, ed. R. A. Norris, Jr. (New York: Seabury, 1966), 23-34. J. Polhill lists one more exegete who holds the Elijah Christology in Acts 3. Otto Bauernfeind, *Kommentar und Studien zur Apostelgeschichte*, WUNT 22 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 65-69; idem, "Tradition und Komposition in dem Apokatastasisspruch Apostelgeschichte 3:20f.," in *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel. Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. O. Betz, M. Hengel, and P. Schmidt, AGSU 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 13-23. One more article can be added along the same line of argument. Robert Macina, "Jean le Baptiste était-il Élie: Examen de la tradition néotestamentaire," *POC* 34 (1984): 209-32. Polhill also lists two scholars who are opposed to this Elijah-Christology in the Acts passage: Donald L. Jones, "The Title *Christos* in Luke-Acts," *CBQ* 32 (1970): 69-76; C. F. D. Moule, "Christology of Acts," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, ed. Leander E. Keck, Paul Schubert, and J. Louis Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 168-69. Cf. John B. Polhill, *Acts*, NAC, vol. 26 (Nashville: Broadman, 1992), 134-35 esp. n. 23.

Some skepticism, however, should be raised concerning the identification of Jesus with Elijah by Cullmann, Schnackenburg, and Robinson. That is, they commit the fallacy of superimposing the Elijah eschatology on the texts that display more the traits of the Mosaic eschatological prophet (cf. Deut 18:15).⁴⁴ Their oversight is somewhat understandable in view of some early Jewish texts that fuse the two figures closely in their eschatological expressions. However, ill-defined criteria and their application in studies such as this create unnecessary confusion over the presence of certain personages in the texts.⁴⁵ Moreover, it is particularly problematic when their judgments are largely based on arguments from silence. We cannot assume the Elijah *redivivus* Christology because a text does not deny such to be the case. It is comparably obvious that the texts adduced to support their views infer a Mosaic eschatological prophetic picture rather than that of Elijah. Moreover, these scholars fail to prove that such Elijah Christological motif of Acts is imported into the Gospel of John.

J. Louis Martyn. In distinction to his predecessors, J. Louis Martyn put forward a more rigorous and complicated study of Elijah Christology in John.⁴⁶ He traced the presence of the Elijah-like Christology in the pre-Johannine traditions through a convoluted source reconstruction. His contention is that the earlier “Signs Source” conceived of Christology in terms of Elijah *redivivus* while such tradition was suppressed in the later redactional layers. An example of the latter is most explicitly attested in John 3:13 in the form of anti-Elijah polemic (“no one has ascended into heaven except the one

⁴⁴Johann Maier, “Schriftrezeption im jüdischen Umfeld des Johannesevangeliums,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 58-59. Two influential studies that identify “prophet” with a prophet like Moses of Deut 18:18 are Wayne A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, NovTSup 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1967); Marie-Émile Boismard, *Moses or Jesus: An Essay in Johannine Christology*, trans. B. T. Viviano (Minneapolis: Fortress; Leuven: Peeters, 1993).

⁴⁵“In the few and scattered textual references [to Elijah *redivivus* and a prophet like Moses] that are available, their particular forms or images do not appear to be mixed or conflated; hence they can be discussed separately.” Horsley, “Like One of the Prophets of Old,” 438.

⁴⁶Martyn, “We Have Found Elijah.” 9-54.

who descended from heaven, the Son of Man”). On the other hand, the traits of an Elijah-Christology are found in several allusions to Elijah’s miracles and references to his second coming: the former in the pericopae of the changing of water into wine (2:1-11), the healing of the official’s son (4:46-54), the feeding of the multitude (6:1-14), the healing of the blind (9:1-7), and raising of Lazarus (11:1-44). Therefore, his reconstruction of the Johannine sources leads him to postulate that the original source of John 1:43-49 (the testimony of Nathanael) actually contained a phrase, “we have found Elijah,” instead of “we have found the Messiah” (John 1:41).

A reader of Martyn’s essay, however, becomes skeptical of whether such a complex reconstruction of multiple source layers can be undertaken with as high a degree of certainty as Martyn asserts. Marinus de Jonge’s assessment of Martyn’s theory is illuminating: “It is one thing to say that the Fourth Gospel presupposes earlier written and oral traditions . . . , but it is quite another matter to claim that we are still able to determine beyond reasonable doubt what the source employed in 1:19-51 contained.”⁴⁷ His view of Moses in John’s Gospel, however, seems to be contingent upon his hypothetical reconstruction of the history of the so-called Johannine community. If his theory of the community does not stand up to scrutiny, his view of Moses also breaks down.

Martyn proposes that, in its first phase, the Johannine community remained actively involved within orthodox Jewish synagogues with an outspoken conviction that Jesus is the long-awaited eschatological messiah (Martyn posits that the signs source reflects such a phase). Later on, the community had to detach itself from mainstream Judaism because of its theological differences. The problem with Martyn’s thesis, however, is that no extant literary evidence unambiguously supports his proposal (i.e.,

⁴⁷Marinus de Jonge, “John the Baptist and Elijah in the Fourth Gospel,” in *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul & John in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. R. T. Fortna and B. R. Gaventa (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 302.

“signs source” or proto-Johannine Gospel with his contended phrase “we have found Elijah”). His reconstruction remains only a product of creative imagination, and the alleged background history of the Johannine community seems to be merely a mirror-reading.⁴⁸ As such, his multi-redactional interpretation of the Mosaic portrayal in John is exegetically unsound.

From this brief sketch of three representative exegetes who perceive Jesus to be the eschatological Elijah in John, it becomes obvious that their interpretations invite much criticism. The vulnerability of their conclusions becomes visible especially when one takes into account the way in which the fourth evangelist presents the Jewish Scripture and the Old Testament characters consistently as messianic witnesses and not as messianic prefigures.⁴⁹

⁴⁸For recent criticisms of Martyn’s reconstruction of the development history of the Johannine community as reflected in the Johannine literature and early rabbinic literature, see Peter Schäfer, “Die sogenannte Synode von Jabne,” in *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums*, AGAJU 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 45-55; Reuven Kimelman, “Birkat ha-minim and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Jewish Prayer in Late Antiquity,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, ed. E. P. Sanders, Albert I. Baumgarten, and Alan Mendelson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 2:226-44; Gary M. Burge, “How Much of the Johannine Community Can We Find in the 4th Gospel?: Critical Analysis of R. Brown and J. L. Martyn” (Evangelical Theological Society Papers, 1982); Steven T. Katz, “Issues in the Separation of Judaism and Christianity after 70 CE: A Reconsideration,” *JBL* 103 (1984): 43-76; Richard Bauckham, “The Audience of the Fourth Gospel,” in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 101-06; Daniel Boyarin, “Justin Martyr Invents Judaism,” *CH* 70 (2001): 427-61; Tobias Hägerland, “John’s Gospel: A Two-Level Drama?” *JSNT* 25 (2003): 309-22; Robert Kysar, “The Expulsion from the Synagogue: The Tale of a Theory,” in *Voyages with John: Charting the Fourth Gospel* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2005), 237-46; idem, “The Whence and Whither of the Johannine Community,” in *Life in Abundance: Studies of John’s Gospel in Tribute to Raymond E. Brown, S. S.*, ed. John R. Donahue (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2005), 65-81; Timothy J. M. Ling, *The Judaean Poor and the Fourth Gospel*, SNTSMS 136 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Peter M. Phillips, *The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel: A Sequential Reading*, LNTS 294 (London: T & T Clark, 2006), 58-59. In addition, the presence and use of the signs source is widely and critically questioned in recent Johannine scholarship. For the critiques, see Wolfgang J. Bittner, *Jesu Zeichen im Johannesevangelium: Die Messias-Erkenntnis im Johannesevangelium vor ihrem jüdischen Hintergrund*, WUNT 2/26 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 2-14; Daniel Marguerat, “La ‘source des signes’ existe-t-elle?: Réception des récits de miracle dans l’évangile de Jean,” in *Communauté johannique et son histoire: La trajectoire de l’évangile de Jean aux deux premiers siècles*, ed. Johannes Beutler and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, MdB (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1990), 69-93; Gilbert van Bell, *The Signs Source in the Fourth Gospel: Historical Survey and Critical Evaluation of the Semeia Hypothesis*, BETL 116 (Louvain: Peeters, 1994); and John Ashton, “The Signs Source,” in *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 90-113.

⁴⁹Probably it is John Meier who has advanced the most elaborate argument for Jesus as the eschatological Elijah-like prophet. He has so far published a series of three books on the very topic and is planning on writing two more books in the series. “And yet the massive amount of the Gospel record dedicated to Jesus’ miracle working, his itinerant prophetic ministry, his eschatological message, and even his narrative parables, which belong more to the prophetic than to the sapiential mode of speaking, argues that the Elijah-like eschatological prophet is probably the best single model for the historical Jesus, however much it must be supplemented by elements from the legal and sapiential traditions of Israel. The

John the Baptist as Elijah

Marinus de Jonge. In contrast to the scholars noted above, some explanations have been offered so as to make sense of the blatant denial of John the Baptist which runs directly counter to the testimonies of the Synoptic Gospels concerning his identity as Elijah *redivivus*. Marinus de Jonge, for instance, drew a clue from the testimonies of an early church father, Justin Martyr (*Apology* 35:1; *Dialogue with Trypho* 8:4) who reports that, in the time of Jesus, there was a popular belief of Elijah anointing the Messiah. Until the anointing by the prophet, the messiah is unknown and powerless.⁵⁰

But if the Messiah has been born and exists anywhere, He is not known, nor is He conscious of His own existence, nor has He any power until Elias comes to anoint Him and to make Him manifest to all. But you [Christians] have believed this foolish rumor, and you have invented for yourselves a Christ for whom you blindly give up your lives (Justin *Dialogue with Trypho* 8:4).⁵¹

This tradition can certainly lead one to posit the dependence of the messiah on his forerunner and such tension could be exactly what the fourth evangelist was avoiding.

John 2:26b-27a could be cited as a trace of reminiscence to such a tradition: "Among you stands one whom you do not know, the one who is coming after me [John]."

Elijah-like prophet is not the total explanation of the historical Jesus, but it is, in my view, the dominant pattern." John P. Meier, "From Elijah-like Prophet to Royal Davidic Messiah," in *Jesus: A Colloquium in the Holy Land*, ed. Doris Donnelly (London: Continuum, 2001), 46. Also, idem, "The Present State of the 'Third Quest' for the Historical Jesus: Loss and Gain," *Bib* 80 (1999): 483. His thesis is generally valid in that Jesus is depicted as a prophetic figure but it manifests a grave exegetical oversight in two respects. First, he ignores the accounts of the Synoptic Gospels that explicitly identify John the Baptist, not Jesus, as the Elijah-like figure. Second, his reconstruction of the historical Jesus is largely dependent on the Synoptic Gospels. The Gospel of John, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter, does not care to employ the conventional Jewish expectations of the Elijah *redivivus* figure. Furthermore, since this Gospel was received as a part of the Christian canon it should be taken seriously into account in the reconstruction of the "historical Jesus." By implication, it could be inferred that the image of Jesus as an Elijah figure was not a major concern for the disciples and early Christians. For his books on this topic, see idem, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, 3 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1991-2001); but for his virtually exclusive dependence on the Synoptic Gospels, see especially John P. Meier, *Mentor, Message, and Miracles*, vol. 2 of *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 19-1038; idem, *Companions and Competitors*, vol. 3 of *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 19-285.

⁵⁰Marinus de Jonge, "Jewish Expectations about the 'Messiah' according to the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 19 (1973): 246-70; reprinted in *Jesus, Stranger from Heaven and Son of God: Jesus Christ and the Christians in Johannine Perspective* (Missoula, MT: SBL, 1977), 77-116; idem, "John the Baptist and Elijah in the Fourth Gospel," 299-309. Also, "The Fourth Gospel's refusal to depict John as Elijah, thus differing from Matthew and Mark, may be due to the view that Elijah would anoint the Messiah, a status which the fourth evangelist does not wish to grant the Baptist in his polemic directed at the disciples of John." Polhill, "John 1-4," 457 n. 10.

⁵¹*Saint Justin Martyr*, trans. Thomas B. Falls (New York: Christian Heritage, 1948), 161.

Etienne Trocmé. Another popular attempt explains the John-Elijah question with a later tension between the Johannine community and the so-called “party of the Baptist.” It is argued that some later church fathers hint at the posthumous sanctification of John the Baptist by his disciples. The advocates of this view usually substantiate their position on two grounds. First, Acts 18:24-19:7 speaks of Apollos and a group of Christian believers who were baptized only in the baptism of John. From this text, Trocmé, for instance, presumes a continuing presence of the Johannine followers in the Transjordan area.⁵² A more explicit reference to the remaining group of the Baptist sect is, however, found in a late second-century testimony of the Pseudo-Clementines, especially *Recognitions* 1.54.8; 1.60.1-11 and *Homilies* 2.23. The Latin version of *Recognitions* reveals that a group of John’s followers led by Simon believed the Baptist to be the Messiah (although the Syriac version of *Recog.* 1.54.8, the older tradition, does not record this belief). It has been argued that the early church fathers (i.e., Irenaeus and Justin) identified the founding father of Gnosticism, Simon Magus, as a follower of John the Baptist.⁵³ As such, some exegetes believe that the fourth evangelist was refuting the

⁵²Etienne Trocmé, “Jean-Baptiste dans le Quatrième Évangile,” *RHPR* 60 (1980): 129-51; Wilhelm Baldensperger, *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums: Sein polemischapologetischer Zweck* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1898). Both reviewed in Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, ed. Francis J. Moloney, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 153-57; Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*, 149. Cf. Lichtenberger construes a presence of the followers of the Baptist in Rome in the late first century A.D. Hermann Lichtenberger, “Täufergemeinden und frühchristliche Täuferpolemik im letzten Drittel des 1ten Jahrhunderts,” *ZTK* 84 (1987): 36-57, cited in Polhill, *Acts*, 399.

⁵³First proposed by Ernst Haenchen, “Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis,” *ZTK* 49 (1952): 316-49; and further argued by Gerd Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen zur simonianischen Gnosis*, GTA 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975); idem, “The Acts of the Apostles and the Beginnings of Simonian Gnosis,” *NTS* 33 (1987): 420-26; idem, *The Acts of the Apostles: What Really Happened in the Earliest Days of the Church* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2005), 118-20. This view was extensively criticized by Karlmann Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*, WUNT 16 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974). For the research history, see Robert McL Wilson, “Simon and Gnostic Origins,” in *Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie*, ed. Jacob Kremer, BETL 48 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1979), 485-91; Niclas Förster, *Marcus Magus: Kult, Lehre und Gemeindeleben einer valentinianischen Gnostikergruppe: Sammlung der Quellen und Kommentar*, WUNT 114 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 7-53; Stephen Haar, *Simon Magus: The First Gnostic?* BZNW 119 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003). A major weakness of this view is that it is based on a conjectured historical reconstruction. A good number of biblical exegetes disagree with the identification of Simon in Acts with the founder of Gnosticism. For instance, Wayne A. Meeks, “Simon Magus in Recent Research,” *RSR* 3 (1977): 137-42; Roland Bergmeir, “Die Gestalt des Simon Magus in App 8 und in der simonianischen Gnosis: Aporien einer Gesamtdeutung,” *ZNW* 77 (1986): 267-75; Jarl Fossum, “Samaritan Sects and Movements,” in *Samaritans*, ed. Alan D. Crown (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 357-89; Polhill, *Acts*, 216 (where Bergmeir and others are cited); Martin Hengel, “Judaism and Hellenism Revisited,” in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. John

budding Gnostic movement by his downplaying of John the Baptist at that particular point in the Gospel of John.

Table 1. Comparison of the Syriac and Latin versions of Ps.-Clem. *Recog.* on John the Baptist⁵⁴

| Translations from the Syriac version | Translations from the Latin version |
|--|--|
| “Now the pure disciples of John separated themselves greatly from the people and spoke to their teacher as if he was concealed [or: said that their teacher was, as it were, concealed]” (Ps.-Clem. <i>Recog.</i> 1.54.8). | Some of the disciples of John who imagined they were great separated themselves from the people and proclaimed their master as the Christ (Ps.-Clem. <i>Recog.</i> 1.54.8). |
| “One of the disciples of John approaches and boasted regarding John, ‘He is the Christ, and not Jesus, just as Jesus himself spoke concerning him, namely, that he is greater than any prophet who had ever been. If he is thus greater than Moses, it is clear that he is also greater than Jesus for Jesus arose just as did Moses. Therefore, it is right that John, who is greater than these, is the Christ’” (Ps.-Clem. <i>Recog.</i> 1.60.1-2). | “And behold, one of John’s disciples asserted that John was Christ, and not Jesus. ‘This is so much the case,’ he said, ‘that even Jesus himself proclaimed that John is greater than all humans and prophets. If therefore,’ he said, ‘he is greater than all, he should doubtless be considered greater than both Moses and Jesus himself. Now if he is greater than all, he is Christ’” (Ps.-Clem. <i>Recog.</i> 1.60.1-2). |

There appeared a certain John the Baptist, who according to the disposition of the syzygies was at the same time the forerunner of our Lord Jesus. And as the Lord had twelve apostles according to the number of the solar months, so also there gathered about John thirty eminent persons according to the reckoning of the lunar month . . .” (Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 2.23).⁵⁵

It has been argued that the early church fathers (i.e., Irenaeus and Justin) identified the founding father of Gnosticism, Simon Magus, as a follower of John the Baptist.⁵⁶ As

J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling, *CJAS* 13 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 16. In addition, on the basis of the extant literary evidence, C. Marksches is skeptical of the alleged competition between Simonians and nascent Christianity. Christoph Marksches, *Gnosis: An Introduction*, trans. John Bowden (London: T & T Clark, 2003), 73-83.

⁵⁴F. Stanley Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source on the History of Christianity: Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions 1.27-71*, TT 37 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 88, 94.

⁵⁵*NTA* (1963), 2:547.

⁵⁶First proposed by Ernst Haenchen, “Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis,” *ZTK* 49 (1952): 316-49; and further argued by Gerd Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen zur simonianischen Gnosis*, GTA 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975); idem, “The Acts of the Apostles and the Beginnings of

such, some exegetes believe that the fourth evangelist was refuting the budding Gnostic movement by his downplaying of John the Baptist at that particular point in the Gospel of John.

John the Baptist Not as Elijah

Markus Öhler. In contrast to the views that articulate the Baptist as Elijah *redivivus*, Markus Öhler sets forth his reservations in a four-fold argument.⁵⁷ First, in view of the magnitude of the trouble that the alleged tension would have caused to the early church, the Synoptic Gospels are surprisingly silent, and seek to remedy the alleged traditions. Second, contrary to the suggestion of Trocmé and others, the “hidden” language in John 1:26 represents a typical Johannine expression. Accordingly, it is difficult to attribute that verse to something other than a Johannine redactional trait as Trocmé posits it to belong to a pre-Johannine tradition.⁵⁸ Third, Justin’s use of an independent Jewish tradition is unlikely in view of Justin’s verbatim quotation in 88.7. The citation resembles the wording of the Fourth Gospel so closely, so that the literary dependence should be reckoned from the Gospel onto Justin (although it could be an

Simonian Gnosis,” *NTS* 33 (1987): 420-26; idem, *The Acts of the Apostles: What Really Happened in the Earliest Days of the Church* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2005), 118-20. This view was extensively criticized by Karlmann Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*, WUNT 16 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974). For the research history, see Robert McL Wilson, “Simon and Gnostic Origins,” in *Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie*, ed. Jacob Kremer, BETL 48 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1979), 485-91; Niclas Förster, *Marcus Magus: Kult, Lehre und Gemeindeleben einer valentinianischen Gnostikergruppe: Sammlung der Quellen und Kommentar*, WUNT 114 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 7-53; Stephen Haar, *Simon Magus: The First Gnostic?* BZNW 119 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003). A major weakness of this view is that it is based on a conjectured historical reconstruction. A good number of biblical exegetes disagree with the identification of Simon in Acts with the founder of Gnosticism. For instance, Wayne A. Meeks, “Simon Magus in Recent Research,” *RSR* 3 (1977): 137-42; Roland Bergmeir, “Die Gestalt des Simon Magus in Apg 8 und in der simonianischen Gnosis: Aporien einer Gesamtdeutung,” *ZNW* 77 (1986): 267-75; Jarl Fossum, “Samaritan Sects and Movements,” in *Samaritans*, ed. Alan D. Crown (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 357-89; Polhill, *Acts*, 216 (where Bergmeir and others are cited); Martin Hengel, “Judaism and Hellenism Revisited,” in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling, *CJAS* 13 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 16. In addition, on the basis of the extant literary evidence, C. Marksches is skeptical of the alleged competition between Simonians and nascent Christianity. Christoph Marksches, *Gnosis: An Introduction*, trans. John Bowden (London: T & T Clark, 2003), 73-83.

⁵⁷Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament*, 94-97.

⁵⁸Also, Martin Stowasser, *Johannes der Täufer im Vierten Evangelium: Eine Untersuchung zu seiner Bedeutung für die johanneische Gemeinde*, ÖBS 12 (Klosterneuburg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992), 93.

indirect one).⁵⁹

οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος ἧξει γὰρ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου (*Dialogus cum Tryphone* 88.7)⁶⁰

οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ χριστός . . . φωνὴ βοῶντος (John 1:20-23, UBS)

Finally, it is hard to imagine that the fourth evangelist decidedly went against the popular current of belief in John the Baptist as Elijah, the messianic forerunner, as witnessed in the Synoptic Gospels. It is rather easier to assume that the fourth evangelist was simply unaware of the pre-Markan tradition, in which the Baptist was seen as a harbinger of the messianic age. The researches of Fairstein and Öhler himself confirm that such pre-Markan tradition may well have been of only marginal influence if present at all. This notion makes a compelling case since the fourth evangelist does not manifest recourse to passages from Malachi and Sirach that represent arguably the closest examples of the so-called “Jewish hope of Elijah’s return as the messianic forerunner.”⁶¹

High view of John the Baptist. In addition to the reservations of Öhler, some other aspects can be noted in contrast to the views articulated by Trocmé, de Jonge, and others. First, the high esteem reserved for John the Baptist in the Gospel does not tally

⁵⁹Hengel also construes this resemblance as hardly a coincidence. “Diese dreifache Koinzidenz mit zwei wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen kann schwerlich ein bloßer Zufall sein.” Martin Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage: Ein Lösungsversuch*, WUNT 67 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 64. For a further example of scholarship that sees Justin’s dependence on John, see John W. Pryor, “Justin Martyr and the Fourth Gospel,” *SecCent* 9 (1992): 153-69. However, there are also scholars who are skeptical about the direct literary dependence between John and Justin Martyr. Michael Mees, *Die frühe Rezeptionsgeschichte des Johannesevangeliums: Am Beispiel von Textüberlieferung und Väterexegese*, ed. Georg Scheuermann and Andreas-P. Alkofer, FB 72 (Würzburg: Echter, 1994), 200-10; Titus Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert: Studien zur vorirenäischen Aneignung und Auslegung des vierten Evangeliums in christlicher und christlich-agnostischer Literatur*, ABIG 2 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 94-116; Günter Reim, *Jochanan: Erweiterte Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (Erlangen: Der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1995), 487-534; Johann Maier, “Schriftrezeption im jüdischen Umfeld des Johannesevangeliums,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 86.

⁶⁰Iustini Martyris *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, ed. M. Marcovich, PTS 47 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 224.

⁶¹Whereas John cites only Isa 40:3 for the identity of John the Baptist, Mark associates the Isaian text with Mal 3:1. Cf. Jan Lambrecht, “John the Baptist and Jesus in Mark 1:1-15: Markan Redaction of Q?” *NTS* 38 (1992): 357-84; Santiago Guijarro Oporto, “Why Does the Gospel of Mark Begin as It Does?” *BTB* 33 (2003): 28-38.

with their views. The divine origin of the Baptist is only matched by that of Jesus. The divine provenance of the Baptist as witnessed in John 1:6 and 3:28b depicts an analogous picture with the Johannine missionary Christology.⁶² The authority of John's ministry as Christological witness amounts to that of the Scripture as the Baptist reveals Jesus to Israel (1:31; 3:29).⁶³

We can fruitfully compare the functions of which the evangelist ascribes to the scriptural text and to John the Baptist. There is a striking similarity between these two functions; at the same time, the evangelist's view of the Baptist is more elaborated at the textual level of his gospel than his view of the Scripture . . . the role of John the Baptist is almost completely reduced to that of a witness on behalf of Jesus In this respect, his [John the Baptist] role agrees with that of the OT: the positive, theological meaning of both John the Baptist and the OT within the Fourth Gospel is that they testify to Jesus.⁶⁴

Moreover, the fourth evangelist's high view of John is further illuminated in his references to the Baptist's possession of the unique revelations that are not attested in the Synoptic Gospels, such concepts as, Jesus the Lamb of God, the preexistent Son, God's chosen one, and the bridegroom of Israel (1:29-34; 3:39).

Anachronism and the textual testimony. The traditions that allegedly point to the tension between Jesus and John the Baptist (i.e., Justin and pseudo-Clement) are late and the number of such witnesses is quite sparse, especially in light of the extent of the crises it would have entailed. The extant literary evidences, therefore, preclude any firm conclusion that the fourth evangelist was portraying John the Baptist over against such traditions as Elijah's anointing the Messiah or the Johannine community's conflict with the full-blown Baptist party. Finally, if we assume the competent editorial and/or writing ability of the fourth evangelist (whoever was responsible for the final shape of the

⁶²“There was a man sent from God, whose name was John (1:6)”; and “I am not the Messiah, but I have been sent ahead of him” (3:28b). The passive voice of the latter text probably demonstrates the divine initiative of his mission.

⁶³Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, 156.

⁶⁴M. J. J. Menken, “Observations on the Significance of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,” in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 164.

present Gospel), the most important clue for the identity of John the Baptist should be his own self-revealing statement which the evangelist believed to be important enough to preserve in the present text and placed it in quotation marks: "What then? Are you Elijah?" He said, "I am not."

Function of John the Baptist in John

Although John the Baptist is not related to Elijah in the Fourth Gospel, his role is quite interesting. His profile nicely fits with the characteristic that is reserved for the Old Testament characters in terms of the witness motif.⁶⁵ John the Baptist appears in the four major sections of John's Gospel: 1:6-8, 15, 19-36; 3:23-30; 5:33-36; 10:40-42. Each time he is mentioned, the length and importance of him are reduced.⁶⁶ He is extensively addressed only in the first chapter, whereas, in chapters 3, 5, and 10, he is mentioned only in the passing references. Thus, it is worthwhile to focus an inquiry into his narrative function to the first chapter, especially John 1:19-34, due to the concentrated attention to the Baptist in the discourse. However, the fourth evangelist's view of the Baptist as reflected in chapters three, five, and ten will be taken into account when deemed necessary.

Witness

Five major observations can be adduced from John 1:19-34, as well as from 3:23-30, 5:33-36, and 10:40-42. First, the formal analysis demonstrates a marked interest in the witness theme in three respects. The *hina* clause of John 1:7 indicates the sole purpose of John's commission, that is, to bear witness to the light.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Michael Theobald, *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos: Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh*, NTANF 20 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1988), 148.

⁶⁶T. F. Glasson, "John the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel," *ExpTim* 67(1956): 245-46.

⁶⁷Klaus Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, rev. ed., TKNT 4 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 1:62; Ulrich B. Müller, *Johannes der Täufer: Jüdischer Prophet und Wegbereiter Jesu*, BG 6 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2002), 168-69; Hartwig Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, HNT 6 (Tübingen:

οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός, ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι' αὐτοῦ. (John 1:7)

In addition, the present pericope is structurally delimited with an *inclusio*, which is marked by the testimony of John the Baptist (“Καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἰωάννου”: v. 19a; “κάγὼ ἐώρακα καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα”: v. 34a), and which also accounts for the first two days or the inauguration of John the Baptist’s ministry.

The indirect witness of John concerning Jesus (1:19-28)

The direct witness of John concerning Jesus (1:29-34)⁶⁸

Finally, this section is replete with the recurrent keyword “μαρτυρία” and a conceptually related term “ὁμολογέω” (vv. 19, 20, 32, 34). Although some exegetes identify John the Baptist with Elijah in the present text, John’s solemn denial militates against such a view. The reason for rejecting the association of the Baptist with Elijah, which is clearly indicated in the Synoptics, seems to be due to the evangelist’s intention to limit the role of John specifically and exclusively to that of witness (esp. 1:7, 15).⁶⁹

John’s explicit self-identification, “the voice crying in the wilderness,” is virtually a verbatim quotation from Isaiah 40:3:⁷⁰

ἐγὼ φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· εὐθύνατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου (John 1:23b, *NA*)
 φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου (Isaiah 40:3a, *LXX*)
 קוֹל קוֹרֵא בְּמִדְבָּר פִּנּוּ דְרֹךְ יְהוָה (Isaiah 40:3a, *BHS*^d)

However, an interesting shift is observed in the Greek translation of the Hebrew predicate for the voice. The semantic force of the Hebrew participle (קוֹרֵא, “proclaiming”) carries a strong prophetic overtone while its Greek counterpart (βοῶντος, “crying out”) does not

Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 76.

⁶⁸This structural analysis is indebted to Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 111-28, and Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:86-93.

⁶⁹Morna D. Hooker, “John the Baptist and the Johannine Prologue,” *NTS* 16 (1969-1970): 358. “Die damit verbundene Absicht ist wohl die, ihn ganz und gar und ausschließlich auf die Rolle des Zeugen festzulegen.” Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:88. “As in the rest of the Gospel, John here [in the Johannine prologue] functions primarily or solely as a witness to Jesus—a theme in the Fourth Gospel that extends far beyond whatever significance the author attaches to its particular application to the Baptist.” Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 1:391.

⁷⁰The mode of John’s witness is via “crying out (κέκραγεν).” Although formally it is in the perfect tense, the sense is in the present. *BDF*, 176 (§ 341); Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:76.

bear such a connotation.⁷¹ This use of the identical verb probably points to the Johannine recourse to the Greek text of the Old Testament. Menken convincingly points out two reasons which show the dependence of John on the Septuagint rather than on the Hebrew text.⁷² First, the verb of the adjectival participle is βοάω (to cry out), a Johannine *hapax legomenon*, which Menken construes to be an indication of John's dependence on the Septuagint. Second, the Hebrew verb, יָנַף (the piel form of יָנַף) means "to make clear" not "make straight" as described in the Johannine and the Greek Isiaian texts (εὐθύνατε and ἐτοιμάσατε).⁷³ Furthermore, the use of Isaiah 40:3 in John reveals a degree of affinity with the Qumran community (perhaps indirectly) as it is quite frequently attested in the literary collection of the sect. Accordingly, a number of scholars postulate that the very text defined the identity of the community.⁷⁴

Divine Provenance

Second, the divine provenance of the Baptist is recognized in that he is sent from God (1:6).⁷⁵ This divine commission also evokes the calling of the Old Testament prophets, and is matched only by those of Jesus (3:17, 34; 5:38) and of the Holy Spirit

⁷¹BDAG (p. 180) renders the meaning of βοάω as to "use one's voice at high volume, call, shout, cry out" or to "roar." The *qal* participle of יָנַף means to "call someone, shout, proclaim, announce." Especially, the latter connotation seems to be in mind. Louis Jonker, "יָנַף," in *NIDOTTE*, 3:972; *HALOT*, 2:1129.

⁷²M. J. J. Menken, "'I Am the Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness . . .'" (John 1:23)," in *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form* (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 22-25.

⁷³BDAG (p. 406) renders εὐθύνω to mean "to straighten, make straight." ἐτοιμάζω means to "prepare" (BDAG, 400; *Liddell and Scott*, 703).

⁷⁴George J. Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*, ed. G. J. Brooke and F. G. Martínez, STDJ 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 117-32; James H. Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek ha-Yahad," in *Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon, BJS 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 197-224.

⁷⁵A great number of Johannine exegetes posit that verses 6 and 15 are inserted into an original early Christian hymn. For a lengthy discussion on source criticism of the John the Baptist discourse in the prologue, see Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 76-79.

(14:26; 15:26) in John's Gospel.⁷⁶ However, this divine origin is not stated for self-interest, but rather functions to verify the legitimacy of his testimony. It is God who validates the witness of John (and his eyewitness testimony of the accompanying of the Holy Spirit on Jesus):⁷⁷

And John testified, "I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it remained on him. I myself did not know him, but the one who sent me to baptize with water said to me, 'He on whom you see the Spirit descend and remain is the one who baptizes with the Holy Spirit.'" (1:32-33)⁷⁸

Analogy and Comparison to Jesus

Third, John provides a point of comparison with Jesus.⁷⁹ Although he himself

⁷⁶"Verse six speaks of the Baptist as an envoy from God as the prophets of the Old Testament were sent by God." Christian Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, ZBNT 4 (Zürich: Theologischer, 2001), 1:27 (translation mine); Müller, *Johannes der Täufer*, 164.

⁷⁷Müller, *Johannes der Täufer*, 162; Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 75-76, 80.

⁷⁸On v. 33, Schnackenburg comments that "God himself is behind John's testimony in two ways: he authorizes his office as witness, and he guarantees the content of his testimony." Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, HTCNT (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 1:304.

⁷⁹Some scholars postulate an interpolation of a later historical tension (between the Johannine community and the Baptist circle) into the text. This reconstruction creates a suspicion of a mirror reading. Cf. Lichtenberger, "Täufergemeinden und frühchristliche Täuferpolemik im letzten Drittel des 1ten Jahrhunderts," 36-57; Josef Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte*, BZNW 53 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 210-11; Martin Stowasser, *Johannes der Täufer im Vierten Evangelium: Eine Untersuchung zu seiner Bedeutung für die johanneische Gemeinde*, ÖBS 12 (Klosterneuburg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992), 43; Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:61. Three reasons, however, rule out such a construal. First, the anachronistic nature of their assessment renders fragile the high degree of certainty with which these exegetes reconstruct the specific communities of the Baptist and the evangelist. Knut Backhaus, *Die "Jüngerkreise" des Täufers Johannes: Eine Studie zu den religionsgeschichtlichen Ursprüngen des Christentums*, PThSt 19 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1991), 356, 439; Daniel S. Dapaah, *The Relationship between John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth: A Critical Study* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005), 133-34. Second, the extant data are insufficient to construe a coherent community related to the Baptist or to the Fourth Gospel. "The term 'Baptist school' is to be avoided because it suggests the system of the rabbinic training house. The same applies to the designations 'Baptist sect' or 'Johannine sect' because these suggest a community education with high inner-coherence and strong external isolation." Müller, *Johannes der Täufer*, 187-88 (translation mine). Finally, the textual testimonies of John's Gospel that highly regard the Baptist contradict the historical reconstruction of the tension between the Johannine community and the Baptist sect. "It is methodologically illegitimate . . . to reconstruct the views of John's disciples by reversing every denial and restriction placed on John in the Fourth Gospel. . . . By [this] line of reasoning, John was worshipped as Elijah, prophet, messiah, the Light and the Life of men, a wonderworker, the pre-existent Logos through whom all things were made, indeed, even as the Word made flesh! If such an advanced 'John-cult' had in fact antedated the fourth Gospel, John would never have been conferred such an exalted role by the Evangelist." Wink, *John the Baptist*, 102. Here Wink refers to Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 17-18. Also it must be noted that the exponents of such a historical reconstruction depend too much on the extra-Johannine witnesses (especially those of Acts). Certainly, Acts 19:1-7 seems to reflect the presence of Christians who were influenced by John the Baptist. However, it is one thing to say that the Acts passage reflects such a tension within the early Christian groups (for the argument's sake, it is assumed so) but it is an entirely different matter to say that the Fourth Gospel reflects the same historical situation as portrayed in Acts.

is of a divine origin just as Jesus is, the Baptist substantially differs from the one to whom he bears witness. This fundamental difference is expressed in various languages: he is not the light (1:8); nor is he Christ, Elijah, or even the prophet (1:20-21; 3:28). His water baptism is distinguished from the ministry of Jesus, for the latter is accompanied with the Holy Spirit (1:33).⁸⁰ He is a friend of the bridegroom, at whose voice he takes joy.⁸¹ His existence is provisional: “He must increase, but I must decrease” (3:30); “He was a burning and shining lamp, and you were willing to rejoice for a while in his light” (5:35).⁸² He is a burning and shining lamp (5:35) in contrast to Jesus the true light (1:8-9). His testimony is not a prerequisite for Jesus’ messianic qualifications: “You sent messengers to John, and he testified to the truth. Not that I accept such human testimony” (5:34). He performed no sign whereas Jesus did many (10:41). His testimony of Jesus’ temporal precedence harkens back to John 1:1-2 where Jesus’ pre-existence is equated with that of God.⁸³

Mediator

Fourth, the witness ministry of John the Baptist mediates between Jesus and the unbelieving world, whom he leads to the light:

The next day John again was standing with two of his disciples, and as he watched Jesus walk by, he exclaimed, “Look, here is the Lamb of God!” The two disciples heard him say this, and they followed Jesus (1:35-37); Many came to him, and they were saying, “John performed no sign, but everything that John said about this man was true.” And many believed in him there. (10:41-42)

This mediating function could entitle him the “first Christian” as it is a common pattern of the Gospel that one person leads another to the faith in Jesus (Philip with Nathanael,

⁸⁰Müller, *Johannes der Täufer*, 173.

⁸¹“This joy is the point of the comparison, as the final clause shows: the Baptist, who wishes to be no more than the friend of the bridegroom, sees his hopes fulfilled.” Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 1:416-17.

⁸²Müller, *Johannes der Täufer*, 177.

⁸³Edwin Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 2nd ed. (London: Faber, 1947), 151; Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:419.

the Samaritan woman with the Samaritan villagers).⁸⁴

Recapitulation of the Old Testament

Finally, the witness function of the Baptist appears to be a recapitulation of the function of the Scripture and Old Testament characters as perceived by the fourth evangelist (“You search the scriptures because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that testify on my behalf”: John 5:39).⁸⁵ Just as the Scriptures and Old Testament protagonists point to the messianic nature of Jesus, the content of John’s witness ministry indicates Jesus as the light and illuminates his pre-existence (1:7-15). This analysis of John’s narrative function locates him within the rank of the Old Testament figures notwithstanding his chronological place in the New Testament era.

Conclusion

If the observations stated above stand, it is quite plausible that the fourth evangelist did not fully take advantage of the Jewish eschatological expectations of Elijah *redivivus*, partly because they were of only marginal influence in view of the wide spectrum of Jewish messianic hopes (for instance, in comparison with the Davidic or Mosaic messianic hopes).⁸⁶ More importantly, however, it is probably because the Jewish views of Elijah *redivivus* do not dovetail with the evangelist’s literary schema he reserved for the Scripture and the Old Testament characters, that is, the role of messianic

⁸⁴Stowasser, *Johannes der Täufer im Vierten Evangelium*, 53; Müller, *Johannes der Täufer*, 162-63.

⁸⁵“John appears to be . . . the embodiment of the OT. . . . It is as though, when the incarnation finally arrived, full of covenant love, the OT stood up and cheered.” Thomas L. Brodie, *The Gospel according to John: A Literary and Theological Commentary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 143. “The Baptist serves as the prototypical OT prophetic witness to Jesus and his coming, which makes his testimony an integral part of the salvation history canvassed by the evangelist.” Andreas Köstenberger, *John*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 45.

⁸⁶In contrast to Gese who positively evaluates the connection of the two Testaments in terms of Elijah. “Das Neue Testament steht einem im Alten Testament bis zu Sir 48 entwickelten Eliabild gegenüber, dessen tiefe Wahrheit und große Bedeutung es so wiedergibt, daß Einheit von Altem und Neuem Testament auch in diesem Fall eindrücklich bezeugt wird.” Gese, “Zur Bedeutung Elias für die biblische Theologie,” 150.

witnesses.⁸⁷ In other words, it is the Synoptic Gospels that re-read and redefined the eschatological texts of Elijah into Christian messianism (that is to assume that there were such early rabbinic beliefs from the statements of Mark 9:11 par).

Concerning the inquiry on the narrative role of Elijah, the answer must be given in the negative since the Johannine protagonists that most likely meet the expectations of Elijah *redivivus*, such as Jesus and John the Baptist, are not cast as such. On the contrary, John the Baptist, who is consistently portrayed as Elijah *redivivus* in the Synoptics, is characterized exclusively as a messianic witness throughout the Gospel of John, so that he is placed almost in the equal standing as that of the Old Testament characters. He does not baptize Jesus but only witnesses the Spirit descending as a dove and remaining on Jesus. He does not even compare himself with Jesus (“the one who is stronger than I,” Mark 1:7 pars.) but only acknowledges the temporal priority of Christ (John 1:15).⁸⁸ These observations enable us to conclude that the fourth evangelist Christianized the Baptist in his own way to suit his Christological emphasis (just as the Synoptics Christianized the Elijah *redivivus* traditions to their literary end) and stressed his witness function just as he brought forth the same function performed by the Scripture and the Old Testament protagonists. This characterization of John as messianic witness is quite impressive since the fourth evangelist did not take advantage of the

⁸⁷“The First Gospel offers an apologetic explanation of why Jesus was baptized by John. The Fourth Gospel avoids the difficulty by backgrounding baptism and foregrounding John’s role as witness to Jesus. . . . Indeed, his baptismal ministry serves the sole purpose of revealing Jesus to Israel, making explicit what the Synoptics imply. Since he is given this crucial but limited function, he is not identified with Elijah.” Margaret Davies, *Rhetoric and Reference in the Fourth Gospel*, JSNTSup 69 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 316. Contrary to Blomberg’s judgment, it seems fairly obvious in the subsequent context that the inquirers were concerned with the association of the Baptist with the prophet, especially of his authority, not of the prophet’s physical re-appearance. Cf. “But none of these texts (the synoptic accounts of John as Elijah) implies that John was the literal Elijah returned from heaven, which may be precisely what John is denying in the Fourth Gospel.” Craig L. Blomberg, *The Historical Reliability of John’s Gospel: Issues and Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001), 76.

⁸⁸The Christological temporal priority, which is typically a Johannine characteristic, is equally applied to John the Baptist just as it is to Abraham. Cf. Michael Labahn, “Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Überlegungen zu einem spannungsreichen Verhältnis,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 188-98.

eschatological prophet traditions concerning Elijah (i.e., Malachi and Sirach) that were readily available, as much to John as to the Synoptic evangelists. Although it is to some degree an argument from silence that the evangelist did not opt for such traditions, it still speaks loudly of his tenacious penchant to describe John the Baptist solely as a messianic witness, and to neglect the role of Elijah for his Gospel.

CHAPTER 4

DAVID

Introduction

“A man after God’s own heart,” David, is one of the favorite Bible characters cherished by both Jews and Christians around the world. Rooted in the Old Testament, his popularity continued to play out a significant role in intertestamental Judaism and the New Testament. His role as a messianic prefiguration, in particular, has drawn a great deal of attention in biblical scholarship, and recently even in the field of Johannine studies. It is this question that the present chapter seeks to address. That is, it will examine whether the fourth evangelist presents David as a messianic type. In order to answer that question, this chapter will begin with an inquiry on the perceptions of David in the Old Testament and in early Judaism with special interest in his messianic image. Finally, the latter part of this chapter will be devoted to the question set forth in the beginning, namely, the messianic role of David in John.

David in the Old Testament and the Second Temple Period

The Old Testament writings and the subsequent Jewish traditions portray David the son of Jesse from a variety of angles.¹ These various perceptions can be

¹For convenient surveys of the images of David in the Old Testament and in early Judaism, see Robert P. Gordon, “David,” in *NIDOTTE*, 4:505-12; Jacques Bernard, “David et le péché original chez les Tannaïm,” in *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l’ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. L. Desrousseaux and J. Vermeylen, LD 177 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 277-314; Claude Coulot, “David à Qumrân,” in *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l’ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. L. Desrousseaux and J. Vermeylen, LD 177 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 315-44; Walter Dietrich, “David I. Biblisch, 1. Altes Testament” in *RGG*, 2:593-96; Martin Jacobs, “David III. Judentum, 1. Antike,” in *RGG*, 2:598-99; Kenneth Pomykala, “Images of David in Early Judaism,” in *Ancient Versions and Traditions*, vol. 1 of *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*, ed. C. A. Evans, LSTS 50 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 33-46; Rolf Rendtorff, *Canonical Hebrew Bible: A Theology of the Old Testament*, TBS 7 (Leiden: Deo, 2005), 560-74.

classified under three headings: an ideal ruler, an exemplary Jew, and a messianic prefiguration.

Ideal Ruler

The earlier Jewish traditions, that is, historical narratives (i.e., the books of Chronicles and Samuel), generally present him in the first category.² The second category of beliefs, in part, stems from the attribution of David as the author of the book of Psalms. Although only little more than half of the Psalms are explicitly attributed to David as the writer, some Jewish interpretive traditions (i.e., the Qumran and later rabbinic literature) embrace the Davidic authorship of the entire corpus of the Psalter (i.e., *b. Pesah.* 117a; *m. Tehar.* 1:6, 24:3; *b. Ber.* 3a).³ For example, the Babylonian Talmud speaks of him as the general editor of the Psalms (*b. Bat.* 14b-15a). A unique view, which may be remotely related to this current of thought, is the understanding of David as a prophet. Acts 2:30 bears witness to the recognition of him as such:

Since he [David] was a prophet, he knew that God has sworn with an oath to him that he would put one of his descendants on this throne. Foreseeing this, David spoke of the resurrection of the Messiah, saying, "He was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh experience corruption." (Acts 2:30-31)

Interestingly, among various strands of the intertestamental Jewish writings, only some of the Qumran writings demonstrate considerations analogous to the Acts passage in that David is seen as a spirit-inspired prophet.⁴

²Lawrence A. Sinclar, "David I: Altes Testament," in *TRE* 8:382-83. J. M. Bassler notes that early rabbinic literature does not emphasize David's warrior career. When the military victories of David are mentioned, they function to highlight the divine intervention for the weak and righteous over the strong and impious. Jouette M. Bassler, "A Man for All Seasons: David in Rabbinic and New Testament Literature," *Int* 40 (1986): 157.

³George J. Brooke, "The Psalms in Early Jewish Literature in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, NTSI (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 9-10; Brevard S. Childs, "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16 (1971): 137-50.

⁴For the Qumran influence on the Acts passage, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "David, 'Being Therefore a Prophet' (Acts 2:30)," *CBQ* 34 (1972): 332-39; Craig A. Evas, "David in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, *JSPSup* 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 183-97. For the Psalter influence, see James L. Kugel, "David the Prophet," in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, MP (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 45-55. For the influence of 1 Sam 7:12-13, see John B. Polhill, *Acts*, NAC,

And David, the son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun, and literate, and discerning and perfect in all his ways before God and men. And the Lord gave him a discerning spirit. And he wrote 3,600 psalms; and songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt perpetual offering every day, for all the days of the year, 364; and for the offering of the Sabbaths, 52 songs; and for the offering of the New Moons and for all the Solemn Assemblies and for the Days of Atonement, 30 songs. And all the songs that he composed were 446, and songs for making music over the stricken, 4. And the total was 4,050. All these he composed through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.⁵

Exemplary Jew

On the other hand, Psalms and some later rabbinic documents focus on his exemplary human characteristics such as his genuine repentance, prayer, and ardent study of Torah.⁶ This category seems to have developed partly from the anecdotes surrounding David's affair with Bathsheba and the numerous prayers recorded in the Psalter to his credit. Although his sin and God's punishment demonstrate the nature of just world order, his repentance and the subsequent divine forgiveness epitomize an encouraging example of the genuine adherents to early Judaism (*m. Tehar.* 40:2; 51:1, 3).⁷ In addition, other pseudepigraphic writings underscore his wholehearted devotion to God (*Sir* 47:3), his merciful character (*1 Macc* 2:57), and tenacious intercessory prayers (*2 Esdr* 7:108).⁸ Some later rabbinic traditions also reveal examples of an elevated view on the origin of David: His maternal origin traces back to Miriam (it probably was to remedy his maternal lineage, Ruth, a foreigner (*b. Ber.* 7b; *b. Sotah* 11b); and the creation of the world and its

vol. 26 (Nashville: Broadman, 1992), 114.

⁵11QPs^aDavComp Col. xxvii, 2-11, James A. Sanders, ed., *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*, DJD 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 137. Cf. Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, STDJ 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 79, 207-08, 224.

⁶C. Thoma classifies the rabbinic traditions on David under two subheadings: the actualization of the rabbinic spirit and the exemplary expression of Jewish identity and Jewish confidence. The latter category is further divided into three sub-categories, the last of which concerns the messianic expectations. Clemens Thoma, "David II: Judentum," in *TRE* 8:383-87.

⁷For the ideal characters of David, see Bassler, "A Man for All Seasons," 159-61; for his genuine repentance, see Gary N. Knoppers, "Images of David in Early Judaism: David as Repentant Sinner in Chronicles," *Bib* 76 (1995): 449-70.

⁸For David as an ideal prayer, Klaus Berger, "Die königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments," *NTS* 20 (1973): 1-44.

well-being is dependent on him (*b. Sanh.* 98b; *b. Sotah* 49a; *m. Tehar.* 25:1).⁹

Davidic Messianic Expectations in the Old Testament

However, more pertinent to the present investigation of his narrative role with reference to Johannine Christology is the last category, that is, the later developments of messianic hopes via a Davidic figure. It is generally accepted that the Synoptic Gospels relate Jesus to David but not John. In more congruous terms with the New Testament portrayals of David, especially those of the Synoptics, the last category of intertestamental Jewish beliefs, thus, projected him in the images of a royal Messiah.¹⁰

The later prophets articulated more explicitly this anticipation of David *redivivus*.

Afterward the Israelites shall return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; they shall come in awe to the Lord and to his goodness in the latter days (Hos 3:5); a Shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots (Isa 11:1); but you, O Bethlehem of Ephrathah, who are one of the little clans of Judah, from you shall come forth for me one who is to rule in Israel, whose origin is from of old, from ancient days. (Mic 5:2)

Copious examples of references and allusions to such Davidic messianic hopes are interspersed throughout the prophetic books of the Old Testament (Isa 55:3; Jer 33:15, 21-22, 25-26; Ezek 34:23-24, 37:24-25; Hos 1:11; Amos 9:11-15; Hag 2:23).

The provenance of these later Davidic messianic hopes, however, can be traced

⁹Thoma, "David II," 386-87. For a survey of rabbinic literature that defends David's rightful Jewish status, see Bassler, "A Man for All Seasons," 158-59.

¹⁰For surveys on the Davidic messianic images in the second temple period, see F. Furman Kearley, "Davidic and Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Last Things: Essays Presented by His Students to Dr. W. B. West, Jr., upon the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jack P. Lewis (Austin, TX: Sweet, 1972), 74-95; Bassler, "A Man for All Seasons," 156-62; John Bowman, "David, Jesus Son of David and Son of Man," *AbrN* 27 (1989): 1-22; Cleon L. Rogers, Jr., "The Promises to David in Early Judaism," *BSac* 150 (1993): 285-302; Yehezkel Kaufman, "The Messianic Idea: The Real and the Hidden Son-of-David," *JBQ* 22 (1994): 141-50; Kenneth Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*, EJIL 7 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 127-229; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, ABRL 10 (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 49-73; Rex Mason, "The Messiah in the Postexilic Old Testament Literature," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 338-64; Michael E. Fuller, "The Davidic Messiah in Early Jewish Literature," in *Spirit and the Mind: Essays in Informed Pentecostalism to Honor Dr. Donald N. Bowdle Presented on His 65th Birthday*, ed. Terry L. Cross and Emerson B. Powery (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000), 65-86; Daniel I. Block, "My Servant David: Ancient Israel's Vision of the Messiah," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 36-49.

back to the earlier historical narratives accounts. For instance, Daniel Block identifies four such passages in particular as the roots of the royal Davidic messianism for the later Old Testament writings: (1) Yahweh's promise that "kings would come from Abraham" (Gen 17:6, 16; 35:11); (2) Jacob's prediction that the scepter would not depart from the tribe of Judah (Gen 49:10); (3) Balaam's oracle that a star and the scepter would rise from Jacob/Israel (Num 24:17); and (4) Moses' charge for the Israelites to put Yahweh's chosen one on the throne instead of a king (Deut 17:14-20). Upon these grounds, he finds later prophetic developments that evoke the idea of the Davidic Messiah (1 Sam 2:1-10; 2 Sam 5:1-3, 7:19; Pss 2:2, 6-8, 18:50-51, 89:20-21, 27-28; Isa 9:5-7, 11:1; Jer 23:5-6; Ezek 17:22, 34:23-24, 37:22-25; Dan 9:25-26; Hos 3:5; Mic 5:2-5; Zech 3:8, 6:12, 9:9-10, 12:10, 13:7-8).¹¹

As impressive as the number of references appear, however, the Davidic messianic idea does not seem to be as obvious as Block maintains in those texts.¹² Furthermore, the estimation of Block represents a considerable discrepancy with the depiction of the messianic David in the later intertestamental Jewish writings and in the Fourth Gospel. Even those intertestamental Jewish writings that entertain the idea of a Davidic Messiah date late and display a heavy Hellenistic influence.¹³

¹¹Block, "My Servant David," 37-39.

¹²J. Daniel Hays, "If He Looks like a Prophet and Talks like a Prophet, Then He Must Be . . . : A Response to Daniel I. Block," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 57-70. M. Daniel Carroll R., "New Lenses to Establish Messiah's Identity?: A Response to Daniel I. Block," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 71-81. For a more detailed treatment on messianism in the Old Testament, see Appendix 1: "Messianism/Christology in John's Gospel."

¹³Yehezkel Kaufmann, "The Messianic Idea: The Real and the Hidden Son-of-David," *JBQ* 22 (1994): 141-50; Johannes Tromp, "The Davidic Messiah in Jewish Eschatology of the First Century BCE," in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, ed. James M. Scott, JSJSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 180-201.

David Messianic Expectations in Second Temple Judaism

1 Maccabees and Sirach. In view of the relatively elevated interest in a Davidic Messiah in the Old Testament contended by some scholars, surprising is the paucity of references to such a figure in the intertestamental Jewish literature.¹⁴ There is no explicit mention of a Davidic Messiah in the Apocrypha, only twice in the Pseudepigrapha, and once in the Qumran library. For the first group of writings, First Maccabees 2:57 and Sirach 47:22 are sometimes cited to assert the presence of a Davidic messianic figure, but they do not display a clear eschatological overtone:

David, because he was merciful, inherited the throne of the kingdom forever (1 Macc 2:57). But the Lord will never give up his mercy, or cause any of his works to perish; he will never blot out the descendants of his chosen one, or destroy the family line of him who loved him. So he gave a remnant to Jacob, and to David a root from his own family. (Sir 47:22)¹⁵

Psalms of Solomon. On the other hand, two documents in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha make an explicit mention of David in reference to Messiah (i.e., Psalms of Solomon and 4 Ezra). The Psalms of Solomon, which dates from the mid first-century B.C., mentions “Messiah” in three different junctures.¹⁶

¹⁴This assessment should be, however, qualified by the fact that there are a number of references to Davidic metaphors in this body of literature, such as root, branch, seed, horn, or shoot of David. Yet an explicit reference to David in terms of “Messiah” is lacking. The entire body of early rabbinic literature is also hesitant to speak of Davidic messianism. Thoma, “David II,” 384-85. However, Bassler (“A Man for All Seasons,” 159) points to several passages from rabbinic literature for the Davidic messianic hope (*b. Sanh.* 98b; *Midr. Ps.* 5.4, 18.27; *b. Meg.* 17b). However, the dating issue of the Talmudic literature poses difficulty for her comparison of the messianic passages in rabbinic literature and the New Testament. The composition of the Babylonian Talmud dates back to 6th century A.D. and the Midrashim on Psalms to third century A.D. respectively. Günther Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 2nd ed., trans. and ed. Markus Bockmuehl (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 322-23; Craig A. Hendrickson, 2005), 228-29. For a more detailed discussion on the messianism in the Qumran library, see Appendix 1: “Messianism/Christology in John’s Gospel.”

¹⁵Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 169, 207.

¹⁶“The Psalms of Solomon preserve one of the most detailed messianic expectations in the immediate pre-Christian centuries There is more substance to the ideas concerning the Messiah in the Psalms of Solomon than in any other extant Jewish writings. The *Messiah* is here identified as a son of David who will come to establish an everlasting kingdom of God. Although not a supernatural being, both he and the devout over whom he reigns are without sin, and he rules with all the ancient virtues heightened to superlatives: wisdom, justice, mercy, power. He will restore the ancient tribal divisions and with them the ancient ways of righteousness and fidelity. He will bring back the Diaspora of Israel to a purified

And he will be a righteous king over them, taught by God. There will be no unrighteousness among them in his days, for all shall be holy, and their king shall be the Lord Messiah (Pss. Sol. 17:32); May God cleanse Israel for the day of mercy in blessing, for the appointed day when his Messiah will reign. . . . under the rod of discipline of the Lord Messiah, in the fear of his God, in wisdom of spirit, and of righteousness and of strength. (Pss. Sol. 18:5, 7)¹⁷

Michael Fuller draws four common characteristics from these texts with regards to messianism: (1) He will be a son of David; (2) the coming of the Messiah will usher the commencement of Israel's restoration; (3) the primary task of the Messiah is the establishment and maintenance of righteousness and holiness; and (4) this Messiah is utterly reliant on God.¹⁸ Yet his evaluation neglects an important aspect common in the narrative contexts surrounding these texts, which is also a recurrent theme of the intertestamental messianism, that is, the militant subjugation of unrighteousness.¹⁹

4 Ezra. Dated to the late first century A.D. for the actual writing of the extant manuscript, Fourth Ezra also mentions an eschatological redeemer, a Davidic successor in the so-called Eagle Vision.²⁰

And as for the lion that you saw rousing up out of the forest and roaring and speaking to the eagle and reproving him for his unrighteousness, and as for all his words that you have heard. This is the Messiah whom the Most High has kept until the end of days, who will arise from the posterity of David, and will come and speak to them; he will denounce them for their ungodliness and for their wickedness, and will cast up before them their contemptuous dealings. For first he will set them before his judgment seat, and when he has reproved them, then he will destroy them. But he will deliver in mercy the remnant of my people, those who have been saved throughout my borders, and he will make them joyful until the end comes, the day of judgment, of which I spoke to you at the beginning.²¹

Over against the destruction of the Jerusalem temple (either of the sixth century B.C. or

homeland. The nations likewise will come, to pay homage to Jerusalem and her king." R. B. Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," in *OTP*, 2:643.

¹⁷Ibid., 668-69.

¹⁸Fuller, "The Davidic Messiah in Early Jewish Literature," 71-73; also Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 643-46; Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism*, 159-70.

¹⁹K. Atkinson connects this feature with Qumranic messianic hopes. Kenneth Atkinson, "On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from Psalm of Solomon 17," *JBL* 118 (1999): 435-60.

²⁰Bruce M. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," in *OTP*, 1:520.

²¹4 Ezra 12:31-34 (*OTP*, 1:550).

of the first century A.D.), Fourth Ezra portrays the coming of Messiah with a (angelic) cohort to judge the nations and the gather the tribes of Israel.²² In this respect, the general tenor of this text overall seems to correspond to that of the Psalm of Solomon messianic text.

4Q252. A portion of the Qumran commentary on Genesis (4Q252) explicitly interprets the divine oracle in Genesis 49:10 in terms of a Davidic Messiah, which is absent in the original Genesis.²³

The scepter shall [no]t depart from the tribe of Judah. While Israel has the dominion, there [will not] be cut off someone who sits on the throne of David. For “the staff” is the covenant of royalty, [and the thou]sands of Israel are “the standards” Until the messiah of righteousness comes, the branch of David. For to him and to his descendants has been given the covenant of the kingship of his people for everlasting generations, which he observed [. . .] the Law with the men of the Community, for [. . .] it is the assembly of the men of [. . .] He gives.²⁴

The compiled nature of the documents makes it difficult to designate the main theme of the entire document. Furthermore, the meticulous concern for the chronicles of Jewish historical events pervades in the greater portion of the document, so that it is probably unwarranted to read the entire document with messianic interest (only one out of the entire six fragments expresses an eschatological concern). On the other hand, in addition to the occurrence in 4Q252, an echo of or allusions to a Davidic messiah appears

²²Fuller, “The Davidic Messiah in Early Jewish Literature,” 83-85; Metzger, “The Fourth Book of Ezra,” 520-22; Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism*, 216-29. M. Stone strongly argues that the main thrust of the text is the military overthrowing of the gentile empire. Michael E. Stone, “The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra,” in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, SHR 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 295-312; idem, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Hermeneia 60/2 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 368-71.

²³M. Bockmuehl considers 4 Q252 as a loose compilation of “rewritten bible” and a commentary on Genesis. Markus Bockmuehl, “Qumran Commentaries in Greco-Roman Context,” 10-11 [on-line]; accessed 2 February 2006; available from <http://orion.mscc.kuji.ac.il/symposiums/9th/papers/BockmuehlPaper.pdf>; Internet.

²⁴4Q252 5.1-7 (DSS, 1:505). The Princeton version reads as following: “A ruler shall [not] depart from the tribe of Judah when there is dominion for Israel; [there will not] be cut off one sitting (on) the throne for David. For ‘staff’ is the covenant of the kingdom; [and the thous]ands of Israel are ‘the standards’ until the righteous Messiah comes, the Branch of everlasting generations, who kept [. . .] the Torah with the men of the Community, for [. . .] it is the congregation of the men of [. . .] he gave.” Joseph L. Trafton, “Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252=4QcommGenA=4QP Bless),” in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, vol. 6B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 217.

elsewhere in three different Qumran documents (e.g., in terms of “the branch of David” or “the Prince of the Congregation”: 4QFlor; 4QpIsa^a; 4Q285).²⁵ Thus, the Davidic messianic idea was probably indigenous in the community and seems to reflect that strand of thought.²⁶

Summary. However, three important elements common to these texts are often overlooked in scholarly discussions that contain a direct bearing on the examination of the relation between the Davidic Messiah and the Johannine Christology: first, the messianic activities in these texts involve militant conquest of the unrighteous, who are usually gentiles;²⁷ second, the purpose of such messianic activities was in large measure to restore the nation of Israel; finally the presence of a Davidic Messiah is an ancillary aspect of the unfolding of the divine redemptive program. John Barton’s assessment of this aspect is particularly noteworthy: “Belief in the Messiah rests ultimately on the belief that God can be relied on to have the right people in place at the right time to save and deliver Israel, whether through the specific vehicle of a descendant of David or in some other way.”²⁸ The last point is evidenced in the dearth of references to a Davidic Messiah in the entire body of the intertestamental Jewish literature. Within the vast scope of the

²⁵Ibid., 206; Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism*, 171-216; Fuller, “The Davidic Messiah in Early Jewish Literature,” 73-83.

²⁶Brooke and Fröhlich construe that this section contains a sectarian messianism to some extent, but Bernstein counters their views. Probably Bernstein’s estimation is correct that it is to read too much into the text to find an excessive concern for an exclusively community-oriented messianism here. Cf. George J. Brooke, “The Thematic Content of 4Q252,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 33-59; Ida Fröhlich, “The Biblical Narratives in Qumran Exegetical Works (4Q252; 4Q180; The Damascus Document),” in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.-26. Juli 1993*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, *SIJD* 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 111-24; Moshe J. Bernstein, “4Q252: Method and Context, Genre and Sources,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 61-79. For a recent and brief overview of the Qumranic messianic interpretation of some Psalm passages, see Marvin E. Tate, “David as Messianic King,” in *Psalms 1-50*, Peter C. Craigie, 2nd ed., WBC, vol. 19 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 460-61.

²⁷“The prime features are still military, the overthrowing of the great Roman Empire and the description of this activity in legal terms . . .” Michael E. Stone, *Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra*, HSS 35 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1989), 118.

²⁸John Barton, “The Messiah in Old Testament Theology,” in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, ed., JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 377.

entire Jewish intertestamental writings, only three documents (*Pss. Sol.*, 4Q252 from Qumran, and 4 Ezra) make an explicit mention of the Messiah in relation to David. Thus, the caveat expressed by K. Pomykala is appropriate for the present study:

The image of David as progenitor of the messiah is attested in only three provenances . . . one of the least frequently attested images of David in early Jewish texts . . . its status as a relatively minor image of David in early Jewish texts should caution us about seeing a latent allusion to messianism in every reference to David.²⁹

David in the Synoptic Gospels

In slight contrast to the meager projection of David as a messianic precursor in the early Jewish writings, he frequently emerges in conjunction with Jesus the Messiah in the New Testament, most conspicuously in the Synoptic Gospels, and a great deal of scholarly attention has been drawn to this issue.³⁰ Both Matthew and Luke trace the

²⁹Kenneth Pomykala, "Images of David in Early Judaism," in *Ancient Versions and Traditions*, vol. 1 of *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*, ed. Craig A. Evans, LSTS 50 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 34. Furthermore, Kaufmann notes that the Davidic messianic hope is a later development in lieu of the disappointing failure of the Hasmonean dynasty, which usurped the Jewish expectations of the Davidic royal lineage. Kaufmann, "The Messianic Idea," 141-50. Similarly, Tromp, "The Davidic Messiah in Jewish Eschatology of the First Century BCE," 180-201.

³⁰Non-Gospel occurrences of a Davidic messianic picture include Acts 13:22-23, Rom 1:3-4, and Rev 5:5, 22:16. For studies of the Davidic messianic prefigure in the New Testament, see Eduard Schweizer, "Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and Its Old Testament Background," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 186-93; F. F. Bruce, "The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor*, ed. Gary A. Tuttle (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 7-17; Bruce D. Chilton, "Jesus Ben David: Reflections on the Davidsohnfrage," *JSNT* 14 (1982): 88-112; Bassler, "A Man for All Seasons," 163-69; Marinus de Jonge, "Jesus, Son of David and Son of God," in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel*, ed. Sipke Draisma (Kampen: Kok, 1989), 95-104; Terence Y. Mullins, "Jesus, the 'Son of David,'" *AUSJ* 29 (1991): 117-26; Dennis C. Duling, "Matthew's Plurisignificant 'Son of David' in Social Science Perspective: Kinship, Kingship, Magic, and Miracle," *BTB* 22 (1992): 99-116; Cleon L. Rogers, Jr., "The Davidic Covenant in the New Testament," *BSac* 150 (1993): 458-78; idem, "The Davidic Covenant in the New Testament," *BSac* 151 (1994): 71-84; Donald J. Versepunt, "The Davidic Messiah and Matthew's Jewish Christianity," *SBLSP* 34 (1995): 102-16; Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*, JSNTSup 110 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995); Lidija Novakovic, "Jesus as the Davidic Messiah in Matthew," *HBT* 19 (1997): 148-91; Jean-Marie van Cangh, "'Fils de David' dans les évangiles synoptiques," in *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l'ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeylen, LD 177 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 345-96; Damià Roure, "La figure de David dans l'évangile de Marc: Des traditions juives aux interprétations évangéliques," in *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l'ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeylen, LD 177 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 397-412; Roland Meynet, "Jésus, fils de David dans l'évangile de Luc," in *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l'ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeylen, LD 177 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 413-28; Christopher G. Whitsett, "Son of God, Seed of David: Paul's Messianic Exegesis in Romans 1:3-4," *JBL* 119 (2000): 661-81; Margaret Daly-Denton, "David in the Gospels," *WW* 23 (2003): 421-29.

genealogy of Jesus through David (Matt 1:6; Luke 3:31), which especially signifies the royal messianic qualification of Jesus.³¹ The connection is more conspicuously visible in the expression “son of David” in referring to Jesus.³² Three different groups of contexts could be recognized where that title carries messianic nuances: the healing accounts (Matt 9:27, 12:23, 15:22, 20:31-32; Mark 10:47-48; Luke 18:38-39); the praise of the crowd (Matt 21:9, 15; Mark 11:10); and the disputes with religious leaders (Matt 22:42-43, 45; Mark 12:35; Luke 20:41-44).³³ Accordingly, it can be concluded that the image of a Davidic Messiah quite sporadically pervades the Synoptic Gospels. Upon turning to the Fourth Gospel, however, a reader becomes vexed to find very few, if any, corresponding examples (perhaps three passages could be arguably singled out as such: 2:17, 7:42, 12:13).³⁴

Messianic Role of David in John

The research history of John’s Gospel itself clearly indicates the difficulty of undertaking an inquiry into a Davidic messianic prefiguration in the Gospel of John. Until Daly-Denton’s study, which appeared in the year 2000, there was virtually no single study principally devoted to the issue, and exegetes hardly detected any significant presence of a Davidic messianic motif.³⁵ Such facts place John in stark contrast to the

³¹Herman C. Waetjen, “Genealogy as the Key to the Gospel according to Matthew,” *JBL* 95 (1976): 205-30; Ernst Lerle, “Die Ahnenverzeichnisse Jesu: Versuch einer christologischen Interpretation,” *ZNW* 72 (1981): 112-17.

³²D. R. Bauer, “Son of David,” in *DJG*, 768-69. J. D. Kingsbury obscured this point to some extent but recently Novakovic and Paffenroth put this conventional thesis to the forefront, especially, the royal messianic overtone of the title in various healing contexts. Jack D. Kingsbury, “The Title ‘Son of David’ in Matthew’s Gospel,” *JBL* 95 (1976): 591-602; Novakovic, “Jesus as the Davidic Messiah in Matthew,” 148-91; Kim Paffenroth, “Jesus as Anointed and Healing Son of David in the Gospel of Matthew,” *Bib* 80 (1999): 547-54. Similarly, Bassler (“A Man for All Seasons,” 156-69) finds the parallels between David and Jesus, as well as between Solomon and Jesus.

³³Rogers, “The Davidic Covenant in the New Testament,” 460-64.

³⁴On the contrary, M. Daly-Denton presumes extensive parallels to the Synoptic passion accounts in John. Her arguments will be addressed in detail in the following section. See especially, Margaret Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms*, AGAJU 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 289-92.

³⁵Minor exceptions to this current include the following: T. Francis Glasson, “Davidic Links

Synoptic Gospels, which have been the object of a myriad of studies that have addressed the Davidic messianic conceptions. Accordingly, Daly-Denton is justified in her comment that “the ‘Davidlikeness’ of Jesus is, perhaps, a neglected strand in the multi-hued texture of the Fourth Gospel.”³⁶ Daly-Denton’s judgment was preceded by a host of Johannine exegetes. For example, Paul N. Anderson and Margaret Davies note the lack of David/Jesus analogy in John: “John is nearly devoid of Davidic messianic motifs”³⁷; “Jesus’ life is so unlike that of David . . . that the connexion which the Synoptics make could be misleading.”³⁸ Likewise, most recently, Andrew C. Brunson draws a conclusion concerning the titles usually attributed to the Davidic messianic nature of Jesus as follows:

Davidic ideology is not prominent throughout the Gospel, and Jesus is not programmatically compared to David, John can more easily re-direct the reader towards other backgrounds. . . . However, he also does not identify Jesus explicitly with David. . . . The Gospel’s relative silence on David supports the suggestion that the title [king of Israel] is not intended primarily to evoke Davidic association.³⁹

Daly-Denton

In contrast to the assessment of the majority of Johannine exegetes, Daly-Denton, however, asserts that the Gospel of John is permeated with the portrayal of Jesus in a Davidic image.⁴⁰ Her argument is supported by noting a number of parallels in the lives of Jesus and David. First, just as David (in the aftermath of Absalom’s conspiracy in 1 Sam 15:23), Jesus begins his journey to the cross by crossing the Kidron valley (John

with the Betrayal of Jesus,” *ExpTim* 85 (1974): 118-19; Paul Trudinger, “Davidic Links with the Betrayal of Jesus: Some Further Observations,” *ExpTim* 86 (1974-75): 278-79; idem, “Hosanna to the Son of David: St John’s Perspective,” *DRev* 109 (1991): 297-301.

³⁶Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 7.

³⁷Paul N. Anderson, *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: Its Unity and Disunity in the Light of John 6*, WUNT 2/78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 229.

³⁸Margaret Davies, *Rhetoric and Reference in the Fourth Gospel*, JSNTSup 69 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 212.

³⁹Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 2003), 227.

⁴⁰Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 292-307.

18:1), which is the only New Testament reference:

And all the people passed by over the Kidron valley, and the king passed over the Kidron valley, and all the people and the king passed on towards the way of the wilderness. (2 Sam 15:23)

When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples across the Kidron valley, where there was a garden, which he and his disciples entered. (John 18:1)

Second, as a foreigner, Ittai the Gittite, pledged to follow David at any cost, “so must a servant of Jesus do” implies Jesus to Greek inquirers (John 12:20-26): “As the Lord lives, and as my lord the King lives, in whatever place my lord shall be, whether it be for death or life, there shall your servant be” (1 Sam 15:23); “Whoever serves me must follow me, and where I am there will my servant be also” (John 12:26). Third, just as Caiaphas advised that “one man (Jesus) should die for the people and the whole nation should not perish” (John 11:50), so Ahithophel urges Absalom that “you need only seek the life of one man and all the people shall have peace” (2 Sam 17:3). Finally, just as Samuel does not know whom to anoint (1 Sam 16:1-13), so also does John the Baptist not know who the Messiah will be (John 1:31).⁴¹ Therefore, although “taken individually, any of these similarities between David and Jesus . . . might seem insignificant or even tenuous . . . , the cumulative effect of these recollection of David is a strong impression of his latent presence in the Fourth Gospel.”⁴²

As convincing as the suggested analogies might sound, however, these

⁴¹A couple more parallels can be listed here (ibid., 299-301, 304-06). Jesus’ body was lavished with a royal burial as it would have befitted the Davidic king par excellence. In addition, Pseudo-Philo designates Samuel as “the light” proceeding before wisdom just as John was a provisional lamp shining until the coming of the true light (John 1:8-9; 5:35). “For when the light from which wisdom is to be born will go forth.” *L.A.B.* 51:4 (*OTP*, 2:365). However, the first parallel seems to read too much into the text, and the argumentative force of the latter one, on the other hand, is obscured by the late date of the source. Most scholars place the writing of Pseudo-Philo in the late first century A.D. Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005), 49.

⁴²Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 314-15. Also, “the whole point of placing the psalms (Pss 22, 69) on the lips of Jesus is that David is ancestor of the Messiah (the synoptic view) or a prophetic prefiguration of Jesus (the Johannine view). The psalms tell of how David experienced betrayal, torment, isolation, and eventually, the deliverance that gave rise to the praise that characteristically follows his laments. For the first Christians, David’s experience prefigures Jesus’ life, death, and resurrection.” Ibid., 315. “The literary persona of David, as it had evolved by the Second Temple period, as the protagonist of narrative traditions, as ‘author’ of the psalms, and as an idealized symbol of hope for the future, provided the Evangelist with a paradigm and a resource for such reinterpretation.” Ibid., 428.

allusions still loom too subtle, so that it is altogether questionable whether the originally intended audience would have detected those connections without difficulty. The possibility seems even less likely in view of the growing awareness of Gospel scholarship regarding the primary communication pattern of the first century Mediterranean world. The orality of the culture necessitates the intended messages be quite obvious, otherwise they stand a meager chance to be understood by the audience.⁴³ Nevertheless, in addition to the four situational analogies, there are eight passages that explicitly refer to or allude to David that merit close scrutiny. These passages will be discussed with respect to the possibility of presenting Jesus as a Davidic figure, especially in a significant interaction with the arguments put forth by Daly-Denton.

Jesus as the Replacement of the Temple: John 2:17

His disciples remembered that it was written, “Zeal for your house will consume me.” (John 2:17, NRSV)

ὁ ζήλος τοῦ οἴκου σου καταφάγεται με (John 2:17, UBS)

ὁ ζήλος τοῦ οἴκου σου κατέφαγέν με (Ps 68:10a, LXX)

כִּי־קִנְיָתָּהּ בֵּיתְךָ אֶכְלָתִי (Ps 69:10a, BHS)

The so-called “temple cleansing” period in John 2:13-22 contains a virtually verbatim quotation from Psalm 69:9.⁴⁴ There are two reasons in particular that might demand the presence of a Davidic prefiguration motif. First, Daly-Denton’s point is probably valid that the Psalter quotations would automatically remind the first-century readers of David, especially since Psalm 69 is already placed under the Davidic authorship in the Hebrew canon.⁴⁵ This point is reinforced by the fact that this particular chapter of the Psalms is popularly quoted in other parts of the New Testament writings. On this basis, C. H. Dodd postulated the presence of “a testimony collection” that

⁴³For a fuller treatment of this issue, see pp. 47-48 of this dissertation.

⁴⁴For an overview of various scholarly assessments of this pericope, see Alexander J. M. Wedderburn, “Jesus’ Action in the Temple: A Key or a Puzzle?” *ZNW* 97 (2006): 1-22.

⁴⁵Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 121.

circulated in the early churches: Matthew 27:34 (Ps 69:21); Luke 23:36 (Ps 69:21); John 15:25 (Ps 69:4); John 19:28 (Ps 69:21); Acts 1:20 (Ps 69:25); Romans 11:9-10 (Ps 69:22-23), 15:3 (Ps 69:9b).⁴⁶ Second, it is relatively evident in the text that the suffering of David has a close correlation with that of Jesus. Just as David suffered because of his enemies' misunderstanding of his zeal for the temple in Psalm 69, so also does Jesus in the remainder of the Gospel.⁴⁷

However, upon a closer reading of its narrative context, this pericope calls for more than a Davidic prefiguration motif. First, the section ranging from the end of the first chapter to the pericope immediately preceding this text is replete with a recurrent replacement theme. Jacob's encountering of Yahweh is replaced with the New Testament Christians' meeting with Jesus (John 1:51). The old wine (τὸν ἐλάσσω, "inferior wine" John 2:10) is replaced with the new wine, which Jesus provides, and which the banquet master attests to be "the good wine" (John 2:10). Immediately after this sign in Cana is placed the present "temple cleansing" anecdote, which is followed by the "new birth speech" to Nicodemus (John 3:1-15), and John the Baptist's notion that Jesus must increase and he himself decrease (John 3:30). As such, the present paragraph under discussion must be understood in light of the narrative flow of the surrounding texts that repeatedly underscore a replacement or contrast theme.⁴⁸ In this light, Barnabas

⁴⁶C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1952), 58. His postulation is indebted to J. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916-1920).

⁴⁷D. A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 180; M. J. J. Menken, "'Zeal for Your House Will Consume Me' (John 2:17)," in *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, CBET 15 (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 44; Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 125-31. Richard Hays also finds a subtle 'figural correlation' between Jesus and the psalmist in this text. Richard B. Hays, "Can the Gospels Teach us How to Read the Old Testament?" *ProEccl* 11 (2002): 412-15.

⁴⁸Paul M. Hoskins, "Jesus as the Replacement of the Temple in the Gospel of John" (Ph.D. diss., Trinity International University, 2002), 157-70; Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 2003), 147-49; Camillus Umoh, "The Temple in the Fourth Gospel," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 323. In this respect, J. H. Ulrichsen's assessment of the present text loses sight of the narrative context. Although he only finds the Jewish unbelief theme, John 2:13-22 makes a better sense in terms of "replacement" for three

Lindars' assessment of the Psalm quotation in John 2:17 is correct in that the verse is a parenthesis (i.e., a post-Easter interpolation), which interrupts the narrative flow.⁴⁹ This point becomes more convincing when coupled with the statement about the disciples in verse 22: "After he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this; and they believed the scripture and the word that Jesus had spoken."⁵⁰

Therefore, the main theme of this pericope is Jesus' replacement of the Jerusalem temple with his body, a spiritual temple.⁵¹ Accordingly, the key words are "temple" (vv. 17, 19, 20, 21) and its cognates "house" (v. 16), not "consume" or "zeal" in the psalm citation.⁵² That is precisely why the evangelist placed the Psalm quotation at

reasons. First, the surrounding contexts are replete with the replacement theme. Second, the first half of the pericope and the latter one are woven together with a keyword "sign" that the cleansing act is best understood as a symbolic referent to the sign of Jesus' resurrection which replaces the physical Jerusalem temple. Third, it is difficult not to take into account the catastrophic fall of the Jerusalem temple for the background of this passage. Cf. Jarl H. Ulrichsen, "Jesus—der neue Tempel?: Ein kritischer Blick auf die Auslegung von Joh 2,13-22," in *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl H. Ulrichsen, NovTSup 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 202-14. For an example of the understanding that sees the temple cleansing pericope as an integral part of a larger narrative unit, see Mark A. Matson, "The Temple Incident: An Integral Element in the Fourth Gospel's Narrative," in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 145-53.

⁴⁹Barnabas Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, NCB (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972), 140. For this point, Lindars cites Jürgen Roloff, "Der johanneische 'Lieblingsjünger' und der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit," *NTS* 15 (1968-1969): 129-51.

⁵⁰Similarly, "his disciples did not understand these things at first; but when Jesus was glorified, then they remembered that these things had been written of him and had been done to him" (John 12:16).

⁵¹Although Busse seems to overstate somewhat his case by finding too many correlations, his observation is in general on target that Jesus realizes the Old Testament symbolic images related to the Jerusalem temple in John 2:13-22. Ulrich Busse, "Die Tempelmetaphorik als ein Beispiel von implizitem Rekurs auf die biblische Tradition im Johannesevangelium," in *The Scripture in the Gospels*, ed. C. M. Tuckett, BETL 131 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997), 395-428. Also, Richard B. Hays, "Can the Gospels Teach us How to Read the Old Testament?" *ProEccl* 11 (2002): 412-13; William Loader, "Jesus and the Law in John," in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. Gilbert van Belle, Jan G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 140-41. Also, for a brief summary of the Johannine replacement (of Jewish feasts) theme, see Frank Thielman, "Grace in Place of Grace: Jesus Christ and the Mosaic Law in John's Gospel," in *The Law and the New Testament: The Question of Continuity*, CNT (New York: Crossroad, 1999), 96-104.

⁵²The text does not dwell on elaborating Jesus' suffering as a consequence of this temple-cleansing act as Matthew (26:61) and Mark (11:18; 14:58) point out it as a cause of Jesus' arrest. This proportional aspect militates against the reading of this text as a righteous suffering prefigured in David's Psalm 69. In this respect, the exegetical value of Richard Hays' reading is diminished as he recognizes the replacement theme in the text then quickly moves onto the righteous suffering and vindication of the nation of Israel. Hays, "Can the Gospels Teach us How to Read the Old Testament?" 412-15.

this point instead of leaving it after the resurrection.⁵³ This narrative plot also explains why John does not here refer to Isaiah 56:7 and Jeremiah 7:11, as Matthew 21:13 and Mark 11:17 do.⁵⁴ The evangelist probably intended to focus on the new temple, Jesus, and not divert the attention of his readers to ancillary elements.⁵⁵ Furthermore, this replacement of the temple theme fits nicely with the replacement of the place of God as articulated in John 1:51.⁵⁶ Finally, this citation from Psalms (as well as the following catena) serves to manifest that Jesus' replacement of the Jerusalem temple is accorded with the testimony of the Scriptures.⁵⁷ All these observations, however, do not preclude the possibility that one might find a Davidic motif (or the judgment theme that is more popularly claimed for the synoptic parallel accounts).⁵⁸ What they suggest is that such a motif, if present at all, is kept at the secondary level, probably even on the level of a prophet motif, as some commentators have noted.⁵⁹

Jesus as a Davidic Posterity?: John 7:42

οὐχ ἡ γραφή εἶπεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ καὶ ἀπὸ Βηθλέεμ τῆς κώμης ὅπου ἦν Δαυὶδ ἔρχεται ὁ χριστός; (John 7:42)

“Has not the scripture said that the Messiah is descended from David and comes

⁵³Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, 140; A. T. Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 43.

⁵⁴To some extent, this argument runs in danger of postulating a literary relationship between the Synoptics and John. However, at least some degree of indirect influence should be reckoned, because the three Gospel strands share the same tradition of the temple cleansing incident.

⁵⁵Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel*, 45; Christian Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, ZBKNT 4 (Zürich: Theologischer, 2001), 1:76-77.

⁵⁶“I finally suggest that the transition from 1.51 to 2.17 is the transition from Christ as the place of God's presence to Christ as the house of God.” Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel*, 44.

⁵⁷Umoh, “The Temple in the Fourth Gospel,” 323. Thus, the assessment of Evans is rather a little off the track. He thinks that the function of the citation is analogical but it seems to be more prophetic. See Craig A. Evans, “Old Testament in the Gospels,” in *DJG*, 588.

⁵⁸See Wedderburn, “Jesus' Action in the Temple,” 20-22.

⁵⁹R. Brown identifies Jesus' action with that of a prophet. Raymond Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, AB 29 (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 1:121. Francis J. Moloney, on the other hand, points to Phineas, Elijah, or Mattathias. Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, SP 4 (Wilmington, DE: Liturgical, 1998), 77.

from Bethlehem, the village where David lived?" (Jn 7:42)

This passage seems to share a common tradition with Matthew 2:5-6 where Jewish scholars were easily able to locate the birthplace of the anticipated Messiah based on Micah 5:2. A couple of questions have been raised concerning this passage. First, it is peculiar that the question is left unanswered. Accordingly, Bultmann concludes that "the evangelist knows nothing or wants to know nothing of the birth in Bethlehem."⁶⁰ His judgment, however, ignores the level of civilization in the first century Mediterranean world. Recent assessment of archaeological and literary discoveries of that period render unlikely Bultmann's presupposition that the alleged Johannine community or the fourth evangelist was extremely isolated from the rest of early Christendom.⁶¹

Another problem is that there is no clear indication in early rabbinic literature for Bethlehem as Messiah's birth place, although the town was often closely associated with David.⁶² Consequently, it may be the case that the Matthean Gospel reflects a minor rabbinic tradition. On the basis of a messianic anticipation, which is couched in terms of a Davidic posterity, however, some have argued for a Davidic messianic motif widely held by the Johannine crowd. At first glance, it seems well-grounded; but, a closer examination that takes account of the narrative flow requires a different reading.

The section which contains the inquiry of a Davidic ancestry is preceded by a

⁶⁰Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. George R. Beasley-Murray (Louisville: Westminster, 1971), 306 n. 6. On the other hand, Christoph Burger construes that the fourth evangelist did not consider Jesus as a Davidic descendant although he might have known the tradition which traced Jesus' lineage to David. Christoph Burger, *Jesus als Davidsson: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, FRLANT 98 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 153-58.

⁶¹Michael B. Thompson, "The Holy Internet: Communication between Churches in the First Christian Generation," in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 49-70; Loveday Alexander, "Ancient Book Production and the Circulation of the Gospels," in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 71-112.

⁶²Str-B, 1:83; Burger, *Jesus*, 155-56; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, rev. ed., ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 513-16. The lack of a clear literary precedence led M. Silva to suggest that the Matthean passage is an example of a New Testament midrash. Moisés Silva, "Ned B Stonehouse and Redaction Criticism, pt 2: The History of the Synoptic Tradition," *WTJ* 40 (1978): 281-303. A. J. Petrotta assesses that the Matthean interpretation goes beyond what the Old Testament warrants and that it is only comprehensible in light of the redemptive history in Christ. Anthony J. Petrotta, "A Closer Look at Matt 2:6 and Its Old Testament Sources," *JETS* 28 (1985): 47-52.

repeated theme of unbelief. In chapter 5, the Jews do not understand the healing authority of Jesus, as witnessed on the Sabbath. The entirety of chapter six is marked by the Jews' misunderstanding, and even Jesus' own disciples with reference to eating and drinking Jesus' flesh and blood. In the seventh chapter, during the feast of Tabernacles, this misunderstanding or, probably more precisely, unbelief motif is also the overarching theme of this section. In chapter eight through twelve, one of the main recurrent themes is also the stubborn unbelief of the Jews. Thus, the questioning (or accusing) of Jesus' Davidic origin in verse 42 should be seen in line with this persistent misunderstanding or unbelief leitmotif. That is why the Jews rhetorically assert that a prophet or Christ cannot come from Galilee:

When they heard these words, some in the crowd said, "This is really the prophet." Others said, "This is the Messiah." But some asked, "Surely the Messiah does not come from Galilee, does he?" (Jn 7:40-41); They replied, "Surely you are not also from Galilee, are you? Search and you will see that no prophet is to arise from Galilee." (John 7:52)

While the unbelief motif permeates chapters five through twelve, another prominent theme emerges in these sections, namely, that of Jesus' heavenly origin.⁶³ This concept is often expressed in the language of father/son (5:19-29; 6:32-40), flesh/spirit (6:63), light/darkness (8:12), above/below (8:23), and God/Satan (8:44-47). What this heavenly origin entails is that Jesus does not need a human witness (John 2:24-25; 5:34, 36-37, 39, 41; 8:14-20) because it is God who bears witness to him. This is why the question concerning Jesus' Davidic origin is left without an answer in verse 42. The lack of an answer is not to dismiss the Davidic lineage of Jesus, but it is to indicate that Jesus' messianic identity does not rest on human qualifications. In other words, the royal lineage does not buttress his status as Messiah.

What did the evangelist himself think about Jesus' ancestry and origin? His theology is not concerned with the human antecedents or earthly homeland of Jesus, but only with his heavenly origin. In this respect, he has no desire to establish the legitimacy of his Christ by the criteria of Jewish messianic expectation. . . . [John] is suggesting the same answer as Jesus gave in v. 28: you know Jesus, yet you do not

⁶³George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 2nd ed., WBC, vol. 36 (Nashville: Nelson, 1999), 118-19.

really know him; to be Son of David and born in Bethlehem is not what matters.⁶⁴

Jesus as Davidic King of Israel?: John 12:13

Τῇ ἐπαύριον ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ἔρχεται ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔλαβον τὰ βαῖα τῶν φοινίκων καὶ ἐξήλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκραύγαζον· ὡσαννά· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, [καὶ] ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. εὐρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὄναριον ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτό, καθὼς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον· μὴ φοβοῦ, θυγάτηρ Σιών· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται, καθήμενος ἐπὶ πῶλον ὄνου. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔγνωσαν αὐτοῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐδοξάσθη Ἰησοῦς τότε ἐμνήσθησαν ὅτι ταῦτα ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ. (John 12:13-16)

So they took branches of palm trees and went out to meet him, shouting, “Hosanna! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord—the King of Israel!” Jesus found a young donkey and sat on it; as it is written: “Do not be afraid, daughter of Zion. Look, your king is coming, sitting on a donkey’s colt!” His disciples did not understand these things at first; but when Jesus was glorified, then they remembered that these things had been written of him and had been done to him. (John 12:13-16)

In John, the epithet “King” is mentioned in four different contexts with reference to Jesus: Nathanael’s confession (John 1:49); the crowd’s attempt to crown Jesus following the miraculous feeding (6:15); the triumphant entry (12:13-16) and in the passion narratives (chaps. 18-19). In three of these instances, the Davidic association is too subtle or Jesus refuses to accept such a designation. However, the pilgrim’s hail of Jesus in John 12:13-16 seems to evoke fairly obviously the Davidic royal messianic image. In addition, Jesus and the evangelist appear to sanction such praise.⁶⁵

⁶⁴Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, HTCNT (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 2:158-59; Bassler, “A Man for All Seasons,” 166; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978), 330-31; D. Moody Smith, *John*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 175-76; Klaus Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, rev. ed., TKNT 4 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 1:308-09. Similarly, “Beweis, daß Jesus der Christus ist, kann nur er selbst sein . . . er als der vom Vater Gesendete, in dem der Vater für die Menschen anschaulich und erfahrbar wird. Man kann es zugespitzt so sagen: Gerade als der, der nach traditionellen Maßstäben nicht der Messias sein kann, ist er der Messias, so wie er laut V. 25-29 als der ganz und gar Bekannte der gänzlich Unbekannte ist.” Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:228.

⁶⁵Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 45-46, 176-87. However, John Ashton notes the absence of the title “Son of David” in the Fourth Gospel as a negative factor to be taken into consideration before assuming that “King of Israel” is a messianic title in John. John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 262.

Although various questions arise from this text, the main question pertinent to the present investigation is the exact nature of the crowd's acclamation. Some preliminary inquiries, however, need to be discussed. First, H. Koester asserted that this acclamation (i.e., "Hosanna"), being a popular early Christian liturgical phrase, is a later interpolation.⁶⁶ Given the dominant scholarly acceptance of the independence between the Synoptic Gospels and John, it is difficult to explain the coincidental insertion by later redactors. Matthew, Mark, and John (Matt 21:9, 15; Mark 11:9, 10; John 12:13) equally contain the idiosyncratic Greek transliteration (ὡσαννά) of the Hebrew word (הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא, Ps 118:25 BHS).⁶⁷ Phonetically, the Greek pronunciation (hosanna) departs slightly from that of the Hebrew word (hosia-na). The Septuagint does not use this Greek word and the only later attestation is found in Didache 10:6. Thus, the insertion of the word is presumed to have originated from an earlier tradition(s).

The second question has to do with a claim that the hail of the crowd was a normal expression of welcome for any festal pilgrim.⁶⁸ This contention seems justified in view of the Roman authority's seemingly tacit allowance of the commotion. If the acclamation had a political or royal messianic overtone, it is hard to believe that it went unnoticed on the part of the Roman authority. Nonetheless, what concerns our investigation the most is how the evangelist colors the historical event recorded in the present text. It is relatively clear from the surrounding contexts that the acclamation of the crowd has a direct bearing on the passion of Jesus as a qualification of the Johannine Messiah, which is indicated by two subsequent quotations from Scripture (Ps 118:25-26;

⁶⁶Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, TUGAL 65 (Berlin: Akademie, 1957), 196-98, cited in J. F. Coakley, "Jesus' Messianic Entry into Jerusalem (John 12:12-19 par.)," *JTS* 46 (1995): 473.

⁶⁷Fitzmyer argued for an Aramaic provenance of the Greek transliteration. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Evidence Affecting the Interpretation of Hosanna in the New Testament," in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for His 60th Birthday*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Otto Betz (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 110-18. However, it is unlikely since the use of the alleged Aramaic root word, ܫܘܢܢܐ, is very rare in ancient literature. Coakley, "Jesus' Messianic Entry into Jerusalem," 474 n. 48.

⁶⁸Coakley, "Jesus' Messianic Entry into Jerusalem," 464-65.

Zech 9:9).⁶⁹ The significance of the so-called “triumphant entry” as a messianic qualification is marked by the surrounding narratives. The present pericope of John 12:12-16 is placed between the paragraphs that address the resurrection of Lazarus (one of the main causes for Jesus’ crucifixion and perhaps a proto-type of Jesus’ resurrection). These “Lazarus” passages are further surrounded by texts that allude to the sacrificial death of Jesus.

The preparation of Jesus’ death: 12:1-8

Lazarus: 12:9-11

Welcoming Jesus: 12:12-19

Lazarus: 12:17-19

A kernel of wheat: 12:20-33

In this respect, the messianic image of Jesus in the present text does not correspond to the conventional hopes expected of the Davidic Messiah, who would display the working of Yahweh in his militant subjugation of the ungodly.⁷⁰ This sacrificial aspect of the messianic qualification, thus, militates against the view that sees a presence of Davidic royal messianic prefiguration in the text.⁷¹

Another view connects the raising of Lazarus with an act of the king of Israel and does not take into account the misunderstanding of the crowd.⁷² However, it is

⁶⁹In this respect, Coakley’s assessment misses the target. Although the scriptural fulfillment formulae in John 12:13-15 (Ps 18:25-26; Zech 9:9) probably did not ring a bell to the crowd as Coakley rightly notes, they had a significant import to the intended reader of John against Coakley. This significance is recognized via the disciples’ post-Easter reminiscence (John 12:16).

⁷⁰John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, ABRL 10 (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 67-68. Coakley’s observation is correct to some extent that the riding of a donkey does not carry an image of “a humble, peaceable king,” but it functioned to indicate that such an act accords well with the scriptural testimony. Coakley, “Jesus’ Messianic Entry into Jerusalem,” 461-62, who, for this point, also cites J. D. M. Derrett, “Law in the New Testament: The Palm Sunday Colt,” *NovT* 13 (1971): 255.

⁷¹Hans Kvalbein, “The Kingdom of God and the Kingship of Christ in the Fourth Gospel,” in *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl H. Ulrichsen, *NovTSup* 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 230-32. Also, it is not concerning David in his role of majesty, pomp and power as ‘king’ only that John understands Jesus as a successor to David. It is precisely in references to moments of deep humility in David’s life story.” Paul Trudinger, “Hosanna to the Son of David: St John’s Perspective,” *DRev* 109 (1991): 297.

⁷²Wayne A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, *NovTSup* 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 87.

exactly that which the fourth evangelist refutes.⁷³ Against the hope of Jews, Jesus entered the great city, not to assume a nationalistic leader as a Davidic figure, but to offer himself as a sacrifice (see the kernel of wheat speech in John 12:24-27), as an humble servant (the foot-washing in John 13). Moreover, it is difficult to see the miracle-working nature as a constituent of a Davidic Messiah.

Passion as a Messianic Qualification

Towards the latter half of the fourth Gospel, the Old Testament is closely tied with the fulfillment motif in the suffering of Jesus.⁷⁴ Only Matthew, among the Synoptics, follows a similar pattern.⁷⁵ Like Matthew, John introduces the Old Testament material with the fulfillment formulae (i.e., with an introductory remark, *πληρώω*); but unlike the first evangelist, he does not hesitate to put the formula on the mouth of Jesus (13:18; 15:25; 19:28; 20:9; cf. 5:45-6).⁷⁶

⁷³M. J. J. Menken, “‘Do Not Fear, Daughter Zion . . .’ (John 12:15),” in *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, CBET 15 (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 86-87. In this respect, A. Brunson’s Yahwistic reading of the text ignores the adjacent context. See Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 180-239.

⁷⁴These fulfillment formulae constitute grounds for Obermann’s thesis that the passion of Jesus is the “explicit” fulfillment and the preceding ministry is the “implicit” fulfillment of “scripture.” Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate*, WUNT 2/83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 348-50. Similarly, Craig A. Evans, “On the Quotation Formulas in the Fourth Gospel,” *BZ* 26 (1982): 79-83; Joel Marcus, “The Old Testament and the Death of Jesus: The Role of Scripture in the Gospel Passion Narratives,” in *The Death of Jesus in Early Christianity*, ed. John T. Carroll and Joel B. Green (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 229-33. Others observe an obduracy motif in the passion fulfillment texts. Craig A. Evans, “Obduracy and Lord’s Servant: Some Observations on the Use of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,” in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 221-36; D. A. Carson, “John and Johannine Epistles,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 248. However, the obduracy on the part of Jews seems to be a contingent effect to accomplish the divine salvific program. Bultmann and Käsemann downplayed the death of Jesus in John but more recent studies are increasingly becoming aware of its importance. John Dennis, “Jesus’ Death in John’s Gospel: A Survey of Research from Bultmann to the Present with Special Reference to the Johannine Hyper-Texts,” *CurBS* 4 (2006): 331-64.

⁷⁵John J. O’Rourke, “Explicit Old Testament Citations in the Gospels,” *StudMonR* 7 (1964): 433.

⁷⁶Moreover, John uses the formula to introduce reflections based on words of Jesus spoken earlier: “This was to fulfill the word that he had spoken, ‘I did not lose a single one of those whom you gave me’” (18:9); (This was to fulfill what Jesus had said when he indicated the kind of death he was to die) (18:32). The hermeneutical dynamics of these fulfillment formulae are the object of scholarly debates. For a broad range of typological interpretation, see Richard N. Longenecker, “Who is the Prophet Talking

It is clear that the evangelist explains Jesus' passion in terms of "fulfillment." This fulfillment theme is set forth in chapter twelve and onward. A number of scholars see the fourth Gospel as comprising two main divisions (chaps 1-11: the book of signs; and 13-20: the book of the passion).⁷⁷ If such a division is accepted, chapter twelve is a transitional section that commences a new phase.⁷⁸ On this ground, it can be argued that the first half of John spells out the greatness of Jesus as confirmed by prominent Old Testament figures, while the latter part justifies how the greatness of Jesus is consistent with the Jews' rejection of him as Messiah, which is already prophesied in the Old Testament.⁷⁹ Thus, John 12:37-41, which quotes Isaiah 6:10, could be understood as a

About?": Some Reflections on the New Testament's Use of the Old," *Them* 13 (1987): 4-8; Gregory K. Beale, "Positive Answer to the Question Did Jesus and His Followers Preach the Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?" in *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 396-97; M. J. J. Menken, "Observations on the Significance of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel," *Neotestamentica* 33 (1999): 137-39. For example, "From their Christocentric and so new revelational perspective they laid stress on 'fulfillment'—with fulfillment being understood to include everything from direct prediction precisely enacted on through typological correspondences in history." Longenecker, "Who is the Prophet Talking About?," 379. For those who approach these formulae in terms of a traditional historical-grammatical interpretation, see R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1982), 38-40; David L. Baker, *Two Testaments, One Bible: A Study of the Theological Relationship between the Old and New Testaments*, rev. ed. (Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity, 1991), 190.

⁷⁷First proposed by C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 289. Followed by Brown with different phrases (book of signs and book of glory). Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, 1:cxxxviii-ix. Beasley-Murray basically accepts such a division but proposes to see the whole Gospel as a book of signs, since he sees the purpose of the Gospel as being stated in 21:24-25. Beasley-Murray, *John*, xc.

⁷⁸D. M. Smith made a plausible case for viewing 12:37-40 as a "primitive transition" linking the seemingly contradictory Christologies explicated in the two divisions of the Gospel of John: D. Moody Smith, "Setting and Shape of a Johannine Narrative Source," *JBL* 95 (1976): 239. Smith's view is influenced by B. Lindars who believed that John is here closer to the original understanding and usage of the Old Testament quotations used by early Christians to explain the death of Jesus than is Matthew. Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), 271-72.

⁷⁹Anton Dauer, *Die Passionsgeschichte im Johannesevangelium: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche und theologische Untersuchung zu Joh. 18, 1-19, 30*, SANT 30 (München: Kösel, 1972), 304; Evans, "Obduracy and the Lord's Servant," 228; idem, "Old Testament in the Gospels," in *DJG*, 587. Smith argues that any missionary tractate designed to convince Jews would run into difficulties if a satisfactory explanation of Jesus' rejection and death was not offered. Contrary to a Hellenistic setting where the proclamation of the resurrection itself would be an adequate explanation, there would have to be some specific explanation for this rejection. Smith suggests that Jews needed two questions resolved. First, how could the messiah be crucified? Second, how could Jews reject their Messiah? Smith, "Setting and Shape of a Johannine Narrative Source," 236-41. Smith asserts that the rejection of Jews was unthinkable and it is attested by the constant New Testament reference to Christ's crucifixion as a "stumbling block" to the Jews (e.g., 1 Cor 1:23). Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1955), 1: 44-46. W. Rebell and E. Stegemann further identify the function of the concentrated recourse to the Scripture in John; that is, to "fight for tradition (Kampf um Tradition)" in order for the fourth evangelist to win fellow

high point of John's apologetic on behalf of Jesus' passion.⁸⁰

Although he had performed so many signs in their presence, they did not believe in him. This was to fulfill the word spoken by the prophet Isaiah: "Lord, who has believed our message, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?" And so they could not believe, because Isaiah also said, "He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, so that they might not look with their eyes, and understand with their heart and turn—and I would heal them." Isaiah said this because he saw his glory and spoke about him. (John 12:37-41)

From 12:39-41 on, John forcefully explicates that the rejection of the Messiah accords with God's redemptive program as it is prophesied in the Old Testament.⁸¹

Interesting is the high concentration of the citations from the Psalms in the Passion narratives that contain five out of the eighteen quotations which include a fulfillment formulae (see Appendix 6: "Explicit Old Testament Materials in John"). On these grounds, thus, some scholars posit that the fourth evangelist portrays the Passion of Jesus in terms of the Davidic trials image.⁸²

Judas' betrayal as foreshadowed in David: John 13:18. In the end of the foot-washing story in John 13, Jesus covertly reveals his betrayer as foreshadowed in the life of David:

Οὐ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν λέγω· ἐγὼ οἶδα τίνος ἐξελεξάμην· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ

Jews because the tradition had an authenticating strength (Legitimationskraft). Walter Rebell, *Gemeinde als Gegenwart: Zur soziologischen und didaktischen Funktion des Johannesevangeliums*, BBET 20 (Frankfurt: Lang, 1987), 109; Ekkehard Stegemann, "Die Tragödie der Nähe: Zu den judenfeindlichen Aussagen des Johannesevangeliums," *Kul* 4 (1989): 119.

⁸⁰C. K. Barrett, "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel," *JTS* 48 (1947): 169. Some exegetes consider the function of the psalm citations in the Gospel passion narratives as polemic. U. P. McCaffrey, "Psalm Quotations in the Passion Narratives of the Gospels," in *Relationship between the Old and New Testament: Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the New Testament Society of South Africa, Held at the University of Potchefstroom for Christian Higher Education from the 1st to the 3rd of July 1980*, ed. Nuwe-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap van Suid-Afrika (Bloemfontein, South Africa: New Testament Society of South Africa, 1981), 74; Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 913. However, the non-apologetic nature of the Johannine psalm citations is expressed in Wilhelm Rothfuchs, *Die Erfüllungszitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums: Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung*, BWANT 88 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1969), 170-72.

⁸¹Hamid-Khani, *Revelation and Concealment of Christ*, 258-330. This is not, however, to say that the Passion was to comply with the prophecies, since Jesus existed before the Old Testament figures. "These passages [i.e., the Matthean fulfillment texts] are not saying that the Law and the Prophets are just predictions of future events, nor is it saying that Jesus simply fulfills the parts of the Law and the Prophets which happen to be predictions. It means Jesus is the true purpose and goal of the OT." Dan McCartney and Peter Enns, "Matthew and Hosea: A Response to John Sailhamer," *WTJ* 63 (2001): 104.

⁸²Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 189-242.

πληρωθῆ· ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμέ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ. (John 13:18, NA²⁷)

I am not speaking of all of you; I know whom I have chosen. But it is to fulfill the scripture, “The one who ate my bread has lifted his heel against me.” (John 13:18)

Even my bosom friend in whom I trusted, who ate of my bread, has lifted the heel against me. (Ps 41:9)

A late rabbinic document identifies the origin of Psalm 41:9, which is quoted in the text under discussion, to the incidents related with Ahithophel’s betrayal against David.⁸³ At first glance, therefore, it seems that the quotation serves to establish a David-Jesus typology.⁸⁴

However, a contextual reading points to another direction. The immediately preceding paragraph recounts the servant-hood of Jesus in a foot-washing account (Jn 13:1-17). The following section narrates Jesus’ charge to love one another (John 13:34-35). Furthermore, the introduction to the fulfillment formula states that the quotation is to assist the disciples to believe in Jesus when the betrayal takes place (John 13:19): “I tell you this now, before it occurs, so that when it does occur, you may believe that I am he” (v. 19). That is, the betrayal did not take Jesus by surprise but, even in his omniscience, he willingly obeyed the course of action prescribed by God. The omniscience and willingness on the part of Jesus qualify the glory language and offset the shocking betrayal by a close pupil: “When he had gone out, Jesus said, ‘Now the Son of Man has been glorified, and God has been glorified in him. If God has been glorified in him, God will also glorify him in himself and will glorify him at once’” (John 13:31-32).⁸⁵ Therefore, the point of citing Psalm 41:9 seems to underscore the divine characteristics of Jesus. If the Davidic analogy is intended at all, it is certainly kept on a

⁸³B. Sanh. 106b. Menken believes that the present quotation is John’s own translation from the Hebrew text. M. J. J. Menken, “‘He Who Eats My Bread, Has Raised His Heel against Me’ (John 13:18),” in *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, CBET 15 (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 123-38. Similarly, Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 2:99 n. 43.

⁸⁴Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 191-201.

⁸⁵Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 2:99; Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 2:15.

secondary level.⁸⁶

Irony of Jewish persecution: John 15:18. In the midst of the so-called “farewell discourse,” Jesus warns his disciples of impending persecution. It is in this context that Jesus brings forth the groundlessness of Jewish persecution, which “fulfills” Scripture: “It was to fulfill the word that is written in their law, ‘They hated me without a cause.’” It can be argued that this citation reinforces the alleged recurrent theme of David as a proto-type of Jesus.⁸⁷ Just as the world hated David without reason, so will the disciples of Jesus be persecuted groundlessly (“If the world hates you, be aware that it hated me before it hated you,” John 15:18).⁸⁸

However, a closer reading of the narrative flow requires us to focus on a more prominent theme of the pericope. In verses one through seventeen of John 15, Jesus speaks of bearing the fruit of love in the imagery of grapevine and friend. This special relationship with Jesus and the ensuing bearing of fruit entail the reception of persecution from the world (or Jews). It is in this context that a quotation from the Psalter is inserted in the present text. This citation serves two functions in particular. First the excerpt from the Psalm underscores the irony that the law, to which Jews adhere so staunchly, condemns their rebellion against the law in persecuting Jesus and his followers. As a consequence, they unwittingly fulfill their own scriptures.⁸⁹ At the same time, they have no excuse for their misbehavior since they witnessed the signs and heard the words of Jesus:

⁸⁶Contra Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 470-71.

⁸⁷This citation is either from Ps 35:19 (“Do not let my treacherous enemies rejoice over me, or those who hate me without cause wink the eye.”) or Ps 69:4 (“More in number than the hairs of my head are those who hate me without cause; many are those who would destroy me, my enemies who accuse me falsely. What I did not steal must I now restore?”). Menken posits that the present quotation is inserted from LXX. M. J. J. Menken, “‘They Hated Me without Reason’ (John 15:25),” in *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, CBET 15 (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 139-46.

⁸⁸Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 201-08.

⁸⁹Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 527.

If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have sin; but now they have no excuse for their sin. . . . If I had not done among them the works that no one else did, they would not have sin. But now they have seen and hated both me and my Father. (John 15:22, 24)

Second, the quotation serves as a forewarning, in order for the hearers to be prepared for upcoming persecution (“I have said these things to you to keep you from stumbling,” John 16:1). Just as in John 13:18, the quotation from the Psalter in John 15:25 does not provide a clue pointing to a palpable David-Jesus typology but reveals a divine characteristic of Jesus, namely, his foreknowledge in preparing his followers for the coming trials.

Allocation of Jesus’ clothes: John 19:24. Like the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34), John records the division of Jesus’ clothes by the Roman soldiers. Yet it is only John who brings out the Scripture to depict this scene in terms of “fulfillment.” In addition, it should be noted that the quote from the Psalm is unmistakable because of the introductory formula, although the wording is slightly different.⁹⁰

So they said to one another, “Let us not tear it, but cast lots for it to see who will get it.” This was to fulfill what the scripture says, “They divided my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots.” (John 19:24)

They divide my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots.” (Ps 22:18)

εἶπαν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· μὴ σχίσωμεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τίνος ἔσται· ἵνα ἡ γραφή πληρωθῇ [ἢ λέγουσα]· διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια μου ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον. Οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ταῦτα ἐποίησαν. (Jn 19:24, UBS)

וְעַל-לְבוּשֵׁי יַפְיָלוֹ גִזְרָה (Ps 22:19, BHS)

Two observations stand out with regards to the interest of this study. First, some have argued that the un-torn inner garment symbolizes the unity of and the

⁹⁰Menken posits that the quotation is the verse is a direct excerpt from the LXX. M. J. J. Menken, “The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John: Jn 10,34; 12,38; 19,24,” in *Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, BETL 131 (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997), 367-93.

everlasting promise given to the Davidic kingdom, a precedent of the Johannine community or the early church.⁹¹ Second, the quotation from Psalm 22:18 is cited to bring forth the aspect of Jesus' death as a righteous sufferer foreshadowed in David's life.⁹² The first interpretation runs into difficulty not only for its allegorical hermeneutics but also for its ignorance of the fact that the garment was taken from Jesus.

Schnackenburg's interpretation seems more natural to the narrative context that the giving up of his garments implicates his total sacrifice.⁹³ The second point is feasible in view of the recurrent quotations from the book of Psalms, which were closely associated with David in early Judaism. However, such a connection is heavily overshadowed by the theme of the divine sovereignty.⁹⁴ The psalmic citation is probably better understood in terms of the consistence of Jesus' crucifixion with the divine redemptive program, rather than Jesus' fulfilling the qualification expected of a Davidic Messiah. In this respect, Keener's comment is illuminating.

John's most central implication at this point, however, is the fulfillment of Scripture. His ouv at the end of v. 24 ("this is why the soldiers did these things") reinforces the point: the soldiers may have acted according to custom and may have acted according to evil desires, but they ultimately were unwittingly fulfilling God's

⁹¹For example, R. Alan Culpepper, "The Theology of the Johannine Passion Narrative: John 19:16b-30," *Neot* 31 (1997): 27-28; Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 208-19. For example, "In biblical lore, prophetic garment-tearing symbolizes the loss of the kingship (Saul) or the division of the kingdom with concomitant diminishment of the king's sovereignty (Ahijah). Set against this background, the Johannine insistence that Jesus' tunic was not torn is a declaration that, in spite of the utter despoliation that he willingly suffered, Jesus' royal status remained intact and undiminished. 'The hour' thus emerges as the definitive moment when the 2 Sam 7 promise to David of everlasting kingship is realized." *Ibid.*, 218. Some early exegetes based on some Talmudic literature and Josephus also posited that the unity of the undergarment signified the priesthood of Jesus. This view is protested by Ignace de la Potterie, "La tunique 'non divisée' de Jésus, symbole de l'unité messianique," in *New Testament Age: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke*, ed. William C. Weinrich (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 1:133. For a discussion on the research history of the views, see Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 2:255-56. Dietzfelbinger discards both theories in view of the narrative context. Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 2:300.

⁹²Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 612-13; Andreas Köstenberger, *John*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 547.

⁹³Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 671 n. 2; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 3:274; Garland, "Fulfillment Quotations in John's Account of the Crucifixion," 238; Beasley-Murray, *John*, 347-48; Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 2:300.

⁹⁴Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 612. For the lack of a better term, the word "sovereignty" is used here but without the connotation that later reformed theology attributes to the expression, especially with reference to soteriology.

unbreakable word.⁹⁵

Jesus' thirst: John 19:28. Some suggest that the last word of Jesus in John 19:28 indicates his thirst to be in union with God, as the Psalms often portray David to be.⁹⁶ On the contrary, however, the fourth evangelist forcefully and meticulously endeavors to bring forth the point that every turn of events involved in Jesus' passion complies with the will of God as recorded in the Old Testament Scripture. A common phenomenon, which can happen to an average man hanged on a tree, even serves to fulfill the Scripture prophesied of the Messiah: "After this, when Jesus knew that all was now finished, he said (in order to fulfill the scripture), 'I am thirsty'" (John 19:28).⁹⁷ This declaration of thirst and the subsequent drinking of vinegar could refer to the cup of sacrifice alluded earlier in John 18:11, or to the flowing of the living water promised in John 7:28.⁹⁸ Yet the focus of attention should still be given to the motif of the fulfillment of Scripture.⁹⁹

In addition, the same hermeneutical weight should be equally given to the aspect of Jesus' active realization of the divine salvific program. Even to the very last

⁹⁵Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 2:1140. David Garland concludes the two-fold functions (apologetic and soteriological) of the four catenae from the Psalms in the Johannine passion narratives. "On the one hand, [for the Jews] the specific fulfillment of Scripture reveals that Jesus' death does not disqualify him, but rather validates him as Messiah. On the other hand, [for Christians] the Evangelist also unfurls the soteriological significance of that death and shows how, in this crucifixion, God overrules the actions of humans to achieve salvation." David E. Garland, "The Fulfillment Quotations in John's Account of the Crucifixion," in *Perspectives on John: Method and Interpretation in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Robert B. Sloan and Mikeal C. Parsons, NABPRSSS 11 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1993), 232.

⁹⁶Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 219-29. Dauer considers the participle εἰδὼς to hold together the passion pericope (13:1-19:29) as an *inclusio*. Dauer, *Die Passionsgeschichte im Johannesevangelium*, 202.

⁹⁷The attestation of "in order to fulfill" phrase is early: \aleph , D^s, Θ , $f^{1,13}$ and others. NA, 313. For a discussion of possible scriptural passages in view of this fulfillment passage, see Garland, "Fulfillment Quotations in John's Account of the Crucifixion," 237-43.

⁹⁸"When Jesus says, 'I thirst,' therefore, he not only points to the fulfillment of scripture and the fulfillment of his offer of living water to those who would come to him; he also figuratively announces his own death." Culpepper, "The Theology of the Johannine Passion Narratives," 32. Also Barrett sees the implication for the promise of the living water in the flowing of Jesus' water and blood. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978), 534.

⁹⁹Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 2:304.

moment, it is Jesus who advances through the path of sacrifice incumbent upon him as the Messiah, that is, he is not a passive participant of the ultimate sacrifice, the culmination of the redemptive historic event.¹⁰⁰ That point squares well with the following remark: “When Jesus had received the wine, he said, ‘it is finished.’ Then, he bowed his head and gave up his spirit” (John 19:30). The fulfillment formulae observed so far, including the one found in John 19:28, indicate that Jesus, in his suffering and death, willingly accomplished the qualifications required of the Messiah from the start to the end and in minute details as expected in Scripture.

Not breaking the legs and piercing the side: John 19:36. The last reference to the book of Psalms appears in John 19:36 where the failure to break Jesus’ legs is referred to as “fulfilling the Scripture.” John, then, goes on to mention Zechariah 12:10, in order to show how the death of Jesus tallies with the picture of the Messiah as prescribed in the Old Testament. These two citations or allusions to the Old Testament are tied with one another by the introductory formula, “these things occurred so that the Scripture might be fulfilled (ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα ἵνα ἡ γραφή πληρωθῆ)”:

But when they came to Jesus and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. Instead, one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and at once blood and water came out. (He who saw this has testified so that you also may believe. His testimony is true, and he knows that he tells the truth.) These things occurred so that the scripture might be fulfilled, “None of his bones shall be broken.” And again another passage of scripture says, “They will look on the one whom they have pierced.” (John 19:33-37)

However, the exact provenance of the allusion for the first reference is difficult to ascertain because the wording differs slightly from the alleged Old Testament texts. Usually, Exodus 12:46, Numbers 9:12, and Psalm 34:20 are suggested. Two passages

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 2:305. Cf. “We may suppose that Jesus really is thirsty; but he is thirsty only by his own volition, because of his own awareness that there is a prophecy to be realized.” Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 2:928. Also, “The thirst of Jesus represents his complete obedience to the Father’s will, drinking to the dregs the cup of death; and by it, salvation, living water, is poured out for human kind. To use another Johannine image, from the bitter wine vinegar comes the good wine that has been kept until now.” Garland, “Fulfillment Quotations in John’s Account of the Crucifixion,” 244.

from the Pentateuch refer to a commandment not to break a Paschal lamb's leg bones. The first example is found in Exodus 12:46: "It shall be eaten in one house; you shall not take any of the animal outside the house, and you shall not break any of its bones." The second example is mentioned in Numbers 9:12: "They shall leave none of it until morning, nor break a bone of it; according to all the statute for the passover they shall keep it." The last passage appears in Psalm 34:20: "He keeps all their bones; not one of them will be broken." There are three possibilities. If the first two passages are assumed to be the origin, then, the fourth evangelist associates Jesus with the Paschal lamb, whose bones should be kept intact according to the Levitical regulations.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, if the Psalm text is opted for, the picture is of Jesus cast as a righteous sufferer, as was David when Yahweh protected him from Abimelech.¹⁰² Finally, a growing number of exegetes mediate the tension between the two options by positing a confluence of the two traditions on the present Johannine text.¹⁰³ Some from this group argue that the Psalm quotation attributes a characteristic of David to Jesus, that is, he is a royal Messiah because of the Psalm's association with David.¹⁰⁴ Daly-Denton unfolds her logic for this contention as follows:

It is the contention of this study that the exegetical warrant for regarding a psalm quotation such as ὅστούν οὐ συντριβήσεται as spoken about Jesus the Messiah is to

¹⁰¹J. M. Ford, "'Mingled Blood' from the Side of Jesus (John XIX.34)," *NTS* 15 (1969): 337-38.

¹⁰²Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 233; idem, *The Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 131; Edwin D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, NovTSup 11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 110.

¹⁰³C. K. Barrett, "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel," *JTS* 48 (1947): 157; idem, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 558; Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 677-79; Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), 96; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 3:291-92; A. T. Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 222; Bruce G. Schuchard, *Scripture within Scripture: The Interrelationship of Form and Function in the Explicit Old Testament Citations in the Gospel of John*, SBLDS 133 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992), 133-40; M. J. J. Menken, "'Not a Bone of Him Shall be Broken' (John 19:36)," in *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, CBET 15 (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 147-66; Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 229-42.

¹⁰⁴Martin Hengel, *The Atonement: The Origins of the Doctrine in the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1981), 41; Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 103.

be found in the supposed Davidic authorship of the Psalter. According to the midrashic logic which this warrant permits, Jesus is to be recognized by his Davidic-likeness (not, John would say, by linear descent from David) as the king in whose name King David prophetically composed this psalm. Thus John's psalm citation portrays Jesus not as "righteous," but as royal.¹⁰⁵

However, her argument and those of other exegetes along this line misses the point of the citation in lieu of the narrative contexts both of John and the Psalm (let alone it seems unlikely that the original hearers immediately captured "the midrashic logic" of John). In Psalm 34, one verse of which is alluded to in the text, the psalmist speaks of God's redemption of a righteous sufferer (i.e., David) in the midst of trials. The gory portrayal of John 19:33-37, which recounts the piercing of Jesus' side that leads to the depletion of the inner body fluid, precludes, thus, a royal enthronement interpretation of the Psalm citation. The primary sense in which Psalm 34 is quoted is probably, as John plainly states, to show that the death of Jesus, even the manner in which he died, does not contradict the will of God but fulfills it.¹⁰⁶

A more explicit allusion to David and particularly to his kingship is the last Old Testament citation found in John; he quotes Zechariah 12:10 with reference to the piercing of Jesus' side.¹⁰⁷

And again another passage of scripture says, "They will look on the one whom they have pierced." (John 19:37)

And I will pour out a spirit of compassion and supplication on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so that, when they look on the one whom they have pierced, they shall mourn for him, as one mourns for an only child, and weep bitterly over him, as one weeps over a firstborn. (Zech 12:10)

Because of the phrase, "house of David," in Zechariah, some argue for the presence of the kingly characteristics in relation to the piercing of Jesus' side. A closer examination

¹⁰⁵Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 239. Also, "as cited in John 19:36, it underlines the Johannine conception of Jesus' death as his triumphant royal enthronement." *Ibid.*, 241.

¹⁰⁶Cf. Garland, "Fulfillment Quotations in John's Account of the Crucifixion," 247-48.

¹⁰⁷Menken posits that the citation from Zechariah derived from an early Christian translation of the Hebrew text, i.e., *testimonium*. M. J. J. Menken, "'They Shall Look on Him Whom They Have Pierced' (John 19:37)," in *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, CBET 15 (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 167-85; Arnold Stiglmeier, "Der Durchbohrte: Ein Versuch zu Sach 12," *ZKT* 116 (1994): 451-56.

of the original context and John, however, speaks against such a construal. The interpretation of Zechariah 12:10 is decisively divided on a number of issues (such as whether or not the subject of the violent act is the house of David) but one element is certain, that is, David (or the house of David) is not identified with the one who is pierced, as it is related to Jesus in John.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the general message of Zechariah 12 is that Yahweh will transform the hearts of people of Israel, and the house of David will be a recipient of this blessing. In view of the narrative contexts of both passages, thus, the following assessment of Daly-Denton concerning the implication of the Zechariah quotation does not stand under close scrutiny:

The two sources complement each other: the paschal lamb reference points to the sacrificial efficacy of Jesus' death, the testimony of David pointing to the vindication of Jesus, not merely as "righteous," but as royal. . . . This royal portrayal of Jesus facilitates the recognition of the pierced one (Zech 12:10) as the one in whom κύριος εἰς βασιλέα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν (Zech 14:9).¹⁰⁹

Contrary to Daly-Denton, the one pierced in Zechariah is someone other than David, probably Yahweh or a prophetic figure. In addition, the Lord, who will become Lord over the earth in Zechariah 14:9, is also, not David as Daly-Denton maintains, but Yahweh. Thus, John seems to correlate Jesus with Yahweh (or a prophetic figure) and David (i.e., his house) with the New Testament believers (with particular emphasis on the eye-witness theme) in his use of the Zechariah texts.¹¹⁰ If the fourth evangelist wished to speak of a certain nature of Jesus by means of the citations from the Psalm and Zechariah, it is of his divinity, not his relation to David as some consider him to be a messianic precursor. However, even such divinization of Jesus is not brought to the fore of the

¹⁰⁸For interpretive issues and options of Zech 12:10, see Carol L. and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9-14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25C (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 333-59; Menken, "'They Shall Look on Him Whom They Have Pierced' (John 19:37)," 178-85.

¹⁰⁹Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 240.

¹¹⁰The house of David is a typological thesis to the New Testament believers. Menken, "'They Shall Look on Him Whom They Have Pierced' (John 19:37)," 178-85. For a prominent witness function of the citation, see Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 2:310-11. For an apologetical charge to believe in Jesus by the vivid description of his death, see Ludger Schenke, *Johannes: Kommentar* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1998), 363; Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 2:265.

narratives in the passion accounts.

Conclusion

The Jewish writings in the second temple period envisaged David as an ideal figure such as a capable ruler, a genuine Jew, and even a messianic figure. Some new Testament writings such as the Synoptic Gospels and the Revelation display affinity with the motif of his image as a royal messianic prefiguration. In contrast to such prefiguration motifs, however, the fourth evangelist does not present Jesus in that angle, but rather seems to be in terms more congruous with the perception of him as a righteous sufferer.

The frequency of quotations from the book of Psalms should be noted at least on the sub-conscious level, if not on the surface as indicating this aspect. The reason is because the texts explicitly cited from the Psalter serve to expose that Jesus possesses messianic qualifications, especially his divine characteristics, such as omniscience and an unremitting willingness to comply with the Father's will. This aspect points to the authenticity of Jesus as Messiah as it is prescribed in the supreme authority of Judaism. Second, the texts cited from Scripture function to indicate that his death conforms to the divine redemptive program as recorded in Scripture, and it was not a precarious venture that inadvertently happens.

Finally, concerning the question put forth at the beginning of this chapter, as to whether or not there is a messianic correspondence between David and Jesus, these observations answer in the negative. The royal messianic image of David, which was most often envisaged in the contexts of the intertestamental Jewish eschatological hopes, does not fit the messianic picture of the Fourth Gospel. If the correlation must be pressed hard, it is found in the witness function of David for the messianic qualification of Jesus. In his numerous trials, the ideal Jewish figure offered analogies to the righteous suffering of Jesus, and in doing so he, perhaps unconsciously, foreshadowed the characteristics of

Messiah. Moreover, the house of David bears witness to the prefiguration of Jesus, i.e., the pierced Yahweh, just as the disciples of Jesus eye-witness the death of Jesus (as the citation from Zech 12:10 points out). This aspect is what most straightforwardly comes into the fore of John's narratives in his use of the Old Testament passages that are related to David.

CHAPTER 5

MOSES

Introduction

Of all the important Old Testament characters, Moses, “the man of God” (Deut 33:1; Josh 14:6; 1 Chr 23:14; Ezra 3:2; Ps 90:1; 1 Esdr 5:49; 4Q378 26 2; 4Q381 24 4), is most frequently addressed in the study of John’s Gospel. Therein, not only his importance is often noted, but it is contended with much vigor that he is portrayed as a messianic prefiguration. That is, Jesus is a new Moses.¹ In the same vein, a group of scholars draws attention to some early strands of Jewish eschatological conceptions (particularly to the early rabbinic and Samaritan traditions) that allegedly exerted influence on Johannine Christology. On the opposite side stands another group of

¹T. Francis Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, SBT 40 (London: SCM, 1963); William Henry Marty, “The New Moses” (Th.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1984), 130-80; Marie-Émile Boismard, *Moses or Jesus: An Essay in Johannine Christology* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Leuven: Peeters, 1993); Cherian Thomas, “Jesus the New Moses: A Christological Understanding of the Fourth Gospel” (Th.D. diss., Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1989); Bertold Klappert, “‘Mose hat von mir geschrieben’: Leitlinien einer Christologie im Kontext des Judentums Joh 5,39-47,” in *Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Erhard Blum, Christian Macholz, and Ekkehard W. Stegemann (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990), 619-40; Siegfried Kreuzer, “‘Wo ich hingehe, dahin könnt ihr nicht kommen’: Joh 7,34; 8:21; 13,33 als Teil der Mosestypologie im Johannesevangelium,” in *Die Kirche als historische und eschatologische Größe: Festschrift für Kurt Niederwimmer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Wilhelm Pratscher and Georg Sauer (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994), 63-76; Paul Trudinger, “A Prophet Like Me (Deut 18:5): Jesus and Moses in St John’s Gospel, Once Again,” *DRev* 113 (1995): 193-95; Klaus Scholtissek, “Die unauflösbare Schrift’ (Joh 10,35): Zur Auslegung und Theologie der Schrift Israels im Johannesevangelium,” in *Johannesevangelium—Mitte oder Rand des Kanons?: Neue Standortbestimmungen*, ed. Thomas Söding, QD 203 (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 146-77. With the qualification that the earlier redactional traits reflect such a view, two exegetes can be placed along a similar line of thought. Wayne A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, NovTSup 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1967); J. Louis Martyn, “From the Expectation of the Prophet-Messiah like Moses . . .,” in *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 101-23; idem, “. . . To the Presence of the Son of Man,” in *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 124-43. This typological interpretation has been applied to other parts of the New Testament. For instance, for the Gospel of Matthew, see François Refoulé, “Jésus, nouveau Moïse, ou Pierre, nouveau Grand Prêtre? (Mt 17,1-9; Mc 9,2-10),” *RTL* 24 (1993): 145-62; Dale C. Allison, Jr., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); for Luke-Acts, see J. Severino Croatto, “Jesus, Prophet like Elijah, and Prophet-Teacher like Moses in Luke-Acts,” *JBL* 124 (2005): 451-65; for Hebrews, see Mary R. D’Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews*, SBLDS 42 (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979). For an overview of the research history, see Marty, “The New Moses”; John Lierman, *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion*, WUNT 2/173 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 10-29.

scholars which does not find a typological reading of the Moses texts to be pervasive in John.²

With such a divergence of scholarly assessments in view, this chapter seeks to explore the narrative function of Moses with regards to the Johannine Christology and in light of his messianic prefigurative references in the Old Testament and the intertestamental Jewish literature. The space allowed for this study precludes a comprehensive examination of the Mosaic references in early Judaism. Nonetheless, the first half of this chapter will address a sufficient number of selected passages from the Old Testament and early Jewish writings (especially those of the Palestinian provenance) that are particularly relevant to the present research, in order to fairly represent the common Jewish understanding of Moses in that period. The second half will deal with John's depiction of Moses and his function with special reference to the Christology of his Gospel. In conclusion, the possible link between early Judaism and Johannine Christology via Moses and his Christological contribution in John will be assessed.

Mosaic Images in the Old Testament and Early Judaism

The Old Testament and Early Judaism mention a large number of persons. Yet none is more prominent than Moses. For example, Philo describes Moses as the “greatest and most perfect man” (*Mos.* 1:1).³ As such, his standing and multi-hued character have far reaching implications for understanding of the Christian Bible. He is variously portrayed as the cult founder, a prophet, a priestly and a kingly figure, the law giver, and

²As an example, Dieter Sänger finds no explicit trait of thought concerning Moses in terms of correspondence or typology not only in John but in the entire purview of the New Testament writings. Rather, the concepts of “intensification” and a “qualitative improvement” best depict the images of Moses in the New Testament. Dieter Sänger, “‘Von mir hat er geschrieben’ (Joh 5,46): Zur Funktion und Bedeutung Mose im Neuen Testament,” *KD* 41 (1995): 112-35.

³*Philo*, trans. F. H. Colson, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 6:276-77; Sänger, “‘Von mir hat er geschrieben’ (Joh 5,46),” 112.

an example of Jewish royalty.⁴ Of these images, four characteristics stand out, and they are particularly pertinent to the present discussion as it concerns Johannine Christology.⁵ Accordingly, the following preliminary survey will focus on his images in early Judaism as a figure of authority, a prophet, and a king. It is also noteworthy that some scholars contend that some of the early Jewish ascension and enthronement narratives confer a certain degree of divinity to Moses. Since such deification bears a direct bearing on this study, a close scrutiny of such texts will be included. Finally, an examination will be undertaken concerning some early Jewish texts that depict Moses as an eschatological redeemer figure, which could have easily developed into a Johannine Mosaic Christology.

Moses as Authority Figure with Particular Emphasis on Law-Giving and Legitimatizing

The Old Testament. This category of perception largely stems from Moses' reception and transmission of the Sinai revelation as recorded in Exodus 24 and the

⁴Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 32-257. Lierman even detects a strand of Jewish thought that associates Moses with baptism (ibid., 175-208). For more convenient surveys on the issues related to the perceptions of Moses in the Old Testament, see Erich Zenger, "Mose/Moselied/Mosesegen/Moseschriften I: Altes Testament," in *TRE*, 23:330-41; Marion Ann Taylor and John E. Harvey, "Moses," in *NIDOTTE*, 4:949-60; Carl S. Ehrlich, "Moses, Torah, and Judaism," in *Rivers of Paradise: Moses, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, and Muhammad as Religious Founders*, ed. David N. Freedman and Michael J. McClymond (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 11-119; Eckart Otto, "Mose I: Altes Testament," in *RGG*, 5:1534-38; Rolf Rendtorff, *Canonical Hebrew Bible: A Theology of the Old Testament*, TBS 7 (Leiden: Deo, 2005), 545-59; for those of early Jewish literature, see Joachim Jeremias, "Μωϋσης," in *TDNT*, 4:849-64; Gabrielle Oberhänsli-Widmer, "Mose/Moselied/Mosesegen/Moseschriften III: Apokalyptische und jüdisch-hellenistische Literatur," in *TRE*, 23:347-57; Stan Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel: A Study of Ancient Reading Techniques*, JSNTSup 229 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002), 96-129; for the Mosaic portrait in early Greco-Egyptian and early rabbinic traditions, see Maren Niehoff, "Mose III, 1: Antike Judentum," in *RGG*, 5:1539-42. Some scholars have traced the various Jewish key figures traditions (such as, prophetic, priestly, and scribal) to Moses. That is, Moses is the first in the prophet tradition. For example, the suffering prophetic image of Elijah is in line with the suffering of Moses in the wilderness. On the other hand, the priestly succession also stems from Moses through his spiritual subordinate Aaron. Finally, the book of Deuteronomy is considered as the Mosaic interpretation of the Sinai Torah. As such, Moses stands as the first in the line of the scribal tradition. Otto, "Mose I," 1537-38.

⁵A considerable number of investigations into the historic Moses were advanced categorically (such as a cult founder, legislator, prophet, charismatic leader, priest, etc.), rather than biographically, due to the skeptical form critical influence of Wellhausen. Rudolf Smend, "Methoden der Moseforschung," in *Gesammelte Studien*, vol. 2 of *Zur ältesten Geschichte Israels*, BEvT 100 (Munich: Kaiser, 1987), 90; Zenger, "Mose/Moselied/Mosesegen/Moseschriften I," 23:331. Zenger notes the danger of overgeneralization inherent in this type of systematic categorization. For the convenience of presentation, however, the present study proceeds in line with this type of survey with such a caution in mind (ibid.).

concomitant reinforcement of the Sinaitic covenant in the lives of Israelites as witnessed in Deuteronomy.⁶ His role in the process of imparting the Law granted him an enduring status of authority. However, one reason why his authority stands out is due to the unparalleled degree of directness with which he received the divine revelation. The books of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy testify to the intimacy Moses enjoyed in his encounter with Yahweh. That is, unlike any of the other prophets to whom God reveals himself in visions and dreams, God conversed with Moses “face to face.”

Thus the LORD used to speak to Moses face to face, as one speaks to a friend (Ex 33:11a); And he said, “Hear my words: When there are prophets among you, I the LORD make myself known to them in visions; I speak to them in dreams. Not so with my servant Moses; he is entrusted with all my house. With him I speak face to face—clearly, not in riddles; and he beholds the form of the LORD (Num 12:6-7); Never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face. (Deut 34:10)⁷

However, an important qualification should be made concerning the expression “face to face.” In light of the surrounding literary contexts, the phrase does not imply that Moses directly beheld God, but it signifies his intimate relation or the directness of his encounter with Yahweh (i.e., without mediation). In other places, the Pentateuch clearly indicates that the prophet could not observe the face of Yahweh (Exod 33:20-23) and he only beheld the “form or likeness (תְּמוּנָהּ)” of Yahweh (Num 12:7). Jeffrey Tigay’s summation on this idiom is helpful in this respect: “The point of the text is that Moses had the most direct contact with God of any prophet, and hence had the clearest knowledge of Him and His will.”⁸

⁶The reception of oracles is a particular mark of a prophet, in Moses’ case, most conspicuously evidenced in the Sinai event. As such, the issues related to the Sinai event should be treated under the category of a prophet. However, the enormous magnitude of the Torah reception merits a separate treatment. The messenger function, that is the delivery of a divine oracle, is the dominating aspect of the Old Testament prophets. James F. Ross, “The Prophet as Yahweh’ Messenger (1962),” in *Prophecy in Israel: Search for an Identity*, ed. David L. Peterson, IRT 10 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 112-21.

⁷The expression in the Numbers passage literally means “mouth to mouth” (פִּה אֶל פִּה) but NRSV idiomatically translates “face to face.” See J. A. Thompson and Elmer A. Martens, “פִּה,” in *NIDOTTE*, 3:583. The Exodus and Deuteronomy passages literally read “face to face” (פָּנִים אֶל פָּנִים).

⁸Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*, JPSTC (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 340. Some other reasonable suggestions better to understand the phrase are “one on one,” Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, OTL

Furthermore, not only the directness of his reception, but the content of his oracle distinctly sets apart the authority of Moses. The commanding nature of the Sinai covenant and its lasting impact on every aspect of the life and thought of Israelites (with which he is frequently associated) equally confer to him a superlatively authoritative standing. McBride summarizes this tradition as follows:

Significantly this [Ex 24:12 where Moses receives the Torah] is the first occurrence of the term “the Torah” in its general sense in the Mosaic portrait. What was first spoken through Moses to the people is now given a permanent existence and conveyed to Moses in a form called “the Torah and commandment,” so that through his service it would guide the covenant people throughout their future history. The use of the singular forms means the text refers to more than a series of particular stipulations. Rather, “the Torah” refers to a very comprehensive authority of guidance that was given to Moses. “The commandment” is the mandate found in and derived from the Torah in a continuing fashion. The substance of the Torah is not only content but authority and function intended to preserve the covenanted people in the covenant.⁹

The frequent reference to Moses in conjunction with the Torah further testifies to his prominent place occupied in the minds of Israelites. Although his name does not appear as frequently in the rest of the Old Testament as in the Pentateuch, the historical narratives often recognize the integral part Moses played at the Sinai event.¹⁰ King

(Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2002), 394; “an idiom of intimacy,” John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC, vol. 3 (Waco, TX: Word, 1987), 443; “in person,” “directly,” or “without mediation,” Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10-34:12*, WBC, vol. 6B (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2002), 873. For a discussion on the later rabbinic interpretations in a similar vein, see Anthony T. Hanson, “The Word on Sinai and at Bethel,” in *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 21-24. Jacob Milgrom argues that the expressions imply a prophet’s intercession with God for Israelites and the image is that of a royal trusted servant seeing the king (2 Kings 25:19). Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation Commentary*, JPSTC (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 96. However, his imagery seems suggestive at best. Indeed, beholding Yahweh face to face rarely occurs in the Old Testament. One of those few references is in Ezekiel 20:35: “And I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples, and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face.” However, here the emphasis lies not in the intimate relationship but in the directness of encounter with which the divine wrath will be poured upon some Israelites. Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1-24*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 651.

⁹S. Dean McBride, Jr., “Transcendent Authority: The Role of Moses in Old Testament Traditions,” *Int* 44 (1990): 238. Thomas Dozeman, however, detects the transitional nature of the Mosaic role in Exodus 34:29-35. He posits that the masking and unveiling indicate the theocentric idealization of Moses at the expense of his personality, so that it is not Moses but Yahweh who is present in Moses’ presence. Thomas B. Dozeman, “Masking Moses and Mosaic Authority in Torah,” *JBL* 119 (2000): 21-45. However interesting, his suggestion appears to hang too much weight on a few passages, and his psycho-sociological reading does not take into account properly the preeminent emphasis on Moses unfolded in the following pericopae.

¹⁰“In the light of his vast importance in that literature and time, it is quite surprising that Moses as topic and name is mentioned so infrequently in the rest of the Old Testament. If it appears from this that the Mosaic presence is absent from the record in the other books, then appearances are deceiving. The

Josiah, for instance, charges his people to comply with the Levitical regulations that were given through Moses. The Hebrew text renders a vivid illustration of Moses' role by means of the expression that the law was given into the hands of Moses (יָיָהּ בְּיַד־מֹשֶׁה), "act according to the word of Yahweh [given] in the hand of Moses," 2 Chr 35:6). Similarly, Ezra also records that a group of priests rebuilt the altar of God "as prescribed in the law of Moses" and identifies him as the man of God ("אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים," Ezra 3:2; similarly, Jos 14:6; 1 Chr 23:14; Ps 90:1; 1 Esd 5:49).¹¹

Sirach, the Assumption of Moses, and 1 Esdras. The Hebrew scriptures' emphasis on Moses as the mediator of the Torah is also found in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Tob 1:8; Bar 2:2, 28; Sus 1:3, 62; 2 Macc 7:30; 1 Esdr 1:6, 11; 5:49; 7:9; 8:3; 9:39).¹² In addition, the privileged nature of his reception of the divine revelation is also recognized in this group of Jewish writings vis-à-vis the "face-to-face" phrase (Sir 45:5) and the pre-appointment language (As. Mos. 1:14):

By his words he performed swift miracles; the Lord glorified him in the presence of kings. He gave him commandments for his people, and revealed to him his glory. For his faithfulness and meekness he consecrated him, choosing him out of all humankind. He allowed him to hear his voice, and led him into the dark cloud, and gave him the commandments face to face, the law of life and knowledge, so that he might teach Jacob the covenant, and Israel his decrees. (Sir 45:3-5)

Therefore, he has devised and invented me, I who have been prepared from the beginning of the world to be the mediator of his covenant. (As. Mos. 1:14)

And having testified, he also called on heaven and earth to be witnesses, lest we should transgress his commandments, which he had mediated to us. (As. Mos.

above illustrations insist that by the charisma and tradition transmitted through him, he is present wherever spirit and Torah work together to bring Israel to God and God to Israel." McBride, "Transcendent Authority," 239.

¹¹Some other examples of identifying the Torah with Moses include the following passages: 1 Kgs 2:3; 8:9; 14:6; 18:6, 12; 2 Kgs 21:8; 23:25; 1 Chr 6:49; 15:15; 22:13; 2 Chr 8:13; 23:18; 25:4; 30:16; 33:8; 34:14; 35:6, 12; Ezra 6:18; 7:6; Neh 1:7, 8; 8:1, 14; 9:14; 10:29; Dan 9:11, 13; Mal 4:4.

¹²On the other hand, the depiction of the Hellenistic apologists conforms to the Greek ideals that Moses is a great civilizer, philosopher, inventor, ideal king embodying the offices of legislator, high priest, prophet, and a "divine man." Daniel K. Falk, "Moses," in *EDSS*, 1:576-77.

3:12)¹³

Related to this emphasis on the authority of Moses is an interesting note from Scott Hafemann who writes that 1 Esdras shifts the emphasis from Moses' instrumental function in the transmission of the Torah in 2 Chronicles to his being the object (or the final destination) of the impartation.¹⁴

Slaughter the passover lamb, sanctify yourselves, and on behalf of your kindred make preparations, acting according to the word of the LORD by (literally, "in the hand of") Moses. (2 Chr 35:6)

and kill the passover lamb and prepare the sacrifices for your kindred, and keep the passover according to the commandment of the Lord that was given to Moses. (1 Esdr 1:6)

The Hebrew idiom, "in the hand of (בְּיַד) Moses," as found in 2 Chronicles is replaced with "to Moses (τῷ Μωϋσῆϊ)" in 1 Esdras.¹⁵ Hafemann's observation could be tenable in two respects. First, the similarity in wording in both texts is so close that the Esdras passage is likely to have reread the Chronicles with the intention as suggested by Hafemann. Second, the expression, the Torah *given* to Moses, is surely a peculiar form since it does not appear anywhere else in the Old Testament. Common expressions for the law in relation to Moses are "the law of Moses" (1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; 2 Chr 23:18; 30:16; Ezra 3:2; 7:6; Neh 8:1; Dan 9:11, 13) and "the law given through (or by) Moses" (2 Chr 33:8; 34:14; Neh 8:14; 10:29).¹⁶

¹³Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 164; Johannes Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary*, SVTP 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 6-7, 10-11. For a study that understands "the heavenly messenger" in chapters 10, 11, and 12 of Assumption of Moses as Moses the mediator and intercessor, see Jan Willem van Henten, "Moses as Heavenly Messenger in Assumptio Mosis 10:2 and Qumran Passages," *JJS* 54 (2003): 216-21. The writing of Assumption of Moses is usually dated in the first quarter of the first century C.E. Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses*, 116-17. This pseudepigraphic writing is missing the Mosaic ascension account, which is also called "Testament of Moses."

¹⁴Scott H. Hafemann, "Moses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Survey," *JSP* 7 (1990): 80-81.

¹⁵For י as an indication of "the agency or instrument," see *BDB*, 391. The dating of 1 Esdras is difficult to ascertain but it can be placed around 150 BCE. Jacob M. Myers, *I and II Esdras: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, AB 42 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), 8-15.

¹⁶Such expressions also abound in the Apocrypha: "the law of Moses" (Tob 1:8; 7:13; Bar 2:2; Sus 1:3, 62; 1 Esdr 8:1, 9:39); "the law given through Moses" (2 Macc 7:30). Similarly, 1QS 1:2-3 (James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls*:

However, the two texts under discussion cannot be examined in isolation from the rest of the Hebrew canon and intertestamental Jewish writings, which reflect the Jewish interpretive currents of the period. The expressions, “the law of Moses” and “the law given through Moses” mentioned above logically presuppose that Yahweh gave the Torah to Moses in the first place. Another important factor is that some texts structure the language in such a way that Moses is identified as the one who gave the Torah to the Israelites.

This is the law that Moses set before the Israelites. These are the decrees and the statutes and ordinances that Moses spoke to the Israelites when they had come out of Egypt (Deut 4:44-45); All this is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law that Moses commanded us as an inheritance for the congregations of Jacob. (Sir 24:23)

These texts, thus, demand the idea that Yahweh first gave the Torah to Moses, and he in turn delivered it to the nation of Israel. To put it another way, it is highly unfeasible to construe that Moses initially created and imparted the Torah. Contrary to Hafemann’s confident assertion, therefore, the logical inference of the passing on of the Torah, as discussed above, suggests that the Esdras passage may be a reflection of the common understanding among Jews in the time of its writing, instead of an intentional shift from the preposition of instrument to that of locative, in order to superimpose a “relecture” of the Chronicles passage.¹⁷

4 Maccabees. Two other passages that refer to the authoritative position of Moses are also worthy of inquiry. Although Fourth Maccabees displays heavy Hellenization in its overall expression, as is especially evident in its emphasis on the possession of philosophical virtues, a verse in this book appears to equate the authority of

Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, PTSDSSP [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994], 7).

¹⁷For a survey of various degrees of Moses’ involvement in the transmission of the Torah, see Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 127-28. For a notion of the precarious nature of establishing the role of Moses in the transmission of the Torah based on the selected texts, see H. G. M. Williamson, “History,” in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture, Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 25.

the Torah with that of Moses: “We are obviously putting our forebears to shame unless we should practice ready obedience to the law and to Moses our counselor” (4 Macc 9:2). However, the issues of geographic provenance (Asia Minor; whereas the provenance of the fourth evangelist is considered to be of Palestine) and dating (from the mid first century to early second centuries C.E.) considerably reduce the relevance of the document for the present discussion.¹⁸

2 Maccabees. Another example of early Jewish testimony to the Mosaic authority is attested to in 2 Maccabees 7.

The Lord God is watching over us and in truth has compassion on us, as Moses declared in his song that bore witness against the people to their faces, when he said, “And he will have compassion on his servants.” (2 Macc 7:6)

While she was still speaking, the young man said, “what are you waiting for? I will not obey the king’s command, but I obey the command of the law that was given to our ancestors through Moses.” (2 Macc 7:30)

Second Maccabees contains the narratives of Jewish persecutions wreaked by Antiochus IV and the ensuing Jewish revolt.¹⁹ Until chapters 6 and 7, Antiochus IV is depicted as an agent to carry out the divine wrath poured upon Israel for her unfaithfulness. It is, however, this very persecution that turned the wrath of God into the divine redemptive intervention on behalf of Jews as narrated on chapter seven onwards. In the course of

¹⁸H. Anderson, “4 Maccabees,” in *OTP*, 2:533-37; Jan Willem van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*, JSJSup 57 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 73-91. For another example of the elevation of Moses in terms of his virtues as the grounds for the divine selection, see Sir 45:3-5: “By his words he performed swift miracles; the Lord glorified him in the presence of kings. He gave him commandments for his people, and revealed to him his glory. For his faithfulness and meekness he consecrated him, choosing him out of all humankind. He allowed him to hear his voice, and led him into the dark cloud, and gave him the commandments face to face, the law of life and knowledge, so that he might teach Jacob the covenant, and Israel his decrees.”

¹⁹For the descriptions of the historical circumstance in this period, see Niels Hyldahl, “The Maccabean Rebellion and the Question of ‘Hellenization,’” in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, ed. Per Bilde, SHC 1 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990), 188-203; Leonard J. Greenspoon, “Between Alexander and Antioch: Jews and Judaism in the Hellenistic Period,” in *Oxford History of the Biblical World*, ed. Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 420-65; James C. VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 16-23; and Daniel R. Schwartz, “Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Jerusalem,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27-31 January, 1999*, ed. David M. Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 45-56.

this turmoil, Moses is remembered as one who encourages others to be faithful to the Torah even to the point of martyrdom. The phrase, “Moses declared in his song,” in 2 Maccabees 7:6 harkens back to Deuteronomy 32:36 in the form of verbatim citation from the Greek Deuteronomy.²⁰

ὅτι κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ παρακληθήσεται εἶδεν γὰρ παραλελυμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκκλειπόμενους ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ καὶ παρειμένους; “Indeed the LORD *will* vindicate his people, *have compassion on his servants*, when he sees that their power is gone, neither bond nor free remaining.” (Deut 32:36)

ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐφορᾷ καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐφ’ ἡμῖν παρακαλεῖται καθάπερ διὰ τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιμαρτυρούσης ὥδῆς διεσάφησεν Μωυσῆς λέγων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ παρακληθήσεται; “The Lord God is watching over us and in truth has compassion on us, as Moses declared in his song that bore witness against the people to their faces, when he said, ‘And *he will have compassion on his servants.*’” (2 Macc 7:6)

In a series of persecutions geared to cause a forsaking of Jewish religious practices, a number of Jews went through awful tortures. It is in the midst of this tribulation that the present narrative recounts a mother with seven sons (2 Macc 7:1-6). This family is forced to eat swine flesh. Upon their defiance, the first son’s tongue and his four limbs are cut off. Ultimately, he was scalped and was fried to death. While watching this torture, the mother and the six brothers remember the divine promise promulgated in the lips of Moses that Yahweh will comfort his faithful and take vengeance upon the heathens.²¹ What the explicit reference to Moses seems to hint at is

²⁰Peter Katz, “Text of 2 Maccabees Reconsidered,” *ZNW* 51 (1960): 14; Hafemann, “Moses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” 84-85; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 107-08. The song of Moses in Deut 32 was relatively widespread in early Judaism. For studies that illuminate the use of the song in other writings of the second temple period, especially over against catastrophic historical contexts, see Alfred E. Krause, “Historical Selectivity: Prophetic Prerogative or Typological Imperative?” in *Israel’s Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison*, ed. Avraham Gileadi (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), 175-212; John M. Wiebe, “The Form, Setting and Meaning of the Song of Moses,” *StudBibTh* 17 (1989): 119-63; Ronald Bergey, “The Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32.1-43) and Isaianic Prophecies: A Case of Early Intertextuality?” *JSOT* 28 (2003): 33-54.

²¹By this citation, they also recognize themselves to be the ones in whom the divine promise of Deut 32:36 has been fulfilled. Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 41A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 304; Dommershausen Werner, *I Makkabäer, 2 Makkabäer*, 2nd ed., NEchtB 12 (Würzburg: Echter, 1995), 138. R. Doran takes this account to be a literary interpolation so as to increase the dramatic effect of the document. Robert Doran, “The Second Book of Maccabees,” in *1 & 2 Maccabees, Introduction to Hebrew Poetry, Job, Psalms*, vol. 4 of *NIB*, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 240. His reason is based only on the presence of the parallel folktales in other Jewish writings that speak of a mother with seven sons who bravely encounter

that Moses is recognized not only as the transmitter (2 Macc 7:30) but as the defender of the Torah at all costs (2 Macc 7:6).²²

Qumran. In contrast to the various portrayals in other Jewish writings of the intertestamental period (both the Palestinian and Diaspora settings), the Qumran library demonstrates more or less a consistent view of Moses in three distinct terms: as an authoritative figure, a prophetic intercessor, and possibly an eschatological figure²³ (virtually no reference is made concerning Moses as king regardless of some counter-arguments, and his priestly role of atonement is mentioned only briefly in passing in 4Q504 2 ix-x²⁴). This section will concern only the first category, that of authority.²⁵

That his authority is evidently acknowledged in the community of Qumran is observed in the juxtaposition of Moses with the Torah, which implies several ideas. First, Moses plays an identity marker role for the divine stipulations. In other words, when such an association is mentioned, it is the particular divine revelation given through Moses that is being referred to in the discourse. Such association is expressed in the following phrases: “the Torah of Moses,” “the laws commanded to Moses,” or “God spoke to Moses” (4Q174 2 ii 3, 4Q175 1 i, 4Q252 1 iv 2, 4Q270 11 i 20, 4Q377 2 ii 2), “by the hand of Moses” (which echoes 2 Chr 35:6; 1QS i 3, 4Q504 1 v 14), “God spoke through/by Moses” (1Q22 1 i, 1QM 10 vi, 1QHa 17 xii, 4Q255 1 iii, 4Q259 1 iii 6, a trial.

²²For further elaborations of Moses as the authority figure in early Judaism, see Hafemann, “Moses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” 80-88; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 128-39.

²³Géza G. Xeravits, “Moses *Redivivus* in Qumran?” *QC* 11 (2003): 91-105. “The Qumranic picture of Moses is quite uniform. Compositions from the Qumran library describe Moses as an authoritative figure. His authority derives from his legislative role.” *Ibid.*, 92.

²⁴Falk, “Moses,” 576-77. It is not that the Qumran conceptual current is far removed from those reflected in other writings of early Judaism. Rather, the Dead Sea Scrolls constitute so important a part of early Judaism that they deserve a separate treatment.

²⁵For a detailed discussion on Qumran’s view of Moses as the authoritative figure, see James E. Bowley, “Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God’s Anointed,” in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed. Peter W. Flint, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 159-70.

4Q266 18 v 1-2, 4Q267 2 v-vi), “Moses said” (4Q266 3 ii 19, 4Q267 2 9), and “as it is written in the book of Moses” (4Q398 1 v, 4Q397 4 x, 4Q174).

Second, stemming from this first point is the conception that the authority of the Torah is in turn transferred to Moses. The identification of Moses’ authority with that of the Torah is attested in several respects. For example, in addition to the first five books of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Qumran community attributed Mosaic authorship to a dozen more books.

The sheer number of these writings testifies to the overwhelming importance of Moses as the legitimator of religious ideas in Second Temple times. If the Bible did not say what you thought it should, what you were convinced God would have said through Moses but somehow neglected to say, then you took reed in hand and, as it were, wrote for Moses.²⁶

Moreover, towards the end of the rule section of the Damascus Document, the one who wishes to join the sect is repeatedly instructed to take an oath to “return to the Torah of Moses.”²⁷ Not only is the means of entering the community predicated upon Moses, but the identity of the members is defined by the tenacious determination to observe the rules set forth through and/or by him.²⁸ Finally, the Damascus Document also spells out the benefit of joining the band, that is, the departing of an evil angel, Mastema (lit.,

²⁶Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 427. The writings the Qumran community attribute to Moses as the author are Jubilees, the Words of Moses, rewritten Bible texts, the Test of a True Prophet, the Temple Scroll, the Apocryphon of Moses, and possibly the Discourse on the Exodus and Conquest.”

²⁷“But when he has imposed upon himself to return to the law of Moses with all his heart and all his soul.” 4Q266 17 i 3 (*CD* 15:12); “with Israel, the covenant to rev[ert to] the law of Moses with the whole heart and [with] the who[le].” *CD* 15:9; “the law of Moses, for in it all is defined. . . . And the exact interpretation of their ages about the blindness . . . to the law of Moses, the angel Mastema will turn aside from following him, should he keep his words.” 16:2, 5 (4Q271 2 ii 3-4). “This statement indicates that formally the Yahad viewed the Torah of Moses as the ultimate source of all Qumranic halakah and indeed of all things necessary for proper living.” Bowley, “Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 161. The Damascus Document appears to have originated from the Qumran community from around 100 B.C.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 122-23. For a comprehensive introduction to the Damascus Document, see Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, CQS 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000). Also, the members are called “the returnees to the Torah” and “the doers of Torah” (4Q171 2 ii-iii, xiv, xxii). John M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4: 4Q158-4Q186*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 43-44. For the ultimate authority of the Mosaic law in the Qumran community, see Geza Vermes, “The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in Its Historical Setting,” *LUOSA* 6 (1966-68): 87.

²⁸1QS 5 vii-x (*CD* 15 viii-ix); *DSS*, 1:80-81.

“obstruction”), from new members.²⁹ Conversely, however, any deliberate or negligent breach of the Torah of Moses is punishable by expulsion from the community.³⁰

Third, some scholars posit that the Qumran community understood themselves as preserving the authoritative interpretation of Moses as it is reflected in 4Q266 3 ii (=CD V 17-VI 7).³¹

[For former]ly [stood Moses and Aaron by the hand of] the Prince of L[ights, and] [Belial raised up] Jannes and his [brother in his] plotting when he wrought evil [against Israel in the begin]ing *vacat*. [And at the time of the destruction] of the l[and], trespassers [arose] and led Is[rael] astray [and the l]and [became desolate,] for they spoke defiantly against the commandments of God (given) thro[ugh] Moses, *vacat* and also against the anointed holy ones. And they prophesied falsely so as to cause [Isra]el to turn away from God. And God recalled the covenant with the fir[st] o]nes, and he raised up men of understanding [from Aa]ron and wise men from Israel, and [he] caused them to [hea]r. And [they d]ug the well of which Moses said, “the well was dug by the princes and excavated by the nobles of [the people], with a ruler” *vacat*. The “well” is the Law, [and those who “dig” it] are the penitent of Israel who departed from the land of Ju[dah and sojourned in the dwell]lings [of Damascus], God [called them] all “princes” for they all [sought him, and their glory was not rejected] by anyone’s mouth. *vacat* [And the “ruler” is the Interpreter of the L]aw, [of whom Isaiah said, “He takes out”].³²

In this allegorically interpretive account, “the interpreter of the Law,” which some

²⁹“They shall muster him with the oath of the covenant which Moses made with Israel, the covenan[nt] to re[turn t]o the Torah of Moses with all (his) heart [and with all] (his) soul But when he takes upon himself to return to the Torah of Moses . . . a man shall take upon himself (an oath) to return to the Torah of Moses . . . and on the day when a man takes upon himself (an oath) to return to the Torah of Moses, the angel of Mastema shall turn aside from after him, if he fulfills his words.” CD 15 viii-16 v (=4Q271 2 ii 6; James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, PTSDSSP [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1995], 39; 4Q270 6 ii 6, Joseph M. Baumgarten, ed., *Qumran Cave 4. XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)*, DJD 18 [Oxford: Clarendon, 1996], 179).

³⁰4Q377 2 ii; 4Q266 18 v 14-16. J. Duncan M. Derrett, “The Reprobate’s Peace: 4QDa (4Q266) (18 v 14-16),” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 245-49.

³¹“Dans ce contexte palestinien . . . il apparaît que le Mohoqqéq, Interprète de la Torah, docteur supreme de la Communauté et chef de son exode . . . est vraiment représenté comme un ‘nouveau Moïse.’” Geza Vermes, “La Figure de Moïse au tournant des deux Testaments,” in *Moïse: L’homme de l’alliance*, ed. Henri Cazelles (Paris: Desclée, 1955), 81-82. Also, Naftali Wieder, “The ‘Law-Interpreter’ of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses,” *JJS* 4 (1953): 172. Coupled with the witness of 4QMMT, Bowley suggests that the authoritative interpretation of the Qumran community is equated with the status of Moses. Bowley, “Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 165-66.

³²For the similar text that is missing the explicit reference to Moses, see CD V 17-VI 7 (= 4Q266 3 ii 1-15), Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XIII*, 97-98; Charlesworth, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, 22-23.

exegetes identify with Moses, is said to have retained the binding authority until the appearance of the “one who shall teach righteousness at the End of Days.” (CD 6 xi)³³ Three cautions, however, are in order concerning the “Interpreter of the Law” text. First, it could be an important indication that the explicit reference to Moses is missing in another version of the similar account (4Q266 3 ii 1-15), with the implication being that he is mentioned only peripherally in this text. Second, the equation of Moses with the Interpreter of the Law appears to distort the natural reading of the text concerning the role of Moses. Moses appears only as the medium by which the law was transmitted to the community, and the text does not seem to explicitly identify him with “the Interpreter of the Law.”³⁴ Finally, the “Interpreter of the Law” is mentioned three other times in the Qumran library. These three other references seem to refer to three different characters (one in 4Q174 3 x-xii in terms of David and another in terms of a priest or a prophet).³⁵ These differing characterizations signify that the epithet was meaningful in terms of his function (e.g., an end-time redeemer) and not so much in his analogy to a specific historical figure. In view of these three observations, therefore, discernment should be exercised so as not to overestimate the authoritative place of Moses as based on the “Interpreter of the Law” texts.³⁶

³³Charlesworth, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, 22-23.

³⁴Another point can be noted along this line of argument although it is an indirect one. Other Qumran documents, 4QPatriarchal Blessings and 4QFlorilegium, juxtapose “the Interpreter of the Law” with a Davidic figure, not with that of Moses. Daniel R. Schwartz, “The Messianic Departure from Judah (4Q Patriarchal Blessings),” *TZ* 37 (1981): 257-66.

³⁵4Q174 3 x-xii seems to clearly indicate a Davidic figure in reference to the “Interpreter of the Law.” The two other occurrences are from 4Q177 2 v (the text of which is too fragmentary to be certain about the identity of the figure) and CD 7 ix-8 ii. Scholars are divided over the identity of the figure in the latter text. For an argument for the prophetic figure, see Florentino García Martínez, “Messianic Hopes in the Qumran Writings,” in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 182-84. For an argument for the priestly figure, see Michael A. Knibb, “Interpreter of the Law,” in *EDSS*, 1:384. For an overview of the debate surrounding this title, see Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 75-77.

³⁶In this respect, one-sided is Hafemann’s assessment concerning the place of Moses in the letter of Aristean. “The incredible authority is vested in Moses. Moses does not derive his status from the law; the law derives its status from Moses!” Hafemann, “Moses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” 87-88. Hafemann cites the letter of Aristean v. 4-5, 31, 147-53, 161, 168, 171, 240, and 313 for this point. Although its heavy Hellenistic coloring (namely, an emphasis on human virtues) overshadows the

Lastly, a stunning instruction illuminates the status of Moses, in that the community forbids pronouncing the Torah of Moses, just as the divine names, because the law contains the spelled out names of Yahweh.

[He will not sw]ear by Aleph and Lamed (’el = God) nor by Aleph and Daleth (’adonai = the Lord), but by the oath of the youths, by the curses of the covenant. (blank) Neither should one mention the law of Moses, for in it is the full enunciation of the name. (CD-A XV 1-2 [4Q266 8 1-2])³⁷

As briefly discussed so far, Moses enjoyed an incomparable status as an authority figure in various strands of the Old Testament and the intertestamental Jewish writings.

However, there seems to have been a tendency to elevate his status as he was remembered in the later post-biblical traditions.

Moses as Prophet with Particular Emphasis on Intercession and Miracle-Working

The Old Testament. Without a doubt, Moses is depicted as the prophet *par excellence* in the Hebrew Scriptures.³⁸ The reason is, not because he is so frequently dubbed as such, but because the series of events surrounding his calling and subsequent

sovereign nature in the transmission of the Torah, the document still holds, to a considerable degree, a belief in the providence of God in granting the wisdom to Moses. Cf. “In his [Moses’] wisdom the legislator . . . endowed by God for the knowledge of universal truths surrounded us with unbroken palisades and iron walls to prevent our mixing with any of the other people in any matter, being thus kept pure in body and soul, preserved from false beliefs, and worshipping the only God omnipotent over all creation . . . [The king] commanded this man, and said to the next, ‘How can one avoid doing anything contrary to the Law?’ To this he replied, ‘By realizing that God has given to legislators the purpose of saving men’s lives, you would follow them.’” *Let. Aris.* vv. 139, 240 (in *OTP*, 2:22, 28). Moreover, the designation, “the legislators,” in the plural form does not always refer to Moses in the document as Hafemann suggests. Starting with Victor Tcherikover, the majority of scholars maintain that the document reflects the Jewish contentment with the Hellenistic elements that were compatible with Palestinian Judaism. Although often described in positive terms, however, such adaptation reveals the compromised nature of the letter, most starkly observed in its identification of Yahweh with Zeus (see *Let. Aris.* v. 16 [in *OTP*, 2:13]). For the positive acceptance of Hellenism in the letter, see Victor Tcherikover, “Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas,” *HTR* 2 (1958): 59-86; Naomi Janowitz, “Translating Cult: The Letter of Aristeas and Hellenistic Judaism,” *SBLSP* 22 (1983): 347-57; Jonathan Goldstein, “Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism,” in *Semites, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans: Studies in Their Interactions*, BJS 217 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1990), 27; John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*, 2nd ed., BRS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 97-102, 191-94.

³⁷*DSS*, 1:562-63; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 68.

³⁸Michael Widmer, *Moses, God, and the Dynamics of Intercessory Prayer: A Study of Exodus 32-34 and Numbers 13-14*, FAT 2/8 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 72-75; Rendtorff, *The Canonical Hebrew Bible*, 550-52.

ministry set forth the pattern of a prophet's life followed by other Hebrew prophets.³⁹

Some qualities corollary to his life and ministry as a prophet can be discussed in two sub-categories: his performing of miracles and his intercessory role.⁴⁰

First, the signs and wonders that Moses performed entitle him to be called the greatest prophet. Some later Old Testament traditions remember the miracles wrought against Egypt as the grandiose manifestation of the divine power, and, thus, he is symbolically portrayed as the protector of the nation of Israel: "By a prophet the LORD brought Israel up from Egypt, and by a prophet he was guarded" (Hos 12:13).

Furthermore, the Deuteronomist defies comparison of the number and magnitude of his miracles with those of other prophets:

He was unequalled for all the signs and wonders that the LORD sent him to perform in the land of Egypt, against Pharaoh and all his servants and his entire land, and for all the mighty deeds and all the terrifying displays of power that Moses performed in the sight of all Israel. (Deut 34:11-12)

As such, J. McConville even detects the analogy of Moses with Yahweh in this text (i.e., it is Moses who performed the miracles): "And remarkably, the language typically used of Yahweh himself in Deuteronomy to describe the defeat of Pharaoh and the powerful feats of the exodus from Egypt (4:34) is now used of Moses."⁴¹ However, this notion

³⁹For Moses as the arch-typical prophet, see Henry McKeating, "Ezekiel the 'Prophet Like Moses,'" *JSOT* 61 (1994): 97-109; Martin O'Kane, "Isaiah: A Prophet in the Footsteps of Moses," *JSOT* 69 (1996): 29-51; William Johnstone, "The Portrayal of Moses as Deuteronomistic Archetypal Prophet in Exodus and Its Revisal," in *Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, *OtSt* 45 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 159-74; Brian Britt, "Prophetic Concealment in a Biblical Type Scene," *CBQ* 64 (2002): 37-58. For the prophetic characteristics of Moses' calling and ministry, see Wolfgang Richter, *Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufsberichte: Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Studie zu 1 Sam 9,1-10,16, Ex 3f. und Ri 6,11b-17*, *FRLANT* 101 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 139 (Andeutung der Not, Auftrag, Einwand, Zusicherung des Beistandes, and Zeichen), whose characterization of Moses as the arch-prophet is taken up by Scott J. Hafemann, *Paul, Moses and the History of Israel: The Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Argument from Scripture in 2 Corinthians 3*, *WUNT* 81 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 47-62 (theophany, divine commission, identification of an obstacle to the performance of the commission, and divine provision for overcoming the obstacle).

⁴⁰Although the reception and transmission of divine oracles often mark the outset of prophetic commission (as discussed in the previous section), the enormous magnitude of the Sinai covenant for the life and thought of Israelites merits a separate treatment as it is a common pattern of procedure for studies on Moses.

⁴¹J. Gordon McConville, *Deuteronomy*, *AOTC* 5 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002), 478.

gravely overlooks the explicit reference to God as the source of Moses' miracles in verse eleven and his reluctance to follow the divine initiative especially at the inauguration of his mission to Pharaoh (Exod 4:1-17).

Turning now to the intercessory function of a prophet's ministry, Moses exceeds other intercessory prophets as well.⁴² His intercession begins with calling upon Yahweh for the deliverance of Pharaoh and Egyptian officials, and his prayer, on behalf of the fellow Israelites, continues to appear in a large part of the Pentateuch (Exod 32, Num 11, 14, 21, 32, Deut 9).⁴³ Although he failed to have his request answered, his intercessory ministry reaches its climax in Exodus 32:30-32 where he risks his own existence on behalf of the rebellious Israelites.⁴⁴

Sirach, 2 Maccabees, the Wisdom of Solomon. In early Jewish writings, Moses is also remembered for the signs and wonders wrought through him:

“By his words he performed swift miracles; the Lord glorified him in the presence of kings.” (Sir 45:3a)

Just as Moses prayed to the Lord, and fire came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifices, so also Solomon prayed, and the fire came down and consumed the

⁴² It is debated whether this particular ministry was a constitutive quality for a prophet. Contrary to the assessment of the previous scholarship (F. Hesse, A. S. Herbert, H. G. Reventlow, J. Jeremias, and A. B. Rhodes), Samuel Balentine argued that the intercessory ministry is not a mark of Jewish prophets. Only four figures manifest a considerable degree of intercessory ministry: Abraham, Moses, Samuel, and Jeremiah. Sameul E. Balentine, “The Prophet as Intercessor: A Reassessment,” *JBL* 103 (1984): 161-73. On the contrary, however, Widmer notes frequent references to the intercessory ministry of the Hebrew prophets and non prophetic figures. Widmer, *Moses, God, and the Dynamics of Intercessory Prayer*, 80-85.

⁴³ “Moses said to Pharaoh, ‘Kindly tell me when I am to pray for you and for your officials and for your people, that the frogs may be removed from you and your houses and be left only in the Nile’” (Ex 8:9); “The people came to Moses and said, ‘We have sinned by speaking against the LORD and against you; pray to the LORD to take away the serpents from us.’ So Moses prayed for the people” (Num 21:7); “The LORD was so angry with Aaron that he was ready to destroy him, but I interceded also on behalf of Aaron at that same time” (Deut 9:20).

⁴⁴ “On the next day Moses said to the people, ‘You have sinned a great sin. But now I will go up to the LORD; perhaps I can make atonement for your sin.’ So Moses returned to the LORD and said, ‘Alas, this people has sinned a great sin; they have made for themselves gods of gold. But now, if you will only forgive their sin—but if not, blot me out of the book that you have written’” (Ex 32:30-32). For a detailed treatment of Moses as an intercessor as depicted in the Pentateuch, see Robert Martin-Achard, “Moïse, figure du médiateur selon l’Ancien Testament,” *C RTP* 11 (1984): 107-28; Wesley J. Fuerst, “Moses as Intercessor,” in *Scripture and Prayer: A Celebration for Carroll Stuhlmueller*, ed. Carolyn Osiek and Donald Senior (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), 5-19; Widmer, *Moses, God, and the Dynamics of Intercessory Prayer*, 89-349.

whole burnt offerings. (2 Macc 2:10)⁴⁵

The Wisdom of Solomon also relates the miraculous Exodus events in chapters 11 through 19, which are preceded by the title of Moses, the “holy prophet.”⁴⁶

The Assumption of Moses. Furthermore, his intercession is recounted frequently in the *Assumption of Moses*. The book records the intense intercessory ministry of Moses, to which God has appointed him.

Or who will pray for them, not omitting one single day, so that I can lead them into the land of the Amorites? . . . For their (number) was a hundred thousand, but now they have grown into this multitude here, only because of your prayers, lord Moses. . . . If the enemies will sin against their Lord once more, there is no longer an advocate for them, who will supplicate to the Lord for them, as Moses was, the great messenger, who bent his knees on earth every hour of the day and of the night, praying; and who could look at him who rules the entire world with mercy and justice, reminding him of the covenant with the fathers, and placating the Lord. . . . The Lord has appointed me for them and for their sins that I should pray and supplicate for them. (*As. Mos.* 11:11, 14, 17, 12:6)⁴⁷

An interesting note about Moses in the *Assumption of Moses*, however, deserves a separate treatment.⁴⁸

And then his kingdom will appear in his entire creation. And then the devil will come to an end, and sadness will be carried away together with him. Then the hands of the messenger, when he will be in heaven, will be filled, and he will then avenge them against their enemies. (*As. Mos.* 10:1-2)⁴⁹

In an eschatological context, the messenger is depicted as a divine agent/mediator who executes the divine wrath upon the ungodly. The key question is the identity of the

⁴⁵Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha*, 249. Second Maccabees 2:10, which Hafemann deals with under the category of “authority” (“Moses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” 82-84), seems to better fit the intercession category.

⁴⁶“She [Wisdom] prospered their works by the hand of a holy prophet.” (Wis 11:1 [Coogan, *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha*, 84]) Cf. Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 154.

⁴⁷Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses*, 22-23, 24-25. Also, “I answered and said, ‘How then do we find that first Abraham prayed for the people of Sodom, and Moses for our ancestors who sinned in the desert.’” (4 Esdr 7:106). Meeks reckons that the passage cited above speaks of Moses’ enduring intercessory prayer, but such a reading does not seem warranted. Cf. Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 160. For a more detailed discussion on the early Jewish depiction of Moses as a prophet, see Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 34-45.

⁴⁸Although the earliest extant manuscript is in Latin, the original text is considered to be of Semitic origin written in first century Palestine. J. Priest, “Testament of Moses,” in *OTP*, 1:920-21.

⁴⁹Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses*, 18-19.

“messenger (*nuntius*)” in verse 2. Since the word seems to have been translated from the Greek synonym ἄγγελος, some scholars suggested that it refers to an angelic being. However, three observations strongly suggest the referent of the word as being Moses. First, the lack of any reference to an angelic figure as an eschatological divine agent elsewhere in the document precludes such a conclusion. In addition, the word “*nuntius*” usually refers to a human agent in other Latin writings similar to the *Assumption of Moses*.⁵⁰ Second, in the same book, Moses is denoted as arbiter (μεριστής, “mediator”) in 1:14 and *magnus nuntius* in 11:17. Finally, the literary context of this document, i.e., a testament of Moses to Joshua, suggests that Moses could be the object of this narrative. As such, the messenger in the pericope seems to connote a Moses redivivus figure, an agent of divine judgment.⁵¹ The composite picture of Moses from this book (particularly 10:2, 11:16-17, and 12:6) is that he is a chief intercessor and mediator for Israel.

Qumran. Much as in the Hebrew scriptures and early Jewish literature, Moses is also considered as the prophet *par excellence* in the Qumran documents.⁵² The Jewish traditions on Moses can be broken down into two broad categories: first, as he is seen in the images as depicted in the Hebrew scriptures as the law-giver, an intercessor, a receiver of revelations concerning the end-times, and, second, as an ideal human figure so portrayed in Greek apologetical writings (Atistobulus, Artapanus, Philo, and Josephus) in terms of the great civilizer, philosopher, inventor, the ideal king, and a divine man.⁵³ This section will concern Moses’ role as the miracle-worker and intercessor seen in the

⁵⁰Johannes Tromp, “Taxo, the Messenger of the Lord,” *JSJ* 21 (1990): 202-05.

⁵¹Crispin H. Fletcher-Louis, “4Q374: A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The Deification of Moses and Early Christology,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 246; van Henten, “Moses as Heavenly Messenger in Assumptio Mosis 10:2 and Qumran Passages,” 218-21.

⁵²Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 173; James E. Bowley, “Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:361; Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 176. For the summarizing epithet of Moses as “God’s servant and Messiah,” see Bowley, “Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 181.

⁵³Falk, “Moses,” 576-77.

Qumran library.

It is, however, somewhat perplexing to observe that virtually no Qumran document elaborates on or explicitly mentions Moses as a miracle-worker. Charlesworth's concordance lists no juxtaposition of Moses with the noun, "signs (מֹטָה),"⁵⁴ which, however, occurs about a hundred times in the Qumran library without reference to him.⁵⁴ The complete lack of a general entry to semantic synonyms to מֹטָה, such as, miracle, sign, or wonders, in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* is also highly indicative of the community's disinterest in the miracle-working aspect of the prophet.⁵⁵ In the Qumran literature, the word, "sign," is generally mentioned as an indicator of true prophets or divine prophecy.⁵⁶ However, this lack of interest in Moses in terms of a miracle-worker may well explain the similar indifference in the prophet Elijah who is above all recalled as the miracle worker in the biblical tradition but not in the Qumran texts (see pp. 96-98 in this dissertation). Hence it is possible to postulate on the basis of the two observations mentioned above that the Qumran community was not preoccupied with the miracle-working aspect of the prophets. This orientation may be due to the community's belief that, although the eschaton is expected to arrive soon, it had not come to pass yet. Therefore, the signs were not as important as the inspired interpretation. Despite the minor interest, however, in the miracle-working aspect, he is still portrayed as the yardstick by which a true prophet is determined. Such a notion is expressed particularly in three documents: the Temple Scroll, 4Q175 (4QTestimonia), and the Apocryphon of Moses (4Q375-76; 1Q22; 1Q29). These writings will be further

⁵⁴James H. Charlesworth, *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), 10-11.

⁵⁵Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁵⁶Otto A. Piper, "The 'Book of Mysteries' (Qumran I 27): A Study in Eschatology," *JR* 38 (1958): 96; Alfred R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, NTL (London: SCM, 1966), 147; Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und deutsch mit masoretischer Punktation*, 4th ed. (München: Kösel, 1986), 157; Paul A. Kruger, "מֹטָה," in *NIDOTTE*, 1:333.

examined in detail later under the subheading of “Moses as the eschatological prophet.”

Turning to the image of Moses as an intercessor, a number of passages can be mentioned. In an allusion to the golden calf episode of Exodus, 4Q504 mentions that, on account of Moses’ atonement, God took pity on Israelites: “You [God] became angry with them to destroy them; but you took pity on them in your love for them, and on account of your covenant—for Moses atoned for their sin—and so that they would know your great power and your abundant kindness for everlasting generations.”⁵⁷ 4Q374, in passing, mentions Moses as “a mediator for your people” (לְעֹמֵךְ מְלִיץ, 4Q374 7 ii): “[. . .] your . . . blank [. . .] [. . .] a mediator for your people [. . .] [. . .] clouds, and above [. . .] [. . .] . . . [. . .].”⁵⁸ 2Q21 also recounts the intercession of Moses:

[. . . Nadab and] Ab[i]hu, Elea[zar and Ithamar . . .] [. . . in order to do] you justice in truth, and in order to reprove with faith[ful]ness [. . .] blank [. . .] [And Moses went outsi]de the camp and pleaded with YHWH and bowed do[wn before . . .] [And he said: YHWH Go]d, how can I look at you, and how can I li[ft] my face [towards] you . . .] [. . .] one nation by your d[e]eds [. . .]. (2Q21=2QApocryphon of Moses)⁵⁹

In analogous terms with the Old Testament, 4Q368 also documents the effectiveness of Moses’ intercession, resulting from his direct encounter with Yahweh (e.g., face to face):

[. . .] . . . [. . .] [. . . and he spoke wi]th Moses [these] words [. . . Exod 33:11-13 and YHWH spoke to Moses face] to face as [one man speaks to another. And Moses said to YHWH: “Se]e [y]ou are telling [me: Lead up this people. But you have not made known to me] whom you will send with me. [You have said: I know you by name. And also: You have found favour] in [my] ey[es]. But now, if [I have really found favour in your eyes, make then your way known to me] so [that]. (4Q368 1)⁶⁰

However, one of the more interesting accounts is the notion of Moses’ heavenly intercession as recorded in several ascension narratives. With a series of

⁵⁷4Q504 1 ii 8-11 (DSS, 2:12-13); Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III (4Q482-4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 139-41. The Deuteronomy text is not crystal-clear, but seems to speak of the unabated divine wrath even in the face of Moses’ intercession.

⁵⁸DSS, 2:740-41. C. Newsom finds a close parallel with Ex 20:18:20. However, the Hebrew Old Testament does not apply the term, “mediator (מְלִיץ),” to Moses. Carol A. Newsom, “4Q374: A Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition,” in *Qumrân Cave 4 XIV: Parabiblical Texts*, part 2, ed. M. Broshi, DJD 19 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 107.

⁵⁹DSS, 1:214-17.

⁶⁰Ibid, 2:726-27.

catenae from Deuteronomy (1:3, 9-18; 6:10-11; 11:17; 15; 27:9-19; 28:15), 1Q22

(1QWords of Moses) 1-3 depicts Moses as one who establishes a covenant between God and Israel and charges the obedience to the decrees.⁶¹ The first half of the fourth (which is the last) column presents an account of a heavenly council:

In the congregation of the gods [and in the council of the ho]ly ones, and in their [. . .], in favour of the sons of Isra[el] and on behalf of the la[nd. And] ta[ke] from [its blood and] pour (it) on the earth [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [and atone]ment [shall be made] for them by it [. . . And] Moses [spoke saying:] Observe. (1Q22 4 1-3)⁶²

The extensive presence of lacunae, however, only allows one to posit some type of connection between Moses and the atonement.⁶³

On the other hand, the ambiguous role of Moses in 1Q22 receives illumination in view of 4Q378 (4QApocryphon of Joshua) 26 which contains a similar heavenly council account.

[. . .] and who kno[ws] the knowledge of the Most High and m[. . .]
[. . .]h man of God made known to us according to o[. . .]
[. . .] and the congregation of the Most High gave ear to the voice of M[oses . . .]
[. . .] his m[. . .] and b[. . .] God Most Hig[h . . .]
[. . .] great signs and he restrained his wrath
[. . .]yś acts of [ki]ndness and until its ages remember
[. . .]ot unto lm[. . .]
vacat
[. . .]ó[]oo[]kh[. . .]⁶⁴

It is clear from the text that Moses appealed to the celestial assembly and his intercession placated the divine wrath. In this respect, some scholars juxtapose this text with 4Q427 7

⁶¹Ibid., 1:58-63.

⁶²Ibid., 1:62-63. The composition of the heavenly council consists of divine beings (אֱלֹהִים). For a survey on the meaning of this word, see S. B. Parker, "Sons of (the) God(s)," in *DDD*, 794-800.

⁶³Van Henten's assessment that this pericope presents Moses as an intercessor seems to be merely a conjecture. van Henten, "Moses as Heavenly Messenger in *Assumptio Mosis* 10:2 and Qumran Passages," 224.

⁶⁴Carol A. Newsom, "4Q378 and 4Q379: An Apocryphon of Joshua," in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.-26. Juli 1993*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, *SIJD* 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 56-57. The translation of Martínez and Tigchelaar is as follows: "[. . .] having the knowledge of the Most High and [seeing] the vision [of Shaddai . . .] the man of God an[no]unced us, according [. . .] and the assembly of Elyon; they pa[i]d attention to the voice of Mo[ses . . .] . . . [. . .] God Most Hig[h . . .] great signs; and in anger he restrained [. . .] [. . . m]an of the [pi]ous ones and until its ages remember [. . .] eternal, to [. . .]" *DSS*, 2:748-49.

and 4Q491 11-12, in order to further identify the deified nature of the enthroned Moses: “[My] office is among the gods!” (4Q427 7 i 11); “For I have sat on a [throne] in the heavens.” (4Q491 11 i 13)⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the identification of the character in 4Q491 is under severe debate (i.e., “the Teacher of Righteousness,” Moses, and Melchizedek).⁶⁶ Furthermore, the figurative genre of the text must be taken into consideration making it uncertain whether the person is related to the historical figure or if the text is simply intended to justify the existence of the community via symbolic language.⁶⁷ What the foregoing observations point out is that Moses was held in high regard, and some post-biblical Jewish sources entertain the elevated status of Moses via ascension narratives. Therefore, open to dispute is the extent to which these writings intend to promote the super-human or quasi-divine characteristics of Moses.

⁶⁵The entire text of 4Q491 11 is as follows: “[. . .] has done awesome things marvelously [. . .] [. . . in the strength] of his power the just exult, and the holy ones rejoice in [. . .] in justice [. . .] he established [I]srael from eternity; his truth and the mysteries of his wisdom in all [I] generations . . .] might [. . .] . . . [. . .] and the council of the poor for an eternal congregation. [. . .] the perfect ones of [. . . et]ernal; a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods above which none of the kings of the East shall sit, and their nobles no[t . . .] silence (?) [. . .] my glory is in {comparable} and besides me no-one is exalted, nor comes to me, for I reside in [. . .], in the heavens, and there is no [. . .] . . . I am counted among the gods and my dwelling is in the holy congregation; [my] des[ire] is not according to the flesh, [but] all that is precious to me is in (the) glory (of) [. . .] the holy [dwell]ing. [W]ho has been considered despicable on my account? And who is comparable to me in my glory? Who, like the sailors, will come back and tell? . . . Who bear[s all] sorrows like me? And who [suffe]rs evil like me? There is no-one. I have been instructed, and there is no teaching comparable [to my teaching . . .] And who will attack me when [I] op[en my mouth]? And who can endure the flow of my lips? And who will confront me and retain comparison with my judgment? [. . .] friend of the king, companion of the holy ones . . . incomparable, f]or among the gods is [my] posi[tion, and] my glory is with the sons of the king. To me (belongs) [pure] gold, and to me, the gold of Ophir [. . .] [. . . exult,] just ones, in the God of [. . .] in the holy dwelling, sing for h[im . . .] [. . .] p]roclaim during the meditation jubilation [. . .] in eternal happiness; and there is no . . . [. . .] to establish the horn of [his] Mess[iah . . .] [. . .] to make known his power with strength [. . .].” *DSS*, 2:980-81.

⁶⁶For the identification of the figure with Moses, see Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 170; Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 148, van Henten, “Moses as Heavenly Messenger,” 224-25; with “the Teacher of Righteousness,” see Esther Eshel, “4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 175-203; idem, “The Identification of the ‘Speaker’ of the Self-Glorification Hymn,” in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 619-35; Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “Who Ascended to Heaven?: 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness,” in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 61-73; with a Davidic figure (Melchizedek-like), see J. C. O’Neill, “‘Who Is Comparable to Me in My Glory?’: 4Q491 Fragment 11 (4Q191C) and the New Testament,” *NovT* 42 (2000): 27-28.

⁶⁷Abegg, “Who Ascended to Heaven?,” 72-73; Michael K. Knibb, “Teacher of Righteousness,” in *EDSS*, 2:920-21.

Moses as Royal Figure

The Old Testament. In the ancient world, royal and priestly roles are often closely interrelated. In this respect, some scholars propose that the Pentateuchal depiction of Moses as the mediator confers on him a royal office based on adjacent Ancient Near-Eastern traditions.⁶⁸ Although the connection between kingship and priesthood in early Jewish tradition is beyond the scope of this research, a close examination of a selective number of passages related to the kingship of Moses is hoped to substantiate such a suggestion.

Two Old Testament passages are usually referred to with reference to the royal office of Moses. The first passage is from Exodus 4:20 in which Moses is said to carry with him “the staff (מִטָּה) of God” as he embarked on the journey back to Egypt: “So Moses took his wife and his sons, put them on a donkey and went back to the land of Egypt; and Moses carried the staff of God in his hand” (Exod 4:20). Some exegetes suggest that “the staff of God” connotes Moses’ royal standing.⁶⁹ Their judgment is based on two observations. The word refers to the scepter of a ruler mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament (Ezek 19:11, 14; Ps 110:2) and a later rabbinic interpretation understood the staff as a royal scepter.⁷⁰ For instance, a Midrash on Psalm 21:2 reads as following: “Yet Moses was allowed to take the scepter of the Holy One, blessed be He, for it is said Moses took the scepter of God in his hand” (Exod 4:20).

However, their view appears to be problematic. The royal usage of מִטָּה and its cognate words in the Old Testament is extremely rare. Only three out of two hundred fifty-three occurrences of this word and its cognates refer to an explicit royal connotation. Those three royal usages appear only in Ezekiel 19 and Psalm 110. In those fifty-plus instances, originally referring to parts of a tree, the word, מִטָּה, and its synonym, שֵׁבֶט,

⁶⁸Especially some Babylonian traditions. Otto, “Mose I,” 5:1537.

⁶⁹Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 188; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 79-80.

⁷⁰William G. Braude, trans., *The Midrash on Psalms*, YJS 13 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 293.

are most often translated as “tribe.” In contrast to another synonym, מַטֵּה (which usually involved an authority figure such as a father, a king, or God), מַטְּהָר is usually associated with a shepherd’s staff or lower authoritative figures such as a priest, prince, or tribal leader rather than with God or king.⁷¹ Furthermore, not only is it anachronistic to read the midrashic passage back into the Exodus (for the same reason, that of Ezekiel and Psalm into the Exodus),⁷² but the Exodus passage in its literary context does not require a royal reading of Moses’ undertaking of the journey or his staff.⁷³ Although some scholars point to the reading of the Greek Old Testament, which qualifies the staff as “from God (τὴν ῥάβδον τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ),” the divine provenance of the rod does not necessarily suggest the kingship of the recipient, as much as it does the divine instrumentality of the carrier.⁷⁴

Deuteronomy 33:4-5 is the other passage that is often adduced to promote the royal standing of Moses:

Moses charged us with the law, as a possession for the assembly of Jacob. There arose a king in Jeshurun, when the leaders of the people assembled—the united tribes of Israel. (Deut 33:4-5)

The thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, which is often called the “blessing of Moses,” contains Moses’ last testament to the Israelites. Structurally, verses one through five and twenty-six through twenty-nine bracket the chapter. The former recounts the blessings of

⁷¹*TDOT*, an older dictionary, finds a relatively wide use of the word in the royal sense, but newer dictionaries, such as *NIDOTTE* and *HALOT*, find minimal instances (for *HALOT* none). Cf. H. Simian-Yofre, “מַטְּהָר” in *TDOT*, 8:241-49; David Fouts, “מַטְּהָר,” in *NIDOTTE*, 2:924; idem, “מַטֵּה,” in *NIDOTTE*, 4:27; *HĀLOT*, 1:573, 2:1990.

⁷²The Midrash document at best dates back to the third through thirteenth centuries. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms*, xi, xxxi; Günther Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 2nd ed., trans. and ed. Markus Bockmuehl (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 322-23.

⁷³Fouts takes *matteh* of Moses as a shepherd’s staff. Fouts, “מַטְּהָר,” 924. In addition, the meaning of the word *hJ,m* in Ps 110:2 is subject to debate. *Ibid.*, 925; Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I: 101-150*, AB 17A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 115; Bruce K. Waltke, “Micah,” in *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, and Habakkuk*, vol. 2 of *The Minor Prophets*, ed. Thomas E. McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 757.

⁷⁴G. Schneider also takes ῥάβδος of Moses in Exod 20:4 as a mere rod. G. Schneider, “ῥάβδος,” in *TDNT*, 6:967.

Yahweh granted upon Israel and the latter reminds Israelites of their privileged status as God's chosen ones. Verses 6 through 25 speak of prophecies concerning the twelve tribes. The first three Hebrew words in verse 5 can be literally translated as "there arose a king in Jeshurun" or "he became a king in Jeshurun" (וַיְהִי בִּישׁוּרִן מֶלֶךְ).⁷⁵ Because the referent of the waw consecutive is not clearly designated, Moses, the subject of the previous sentence, is often pointed out as the implied subject in verse five.⁷⁶

However, this reading encounters exegetical problems in two respects. First, the immediately preceding context manifests a progression of thought with the emphasis on the kingship of Yahweh.

He said: The LORD came from Sinai, and dawned from Seir upon us; he shone forth from Mount Paran. With him were myriads of holy ones; at his right, a host of his own. Indeed, O favorite among peoples, all his holy ones were in your charge; they marched at your heels, accepted direction from you. (Deut 33:2-3)

Coupled with verses 26 through 29 which also praise Yahweh for his majesty, therefore, the royal language of verses two and three suggests the subject of king in verse five to be Yahweh as well.⁷⁷ In particular, verse five can be seen as standing in parallel with verse

⁷⁵“וַיְהִי בִּישׁוּרִן” occurs only four times in the Old Testament and it is usually considered as a euphemism for Israël and/or Jacob. M. J. Mulder, “וַיְהִי בִּישׁוּרִן,” in *TDOT*, 6:472-77.

⁷⁶J. R. Porter, *Moses and Monarchy: A Study in the Biblical Tradition of Moses* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963), 14 n. 35; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 80-81. Lierman also brings forward some later rabbinic interpretation of the text in terms of Mosaic kingship (*ibid.*, 81-82). These traditions, however, do not constitute definitive evidence due to their late date of composition. In addition, some exegetes point to the change of the waw-consecutive into the future tense in LXX as a hint at an expectation of Moses *redivivus*' arrival as a kingly figure. Odo Camponovo, *Königtum, Königsherrschaft und Reich Gottes in den frühjüdischen Schriften*, OBO 58 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 387; John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SBLSCS 39 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 541; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 82-83. However, it is equally important to note that LXX changes מֶלֶךְ into ἄρχων. In using a much diminished expression, LXX seems to have sought to convey a coming of a leader rather than a royal figure. Revised Standard Version clarifies the subject of verse 5 to be Yahweh but New Revised Standard Version changed it to an improper pronoun: "there arose a king." Thus, NRSV leaves open the possibility of the referent to be Moses.

⁷⁷Nelson notes the concentric structure of chap. 33, which is held together by proper names, Yahweh in vv. 2 and 29, Jacob in vv. 4 and 28, and Jeshurun in vv. 5 and 26. Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 387. The majority of Deuteronomy commentators take the referent of the king to be Yahweh. Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 393-94; S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 3rd ed., ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1978), 394; Patrick D. Miller, *Deuteronomy*, Int (Louisville: John Knox, 1990), 238-40; Eugene H. Merrill, *Deuteronomy*, NAC, vol. 4 (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1994), 435; Ronald E. Clements, "The Book of Deuteronomy: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," in *The Book of Numbers, the Book of Deuteronomy, Introduction to Narrative Literature, the Book of Joshua, the Book of Judges, the book of Ruth, the First and Second Books of Samuel*, vol. 2 of *The New Interpreter's Bible*, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville:

26:

There arose a king in Jeshurun, when the leaders of the people assembled—the united tribes of Israel. (Deut 33:5)

There is none like God, O Jeshurun, who rides through the heavens to your help, majestic through the skies. (Deut 33:26)

The presence of God side by side with Jeshurun in verse twenty-six renders it highly reasonable to take “king” in verse five as Yahweh.

Furthermore, although Moses can be said to have played a partial role of king, the general tenor of Deuteronomy prevents conferring him a full title as such. In his comment on the text under discussion, D. L. Christensen precisely sums up the Ancient Israelites’ attitude towards the kingship idea.

In giving the Torah, Moses functions as a prophet; but he also takes on much of the functions of “a king” in his capacity as leader in ancient Israel. At the same time, it is important to note that Moses never takes upon himself the name or the position of royalty. . . . They [Israelites] made God their king. At least that is what it was at the outset, in the teaching of Moses. . . . The principle that God alone is in reality king in Israel means that God’s official spokesperson, the prophet like Moses, must share political authority alongside the designated king, who was originally know as a מְלִיךָ, “leader” in the sense of being a permanent warlord, rather than a מֶלֶךְ, “king.”⁷⁸

At the least, it could be said that some Deuteronomy texts seem to allow room for the establishment of kingship in Israel.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the power of king in ancient Israel is substantially limited in comparison with those of the surrounding Near Eastern empires. The restrictions of the Deuteronomistic circumscription include the following: the source of power being Yahweh; no power to grant land; no inherent right to make an executive decision; appointed by people, and no military figure.⁸⁰ As such, the royal office of

Abingdon, 1998), 534.

⁷⁸Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10-34:12*, 838. Also, similarly, S. Dean McBride, Jr., “Polity of the Covenant People: The Book of Deuteronomy,” in *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy*, ed. Duane L. Christensen, SBTS 3 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 62-77.

⁷⁹Udo Rütterswörden, *Von der politischen Gemeinschaft zur Gemeinde: Studien zu Dt 16, 18-18, 22, BBB 65* (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1987), 90-91.

⁸⁰J. G. McConville, “King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History,” in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 276; Norbert Lohfink, “Distribution of the Functions of Power: The Laws concerning Public Offices in Deuteronomy 16:18-18:22,” in *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy*, ed. Duane L. Christensen, SBTS 3

Moses constitutes an extremely thin conceptual trajectory in the Hebrew Bible:

Deuteronomy evidently intends somehow to circumscribe or restrict the powers of the king. The king as presented here differs enormously from that of the usual ancient Near Eastern concept of the king as the chief executive in all aspects of the nation's life.⁸¹

James Watts also notes the fundamental incongruity between the Ancient Near Eastern kings and those of Israel. That is, the Jewish kings never gave a law, whereas the former group was often marked by the proclamation of laws. In addition, a stark contrast is observed between the image of Moses and that of David, the ideal king figure. Thus, "Deuteronomy characterizes Moses less in royal terms than as prophet and teacher/scribe, characterizations that the book's position in the larger Pentateuch both amplifies and restricts."⁸²

Finally, remarks are in order concerning the methodology employed by Lierman and others. Caution can be expressed in two respects. First, they impose foreign materials onto the Old Testament texts so as to corroborate the presence of the "prophet-king" motif. A great deal of Near Eastern literature and extra-biblical sources have been adduced to make a case on their behalf. However, they draw too little attention to the exegesis of the actual Old Testament passages. Too often, the aforementioned extra-biblical (virtually always much later) sources are brought forth to support their thesis. For example, Lierman spends about four pages (pp. 79-81 and 84-86) in a discussion of the Old Testament passages which allegedly speak of Moses as a royal figure. Then, he goes on to the examination of the extra-biblical sources for the rest of the chapter (pp. 79-123).⁸³ This disproportion leaves a reader wondering whether

(Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 345.

⁸¹McConville, "King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History," 276-78.

⁸²James W. Watts, "The Legal Characterization of Moses in the Rhetoric of the Pentateuch," *JBL* 117 (1998): 416-18.

⁸³Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 79-123. Even worse, Wayne Meeks reserves no section for a discussion of the "prophet-king" concept found in the Old Testament, for Moses or any other prophets. Meeks, *The Prophet-King*.

there really is a strand of thought in terms of Mosaic king-prophet in the Old Testament or it is simply a product of later embellishments. Furthermore, Lierman and others refer to only three verses (Exod 4:20; Deut 18:15; 33:5) out of the entire books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which they believe speak of Moses' kingship.⁸⁴ Such a dearth of references is surprising as one would expect that such an important theme as the kingship of Moses (especially in view of his prominence in the Pentateuch) would appear more often.

Another exegetical fallacy of Lierman and others is their employment of ill-defined terms. For instance, Lierman brings up David and Saul to propose that the prophetic office and that of a king were conceived as overlapping in the Old Testament traditions.⁸⁵ As true as they are in the cases of David and Saul, it is a totally different matter to claim that the same holds true of Moses, who lived in the pre-Monarchy period. Lierman quotes K. Berger who states that prophets can play a royal function.⁸⁶ However, it is fallacious to generalize some particular instances. Saul, in particular, was mockingly dubbed as a prophet (1 Sam 10:10-11; 19:23-24). In addition, although David and Saul may have played both kingly and prophetic functions at times, it would be more accurate to admit that the overlapping of the roles took place on only a few occasions and that they were seen primarily as kings. Certainly, only the two examples from a long line of the Israelite monarchy tradition seem rather meager as conclusive evidence.

God language of Moses in Exodus, Sirach, and Philo. In analogical language, Exodus 4:16 seems to depict Yahweh as conferring a divine status to Moses

⁸⁴Although Lierman finds a kingship motif in Deut 18:15 (Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 82-89), McConville detects an important demarcation between king and prophet from the text. Yahweh chooses king and priest through public ceremony performed by people. On the other hand, prophet is chosen privately as need arises. Thus, it is necessary to have means to confirm the true prophethood. That is explicated in vv. 16-17. That is whenever prophecy comes true then a prophet could be regarded as a true messenger of God. McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 302.

⁸⁵Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 84-85.

⁸⁶“Propheten können in der Tat auch also solche königliche Funktion haben.” Klaus Berger, “Die königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments,” *NTS* 20 (1974): 26, quoted in Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 84 n. 22.

(also Exod 7:1, which literally reads, “I give you, a god, to Pharaoh”):⁸⁷ “The LORD said to Moses, ‘See, I have made you like God to Pharaoh, and your brother Aaron shall be your prophet.’” Although the language of the text is intriguing, it does not seem to be intended to focus on the ontic transformation of Moses. The point of such a stark simile (note also that it is a simile not a metaphor) is to indicate God’s sovereignty over a series of ensuing events. In the course of time, Moses was to play as a divine instrument so as to facilitate the outworking of the divine redemptive plan. John Durham articulates so well the functionality of the “god-language” with reference to Moses in terms of divine sovereignty.

Thus a question of Moses is once again an opening for an assertion of Yahweh that makes clear that Moses (and this time, Aaron as well) is but an instrument of God’s activity. . . . That Moses is to be a god to Pharaoh will be Yahweh’s doing, not his. . . . The assertion that Moses is to be made a god (אלהים) to Pharaoh, and that Aaron will function as his prophet (נביא, “spokesman”) is to be understood as a credit to Yahweh and not to Moses or to Aaron. . . . Yahweh makes it clear that both Moses (and in this passage also Aaron) and Pharaoh are to be instruments in the proof of his Presence.⁸⁸

Three observations in particular reinforce this judgment. First, the linguistic inability of Moses does not add up to his alleged divine status.⁸⁹ Second, that Yahweh is the subject of conferring the supposed divine quality to Moses is as significant as his hardening of Pharaoh. In other words, Moses is no more special, especially in view of his hesitation to carry out the divine commission, than Pharaoh in what would unfold as divine instruments. Finally, the following context repeatedly highlights the role of

⁸⁷Durham, *Exodus*, 85. Some scholars speculate the divinization of Moses in the text as a result of the tension between the priestly source and prophetic source which were incorporated into the Pentateuch. For a summary of scholarly debates on the issue, see Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster, 1973), 113-14; William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 284-86.

⁸⁸Durham, *Exodus*, 86-87. Childs also notes the function, not the ontological statement, by means of the “god language.” Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 118. Terence Fretheim takes this god-language as divine self-effacement. However, the subsequent divine miracles in the literary context speak against such an assessment because the subject of the signs is expressively designated as Yahweh. Cf. Terence E. Fretheim, *Exodus*, Int (Louisville: John Knox, 1991), 90-91.

⁸⁹Propp, *Exodus 1-18*, 282.

Yahweh as the sole conductor who is responsible for orchestrating the subsequent divine miracles. Accordingly, the aforementioned observations foster the conclusion that the god-language in Exodus 4:16 and 7:1 does not promote the idea of a deified Moses.

In addition, a later interpretive tradition consolidates the non-deification reading of the text. For instance, an interesting allusion to Exodus 4:16 and 7:1 is attested to in Sirach 45:1-5 in which Moses was said to have been made “equal in glory to the holy ones”:

And was beloved by God and people, Moses, whose memory is blessed. He made him equal in glory to the holy ones, and made him great, to the terror of his enemies. By his words he performed swift miracles; the Lord glorified him in the presence of kings. He gave him commandments for his people, and revealed to him his glory. (Sir 45:1-3)

Instead of Yahweh, Sirach explicitly compares the status of Moses with that of angels in his reference to “holy ones (ἁγίων).”⁹⁰ The deification of Moses in this Sirach passage has been asserted on the basis of its connection with 4Q374, which, some exegetes argue, contains a reference to Moses’s deification upon ascension into heaven.⁹¹ However, the texts of Deuteronomy, Sirach, and the Qumran library only speak in an analogical sense. That is, Moses is likened to Yahweh or angels with reference to some shared nature between them. It is evident that the prophet shares some divine qualifications or attributes, but the exact nature of the shared attributes is uncertain.⁹² Philo’s comment on the deification of Moses (in Exod 7:1) probably is an important indicator, for highly Hellenized Jewish thinkers, such as Philo himself, understood the divine entitlement of Moses not as ontological (i.e., “not in reality”) but as functional and representational (i.e.,

⁹⁰John G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 220-21; Alexander A. Di Lella and Patrick W. Skehan, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AB 39 (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 511; Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, 2nd ed. (London: T & T Clark, 1998), 56-57.

⁹¹Fletcher-Louis, “4Q374,” 243; idem, “Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity Texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 298; van Henten, “Moses as Heavenly Messenger in *Assumptio Mosis* 10:2 and Qumran Passages,” 226-27; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 244.

⁹²This uncertainty is in part due to the extremely fragmentary nature in the case of 4Q473. James R. Davila, “Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:472-73.

“conceived as such in opinion”).⁹³

Wayne Meeks points to *Mos.* 1:158-59 where Moses is “named god and king of the whole nation” and is taken into the divine realm.⁹⁴ His analysis, however, ignores the context that the providence of God is the cause of Moses’ exaltation:

For, since God judged him worthy to appear as a partner of His own possessions, He gave into his hands the whole world as a portion well fitted for His heir. . . . Perhaps, too, since he was destined to be a legislator, the providence of God which afterwards appointed him without his knowledge to that work, caused him long before that day to be the reasonable and living impersonation of law. (*Mos.* 1:155c, 162a)

Due to the highly symbolic or figurative conception of the text, a more explicit and literal description mentioned above should be taken more seriously into account. The foregoing observation of these intertestamental Jewish texts suggests that the “divine language” in these texts seems to point to Moses’ exalted and privileged status as an agent of Yahweh.

The Exagoge of Ezekiel. The Exagoge of Ezekiel the Tragedian, usually dated back to the second century B.C., is a composition of Greek drama centered on Moses in parallel accounts with Exodus 1-15.⁹⁵ In lines sixty-eight through eighty-nine, Ezekiel the tragedian relates the enthronement vision of Moses, in which a “man (φοϛ)” hands over to Moses the crown, scepter, and throne.⁹⁶

⁹³*Det.* 160-62 (Philo III); *Prob.* 43-44 (Philo IX); Carl R. Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology*, SBLDS 40 (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1977), 126; David T. Runia, “God and Man in Philo of Alexandria,” *JTS* 39 (1988): 63; Ian W. Scott, “Is Philo’s Moses a Divine Man?” *SPhiloA* 14 (2002): 106-08.

⁹⁴Wayne A. Meeks, “The Divine Agent and His Counterfeit in Philo and the Fourth Gospel,” in *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, UNDCSJA 2 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 45-49.

⁹⁵R. G. Robertson, “Ezekiel The Tragedian,” in *OTP*, 2:803-04. There is a minor opinion that the document dates back to the late first century A.D. (Rick van de Water, “Moses’ Exaltation: Pre-Christian?” *JSP* 21 [2000]: 59-69), but recently refuted by William Horbury, “The Gifts of God in Ezekiel the Tragedian,” in *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Twelve Biblical and Historical Studies* (London: T & T Clark, 2003), 66-68. The provenance is generally thought to be Alexandria. Nina L. Collins, “Ezekiel, the Author of the Exagoge: His Calendar and Home,” *JSJ* 22 (1991): 201-11.

⁹⁶Φοϛ is a Homeric poetic form of ἀνῆρ, and represents God in the context. The emphasis, however, should be placed on his keeping authority as emblematic of royal power, rather than on anthropomorphic theology. Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*, HCS 30 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 132, n. 91.

On Sinai's peak I saw what seemed a throne so great in size it touched the clouds of heaven. Upon it sat a man of noble mien, be-crowned, and with a scepter in one hand while with the other he did beckon me. I made approach and stood before the throne. He handed o'er the scepter and he bade me mount the throne, and gave to me the crown; then he himself withdrew from off the throne. I gazed upon the whole earth round about; things under it, and high above the skies. Then at my feet a multitude of stars fell down, and I their number reckoned up. They passed by me like armed ranks of men. Then I in terror wakened from the dream. (Ezek. Trag. 68-82)⁹⁷

A scholarly debate has arisen concerning the implication of Moses' enthronement. This controversy can be divided into three categories: the deification of Moses, the appointment of Moses as divine agent, and the polemic against the elevated Moses traditions.⁹⁸ The advocates of the first view often point to three observations as indicators of Moses' deification. First, the divine man not only hands over the scepter and crown but yields his throne to Moses. Thus, Moses seems to assume the standing of the divine man. Second, the ability of Moses to count the stars (in line seventy-nine) finds the only parallel with that of God in Psalm 147:4 and Isaiah 40:26:

"He determines the number of the stars; he gives to all of them their names." (Ps 147:4)

"Lift up your eyes on high and see: Who created these? He who brings out their host and numbers them, calling them all by name; because he is great in strength, mighty in power, not one is missing." (Isa 40:26)

Likewise, the Metatron, probably an angel in this text, names all the stars: "This teaches us that the Holy One [Metatron], blessed be he, has given to every single star a name" (3

⁹⁷Robertson, "Ezekiel the Tragedian," 2:811-12. Cf. Carl R. Holladay, "Ezekiel the Tragedian," in *Poets: The Epic Poets Theodotus and Philo and Ezekiel the Tragedian*, vol. 2. of *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, SBLTT 30 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1989), 362-67, 436-41.

⁹⁸For the first, see Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 148-49; idem, "Moses as God and King," 359; Pieter W. van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist," *JJS* 34 (1983): 25; idem, "Some Notes on the Exagoge of Ezekiel," in *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity*, NTOA 14 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 72-93; Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*, AGAJU 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 163-65; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 90-94. For the second, see Martin Hengel, "'Sit at My Right Hand!': The Enthronement of Christ at the Right Hand of God and Psalm 110:1," in *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), 190-91; Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 57-59, 152 n. 40; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 132-34; Richard Bauckham, "The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origin of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 55-57. For the last, see Howard Jacobson, "Mysticism and Apocalyptic in Ezekiel's Exagoge," *ICS* 6 (1981): 272-78. A minor, and the fourth view, would be that of Holladay who sees little connection between the text and Jewish traditions. Holladay, "Ezekiel the Tragedian," 437-38.

Enoch 46:12; *OPT*, 1:299). Finally, in the same verse (line seventy-nine), the stars, which are common symbols of angels, are depicted to worship Moses.⁹⁹ However, as Bauckham elucidates, the point of the vision must not be placed on the deification of Moses but on his role as ruler and prophet over Israel. The dream appears to have been employed as an illustration for the divine instrumental function of Moses. In the process, he undoubtedly manifests a degree of divine quality.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the focus is not to be on his ontological transformation, as the dream of Joseph is not interpreted as such (Gen 37:9-10).¹⁰¹

The Sibylline Oracle. A text from the Sibylline Oracle, written in Alexandria dated to the turn of the Common Era, is commonly cited to indicate the royal standing of

⁹⁹Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 59.

¹⁰⁰Some scholars have engaged in a debate concerning the implication of this text for Jewish monotheism. The confusion arises from extending certain divine qualities into assuming the divine status equal to that of Yahweh. Certain figures and angelic beings no doubt shared some form of divine qualities. Regardless of some common divine qualities, however, there seems to be a definite borderline between these figures and God that Yahweh deserves the unique degree of worship. In that sense, Judaism of the first century could be called monotheistic, especially in the context of the Hebrew scriptures. E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66 CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1992), 242-47; N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, COQG 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 248-59; Richard Bauckham, *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 1-24; Maurice Casey, "Monotheism, Worship and Christological Developments in the Pauline Churches," in *Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 214-18; Larry W. Hurtado, "First-Century Jewish Monotheism," *JSNT* 71 (1998): 3-26; idem, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 29-48; idem, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?: Historical Questions about Earliest Devotion to Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 111-33; Stephen A. Geller, "The God of the Covenant," in *One God or Many?: Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World*, ed. Barbara N. Porter, TCBAI 1 (Chebeague, ME: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 2000), 273-319; James D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM, 2006), 26-29. For some of the more prominent arguments advanced for the presence of multi-theism within first century Judaism, see Peter Hayman, "Monotheism—Misused Word in Jewish Studies?" *JJS* 42 (1991): 1-15; Michael Mach, "Concepts of Jewish Monotheism in the Hellenistic Period," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 21-42; Adela Yarbro-Collins, "The Worship of Jesus and the Imperial Cult," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origin of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 235-39; William Horbury, "Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age," in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. S. North, JSNTSup 263 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 16-44; Chiara Peri, "The Construction of Biblical Monotheism: An Unfinished Task," *SJOT* 19 (2005): 135-42.

¹⁰¹Bauckham, "The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus," 56-57.

Moses as believed in the intertestamental period.¹⁰²

Then when the people of twelve tribes, bidden by the Immortal, leave the fruitful plain of destruction and God himself, the prince, gives a law to men, then a great, great-spirited king will rule the Hebrews, one who has a name from sandy Egypt, a man falsely thought to have Thebes as his homeland. (*Sib. Or.* 11:35-40)¹⁰³

Contrary to Lierman's contention that the anonymity of Moses in the text is an indication of the popular belief of his kingship over Israel, however, the point seems to be on his leadership in the Exodus event, not so much on his royal standing in the context.¹⁰⁴

Philo. Philo, one of more important Jewish writers who were roughly contemporary of the New Testament writers, manifests his understanding of Moses as a king. Frequently, Philo refers to Moses as king and elaborates on his royal calling as uniquely appointed by God.

For he did not become king in the ordinary way by the aid of troops and weapons or of the might of ships and infantry and cavalry. It was God who appointed him by the free judgment of his subjects, God who created in them the willingness to choose him as their sovereign. Of him alone we read that without the gifts of speech or possessions or money he was made a king, he who eschewed the blind wealth and embraced that which has eyes to see, and, as we may say without reserve, held that all he owned was to have God for his heritage. (*Praem.* 54)¹⁰⁵

In the last verse of the first book of *De vita Mosis*, Philo identifies the purpose of his writing in its entirety, that is, to portray Moses as king.¹⁰⁶

We have now told the story of Moses' actions in his capacity of king (τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν . . . πεπραγμένα). We must next deal with all that he achieved by his powers as high priest and legislator, powers which he possessed as the most fitting accompaniments of kingship (βασιλεία). (*Mos.* 1:334; *Philo VI*, 448-49)

¹⁰²John J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, SBLDS 13 (Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974), 180 n. 108; idem, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *OTP*, 1:430-32; idem, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone, CRINT 2/2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 373-74.

¹⁰³Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *OTP*, 1:434-35.

¹⁰⁴Cf. Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 103.

¹⁰⁵*Philo VIII*, trans. F. H. Colson, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 342-43.

¹⁰⁶Erwin R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), 181; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 104.

In the immediately following verses (*Mos.* 2:1-2), Philo further clarifies that the various virtues of Moses, i.e., a chief priest, law-giver, and philosopher, are integral characteristics of his royal status:

The former treatise dealt with the birth and nurture of Moses; also with his education and career as a ruler, in which capacity his conduct was not merely blameless but highly praiseworthy . . . For it has been said, not without good reason, that states can only make progress in well-being if either kings are philosophers or philosophers are kings. But Moses will be found to have displayed, and more than displayed, combined in his single person, not only these two faculties—the kingly and the philosophical—but also three others, one of which is concerned with law-giving, the second with the high priest’s office, and the last with prophecy. (*Mos.* 2:1-2; *Philo VI*, 450-51)

Furthermore, Philo calls Moses “the truly perfect ruler (τῷ τελειοτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι),” “archetype (ἀρχέτυπον),” and “model (παράδειγμα)” of all future rulers:

We said above that there are four adjuncts to the truly perfect ruler. He must have kingship, the faculty of legislation, priesthood and prophecy (*Mos.* 2:187a; *Philo VI*, 540-41); Thus all future rulers would find a law to guide them right by looking to Moses as their archetype and model, and one would grudge to give good advice to their successors, but all would train and school their souls with admonitions and exhortations.” (*Virt.* 70b; *Philo VIII*, 204-07)

From the aforementioned texts, it becomes evident that Philo painted Moses almost as a super-human who occupied a royal office. Despite Philo’s description of Moses in terms of king, his concrete denial of Moses being a divine being even in the face of the Hellenistic tendency of deifying the emperors is still remarkable (cf. pp. 176-77 on Philo’s description of Moses).

Josephus and Qumran. Josephus and the Qumran library stand in contrast to the Philonic picture of Moses as a royal figure. Both literary collections are generally reticent about Moses’ kingship. In the case of Josephus, Lierman supposes that the theocracy might explain the lack of royal portrayal of Moses:

Our lawgiver, however, was attracted by none of these forms of polity, but gave to his constitution the form of what—if a forced expression be permitted—may be termed a “theocracy,” placing all sovereignty and authority in the hands of God. (*Ag. Ap.* 2:165)¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ *Josephus I*, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,

In the case of Qumran, the same reason is also understood to have occurred.¹⁰⁸

Moses as Eschatological Prophet

Deuteronomy 18:15. Some exegetes have pointed out that early Jewish belief in Moses *redivivus* is an important clue to understanding the New Testament Christology. This trajectory of thought derives from Deuteronomy 18:15, in which a prophet-like Moses is alleged to return:¹⁰⁹

The LORD your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your own people; you shall heed such a prophet (NRSV);

תִּשְׂמַעְוֹנָבִיא מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאֲחֵיךָ כְּמֹנִי יָקִים לְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵלָיו (MT);

προφήτην ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ὡς ἐμὲ ἀναστήσει σοι κύριος ὁ θεός σου αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε. (LXX)

Such expectation, however, is surprisingly scant in intertestamental Jewish writings. Almost the only Pseudepigraphic reference adduced for this hope is 1 Macc 14:41, which vaguely speaks of some type of an end-time prophet: “The Jews and their priests have resolved that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until a trustworthy prophet should arise” (1 Macc 14:41). A small number of scholars, such as Marc Philonenko, take this statement to be reflective of the hope of the Mosaic eschatological prophet.¹¹⁰ However, the meager presence of this type of thought elsewhere in the early Jewish literature justifies J. J. Collins, who does reserve a section on the eschatological Moses in his comprehensive treatment of Jewish messianism in the second temple period (cf. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*).

1926), 358-59.

¹⁰⁸Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 175.

¹⁰⁹Also, similarly, “I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their own people; I will put my words in the mouth of the prophet, who shall speak to them everything that I command” (Deut 18:18).

¹¹⁰Marc Philonenko, “‘Jusqu’à ce que se lève un prophète digne de confiance’ (1 Maccabées 14,41),” in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity, Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Ithamar Gruenwald, Shaul Shaked, and Gedaliahu A. G. Stroumsa, TSAJ 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 95-98.

This dearth of the hope in Moses *redivivus* is justified also in the Old Testament context itself, in which Deuteronomy 18:15 was originally addressed. That is, the verse is located in the midst of a series of divine stipulations on how to choose public offices such as, kings, judges, priests (Deut 16:18-18:22). At the end of these instructions comes the declaration of Yahweh that he would send to Israel a Moses-like prophet to whom they need to heed and by whom they should be able to discern false prophets. Accordingly, the crux of this narrative appears to be the envisioning of legitimate prophets, not bringing back of the historical Moses or anyone in his spirit:

The “prophet” contemplated is not a simple individual, belonging to a distant future, but Moses’ representative for the time being, whose office it would be to supply Israel, whenever in its history occasion should arise, with needful guidance and advice; in other words . . . the reference is not to an individual but to a prophetic order.¹¹¹

Similarly, “the ‘raising up’ of the prophet need not mean a single act, or a single individual, therefore. It rather envisages a succession of prophets, as and when the Lord deems it right.”¹¹² This contextual reading of a succession of prophets is further strengthened in view of the emphasis of the context, not on the appointment of the prophet, but on the human obeisance to the divine oracle which would be delivered through the prophet.¹¹³

For Moses to say that the prophet to come will be “like me” refers to the role of Moses played as God’s messenger, not to his person; for 34:10 makes clear that “there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom YHWH knew face to face.”¹¹⁴

¹¹¹Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, 229.

¹¹²McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 303. Also, Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 262; Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1-21:9, Revised*, 405.

¹¹³Nelson, *Deuteronomy*, 235.

¹¹⁴Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1-21:9, Revised*, 409. In this respect, the Deuteronomy text plays out as the defining category for the identity of Israel. Robert L. Cohn, “The Second Coming of Moses: Deuteronomy and the Construction of Israelite Identity,” in *Comity and Grace of Method: Essays in Honor of Edmund F. Perry*, ed. Thomas Ryba, George D. Bond, and Herman W. Tull (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2004), 133-46.

Finally, the fact that the later Jewish traditions (Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and early rabbinic literature) did not interpret Deuteronomy 18:15 eschatologically speaks in favor of the true prophet-hood reading. It is highly instructive that the entire corpus of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha does not take up Deuteronomy 18:15 in reference to an eschatological figure. A host of scholars (such as, Howard Teeple, W. D. Davies, and Joachim Jeremias) confirm this judgment.¹¹⁵ Richard Horsley, for instance, perceptively articulates the textual testimony on the issue.

We find very little evidence that the expectation of a prophet like Moses (whether linked with or separate from Deut 18:15-18) played an important role during the time of Jesus. The text on which such an expectation might have been based, Deut 18:15-18, originally did not have an eschatological orientation, but referred to the regular succession, or perhaps rather the periodic appearance, of prophets as spokespersons for God Moreover, it is difficult to find textual references to an eschatological prophet like Moses in biblical or post-biblical Jewish literature whether before or after the time of Jesus, except in the Qumran scrolls.¹¹⁶

Rabbinic tradition. In distinction to the apparent Hebrew scriptural context and the silence of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha on the Mosaic eschatological prophetic expectations, however, some exegetes, such as, Jeremias, Teeple, Meeks, and Lierman, point to certain rabbinic sources as an indicator for the presence of such belief.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵Cf. Renée Bloch, "Quelques aspects de la Figure de Moïse dans la Tradition Rabbinique," in *Moïse, l'homme de l'alliance*, ed. Henri Cazelles (Tournai: Desclée, 1955), 161; Raymond E. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumrân," *CBQ* 19 (1957): 59-60 n. 35; Steve Delamarter, *A Scripture Index to Charlesworth's the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002); Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 146-64; Allison, *The New Moses*, 75-76. Meeks does not refer to a single text from Philo, Josephus, Apocrypha, or Pseudepigrapha that identifies Moses as an eschatological "prophet-king." Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 100-64. Also, that Scott Hafemann does not touch on the eschatological depiction of Moses in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is justifiable. Hafemann, "Moses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha." Finally, J. J. Collins' treatment of intertestamental messianic hopes also does not address the Moses-like eschatological prophet in connection with Deut 18:15. John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, ABRL 10 (New York: Doubleday, 1995). Although, being an argument from silence, this accumulated evidence makes a convincing case in view of my relatively wide-ranging research into the secondary literature on the issue.

¹¹⁶Richard A. Horsley, "Like One of the Prophets of Old: Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 441. Similarly, Howard M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, JBLMS 10 (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1957), 47; W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 118. Also, in a survey of early rabbinic literature, Jeremias reaches the same conclusion that there is no pre-Christian witness of the returning eschatological Moses tradition. "Nowhere, however, in the older literature do we find the idea that the returning Moses will be the Messiah [in the sense of an eschatological figure]." Jeremias, "Μωυσης," 857.

¹¹⁷Jeremias, "Μωυσης," 857-64; Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, 43-68; Meeks,

Nonetheless, their analysis of the rabbinic view of Moses, especially, in conjunction with the Gospel of John should be called into question. Recent New Testament scholarship generally encourages one to take into account early rabbinic literature so as to illuminate the possible correlation between Jewish religious/cultural elements and early Christianity.¹¹⁸ No serious student denies that the New Testament writings and the Gospel of John in particular would probably have come into contact with Pharisaism or emerging rabbinic traditions.

However, a responsible inquiry into the influence of rabbinic literature on the New Testament is susceptible to serious suspicion at least for two reasons. First, the late date of the composition of the rabbinic literature evinces that the parallelism cited in New Testament studies reflects circular reasoning, and those parallels seem to demonstrate rather Christian influence on the rabbinic writings or, at best, some common Jewish traditions rooted in the Old Testament tradition. For instance, Meeks cites extensively from *Midrash Rabbah* (of the Soncino collection), which dates to A.D. 450-1100 for its composition. Most writings in this collection attribute the authors to the rabbis from as early as the Amoraic period which ranges from A.D. 220-500. These alleged authors, however, still postdate the final composition of John, at least, by a century.¹¹⁹ In addition, although Epstein points to the ancient records of early midrashic activities, we do not have a concrete piece of textual evidence for “midrash” in the form analogous to the Soncino collection.¹²⁰ An earlier rabbinic body of literature, *Mishnah*, is not helpful for

The Prophet-King, 168-70, 211-13, 246-53; idem, “Moses as God and King,” 356-59; Gerbern S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba*, JSPSup 27 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 259-86; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 84-90.

¹¹⁸For example, Mikeal C. Parsons, “The Critical Use of the Rabbinic Literature in New Testament Studies,” *PRSt* 12 (1985): 85-102; John C. Thomas, “The Fourth Gospel and Rabbinic Judaism,” *ZNW* 82 (1991): 159-82; H. Maccoby, “Rabbinic Literature: Talmud,” in *DNTB*, 897-902; Bruce D. Chilton, “Rabbinic Literature: Targumim,” in *DNTB*, 907-09; William Horbury, “Rabbinic Literature in New Testament Interpretation,” in *Herodian Judaism and New Testament Study*, WUNT 193 (Tübingen: Mohr Seibek, 2006), 221-35.

¹¹⁹Cf. Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005), 224, 238.

¹²⁰Cf. I. Epstein, “Foreword,” in *Genesis*, vol. 1 of *Midrash Rabbah*, trans. H. Greedman and

the analogical investigation, since it is primarily concerned with the legal system.¹²¹ Second, the compiled nature of the body of rabbinic literature also hinders comparison because it is impossible to discern which part traces back to the earlier oral traditions which were hypothetically current in the time of the early church.¹²² Therefore, the extant early rabbinic materials should only serve as an aid to illustrate the common Jewish cultural/religious matrix of the first century Palestine which intertestamental Judaism and nascent Christianity shared (cf. “Appendix 7: The Use of the Rabbinic Materials for the New Testament”).¹²³

Samaritan tradition. In addition to rabbinic literature, some scholars have attempted to find early Jewish conceptual traits of the Mosaic eschatological prophet tied to Deuteronomy 18:15 within early Samaritan traditions.¹²⁴ The specific Samaritan

Maurice Simon (London: Soncino, 1951), x-xiii.

¹²¹Jacob Neusner, *Messiah in Context* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 18-19.

¹²²These two cautions are expressed in the following studies: Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Review of Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*,” *CBQ* 30 (1968): 417-28; idem, “Review of Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*,” *TS* 29 (1968): 322-28; Anthony D. York, “Dating of Targumic Literature,” *JSJ* 5 (1974): 49; Jacob Neusner, “One Theme, Two Settings: The Messiah in the Literature of the Synagogue and in the Rabbis? Canon of Late Antiquity,” *BTB* 14 (1984): 110-21; idem, *Messiah in Context*, 19; Horsley, “Like One of the Prophets of Old,” 442; Günter Stemberger, “Pesachhaggada und Abendmahlsberichte des Neuen Testaments,” *Kairos* 29 (1987): 147-58; Philip Alexander, “Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. M. Jan Mulder, *CINT* 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 238; Anthony J. Saldarini, “Rabbinic Literature and the NT,” in *ABD*, 5:602-04; James H. Charlesworth, “From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity: The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 15-16; Stephen A. Kaufman, “Dating the Language of the Palestinian Targums and Their Use in the Study of First Century CE Texts,” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, *JSOTSup* 166 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 118-41; Johann Maier, “Schriftrezeption im jüdischen Umfeld des Johannesevangeliums,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 87-88; Burton L. Visotzky, “Midrash, Christian Exegesis, and Hellenistic Hermeneutics,” in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*, ed. Carol Bakhos, *JSJSup* 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 112-17. For studies that point to the compilation nature of the Targumic collections geographically and chronologically distant from their possible Palestinian provenance, see Edward M. Cook, “New Perspective on the Language of Onqelos and Jonathan,” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, *JSOTSup* 166 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 142-56; Chilton, “Rabbinic Literature,” 906.

¹²³Idem, “Rabbinic Traditions and Writings,” in *DJG*, 659; Catherine Hezser, “Diaspora and Rabbinic Judaism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 128-29.

¹²⁴Convenient recent overviews on the Samaritan religion and literature can be found in the

literature cited to indicate such an interpretive tradition is Memar Marqah. This composite body of documents claims its author to be Marqah (=Marcus), a renowned Samaritan religious leader who lived in the third to fourth centuries. Regardless of its alleged authorship, the writing of the extant manuscripts is variously located in the fourteenth through nineteenth centuries.¹²⁵

Despite the late date of the extant manuscripts, however, some scholars argue that early Samaritan eschatological hope, which was recorded later in the Samaritan writing, became reflected on the Gospel of John with particular reference to Christology.¹²⁶ For example, Ferdinand Dexinger, one of the more vocal advocates of this view, has extensively put forward his case that Memar Marqah reflects Jewish understanding of the Mosaic eschatological prophet prior to and current in the time of early Christianity.¹²⁷ He points to Memar Marqah's interpretation of Deuteronomy 18:18

following studies: Alan D. Crown, ed., *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989); idem, *Samaritan Scribes and Manuscripts*, TSAJ 80 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001); idem, Reinhard Pummer, and Abraham Tal, eds., *A Companion to Samaritan Studies* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993); Robert T. Anderson, "Samaritans," in *ABD*, 5:940-47; idem, "Samaritan Literature," in *DNTB*, 1052-56; Robert T. Anderson and Terry Giles, *The Keepers: An Introduction to the History and Culture of the Samaritans* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002); Robert T. Anderson and Terry Giles, *Traditions Kept: The Literature of the Samaritans* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005); H. G. M. Williamson and C. A. Evans, "Samaritans," in *DNTB*, 1059-61. Just as recent scholarship stresses the diversity within early Judaism, the same is often emphasized with early Samaritanism. However, usually three beliefs are recognized as central to Samaritans in the time of the New Testament: One God, Moses the prophet, and the law and Gerazim as the place of worship. Scholars are less certain about the date and influential extent of two other creeds: the Day of Judgment and the return of Moses as Taheb. Williamson and Evans, "Samaritans," 1059.

¹²⁵Zeev Ben-Hayyim detects two major phases of the writing of the Memar Marqah: the first to the fourteenth to sixteenth and the second to the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. Abraham Tal, "Samaritan Literature," in *The Samaritans*, ed. Alan D. Crown (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 463. Ben-Hayyim is the editor/translator of the most recent critical edition of Memar Marqah.

¹²⁶John Bowman, "The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," *BJRL* 40 (1958): 298-308; Edwin D. Freed, "Samaritan Influence in the Gospel of John," *CBQ* 30 (1968): 580-87; idem, "Did John Write His Gospel Partly to Win Samaritan Converts?" *NovT* 12 (1970): 241-56; George Wesley Buchanan, "Samaritan Origin of the Gospel of John," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, SHR 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 149-75; Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 246-54; Charles H. H. Scobie, "Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," *NTS* 19 (1973): 390-414; Boismard, *Moses or Jesus*, 3, 30-32, 40-41; John McHugh, "'In Him Was Life,'" in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70 to 135, the Second Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium on Earliest Christianity and Judaism (Durham, September, 1989)*, ed. James D. G. Dunn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 130-34; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 88-89. Purvis partly revised this view that the congruity and incongruity with Moses coexist. James D. Purvis, "Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," *NovT* 17 (1975): 161-98.

¹²⁷For his arguments, see Ferdinand Dexinger, "Die frühesten samaritanischen Belege der Taheb-Vorstellung," *Kairos* 26 (1984): 224-52; idem, "Der 'Prophet wie Mose' in Qumran und bei den Samaritanern," in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M Mathias Delcor*, ed. André Caquot,

in terms of the Mosaic eschatological prophet (whom some medieval Samaritans call **תהב**, "Taheb," lit. meaning "restorer" or "one who returns"), and argues that "this expectation traces back to Judaism from the second century B.C. on."¹²⁸

In order to substantiate his case, Dexinger advances two prerequisite theses: First, the traditionally held Jewish-Samaritan hostility was marginal and was developed in a large scale only after the third century A.D.¹²⁹ The implication is that Samaritanism was an integral part of early Judaism, as some Samaritan interpretive traits seem to be at play in some Qumran writings. Second, although the extant manuscripts of Memar Marqah originate from the medieval period, the eschatological conceptions, especially with reference to the Mosaic prophet, reflect the beliefs of the intertestamental period.

Notwithstanding their complicated arguments, the view of Dexinger and others has been seriously called into question especially in two respects, not to mention that the integral nature of Samaritanism within early Judaism is questionable.¹³⁰ First, as John

Simon Légasse, and Michel Tardieu, AOAT 215 (Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker, 1985), 97-111; idem, "Der Taheb: Ein 'messianischer' Heilsbringer der Samaritaner," *Kairos* 27 (1985): 1-172; idem, "Die Taheb-Vorstellung als politische Utopie," *Numen* 37 (1990): 1-21; idem, "Josephus Ant 18,85-87 und der samaritanische Taheb," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d'Études Samaritaines, Tel-Aviv, April 11-13, 1988*, ed. Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin (Tel-Aviv: Chaim Rosenberg School for Jewish Studies, Tel-Aviv University, 1991), 49-59; idem, "Reflections on the Relationship between Qumran and Samaritan Messianology," in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 83-99.

¹²⁸ "Die Taheb-Vorstellung wurzelt in der spezifischen Interpretation von Dtn 18,18, die ab dem 2.Jh.v.Chr. im Judentum belegbar ist." Dexinger, "Der Taheb," 25. For a further definition of Taheb, see Dexinger, "Der Taheb," 37.

¹²⁹ Alan D. Crown also asserts that the hostility between Judaeans and Samaritans fully developed not before the third century A.D. Crown's judgment is based on his analysis of the so-called proto-Samaritan texts of Qumran. Alan D. Crown, "Redating the Schism between the Judaeans and the Samaritans," *JQR* 82 (1991): 17-50; Ingrid Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism: A Literary Analysis*, JSOTSup 303 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000), 52-102. Thus, the statements of Josephus (*J.W.* 2.232-33; *Ant.* 20.118-38) and the New Testament (John 4:3-4; Luke 9:52) that record the hostility between the two ethnic groups reflect only a trace of minor regional sentiment of the time. Crown calls attention to J. E. Sanderson who finds that the Exodus scroll of Qumran is strikingly similar to the Samaritan Pentateuch but not identical. Thus, Samaritanism and the Qumran community shared some common traditions. Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExodum and the Samaritan Tradition*, HSS 30 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 317-20. The works of E. Nodet also in some measure contribute to the integral nature of Samaritanism within early Judaism. However, both of these views are called into question by the recent monograph of Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism*, 52-75. For Nodet's view on the importance of the Samaritan tradition within the intertestamental and early Judaism, see Etienne Nodet, *A Search for the Origins of Judaism: From Joshua to the Mishnah*, JSOTSup 248 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 122-201.

¹³⁰ The relation between Jews and Samaritans was ambivalent. Although the adherence to the

MacDonald maintains, the direction of influence is to be construed from John onto Memar Marqah. Since there are remarkably analogous parallels present between these two bodies of literature (not only some eschatological expressions, but especially the likening of Moses to “Christ” in wordings similar to those of John), it is difficult to deny some type of literary and/or oral dependence. However, a fair assessment of the correlation would be the Samaritan reception of the Johannine tradition in view of the dates of the extant manuscripts of both bodies of documents and the obscure characterization of “Christ” in Jewish literature prior to the Christian era.¹³¹ Second, even if the early dating (i.e., the third century A.D. onward) of some parts of the documents may be supposed for a moment, the recent philological examinations of the Aramaic language used in Memar Marqah usually detect much later (i.e., medieval period) editorial hands.¹³² Coupled with this presence of much later linguistic traits as well as the lack of a systematic understanding of the first century Palestinian Aramaic linguistic framework, thus, the composite nature severely hampers the value of this literature for the present discussion.¹³³

Mosaic writings was shared by Samaritans and Jews, the two groups were divided over important issues, such as, the acceptance of the Prophets and Writings, the centrality of the Jerusalem temple, and the idea of the resurrection of the body. Pieter W. van der Horst, “Anti-Samaritan Propaganda in Early Judaism,” in *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context: Selected Essays on Early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity*, WUNT 196 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 134-50.

¹³¹John MacDonald, *The Text*, vol. 1 of *Memar Marqah: The Teaching of Marqah*, BZAW 84 (Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1963), xx; idem, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, NTL (London: SCM, 1964), 150-61, 420-46; Anderson and Giles, *The Keepers*, 119-20. Anderson and Giles also record the scholarly suggestions of the New Testament influence (especially of Mark and John) on Memar Marqah. Anderson and Giles, *Tradition Kept*, 274-75. For a generally negative assessment of the Samaritan influence theory, see Margaret Pamment, “Is There Convincing Evidence of Samaritan Influence on the Fourth Gospel,” *ZNW* 73 (1982): 221-30.

¹³²The different editorial phases of the documents are surmised in Abraham Tal, “The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jan Mulder, CRINT 2/1 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 189-90; idem, “Samaritan Literature,” 462-65; and Anderson and Giles, *Tradition Kept*, 267-68. The earliest Aramaic linguistic stratum seems to belong to the fourth century A.D. Tal, “Samaritan Literature,” 465. The theological development of the eschatological prophet concept toward the medieval period is documented in Anderson and Giles, *The Keepers*, 123-25.

¹³³These skeptical assessments are expressed in the following: Pamment, “Is There Convincing Evidence of Samaritan Influence on the Fourth Gospel,” 221-30; Horsley, “Like One of the Prophets of Old,” 442; Charlesworth, “From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects,” 14; Oegema, *The Anointed and His People*, 246-47; Maier, “Schriftrezeption im jüdischen Umfeld des Johannesevangeliums,” 81. John MacDonald also conceived of the Samaritan influence on the Johannine

Qumran tradition. As mentioned before, the hope of the eschatological prophet like Moses based on Deuteronomy 18:18 appears sparse in early Judaism. The same goes true with the Qumran community. Such judgment probably should be qualified with an observation that the Deuteronomy text is often cited but not often with eschatological overtones. For the most part, Moses stands as an identity figure for a true prophet, and is frequently brought up in order to contrast him with the false prophets. Accordingly, the emphasis often lies in the recognition of false prophets and not so much on the hope of the coming prophet like Moses. Discouraged by such a state of fact, Boismard sums up the virtual absence of Mosaic expectation in Qumran, writing that

We know that the Qumran sectarians awaited two messiahs, one a warrior, the other a priest, and that their coming would be preceded by a prophet; but nothing indicates that this indeterminate prophet should be identified with the prophet like Moses of Deut 18:18-19.¹³⁴

There are only three documents that are usually cited as referring to the eschatological prophet of Deuteronomy 18:15. These writings as well as 11Q13 (which has recently been brought up as containing a Mosaic eschatological hope) will be evaluated. An examination of these writings will manifest the lack of an eschatological concern via Moses.

Of the three Qumran passages often referred to in conjunction with Deuteronomy 18 (the Temple Scroll=11Q19 54:8-18 and 60:21-61:1-5; 4Q175=4QTestimonia; and the so-called Apocryphon of Moses=4Q375-76; 1Q22; 1Q29), the Temple Scroll and the Apocryphon of Moses display virtually no concern for the end

Mosaic Christology but later changed his position to the opposite side, that is, the Johannine influence on the Samaritan literature. For the former view, see John MacDonald, "Samaritan Doctrine of Moses," *SJT* 13 (1960): 149-62, esp. 160-61. For the latter expression, see idem, *The Text*, xx; idem, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, 150-61, 420-46. Also, although Boismard finds the two expressions, "the king of Israel" and "son of Joseph" to be particular marks of Samaritanism, the former epithet is too generic a term to be of the exclusive Samaritan influence and the latter seems to point to Jesus' immediate father in the literary context. The presence of his hometown (Nazareth) renders it unlikely that his association with Joseph refers to one of the arch-patriarchs. In John 1:45, Jesus is referred to as Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ, literally translated as "Jesus, who is son of Joseph and is from Nazareth." For Boismard's argument on this reading, see Boismard, *Moses or Jesus*, 30-36, 66-67.

¹³⁴Ibid., 3.

time.¹³⁵ Although they extensively quote from Deuteronomy 18 where the rising of a Moses-like prophet is promised, the context of the entire corpus or the immediate context militates against an eschatological reading of the text.¹³⁶ Rather, in view of the primary purpose of the documents (the Deuteronomic legal codes), the catenae should be seen as the provision for discerning future false prophets.¹³⁷

In contrast to the first two documents discussed above, 4Q175 is more controversial as to whether or not it speaks of the Mosaic eschatological prophet. This document is comprised of three blocks of catenae from the Old Testament and ends with an application of these texts with view to either the present or a future situation. The fragment begins with a quotation of two passages from Deuteronomy (5:28-29, 18:18-19) virtually word-for-word from the Masoretic text and the Samaritan Pentateuch. This section records the prediction of the new Moses.¹³⁸

And Yahweh spoke to Moses, saying "I have heard the sound of the words of this people which they spoke to you. They have well (said) all that they have spoken. Would that they were of such heart to fear me and to keep all of my ordinances always that it may be well with them and with their children forever. I will raise up a prophet for them from among their own kindred like you and I will put my words in his mouth, and he will speak to them all that I command him. If there is someone

¹³⁵For the texts and translations, see Elisha Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions*, JDS (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1996); John Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 221-56; idem, "Apocryphon of Moses," in *Parabiblical Texts*, part 2 of *Qumran Cave 4, XIV*, ed. Joseph A. Fitzmyer and James A. Vanderkam, DJD 19 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 111-36.

¹³⁶No significant study so far has been produced that reads the catenae or these texts in terms of eschatology.

¹³⁷The primary concern of the entire Temple scroll is to readdress the Deuteronomic law codes, including the provisions for the building of the Temple. Johann Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation & Commentary*, JSOTSup 34 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 3-7; Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts*, CQS 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000), 17-19.

¹³⁸The judgment of Xeravits on this text is slightly off the mark. He says that "the *Testimonia* connects Moses to an eschatological personage, the future prophet, as in several currents of early Judaism. It must, however, be mentioned that this prophet in the *Testimonia* is not identified with Moses, who only serves as a *typos* for the figure to come." Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 176. His assessment is correct as far as Moses in the text plays as a type of the future prophet. However, he does not seem to grasp the point of the citation that such a concept is meant in the original Deuteronomy context as well. In other words, both Deut 18:15 and the first section of 4Q175 conceive of the same eschatological prophet who is "like" Moses in some measure.

who does not heed my words which the prophet speaks in my name, I myself will call him to account.” (4Q175 1-8)¹³⁹

In the form of a citation from Numbers 24:15-17, the second section reinterprets the Old Testament text to indicate the coming of eschatological figures, such as, the Star of Jacob (a Davidic messiah) and the Scepter of Israel (a priestly messiah, elsewhere dubbed as messiah of Aaron).¹⁴⁰

And he uttered his verse and said, “Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor, and oracle of the man whose eye is true; oracle of one who hears the words of God, and knows (the) knowledge of the Most High; who beholds (the) vision of Shadday, in a trance but with eye unveiled; what I see (is) not yet; what I behold (is) not soon. A star comes forth from Jacob, and a scepter arises from Israel; and it smashes through the brows of Moab, and it demolishes all the sons of Seth.” (4Q175 9-13)¹⁴¹

Afterwards, the last citation follows from Deuteronomy 33:8-11, which is originally Moses’ blessing of Levi. In this section, the tribe of Levi is praised for their steadfast adherence to the covenant of Yahweh. Then, this section probably envisages the Teacher of Righteousness by its emphasis on the teaching aspect of the Levites as well as the priestly function.¹⁴²

And of Levi he said, “Give to Levi your Thummim, and your Urim to your faithful one whom you tried at Massah, and (with whom) you contested at the Waters of Meribah; who said to his father and to his mother, ‘I do not know you’; and his brothers he disregards, and his children he does not know. For he has kept your command and guards your covenant. And they will teach your judgments to Jacob, your law to Israel. They shall place incense in your nostril(s), and the whole offering on you altar. Bless, O Yahweh, his substance, and favor the work of his hands. Smite the loins of his foes, and as for his enemies, let them not rise again. (4Q175 14-20)¹⁴³

Finally, the document addresses “the cursed man” and his two sons, “the

¹³⁹Frank Moore Cross, “Testimonia (4Q175 = 4QTestimonia = 4QTestim),” in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, vol. 6B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2002), 312-13.

¹⁴⁰These figures often occur together (1QS 9.11; CD 12.23) or apart (4QpPsalmsa 3.15) in the Qumran library. John J. Collins, “The Nature of Messianism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 208-17; Craig A. Evans, “Messiahs,” in *EDSS*, 537-42.

¹⁴¹Cross, “Testimonia,” 314-15.

¹⁴²Cross, “Testimonia,” 309.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, 126-17.

weapons of violence.” These antagonists are portrayed as fulfilling the curse of Joshua (i.e., premature death on their parts) with reference to rebuilding of Jericho (Joshua 6:26) following their building program of Jerusalem in line 30 of this text.

When Joshua finished praising and giving thanks with his praises, then he said, “Cursed be the man who will rebuild this city. With his firstborn he shall lay its foundation, and with his younger son he shall set up its gates. Behold a cursed man, (a man of) Belial shall arise, to become a [fo]wler’s sna[re] to his people, and terror to all his neighbors; and he shall arise [and . . . shall a]ris[e . . . to be]come, the two of them, weapons of violence. And they shall again build [this city and cons]truct its wall and towers to make a wicked fortress [and great wickedness] in Israel, and its horrors in Ephraim and in Judah. [. . . And they] shall produce pollution in the land and great strife among the children of [Jacob; and they shall pour out blo]od like water on the rampart of Daughter Zion, and in the district of [. . .] (*vacat*) Jerusalem.¹⁴⁴

The antagonists in the final section have sparked debate over their identities and the characteristic of the document, namely, whether it reflects eschatology or past events.¹⁴⁵

The detailed description of the antagonists, however, has led some to conclude that the main concern of the document was to address the contemporary problem, that is, the apostasy or deviant practice of the Torah, rather than eschatology.¹⁴⁶

Table 2. Contents of 4Q175

| Lines | Citations | Contents |
|-------|-----------|----------|
|-------|-----------|----------|

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 318-19. This text is often called the “Psalms of Joshua,” which is partially preserved in 4Q379 (4QPsalms of Joshua).

¹⁴⁵Two of the more popular identifications of the antagonists are (1) Simon and his two sons who fortified Jericho in 135 B.C.E. (2) and John Hyrcanus I (135-105 B.C.E.) and his sons who also rebuild Jericho. The former view is espoused by Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed., BS 30 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995), 111-15; idem, “Testimonia,” 309-10; Jonathan G. Campbell, “4QTestimonia (4Q175),” in *The Exegetical Texts*, CQS 4 (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 97. The latter view is maintained by Otto Betz, “Donnersöhne, Menschenfischer und der Davidische Messias,” *RQ* 3 (1961): 42 n. 4; Jean Starcky, “Les Maîtres de Justice et la chronologie de Qumrân” in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor, BETL 46 (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1978), 253; Hanan Eshel, “The Historical Background of the Peshar Interpreting Joshua’s Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho,” *RQ* 15 (1991-92): 409-20; Armin Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995, Published In Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 429-30; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 258-59.

¹⁴⁶For instance, John Lübke, “A Reinterpretation of 4Q Testimonia,” *RevQ* 12 (1986): 187-97.

| | | |
|-------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1-8 | Deut 5:28-29; 18:18-19 | Coming of a prophet like Moses |
| 9-13 | Num 24:15-17 | The oracle of Balaam |
| 14-20 | Deut 33:8-11 | Moses' blessing of Levi |
| 21-30 | Josh 6:26 | The Apocryphon (Psalms) of Joshua |

Notwithstanding the possibility of expressing present or past concerns, taken at face value, all three catenae seem to relate to future events vis-à-vis the popular eschatological figures.¹⁴⁷ Relevant to the present study is the degree in which the Mosaic eschatological prophet is invoked. As is the case in its original Deuteronomistic context here too, the focus seems to lie on the model function of Moses by which one can discern false prophets. That is, the primary function of the citation is to provide criteria for recognizing the present or future antagonists, rather than to predict a coming of an eschatological redeemer figure like Moses. The reason that the Deuteronomy text is cited, therefore, seems incidental. That is, it is not because the cited text contains a reference to the prophet, but because it was one of the more popular eschatological texts at the time.

As briefly discussed thus far, the Qumran community did not pervasively and enthusiastically look for a Mosaic eschatological prophet. Géza Xeravits, however, recently suggested that 11Q13 (=11QMelchizedek) is an exception to this current of thought.

Based on Deut. 18:15, the Community expected the arrival of an eschatological prophet like Moses. The figure of Moses only occurs once as an eschatological, redivivus figure, as the anointed prophet of 11QMelch. He will emerge as herald of the heavenly Melchizedek, as one who will comfort God's afflicted people in the time of the eschatological battle.¹⁴⁸

An intense eschatological document, 11QMelchizedek speaks of two end-time

¹⁴⁷Jozef Tadeusz Milik, "Lettre de Siméon Bar Kokheba," *RB* 60 (1953): 290; Brown, "The Messianism of Qumrân," 53, 83; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "'4QTestimonia' and the New Testament," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: G. Chapman, 1971), 83-84; Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 57-58.

¹⁴⁸Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 183; idem, "Moses Redivivus in Qumran?" *QC* 11 (2003): 105-05.

figures, a heavenly Melchizedek and his messenger, “the anointed of the spirit.”¹⁴⁹ For the author of this Qumran document, Melchizedek is the agent who brings about the eschaton, atoning the sins of the righteous and executing judgment upon the wicked.¹⁵⁰ What calls for special attention is that not only these actions usually reserved for God, but the divine names, such as, *el*, *elohim*, and *Yahweh* are applied to Melchizedek. However, relevant to the present discussion is the description of “the messenger” of Melchizedek, dubbed also as “the anointed of the spirit” whose message people should heed.¹⁵¹

Xeravits argues that the descriptions of this second figure fit the profile of the Mosaic eschatological prophet at several points. First, the “messenger” is clearly depicted as a prophetic figure in the text. Second, in the Qumran writings, it is only Moses who bears the title מַבְשֵׁר (“messenger”) and is described as a prophet at the same time as evidenced in 4Q377.¹⁵² In addition, the presence of the name of Moses, which is the only legible word in the first fragment, further convinces him.

Notwithstanding that his conjecture is somewhat intriguing, however, his

¹⁴⁹Of the thirteen fragments, only the second and third ones preserve recoverable readings. The others are too fragmentary to make out their original readings.

¹⁵⁰11QMelch is a Qumran sectarian writing, dated back to the middle of the first century B.C.E. J. J. M. Roberts, “Melchizedek (11Q13 = 11QMelch),” in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, vol. 6B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTS/DSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2002), 264. The identity of this “Melchizedek” is debated. Some take it as an angelic being and others a super human. For the former view, see Adam S. van der Woude, “Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI,” *OstSt* 14 (1965): 354-73; George J. Brooke, “Melchizedek (11QMelch),” in *ABD*, 4:687-88; Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, “11QMelchizedek,” in *Qumran Cave 11, II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31*, DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 222. For the latter view, see Jean Carmignac, “Le document de Qumran sur Melchisédeq,” *RevQ* 7 (1970): 343-78; Anders Hultgård, “The Ideal ‘Levite,’ the Davidic Messiah, and the Saviour Priest in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*, ed. John J. Collins and George W. E. Nickelsburg, SCSS 12 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1980), 93; David Flusser, “Melchizedek and the Son of Man,” in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 186-92; Paul A. Rainbow, “Melchizedek as a Messiah at Qumran,” *BBR* 7 (1997): 179-94.

¹⁵¹Of direct relevance for this discussion are lines 18 and 19: “And ‘the messenger’ i[s] the anointed of the spir[it about] whom Dan[iel] said, [‘Until (the coming) of an anointed one, a leader, (there shall be) seven weeks.’ And ‘the messenger of] good (news) who announc[es salvation’] is the one concerning whom it is wr[it]ten that [. . .].” Roberts, “Melchizedek,” 268-69.

¹⁵²4Q377 portrays Moses as the messenger *par excellence* and God’s anointed. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 177-81.

argument calls for some reservation. For one, the presence of the word “Moses” in fragment one is too fragmentary to be of any use. Second, the non-sectarian provenance of 4Q377 clouds the argumentative force of its comparison with 11Q13 which is of sectarian origin. Furthermore, the instances of Moses’ identification with “messenger” and “anointed” are too infrequent within the entire corpus of the Qumran library. Finally, even if the presence of the Mosaic eschatological prophet is acknowledged in 11Q13, it is strikingly meager in view of its potential importance within the Qumran community and the wider Jewish thought world of the Palestinian origin.¹⁵³

Summary

Some summarizing remarks can be made from the foregoing observations that are pertinent to the following discussion. First, of all the Old Testament protagonists surveyed (i.e., Jacob, Abraham, Elijah, and David), Moses enjoyed a high estimation, which derived from his involvement in the Sinai event and his life and ministry in the subsequent events. His prominent status is readily observed in the large number of Jewish writings that take on his pseudonym. Second, the post-biblical Jewish traditions tend to elevate the status of Moses in various terms. The early Jewish ascension narratives, for instance, portray Moses as a semi-deified being especially in the ascension narratives of the Diaspora settings. Josephus, on the other hand, painted a royal image out of the Pentateuch narratives. Finally, in view of the preeminence of Moses, the expectation of the eschatological prophet like Moses (or an end-time redeemer figure vis-à-vis Moses) is surprisingly sparse in early Judaism. With the possible exception of a few instances (i.e., 11Q13), the Old Testament and intertestamental Jewish literature that

¹⁵³At the end of his preliminary research into the role of Moses in early Judaism, Dale Allison states that “the outcome of this discussion is that the expectation of an eschatological prophet like Moses, founded upon Deut. 18:15 and 18, was not little known, or just the esoteric property of the Qumran community and Jewish-Christian churches. It was instead very much in the air in first-century Palestine and helped to instigate several short-lived revolutionary movements.” However, most of the evidence he adduces postdates the time of Jesus. Furthermore, his analysis is too brief or plagued by heavy dependence on the secondary literature. Cf. Allison, *The New Moses*, 75-84.

are chronologically prior to or contemporary of the time of Jesus chronologically and of the Palestinian provenance geographically are extremely reticent about the coming of Moses *redivivus*.

Moses in the New Testament

The insurmountable importance of Moses in the New Testament is readily observed by the fact that he is mentioned more frequently in the New Testament than any other Old Testament figure (80 times in total, cf. 40 of Elijah and 59 of David).¹⁵⁴ On the one hand, these frequent references seem understandable in view of his importance in the Jewish history. On the other hand, however, it is surprising that scholars have paid attention only sporadically to the role of Moses in the New Testament. This relatively sparse interest is partially justified by the significance the New Testament writers attribute to him.¹⁵⁵ For the sake of the brevity, the role of Moses in the New Testament can be broken down into functional categories. Hubert Frankemölle, for example, divides the functions of Moses in terms of the mediator of the Torah, a prophet, and a type of Jesus.¹⁵⁶ However, the scope of his analysis encompasses passages from only Matthew and 2 Corinthians. In contrast, the purview of Hays' examination is more comprehensive. According to Hays, Moses functions in various ways to clarify the writers' Christology, cast light onto the Mosaic Scripture, and advance the church's self-understanding within the entirety of the New Testament writings.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴Jeremias, "Μωυσης," 4:864; Fitzler, "Μωυσης," 2:451.

¹⁵⁵Stefan Schapdick, "Autorität ohne Inhalt: Zum Mosebild des Johannesevangeliums," *ZNW* 97 (2006): 177. Schapdick mentions only two major substantial contributions on this topic, one by Kastner and the other by Saito (*ibid.*).

¹⁵⁶Hubert Frankemölle, "Mose in Deutungen des Neuen Testaments," *KuI* 9 (1994): 70-86

¹⁵⁷David M. Hays, "Moses through New Testament Spectacles," *Int* 44 (1990): 240-52. In addition to these roles, Fitzler detects distancing of Moses in John and the Pauline epistles. Fitzler, "Μωυσης," 452. For further introductions to the role of Moses in the New Testament, see Tadashi Saito, *Die Mosevorstellungen im Neuen Testament*, EHS 23/100 (Bern: P. Lang, 1977); Sanger, "Mose/Moselied/Mosesegen/Moseschriften II," 342-46; *idem*, "'Von mir hat er geschrieben' (Joh 5,46): Zur Funktion und Bedeutung Mose im Neuen Testament," *KD* 41 (1995): 112-23, 127-32; Florence M. Gilman, "Moses: New Testament," in *ABD*, 4:918-20; Wolfgang Kraus, "Moses II: Neues Testament," in

Moses in the Gospel of John

In the past, some scholars have inquired into the role of Moses in the Gospel of John with an eye primarily to the historical situation of the so-called Johannine community. This historical reconstruction was undertaken by means of form critical analyses which sought to identify different layers of editorial hands. Influenced largely by J. L. Martyn's theory, these scholars attempted to explain how the discourses concerning Moses reveal an ambivalent attitude within the alleged community. For instance, some have proposed that the Johannine sect tried to break away from mainstream Judaism and, at the same time, had to maintain their loyalty to Moses in an effort to demonstrate the authenticity of its belief in Jesus as the Christ as foreshadowed in the writings of Moses.¹⁵⁸ Others maintained that an earlier layer reflects the Samaritan-oriented mission of the Johannine community, while a later layer reveals the distancing of the community from the Jews.¹⁵⁹ These types of studies represent an attempt to account for the seemingly stereo-typical depiction of Moses in John, where Moses seems to be portrayed at some points as a messianic prefiguration, while at other times Jesus supersedes and replaces the prophet *par excellence*.¹⁶⁰

In the face of increased emphasis on the integrity of the present literary form, however, more recent studies tend to focus on the consistent depiction of Moses, more

RGJ, 5:1538-39. For a survey of the past scholarship on Moses, see Harstine, *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel*, 3-39; Lierman, *The New Testament Moses*, 10-29.

¹⁵⁸Christian Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, ZBKNT 4 (Zürich: Theologischer, 2001), 1:291. For Martyn's works on this point, see J. Louis Martyn, "Glimpses into the History of the Johannine Community," in *The Gospel of John in Christian History: Essays for Interpreters* (New York: Paulist, 1979), 90-121; reprinted in *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2003), 145-67 and other essays included in the latter anthology.

¹⁵⁹For examples of this approach, see Walter Rebell, *Gemeinde als Gegenwart: Zur soziologischen und didaktischen Funktion des Johannesevangeliums*, BBET 20 (Frankfurt: Lang, 1987); Ekkehard Stegemann, "Die Tragödie der Nähe: Zu den judenfeindlichen Aussagen des Johannesevangeliums," *Kul* 4 (1989): 114-22; Klaus Wengst, *Bedrängte Gemeinde und verherrlichter Christus: Ein Versuch über das Johannesevangelium*, 4th ed., KT 114 (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1992), 75-104; Christian Dietzfelbinger, "Der ungeliebte Bruder: Der Herrenbruder Jakobus im Johannesevangelium," *ZTK* 89 (1992): 394-99.

¹⁶⁰Meeks, *The Prophet-King*; Boismard, *Moses or Jesus*. For a brief summation of this ambivalence, see Gillman, "Moses," 919; Sängler, "Mose/Moselied/Mosesege/Moseschriften," 343.

pertinently to this research, the typological correspondence between Moses and Jesus.¹⁶¹ While interacting with these scholarly contributions, the following section will closely examine the narrative function of the four Moses pericopae with a special reference to the Johannine Christology. Of course, one can arguably find more passages that supposedly evoke a Mosaic Christology. However, these texts represent some of the more explicit depictions of Moses (and a number of exegetes argue in the typological prefigurative sense), so that a contextual examination of these texts will provide a sufficient sketch for the evangelist's presentation of him in relation to Christology.

Law through Moses, Grace through Jesus: John 1:16-17

ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος· ὅτι ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο;

From his fullness we have all received, grace upon grace. The law indeed was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. (John 1:16-17)

The first explicit mention of Moses appears in the latter part of the Johannine prologue, which articulates divine revelation through Jesus.¹⁶² The reference to Moses in this text does not directly speak to his narrative function other than his integral part in the reception of the Torah, which is repeatedly acknowledged in early Jewish writings

¹⁶¹Klappert, "Mose hat von mir geschrieben," 619-40; Scholtissek, "Die unauflösbare Schrift' (Joh 10,35)," 146-77; Diana M. Swancutt, "Hungers Assuaged by the Bread from Heaven: 'Eating Jesus' as Isaian Call to Belief, the Confluence of Isaiah 55 and Psalm 78 (77) in John 6:22-71," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 48 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 218-51; John Dennis, "The Presence and Function of Second Exodus-Restoration Imagery in John 6," *SNTSU* 30 (2005): 105-21.

¹⁶²For surveys of various issues surrounding the prologue, see Michael Theobald, "Der Johannesprolog im 20. Jahrhundert," in *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos: Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh*, NTAbh 20 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1988), 54-161; Antonio García-Moreno, "Aspectos teológicos del Prólogo de S. Juan," *ScrTh* 21 (1989): 411-30; John Painter, *The Quest for the Messiah: The History, Literature and Theology of the Johannine Community*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 137-62; Jan G. van der Watt, "The Composition of the Prologue of John's Gospel: The Historical Jesus Introducing Divine Grace," *WTJ* 57 (1995): 311-32; Walther Bindemann, "Der Johannesprolog: Ein Versuch, ihn zu verstehen," *NovT* 37 (1995): 331-54; John Ashton, "The Transformation of Wisdom," in *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5-35; Stephen Voorwinde, "John's Prologue: Beyond Some Impasses of Twentieth-Century Scholarship," *WTJ* 64 (2002): 15-44. Although Hofius detects several layers of redaction, the literary integrity is attested to in the clear progression of thought in the prologue. Sänger, "'Von mir hat er geschrieben' (Joh 5,46)," 124. Cf. Otfried Hofius, "Struktur und Gedankengang des Logos-Hymnus in Joh 1:1-18," *ZNW* 78 (1987): 1-25.

(including OT) and in this Gospel (John 7:18-24, 8:5). A close reading, however, reveals the evangelist's general attitude towards the arch-prophet and provides a glimpse into his role in relation to Johannine Christology.¹⁶³

The broader context of the prologue delineates the incarnation of Jesus as the climactic manifestation of the glory of Yahweh (i.e., "full of grace and truth") which is explicitly illustrated in verse 14. Particularly interesting are the linguistic similarities of verse fourteen with Exodus 33-34. In addition to the tabernacle language (σκηνώω, *lit.* "to tabernacle"), the expression, "full of grace and truth (πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας)," bears a resemblance to the Hebrew idiom, "full of love and faithfulness (מְלֵאֵם אֱהוּבָה וְאֵמֶת, Exod 34:6)."¹⁶⁴ It is within this context that the new divine revelation is further compared with or contrasted to that of Moses, who is referred to as a metonym for the old covenant, especially the Pentateuch (1:17).¹⁶⁵

Scholarship is evenly divided over the relation between the Mosaic economy and that of Jesus. A group of Johannine exegetes maintains that the present text signifies the supplementary or accumulating nature of the new salvific revelation through Jesus:

¹⁶³A number of Johannine exegetes argue the polemical motive behind the reference to Moses in order to defend the orthodoxy of the Johannine community. Such an assertion seems to be suggestive at best. Cf. Klaus Wengst, *Bedrängte Gemeinde und verherrlichter Christus: Ein Versuch über das Johannesevangelium*, 4th ed., KT 114 (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1992), 75-127; Stefan Schapdick, *Auf dem Weg in den Konflikt: Exegetische Studien zum theologischen Profil der Erzählung vom Aufenthalt Jesus in Samarien (Joh 4, 1-42) im Kontext des Johannesevangeliums*, BBB 126 (Berlin: Philo, 2000), 441-58.

¹⁶⁴Lester Jacob Kuyper, "Grace and truth: An Old Testament Description of God, and Its Use in the Johannine Gospel," *Int* 18 (1964): 3-19; Morna D. Hooker, "Johannine Prologue and the Messianic Secret," *NTS* 21 (1974): 53-56; Anthony T. Hanson, "John 1:14-18 and Exodus 34," *NTS* 23 (1976): 90-101; P. P. A. Kotzé, "Die betekenis en konteks van genade en waarheid in Johannes 1:14-18," *SK* 8 (1987): 38-51; Craig R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the Old Testament*, CBQMS 22 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989), 103-04; Craig A. Etnas, *Word and Glory: On the Exegetical and Theological Background of John's Prologue*, JSNTSup 89 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1993), 79-80; Udo Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, NTD 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 33-34; Klaus Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, rev. ed., TKNT 4 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 1:74-76; Hartwig Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, HNT 6 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 98-100; Joe M. Sprinkle, "Is There Truth in the Law (John 1:17)? On the Gospel of John's View of the Mosaic Revelation," in *Biblical Law and Its Relevance: A Christian Understanding and Ethical Application for Today of the Mosaic Regulations* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006), 32-36.

¹⁶⁵John 1:45 identifies Moses as the writer of the Pentateuch. Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate*, WUNT 2/83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 60-63.

hence the “grace and truth” of Jesus came in addition to the law of Moses.¹⁶⁶ Another group favors the supercessionistic reading of the text: the “grace and truth” of Jesus came in replacement of the Mosaic law.¹⁶⁷ The following structural, syntactical, and lexical analysis of the text is hoped to shed light into the exact nature of this relation of the economies of Moses and Jesus.

Structure of the prologue. A number of proposed structural analyses of the prologue can be delimited into two categories: logical progression and chiasmus models (the latter was popularized to a large degree by R. Alan Culpepper, cf. footnote 170).

¹⁶⁶This supplementary or accumulative sense is read in a few NT translations: Revised Standard Version (1952), New International Version (1984), New Revised Standard Version (1989), New American Standard Bible (1995); New Living Translation, English Standard Version (2001). The commentators favoring this view are: Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. George R. Beasley-Murray (Louisville: Westminster, 1971), 78; Barnabas Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, NCB (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972), 97; Johannes Schneider, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1976), 62; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978), 168-69; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John*, HTCNT (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 1:275-76; F. F. Bruce, *The Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 43; Elizabeth Harris, *Prologue and Gospel: The Theology of the Fourth Evangelist*, JSNTSup 107 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994), 90; Leon Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, rev. ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 98; Gerald L. Borchert, *John 1-11*, NAC, vol. 25A (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1996), 123; Joachim Gnilka, *Johannesevangelium*, 5th ed., NEchtBNT 4 (Würzburg: Echter, 1999), 15-16; Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:78; Christian Blumenthal, “Charis anti charitos (Joh 1,16),” *ZNW* 92 (2001): 290-94; Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 1:421; Eric M. E. Wallace, “The Testimony of Moses: Pentateuchal Traditions and Their Function in the Gospel of John” (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2004), 136-37.

¹⁶⁷The replacement sense is attested to in fewer Bible versions: New Jerusalem Bible, King James, and New King James Version (1982). The commentators opting for this view include: Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, AB 29 (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 1:15-16; Adolf Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes, wie er spricht, denkt und glaubt: Ein kommentar zum vierten evangelien* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1975), 32; Ruth B. Edwards, “Charin anti charitos (John 1:16): Grace and the Law in the Johannine Prologue,” *JSNT* 32 (1988): 3-15; D. A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 131-34; Jürgen Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 3rd ed., ÖTKNT 4 (Würzburg: Echter, 1991), 66; George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 2nd ed., WBC, vol. 36 (Nashville: Nelson, 1999), 15; Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, SP 4 (Wilmington, DE: Liturgical, 1998), 40; Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 35; Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:32; Andreas Köstenberger, *John*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 46-47; Andrew T. Lincoln, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John*, BNTC 4 (London: Continuum, 2005), 107-08; Alessandro Belano, “Χάρις ἀντὶ χάριτος (Gv 1,16): ‘Grazia su grazia?’” *RivB* 53 (2005): 479-82; Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 104-05; Peter M. Phillips, *The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel: A Sequential Reading*, LNTS 294 (London: T & T Clark, 2006), 211-15. Some scholars, however, remain unclear on this issue. See Udo Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, THNT 4 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1998), 42; Ludger Schenke, *Johannes: Kommentar* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1998), 33-34. Three minor alternative readings are: that the grace of Christ precedes that of Moses; that the grace of Christ comes in return for the Mosaic covenant; and that the Mosaic economy corresponds to that of Christ. All these interpretations contain some measure of theological truth but they do not fairly represent the plain reading of the text. For a more detailed discussion of these views, see Edwards, “Charin anti charitos,” 3-7.

The former model is observed in the studies of C. Dietzfellbinger, K. Wengst, A. T. Lincoln, G. Beasley-Murray, R. Brown, and the latter in S. Voorewinde, J. Stalley, W. Dumbrell, and A. Köstenberger.

Table 3. Various Structural Analyses of the Prologue

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Dietzfellbinger ¹⁶⁸ | |
| 1. The relationship of the Logos to God and to the world | (vv. 1-5) |
| 2. Of the witness of the Baptist to the reception of the divine childhood | (vv. 6-13) |
| 3. The witness of the believers | (vv. 14-18) |
| Wengst ¹⁶⁹ | |
| I. Description of working of the Word, its refusal and reception | (vv. 1-13) |
| 1. The creation and working of the Word at the beginning | (v. 1-4) |
| 2. The refusal of the historically working Word | (vv. 5, 9-11) |
| Excursus: John the Baptist as witness of the Logos | (vv. 6-8) |
| 3. The reception of the historically working Word | (v. 12-13) |
| II. Confession of the Word incarnate and witness for it | (vv. 14-18) |
| 1. The confession of the believers | (v. 14) |
| 2. The witness of John | (v. 15) |
| 3. The common confession and witness of John and the believers | (vv. 16-18) |
| Lincoln ¹⁷⁰ | |
| The Word in relation to God and creation | (vv. 1-5) |
| The witness of John the Baptist to the Word as Light | (vv. 6-8) |
| The word in the world and the two types of responses | (vv. 9-13) |
| The community's confession about the word | (vv. 14-18) |
| Beasley-Murray ¹⁷¹ | |
| 1. The Word of God and creation | (1-5) |
| 2. The witness to the Word of God by John the Baptist | (6-8) |
| 3. The reactions to the Word of God in the World | (9-13) |
| 4. The confession of the Word of God by the church | (14-18) |

¹⁶⁸Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:22-34.

¹⁶⁹Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:47.

¹⁷⁰Lincoln, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John*, 94-109.

¹⁷¹Beasley-Murray, *John*, 10-16.

Brown¹⁷²

The Word with God (vv. 1-2)

The Word and creation (vv. 3-5)

 Parenthesis: John the Baptist's witness to the Light (vv. 6-9)

The Word in the world (vv. 10-12b)

The community's share in the Word-become-flesh (vv. 14-16)

 Parenthesis: John the Baptist testifies to the pre-existence of Jesus (v. 15)

 Editorial expansion of v. 16 (vv. 17-18)

Voorewinde¹⁷³

A. The Word (v. 1)

B. "With God" (vv. 1-2)

 C. Creation: "Life and light" (vv. 3-5)

 D. The testimony of John (vv. 6-8)

 E. The incarnation: "Light" (vv. 9-10)

 F. Human response: Negative (vv. 10-11)

 F'. Human response: Positive (vv. 12-13)

 E'. The incarnation: "Glory" (v. 14)

 D'. The testimony of John (v. 15)

 C'. New Creation: "Grace and truth" (vv. 14-17)

 B'. "In the bosom of the Father" (v. 18)

A'. "The One and Only God" (v. 18)

Stalley¹⁷⁴

The relationship of the Logos to God/creation/humankind vv. 1-5

 The witness of John (negative) vv. 6-8

 The journey of the Light/Logos (negative) vv. 9-11

 The gift of empowerment (positive) vv. 12-13

 The journey of the Logos (positive) v. 14

 The witness of John (positive) v. 15

The relationship of the Logos to humankind/re-creation/God vv. 16-18

¹⁷²Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1:23-36.

¹⁷³Voorwinde, "John's Prologue," 27-43.

¹⁷⁴Jeffrey L. Stalley, "The Structure of John's Prologue: Its Implications for the Gospel's Narrative Structure," *CBQ* 48 (1986): 241-64.

Dumbrell¹⁷⁵

Jesus' relationship to God vv. 1-2

Jesus' role in the economy of salvation v. 3

Participation of humanity in the salvation revealed in Christ vv. 4-5

The testimony of the forerunner vv. 6-8

The response to the saving presence of Christ negatively vv. 9-10

The centerpiece: the significance of the Incarnation vv. 11-13

The response to the saving presence of Christ positively vv. 14

The testimony of the forerunner v. 15

Participation of humanity in the salvation revealed in Christ v. 16

Jesus' role in the economy of salvation v. 17

Jesus' relationship to God v. 18

Köstenberger¹⁷⁶

A The Word's activity in creation (1:1-5)

B John's witness concerning the light (1:6-8)

C The incarnation of the Word and the privilege of becoming God's children
(1:9-14)

B' John's witness concerning the Word's preeminence (1:15)

A' The final revelation brought by Jesus Christ (1:16-18)

Two observations stand out in light of these structural analyses. First, the prologue centers on Jesus, who played an integral role in the creation and through whom the new divine revelation became manifest. More importantly, if the presence of a chiasmic structure is accepted, verses sixteen through seventeen recapitulate the preexistent Logos idea spelled out in verses one through two, and further accentuate the culmination of the redemptive plan as unfolded in Jesus. That is, the chiasmic structure elucidates the superiority of the new economy over the Mosaic covenant. However, it should also be noted that the logical progression models do not rule out this notion. Nevertheless, the chiasmus more clearly demonstrates the escalating progression of emphasis on Jesus.

¹⁷⁵William J. Dumbrell, "Law and Grace: The Nature of the Contrast in John 1:17," *EvQ* 58 (1986): 25-37; idem, "Grace and Truth: The Progress of the Argument of the Prologue of John's Gospel," in *Doing Theology for the People of God: Studies in Honor of J. I. Packer*, ed. Donald Lewis and Alister McGrath (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1996), 105-21. Dumbrell's structural analysis is virtually identical to that of Culpepper only with the exception of the centerpiece being the theme of "children of God" in Culpepper's. Cf. R. Alan Culpepper, "The Pivot of John's Prologue," *NTS* 27 (1980): 1-31.

¹⁷⁶Köstenberger, *John*, 21.

Syntax. Some earlier Johannine commentators understood the parallel between Moses and Jesus in verse seventeen as an antithesis.¹⁷⁷ Ruth Edwards and Klaus Wengst, for instance, cite Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Origen, Theophylact, Augustine and Jerome as patristic evidence that opted for this interpretation.¹⁷⁸ Some contemporary exegetes also hold to this view as well.¹⁷⁹ For example, Matthias Gawlick understands John 1:17 as a simple antithetical term and applies it to a hypothetical historical setting of the Johannine community:

Somit ist die Beziehung Mose zu Jesus antithetisch, mit der die Rezipienten über das unbestreitbare Vorrecht Jesu informiert werden. Zu der spannungsreichen Beziehung zwischen Gemeinde und 'den Juden' paßt es kaum, wollte man behaupten, hier werde Mose in eine Linie mit Jesus gesetzt, so daß sich dann etwa ein heilsgeschichtliches Kontinuum ergebe. Noch problematischer erscheint der Versuch, Jesus mit der bekannten Kategorie der Tora zu identifizieren, denn diese darf als zu eng gelten, zumal sie im Gesamttext im wesentlichen negativ geschildert wird. Der gebildete Gegensatz ist für die weitere Lektüre wichtig, darf aber nicht verabsolutiert werden - ein diskreditierter Mose wäre für die joh Intentionen gleichfalls unbrauchbar. In Kap 1,17 ist die Erwähnung Mose also ein hermeneutisches Signal dafür, wie sich die Christusanhänger von ihren jüdischen Geschwistern unterscheiden: Polemisiert wird gar nicht gegen Mose, sondern gegen diejenigen Juden, die als seine Jünger ihm im Vergleich zu Jesus eine zu hohe Bedeutung zusprechen.¹⁸⁰

Syntactical observations, however, militate against such a view and lend weight to either the accumulation or replacement sense. The lack of conjunction or particle between the first and the second halves of verse seventeen make it difficult to

¹⁷⁷Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:101; Rudolf Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 21st ed., KEK 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 53; Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:32; Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 42-43; Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 35. Some scholars posit the interpolation of verses 16-18 based on the idiosyncratic nature of grace/law antithesis in John. For example, Painter, *The Quest for the Messiah*, 147-49. However, the structural and syntactical examination of the text displays a cohesive place of vv. 16-18 in the context.

¹⁷⁸Edwards, "Charin anti charitos," 7; Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:79 n. 75.

¹⁷⁹Walter Bauer, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 3rd ed., HNT 6 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1933), 124; Markku Kotila, *Umstrittener Zeuge: Studien zur Stellung des Gesetzes in der johanneischen Theologiegeschichte*, AASF 48 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1988), 142-45; Hans Weder, "Mein hermeneutisches Anliegen im Gegenüber zu Klaus Bergers Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments," *EvT* 52 (1992): 320; Otfried Hofius, "'Der in des Vaters Schoß ist': Joh 1:18," in *Johannesstudien: Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Vierten Evangeliums*, ed. Otfried Hofius and Hans-Christian Kammler, WUNT 88 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1996), 29-30; Sängler, "'Von mir hat er geschrieben' (Joh 5,46)," 124; Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 42-43.

¹⁸⁰Matthias Gawlick, "Mose im Johannesevangelium," *BN* 84 (1996): 32.

determine the relationship between the two clauses. A clue, however, is found in the conjunction ὅτι plus the indicative construction (v. 17), which usually functions as a causal subordinate clause in biblical Greek.¹⁸¹ Therefore, the literal rendition of the verses sixteen and seventeen could be as following: “From his fullness we have all received grace upon/instead of grace (χάρις ἀντὶ χάριτος) because the law was given through Moses and/but grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.” As such, the two occurrences of χάρις in verse sixteen correspond to the Mosaic law and the new economy of Jesus respectively in verse seventeen. This syntactical observation avails an important hermeneutical point. The Mosaic economy and that of Jesus are equally extensions of the divine grace.¹⁸² The common divine provenance is also attested to in the passive voice (“the law was given [ἐδόθη] through Moses”), which probably signifies the divine initiative.¹⁸³

One caveat, however, is in order regarding an implication of the parallelism, as Wengst asserts, namely, that the two clauses seem to focus on the intermediary role of Moses and Jesus in passing on of the divine grace:

Dieser Vers begründet die Aussage, Gnade empfangen zu haben: “Denn die Tora wurde durch Mose gegeben, die Gnade und Treue kam durch Jesus Christus.” Beide

¹⁸¹For the ὅτι plus indicative construction principally as causal, see Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 662; *BDF*, 238; Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 504.

¹⁸²Johannes Beutler, “Das Hauptgebot im Johannesevangelium,” in *Das Gesetz im Neuen Testament*, ed. Johannes Beutler and Karl Kertelge, QD 108 (Freiburg: Herder, 1986), 12; Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate*, WUNT 2/83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 54-56; Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, 40; Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 104. B. Klappert stresses the category of “correspondence” as the basis of a messianic Christology in this context. Klappert, “Mose hat von mir geschrieben,” 619-40.

¹⁸³Michael Theobald, *Im Anfang war das Wort: Textlinguistische Studie zum Johannesprolog*, SBS 106 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1983), 60-63; Kotila, *Umstrittener Zeuge*, 141, 204; Martin Hengel, “Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangeliums auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese,” in *“Gesetz” als Thema Biblischer Theologie*, JBT 4 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen, 1989), 266; Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:101; Hofius, “Der in des Vaters Schoss ist,” 30. In this respect, the semantic distinction of Ulrich Luz on “law” and “scripture” breaks down. Luz defines the Johannine use of “law” as a means to attack Jesus whereas “scripture” is what is fulfilled in Jesus. Ulrich Luz, “Das Neue Testament,” in *Gesetz*, ed. Rudolf Smend and Ulrich Luz, KohlT 1015 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1981), 120. In John 1:17, however, “law” does not connote a negative inference nor stands in antithetical contrast to “grace and truth.”

Vershälften sind ganz parallel formuliert: Am Beginn steht das jeweilige Subjekt: die Tora sowie Gnade und Treue. Es folgt die Angabe des jeweiligen Mittlers: Mose und Jesus Christus. Den Schluss bildet das jeweilige Prädikat in einer grammatisch passiven Form, die auf Gott als logisches Subjekt weist. Er ist der Geber der Tora durch die Vermittlung des Mose. Und er ist es auch, der durch Jesus Christus in seiner Gnade und Treue gekommen ist. Gott ist gnädig Gebender durch Mose und durch Jesus Christus. Das Bekenntnis von V. 16, überreich Gnade empfangen zu haben, wird also doppelt begründet: zunächst durch die Gabe der durch Mose vermittelten Tora und dann durch die Präsenz des gnädigen und treuen Gottes in Jesus Christus.¹⁸⁴

His notion, however, does not adequately take into account the point of the pericope comprising verses sixteen through eighteen in the wider context. First, the entire scope of the prologue disproportionately underscores Jesus as being tantamount to God and being the first divine exposure to men in human form (esp. vv. 1, 14, and 18):

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; And the Word became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as of a father's only son, full of grace and truth; No one has ever seen God. It is God the only Son, who is close to the Father's heart, who has made him known.

Second, Wengst's observation does not pay sufficient attention to the message of the immediate context. The tenor of verse 18 could be seen as a polemic against the popular Jewish traditions about Moses who was believed to behold Yahweh, however partially.¹⁸⁵ Accordingly, Jesus is the incarnate self-revelation of God in human history. Unfolded in this logical progression, thus, verses 16 through 18 can be paraphrased as following: "In his divine kindness, God has granted one grace on top of/in place of another. The first grace came through Moses and/but the second is revealed in Jesus Christ who is the first palpable manifestation of God himself." Seen in this context, therefore, the parallelism of Moses and Jesus highlights the progression of the divine redemptive plan rather than the mediatory role of the two figures.

Semantics. The causal understanding of ὅτι at the beginning of verse

¹⁸⁴Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:79.

¹⁸⁵Later rabbinic sources, however, express the encounter of Moses with Yahweh in a circumlocutory manner. Anthony T. Hanson, "The Word on Sinai and at Bethel," in *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 22.

seventeen clarifies the divine provenance of both economies. In addition, the causal interpretation of the conjunction further hints at the double reference to χάριτος in verse sixteen corresponding to the two following clauses in verse seventeen. Then, the meaning of the preposition ἀντί which connects the double reference to χάριτος becomes a crucial hermeneutical clue to the relation between the Mosaic and the new salvific plan. As briefly reviewed above, the meaning of the preposition also sharply divides scholarship: one group takes it to mean “upon, in addition to, or on top of” whereas the other favors “in place of.” Lexical observations, nonetheless, support the latter view.

First, standard Greek lexicons do not refer to a single instance of the word ἀντί meaning “upon” in ancient Greek literature. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (BDAG)* renders the original meaning of this word to be locally “opposite,” from which developed “various types of correspondence ranging from replacement to equivalence.”¹⁸⁶ The five uses of the word are to indicate (1) that “one person or thing is, or is to be, replaced by another,” hence “instead of, in place of” (2) that one thing is equivalent to another, such as “for, as, in place of” (3) a process of intervention, “in behalf of, for” (4) the reason for something, “because of, for the purpose of” and (5) result with implication of being a replacement for something, “therefore, so then.”¹⁸⁷ With the lack of a semantic precedence, therefore, it is natural to translate the preposition ἀντί in its most common usage, “instead of.”

Second, the examples of ἀντί usually cited in favor of the sense of accumulation do not stand up to a scrutiny. Some commentators point to Sirach 26:15 where a meek or humble woman is described as χάρις ἐπι χάριτι (“charm upon charm,”

¹⁸⁶BDAG, 87.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., 87-88. *EDNT* and *TDNT* also do not list a single occurrence or usage of the word meaning “upon” or “after.” The range of meaning in these lexicons overlaps with the definition of *BDAG*. Friedrich Büchsel, “ἀντί,” in *TDNT*, 1:372-73; H. Frankemölle, “ἀντί,” in *EDNT*, 1:108-09. Cf. “in John 1:16 charin anti charitos denotes a perpetual and rapid succession of blessings, as though there were no interval between the arrival of one blessing and the receipt of the next. Alternatively, the idea of constant renewal may be less prominent than the notion of the replacement of ‘old’ grace by ‘new’ grace.” M. J. Harris, “Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament,” in *NIDNTT*, 3:1179-80.

i.e., a double blessing).¹⁸⁸ The example is hardly relevant for the present discussion since the preposition is ἐπὶ not ἀντί. Keener comments that “the preposition differs . . . but LXX readers might have suspected an allusion; prepositions were losing some force by the Koine period.”¹⁸⁹ Keener’s statement, however, is a special pleading. Another ancient Greek passage often referred to is from Philo’s *De Posteritate Caini* 145a:

Διὸ τὰς πρώτας αἰεὶ χάριτας, πρὶν κορεσθέντας ἐξυβρίσαι τοὺς λαχόντας, ἐπισχῶν καὶ ταμιευσάμενος εἰσαῦθις ἑτέρας ἀντ’ ἐκείνων καὶ τρίτας ἀντὶ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ αἰεὶ νέας ἀντὶ πάλαιότερων, τοτὲ μὲν διαφερούσας, τοτὲ δ’ αὖ καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐπιδίδωσι.

Wherefore God ever causes His earliest gifts to cease before their recipients are glutted and wax insolent; and storing them up for the future gives others in their stead, and a third supply to replace (ἀντί) the second, and ever new in place of (ἀντί) earlier boons, sometimes different in kind, sometimes the same.¹⁹⁰

As is evident in the text, this usage of the preposition adds up to the replacement view since the idea is not “accumulation” but clearly “replacement.” That is, God dispenses one gift (or blessing) in place of another so as not to spoil men.¹⁹¹

At this point, it is worthwhile to consider two points, which scholars bring up in favor of the superabundance of the grace view. Despite the apparent indicators, for instance, some commentators point to the general tenor of the entire Gospel and the immediately preceding verses as an important hermeneutical indicator.¹⁹² Yet, the replacement interpretation of verses sixteen and seventeen does not exclude such an

¹⁸⁸G. H. C. Macgregor, *The Gospel of John*, MNTC (New York: Harper, 1928), 20; Bruce, *The Gospel of John*, 43, 65, n. 29; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 1:275-76; Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 98; Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:421.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., n. 546.

¹⁹⁰Philo trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, LCL 227 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), 2:412-15. Ruth Edwards translates the passage as following: “Therefore God, having always held back his first gifts, before those who received them became glutted and insolent, and having husbanded them, distributes others instead of them and a third supply instead of (ἀντί) the second, and continually new gifts instead of (ἀντί) older ones, sometimes different, sometimes the same.” Edwards, “Charin anti charitos,” 5.

¹⁹¹Ibid., 6.

¹⁹²Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Gospel of John: A Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 56; Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:421.

insight. The textual exegesis of verses sixteen through eighteen reveals, however, that these texts principally highlight the difference of dispensations. The profusion of the divine grace is logically deduced from the shift of these dispensations and particularly from the superlatively rich provision of the new covenant.

In addition to the semantic argument for the accumulation view, some scholars draw attention to the possible Old Testament imagery in the first clause of verse eighteen: “No one has seen God (Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε).” A. T. Hanson maintains that since Exodus 33:12-34:8 clearly indicates that Moses beheld Yahweh, it is difficult to postulate that the fourth evangelist is negating such a popular Jewish tradition.¹⁹³ Furthermore, John 12:41 also notes the vision of the prophet Isaiah, in which he witnessed the “glory” of Jesus. Hanson does not mention Abraham’s witness which also makes this conjecture more plausible (John 8:56-58).¹⁹⁴ Thus, the idea of witnessing God or more precisely the pre-existent Logos is not foreign to John. Consequently, it follows that it was the pre-existent Logos, not Yahweh, that Moses witnessed in the theology of John.¹⁹⁵ In this logic, the latter part of verse 18 explains the first half. Likewise, verses 16 through 17 expound on the continuity and abundance of the divine redemptive plan under the Mosaic and the new economies, both through the Logos.

Hanson’s interpretation, however, ignores the wording of John 1:18, which stresses the contrastive nature of God’s invisibility and the Son’s premier disclosure to

¹⁹³Hanson, “John 1.14-18 and Exodus 34,” 102-04. However, Hofius finds this Logos concept rooted in another part of the Old Testament, Proverbs. Hofius, ““Der in des Vaters Schoss ist,”” 24-32. On the other hand, the possibility of the non Jewish (Hellenistic) influence on the prologue has been explored in Angelika Strotmann, “Relativ oder absolute Präexistenz?: Zur Diskussion über die Präexistenz der frühjüdischen Weisheitsgestalt im Kontext von Joh 1,1-18,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 91-106; Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, “Der Logos und die Schöpfung: Streiflichter bei Philo (Op 20-25) und im Johannesprolog (Joh 1,1-18),” in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, ed. Jörg Frey and Udo Schnelle, WUNT 175 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 295-320.

¹⁹⁴Hanson, “John 1.14-18 and Exodus 34,” 86-88.

¹⁹⁵Also Hans Hübner, *Hebräerbrief, Evangelien und Offenbarung, Epilegomena*, vol. 3 of *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 158.

human history in the new covenant (this recurring theme of God coming into the world for the first time in this manner is reiterated in vv. 10-11, 14-15), not on Moses' witness of the pre-existent Jesus, which could be secondarily inferred. This text neither directly excludes the possibility of Moses' witnessing the pre-existent Logos in view of the theophanies of Isaiah and Abraham in the Gospel, nor does it positively promote such a view. Differently put, the point of verse eighteen is that, in contrast to the Mosaic dispensation (in which "no one has seen God"), the new salvific economy has made God accessible like never before, thus upholding the close unity between God and the Son and the unique theophany through the latter at the same time.¹⁹⁶ Likewise, John 6:46 reiterates the superiority of the new revelation that is based on the direct encounter with Yahweh: "Not that anyone has seen the Father except the one who is from God; he has seen the Father." In this respect, even the possible polemic against Moses (or the Gnostic redeemer figure for the same reason) is relegated onto an ancillary level. The summary statement of William Loader is helpful:

[John] 1,18 discredits all alternative claims to see God. This includes claims made about Moses. But while this may seem to be disparaging of Moses, it stands beside the more positive claim that the Law was given, ἐδόθη, through Moses. . . . Something positive is being said [about the Mosaic covenant] but it is set in contrast with something much greater for which the vocabulary of fullness is used. This gift [given to Moses] from God is now surpassed by a great gift from God.¹⁹⁷

Summary. In summary, the observations noted so far spell out the positive role of Moses on the one hand. As a representative of the old covenant, he foreshadows the gracious nature of the new salvific plan as unfolded through Jesus. For this reason, the oversimplistic antithetical understanding of John 1:16-17 fails to take into account

¹⁹⁶It is probably not the intention of the evangelist that this text communicates Moses' witness of the pre-existent Logos. Michael Theobald, *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos: Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh*, NTANT 20 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1988), 259-62.

¹⁹⁷William Loader, "Jesus and the Law in John," in *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. Gilbert van Belle, Jan G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, BETL 184 (Leuven: Leuven University, 2005), 138.

this continuity. On the other hand, as its superseded status indicates, the common denominator between the two economies recedes to the background as the superiority of the new *Heilsgeschichte* is brought to the fore of the narrative. Standing in the background, Moses still points to the gracious nature and the preeminence of the new divine disclosure. The analogy of John 6:32 could be helpful. As God gave bread to the Israelite ancestors through Moses, he also imparts the living bread, Jesus, to believers. In this analogy, Moses' role in the distribution of Manna bears witness to the gracious nature and continuity of the old and new redemptive plans rather than providing a typology for the messiah:

Joh 1,17 ist in seiner Kürze enigmatisch, weist aber in seiner Terminologie auf Vorstellungen und Konzeptionen hin, die wir in anderen Stellen des Evangeliums finden. Joh 6,32 ist eine wichtige Analogie: Mose hat das Manna an die Väter gegeben, Gott das Brot des Lebens Jesus. Wie Moses Mannagabe ein Vorzeichen, ein Schatten der Lebensgabe ist, so ist Moses Gabe des Gesetzes ein Vorverweis auf die Gabe von Gnade und Wahrheit durch Jesus. Wird die Gabe des Mose, das Gesetz, auf Jesus hin gelesen, so entspricht dies seiner eigentlichen Zeugnisfunktion. Die Mosegabe gewinnt ihre Autorität dadurch, dass sie Zeugnis für Jesus ist.¹⁹⁸

Although only an indirect allusion, the witness function of Moses via the law in John 1:16-18 initiates a recurring witness motif followed by that of John the Baptist (v. 15) in the Johannine prologue.¹⁹⁹ To represent Moses in witness terms means a redefinition of the conventional belief in him, i.e., an authority figure.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸Michael Labahn, "Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Überlegungen zu einem spannungsreichen Verhältnis," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 193.

¹⁹⁹Martin Hengel, "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel," in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, JSNTSup 104 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994), 387-88. In this light, it makes sense that the Peshitta version supplies the adversative conjunction *dn* between grace and truth in verse 17. Cf. Tjitze Baarda, "John 1,17b: The Origin of a Peshitta Reading," *ETL* 77 (2001): 153-62.

²⁰⁰Schadplick describes this redefinition as "the switching of content." "Der Nomos ist nicht als die göttliche Offenbarung selbst zu verstehen, sondern als Wegweiser zu dieser Offenbarung. Das Gesetz wurde Mose gegeben, um Zeugnis abzulegen von der eschatologischen Gottesoffenbarung Jesu. Von daher ist es richtig anzumerken, dass die göttliche Gnadengabe des Gesetzes durch die Wahrheit Jesu Christi nicht aufgehoben wird . . . Seine soteriologische Relevanz wird jedoch neu bestimmt. Es dient als Zeuge für das Heil in Jesus Christus. Ein Lesen des Nomos ohne Christusbezug entlässt jedoch keinerlei Heil aus sich." Schadplick, "Autorität ohne Inhalt," 186 n. 35.

Serpent of Moses: John 3:14

Καὶ καθὼς Μωϋσῆς ὑψωσεν τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὕτως ὑψωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;

And just as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up. (John 3:14)

Context. The present text is located within the pericope of Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus (John 3:1-21). This occasion provides an entry for the first extended discourse about the crucifixion on the part of Jesus. The narrative was prompted by Nicodemus' acknowledgement of Jesus' divinely commissioned nature (v. 2), then it moves onto the "born-again" speech, "the earthly things" (τὰ ἐπίγεια, vv. 3-12). Scholars have debated over the referents of the "earthly" and "heavenly" things. D. A. Carson convincingly puts out a case for this distinction. Because the new birth takes place on earth, it is the earthly things while the glorification of Jesus occurs in the heavenly realm. In addition, it is natural to take "the earthly things" mentioned in v. 12 as referring back to the previous context (vv. 3-9) which speaks of the new birth (being born again).²⁰¹

At the disbelief of the Jewish teacher Jesus laments because, unless one is born again and/or from above, he has no part in the kingdom of God (v. 3). Furthermore, because of the disbelief or inability to understand "the earthly things," Jesus is somewhat hesitant to divulge his knowledge about "the heavenly things (τὰ ἐπουράνια, v. 12)" so much so that the revelation is given only briefly in two respects. First, he is the only qualified revealer of the heavenly realm because he is the only one who has descended from and ascended to the heaven (v. 13). This fact also implies that he is the only one who has really seen and heard about the "heavenly things" (v. 11). The qualification of Jesus' being the only valid witness (vv. 11, 13-14) leads to a glimpse into the "heavenly

²⁰¹Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 199; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 1:377; Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 197; Gawlick, "Mose im Johannesevangelium," 33; Köstenberger, *John*, 126; Lincoln, *The Gospel according to Saint John*, 152.

things.” That is, God’s intention is to save the world by lifting up his only Son. This “lifting up” relates not only to the crucifixion of Jesus but also to his enthronement in heaven. Even more, this exaltation also involves the judgment of the world:

Those who believe in him are not condemned; but those who do not believe are condemned already, because they have not believed in the name of the only Son of God. And this is the judgment, that the light has come into the world, and people loved darkness rather than light because their deeds were evil. (John 3:18-19)

In John 12:31-32, this aspect of “lifting up” (i.e., crucifixion) is set forth in terms of the judgment of the prince of the world.²⁰² Therefore, the analogy of Jesus’ crucifixion to Moses’ lifting of a bronze serpent in verse 14 serves two purposes: the qualification of Jesus’ witness for “the heavenly things” and his mission to realize the divine redemptive plan, “the heavenly things” (vv. 15-21) in the saving and judgment of the world.²⁰³

T. F. Glasson. Of the four major typological studies on Moses in John, only T. F. Glasson addresses this text at length in a typological sense (*Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, 33-39).²⁰⁴ He takes notice of some interesting parallels between John 3:14 and the Sinai theophany event in Numbers 21. He does not explicitly maintain that these parallels manifest the Mosaic typology in the section in which the text is discussed. However, in view of his remark in the introduction that seeing Jesus as a second Moses is

²⁰²George R. Beasley-Murray, “John 12,31-34: The Eschatological Significance of the Lifting up of the Son of Man,” in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Heinrich Greeven*, ed. Wolfgang Schrage, BZNW 47 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 70-81; idem, “The Lifting up of the Son of Man,” in *Gospel of Life: Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 50-52; Rick R. Marrs, “John 3:14-15: The Raised Serpent in the Wilderness, the Johannine Use of an Old Testament Account,” in *Johannine Studies: Essays in Honor of Frank Pack* (Malibu, CA: Pepperdine University Press, 1989), 141-47; Jean Zumstein, “L’interprétation johannique de la mort du Christ,” in *Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neiryck*, ed. Frans van Segbroeck and Christopher M. Tuckett, BETL 100 (Louvain: Peeters, 1992), 3:2130; John T. Carroll and Joel B. Green, *The Death of Jesus in Early Christianity* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 101-03; Christian Dietzfelbinger, “Sühnetod im Johannesevangelium?” in *Evangelium—Schriftauslegung—Kirche: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jostein Ådna, Scott J. Hafemann, and Otfried Hofius (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 76.

²⁰³The ascension of “Son of Man” is described in the perfect tense in v. 12 (ἀναβέβηκεν). This tense may indicate a theological reflection of the early church into the first life setting.

²⁰⁴The three other studies are Meeks, *the Prophet-King*; Boismard, *Moses or Jesus*; and J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 3rd ed., NTL (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2003). In addition, Duncan Derrett offers also somewhat typological observations related to this text. J. Duncan M. Derrett, “The Bronze Serpent,” *EstB* 49 (1991): 322-27.

an important hermeneutical key, it seems to be fair to presume that he argues for the presence of a Mosaic messianic typology in the text:

In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the importance (for the understanding of the New Testament generally) of seeing the Messianic hope in terms of a new Exodus and of recognizing the Messiah as a second Moses. In the following pages it is hoped to show that this approach is one of the keys to the understanding of the Fourth Gospel.²⁰⁵

As such, his study will be taken into account in the present discussion as a dialogue partner.

Glasson observes a four-fold parallelism that underscores the analogy between Moses and Jesus. First, “looking” is an important theme both in Numbers and John. Although the actual phrase “seeing” or “looking” is lacking in John 3:14 and in its immediate context, the motif emerges in connection with Jesus’ crucifixion in John 6:40 and 19:37.²⁰⁶ Second, “lifting up” is applied both to the brazen serpent and to Jesus. In addition, the fourth evangelist uses the verb for “lifting” as a double *entendre* in reference both to the crucifixion and glorification (i.e., the ascension).²⁰⁷ Third, the term “lift up (ὑψώω)” in John 3:14 can be associated with the word “standard (סֵנִי)” in Numbers 21:8:

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה עֲשֵׂה לְךָ שֵׁרֶף וְשִׂים אֹתוֹ עַל-גֹּזֵן

Then the LORD said to Moses, “Make a fiery *serpent*, and set it on a standard (סֵנִי).” (Num 21:8 NASB)

This conjunction is also attested to in some passages from Isaiah, in which the expression “lifted up [נִשְׂאָה] is repeatedly linked with a standard [סֵנִי]” (cf. Isa 5:26, 13:2, 11:12, 18:3, 62:10).²⁰⁸ Therefore, although the Hebrew text of Numbers does not contain the word “lift up (נִשְׂאָה),” the readers of John familiar with the Hebrew tradition must have been reminded of the close connection between the word “lift up (נִשְׂאָה)” and the “standard or

²⁰⁵Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, 10 (parentheses original).

²⁰⁶Ibid., 34-35. Also, Derrett, “The Bronze Serpent,” 322-23.

²⁰⁷Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, 35. Also, G. Lüdemann, “ὑψώω,” in *EDNT*, 3:410.

²⁰⁸Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, 36.

banner (סֵּוּף).”²⁰⁹ Finally, the Greek text of Numbers 21:8 refers to the bronze serpent as “σημείον,” a “banner.” However, Glasson suggests that σημεῖον in the Greek Old Testament could have evoked the Johannine miracle language. That is, that Jesus hung upon the cross is both a banner under which all believers should rally around, and a sign, in the sense of miracle or wonder, by which a believer reaches a saving knowledge.²¹⁰

Critique of Glasson. In response to Glasson, a rejection of a Mosaic typology in the present text is necessary for several reasons. First, the connection between John and Numbers via the “seeing” motif is not as explicit as Glasson suggests. Although the following “belief” language (vv. 15-18) might logically require “looking at” Jesus as a prerequisite step of faith, the emphasis of the present Johannine context is on God and Jesus, and not on a believer’s regeneration or the necessary procedure for securing salvation. As briefly discussed above, the point of John 3:1-21, and especially verses 12-21, is about “the heavenly things.” The heavenly affairs, i.e., salvation history, are revealed in human history through the “lifting up” (the crucifixion and the exaltation) of the Son of man. The “seeing” motif is only a peripheral point in this *Heilsgeschichte*.

Second, the association of “lifting up” with “banner” and “sign” is an unnecessary deduction. Not only are these two Hebrew words not semantically related,²¹¹ but the context of John 3:14 does not require a sense of the cross being a banner, under which all believers will be gathered together. The connection can be adduced theologically but not from a natural exegesis of the text.

Third, the mention of Jesus’ being the only one to journey back from and forth to heaven excludes a Mosaic typology. In contrast to somewhat widespread Jewish beliefs (this tradition was discussed above on the Assumption of Moses, the Exagoge of

²⁰⁹Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, 36-37.

²¹⁰Ibid., 38.

²¹¹Cf. Elmer A. Martens, “סֵּוּף,” in *NIDOTTE*, 3:110-11; Victor Hamilton, “סֵּוּף,” in *NIDOTTE*, 3:160-63.

Ezekiel, and Philo), John unmistakably denies the possibility of Moses' ascension to heaven. Thus, he is counted out from the rank analogous to Jesus; Moses is no peer of Jesus.²¹²

Finally and most importantly, the role of Moses played out in the texts of John and Numbers does not demand a typological reading. In both John and Numbers, Moses participates in the divine redemptive program as a mere facilitator (with God being the active agent), whereas Jesus is the object or the content of the salvation history:²¹³

In 3, 14 f. liegt keine Mosestypologie vor. . . . Christus wird in 3,14 f. demnach nicht als ein zweiter Mose charakterisiert, zumal dies mit 3,13 kollidierte. Denn dort wird mit einem unüberhörbar polemischen Unterton bestritten, außer dem Menschensohn sei jemals einer in den Himmel hinaufgestiegen. Genau dies ist aber, vor allem auf Mose bezogen, eine weit verbreitete Überzeugung im antiken Judentum. Geht es also nicht um eine typologische Entsprechung Mose-Christus, präfiguriert Mose *Tun*, das er im göttlichen Auftrag vollzieht, typologisch das christologische Heilsgeschehen. . . . Vielmehr setzt er Jesus durch die Aufnahme weisheitlicher Sophia- und Logos-theologie, mit deren Hilfe er seine soteriologisch orientierte Christologie füllt, von Mose deutlich ab.²¹⁴

Furthermore, the redemption brought forth through Moses was only provisional, while that of Jesus takes an eternal consequence (John 3:15-16). The active agent of the salvation history remains the same, but the gift is drastically changed.²¹⁵ Such a stark contrast and the different roles played out by Jesus and Moses in the analogy exclude the possibility of Moses' becoming a messianic prefiguration.

²¹²For reviews of early Jewish belief on the ascension of Moses, see Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 205-11; Peder Borgen, "The Son of Man Saying in John 3.13-14," in *Logos was the True Light and Other Essays on the Gospel of John* (Trondheim: Tapir, 1983), 133-48; Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 1:562-63. A sociological reading of the exclusiveness of Jesus' ascension suggests a polemic against docetism (since the cross event is rooted in a concrete historical event). The point, being a mirror reading aside, is hardly pertinent to the present discussion but noted here. Jörg Frey, "Wie Mose die Schlange in der Wüste erhöht hat . . .": Zur frühjüdischen Deutung der Schlange und ihrer christologischen Rezeption in Joh 3,14f," in *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum*, ed. Martin Hengel and Hermut Löhr, WUNT 73 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1994), 202.

²¹³"Mose tut das Zeichen, Jesus ist das Zeichen selbst." Günter Reim, *Jochanan: Erweiterte Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (Erlangen: Der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1995), 135; Gawlick, "Mose im Johannesevangelium," 33; Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:135; Schapdick, "Autorität ohne Inhalt," 188.

²¹⁴Sanger, "'Von mir hat er geschrieben' (Joh 5,46)," 126-27.

²¹⁵Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:290; Schapdick, "Autorität ohne Inhalt," 188-89.

Summary. The foregoing observations reveal the fourth evangelist's unique understanding of Moses not in terms of a messianic prefiguration but as a mere facilitator and spectator of the divine redemptive program.²¹⁶ The salvation history of which he was part bears witness to the gracious and supernatural nature of "the heavenly things." However, the contrast is so stark between the old and new *Heilsgeschichten* that a typology between the two is hardly appropriate.

The most striking aspect of the Johannine description of Jesus' ascension, however, is paralleled neither in the Gnostic myths nor in the Moses legends. This is the central paradox that Jesus' 'being lifted up,' his 'glorification,' takes place in and through his death on the cross. . . . The Johannine paradox is the exclusive product of Christian interpretation of the passion tradition. Comparison of the legends of Moses' ascension with the Johannine theme of the exaltation of the Son of Man thus leads to negative results. The notion of Jesus' paradoxical enthronement is not dependent on the Moses traditions for its fundamental structure.²¹⁷

**Witness and Accusation of Moses:
John 1:45, 5:37-39, 46**

εὕρισκει Φίλιππος τὸν Ναθαναὴλ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ὃν ἔγραψεν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται εὕρηκαμεν, Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ.

Philip found Nathanael and said to him, "We have found him about whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus son of Joseph from Nazareth." (John 1:45)

καὶ ὁ πέμψας με πατὴρ ἐκεῖνος μεμαρτύρηκεν περὶ ἐμοῦ, οὔτε φωνὴν αὐτοῦ πώποτε ἀκηκόατε οὔτε εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἑωράκατε, καὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔχετε ἐν ὑμῖν μένοντα, ὅτι ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος, τούτῳ ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετε, ἐραυνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν· καὶ ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ . . . εἰ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετε Μωϋσεί, ἐπιστεύετε ἂν ἐμοί· περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψεν.

And the Father who sent me has himself testified on my behalf. You have never heard his voice or seen his form, and you do not have his word abiding in you, because you do not believe him whom he has sent. You search the scriptures because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that testify on my behalf . . . If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me. (John 5:37-39, 46)

A number of Johannine exegetes recognize the key role of the present text

²¹⁶Andreas Lindemann, "Mose und Jesus Christus: Zum Verständnis des Gesetzes im Johannesevangelium," in *Das Urchristentum in seiner literarischen Geschichte: Festschrift für Jürgen Becker zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Mell and Ulrich B. Müller, BZNW 100 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 314.

²¹⁷Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 297.

(John 5:39-46) for John's hermeneutics of the Scripture. They variously call this text a "Schlüsseltext" or "Kompendium."²¹⁸ Furthermore, a small number of scholars recognize even the prominence of "correspondence between Moses and Jesus" in this text.²¹⁹ For instance, the systematic defiance of Israelites and the Jews and the redemptive acts of Moses and Jesus are noted as providing points of contact.²²⁰ In contrast, a greater number of exegetes find the witness function as more prominent for "scripture" and Moses. With these divergent opinions in view, this section will seek to ascertain the narrative function of Moses in relation to Christology.

Controversial context. John 5:31-47 is located after the account of the healing of the lame man (5:1-9). Since the healing ministry took place on Sabbath, certain Jews leveled criticism against Jesus in the temple (5:10-18). In response to their antagonism, Jesus states the grounds for the legitimacy of his working on Sabbath. That is, Jesus is equal to God, as most conspicuously attested to in his authority over life and death (5:19-29). Therefore, he stands above the Sabbath rule.²²¹

But Jesus answered them, "my Father is still working, and I also am working." For this reason the Jews were seeking all the more to kill him, because he was not only breaking the sabbath, but was also calling God his own Father, thereby making himself equal to God. Jesus said to them, "very truly, I tell you, the Son can do nothing on his own, but only what he sees the Father doing; for whatever the Father does, the Son does likewise" (5:17-19); "Indeed, just as the Father raises the dead and gives them life, so also the Son gives life to whomever he wishes" (5:21); "So that all may honor the Son just as they honor the Father. Anyone who does not honor the Son does not honor the Father who sent him." (5:23)

Moreover, Jesus appeals to a series of four witnesses in defense of his mission,

²¹⁸"Schlüsseltext" for the understanding of the Johannine hermeneutics. Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 371; Wolfgang Kraus, "Johannes und das Alte Testament: Überlegungen zum Umgang mit der Schrift im Johannesevangelium im Horizont Biblischer Theologie," *ZNW* 88 (1997): 4. "Kompendium" of the Johannine hermeneutics of the Scripture. Scholtissek, "'Die unauflösbare Schrift' (Joh 10,35)," 167.

²¹⁹Klappert, "'Mose hat von mir geschrieben,'" 619-40; Scholtissek, "'Die unauflösbare Schrift' (Joh 10,35)," 146-77.

²²⁰Klappert, "'Mose hat von mir geschrieben,'" 621-22.

²²¹Raimo Hakola, *Identity Matters: John, the Jews and Jewishness*, NovTSup 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 113-29.

which includes his healing ministry (5:31-38). The first witness is John the Baptist, but his witness is partial and incomplete. The second witness, God the Father, provides the ultimate witness. Jesus does not need a witness from such men as John the Baptist, but his witness was given in order for the benefit of Jesus' audience: "Not that I accept such human testimony, but I say these things so that you may be saved" (5:34); "I do not accept glory from human beings" (5:41). The witness of these third party individuals justifies the identity and mission of Jesus. In contrast to the common belief of the Jews who held Moses to be authoritative and the source of information for life, he functions only to bear witness in favor of Jesus.²²² Ironically, this witness function of Moses, in turn, indicts the Jews for their unwillingness to accept this God-designated purpose of his writings (5:39-47).

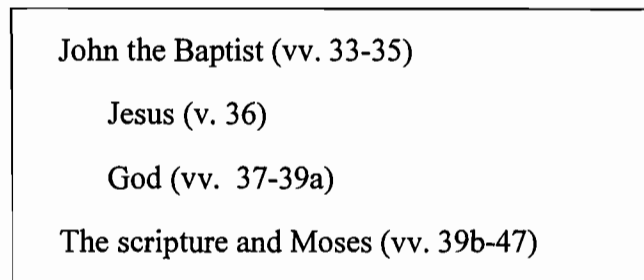
A series of witnesses. Contrary to the belief of the Jews, they do not enjoy an intimate relationship with God. The Jews repeatedly claim their lineage from Abraham and Moses, implying their privileged position to possess the divine revelation and the close association with Yahweh through these ancestors of faith: "Then they reviled him, saying, 'you are his disciple, but we are disciples of Moses. We know that God has spoken to Moses, but as for this man, we do not know where he comes from'" (John 9:28-29; for Abraham, see 8:33, 39, 53). On the contrary, John articulates the outworking of the salvific event (which is variously described as possessing eternal life, and the indwelling of or believing in the Word incarnate) exclusively in terms of Jesus. This unique and definitive standing of Jesus is further corroborated through a series of four witnesses: John the Baptist (vv. 33-35), Jesus (v. 36, 10:25), God the Father (vv. 37-39a), and "the scripture and Moses" (vv. 39b-47).²²³ Particularly pertinent to the present chapter is

²²²Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 113.

²²³Scholtissek, "'Die unauflösbare Schrift' (Joh 10,35)," 167-68.

verse forty-six, where Moses is recognized as the author of “scripture” and is also called in as a witness for Jesus.²²⁴ Structurally, the witnesses of Jesus and God are bracketed by the witnesses of the Baptist and Moses. However, the witnesses of God and Jesus are greater than those of John the Baptist and Moses (vv. 36, 39).

Figure 1. Four witnesses on behalf of Jesus’ mission and identity



An allusion to the Sinai account. A large number of scholars recognize the presence of an allusion to Moses in verses 37-38, especially in his encounter with Yahweh on Mount Sinai (i.e., Exod 19:9, 33:12-34:35, Num 7:89, 23:6-8, Deut 5): “And the Father who sent me has himself testified on my behalf. You have never heard his voice or seen his form, and you do not have his word abiding in you, because you do not believe him whom he has sent.” This allusion implies a typology between Moses and Jesus. Just like the Israelites in the wilderness, the Jews do not experience God due to their disregard for the divine messenger, Jesus. As such, John 5:37-38 insists readers must accept Jesus just as the Israelites should have received Moses wholeheartedly. Some of the scholars sympathetic to this typological reading refer to the Pentateuchal accounts of Moses and Deuteronomy 18:15-18, in particular, as the conceptual background, which set the stage for the Johannine readers (who were familiar with the Mosaic prophet expectations). Under this circumstance, the reader of John would have

²²⁴Schapidick, “Autorität ohne Inhalt,” 190.

immediately perceived Jesus as an eschatological figure like Moses.

Klaus Scholtissek and the majority view. Scholtissek is one of the scholars who explain the present text in accordance with this line of logic. Unless the reception of the divine messenger accompanies, the searching of the scripture does not bear the fruit it promises, “life.”²²⁵ Belief in Jesus is crucial because it leads to the immanence of the word of God.²²⁶ This view takes the conjunction ὅτι in verse 38 as causal: “ὅτι ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος, τούτῳ ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετε.” (5:38b)²²⁷ Thus, verses 37-38 can be paraphrased as following:

Because you do not believe in me (Jesus), as a result, you have not seen or heard God and his word is not abiding in you just like the Israelites in the wilderness had not experienced Yahweh.

An alternative interpretation (the majority view) of this passage in light of the Sinai allusion understands John 5:38b as an explanation for John 5:37b-38a. That is, not experiencing God (which is basically the miscomprehension of the Scripture) explains the Jewish rejection of the divine messenger. This view takes the ὅτι clause as explanatory:²²⁸

In the last clause of v. 38, for you do not believe the one he sent, the conjunction “for” should therefore be taken as introducing the conclusive evidence in support of the triple indictment, rather than as the cause of the spiritual and moral failure of Jesus’ interlocutors.²²⁹

²²⁵Scholtissek, “‘Die unauflösbare Schrift’ (Joh 10,35),” 168.

²²⁶Ibid.

²²⁷Ibid., 168-69.

²²⁸Both causal and explanatory senses are grammatically possible. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 267. The causal use of the ὅτι clause clearly occurs six times in John (8:45, 15:19, 16:6, 19:42, 20:29). Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 147 n. 116.

²²⁹Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 263. This view is also found in the following: Edwin Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 2nd ed. (London: Faber, 1947), 273; Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 266; Johannes Beutler, *Martyria: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Zeugnisthema bei Johannes*, FTS 10 (Frankfurt: Josef Knecht, 1972), 260-62; Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, 157; Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 300; Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 291; Borchert, *John 1-11*, 245; Beasley-Murray, *John*, 78; Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 112; Köstenberger, *John*, 192-93; Hakola, *Identity Matters*, 149-54.

Thus, the witness of God in scriptures explains the Jews' rejection of Jesus.

Nevertheless, both views do not adequately take into account the important semantic difference of the terminologies, "word (λόγος, v. 38)" and "scripture (γραφή, v. 39)." In the prologue, λόγος means "the presence of God in the person of Jesus, not the divine activity in the words of Jesus."²³⁰ In the immediate contexts, the λόγος of Jesus is also closely juxtaposed with "life." The "hearing of λόγος" is life in 5:24. Its semantic cognate, ῥήματά of Jesus are the spirit and life in 6:63. Λόγος and ῥήματά are usually reserved for the word of Jesus (or God), and not once in reference to the writings of Moses (the prologue, 4:41, 50, 6:59-61, 7:40, 10:19). In addition, an important Johannine motif, the internalization of Jesus being equal to the direct encounter with God or the divine immanence, pervades in the prologue and the rest of the Gospel (John 1:1-18, 7:37-39, 10:38, 14:9-11, 20, 17:21-23). These two observations suggest that "word (λόγος)" in verse 38 should be understood differently from "scripture (γραφή)" in verse 39. Λόγος and γραφή are two totally different entities.²³¹ Therein lie the exegetical mistakes of most Johannine commentators and Scholtiseek, as they uncritically equate the two phrases. Jesus, the Word incarnate, is more than the passage to "life." In effect, he is the life (5:26, 6:35, 63, 11:25, 14:6).

In addition to this semantic observation, the Gospel's recurrent emphasis on the divine exposure through Jesus weakens the Sinai allusion view (in addition to the prologue 1:18, also 6:46, "no one has seen the Father except the one who is from God; only he has seen the Father"). The point of verses thirty-seven through thirty-eight relates to the witness of God, that which becomes evident in the life of contemporary Christian believers through the unprecedented indwelling of the "word (λόγος)" of God, not the witness of the scripture or an allusion to Moses' encounter of Yahweh (this notion

²³⁰B. Klappert, "Word," in *NIDNTT*, 3:1117.

²³¹Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 266-67.

also stands in accordance with the tenor of the bread of life discourse in ch. 6 [see the following discussion in the next section]).²³² One who rejects Jesus does not enjoy this union with God. That imminence is God's witness. This "greater witness" theme continues on in verse thirty-nine forward. God's immanent presence is not to be found in "scripture," which only functions to direct as to that end (5:39, 6:45). In this way, the scripture and Moses bear witness to the coming messiah (John 1:45, 5:46). This way of understanding the role of Moses through his writings is the only valid interpretation of scripture. Differently put, non-Christological hermeneutics of scripture is also deficient.²³³ It is not in certain passages, but collectively, that the Mosaic writings point forward to the incomparable messiah, the only *true* way through which God reveals himself completely. In this regard, just like that of John the Baptist, the witness of Moses through his writings (γραφή, "scripture") is inferior to the immanent witness of God the Father through the indwelling of the Word incarnate in the hearts of believers. As such, the authority of Moses stands as far as it bears witness to Jesus.

Bertold Klappert. B. Klappert also offers an elaborate exegesis of the present text under discussion along the same lines as Scholtissek's. First, the point of departure for his investigation is the miracles and signs of Jesus that invoke the "signs and wonders" performed by Moses, as recorded in the exodus accounts. For the Gospel of John, it is a significant indicator that the healing of the lame man narrative precedes the testimony of Moses as recorded in John 5:46-47. The importance of the healing narrative is due to the fact that the account evokes the wonder-working image of Moses. In addition, the feeding of the five-thousand and the bread of life discourses following John 5:46-47 ("the testimony of Moses") reinforces the allusion to Moses, especially the

²³²J. H. A. Bernard, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), 1: 250-51; Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 330; Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1:227; Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 266-67.

²³³Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium*, 61; Schapdick, "Autorität ohne Inhalt," 191.

Manna accounts of Exodus. These parallels constitute a Moses-Jesus typology, which is anticipated in Deuteronomy 18:15-18 and confirmed in John 5 and 6.²³⁴

Second, the miracle accounts of Exodus invite Israelites to believe in Yahweh and in his servant, Moses. Likewise, the Johannine counterparts of the Mosaic miracle accounts (i.e., the signs of Jesus) are reminiscent of the Yahweh experience in the wilderness, and they promote faith in the Johannine divine messenger, Jesus. The faith in Jesus corresponds to the faith in Moses, who is Jesus' eschatological counterpart. As a corollary, not seeing the correspondence between Moses and Jesus is to misunderstand the point of Deuteronomy 18:15-18, the transgression with which Jesus charges the Jews in John 5:46: "if you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me."²³⁵

However, this interpretation results from a gross oversight of the point of the entire Gospel, that is, to proclaim the exclusive revelatory value of Jesus, the only way through whom the redemption that Jews hoped for has been made possible. The reason for Moses' indictment of the Jews is because they set their hope in a wrong person who metonymically represents the Old Testament and who merely pointed forward to the messiah. This indictment of Moses stands in stark contrast to the common Jewish belief; namely, he is their defender.²³⁶ In other words, the guilt of the Jews was more

²³⁴Klappert, "Mose hat von mir geschrieben," 633-35.

²³⁵Ibid., 633-37. Also, Scholtissek faults the Jews with their lack of the correct understanding of the Scripture. "5,39 spricht von der 'Meinung,' 'ewiges Leben in den Schriften zu haben.' Jesus überführt diese Überzeugung durch den Hinweis auf das Zeugnis ebendieser Schriften für ihn und auf den Unwillen seiner Hörer, zu ihm zu kommen (5:39-40): 'Leben zu haben,' ist nur christologisch möglich. Die Lebens-Suche der Menschen (vgl. 5:39, 44; 6:24-26), die sich zu Recht auf die Schriften richtet, findet ihre Erfüllung erst im Glauben an Jesus, von dem die unauflösbare Schrift (10,35) Zeugnis ablegt. Damit vollzieht sich ein für die johanneische Schrifttheologie entscheidender *Überstieg*: Das Ziel des Studiums der Schriften, 'in ihnen ewiges Leben zu finden' (5,39; vgl. 1,45. 48), erfüllt sich nur, wenn erkannt wird, daß diese für den Sohn Zeugnis ablegen, denn allein der Vater und durch ihn der Sohn 'hat (ewiges) Leben in sich' (5:26; vgl. 1:4; 5:24, 42). Ort und Mittler des 'Lebens in Fülle' (10,10) ist allein Jesus, auf den das Zeugnis der Schrift weist (vgl. 5:45-47)." Klaus Scholtissek, "Die Brotrede Jesu in Joh 6,1-71: Exegetische Beobachtungen zu ihrem johanneischen Profil," *ZKT* 123 (2001): 39. However, Scholtissek commits the fallacy of superimposing the distant contexts. First and foremost, the immediate context articulates that the scripture only bears witness to Jesus who is the only one to make the eternal life available (Jn 5:39-40). The goal of the Scripture is not to provide the eternal life but to point to Jesus.

²³⁶Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 118, 137, 159-61, 174, 200-04. He refers to Philo, Josephus, *As. Mos.*, Pseudo-Philo, Qumran, and rabbinic midrash. Kotila wishes to separate Moses from this text arguing that the reference to Moses is not to him in person but to the Scripture in its judgment over the Old

fundamental, that is, they were headed in a wrong direction for “life,” not that they were miscomprehending the correspondence between Moses and his anti-type. John 5:39 implies that the “life” is not to be found in “scriptures”: “You search the scriptures because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that testify on my behalf.”

Furthermore, the general tenor of John toward Jesus is that he is far superior to Moses. He is above the Sabbath rule, which was passed down to Jews through Moses (5:1-19, 7:18-24). Moses was not able to provide Manna even for provisional satisfaction, but Jesus is himself the life of bread that sustains believers forever (6:1-59). This superiority pushes the possible typology to a secondary level. In the studies of Scholtissek and Klappert, the motive for inter-religious dialogue, rather than careful exegesis, seems to be at work with the result of seriously distorting the plain reading of the texts.

Marie-Émile Boismard. Finally, another noteworthy study that presents the Johannine Jesus in terms of a Mosaic typology is that of Boismard. He detects such a typology from the conversation between Philip and Nathanael. His view is unfolded in four steps. First, the phrase, “Moses . . . and the prophets,” in John 1:45 is an idiosyncratic expression, nowhere else to be found but here in the entire scope of the New Testament writings. As such, the expression should not be taken as a conventional euphemism for the whole of the Old Testament, but as a reference to the specific scope of the Mosaic writings, namely, the Pentateuch. Second, various reasons suggest that the particular text in mind is Deuteronomy 18:18. Third, and more specifically, one can detect the evangelist’s strong recourse to the Samaritan tradition in the two disciples’ recognition of Jesus as a descendant of Joseph the patriarch (not Jesus’ legal father) and

Testament Israelites. Kotila, *Umstrittener Zeuge*, 26-28. However, his argument loses the sight of the future tense of the indictment. The wording of John 5:45-47 is such that it is not Jesus but Moses who shall *accuse* Jews. Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 265-66; William Loader, *Jesus’ Attitude towards the Law: A Study of the Gospels*, WUNT 2/97 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 463 n. 65.

the King of Israel (i.e., Moses). These two figures were supposed to have enjoyed the highest esteem among the Samaritans in the time of Jesus. From these three steps, Boismard reaches his final conclusion that Jesus is king in imitation of the patriarch Joseph.²³⁷

Regardless of the painstaking exegetical labor, however, Boismard's study raises a number of questions. First, it is unclear whether Jesus is associated with Joseph the son of Jacob. The text articulates the provenance of Jesus as "Son of Joseph who is from Nazareth (Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ, 1:45)." The juxtaposition of Joseph with Nazareth probably indicates his family and hometown. Elsewhere in the Gospel (6:42), the phrase "son of Joseph" clearly refers to his father, not the patriarch. In the next verse, Nathanael does not take note of Jesus' supposed connection with the patriarch but only of his geographic origin (Nazareth). Both biographical and local provenances do not appear to impress Nathanael.

Highly puzzling, however, is Nathanael's confession in verse 49, in which Jesus is called "Son of God (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)" and "King of Israel (βασιλεὺς εἶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ)." In the pericope of John 1:35-51 (Jesus' calling of disciples), Jesus' identity is revealed with four different epithets: "rabbi" (v. 38), "Son of God (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ)" and King of Israel (βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ)" in the mouth of Nathanael (v. 49), and Son of Man (v. 51). C. Langner suggests that these four titles here proleptically function to summarize the upcoming mission and life of Jesus. That is, as a rabbi Jesus provides his teachings; as "Son of God" he was condemned; as King crucified; and as "Son of Man" he was resurrected.²³⁸ As neatly as it sounds, however, his interpretation seems to be without much textual support. In particular, it is uncertain whether Jesus was resurrected

²³⁷Boismard, *Moses or Jesus*, 23-41.

²³⁸Cordula Langner, "Was für ein König ist Jesus?" in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 250.

as “Son of Man.”

More puzzling than the four-fold progression of Jesus’ identity is the location of Nathanael’s confession, since it appears to be too mature a confession to be placed at such an early stage of the Gospel. Three interpretations, in particular, have been proposed to solve this issue. First, this confession is polemically directed at the unbelieving Jews. Therefore, it must be read retrospectively from the end to the beginning of the Gospel (as such, the confession is a redactional insertion).²³⁹ Alternatively, others posit that Nathanael’s confessional statement is only provisional in nature, namely, it merely reveals the amazement of the new disciple at Jesus’ supernatural knowledge.²⁴⁰ In this direction, D. A. Carson, for example, partially solves this dilemma by suggesting that the epithet “Son of God” is a functional category, not an ontological one.²⁴¹ That is, Jesus shares in the nature of God and he acts as God would (in the sense that we call some fellow Christians “godly men”). Thus, the epithet does not reflect a full-blown messianic confession. This notion sounds plausible, especially in view of Jesus’ supernatural knowledge about Nathanael.²⁴² Additionally, the disciple could have expressed his hope for a mere political liberator by means of the title, “King of Israel.” Finally, still some others point to the emphatic function of the confession in relation to the omnipotent supernatural divinity of Jesus (the implication being also the result of a redactional coloring).²⁴³ In the final analysis, however, the structure and

²³⁹Schenke, *Johannes*, 50; Gnlika, *Johannesevangelium*, 21-22.

²⁴⁰Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:94-97.

²⁴¹Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, 161-62.

²⁴²However, the study of J. J. Collins suggests that the term already took on a messianic significance in Palestine at the time of Jesus. John J. Collins, “The *Son of God* Text from Qumran,” in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. de Boer, JSNTSup 84 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1993), 65-82. See 1QSa 2:11-12; 2 Esd 7:28-29.

²⁴³Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann, “König Israels, nicht König der Juden?: Jesus als König im Johannesevangelium,” in *Messias-vorstellungen bei Juden und Christen*, ed. Ekkehard Stegemann (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1993), 47; Stefan Schreiber, “Rätsel um den König: Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Herkunft des König-Titels im Johannesevangelium,” in *Johannes aenigmaticus: Studien zum Johannesevangelium für Herbert Leroy*, ed. Stefan Schreiber and Alois Stimpfle, BU 29

wording of this short pericope requires a certain degree of messianic understanding (in contrast to Wengst and Carson). The titles “Son of God” and “King of Israel” may not be used as technical terms on their own in the present text and in the time of Jesus. Yet coupled with Philip’s introduction based on the scriptural witness (i.e., the one whom Moses and the prophets promised in v. 45), however, the double designation seems to be intended to carry some measure of a messianic overtone. Furthermore, “Son of God” is referred to in association with Messiah in John 11:27 and 20:31:

“She said to him, ‘Yes, Lord, I believe that you are the Messiah, the Son of God, the one coming into the world’” (John 11:27); “But these are written so that you may come to believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing you may have life in his name.” (John 20:31)

Messianic or not, the question directly relevant to the present study is whether “King of Israel” bears a Mosaic overtone. The idiom is not a common expression, mentioned only three times, apart from this passage, in the entire New Testament corpus.²⁴⁴ Both in Matthew 27:42 and Mark 15:32, the crowd mocks Jesus with this title at his crucifixion. In the Johannine triumphal entry account (12:32), Jesus is hailed as “King of Israel.” In all these occurrences, if an association with an Old Testament character is to be found, it is David, not Moses. Thus, the extent of Boismard’s argument (19 pages) probably (and ironically) speaks against his view. If John intended a Mosaic messianic overtone with the expression, one wonders why it takes such a lengthy investigation of extra-canonical sources to prove a supposedly important Johannine theme.²⁴⁵ The extra-biblical materials (later rabbinic and Samaritan sources) to which Boismard has recourse might reveal the kingship of Moses in association with Joseph the patriarch, but the Gospel of John does not (neither Matthew nor Mark) espouse such an

(Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2000), 58-59.

²⁴⁴Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 147.

²⁴⁵Also, it is another important indicator that Glasson and Meeks do not address a Mosaic connotation in John 1:49. Cf. Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*; Meeks, *The Prophet-King*.

association.²⁴⁶

Summary. In John 1:45 and 5:36-47, Moses is mentioned and alluded to. Contrary to the arguments of some exegetes, these texts do not paint Moses as a messianic type. His narrative function in these texts is exclusively restricted to that of witness and not a provider of “life” or a facilitator of the divine immanence. The latter function is strictly reserved for Jesus. The witness function of Moses develops in two ways through his writings (γραφή, “scripture”). On the one hand, his witness is extended in the service of recognizing the identity of Jesus. That is, his writings do not merely promise an eschatological figure in an abstract manner (especially as Deut 18:15-18 was sometimes understood in the intertestamental literature), but they unambiguously point to Jesus as the promised messiah (1:45, 5:39, 46-47). His role does not proceed beyond this point. His witness does not include “life” itself (the divine immanence) nor become internalized in the believers of Jesus. This aspect of internalization and being the source of eternal life separates Jesus drastically from Moses. This distinction, thus, rules out the messianic typological role of Moses. On the other hand, however, his other witness function is also peculiar in contradistinction to the conventional Jewish beliefs that upheld him as their advocate. That is, Moses prosecutes those who distort the purpose of his writings, which is to direct his readers to Jesus the messiah. The two primary roles of Moses, as messianic witness and as prosecutor of Jews, markedly distinguish the Fourth Gospel from his preceding and concurrent currents of Jewish thoughts.

²⁴⁶Schadick assesses the point of the four descriptions of Jesus mentioned in John 1 as having Christological overtones (which culminates in v. 51 as the presence of God) not as a Mosaic typology. “Er ist das Lamm Gottes (1:29-36), der Messias, oder der Christus (1:20, 25, 41, 45), der König Israels (1:49), der Menschensohn (1:51). Die Vielfalt und die unterschiedliche Herkunft all dieser Hoheitstitel sind weniger von Bedeutung als ihr Ziel, eine einzige, einheitliche Aussage über Jesus zu treffen, die im Bild des über Jesus geöffneten Himmels in V.51. kulminiert. In seinem ganzen Leben, in all seinen Worten und Taten ist Jesus von Nazaret der letztgültige Ort der Gegenwart Gottes auf Erden. In V.45 wird Mose als Zeuge Jesu präsentiert, hier zusammen mit den Propheten, d.h. den prophetischen Schriften der Heiligen Schrift.” Schadick, “Autorität ohne Inhalt,” 186-87.

Allusions to the Exodus Events:

John 6:14-15, 32-33

Οἱ οὖν ἄνθρωποι ἰδόντες ὃ ἐποίησεν σημεῖον ἔλεγον ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Ἰησοῦς οὖν γνοὺς ὅτι μέλλουσι ἐρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρπάξαι αὐτὸν ἵνα ποιήσωσι βασιλέα, ἀνεχώρησεν πάλιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος αὐτὸς μόνος.

When the people saw the sign that he had done, they began to say, "This is indeed the prophet who is to come into the world." When Jesus realized that they were about to come and take him by force to make him king, he withdrew again to the mountain by himself. (John 6:14-15)

εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου δίδωσιν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν· ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν ὁ καταβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ζωὴν διδοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ.

Then Jesus said to them, "Very truly, I tell you, it was not Moses who gave you the bread from heaven, but it is my Father who gives you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is that which comes down from heaven and gives life to the world." (John 6:32-33)

The sixth chapter of the Gospel of John has drawn a great deal of scholarly attention.²⁴⁷ In large measure, the reason lies in the rich allusions to and echoes of the Old Testament anecdotes related to Moses. Usually, the crossing of the Red Sea, the reception of Manna, and the ingathering of the twelve tribes are mentioned as that which evoke the exodus traditions. The following discussion will engage in a dialogue with exegetes who see this chapter as containing a Mosaic typology with reference to the

²⁴⁷As a point of entry, the following studies are helpful for the general understanding of the Johannine appropriation of the Old Testament in the sixth chapter: Martin Rose, "Manna: Das Brot aus dem Himmel," in *Johannes-Studien: Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Johannes-Evangelium, Freundesgabe der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Neuchâtel für Jean Zumstein*, ed. Martin Rose, PFTUN 6 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1991), 75-107; Peder Borgen, "John 6: Tradition, Interpretation and Composition," in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. de Boer, JSNTSup 84 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 268-91; Painter, *The Quest for the Messiah*, 253-86; Paul N. Anderson, *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: Its Unity and Disunity in the Light of John 6*, WUNT 2/78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996); R. Alan Culpepper, ed., *Critical Readings of John 6*, BIS 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Michael Theobald, "Schriftzitate im 'Lebensbrot'-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6): Ein Paradigma für den Schriftgebrauch des vierten Evangelisten," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, BETL 131 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 327-66; Johannes Beutler, "Zur Struktur von Johannes 6," in *Studien zu den johanneischen Schriften*, SBA 25 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998), 247-62; Michael Labahn, *Jesus als Lebensspender: Untersuchungen zu einer Geschichte der johanneischen Tradition anhand ihrer Wundergeschichten*, BZNW 98 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 265-304; idem, *Offenbarung in Zeichen und Wort: Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte von Joh 6,1-25a und seiner Rezeption in der Brotrede*, WUNT 2/117 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); Klaus Scholtissek, *In ihm sein und bleiben: Die Sprache der Immanenz in den Johanneischen Schriften*, HBS 21 (Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 194-209; idem, "Die Brotrede Jesu in Joh 6,1-71," 35-55; Jean Zumstein, "Die Schriftrezeption in der Brotrede (Joh 6)," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannes-evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 123-39.

mentioned Old Testament traditions. Afterwards, the narrative contribution of Moses to the Johannine Christology will be reviewed.

Narrative unity. In the aftermath of the rise of canonical and literary criticisms (commonly associated with B. S. Childs and R. A. Culpepper), Johannine exegetes agree upon the importance of the context. In this concurrence, what is also assumed and affirmed simultaneously is the importance of literary unity, in the case of the present discussion, that of chapter 6 within the surrounding narrative units.²⁴⁸ Based upon this scholarly agreement, this section proceeds with a contextual examination of the preceding and subsequent chapters. Some recent commentators detect a slight transposition of the narrative units. For instance, Udo Wilckens rearranges the chapters four through nine as following 4; 6:1-71; 5:1-47; 7:15-24, 1-14, 25-53.²⁴⁹ Ismo Dunderberg, on the other hand, postulates that chapter six is a later interpolation in between chapters 5 and 7.²⁵⁰ Not only are such reconstructions without textual attestation, they are suggestive at best and arbitrary from one study to another. A great number of scholars do not embrace the disarrayment and they respect the fourth evangelist's compositional intention.²⁵¹

Thematic link between John 5 and 6. In his recent essay, Klaus Scholtissek perceptively notes the narrative cohesion of chapter 6 within the context of chapters 5

²⁴⁸For the unity of chapter 6 in the literary context, see Ludger Schenke, "Die formale und gedankliche Struktur von Joh 6:26-58," *BZ* 24 (1980): 21-41; idem, "Die literarische Vorgeschichte von Joh 6:26-58," *BZ* 29 (1985): 68-89; Eugen Ruckstuhl, *Die literarische Einheit des Johannesevangeliums: Der gegenwärtige Stand der einschlägigen Forschungen*, NTOA 5 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 220-71; Hartwig Thyen, "Ich bin das Licht der Welt: Das Ich- und Ich-Bin-Sagen Jesu im Johannesevangelium," *JAC* 35 (1992): 32-37; Michael Labahn, "Controversial Revelation in Deed and Word: The Feeding of the Five Thousand and Jesus' Crossing of the Sea as a 'Prelude' to the Johannine Bread of Life Discourse," *IBS* 22 (2000): 146-81; idem, *Offenbarung in Zeichen und Wort*, 277-88.

²⁴⁹Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 5-6, 91-137.

²⁵⁰Ismo Dunderberg, *Johannes und die Synoptiker: Studien zu Joh 1-9*, AASF 69 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia 1994), 131-41.

²⁵¹Alfons Weiser, *Die Theologie der Evangelien*, vol. 2 of *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, KST 8 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1993), 172-73; Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 13.

through 7.²⁵² The following contextual analysis is largely indebted to his study and, accordingly, follows his outline with some modifications. First, the witness theme is at work in both chapters. In John 5:36-47, four witnesses are called in on behalf of the authenticity of Jesus: John the Baptist (34-35), the works of Jesus (5:36), the witness of the Father (5:36-38), the witness of the scriptures (5:39-40, 46-47). Three of these four are invoked again: the “works” of Jesus (6:27-28, 30); the Father’s “sealing (ἐσφράγισεν)” of the Son (6:27) and his sending of the true bread, which is reminiscent of the logos in John 5:38 (6:27, 32); and the Jews’ misunderstanding of the scripture and Jesus’ corrective interpretation (6:31-32). Second, the inaccessibility of God and the unique intermediary function of Jesus are reiterated in 5:37 and 6:46. Third, the controversy over the reception in the name of the Father pervades (1:11-13, 5:43; 6:41, 52, 60-71).²⁵³ Fourth, related to this “reception motif” is the concomitant immanent presence of God in the believers’ heart (5:37-38,). The reception of the divine messenger sharply separates the believers from the unbelievers (5:43-44, 6:41, 52). In addition, the themes, “searching” and “finding,” permeate chapters five and six (5:39-40; 6:24-26).²⁵⁴ Fifth, after enlisting his disciples in John 1:19-51, two “feast cycles” run through the first half of the Gospel: the first from Cana to Cana (2:1-4:54) and the second from Jerusalem to Jerusalem (5:1-10:39).²⁵⁵ These two pericopae are replete with reference to the Jewish calendars and feasts, such as, the Sabbath, the Passover, and the Feast of Tabernacles.²⁵⁶ One of the more salient characteristics

²⁵²Klaus Scholtissek, “Die Brotrede Jesu in Joh 6,1-71: Exegetische Beobachtungen zu ihrem johanneischen Profil,” *ZKT* 123 (2001): 37-41.

²⁵³F. Mußner calls this concept the “semantic axle” of John’s Gospel. Franz Mußner, “Die ‘semantische Achse’ des Johannesevangeliums: Ein Versuch,” in *Jesus von Nazareth im Umfeld Israels und der Urkirche: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Michael Theobald, WUNT 111 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 260-69.

²⁵⁴This searching motif is also attested to in John 1:35-51, 4:23, 7:34-36, 8:21-22, 11:56, 12:21, 13:33, 36, 18:4, 7-8, 20:11-18.

²⁵⁵Michael Labahn, “Between Tradition and Literary Art: The Miracle Tradition in the Fourth Gospel,” *Bib* 80 (1999): 192-95.

²⁵⁶Maarten J. J. Menken, “Die jüdischen Feste im Johannesevangelium,” in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed.

common to these narratives is that only Jesus can fulfill human needs.²⁵⁷ Finally, the elusiveness of Jesus is deeply woven into the fabric of the narratives of John 6 through 7 (6:1, 14-15, 19, 21, 24-26, 7:1-13, 9:1-41, 11:7-16, 54-57).²⁵⁸ The bread of life speech, which is centered upon chapter six, is precipitated by the two “signs” discourses (the feeding of the multitude in 6:1-15 and the crossing of the sea in 6:16-21).²⁵⁹

“The bread discourse [which occupies the center stage of John 6 in its entirety] is aimed at the faith decision. It exposes unbelief and leads to a crisis, provoking the confession as Peter speaks in verses sixty-eight through sixty-nine on behalf of the twelve disciples.”²⁶⁰

In conclusion, chapter six continues to spell out the missionary Christology of chapter five.

Wayne Meeks. Wayne Meeks has, in various ways, blazed a new trail in Johannine scholarship with his contribution, *The Prophet-King*.²⁶¹ First, despite some previous attempts, he has presented one of the most elaborate cases for the influence of the Samaritan and early rabbinic sources upon the shaping of John’s Gospel. Second, the studies subsequent to his have had to respond, at least in some degree, to his thesis; namely, that the fourth evangelist redefined Jesus’ messiahship radically in terms of

Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 269-86. “For the Johannine community, what was done in the Jewish celebration of the Passover was but a sign and a shadow of the perfection of the gift of God in the person of Jesus Christ, the true bread from heaven . . . In Jesus Christ the Passover traditions are enfolded, not destroyed.” Francis J. Moloney, *Signs and Shadows: Reading John 5-12* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 64.

²⁵⁷Johannes Frühwald-König, *Tempel und Kult: Ein Beitrag zur Christologie des Johannesvangeliums*, BU 27 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1998), 227.

²⁵⁸Mark W. G. Stibbe, *John as Storyteller: Narrative Criticism and the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 83; idem, “The Elusive Christ: A New Reading of the Fourth Gospel,” in *Gospel of John as Literature: An Anthology of Twentieth-Century Perspectives*, ed. Mark W. G. Stibbe, NTT 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 231-47.

²⁵⁹Labahn, “Controversial Revelation in Deed and Word,” 146-81; idem, *Offenbarung in Zeichen und Wort*, 277-88. On the two “signs,” see Labahn, *Jesus als Lebensspender*, 265-304.

²⁶⁰Scholtissek, “Die Brotrede Jesu in Joh 6,1-71,” 42 (translation mine).

²⁶¹Meeks, *The Prophet-King*. The Mosaic prophet-king Christology, especially in John 6:14-15, is recognized in the following as well: Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 1:234; Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 231; Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 2:18; Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 1:193; Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 96-97; Wengst, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 1:223.

“prophet-king”: “The following investigation undertakes to clarify the way in which the motifs represented by the two terms ‘prophet’ and ‘king’ in the Fourth Gospel not only are interrelated, but interpret each other.”²⁶² Finally, based upon the allegedly divergent views on this Mosaic Christology (positive at some points but negative at others), he confirmed the then-popular two level drama hypothesis: that is, the tension toward Moses reflects the shift of the Johannine community’s historical settings. That the first and third points are subject to serious dispute need not be repeated here (see Appendix 7: “Use of the Rabbinic Materials for the New Testament Studies” for the first point; see pp. 106 n 48 in chapter three for the third point). Directly relevant to this study, however, is the question whether John portrays Jesus as a Mosaic prophet-king.

The concept of Mosaic prophet-king which Meeks constructed is largely dependent upon his interrelated exegesis of John 6:14-15 (people coercing Jesus to be a king), 10:1-39 (the good shepherd discourse), 18:33-38a (the crucifixion trial scene before Pilate). After noting several texts (1:49, 7:37-52, 12:12-19, 18:28-19:22) that associate Jesus with king, Meeks goes on to argue that John 6:14-15 reflects a common Jewish hope at the time for a Mosaic prophet-king derived from Deuteronomy 18:15-22.²⁶³

When the people saw the sign that he had done, they began to say, “This is indeed the prophet who is to come into the world.” When Jesus realized that they were about to come and take him by force to make him king, he withdrew again to the mountain by himself. (John 6:14-15)

Such a notion, he maintains, is further confirmed by recurrent allusions to the Exodus events related to Moses in the following discourses in John 6, especially in terms of “signs”.²⁶⁴

In any case it is sufficiently evident that the discourse [John 6] sets Jesus’ σημεῖον parallel with God’s miraculous care of Israel under Moses’ leadership. This adds

²⁶²Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 1.

²⁶³Ibid., 32-87.

²⁶⁴Ibid., 87-96.

very strong support to the supposition that “the prophet” of verse 14 is the Mosaic eschatological prophet.²⁶⁵

Related to this allusion to the Manna event is the theme of “gathering.” As gathering of fragments is mentioned in 6:13, John 11:50-52 also mentions the death of Jesus so as to gather the scattered children of God:²⁶⁶

“You do not understand that it is better for you to have one man die for the people than to have the whole nation destroyed.” He did not say this on his own, but being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus was about to die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but to gather into one the dispersed children of God. (John 11:50-52)

In addition, Jesus died a death of a good shepherd as he described one would do (John 10:1-39). Since David was not primarily considered to be a prophet, therefore, the recurrent description of Jesus as a prophet fits with the profile of the eschatological prophet like Moses but in the redefined royal-prophetic terms.²⁶⁷

Critique of Meeks. Notwithstanding some interesting parallels that Meeks draws, his observations fail to be persuasive at a number of points. Most significantly, the sixth chapter of John as a whole does not appear to put a great emphasis on a Mosaic typology. Although some allusions are employed, they set a stage to clarify the surpassing nature of the new gift, namely, the bread of life. In other words, the value of the Mosaic references is only in providing the contrasting and exceeding aspect of the new redemptive history. When the people requested a sign by which they identified Jesus with Moses, Jesus’ reply was in the emphatic negative:²⁶⁸ “ἀμήν ἀμήν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; *truly truly* I say to you, it was *not* Moses who gave you the bread from heaven” (6:32a). It is highly telling that the verse begins with the double amen idiom, and the repudiation of Moses’ giving bread is

²⁶⁵Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 92-93.

²⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 96-98.

²⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 97-99.

²⁶⁸Marinus de Jonge, “Jesus as Prophet and King in the Fourth Gospel,” *ETL* 47 (1973): 167.

followed by the negative adverb οὐ. It was inappropriate for people to look for a sign analogous to that which was brought about through Moses (6:32b). Not only is it God (not Moses) who supplies the bread, but the new bread, in stark contrast to its old counterpart, is unperishing and enlivening forever (6:48-58). The references to Moses are mentioned only in passing remarks, and Jesus emphatically rejects the people's expectation of such an earthly hope. In light of the proportion of the passages allusive of the Mosaic accounts, the bread of life pericope should take hermeneutical priority over the previous allusions (feeding of the multitude and the crossing of the sea) to the exodus events as recorded in the first half of chapter 6. The latter accounts mainly serve to stimulate the main discourse about Jesus' being the source of everlasting life.

Furthermore, another question that can be raised against the argument of Meeks is whether the good shepherd discourse and the trial scene necessarily demand a Mosaic typology. The mistake of Meeks lies in his presupposition that the evangelist must have presented Jesus exclusively in terms of personal figures, instead of abstract images, such as, the Passover lamb, water, and bread. In accordance with John's more explicit analogy to these abstract Jewish symbols, the good shepherd may have to be viewed from a non-personal messianic prefigurative perspective. In addition, Meeks' reason for excluding David from being a good shepherd is arbitrary. He allows a "radical redefinition" for Moses to become a royal-prophet. Yet, David does not enjoy such flexibility. It is unclear why John should not have employed the radical redefining of David as a royal prophet in the inverse way Meeks constructs the Mosaic prophet-king image from various extra-canonical sources.

John Dennis. Another noteworthy study that detects a wide range of exodus typology in John six is the one by John Dennis, "The Presence and Function of Second Exodus-Restoration Imagery in John 6."²⁶⁹ Having surveyed the contemporaneous

²⁶⁹Dennis, "The Presence and Function of Second Exodus-Restoration Imagery in John 6,"

Jewish expectations of the Mosaic eschatological prophet, he delineates the Johannine depiction of Jesus as a prophet like Moses in three aspects.²⁷⁰ As Moses parted and crossed the Red Sea, Jesus also provides safe passage for his disciples. As Moses supplied Manna, Jesus makes the bread of life available. Finally, as Moses gathers and leads the twelve tribes of Israel, Jesus draws together the twelve disciples, a symbol of the new Israel. This eschatological ingathering is also signaled in the collecting of the leftover fragments that filled the twelve baskets in John 6:13.²⁷¹ With these Mosaic echoes in the background, therefore, Jesus is presented as “the prophet like Moses *par excellence* who is . . . leading a second exodus restoration.”²⁷²

Critique of Dennis. A number of Johannine exegetes have noted the rich echoes of the Exodus events alluded to in John 6.²⁷³ The question at stake for this study, however, is not whether the text uses such intertextuality, but whether the allusions and echoes invoke the Mosaic messianic prefiguration motif. More specifically, the question to be addressed is not whether people viewed Jesus as such but whether the evangelist presents him in such a manner. In this respect, it is significant that Jesus refused the desire of the people to appoint him as their alleged “prophet-king” (the kingship of Jesus is no doubt assumed in John, but it is salvation-historically redefined) because his kingship is not tantamount to their interpretation of the Pentateuchal images of Moses,

105-21.

²⁷⁰Dennis, “The Presence and Function of Second Exodus-Restoration Imagery in John 6,” 109-14.

²⁷¹Ibid., 114-21.

²⁷²Ibid., 121.

²⁷³Maarten J. J. Menken, “‘He Gave Them Bread from Heaven to Eat’ (John 6:31),” in *The Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, CBET 15 (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 47-65; Theobald, “Schriftzitate im ‘Lebensbrot’-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6),” 327-66; Andrew C. Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*, WUNT 2/158 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 2003), 153-63; Scholtissek, “Die Brotrede Jesu in Joh 6,1-71,” 35-55; Zumstein, “Die Schriftrezeption in der Brotrede (Joh 6),” 123-39; Susan Hylen, *Allusion and Meaning in John 6*, BZNTW 137 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 119-56.

especially that of Deuteronomy 18.²⁷⁴ The exegetical pitfall of Dennis (and that of Meeks as well as others) is that he uncritically takes for granted the Mosaic Christological typology from these exodus imageries. The exegetical disadvantage of this superficial reading can be further spelled out in three ways.

First, he ignores the principal function of the exodus allusions; that is, to invite Jesus to reveal his identity as the source of eternal life. As reviewed above (in critique of Meeks), the three allusions to the exodus events serve as vivid illustrations, over which the unique and superlative nature of the new redemptive history through Jesus can be better comprehended in comparison. In the same vein, the request of the people, who could have found the similarity of Jesus with Moses upon experiencing the feeding of the multitude, prompts an occasion to specifically articulate the identity of Jesus' mission and his relation to God.²⁷⁵ It is surprising that the feeding of the five thousand people with a few pieces of staples did not convince the people ("crowd" in 6:2, 5, 22, 24, "Jews" in 41, 52) of the divinely commissioned nature of Jesus, because they had to ask for another sign (John 6:30). Some scholars posit that the crowd was asking for a continuous feeding as Moses supplied for forty years.²⁷⁶ No matter what the exact nature is, the kind of sign people requested probably had something to do with satisfying their physical hunger. Yet, Jesus (and God) intends to meet the spiritual needs with the true "heavenly bread."²⁷⁷ As such, those Mosaic allusions serve only to set a stage for

²⁷⁴There is no doubt that Jesus is associated sometimes with kingly and prophetic images. However, it is open to question whether the converged concept of the two images is applied to Jesus in John. The Johannine portrayal of Jesus as a king is closely related to the divine salvation history. Reimund Bieringer, "'My Kingship Is Not of This World' (Jn 18:36): The Kingship of Jesus and Politics," in *Myriad Christ: Plurality and the Quest for Unity in Contemporary Christology*, ed. Terrence Merrigan and Jacques Haers, BETL 152 (Leuven: Louvain University Press, 2000), 159-75; Hans Kvalbein, "The Kingdom of God and the Kingship of Christ in the Fourth Gospel," in *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl H. Ulrichsen, NovTSup 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 227-32.

²⁷⁵Note that Jesus calls the source of Manna as "father" in v. 32.

²⁷⁶Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 246; Theobald, "Schriftzitate im 'Lebensbrot'-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6)," 348; Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 101.

²⁷⁷Schadick, "Autorität ohne Inhalt," 193-94.

Christological discourses (i.e., the bread speech).

The signs in the Fourth Gospel find their most natural background in the events of the exodus, and are most often associated by scholars with the signs of Moses. However, although Moses does figure prominently in John and was inseparably linked to the exodus and events in the wilderness, it is of interest that the great majority of “sign(s)” references from Exodus through Deuteronomy point specifically not to Moses but to God. Thus when Jesus takes the first exodus as a model for much of his ministry, he may be intent not so much on reproducing the signs and works of Moses as on associating his work with that of Yahweh. Consequently, although it is appropriate to speak of Jesus as a second Moses, this is only in a secondary sense. In fact, he surpasses Moses in every sense, not only in signs and works, but also in primacy of identity and the role he plays in the new exodus—and Moses himself is called as a witness to this.²⁷⁸

Second, and more importantly, the analogy is set up not between Moses and Jesus but between God and Jesus. It was God, not Moses, who provided the Manna and, so does Jesus. This analogy is contrasting to the belief of the Johannine Jews that Moses provided the Manna.²⁷⁹ Jesus fulfills the *Heilsgeschichte* which Yahweh inaugurated in the book of Exodus and he is the *Heilsgeschichte* itself. On the other hand, Jesus denies the significance of the part Moses played in the previous salvation history: “It is not Moses who has given you the bread from heaven” (John 6:32a).²⁸⁰ Some scholars contend that this denial is a direct polemic against the contemporary Jewish belief in both the eschatological Moses who will provide daily staples and his deified status.²⁸¹ The

²⁷⁸Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 161-62. Also, Gawlick, “Mose im Johannesevangelium,” 31-32. Also von Wahlde takes the request as “a literary device intended by the evangelist to emphasize the blindness of the Jews.” Urban C. von Wahlde, “Literary Structure and Theological Argument in Three Discourses with the Jews in the Fourth Gospel,” *JBL* 103 (1984): 578.

²⁷⁹Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 351. For the possible source of the alleged citation with an introductory formula in John 6:31, “as it is written, ‘He gave them bread from heaven to eat,’” see Menken, “‘He Gave Them Bread from Heaven to Eat’ (John 6:31),” 49-54; Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 351.

²⁸⁰Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 337; Georg Richter, “Die alttestamentlichen Zitate in der Rede vom Himmelsbrot Joh 6,26-51a,” in *Schriftauslegung: Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments und im Neuen Testament* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1972), 222; Christian Dietzfelbinger, “Aspekte des Alten Testaments im Johannesevangelium,” in *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion III, Frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hermann Lichtenberger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 205; Theobald, “Schriftzitate im ‘Lebensbrot’-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6),” 351.

²⁸¹For the former view, see Howard M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, JBLMS 10 (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1957), 68; David Daube, “Earliest Structure of the Gospels,” *NTS* 5 (1959): 174-87, esp. 178; Bruce J. Malina, *The Palestinian Manna Tradition: The Manna Tradition in the Palestinian Targums and Its Relationship to the New Testament Writings*, AGSJV 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 88. For the latter, see Menken, “‘He Gave Them Bread from Heaven to Eat’ (John

problem with these proposals is that the evidence adduced in favor of the former view is meager and postdates early Christianity.²⁸² Furthermore, Moses does not occupy the centerstage of this discourse. The attention devoted to Moses appears to be too slim to establish a typology. The only explicit reference and possible allusion to Moses are found in three verses (14-15, 32) out of the seventy-one verses of John 6! As such, the main thrust of this pericope is that Jesus' mission originated from God, and Moses is located only on the periphery (as clearly seen in John 6:32 where Jesus sets Moses aside from the focus).²⁸³ On the other hand, John, in view of the contemporary Jewish traditions, should be credited as the first interpreter to detect the cause of the wilderness generation's demise from eating Manna.²⁸⁴

Finally, the disparity between the exodus events and the bread speech is so great that one wonders whether a messianic typology is an appropriate framework. As for the two kinds of bread, the first bread was perishable and it satisfied only temporarily, whereas the second one secures eternal satisfaction (John 6:31-35).²⁸⁵ The bread given through Moses was not able to keep the fathers of Israel alive but the bread of Jesus sustains life forever (John 6:46-51).²⁸⁶ Furthermore, another stark contrast is the disparity between old Israel and its counterpart in John's Gospel. In addition, it is open to question whether the gathering of the twelve disciples is an authorially intended symbolic fulfillment of the hope for the restoration of Israel (immediately after the 6:31)," 56-73.

²⁸²Menken, "'He Gave Them Bread from Heaven to Eat' (John 6:31)," 56.

²⁸³"In evoking the works/signs parallels to Moses it was no doubt John's intention to take the reader back to the exodus and portray Jesus as the leader of a new or second exodus. However, the Johannine Jesus associates his ministry principally with the Father, not with Moses." Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 162.

²⁸⁴Anderson, *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel*, 204; idem, "The *Sitz im Leben* of the Johannine Bread of Life Discourse and Its Evolving Context," in *Critical Readings of John 6*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper, BIS 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 35; Hakola, *Identity Matters*, 165-66.

²⁸⁵Theobald, "Schriftzitate im 'Lebensbrot'-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6)," 351.

²⁸⁶Georg Richter, *Studien zum Johannesevangelium*, BU 13 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1977), 229; Theobald, "Schriftzitate im 'Lebensbrot'-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6)," 362; Hakola, *Identity Matters*, 165.

“gathering of the twelve baskets” Jesus leaves the crowd behind to cross the sea of Galilee!).²⁸⁷ The scope of the new redemptive history is drastically expanded to include the gentiles, as evident in the Samaritan mission of John 4 and John 12:20 ff. In addition, the unflinching nature of the “new Israel” clouds the Mosaic typology since this new family of God remains faithful in contrast to the repeatedly rebellious Israelites of Moses.²⁸⁸ The confession of Peter who representatively speaks for this new group demonstrates the loyalty of a new kind.

Because of this [the difficulty of Jesus’ sayings] many of his disciples turned back and no longer went about with him. So Jesus asked the twelve, “Do you also wish to go away?” Simon Peter answered him, “Lord, to whom can we go? You have the words of eternal life. We have come to believe and know that you are the Holy One of God.” (John 6:66-69)²⁸⁹

One can argue for the presence of recurrent exodus themes in John 6, but those imageries scarcely constitute a Mosaic Christological typology.

Summary. The sixth chapter of John’s Gospel is replete with rich echoes of the exodus events. In contrast to some exegetes who argue for the Mosaic Christology based on these allusions, a more careful reading reveals that the typology is between Jesus and God. The role of Moses provides a background, against which the new redemption is better understood. This narrative function of Moses is in accordance with the similar role played out in John 1:16-17, 45, 3:14, 5:37-39, 56.²⁹⁰ On the one hand, he

²⁸⁷It is not Jesus who gathers but the crowd who follows after Jesus. Sherman E. Johnson, “Notes on the Prophet-King in John,” *ATHR* 51 (1969): 36.

²⁸⁸For the “murmuring” theme coalesced in John, see Marianne Meye Thompson, “Thinking about God: Wisdom and Theology in John 6,” in *Critical Readings of John 6*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper, BIS 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 234-36; Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 166.

²⁸⁹Although one of the twelve betrays, the group of disciples is still called “the twelve,” which displays the unflinching status of this group. “The Jews’ cry that they have no king but Caesar reveals their true identity and seals their exclusion from the true Israel, in contrast to those who in accepting Jesus affirm that Yahweh is their king. As for the disciples, they are still called the twelve (20:24) even though only eleven are left, underlining their significance as a symbol of the restoration of Israel.” Brunson, *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John*, 166.

²⁹⁰“Joh 6,30-33 rekurriert gleich Joh 3,14 auf zwei Taten Gottes, einerseits die Versorgungstat durch Mose, andererseits die Lebensgabe durch Jesus. Die Differenz findet sich erneut in der Qualität der soteriologischen Gabe, auf der einen Seite das Manna, das Israel in einer spezifischen Situation am Leben erhält, auf der anderen Seite die ζωή αιώνιος, die ohne jede Einschränkung oder Begrenzung allen gegeben

provides a point of comparison for the gracious nature and the divine initiative of the two redemptive programs, one by Moses and the other by Jesus. Moses foreshadows the salvific plan inaugurated through Jesus. On the other hand, however, the fundamental difference of quality between the two salvation histories pushes Moses to the background, and it highlights the unprecedented eminence of the new *Heilsgeschichte*.²⁹¹ Nonetheless, his Christological witness function is not as prominent in this text as in other texts mentioned above.

John's Jesus is not a 'second Moses' in the sense of merely recapitulating or building on the mission of his predecessor. John states quite clearly that Jesus supersedes and replaces Moses as the decisive bearer of revelation. . . . The relation of Moses to Jesus is that of forerunner to fulfiller. Jesus is the full flowering of the truth to which Moses, for all his greatness, merely hinted. . . . Moses, like John the Baptist, recedes into the background with the coming of Christ. . . . It is in his use of Moses tradition that the boldness of John's approach becomes evident. He does not depict Jesus as a 'new Moses' in the same way as does Matthew, for whom the relationship between Moses and Jesus is that of type to antitype. John's Logos Christology leads to this startling exegetical phenomenon: Moses is not the pattern for Jesus; rather, Jesus is the pattern for Moses.²⁹²

wird, die an den Gottesgesandten, Jesus von Nazaret, glauben. Das Gotteshandeln durch Mose in der Wüste dient hier erneut als Vorausbild seiner letztgültigen und unüberbietbaren Heilstat in Jesus." Schapdick, "Autorität ohne Inhalt," 194.

²⁹¹In his recent article on John's view of Moses, S. Schapdick reaches a five-fold conclusion. First, the reason for a recurrent recourse to the Mosaic authority is due to the Gospel's Jewish context. The God of Moses is none other than the God of Jesus. Second, in the perspective of John, the function of Moses is essentially a witness to the divine revelation through Jesus. Third, the mention of the salvific events associated with Moses undergirds the sovereignty of God who is the Lord over life and death. Fourth, the Torah and its author, Moses, emerge in the conflict settings with the Jewish adversaries of Jesus. The Jewish misunderstanding of the Mosaic writings signifies that the only valid hermeneutics of the Torah comes about through a Christological perspective. Finally, Moses is presented as an authority figure, behind which God stands. However, due to the Christo-centric perspective, the content of the Mosaic writings is not a valid criterion to judge the divine revelation through Jesus. Rather, the revelation through Jesus is the valid criterion to measure out the revelatory value of the Mosaic writings. Schapdick, "Autorität ohne Inhalt," 202-06. Schapdick goes so far as to say that Moses is an "empty religious authority figure." "Das Mosebild des Johannesevangeliums zeigt sich daher relativ inhaltsleer. Letztlich wird Mose als bloße Chiffre religiöser Autorität im Rahmen jüdisch/judenchristlichen Denkens präsentiert. Diese Autorität wird freilich betont und exklusiv in Anspruch genommen. Sie ist allerdings Autorität ohne Inhalt, denn dieser Inhalt, konkret das Heil, wird ausschließlich in christologischer Konzentration vermittelt." Ibid., 206.

²⁹²Paul Miller, "'They Saw His Glory and Spoke of Him': The Gospel of John and the Old Testament," in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, MNTS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 143-45.

Conclusion

Moses emerges frequently throughout the Gospel of John in the context of controversy with Jesus' antagonists. In contrast to their constant appeal to the Jewish authority figure, the Johannine presentation of Moses is more or less in a uniform fashion. Namely, he is a witness for the Christological identity of Jesus, not a messianic prefiguration. Moses is often mentioned because the new salvation history through Jesus stands in continuity with the old one (of which Moses was a part as a divine instrument) in a sense that God is the initiator of the two and his gracious intention is reflected on both. Moses who metonymically stands for the old covenant, then, provides an ample opportunity to communicate this continuity, as well as the divine provenance and divine nature of Jesus.

Concerning the comparative view of Moses in John and in the contemporary Jewish literature, an ambivalent attitude is found. Although the fourth evangelist takes advantage of the available language and images of Moses, his portrayal is distinctive, especially in his disinterest in the authority of Moses. The positive role of Moses as the mediator of the old covenant is not necessarily denounced, but the denial of his authority and the Johannine presentation of him almost exclusively in terms of witness appears to be a practical demotion in view of the contemporary Jewish traditions. More interestingly, granting him a role of prosecutor of "Jews" is a remarkable reversal of expected roles. All these observations allow one to conclude that the fourth evangelist is a creative theologian notwithstanding his somewhat extensive appropriation of the Jewish languages and imageries related to Moses that were probably available to him and his readers.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Summary of Foregoing Observations

The main inquiries set out at the beginning of this dissertation concerned two questions: (1) the role of the Old Testament characters in the Gospel of John with particular reference to Christology, and (2) the possible conceptual affinities with the current Jewish religious literature. In order to explore these two areas of inquiry, the first part of each chapter (with the exception of chapter two) examined the early Jewish portrayals of Elijah, David, and Moses with special interest in their messianic expectations as delineated in the intertestamental Jewish documents, such as, the Hebrew and Greek Old Testament, the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, the Qumran writings, and some early Hellenistic Jewish writings including Josephus and Philo. Subsequently, the latter part of each chapter investigated the narrative function of these Old Testament characters (including Jacob and Abraham in chapter 2) for Johannine Christology.

In chapter 2, three pericopae (1:51; 4:10-14; 8:58-58) were examined with particular interest in allusions to Abraham and Jacob. A contextual exegesis of these passages resulted in a consistent portrayal of the two personages in terms of messianic witnesses of Jesus. Their messianic witness function fits nicely in the overall narrative flow of the chapters which surround the texts under discussion. This supportive role stands in contrast to their images conceived in the second temple period, which manifest the recognition of their virtuous characteristics and the provenance of Jewish heritages as one gains a glance of it in chapters 4 and 8. In contrast to this role transformation, however, the presence of the two Jewish patriarchs provides a contact point. That is, the onset of the new redemptive history through Jesus stands in continuity, namely, with the

outworking of the old redemptive history, most remarkably in their foreshadowing of the divine characteristics of the Messiah. Just as the salvific outworking was unraveled through Jacob in the Old Testament, so will it be through Jesus in John. On the other hand, the patriarchs are presented as the point of comparison/contrast since they demonstrate the enormous magnitude of the radical unfolding of the new redemptive program. This surpassing and superseding nature of the new redemptive history is reflected upon the divine nature of Messiah and the gift that is bestowed through him. These different depictions between John and second temple Judaism call into question the congruity of the two bodies of literature.

Chapter 3 revealed the fourth evangelist's disinterest in the Jewish messianic expectations of Elijah *redivivus*. One plausible explanation is due to its marginal influence in view of the wide spectrum of Jewish messianic hopes (compared to the Davidic or Mosaic messianic expectations). A more probable reason, however, seems that the Elijah *redivivus* hope does not tally with the evangelist's literary schema he reserved for the Scripture and the Old Testament characters, that is, the role of messianic witnesses. Both Jesus and John the Baptist are not portrayed as an Elijah-like figure in the Fourth Gospel. In the case of the Baptist, the Johannine Gospel is remarkably distinct from the Synoptics, which consistently present him as Elijah *redivivus*. Rather, he occupies an equal standing with the Scripture and the Old Testament characters, that is, as a messianic witness in John. This observation points to the evangelist's emphasis on the witness theme in relation to Christology.

The image of David as envisaged in second temple Judaism and the Fourth Gospel was addressed in chapter 4. In contrast to the Synoptic Gospels and the Book of Revelation, the Gospel of John does not display affinity with some intertestamental Jewish writings that depict him as a royal messianic prefiguration. If a correspondence must be found, it is not in terms with such a kingly figure but in terms with a righteous sufferer. However, it must be also pointed out that second temple Judaism does not

frequently appropriate such a theme as a particular mark of the Messiah. A contextual examination of the Johannine passages that relate to David demonstrates that he bears witness to the messianic characteristics of Jesus, his suffering in particular as a messianic qualification. The testimony of David for Jesus' messianic identity as foreshadowed in Psalms also exhibits the unity of the divine redemptive program in the Old and New Testaments regardless of the fourth evangelist's recasting of the ideal king figure merely as a witness for the coming Messiah.

Chapter 5 dealt with the depiction of Moses in John's Gospel and the intertestamental Jewish literature. In contrast to the constant Jewish appeal to Moses who was conceived as the Jewish authority figure, John presents him as a witness for the Christological identity of Jesus, not as a messianic prefiguration. By his participation in the salvific events of the Pentateuch, the prophet *par excellence* metonymically communicates the gracious nature of the divine redemptive history, which culminates in Jesus events. Because God is the initiator of the salvation histories in Moses and Jesus, Moses stands for the unity between the two Testaments. However, the role transformation of Moses in terms of a messianic witness results in a radical redefinition of his image. Although the positive role of Moses as the active agent of the divine salvation history is not denounced, the denial of his authority and the Johannine presentation of him almost exclusively in terms of witness appear to be a practical demotion in view of the contemporary Jewish traditions. More interestingly, granting him a role of prosecutor of "Jews" is a remarkable reversal of expected roles. These literary schema allow one to label the fourth evangelist as a creative theologian notwithstanding his somewhat extensive appropriation of the Jewish languages and imageries related to Moses.

Research Results

Three final conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing summary. First, the Jewish hopes and the Johannine picture of Messiah via Jewish heroic figures display a certain degree of disparity. Contrary to some scholarly assessment, the messianic expectations via Jewish heroic figures, such as, Elijah, David, and Moses, were not widespread in the second temple period. In addition, the emphasis of Jewish messianism is not on certain personalities but on Yahweh who will be the initiator of the new era. Even when the intertestamental Jewish messianic figures are conceived to play an important part in the eschatological context, their images do not correlate closely with the messianic portrayals of Jesus in John. In particular, the militant warrior image of these figures does not tally with the Johannine picture of Jesus. Furthermore, the vicarious death and resurrection are distinctive features of the Johannine Messiah in the light of the intertestamental eschatological expectations through Jewish heroic figures.¹

Second, occurring in various contexts, the Old Testament characters (Jacob, Abraham, David, and Moses) conspicuously share one function in common in the Gospel of John. That is, they bear witness to the messianic identity of Jesus, and they are not depicted as messianic types. Taking into consideration the varied contexts in which these figures emerge, this uniform function is remarkable. In addition, this witness function of these figures stands in close proximity with that of "scripture." As reviewed in chapter 1, there are a number of German scholars as well as some scholars from English speaking

¹A recent anthology on the Isaianic suffering servant explored the possibility of the organic link between Jewish and Johannine suffering messianic ideas. According to Martin Hengel and Daniel Bailey, for instance, the concept of a vicarious suffering messiah is not absent, although not prominent, in early Jewish literature. The implication of their assertion is that the fourth evangelist employed such a stream of ideas. Their observation could be valid. However, it seems to be another matter to argue that such a trait of thought (however subtle) played a formative influence on Johannine Christology. In contrast to their position, a question arises because the vicarious suffering of a righteous one is not exclusively Jewish. The extremely sparse description of messiah as a righteous sufferer in intertestamental Jewish writings as well as the resurrection of Christ in John speaks against their proposition. Cf. Martin Hengel and Daniel P. Bailey, "The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period," in *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 75-146; Peter Stuhlmacher, "Isaiah 53 in the Gospels and Acts," in *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 159-60.

scholarship who consider the main narrative contribution of “Scripture” in John in terms of Christological witness. The same holds true with the Old Testament characters. This observation both confirms the judgment of those scholars and indicates the close correlation between the narrative functions of “Scripture” and the Old Testament figures. This messianic witness function, however, is hardly attested in the Hebrew Old Testament and subsequent early Jewish traditions. These observations allow us to conclude that a messianic typology via the Old Testament figures (i.e., David or Moses) is an inadequate framework to approach Johannine Christology.

Finally, the rich Old Testament background in echoes of and allusions to the Old Testament characters in John provides an opportunity to further elaborate on Jesus’ divinely commissioned nature and his status as being equal to God. In contrast to some Johannine exegetes, the fourth evangelist does not place an emphasis on the messianic prefigurative role of some Jewish heroic figures in promoting such Christology. Rather, the typology set over against this Old Testament background is not with the Jewish heroic figures but with Yahweh himself.

Implications for Study of John’s Gospel

The preceding discussion fosters some implications for the study of John’s Gospel, in particular, and more broadly for the New Testament writings in two respects. First, the consistent and homogeneous depiction of the Old Testament figures in terms of a witness function bears testimony in favor of the competent redactional capability of the fourth evangelist. This point also adds up to the importance of the present form of the Gospel.

Second, the value of the early Jewish traditions for the study of John needs to be reconsidered. The Gospel of John is replete with a large number of Jewish expressions and images. However, their use in John exhibits a considerable degree of conceptual disparity. Exegetes working on a religious comparative investigation are

susceptible to translating these imageries into the theology of John. The unique and creative theological construction of the fourth evangelist even over against his Jewish matrix needs to be given due emphasis. A biblical illustration could be helpful to make this point clearer. In 1 Samuel 12, the prophet Samuel rebuked the Israelites, who, in the face of the Ammonite invasion, wished to appoint one of their own as king over them although Yahweh was their king all along: “No, we want a king to rule over us” (1 Sam 12:12). Likewise, certain Jews of Jesus’ time sought to find a messianic figure when Christ was with them all along from the beginning. The same tendency pervades contemporary Johannine scholarship. Some scholars are still looking for the Messiah who is anyone other than the Jesus of John’s Gospel. Contrary to the repeated pattern of ignorance, the fourth evangelist lays a painstaking stress on the incomparable eminence of Jesus who uniquely shares the divine qualities with God as the premier revelation, through whom the unprecedented divine redemptive history is realized. In this respect, the New Perspective studies especially in terms of the “exile and restoration” paradigm and tradition-historical approaches do not seem to give due emphasis on the intended purpose of the fourth evangelist let alone the history-of-religions school which has not taken into proper perspective the rich Jewish background that permeates the Gospel of John.

Suggested Further Research

Interestingly, John seems to decidedly avoid a typology set in terms of personal characters. The lack of such typology stands out in view of the rich Jewish Christological analogies employed in John, such as, light, temple, living water, bread, and the Passover lamb. A further research can be fruitful concerning the narrative function of these non-personal typological symbols over against the analogous early Jewish traditions,

in order to find the possible contact-points with John and the fourth evangelist's theological appropriation of such conceptual motifs.²

²An example of study from this perspective is Craig R. Koester, *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel: Meaning, Mystery, Community*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 79-246.

APPENDIX 1

THE MESSIANISM/CHRISTOLOGY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

The exploration of Johannine Christology within Jewish religious dimensions has sparked a heated debate over the provenance of Johannine Christology.¹ Such dissension has been expressed on a number of fronts.² To begin with, dissimilar to John, messianism is not a dominant motif running throughout the Old Testament and early Judaism. For instance, Georg Fohrer construes that messianism is not overall the culmination of the Old Testament theology: "Es verhält sich nicht so, daß die Messias-erwartung die Krönung der alttestamentlichen Theologie darstellt."³ Quantitatively speaking, Daniel Block independently accords with Fohrer's judgment.

With respect to the nature of the Old Testament itself, given the prevalence of messianic expectation in the intertestamental and early New Testament periods, it would be surprising if those responsible for the structure and arrangement of the

¹For methodological considerations concerning research into Messianism, see James H. Charlesworth, "Introduction: Messianic Ideas in Early Judaism," in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, Gerbern S. Oegeman (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 1-8.

²For instance, Charlesworth summarizes the scholarly consensus on the difficulty of messianic discussion in the New Testament: (1) the phrase "Messiah" (*ha Mashiach*) does not occur in the Old Testament per se, and it occurs only rarely in early Jewish literature in general, (2) Jewish messianism really arose in a noticeable way only in the first century B.C., due to the disintegration of the Hasmonean dynasty, (3) one cannot claim that in Jesus' day all or the vast majority of Jews were looking for a single messiah figure to rescue them, (4) there was no normative concept of messiah by which possible candidates, such as Jesus, were measured, (5) messianic titles and ideas were fluid and often related to each other, and (6) the first clear evidence for the use of messiah as a technical term for a royal figure in the line of David is found in the Psalms of Solomon 17-18 and the Parable of Enoch, both of which probably date to the first century B.C. James H. Charlesworth, "From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity: The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 3-35. For another survey of the difficulties, see Dietmar Neufeld, "And When That One Comes?: Aspects of Johannine Messianism," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, SDSSRL 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 120-40.

³Georg Fohrer, "Das Alte Testament und das Thema 'Christologie'," *EvTh* 30 (1970): 285, cited in Heinz-Josef Fabry, "Altes Testament, Frühjudentum und Qumran," in *Der Messias: Perspektiven des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Klaus Scholtissek, NEchtBT 5 (Würzburg: Echter, 2002), 11.

canon were not driven to some extent by messianic hope. . . . As a matter of fact, the books that make up the Old Testament are not obviously preoccupied with the messiah. . . . the messianic hope [in the OT] is embedded like a diamond, precious not only because of its intrinsic value, but in the Hebraic sense also because of its rarity. . . . [that the Old Testament is filled with the divine redemptive hope], but to characterize this as an overtly and pervasively messianic hope is to overstate the case. Explicit reference to the messiah in the Pentateuch can be counted on a single hand.⁴

However, Block's notion of "the prevalence of messianic expectation in the intertestamental period" needs further qualification in view of the majority of biblical scholars' understanding of messianism in the period.⁵ An example of such a majority view is attested in an article contributed to the very volume in which Block's article is found. Craig Evans, for example, notes the statistical dearth of references to messianism in the Qumran community (of which a large number of scholars find a close affinity, directly or indirectly, with John's Gospel).⁶ Out of all the 870 scrolls recovered from the

⁴Daniel I. Block, "My Servant David: Ancient Israel's Vision of the Messiah," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 20-22.

⁵Cf. "My answer to this question [did most Jews look for or yearn for the coming of the Messiah?], based on the vast number of early Jewish texts . . . is probably 'no.' What impresses me is that when 'the Messiah' is mentioned his functions and his relations to the End of time . . . is far from obvious. I am convinced that the ancient Jew was often intentionally ambiguous. He comprehended that only God knew who would be the Messiah, and what the Messiah would accomplish. An apparent exception may be the *Psalms of Solomon*, but even in this text . . . the author subordinates the Messiah to God; that is, the Lord of the Messiah is God alone." Charlesworth, "Introduction," 5 (italics original).

⁶For advocates of close parallels between the New Testament Christology and the Qumran messianism, see Karl G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," *ZTK* 47 (1950): 192-211; Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper, 1957), 183-207; James H. Charlesworth, ed., *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (New York: Crossroad, 1991); and Aage Pilgaard, "The Qumran Scrolls and John's Gospel," in *New Readings in John: Literary and Theological Perspectives: Essays from the Scandinavian Conference on the Fourth Gospel in Århus 1997*, ed. J. Nissen and S. Pedersen, JSNTSup 182 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1999), 126-42. However, an increasing number of scholars have recently offered skeptical responses to a linear relationship between the two. See Howard M. Teeple, "Qumran and the Origin of the Fourth Gospel," *NovT* 4 (1960): 6-25; Richard Bauckham, "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel: Is There a Connection?" in *Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, JSPSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 267-79; idem, "The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John," in *Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery, Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*, ed. Galen Marquis et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 105-15; David E. Aune, "Dualism in the Fourth Gospel and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reassessment of the Problem," in *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl Henning Ulrichsen, NovTSup 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 281-303. For an expression of mild skepticism, see Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on Their Background and History," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995, Published In Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 335.

Qumran caves, 650 are non-biblical. Of these 650, only thirteen scrolls refer to a person who is anointed (messiah is named in six scrolls to be exact) or allude to some messianic symbols (i.e., “prince,” “scepter,” “son,” or “branch of David”).⁷ Two of the final four conclusions which Evans reaches are especially pertinent to our discussion. That is, the Qumran community was not preoccupied with messianism; and in comparison with contemporary Jewish messianism, Qumran’s messianism is not distinctive in any significant way.⁸ Of course, there are those who do not concur with Block and Evans.⁹ These two scholars, however, appear to represent a large segment of biblical scholarship that does not reckon messianism to be the most predominant motif of the Hebrew bible and the Judaism of the Second Temple period.¹⁰

⁷Craig A. Evans, “The Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Israel’s Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. R. S. Hess and M. D. Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 86-88. Some scholars posit that “the Righteous Teacher” was an anticipated messianic figure in the Qumran community. For example, see Philip R. Davies, “The Teacher of Righteousness and the ‘End of Days,’” in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics*, SFSHJ 134 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1996), 89-94. However, the possibility has been generally denied. Michael A. Knibb, “Teacher of Righteousness—A Messianic Title?” in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History*, ed. Philip R. Davies and Richard T. White, JSOTSS 100 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 51-65; *idem*, “Teacher of Righteousness,” in *EDSS*, 2:921; Géza G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library*, STDJ 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 47-50.

⁸Evans, “The Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 100. For the Qumran library as a fair representative of Second Temple Judaism in general, see John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, ABRL 10 (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 1-19.

⁹For an example of those who see a prevalent messianic idea in the Hebrew bible, see John H. Sailhamer, “The Messiah and the Hebrew Bible,” *JETS* 44 (2001): 5-23. For a higher interest in messianism of Qumran, see Bilhah Nitzan, “Eschatological Motives in Qumran Literature: The Messianic Concept,” in *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, JSOTSup 243 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 132-51.

¹⁰For example, see E. P. Sanders, *Judaism, Practice and Belief: 63 BCE—66 CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1992), 295; James D. G. Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways between Judaism and Christianity and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1991), 18-36; and James H. Charlesworth, “The Messiah in the Pseudepigrapha,” *ANRW* 19.1:188-218. Cf. “[m]essianic references in the Pseudepigrapha are sparse. There is no evidence of messianism at the time of the Maccabean revolt, and indeed messianic expectations seem to have been dormant throughout much of the Second Temple period.” John J. Collins, “Jesus and the Messiahs of Israel,” in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1996), 3:287-88. Charlesworth finds only five documents that contain explicit messianic references such as “Messiah,” “Anointed One,” or “Christ,” in the entire corpus of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. James H. Charlesworth, “Messianology in the Biblical Pseudepigrapha,” in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, Gerbern S. Oegeman (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 29. For another mainstream assessment of the minimal messianic ideas in the Old Testament, see Joachim Becker, *Messianic Expectation in the Old*

Second, even those Hebrew texts which do entertain Jewish messianic ideas do not present us with a concrete and consistent picture, but paint variegated images of Messiah. Block's estimation of the unified and linear Davidic royal messianic hope of the Old Testament represents a significant contemporary revival of E. Schürer, who argued that Second Temple Judaism had more or less a monolithic understanding of Messiah and that it could not accept Jesus' self-designation of Davidic messiah primarily because of his death on the cross.¹¹ Schürer's theory, however, has come under severe criticism since the 1990's, due mainly to the increasing scholarly sensitivity to the inadequate exegetical methods of Schürer and the findings of the Qumran documents. In the face of the variegated images of Messiah, Schürer's theory seems to run against the plain reading of the Jewish messianic texts.¹² In addition, in the face of the recent evaluations of the Qumran messianic documents (which conceive three redeemer figures, a priest, a prophet, and a prince), it is precarious to speak of a "central theme" of the Jewish eschatological expectations, especially in terms of royal messianism.¹³ In short,

Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

¹¹Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols., trans. T. A. Burkill et al., rev. and ed. Geza Vermes et al. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973-1986). For criticisms of Block in the same volume, see J. Daniel Hays, "If He Looks like a Prophet and Talks like a Prophet, Then He Must Be . . . : A Response to Daniel I. Block," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. D. Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 57-70; M. Daniel Carroll R., "New Lenses to Establish Messiah's Identity?: A Response to Daniel I. Block," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 71-81. For earlier attempts to subsume various messianic hopes under that of David, see Geo Widengren, "King and Covenant," *JSS* 2 (1957): 1-32; Antonius H. J. Gunneweg, "Sinaibund und Davidsbund," *VT* 10 (1960): 335-41; Klaus Seybold, *Das Davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten*, FRLANT 107 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972); Hartmut Gese, "The Messiah," in *Essays on Biblical Theology*, trans. Keith Crim (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981), 141-66.

¹²For a research history of this development, see Stefan Schreiber, *Gesalbter und König: Titel und Konzeptionen der königlichen Gesalbtenwartung in frühjüdischen und urchristlichen Schriften*, BZNW 105 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 5-19. Cf. "Christian historians must be honest and admit that the Jesus known to us from the New Testament simply does not fit the profile of the Davidic Messiah which was espoused by many Jews of his time." Charlesworth, "Introduction," 6. Also, John Collins does not see the intertestamental messianic expectation to be a uniform system. According to his evaluation of Jewish messianic texts, the early Jewish messianic expectation was, contrary to Schürer and George F. Moore, not ubiquitous and did not have a consistent form. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 3.

¹³Gary N. Knoppers, "David's Relation to Moses: The Contexts, Content and Conditions of the Davidic Promises," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. J. Day, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 91-118; Fabry, "Altes Testament, Frühjudentum und Qumran," 11. The linear development of the Jewish messianic expectations are suggested by Block, Antti Laato, *A Star Is Rising: The Historical Development of the Old Testament*

in the early Judaism, along with a royal Davidic figure (which can be said to be the most predominant one), other messianic hopes were also envisaged in priestly, prophetic, or heavenly messianic figures.¹⁴ However, one caveat is in order with reference to early Jewish messianism. Although the intertestamental messianism was expressed via a range of symbols and figures, the Jews in various times and places held to some common elements of messianism, especially in their understandings of more popular “messianic texts” such as Genesis 49:10, Isaiah 10:34-11:5, and Numbers 24:17.¹⁵

Royal Ideology and the Rise of Jewish Messianic Expectations, ISFCJ 5 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1997), 394; Schreiber, *Gesalbter und König*; William Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM, 1998); idem, *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Twelve Biblical and Historical Studies* (London: T & T Clark, 2003). For more diversified views of messianism, see Becker, *Messianic Expectation in the Old Testament*; Jacob Neusner, William S. Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Marinus de Jonge, *Christology in Context: The Earliest Christian Response to Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988); idem, *Jesus, the Servant-Messiah* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); idem, *God's Final Envoy: Early Christology and Jesus' Own View of His Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*; James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, PSJCO 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); idem, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema, eds., *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); John Day, ed., *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998); Johan Lust, *Messianism and the Septuagint: Collected Essays*, BETL 178 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004). For those who see a single, composite Messiah in Qumran, see William S. LaSor, “The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel,” *VT* 6 (1956): 425-29; Robert B. Laurin, “Problem of Two Messiahs in the Qumran Scrolls,” *RevQ* 4 (1963): 39-52; Emil A. Wcela, “Messiah(s) of Qumran,” *CBQ* 26 (1964): 340-49; Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “The Messiah at Qumran: Are We Still Seeing Double?” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995): 125-44; L. D. Hurst, “Did Qumran Expect Two Messiahs?” *BBR* 9 (1999): 157-80. However, recent biblical scholarship is increasingly acknowledging the faith in multiple messianic figures in the Qumran writings. See Jean Starcky, “Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumran,” *RB* 70 (1963): 481-505; George J. Brooke, “The Amos-Numbers Midrash (CD 7:13b-8:1a) and Messianic Expectation,” *ZAW* 92 (1980): 397-404; idem, “The Messiah of Aaron in the Damascus Document,” *RevQ* 15 (1991-1992): 215-30; idem, “Kingship and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 434-55; Gerbern S. Oegeman, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba*, JSPSup 27 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 86-96, 108-26; Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran*, WUNT 2/104 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); Géza G. Xeravits, “The Early History of Qumran’s Messianic Expectations,” *ETL* 76 (2000): 113-21; and John C. Poirier, “The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 221-42.

¹⁴This second aspect of Jewish messianism poses an intriguing question since the Fourth Gospel seems to consistently portray the typical Jewish messianic figures, who were expected to play *redivivus* messiah, in terms of messianic witnesses rather than messianic prefigurations or types. The most pressing question is, not whether the Old Testament messianic ideas can be subsumed under a royal Davidic expectation (although it is questionable), but how we account for this novel and seemingly contrasting element of messianism as depicted in John. Martin J. Selman, “Messianic Mysteries,” in *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and G. J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 281-302.

¹⁵Andrew Chester, “Jewish Messianic Expectations and Mediatorial Figures and Pauline Christology,” in *Paulus und das antike Judentum: Tübingen-Durham-Symposium im Gedenken an den 50. Todestag Adolf Schlatters (19. Mai 1938)*, ed. Martin Hengel and Ulrich Heckel, WUNT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 40-43; Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 4; Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty*

Third, although a composite picture of those various Jewish messianic expectations could be supposedly put together as some scholars such as Block suggest, it departs significantly from John's presentation of messiah. Some notable examples can be listed here. First, in contrast to the strenuous emphasis of the Fourth Gospel, the messiahs in Jewish texts usually do not carry a divine connotation, at least not on the level attested to in John.¹⁶ Second, the suffering and death of messiah is not clearly anticipated.¹⁷ For instance, it is not entirely clear whether Isaiah 53, one of the favorite Christian messianic proof texts, speaks of the messiah.¹⁸ Furthermore, the messianic fulfillment formulae in the Gospel of John point to a number of Psalm passages, which of course have David in the historical contexts, and they are certainly not prophetic in nature. Third, in the Old Testament and the intertestamental Jewish literature, the most conspicuous qualification of the messiah was the militant subjugation of the Gentiles, which is unlike the New Testament characterization of the Messiah.¹⁹ Lastly, the Jewish

Tradition in Early Judaism, 180-216; Richard Bauckham, "The Messianic Interpretation of Isa. 10.34 in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 2 Baruch and the Preaching of John the Baptist," *DSD* 2 (1995): 202-16; Evans, "David in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 194; Ed Condra, *Salvation for the Righteous Revealed: Jesus amid Covenantal and Messianic Expectations in Second Temple Judaism*, AGAJU 51 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 198-271.

¹⁶This aspect has resulted in the recent debate between Larry Hurtado and Maurice Casey. Maurice Casey, "Lord Jesus Christ: A Response to Professor Hurtado," *JSNT* 27 (2004): 83-96; Larry W. Hurtado, "Devotion to Jesus and Historical Investigation: A Grateful, Clarifying and Critical Response to Professor Casey," *JSNT* 27 (2004): 97-104. For more complete arguments of both, see Maurice Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991); idem, *Is John's Gospel True?* (London: Routledge, 1996); Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*. 2nd ed. (London: T & T Clark, 1998); idem, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003). The latter conceives a radical redefinition of messianic ideas in the New Testament.

¹⁷"For nonbelievers in antiquity, however, the great objection to the recognition of Jesus as Davidic messiah was not his nonmessianic career, but the shameful defeat of his death." Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 207.

¹⁸The texts usually attributed to for this concept do not resonate explicit messianic overtones. Bernd Janowski, "The One God of the Two Testaments: Basic Questions of a Biblical Theology," *ThTo* 57 (2000): 306-08; Hays, "If He Looks like a Prophet and Talks like a Prophet, Then He Must Be . . .," 65-66.

¹⁹Cf. "The concept of a royal messiah was more widespread than any other, and this figure was consistently expected to drive out the Gentiles by force . . . The *degree* of messianic expectation probably fluctuated considerably in the first century. There does not, however, appear to have been much variation in the *character* of royal messiah that was expected . . . Despite its admitted variety, the evidence of the [Qumran] Scrolls provides a persistent profile of the Davidic/royal messiah. The most striking aspect of this profile is the militancy it involved. It was a primary requirement of the messiah that he overcome the Gentile enemies of Israel. Precisely here lies the anomaly of the messianic claims of Jesus of Nazareth, as Albert Schweitzer already saw. There is little evidence of a militant Jesus in the Gospels." Collins, "Jesus

messiah is hardly expected to be resurrected and to ascend into heaven:

Jewish *Religionsgeschichte* presents an additional problem. To be sure, we have accounts of the translation of certain righteous men, and we hear also of isolated instances of resurrection. But that a righteous man via resurrection from the dead was appointed as Messiah, is absolutely without analogy. Neither resurrection nor translation have anything to do with messiahship.²⁰

The term, "Christology," therefore, represents an expression that is thoroughly baptized in Christian nomenclature in contradistinction to its Jewish semantic origin, "Messiah."²¹

and the Messiahs of Israel," 290, 295-96 (italics original).

²⁰Hengel, "Jesus, the Messiah of Israel: The Debate about the 'Messianic Mission' of Jesus," in *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus*, ed. B. Chilton and C. A. Evans, NTTS 28/2 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 327; idem, "Jesus der Messias Israels," in *Der messianische Anspruch Jesu und die Anfänge der Christologie: Vier Studien*, ed. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, WUNT 138 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 45-62.

²¹"Thus, although Christ is the Greek translation of the Semitic Messiah, in John Christology is the Christian transformation of Jewish expectations." John Painter, "The Point of John's Christology: Christology, Conflict and Community in John," in *Christology, Controversy and Community: New Testament Essays in Honor of David R. Catchpole*, ed. D. G. Horrell and C. M. Tuckett, NovTSup 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 250; cf. William Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM, 1998), 112-19.

APPENDIX 2

RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE AND THE FOURTH GOSPEL

Importance of *Religionsgeschichte*

The question of *Religionsgeschichte* is of crucial importance for the study of the Fourth Gospel. The reason is two-fold. First, the issue demands certain kinds of religious writings be taken into consideration more seriously than others. Second, the significance of such an inquiry directly impinges upon the importance of the Old Testament and the following Jewish religious traditions for the final analysis of the entire Gospel. In regard to the former, Mandaean and Nag Hammadi documents, instead of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Jewish literature in the second temple period, should be rigorously taken into account. With the latter aspect in view, the outcome of the study on Jewish elements of the Gospel (such as the role of the Old Testament characters) is only marginally relevant to grasping the core message of the Gospel since it only reveals the primitive and rudimentary Palestinian traditions buried underneath the later Hellenistic redactional layers contained in John's Gospel.¹ Therefore, it is of grave importance to set the issue of the history of religions in proper perspective so as to secure both appropriate methods by which to get at the center of John's message and to expect the degree of significance that the conclusion of this kind of study will bring forth for a proper understanding of the Gospel of John.

¹Two examples of such an outdated and oversimplistic form-critical approach are Claus Westermann, *The Gospel of John in the Light of the Old Testament*, trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998); translated from *Das Johannesevangelium aus der Sicht des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1994); and Jamie Clark-Soles, *Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Social Function of the Use of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). Generally speaking, the former operates on the level of the history of religions perspective and the latter on a socio-political one.

Bickermann/Hengel Theory

The contributions of Bickermann and Hengel have appropriately noticed the inadequate bifurcation of Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaisms in sharply distinct terms, since the Judaism in the Second Temple period was not immune to the contiguous Hellenistic cultures.² Accordingly, the classical nomenclature, i.e., “normative Judaism” or even “Hellenistic Judaism” fell out of favor in scholarly dialogues.³ Nonetheless, it still seems to be legitimate to speak of the distinctly Jewish elements of Judaism against its surrounding cultures in first-century Palestine, not with reference to the language and customs, but particularly with regards to the Jewish monotheism and its concomitant religious practices. This distinction has been duly noted in the recent archaeological discoveries undertaken in Judea and Galilee which strongly suggest that the majority of the Palestinian Jews between the last century B. C. and the first century A.D. (or at least until the first half of the first century) did not compromise, in a substantial measure, their core religious beliefs and practices, such as, monotheism, ethnic exclusivity, particular ethic, the observance of Sabbath, circumcision, the temple cult, and dietary laws.⁴

Hellenistic (Especially Gnostic) Influence

Broadly speaking, the formative religious backgrounds proposed as the

²Elias J. Bickermann, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1974); idem, “Judaism and Hellenism Revisited,” in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. J. J. Collins and G. E. Sterling, CJAS 13 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 6-37.

³Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 2nd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 29.

⁴Roland Deines, “The Pharisees between ‘Judaisms’ and ‘Common Judaism,’” in *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 1 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, ed. D. A. Carson, P. T. O’Brien, and M. A. Seifrid, WUNT 2/140 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 453. For more recent and nuanced correctives to Hengel’s thesis, see Louis H. Feldman, “Hengel’s Judaism and Hellenism in Retrospect,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 371-82; Jonathan Goldstein, “Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism,” in *Semites, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans: Studies in their Interactions*, BJS 217 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1990), 1-32; Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* (London: Routledge, 2000); idem, “The Jews and Hellenization: Hengel and His Critics,” in *Second Temple Studies III: Studies in Politics, Class and Material Culture*, ed. P. R. Davies and J. M. Halligan, JSOTSup 340 (Sheffield: JSOT, 2002), 52-66; E. P. Sanders, “Jesus’ Galilee,” in *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity, Essays in Honour of Heikki Räisänen*, ed. I. Dunderberg, C. Tuckett, and K. Syreeni, NovTSup CIII (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 3-42.

backdrop of the Fourth Gospel can be broken down into two general categories, namely, Hellenistic (i.e., mystery religion, Gnosticism, Mandaeism, and Platonism) and Jewish (i.e., the Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic Jewish scriptures, the Qumran scrolls, the apocrypha, and, with further qualifications, some of the early rabbinic literature). The supposed Hellenistic religious backgrounds theory initially arose from the internal textual dissimilarities between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics during the heyday of source criticism, although other philosophical factors are suspected to have contributed to the development of the Gnostic provenance theory. For instance, a number of scholars point to the anti-supernatural impulse of the enlightenment period and F. C. Baur's Hegelian dialectical analysis of the developmental history of the early church.⁵ These two tendencies are thought to have given impetus to the view that located John's Gospel in an intermediary stage between Hellenism and Judaism although stemming from a Hellenistic community (so much more Hellenistic than Jewish due to its geographic provenance, i.e., Syria). Based on these two assumptions, the history of religions school thought to have uncovered close parallels of the Gospel in Hellenistic documents (especially Egyptian and middle-Eastern Gnostic).⁶

⁵F. C. Baur's historical reconstruction of the development of the early church has been proven to be without an adequate basis in the face of the stunning discovery of the John Rylands papyrus which dates back to 125 A.D. More surprising is the manuscript's Egyptian origin for there must be a significant block of time for John's original manuscript to be copied and travel to Egypt. All these factors locate the writing of the Fourth Gospel at least at the end of the first century A.D. Cf. Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 55-56. Contra, Andreas Schmidt, "Zwei Anmerkungen zu P. Ryl. III 457," *APF* 35 (1989): 11-12; Georg Strecker, *Theology of the New Testament* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2000), 461.

⁶For a critical assessment of the history of religions approach to the Johannine Christology, see Larry W. Hurtado, "New Testament Christology: Retrospect and Prospect," *Semeia* 30 (1984): 15-27; Hengel, "Jesus, der Messias Israels," 159-62; Alister E. McGrath, *The Making of Modern German Christology: 1750-1990*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994); E. Earle Ellis, "Background and Christology of John's Gospel," in *Christ and the Future in New Testament History*, NovTSup 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 76. Recently, this provenance theory has become more complicated, acknowledging the Jewish roots in a deeper level yet in a syncretistic manner. Jarl Fossum, for instance, offers a representative view of an increasing scholarly assessment of the relationship between Gnosticism, Christianity, and later rabbinic Judaism. As for him, these three Mediterranean religious strata emerge from the same root, that is, intertestamental Judaism. Jarl Fossum, "The New Religionsgeschichtliche Schule: The Quest for Jewish Christology," *SBLSP* 30 (1991): 638-46. Also, "If the research on Gnosticism in the question of the relationship of Judaism and Gnosis, that is, the Apocalyptic and Gnosis arrives at a clear and affirmative answer, then the diverse Judaism, including Gnosticism, might be sufficient as exclusive religious background in the Johannine community. That means three conclusive remarks: (1) the Johannine Gospel is

Idiosyncratic terms and concepts appearing in John's Gospel have also led a number of scholars to presume disparate religious backgrounds. Such terms as "logos" and "paraclete" are unique to John's Gospel. In addition, some of the peculiar Johannine concepts include the identification of the revelation with the revealer (Jesus), the I am sayings, the pre-existence of Christ, the descending and ascending of the Son of Man, and the dualistic expressions (above/below, light/darkness, true/false, spirit/flesh, and free/enslaved).⁷

A number of scholars have attributed these Johannine phenomena to different religious backgrounds: Jewish Hellenism, Qumran, Pharisaic-Rabbinic Judaism, heretical Judaism, the Hermes myths, and Gnosticism.⁸ Among these religious backgrounds, Gnosticism has stirred the fiercest debate as to the extent of its influence on the Gospel.

to be read over against Jewish background substantially more strongly than it was frequently accepted in the former generation; (2) (pre)Gnostic currents should be counted as well; (3) then, these two aspects should be sufficient to stress the theological drift of the Fourth Gospel." Ingo Broer, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, NEchtB (Würzburg: Echter, 1998), 1:205. However, for a recent expression of the conventional Hellenistic influence on the New Testament, see Gerd Lüdemann, *Primitive Christianity: A Survey of Recent Studies and Some New Proposals* (London: T & T Clark, 2003); and on the Fourth Gospel in particular, C. K. Barrett, "John and Judaism," in *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneville (Louisville: Westminster, 2001), 231-46.

⁷Hans Conzelmann and Andreas Lindemann, *Arbeitsbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 14th ed., UTB52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 374-76. Particularly, the Johannine dualism has puzzled the Johannine exegetes of its religious backgrounds. On the possible provenance of the thought pattern from Judaism, see Otto Böcher, *Der Johanneische Dualismus im Zusammenhang des nachbiblischen Judentums* (Gutersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1965); from gnosticism, see Luise Schottroff, *Der Glaubende und feindliche Welt: Beobachtungen zum gnostischen Dualismus und seiner Bedeutung für Paulus und das Johannesevangelium*, WMANT 37 (S. I.: Neukirchener, 1970). However, Becker presumes that they are only two different expressions of the same concept in different religious paradigms, Jürgen Becker, "Beobachtungen zum Dualismus im Johannesevangelium," *ZNW* 65 (1974): 71-87; idem, "Ich bin die Auferstehung und das Leben: Eine Skizze der johanneischen Christologie," *TZ* 39 (1983): 138-51. For similar skeptical assessments of the connection between John and Qumran, see Howard M. Teeple, "Qumran and the Origin of the Fourth Gospel," *NovT* 4 (1960): 6-25; David E. Aune, "Dualism in the Fourth Gospel and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reassessment of the Problem," in *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 281-303. Aune is opposed to positing the direct dependence between the Qumran scrolls and the Fourth Gospel. He is probably right to doubt such a linear connection between the two but the Gnostic provenance theory has not yet produced a better solution. The Qumran/the Fourth Gospel comparison, however, seems to demonstrate closer conceptual affinities. "In conclusion, there is a curious irony to be observed. It was the publication of Qumran texts which effected a shift in Johannine scholarship towards recognizing the thoroughly Jewish character of Johannine theology. In retrospect this appears to have been a case of drawing the correct conclusion from the wrong evidence. There is no need to appeal to the Qumran texts in order to demonstrate the Jewishness of the Fourth Gospel's light/darkness imagery. This can be done more convincingly by comparison with other Jewish sources already available long before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls." Richard Bauckham, "The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John," in *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 114-15.

⁸Joachim Gnilka, *Johannesevangelium*, 5th ed., NEBNT 4 (Würzburg: Echter, 1999), 8.

The scholars who adhere to a considerable measure of its influence include Bultmann, Käsemann, L. Schottroff, H. Conzelmann, H. Koester, J. Becker, W. Schmithals, and S. Schulz.⁹

Of course, however, the degree of influence varies between one extreme to another within the group of scholars. For instance, an interesting debate arose between Bultmann and Käsemann.¹⁰ The former, while acknowledging the significant contact with Gnosticism, proposed that the Fourth Gospel overcame the core concepts of this religion through the community's unique Christology. On the other hand, Käsemann argued for the close interrelationship of the Gospel with early Gnosticism, which he viewed as being underway to becoming a full-blown development. Thus, for Käsemann, John's Gospel is extensively a "docetic" document.¹¹ However, this Gnostic provenance theory has come under heavy criticism, mainly for its anachronistic character and the exegetical inconsistencies inherent in Käsemann and his adherents.¹² Furthermore, some

⁹Jürgen Becker, *Johannesevangelium*, 3rd ed., KNT 4 (Würzburg: Echter, 1991), 53-55. For the representative views, see Rudolph Bultmann, "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums," *ZNW* 24 (1925): 100-46, esp. 102-04; Siegfried Schulz, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 5th ed., NTD 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 10-12; and Helmut Koester, "The History-of-Religions School, Gnosis, and Gospel of John," *ST* 40 (1986): 115-36; idem, *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, vol. 2 of *Introduction to the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 183-86.

¹⁰Rudolf Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 21st ed., KEKNT II (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); and Ernest Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus: A Study of the Gospel of John in the Light of Chapter 17* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968).

¹¹Käsemann's position is further elaborated and argued by Louise Schottroff, *Der Galubende und die feindliche Welt: Beobachtungen zum gnostischen Dualismus und seiner Bedeutung für Paulus und das Johannesevangelium*, WMANT 37 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1970), 228-96.

¹²For instance, recently Schnelle convincingly refuted this view. Udo Schnelle, *Antidocetic Christology in the Gospel of John: An Investigation of the Place of the Fourth Gospel in the Johannine School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); idem, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, THNT 4 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1998), 17-20. Also see Lindemann's cautious assessment of Conzelmann. Conzelmann and Lindemann, *Arbeitsbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 219-22. For other skeptical assessments of the gnostic influence theory, see Carsten Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule: Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösermythus*, FRLANT 60 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961); Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins*, HTS 24 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); idem, "Gnosticism and early Christianity," in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World*, ed. W. E. Helleman (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994), 29-61; idem, "The Pre-Christian Gnosticism Reviewed in the Light of the Nag Hammadi Texts," in *Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration*, ed. J. D. Turner and A. M. McGuire, NHMS 44 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 72-88; Titus Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert: Studien zur vorirenäischen Aneignung und Auslegung des vierten Evangeliums in christlicher und christlich-gnostischer Literatur*,

of the newer insights provided with the recent archaeological and literary findings in the Palestine area, that is, Judaea and Galilee, mitigate substantially the persuasive force of the heavy Hellenistic influence theory.

C. H. Dodd

It was prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls that a great number of critical Johannine scholars enthusiastically probed into the literature represented by the Hellenistic category for alleged affinities with the Gospel.¹³ In line with Bultmann, who was then at the high point of his career, C. H. Dodd marked the watershed point in Johannine studies.¹⁴ It was he who assumed the Bultmannian postulation of *Religionsgeschichte* and rigorously applied it into his *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*.¹⁵ However, regardless of his painstaking effort to locate the Gospel within the wider Hellenistic cultural realms, Dodd's study showed ironically the marked differences of the Hellenistic aspects (especially the Platonic and the Hermetic¹⁶) from the Jewish

ABIG 2 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000); idem, "Zur Gnostisierung der johanneischen Tradition: Das 'Geheime Evangelium nach Johannes' (Apokryphon Johannis) als gnostische Zusatzoffenbarung zum vierten Evangelium," in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditions-geschichtlicher Perspektive*, ed. J. Frey und U. Schnelle, WUNT 175 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 675-94, esp. see "Sie [the Apocalypse of John] können nur funktionieren und sind allein dann sinnvoll, wenn das Johannesevangelium die Bezugsgröße bleibt. Das AJ [the Apocalypse of John] will das Johannesevangelium nicht verdrängen, sondern fortführen und ergänzen." Nigel, "Zur Gnostisierung der johanneischen Tradition," 693.

¹³For elements of Philonic (Christianized Platonism) and mystery religions in the Gospel, see Alfred F. Loisy, *Le quatrième évangile: Les épîtres dites de Jean* (Paris: Émile Nourry, 1921). For other early claims for the thorough Hellenistic influences, see Johannes Weiss, *The History of Primitive Christianity* (New York: Wilson-Erikson, 1937), 624, and Edgar J. Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 314-15. For a review of other scholars who saw the gnostic origin of the Gospel such as Schottroff, J. Becker, Schenke, Fischer, and Schmithals, see Schnelle, *The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings*, 504-05.

¹⁴Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 21st ed., KEKNT 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986). The commentary first appeared in 1941.

¹⁵C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954). However, Dodd was already aware of the inadequate proposition of Bultmann's gnostic theory including Mandaeism: "It seems that we must conclude that the Mandaean literature has not that direct and outstanding importance for the study of the Fourth Gospel which has been attributed to it by Lidzbarski, Reitzenstein and Bultmann. . . . But alleged parallels drawn from this medieval body of literature have no value for the study of the Fourth Gospel unless they can be supported by earlier evidence." *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁶"Against Dodd it should be said that while there is in Philo's writings extensive use of Greek philosophical ideas that largely have a Middle-Platonic stamp, this is not the case in John." Peder Borgen, "The Gospel of John and Hellenism: Some Observations," in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D.*

characteristics inherent in the Gospel as often recognized in the following Johannine scholarship.

The encroachment of the Semitic on New Testament scholarship—an encroachment that has grown ever stronger—so that it also reflects new beginnings. [Dodd's writings] are a mirror of the transition which has marked our time from a predominantly Hellenistic to a more Semitic approach to the New Testament. In him one world was already dying and another struggling to be born.¹⁷

Semitic Linguistic Features of the Gospels

The recent discovery of the first century Palestinian documents enabled scholars to engage in philological inquiries into the languages of the Gospels and various contemporary literature in Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic.¹⁸ One of the noteworthy observations from such queries is that the alleged New Testament “septuagintalism” which a number of New Testament scholars believe to be the most palpable expression of Hellenized Judaism, fails to stand comparative linguistic analysis on a number of points.¹⁹ This estimation reminds us of the long standing fact that the default linguistic

Moody Smith, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1996), 99. For more recent hesitations against the alleged affinity between Philo and John, see Roland Deines and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, eds., *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen, I. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum 1.—4. Mai 2003, Eisenach/Jena*, WUNT 172 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 2004). Of particular help are the three essays in the volume: Roland Deines and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, “Philo und das Neue Testament—Das Neue Testament und Philo: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen,” 3-20; Larry W. Hurtado, “Does Philo Help Explain Christianity?” 73-92; and Gregory E. Sterling, “The Place of Philo of Alexandria in the Study of Christian Origins,” 21-52. A precedence of these views is found in David T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey*, CRINT 3/3 (Van Gorcum: Assen; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), especially 78-83. For a negative evaluation of the Hermetic influence on the Gospel, see Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, 1:136-38.

¹⁷W. D. Davies, “Reflections on Aspects of the Jewish Background of the Gospel of John,” in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1996), 43.

¹⁸For some of the more detailed reports, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Methodology in the Study of the Aramaic Substratum of Jesus’ Sayings in the New Testament,” in *Jésus aux origines de la Christologie*, BETL 40 (Gembloux: Duculot, 1975), 73-102, esp., 101-02; idem, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979); idem, “The Aramaic Language and the Study of New Testament,” *JBL* 99 (1980): 5-21; idem, “Problems of the Aramaic Background of the New Testament,” in *Yahweh/Baal Confrontation and Other Studies in Biblical Literature and Archaeology: Essays in Honour of Emmett Willard Hamrick*, ed. Julia M. O’Brien and Fred L. Horton Jr., SBEC 35 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1995), 80-93; idem, *The Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997); Raymond E. Brown, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,” in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 1-8; Max Wilcox, “The Aramaic Background of the New Testament,” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, JSOTSup 166 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 362-78; Andreas J. Köstenberger, “Jesus as Rabbi in the Fourth Gospel,” *BBR* 8 (1998): 97-128.

¹⁹Schlatter finds no intentional dependence on the *LXX* in John. Adolf Schlatter, *Die sprache*

mode of first century Palestine was Semitic, needless to say that Jesus and his disciples spoke most likely in Aramaic.²⁰ An example to support this judgment can be found in the prologue to *the Wisdom of Ben Sirach*. In it, it can be surmised that it was only after the grandson of Jesus moved to Egypt (132 B.C.E.) when the need became apparent to translate the book into the Greek language.²¹

Recent Archaeological Discoveries

In contrast to the previous generation's belief, the more recent archaeological discoveries undertaken in Palestine (Judea and Galilee) reveal that the region was pervasively Jewish, much more heavily characterized by distinct Jewish cultural/religious elements than often surmised in the past.²² The conclusions of these investigations cover

und heimat des vierten Evangelisten, BFCT 6/4 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902), 199 n. 2. He also finds explicit Semitisms in a total of eleven verses in John. Ibid. Also, Wilcox, "The Aramaic Background of the New Testament," 367-71.

²⁰However, it should be also noted that the Semitic nature of Jesus' and his disciples' linguistic framework is notoriously difficult to apply to the current Greek New Testament texts. Thus, some of the recent efforts to account for the Semitic linguistic background of the Gospels have received more criticism than welcome acceptance. For instance, Roger Le Déaut, "Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation," *BTB* 4 (1974): 243-89; Daniel Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine*, SBLDS 22 (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1975), 65-81; Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, 2nd ed., AnBib 27a (Rome: Biblica, 1978); Geza Vermes, "Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections on Methodology," *JJS* 33 (1982): 361-76; Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 3rd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998); Maurice Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, SNTSMS 102 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); idem, *An Aramaic Approach to Q: Sources for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, SNTSMS 122 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). For an example of such caution, see the writings of Fitzmyer mentioned in n. 36; Earl Richard, "The Old Testament in Acts: Wilcox's Semitisms in Retrospect," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 330-41. "For all these reasons, attempts to retranslate the Greek Gospels into Jesus' own language are extremely speculative." B. D. Chilton, "Targums," in *DJG*, 803.

²¹Harold C. Washington, "Ecclesiasticus (or the Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach)," in *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha*, ed. Michael D. Coogan, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 103.

²²Roland Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit: Ein archäologisch-historischer Beitrag zum Verständnis von Joh 2,6 und der jüdischen Reinheitshalacha zur Zeit Jesu*, WUNT 2/52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993); idem, *Die Pharisäer: ihr Verständnis im Spiegel der christlichen und jüdischen Forschung seit Wellhausen und Graetz*, WUNT 101 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); Richard A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity, 1995); idem, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee: The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity, 1996); idem, "Jesus and Empire," *USQR* 3-4 (2005): 56-65; Eric M. Meyers, "Recent Archaeology in Palestine: Achievements and Future Goals," in *Cambridge History of Judaism*, ed. W. Horbury, W. D. Davies, and J. Sturdy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3:59-74, 1082-85; Jonathan L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000); James F. Strange, "Recent Discoveries at Sepphoris and Their Relevance for Biblical Research," *Neot* 34 (2000): 125-41; Mark A. Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee*, SNTSMS 118 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); idem, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, SNTSMS 134 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); idem and Eric M. Meyers, "How Jewish was Sepphoris in Jesus' Time?" *BAR* 26, no. 4 (July/August 2000): 18-33, 61; Mark A. Chancey and Adam

a wide range of Palestinian geography and engage in meticulous examinations of the material retrievals. For instance, the evidences for Greek influence, such as, theater or amphitheater in Jerusalem and Sepphoris in the first century C.E., are now refuted (most likely late first or second centuries).²³ Roland Deines' extensive assessment of the stone containers used in first-century Palestine further hints at the Pharisaic/rabbinic ritual practice commonly exercised in the region as briefly recorded in John 2 regarding the wedding in Cana.²⁴ To offer one more example, Mark Chancey's comprehensive evaluation of the material culture bears witness to the distinctly Jewish culture deeply permeating first-century Galilee.²⁵ These investigations confirm the accounts of the Gospels in that no significant presence of a Gentile population or its cultural/religious activities is referred to in the four canonical Gospels.²⁶ Accordingly, recent

Porter, "The Archaeology of Roman Palestine," *NEA* 64, no. 4 (December 2001): 164-203; Seán Freyne, *Galilee and Gospel: Collected Essays*, WUNT 125 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); idem, *Jesus, a Jewish Galilean: A New Reading of the Jesus Story* (London: T & T Clark, 2004); E. P. Sanders, "Jesus in Galilee," in *Jesus: A Colloquium in the Holy Land*, ed. Doris Donnelly (London: Continuum, 2001), 5-26; James H. Charlesworth, "Jesus Research and Near Eastern Archaeology: Reflections on Recent Developments," in *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. D. E. Aune, T. Seland, and J. H. Ulrichsen, *NovTSup* 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 37-70. Although this list represents various degrees of opinions, it reflects an increasing awareness of current biblical archaeological scholarship on the Jewish cultural/religious matrix of Palestine in the 1st century A. D. (or at least before the destruction of the Jerusalem temple). For example, Richard Horsley's envisioning Jesus as a nationalistic revolutionary is to read too much into the text. However, his point still stands that the Jesus movement was not meant to embrace the Hellenistic-Roman culture. For a general survey on the Jewish cultural contexts of the Gospel accounts, see Craig A. Evans, "Assessing Progress in the Third Quest of the Historical Jesus," *JSHJ* 4 (2006): 35-43.

²³Mark A. Chancey, "The Cultural Milieu of Ancient Sepphoris," *NTS* 47 (2001): 127-45; Weiss Zeev and Ehud Netzer, "Hellenistic and Roman Sepphoris," in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and Zeev Weiss (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996), 32, 122; Achim Lichtenberger, "Jesus and the Theater in Jerusalem," in *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 283-99.

²⁴Deines, *Jüdische Steingefässe und pharisäische Frömmigkeit*, 247-51, 263-75. Also, John C. Thomas, "The Fourth Gospel and Rabbinic Judaism," *ZNW* 82 (1991): 162-65; E. Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity and Its Religious Aspects according to Historical Sources and Archaeological Findings," in *Purity and Holiness*, ed. M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz, *JCPS* 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 232. Partly built upon this work, Deines goes on to broaden the implication of the thesis into the place of Pharisaism, which he assesses to have constituted the major paradigm of early Judaism in the first century A.D., although the demands of their regulations were not equally required throughout the regions. "Bewegung im Volk für das Volk, deren Rechtmäßigkeit von weitesten Teilen des Volkes auch akzeptiert wurde, wenn auch die Forderungen derselben nicht im gleichen Maße praktiziert wurden." Deines, *Die Pharisäer*, 512.

²⁵Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee*.

²⁶Coupled with these Jewish characteristics of the Palestine area, the profuse geographical and cultural details affirm the early date and the Palestinian provenance of the Gospel of John. Paul W. Barnett, "Indications of Earliness in the Gospel of John," *RTR* 64 (2005): 61-75.

archaeological scholarship has recognized the strong and widespread Jewish cultural presence in first-century Palestine.

In NT times Jews comprised the vast majority of the Galilean population. The view that the area was at that time half-pagan is a modern scientific myth. Josephus refers repeatedly to the piety of the Galileans and their loyalty to the Torah. NT references to the large numbers of synagogues in Galilee confirm this. These references are supported by archaeological findings.²⁷

What is perhaps most striking about the first century is the minimal extent of Roman military-administrative presence in Judea outside of Caesarea and the degree to which Rome relied upon influential priests and laity to maintain the peace.²⁸

Thus, the argument for a pagan Galilee is poorly supported by the literary evidence and receives no confirmation from the archaeological explorations. . . . Excavations at various sites have uncovered such instruments of the distinctive Jewish way of life as ritual baths (*miqvaot*), stone jars and natively produced ceramic household ware. These finds indicate a concern with ritual purity emanating from Jerusalem and its temple as well as an avoidance of the cultural ethos of the encircling pagan cities.²⁹

Conceptual Affinities

Finally, the theological presuppositions of the Gospels and the Jewish Scriptures, in contradistinction to their surrounding cultures, have much in common.³⁰ For an example, it is striking that the Gospels make painstaking efforts to preserve monotheism over against the prevalent polytheistic belief and practice of the pan-Mediterranean world. In addition, other symbols and images present in the Gospels are

²⁷Rainer D. Riesner, "Galilee," in *DJG*, 252.

²⁸Chris J. Seeman, "Judea," in *DNTB*, 622.

²⁹Sean Freyne, "Galilee and Judaea in the First Century," in *Origins to Constantine*, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 41-42.

³⁰For hermeneutical compatibilities of the NT with Qumran, see Raymond E. Brown, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 1-8; Hengel, "The Scriptures in Second Temple Judaism," 169-72; the conceptual affinities of John with the Old Testament, see Saeed Hamid-Khani, *Revelation and Concealment of Christ: A Theological Inquiry into the Elusive Language of the Fourth Gospel*, WUNT 2/120 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 123-56; with Qumran, see Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 183-207; James H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in iQS 3:13-4:26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Gospel of John," in *John and Qumran*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1972), 76-106; with early rabbinic Judaism, see Thomas, "The Fourth Gospel and Rabbinic Judaism," 174-77.

only comprehensible in view of the conventional Jewish heritages.³¹ From the observations mentioned above, therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the Fourth Gospel and the conventional Jewish cultural variables share a great deal of common ground.

After Dodd

Turning our attention back to Dodd, studies subsequent to him, and especially after the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, have reinforced a conviction that “the Fourth Gospel is now judged to be Jewish, and it is [to be] studied in terms of first-century Palestinian Jewish writings.”³² Such a judgment is justified not because the Fourth Gospel derives its theology from the Qumran traditions but because it reflects common Semitic conceptual currents as attested in the writings of the Qumran community. This hermeneutical penchant is not entirely the latest approach but simply a reaffirmation of the belief shared by a number of scholars at the turn of the past century (such as Dalman, Lightfoot, Westcott, Schlatter, Strack, Billerbeck, and Jeremias).

[T]he accomplishment of scholars like Billerbeck or Jeremias—and also Schlatter—is that they showed that a thorough knowledge of Judaism . . . is one of the non-negotiable requirements in the field of New Testament study. Over against the history of religions tradition which began with W. Bousset and was continued by Rudolf Bultmann and his pupils, whose historical picture of Judaism was based almost entirely on the sources written in Greek, scholars like Strack and Billerbeck and ‘Jeremias & co.’ were among the first who responded to the appeal of the ‘Wissenschaft des Judentums’ which was then beginning to blossom, and they

³¹A recent attempt to find extensive parallels of Johannine theological concepts that are deeply steeped in an important Old Testament theme (that of covenant) also seems to make a compelling case. John W. Pryor, *John: Evangelist of the Covenant People: The Narrative and Themes of the Fourth Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992).

³²James H. Charlesworth, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to John,” in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith*, ed. R. A. Culpepper and C. C. Black (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1996), 66; Thomas Söding, “Was kann aus Nazareth schon Gutes kommen? (Joh 1.46): Die Bedeutung des Judenseins Jesu im Johannesevangelium,” *NTS* 46 (2000): 21-41. Also, “the origin of the Johannine Gospel, which Adolf von Harnack called the greatest riddle presented to us by the earliest history of Christianity, appears to me to be a riddle of our own making, since every page of this Gospel reveals its conceptual origin. The Johannine world of ideas never departs from its Jewish, Old Testament orbit. It is to this context that the Gospel is inseparably fastened for any meaningful explication of its literary milieu, style, imagery, language and theology.” Hamid-Khani, *Revelation and Concealment of Christ*, 156.

thereby helped New Testament scholarship discover the deficits in its knowledge.³³

To quote a scholar in this stream of thought, Adolf Schlatter advised that “you must go into the Jewish Literature . . . the Judaism, with which the New Testament stood in fruitful community and fierce conflict, was that of Palestine, of the Pharisees, which you must become acquainted with from its own witness.”³⁴ To quote another Tübinger, Betz also underscores the value of the Jewish literature for the study of the New and Old Testaments (hence the history of traditions approach).

Die Methode, die der Einheit der Bibel am ehesten gerecht wird, möchte ich als traditionsgeschichtliche Auslegung bezeichnen: Es gilt, der Schrift des Alten Testaments und ihrer Auslegung zu folgen, zunächst im nachbiblischen Judentum, sei es palästinisch oder hellenistisch, dann im Neuen Testament selbst und schließlich im rabbinischen Schrifttum, das zwar erst nach der neutestamentlichen Zeit abgefaßt wurde, aber in seinem mündlichen Stadium teilweise in diese zurückreicht. Von daher ergeben sich auch Kriterien für Recht und Grenze der formgeschichtlichen Methode.³⁵

This favorite disposition toward Judaism for the Gospels is, of course, not unanimously espoused by any means within Johannine scholarship on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.³⁶ Nonetheless, an increasing number of scholars seem to be leaning sympathetically toward such a perspective. A number of reasons for which the alleged

³³Martin Hengel and Roland Deines, “E. P. Sanders’ ‘Common Judaism,’ Jesus, and the Pharisees: Review Article of *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* and *Judaism: Practice and Belief* by E. P. Sanders for Hartmut Gese on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday with Gratitude,” *JTS* 46 (1995): 69.

³⁴Adolf Schlatter, *Rückblick auf meine Lebensarbeit*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1977), 120 (translation mine).

³⁵Otto Betz, “Das Johannesevangelium und das Alte Testament,” in *Wie verstehen wir das Neue Testament?* (Wuppertal: Aussaat, 1981), 14-20, here especially 17 for the citation. Here it should be noted that Betz uses the terminologies with different definitions. By him, “the history of tradition approach” refers to a method that takes into account the intertestamental literature whereas “the form historical method” designates the extreme history of religions assumptions, such as maintained by Rudolf Bultmann in the formation of the New Testament writings.

³⁶So a pupil of Bultmann says as follows: “Rudolf Bultmann proposed the hypothesis that John used a (non-Christian) Gnostic discourse source for their composition. Although this hypothesis has been widely criticized—and the assumption of the use of a non-Christian source is highly problematic—Bultmann may well have been correct with his notion that the Johannine discourses are indebted to a debate with Gnostic materials and were formulated in the context of that debate. The discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library has made a number of writings accessible that assist in the reconstruction of the evolution of such discourses. . . . The Gospel of John is . . . an important witness for the early development of a Gnostic understanding of the tradition of Jesus’ sayings and a spiritualized interpretation of the sacraments.” Koester, *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, 183-6.

Gnostic influence on John is disavowed could be summarized:³⁷ John's assumption of his readers' knowledge of certain Jewish symbolisms, festivals (chaps. 6, 7, and 10), and Palestinian topographies; the seeming proximity to midrashic interpretive traits (chapters 5 and 6); numerous Semitic flavors of the Gospel; and the anachronistic linking of the Gospel (whose earliest manuscript p⁵² dating at 125 CE³⁸) with the extant Gnostic documents (which variously date from third to seventh centuries CE).³⁹

³⁷Gary M. Burge, "Interpreting the Gospel of John," in *Interpreting the New Testament: Essays on Methods and Issues*, ed. David Alan Black and David S. Dockery (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2001), 361-64.

³⁸For the early second century dating of P⁵², see Brent Nongbri, "The Use and Abuse of P⁵²: Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel," *HTR* 98 (2005): 23-48.

³⁹The completion of the Mandaean literature took place in the seventh and the eighth centuries CE. Essential elements were present in the third and fourth centuries CE, and the earliest components of the Mandaean hymns could go back as far as the middle of the second century CE. "In the twentieth century scholars came to doubt this portrait (the gnostic influence on NT) as idealistic and inaccurate. . . . If John was written to combat early Gnosticism, why did the Gnostics of the second century find this Gospel so attractive? . . . Scholars have come to recognize that making sharp distinction between 'orthodoxy' and 'heresy' in the first two or three centuries of Christianity tends to be anachronistic and misleading. . . . The major issue that scholars have debated is whether or not Gnosticism, in its earliest forms, contributed to NT theology, particularly Christology, in any significant way. Specifically, attention has focused on the question of whether or not there existed a myth of a descending and ascending redeemer and whether or not if such a myth existed, it existed early enough to have influenced NT Christology. A few scholars answer these questions in the affirmative. Most, it would appear, have grave reservations. Edwin Yamauchi has reviewed all of the proposed evidence and finds little that suggests that Gnosticism existed prior to Christian origins. Charles Talbert finds no reason to believe that Christianity derived its Christology of a descending/ascending heavenly savior from anything other than its Jewish roots. . . . the recent assertions of Gesine Robinson and Jack Sanders that the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel has more in common with the mythology of a gnostic work like the *Trimorphic Protennoia* than it has with anything else are wholly unjustified. Pheme Perkins is much closer to the truth when she concludes that the gnostic writings of Nag Hammadi 'developed their picture of the Savior from traditions quite different from those which underlie NT christological assertions.' Martin Hengel adds: 'In reality there is no gnostic redeemer myth in the sources which can be demonstrated chronologically to be pre-Christian. The basic problem with the views of Robinson and Sanders is that those gnostic writings that bear the closest affinities with John contain allusions to, and sometimes explicit quotations of, the writings of the NT. A. D. Nock was right when he commented: 'Certainly it is an unsound proceeding to take Manichaean and other texts [viz. Mandaean and Coptic gnostic texts], full of echoes of the New Testament, and reconstruct from them something supposedly lying back of the New Testament.'" Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005), 279-86. Also recently, the alleged link between John and the gnostic movements has been challenged from a historical standpoint. "Surely one of the most striking results of this investigation . . . for other studies have been at least tending towards the same conclusion, is that the major use of the Fourth Gospel among heterodox or gnostic groups up until the Valentinians Ptolemy, Heracleon, and Theodotus, is best described as critical or adversarial. This exposes and should correct the tendency of earlier scholarship to assume that any Johannine borrowings or allusions in gnostic literature are evidence of gnostic/Johannine affinity, or of a common family history. . . . The offence of this Gospel among heterodox writers seems to have centered upon two factors of the Gospel . . . : (1) first and foremost on its Christology, including its presentation of the full incarnation of the Logos God . . . , and (2) its assumption of a special and permanent authority joined to the witness of those who were Jesus' original disciples." Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 466. Similarly, Rudolf Schnackenburg, "The Gnostic Myth of the Redeemer and the Johannine Christology," in *The Gospel according to St John*, HTCNT (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 1:544-48.

For these reasons and others, Schnelle maintains that “[i]n the most recent research, however, the older thesis [that of Schlatter] that John is to be understood exclusively against the background of the Judaism of the period has recovered a great deal of influence.”⁴⁰ In view of such a paradigmatic shift of perspective in Johannine scholarship, it follows naturally that an investigation of the Gospel, particularly its use of the Old Testament, in light of its Palestinian Jewish backdrop rather than its Hellenistic counterpart in the first-and-second century Mediterranean religious movements, is expected to yield much more constructive hermeneutical insights into proper appreciation of the Gospel.⁴¹ Hence “none of the major treatments of New Testament [C]hristology [so far] were able to make use of this data [from Gnostic materials].”⁴²

Discretion, however, over the judgment of a close correlation between early Judaism and the Fourth Gospel is in order because the Gospel did not grow naturally from Judaism. It was the Christ-event, not the mother religion, that shaped the theology of the fourth evangelist and eventually set it apart from her. The degree of the influence of early Judaism, therefore, should be taken into account with a measure of discernment in the study of the Fourth Gospel.

⁴⁰Schnelle, *Antidocetic Christology in the Gospel of John*, 25 (brackets added). “The location of the Gospel of John in its context in the history of religion may no more be explained in terms of a single factor than can its context in the history of traditions. It is rooted in the Old Testament and in the wisdom literature of *Hellenistic Judaism*, while at the same time having indications of a certain proximity to the thought world of Qumran and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, while individual elements have parallels in Hellenistic philosophy and later gnostic texts, but not in a way that lines of direct dependence may be constructed.” Idem, *The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings*, 509.

⁴¹All other Hellenistic influences aside, a “pre-Christian” Gnostic influence is still an object of inquiry for the Johannine *Religionsgeschichte*. Against this stance, see a descriptive summation of some fundamental differences between John and Gnosticism by Herbert Kohler, *Kreuz und Menschwerdung im Johannine Gospel: Ein exegetisch-hermeneutischer Versuch zur johanneischen Kreuzestheologie*, ATANT 72 (Zürich: Theologischer, 1987), 142-58.

⁴²Hurtado, “New Testament Christology,” 17. Cf. Devon H. Wiens, “Mystery Concepts in Primitive Christianity and in Its Environment,” *ANRW* 23.2:1248-84.

APPENDIX 3

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

Significance of the Old Testament

Biblical scholars have often pointed out a number of idiosyncratic characteristics of the fourth Gospel from the Synoptics.¹ This aspect is also true of the materials and manner in which the Old Testament is employed in the Gospel.² In fact, John quotes the Scriptures far less than any of the Synoptic Gospels.³ Therefore, some have considered John's use of the Scriptures to be minimalistic and inaccurate in nature. For instance, Bultmann posited that the evangelist's recourse to the Scriptures is scanty.⁴ Käsemann also wrote that "[John] did not despise the use of the Old Testament even though he can get along without it in large sections and he always puts it in the shadow of his traditions about Jesus."⁵ Reim maintained that John's knowledge or use of the Old Testament is both fragmentary and secondary in that John did not have the Scriptures in front of him, but rather depended on oral traditions (wisdom and rabbinic).⁶

¹For a summary of the history of research on the use of the Old Testament in John, see Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate*, WUNT 2/83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 1-36.

²Crawford H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament* (New York: Scribner's, 1884), xxxv.

³Usually, nineteen quotations are attributed to the Old Testament in John. However, when allusions are taken in view, it is difficult to count an exact number of the Old Testament materials because of the paraphrastic nature of the evangelist's use of Scripture. Cf. Scroggie, who attributes 63 OT references to Mark, 129 to Matthew, 90 to Luke, and 124 to John. W. Graham Scroggie, *A Guide to the Gospels* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1948), 190, 270, 363, 426.

⁴Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1955), 2:5.

⁵Ernst Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus: A Study of the Gospel of John in the Light of Chapter 17* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 37.

⁶Günter Reim, *Jochanan: Erweiterte Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (Erlangen: Der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1995), 96, 109, 161-62, and 183. Contra A. T.

However, some Johannine scholars have increasingly noticed the important place of the Old Testament for proper appreciation of John's Gospel. R. Morgan, for example, underscores the qualitative weight of the Jewish Scriptures, especially as attested in the quotation formulae of the Fourth Gospel.

[T]he author [John] makes sure that the Old Testament is present at every crucial moment in the Gospel. This explains the significance of the Johannine quotations from the Old Testament. Their significance does not lie in the frequency of their occurrence, but rather in their presence at every vital moment in the Messiah's life. It is striking that every crisis in this moving drama of redemption, the Old Testament is there.⁷

Likewise Freed acknowledges the careful construction of the Scriptures intimately embedded in the plot of the Gospel by stating that "in no other writer are the O.T. quotations so carefully woven into the context and the whole plan of composition as in Jn."⁸ In addition, an impressive array of recent Johannine commentators concurs on this judgment.⁹ From these observations, thus, it becomes obvious that the most Jewish

Hanson, *The Prophetic Gospels: A Study of John and the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 21-233. However, Reim departed from Bultmann who attributed the Johannine prologue to Gnosticism. Reim is one of the earliest scholars who hold that the Johannine prologue reflects the Jewish wisdom tradition. Günter Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*, SNTSMS 22 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 188.

⁷R. Morgan, "Fulfillment in the Fourth Gospel: The Old Testament Foundations," *Int* 11 (1957): 156-57.

⁸E. D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*, NovTSup 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 129. Similarly, the Old Testament Scripture "makes the Gospel of John work." Judith Lieu, "Narrative Analysis and Scripture in John," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, JSNTSup 189 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000), 144.

⁹"John reflects even more clearly than the Synoptic Gospels the great currents of Old Testament thought." Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John (i-xii)*, AB 29 (New York: Doubleday, 1966), ix. "There is virtually no dispute over the pervasive Semitic influence on the style of the Fourth Gospel." Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 3. Schnackenburg even goes on to assert that the Old Testament is the ground for the Johannine theology: "Thus many thoughts and images of the O.T., mostly taken further in theological meditation and development, come together in John and are made to serve Johannine theology. This Gospel would be unthinkable without the O.T. basis which supports it." Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), 1:124. Beasley-Murray concurs with Schnackenburg. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 2nd ed., WBC, vol. 36 (Nashville: Nelson, 1999), lix. "It is my firm conviction that the place to begin a reflection on the milieu of the Fourth Gospel is with the Old Testament. But the test of John's pervading milieu is not to be measured in terms of direct quotation from the Old Testament because John has fewer quotations than the other Gospels. Yet this Gospel literally breathes the influence of Israel's textbook." Gerald L. Borchert, *John 1-11*, NAC 25a (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1996), 61. "John's use of the OT . . . apparently demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the Jewish Bible." Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 1:172-73. "At the very outset, John's account is based on OT theology. . . . The Jewish milieu of John's Gospel and the firm grounding of its theology in OT antecedents are also borne out by the various component parts of the Gospel's christological teaching." Andreas J. Köstenberger, *John*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 13.

element, namely, the Old Testament, stands in close affinity with the fourth evangelist, providing a necessary background for a proper understanding of the Gospel.¹⁰

Another piece of evidence for the importance of the Old Testament is attested in the fulfillment themes. Towards the latter half of the fourth Gospel, the Old Testament is closely tied with the fulfillment motif in Jesus' passion.¹¹ Only Matthew, among the Synoptics, follows a similar pattern.¹² Like Matthew, John introduces the Old Testament material with $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}$; but unlike the first evangelist, he does not hesitate to put the formula on the mouth of Jesus (13:18; 15:25; 19:28; 20:9; cf. 5:45-6).¹³

Fulfillment Motif in the Passion Narratives

It is obvious that the evangelist explains Jesus' passion in terms of "fulfillment." This theme of fulfillment is set forth in chapter twelve and onward. A number of scholars see the fourth Gospel comprised of two main divisions (chaps. 1-11:

However, this view is not entirely new; see the earlier exegetes' comments. "The Fourth Gospel is saturated with the thoughts, imagery, and language of the Old Testament." Alfred Plummer, *The Gospel according to St. John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1880), 42. "Without the basis of the Old Testament, the Gospel of St. John is an insoluble riddle." B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel according to St. John* (London: John Murray, 1894), lxix.

¹⁰"Die Schriftbenutzung durch Anspielungen und subtile Andeutungen im 4. Evangelium ist wesentlich breiter und tiefergehend, als die expliziten Zitate und punktuellen Bezugnahmen vermuten lassen." Jörg Frey, "Wie Mose die Schlange in der Wüste erhöht hat . . .": Zur frühjüdischen Deutung der Schlange und ihrer christologischen Rezeption in Joh 3,14f," in *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum*, ed. Martin Hengel and Hermut Löhr, WUNT 73 (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1994), 205.

¹¹These fulfillment formulae constitute grounds for Obermann's thesis that the passion of Jesus is the "explicit" fulfillment and the preceding ministry is the "implicit" fulfillment of "scripture." Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate*, WUNT 2/83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 348-50. Similarly, Craig A. Evans, "On the Quotation Formulas in the Fourth Gospel," *BZ* 26 (1982): 79-83; Joel Marcus, "The Old Testament and the Death of Jesus: The Role of Scripture in the Gospel Passion Narratives," in *The Death of Jesus in Early Christianity*, ed. John T. Carroll and Joel B. Green (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 229-33. Others observe an obduracy motif in the passion fulfillment texts. Craig A. Evans, "Obduracy and Lord's Servant: Some Observations on the Use of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel," in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 221-36; D. A. Carson, "John and Johannine Epistles," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 248. However, the obduracy on the part of Jews seems to be a contingent effect to accomplish the divine salvific program.

¹²O'Rourke, "Explicit Old Testament Citations in the Gospels," 433.

¹³This was to fulfill the word that he had spoken, "I did not lose a single one of those whom you gave me" (18:9); (This was to fulfill what Jesus had said when he indicated the kind of death he was to die) (18:32).

the book of signs; and 13-20: the book of the passion).¹⁴ If such a division is accepted, chapter twelve is a transitional section that commences a new phase.¹⁵ On this ground, it can be argued that the first half of John spells out the greatness of Jesus as confirmed by prominent Old Testament figures, while the latter part justifies how the greatness of Jesus is consistent with the Jews' rejection of him as Messiah, which is already prophesied in the Old Testament. Smith argues that any missionary tractate designed to convince Jews would run into difficulties if a satisfactory explanation of Jesus' rejection and death was not offered. Smith suggests that Jews needed two questions resolved. First, how could the Messiah be crucified? Second, how could Jews reject their Messiah?¹⁶

Thus, John 12:39-41, which quotes Isaiah 6:10, stands as the starting point of John's apologetic on behalf of Jesus' passion as reflected in the latter half of John's Gospel.¹⁷ From 12:39-41 on, John forcefully explicates that the rejection of the Messiah accords with God's redemptive program as it is prophesied in the Old Testament.¹⁸ This

¹⁴It was first proposed by Dodd (*The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 289) and followed by Brown with a different phrase (book of signs and book of glory, Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, 1:cxviii-ix). Beasley-Murray basically accepts such division but proposes to see the whole Gospel as a book of signs since he sees the purpose of the Gospel as being stated in 21:24-25. Beasley-Murray, *John*, xc.

¹⁵D. Moody Smith made a plausible case for viewing 12:37-40 as a "primitive transition" linking the seemingly contradictory Christologies explicated in the two divisions of the Gospel of John: D. Moody Smith, "Setting and Shape of a Johannine Narrative Source," *JBL* 95 (1976): 239. Smith's view is influenced by B. Lindars who believes that John is here closer to the original understanding and usage of the Old Testament quotations used by early Christians to explain the death of Jesus than is Matthew. Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), 271-72.

¹⁶Smith, "Setting and Shape of a Johannine Narrative Source," 236-41. Smith asserts that the rejection of Jews was unthinkable and it is attested by the constant New Testament reference to Christ's crucifixion as a "stumbling block" to the Jews (e.g., 1 Cor 1:23). Cf. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1: 44-46. Carson presumes that the designated audience of the Fourth Gospel is Diaspora Jews and proselytes. D. A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 90-95. W. Rebell and E. Stegemann further identify the function of the concentrated recourse to the Scripture in John; that is, to "fight for tradition (Kampf um Tradition)" in order for the fourth evangelist to win fellow Jews because the tradition had an authenticating strength (Legitimationskraft). Walter Rebell, *Gemeinde als Gegenwart: Zur soziologischen und didaktischen Funktion des Johannesevangeliums*, BBET 20 (Frankfurt: Lang, 1987), 109; Ekkehard Stegemann, "Die Tragödie der Nähe: Zu den judenfeindlichen Aussagen des Johannesevangeliums," *Kul* 4 (1989): 119.

¹⁷C. K. Barrett, "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel," *JTS* 48 (1947): 169.

¹⁸Hamid-Khani, *Revelation and Concealment of Christ*, 258-330.

is not, however, to say that the Passion was to comply with the prophecies, since Jesus existed before the Old Testament figures.¹⁹

¹⁹Similarly, "These passages [i.e., the Matthean fulfillment texts] are not saying that the Law and the Prophets are just predictions of future events, nor is it saying that Jesus simply fulfills the parts of the Law and the Prophets which happen to be predictions. It means Jesus is the true purpose and goal of the OT." Dan McCartney and Peter Enns, "Matthew and Hosea: A Response to John Sailhamer," *WTJ* 63 (2001): 104.

APPENDIX 4

THE INTERNAL WELL OF LIVING WATER IN JOHN 7:38

And let the one who believes in me drink. As the scripture has said, “out of the believer’s heart shall flow rivers of living water.” (John 7:38 NRSV)

ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ
ρέουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος (John 7:38 UBS).

This verse has led to an amalgam of scholarly confusion due to three peculiar features:¹ first, the verse is structurally an anacoluthon which has prompted some scholars to debate as to the subject of the sentence.² Second, no exact scripture citation is found in the Old Testament as the text claims (“as the scripture said”). Finally, uncertain is the Jewish exegetical source of the concept “the internalized well.”³

Contrary to some exegetes who perceive Jesus as the source of living water in this verse, it is syntactically natural to see the water flowing from within the heart of the believer. In addition, the same concept expressed in John 4:14 reinforces this option.⁴ It

¹For summaries of issues surrounding this verse, see K. H. Kuhn, “St John 7:37-8,” *NTS* 4 (1957): 63-65; Juan B. Cortés, “Yet Another Look at Jn 7:37-38,” *CBQ* 29 (1967): 75-86; Joel Marcus, “Rivers of Living Water from Jesus’ Belly (John 7:38),” *JBL* 117 (1998): 328-30; Michael A. Daise, “‘If Anyone Thirsts, Let That One Come to Me And Drink’: The Literary Texture of John 7:37b-38a,” *JBL* 122 (2003): 687-99.

²*BDF*, 244 (§§466, [4]); George D. Kilpatrick, “Punctuation of John 7:37-38,” *JTS* 11 (1960): 340-42; Gordon D. Fee, “Once More—John 7:37-39,” *ExpTim* 89 (1978): 116-18.

³Concerning the second and third questions, see Johannes Baptist Bauer, “Drei Cruces: Joh 7:38 und Spr 18:4,” *BZ* 9 (1965): 84-91; Bruce H. Grigsby, “‘If Any Man Thirsts’: Observations on the Rabbinic Background of John 7:37-39,” *Bib* 67 (1986): 101-08; Daniel Bodi, “Der altorientalische Hintergrund des Themas der ‘Ströme lebendigen Wassers’ in Joh 7,38,” in *Johannes-Studien: Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Johannes-Evangelium, Freundesgabe der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Neuchâtel für Jean Zumstein*, ed. M. Rose (Zürich: Theologischer, 1991), 137-58; Glenn Balfour, “The Jewishness of John’s Use of the Scriptures in John 6:31 and 7:37-38,” *TynBul* 46 (1995): 357-80; M. J. J. Menken, “The Origin of the Old Testament Quotation in John 7:38,” *NovT* 38 (1996): 159-74; Henry M. Knapp, “The Messianic Water Which Gives Life to the World,” *HBT* 19 (1997): 109-21; Craig R. Koester, *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel: Meaning, Mystery, Community*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 193-94.

⁴Barnabas Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, NCB (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972), 300-

is surprising that the concept of an internalized well within human beings is unattested in the previous or contemporary Jewish literature. This expression thus evidently evokes Jesus' discourse with the Samaritan woman. Two parallel features in both texts warrant such a conclusion: the subject of the granting the water is Jesus and the presence of the unprecedented concept "internalized well." These two Johannine pericopae make an unmistakable statement which marks a radical paradigm shift in redemptive history. Especially noteworthy is the characteristic of the indwelling ministry of the Holy Spirit since it is unheard of in the previous and concurrent Jewish traditions.⁵ At the end, this prediction of the shift in salvation history serves to attest to the messianic identity of Jesus just as the previous miraculous signs rendered the same service.⁶

01; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to the St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978), 326-27; Herman N. Ridderbos, *The Gospel of John, : A Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 273; D. A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 323-25; Andreas Köstenberger, *John*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 10-11. For those who see Jesus as the subject of the verse, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, AB, vol. 29 (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 1:320; George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, WBC, vol. 36, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Nelson, 1999), 115; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John*, HTCNT (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 2:154; Menken, "The Origin of the Old Testament Quotation in John 7:38," 165-66; Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), 1:728-30.

⁵For an extended study on this paradigm shift in John's Gospel, see James M. Hamilton, Jr., *God's Indwelling Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testaments*, NAC Studies in Bible & Theology (Nashville: B & H, 2006).

⁶After witnessing a number of signs (turning water into wine, 2:1-12; the healing of royal official's son, 4:43-54; and of the lame man, 5:1-47; the feeding of the multitude, 6:1-71), many in the crowd confessed, "When the Messiah comes, will he do more signs than this man has done?" (7:31).

APPENDIX 5

EXPLICIT OLD TESTAMENT
MATERIALS IN JOHN

Table 4. Direct Quotations with Introductory Formulae

| | | | |
|----------|--|--|---|
| 1:23 | He said, "I am the voice of one crying out in the wilderness, 'Make straight the way of the Lord,'" as the prophet Isaiah | Isa 40:3 | A voice cries out: "In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. |
| 2:17 | His disciples remembered that it was written, "Zeal for your house will consume me." | Ps 69:9 | It is zeal for your house that has consumed me; the insults of those who insult you have fallen on me. |
| 6:31 | Our ancestors ate the manna in the wilderness; as it is written, 'He gave them bread from heaven to eat.'" | Ps78:24 | he rained down on them manna to eat, and gave them the grain of heaven. |
| 6:45 | It is written in the prophets, 'And they shall all be taught by God.' Everyone who has heard and learned from the Father comes to me. | Isa 54:13 | All your children shall be taught by the LORD, and great shall be the prosperity of your children. |
| 10:34 | Jesus answered, "Is it not written in your law, 'I said, you are | Ps 82:6 | I say, "You are gods, children of the Most High, all of you |
| 12:14-15 | Jesus found a young donkey and sat on it; as it is written: "Do not be afraid, daughter of Zion. Look, your king is coming, sitting on a donkey's colt!" | Ps 62:11; Zech 9:9; cf. Isa 35:4; 40:9 | Once God has spoken; twice have I heard this: that power belongs to God; Rejoice greatly, O daughter Zion! Shout aloud, O daughter Jerusalem! Lo, your king comes to you; triumphant and victorious is he, humble and riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a donkey; Say to those who are of a fearful heart, "Be strong, do not fear! Here is your God. He will come with vengeance, with terrible recompense. He will come and save you."; Get you up to a high mountain, O Zion, herald of good tidings; lift up your voice with strength, O Jerusalem, herald of good tidings, lift it up, do not fear; say to the cities of Judah, "Here is your God!" |

| | | | |
|----------|--|------------------------------|---|
| 12:38 | This was to fulfill the word spoken by the prophet Isaiah: "Lord, who has believed our message, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?" | Isa 53:1 | Who has believed what we have heard? And to whom has the arm of the LORD been revealed? |
| 12:39-41 | And so they could not believe, because Isaiah also said, "He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, so that they might not look with their eyes, and understand with their heart and turn—and I would heal them." Isaiah said this because he saw his glory and spoke about him. | Isa 6:10 | Make the mind of this people dull, and stop their ears, and shut their eyes, so that they may not look with their eyes, and listen with their ears, and comprehend with their minds, and turn and be healed." |
| 13:18 | I am not speaking of all of you; I know whom I have chosen. But it is to fulfill the scripture, 'The one who ate my bread has lifted his heel against me.' | Ps 41:9 | Even my bosom friend in whom I trusted, who ate of my bread, has lifted the heel against me. |
| 15:25 | It was to fulfill the word that is written in their law, 'They hated me without a cause.' | Ps 35:19; 69:5 | Do not let my treacherous enemies rejoice over me, or those who hate me without cause wink the eye; O God, you know my folly; the wrongs I have done are not hidden from you. |
| 19:24 | So they said to one another, "Let us not tear it, but cast lots for it to see who will get it." This was to fulfill what the scripture says, "They divided my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots." | Ps 22:18 | they divide my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots. |
| 19:36 | These things occurred so that the scripture might be fulfilled, "None of his bones shall be broken." | Ex 12:46; Num 9:12; Ps 34:20 | It shall be eaten in one house; you shall not take any of the animal outside the house, and you shall not break any of its bones (Ex 12:46); They shall leave none of it until morning, nor break a bone of it; according to all the statute for the passover they shall keep it (Num 9:12); He keeps all their bones; not one of them will be broken (Ps 34:20). |
| 19:37 | And again another passage of scripture says, "They will look on the one whom they have pierced." | Zech 12:10 | And I will pour out a spirit of compassion and supplication on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so that, when they look on the one whom they have pierced, they shall mourn for him, as one mourns for an only child, and weep bitterly over him, as one weeps over a firstborn. |

| | | | |
|-------|---|-------------|---|
| 19:28 | After this, when Jesus knew that all was now finished, he said (in order to fulfill the scripture), "I am thirsty." | Ps 22:15 | my mouth is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue sticks to my jaws; you lay me in the dust of death. |
|-------|---|-------------|---|

Table 5. Direct Quotations without Introductory Formulae

| | | | |
|-------|---|---------------------|--|
| 1:51 | And he said to him, "Very truly, I tell you, you will see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man." | Gen 28:12 | And he dreamed that there was a ladder set up on the earth, the top of it reaching to heaven; and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it. |
| 12:13 | So they took branches of palm trees and went out to meet him, shouting, "Hosanna! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord—the King of Israel!" | Ps 118:25 -26 | Save us, we beseech you, O LORD! O LORD, we beseech you, give us success! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the LORD. We bless you from the house of the LORD. |

Table 6. Introductory Formulae without Explicit Quotations

| | |
|-------|---|
| 7:38 | and let the one who believes in me drink. As the scripture has said, 'Out of the believer's heart shall flow rivers of living water.' |
| 7:42 | "Has not the scripture said that the Messiah is descended from David and comes from Bethlehem, the village where David lived?" |
| 17:12 | While I was with them, I protected them in your name that you have given me. I guarded them, and not one of them was lost except the one destined to be lost, so that the scripture might be fulfilled. |

Table 7. OT Allusions Discussed in the Present Study

| | |
|--------|--|
| 1:45 | Philip found Nathanael and said to him, "We have found him about whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus son of Joseph from Nazareth." |
| 3:10 | Jesus answered him, "Are you a teacher of Israel, and yet you do not understand these things?" |
| 5:39 | "You search the scriptures because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that testify on my behalf. |
| 5:45-7 | Do not think that I will accuse you before the Father; your accuser is Moses, on whom you have set your hope. If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me. But if you do not believe what he wrote, how will you believe what I say?" |
| 20:9 | for as yet they did not understand the scripture, that he must rise from the dead. |

APPENDIX 6

IMPORTANT SOURCES ON OT AND EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE

The Hebrew Old Testament: Rudolf Kittel et al, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997); George V. Wigram, *The Englishman's Hebrew Concordance of the Old Testament: Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996); John R. Kohlenberger and James A. Swanson, *The Hebrew English Concordance to the Old Testament: With the New International Version* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998).

The Greek Old Testament: Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, SSSGA (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931-); Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint: And the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998); Takamitsu Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint: Keyed to the Hatch-Redpath Concordance* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998).

The Greek New Testament: Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Eberhard Nestle, and Erwin Nestle, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2001); Kurt Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum: Locis parallelis evangeliorum apocryphorum et patrum adhibitibus*, 15th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996); John R. Kohlenberger, Edward W. Goodrick, and James A. Swanson, *The Exhaustive Concordance to the Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995); I. Howard Marshall, *Moulton and Geden Concordance to the Greek New Testament*, 6th ed. (London: T & T Clark, 2002).

The Old Testament Apocrypha: Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Bruce M. Metzger, *A Concordance to the Apocrypha/Deuterocanonical Books of the Revised Standard Version* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983); David A. DeSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002).

The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1983-85); Lorenzo DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999*, JSPSup 39 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2001); Steve Delamater, *A Scripture Index to Charlesworth's the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002).

The Qumran library: The Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955-); James H. Charlesworth and Frank Moore Cross, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994-); Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1996-97); Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005); James H. Charlesworth, *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991); Emanuel Tov, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, DJD 39 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002); Martin G. Abegg, Jr., James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, *The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran*, 2 parts, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

Early rabbinic literature: Isidore Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud*, 35 vols. (London: Soncino, 1935-48); Jacob Neusner, *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 35 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982-1994); idem, trans., *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Herman L. Strack and Paul

Billerbeck, *Das Evangelium nach Markus, Lukas und Johannes und die Apostelgeschichte erläutert aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 3rd ed., vol. 2 of *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (München: Beck, 1924); Hugo Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel: Interpreted in Its Relation to Contemporaneous Religious Currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic-Oriental World* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1929; repr., Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1968); Günther Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 2nd ed., trans. and ed. Markus Bockmuehl (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996).

Hellenistic writings: *Josephus* trans. H. St. J. Thackeray et al, 10 vols., LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926-65); *Philo* trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, 12 vols., LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929-62); Udo Schnelle, Michael Labahn, and Manfred Lang, *Texte zum Johannesevangelium*, vol. I/2 of *Neuer Wettstein: Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechentum und Hellenismus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001).

Miscellaneous secondary sources: Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005); George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005).

APPENDIX 7

THE USE OF RABBINIC MATERIALS IN NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

The use of early rabbinic literature for New Testament studies is increasingly recognized as problematic due to its dating issue and the composite nature which involved an extended period of redactional reworking.¹ Although McNamara suggests an early dating of the Palestinian Targum because the body of literature is supposed to reflect the earliest rabbinic traditions, the philological examination and the extant manuscripts place this group of writings later than the first century A.D.² Most scholars date the extant earliest manuscripts (Targum Onqelos and Targum Neofiti I on the Pentateuch) to the late third century and others far later (mostly the seventh to eleventh centuries for Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, the Cairo Geniza, and Targum Jonathan). The

¹These hermeneutical reservations are expressed in the following. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Review of Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*," *CBQ* 30 (1968): 417-28; idem, "Review of Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*," *TS* 29 (1968): 322-28; Anthony D. York, "Dating of Targumic Literature," *JSJ* 5 (1974): 49; Jacob Neusner, "One Theme, Two Settings: The Messiah in the Literature of the Synagogue and in the Rabbis' Canon of Late Antiquity," *BTB* 14 (1984): 110-21; idem, *Messiah in Context* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 19; Günter Stemberger, "Pesachhaggada und Abendmahlsberichte des Neuen Testaments," *Kairos* 29 (1987): 147-58; Philip Alexander, "Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. M. Jan Mulder, *CINT* 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 238; Anthony J. Saldarini, "Rabbinic Literature and the NT," in *ABD*, 5:602-04; James H. Charlesworth, "From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity: The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 15-16; Stephen A. Kaufman, "Dating the Language of the Palestinian Targums and Their Use in the Study of First Century CE Texts," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, *JSOTSup* 166 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 118-41; Johann Maier, "Schriftrezeption im jüdischen Umfeld des Johannesevangeliums," in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), 87-88; Burton L. Visotzky, "Midrash, Christian Exegesis, and Hellenistic Hermeneutics," in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*, ed. JSJSup 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 112-17.

²Cf. Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Biblica, 1978). Also, similarly, Craig A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005), 185-215; Philip S. Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," in *ABD*, 6:320-31; Gary G. Porton, "Midrash," in *ABD*, 4:818-22; and B. D. Chilton, "Targums," in *DJG*, 801-02; idem, "Rabbinic Literature: Targumim," in *DNTB*, 904-05.

advocates for the rabbinic influence on the New Testament bring up two evidences on their behalf. First, they point to some parts of Targum Jonathan which seem to reflect a national eschatological concern probably current right after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70-200. Second, three Qumran writings (4QtgLev, 4QtgJob, and 11QtgJob) resemble the midrashic style of early rabbinic exegesis.

However, it must be stressed that no one denies some type of rabbinic interpretative practice probably existed in the first century but the composite nature of the literature renders it extremely difficult to utilize it in a critical way for the investigation of any literary dependence. In addition, the three Qumran fragments contain so literal a rendering of the Hebrew scriptures that their categorization into Targum appears to be a special pleading.³ E. P. Sanders offers a three-fold caution against the use of the early rabbinic materials for New Testament studies. First, although most scholars accept a general continuity between Pharisaism of the first century and the early rabbinic ideas of the second century onward, it is not entirely certain as to the conceptual coherence between the former and individual rabbis of a later period. This partial disparity requires a discerning use. Second, the long period of the editorial activity significantly reduces one's confidence in the rabbinic sources' claim to the early provenance. There is virtually no way to be certain of which part originated from the earliest trait of thought (i.e., second century A.D.). A common mistake scholars make in this regard can be mentioned. D. Daube found a reference to "Moses' seat" in a post-biblical rabbinic writing.⁴ The term is found nowhere else in the body of the early rabbinic literature but only in Matthew 23:2. Thus, he postulates that the rabbinic document reflects the conceptual currents of the first century. However, his logic manifests the fallacy of generalization. The term may have derived from the first century tradition, but it is a

³Chilton, "Targums," 800.

⁴David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1990-94), 246.

gross overgeneralization to posit that the entire document that contains the term reflects the Judaism of Jesus' time in its entirety. Third, the rabbinic materials' diversity of views hinders the validity of a comparative study because one can often find a contrasting viewpoint from another rabbi.⁵ A fourth reservation can be added to this list. That is, it is possible that a common (oral) Jewish tradition may account for the parallel shared by the New Testament and rabbinic sources.⁶ As such, the main contribution of inquiries into the rabbinic literature for New Testament studies should remain as an aid to clarify the Jewish cultural/religious milieu of the first century Palestine.⁷

⁵E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 60-61.

⁶Geza Vermes, "Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections on Methodology," *JJS* 33 (1982): 273; Grant R. Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1991), 138.

⁷B. D. Chilton, "Rabbinic Traditions and Writings," in *DJG*, 659; Catherine Hezser, "Diaspora and Rabbinic Judaism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 128-29.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Abegg, Martin G., Jr., James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, eds. *The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran*. 2 parts. Vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Aberbach, Moses, and Bernard Grossfeld, eds. *Targum Onkelos to Genesis: A Critical Analysis together with an English Translation of the Text*. New York: Ktav, 1982.
- Aland, Barbara, Kurt Aland, Eberhard Nestle, and Erwin Nestle, eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 27th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2001.
- Aland, Kurt. *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum: Locis parallelis evangeliorum apocryphorum et patrum adhibitibus*. 15th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996.
- Alexander, Patrick H., John F. Kutsko, James D. Ernest, and Shirley Decker-Lucke, eds. *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999.
- Allegro, John M. *Qumrân Cave 4: 4Q158-4Q186*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 5. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- Allison, Dale C., Jr. *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.
- Anderson, Paul N. *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: Its Unity and Disunity in the Light of John 6*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996.
- Anderson, Robert T., and Terry Giles. *The Keepers: An Introduction to the History and Culture of the Samaritans*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002.
- _____. *Traditions Kept: The Literature of the Samaritans*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005.
- Ashton, John. *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- _____. *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.
- Backhaus, Knut. *Die "Jüngerkreise" des Täufers Johannes: Eine Studie zu den religionsgeschichtlichen Ursprüngen des Christentums*. Paderborner theologische Studien 19. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1991.
- Baillet, Maurice. *Qumrân Grotte 4 III (4Q482-4Q520)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert

7. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.
- Baird, William. *From Deism to Tübingen*. Vol. 1 of *History of New Testament Research*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- Baker, David L. *Two Testaments, One Bible: A Study of the Theological Relationship between the Old and New Testaments*. Rev. ed. Downers Grove, IL: Inter Varsity, 1991.
- Baldensperger, Wilhelm. *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums: Sein polemischapologetischer Zweck*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1898.
- Ball, David M. "I Am" in *John's Gospel: Literary Function, Background, and Theological Implications*. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 124. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1996.
- Balz, Horst R., ed. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie: Abkürzungsverzeichnis*. 36 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977-2004.
- Balz, Horst R., and Gerhard Schneider, eds. *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990-93.
- Barr, James. *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1999.
- _____. *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983.
- _____. *Old and New in Interpretation: A Study of the Two Testaments*. 2nd ed. London: SCM, 1982.
- Barrett, C. K. *The Gospel of John and Judaism*. Translated by D. M. Smith. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975.
- _____. *The Gospel according to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978.
- Barton, John. *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*. Rev. ed. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996.
- Bauckham, Richard. *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- _____. *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Bauer, Walter. *Das Johannesevangelium*. 3rd ed. *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* 6. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1933.
- _____, Frederick William Danker, William F. Arndt, and Frederick W. Gingrich. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Bauernfeind, Otto. *Kommentar und Studien zur Apostelgeschichte*. Wissenschaftliche

- Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 22. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980.
- Baumgarten, Joseph M. *Qumrân Cave 4. XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 18. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Beale, Gregory K. *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 166. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1999.
- _____. *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984.
- Beasley-Murray, George R. *John*. 2nd ed. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 36. Nashville: Nelson, 1999.
- Becker, Joachim. *Messianic Expectation in the Old Testament*. Translated by David E. Green. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980.
- Becker, Jürgen. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. 2 vols. 3rd ed. Ökumenischer Taschenbuch Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 4. Würzburg: Echter, 1991.
- Becking, Bob, Pieter W. van der Horst, and Karel van der Toorn, eds. *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Bentzen, Aage. *King and Messiah*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1970.
- Berger, Klaus. *Exegese des Neuen Testaments: Neue Wege vom Text zur Auslegung*. 3rd ed. Uni-Taschenbücher 658. Wiesbaden: Quelle und Meyer, 1991.
- Bernard, J. H. A. *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John*. 2 vols. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928.
- Betz, Hans D., ed. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. 4th ed. 8 vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998-2005.
- Beutler, Johannes. *Martyria: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Zeugnisthema bei Johannes*. Frankfurter Theologische Studien 10. Frankfurt: Josef Knecht, 1972.
- _____. *Studien zu den johanneischen Schriften*. Edited by Gerhard Dautzenberg and Norbert Lohfink. Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände 25. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998.
- Beyschlag, Karlmann. *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 16. Tübingen: Mohr, 1974.
- Bickerman, Elias J. *The Jews in the Greek Age*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Bieler, Ludwig. *Theios Aner: Das bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum*. 2 vols. Wien: Oskar Höfels, 1935-36.
- Bieringer, R., D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, eds. *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*. Jewish and Christian

- Heritage Series 1. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001.
- Bittner, Wolfgang J. *Jesu Zeichen im Johannesevangelium: Die Messias-Erkenntnis im Johannesevangelium vor ihrem jüdischen Hintergrund*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/26. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987.
- Black, Matthew. *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.
- Blackburn, Barry L. *Theios Aner and the Markan Miracle Traditions: A Critique of the Theios Aner Concept as an Interpretative Background of the Miracle Traditions Used by Mark*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament 2/40. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1991.
- Blank, Josef. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. Geistliche Schriftlesung 4/1. Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1981.
- Blass, Friedrich, Albert DeBrunner, and Robert W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Block, Daniel I. *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1-24*. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Blomberg, Craig L. *The Historical Reliability of John's Gospel: Issues and Commentary*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001.
- Bockmuehl, Markus. *This Jesus: Martyr, Lord, Messiah*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1996.
- Boismard, Marie-Émile. *Moses or Jesus: An Essay in Johannine Christology*. Translated by B. T. Viviano. Minneapolis: Fortress; Leuven: Peeters, 1993; Translated from *Moïse ou Jésus: essai de christologie Johannique*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 84. Leuven: Peeters; Leuven University Press, 1988.
- Borchert, Gerald L. *John 1-11*. New American Commentary, vol. 25A. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1996.
- _____. *John 12-21*. New American Commentary, vol. 25B. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2002.
- Borgen, Peder. *Bread from Heaven: An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writing of Philo*. Supplement to Novum Testamentum 10. Leiden: Brill, 1965.
- _____. *Logos Was the True Light and Other Essays on the Gospel of John*. Relieff 9. Trondheim, Norway: Tapir, 1983.
- _____. *Philo, John, and Paul: New Perspectives on Judaism and Early Christianity*. Atlanta: Scholars, 1987.
- Botterweck, G. Johannes, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. 14 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-2006.

- Braude, William G., trans. *The Midrash on Psalms*. Yale Judaica Series 13. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.
- Brett, Mark G. *Biblical Criticism in Crisis?: The Impact of the Canonical Approach on Old Testament Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Brodie, Thomas. L. *The Gospel according to John: A Literary and Theological Commentary*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Broer, Ingo. *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. 2 vols. Neue Echter Bibel zum Neuen Testament. Würzburg: Echter, 1998.
- Brown, Colin, ed. *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. 4 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986.
- Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, eds. *The Brown, Driver, Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic, Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996.
- Brown, Raymond E. *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*. Rev. ed. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1993.
- _____. *The Gospel according to John*. 2 vols. Anchor Bible, vols. 29-29a. New York: Doubleday, 1966-70.
- _____. *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*. Edited by Francis J. Moloney. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 2003.
- Bruce, F. F. *The Gospel of John*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983.
- Brueggemann, Walter. *Theology of the Old Testament with CD-ROM: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.
- Brunson, Andrew C. *Psalm 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament 2/158. Tübingen: Siebeck, 2003.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. *Das Evangelium des Johannes*. 21st ed. Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, vol. 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986; Translation. *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*. Translated by George R. Beasley-Murray. Louisville: Westminster, 1971.
- _____. *History of the Synoptic Tradition*. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.
- _____. *Theology of the New Testament*. 2 vols. London: SCM, 1955.
- Burger, Christoph. *Jesus als Davidsohn: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 98. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970.
- Burkett, Delbert R. *The Son of Man in the Gospel of John*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 56. Sheffield: JSOT, 1991.

- Burney, C. F. *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1922.
- Byrskog, Samuel. *Story as History—History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 123. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- Calbert-Koyzis, Nancy. *Paul, Monotheism and the People of God: The Significance of Abraham Traditions for Early Judaism and Christianity*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 273. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Campbell, Jonathan G. *The Exegetical Texts*. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 4. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Camponovo, Odo. *Königtum, Königsherrschaft und Reich Gottes in den frühjüdischen Schriften*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 58. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995.
- Caron, Gérald. *Qui sont les Juifs de l'Évangile de Jean?* Recherches 35. Quebec: Bellarmin, 1997.
- Carrell, Peter R. *Jesus and the Angels: Angelology and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Carroll, John T., and Joel B. Green. *The Death of Jesus in Early Christianity*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.
- Carson, D. A. *The Gospel according to John*. Pillar New Testament Commentaries. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.
- Carson, D. A., and Douglas J. Moo. *An Introduction to the New Testament*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005.
- Casey, Maurice. *An Aramaic Approach to Q: Sources for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 122. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- _____. *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- _____. *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991.
- _____. *Is John's Gospel True?* London: Routledge, 1996.
- _____. *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7*. London: SPCK, 1979.
- Chancey, Mark A. *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 134. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- _____. *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 118. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

- Charlesworth, James H., ed. *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*. Vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1995.
- _____. *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991.
- _____. *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. New York: Crossroad, 1990.
- _____. *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*. Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins 1. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- _____. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1983-85.
- _____. *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*. Vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994.
- Charlesworth, James H., and Frank Moore Cross. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994- .
- Charlesworth, James H., Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema, eds. *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.
- Childs, Brevard S. *Biblical Theology in Crisis*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970.
- _____. *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.
- _____. *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*. The Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster, 1973.
- _____. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979.
- Chilton, Bruce D. *Targumic Approaches to the Gospels: Essays in the Mutual Definition of Judaism and Christianity*. Studies in Judaism. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986.
- Christensen, Duane L. *Deuteronomy 1:1-21:9, Revised*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 6A. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001.
- _____. *Deuteronomy 21:10-34:12*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 6B. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2002.
- Clark, Ernest G., ed. and trans. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy*. The Aramaic Bible 5B. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1997.

- _____. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1984.
- Clark-Soles, Jaime. *Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Social Function of the Use of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Coats, George W. *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 57. Sheffield: JSOT, 1987.
- _____. *The Moses Tradition*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 161. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993.
- Cohen, Shaye J. D. *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*. 2nd ed. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006.
- Collins, John J. *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- _____. *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*. 2nd ed. Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- _____. *Encounters with Biblical Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.
- _____. *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*. Anchor Bible Reference Library 10. New York: Doubleday, 1995.
- _____. *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 13. Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974.
- Colpe, Carsten. *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule: Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösermythus*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 60. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961.
- Condra, Ed. *Salvation for the Righteous Revealed: Jesus amid Covenantal and Messianic Expectations in Second Temple Judaism*. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 51. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Conzelmann, Hans, and Andreas Lindemann. *Arbeitsbuch zum Neuen Testament*. 14th ed. Uni-Taschenbücher 52. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- _____. *Grundriss der Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. 6th ed. Uni-Taschenbücher 1446. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- Coogan, Michael D., ed. *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Corrington, Gail P. *The "Divine Man": His Origin and Function in Hellenistic Popular Religion*. Theology and Religion 17. New York: P. Lang, 1986.
- Court, John M., ed. *New Testament Writers and the Old Testament: An Introduction*. London: SPCK, 2002.
- Craigie, Peter C. *The Book of Deuteronomy*. New International Commentary on the Old

- Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976.
- Crawford, Sidnie White. *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts*. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 2. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000.
- Cross, Frank Moore. *The Ancient Library of Qumran*. 3rd ed. The Biblical Seminar 30. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995.
- Crown, Alan D., ed. *Samaritan Scribes and Manuscripts*. Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 80. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.
- Crown, Alan D. *The Samaritans*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989.
- Crown, Alan D., Reinhard Pummer, and Abraham Tal., ed. *A Companion to Samaritan Studies*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993.
- Cullmann, Oscar. *The Christology of the New Testament*. Rev. ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963.
- Culpepper, R. Alan. *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Literary Design*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983.
- _____, ed. *Critical Readings of John 6*. Biblical Interpretation Series 22. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Dahood, Mitchell. *Psalms: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. 3 vols. Anchor Bible, vols. 16-17A. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966-70.
- Daly-Denton, Margaret. *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms*. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 47. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Danby, Herbert. *The Mishnah: Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes*. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- D'Angelo, Mary R. *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 42. Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979.
- Dapaah, Daniel S. *The Relationship between John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth: A Critical Study*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005.
- Daube, David. *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1990-94.
- Dauer, Anton. *Die Passionsgeschichte im Johannesevangelium: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche und theologische Untersuchung zu Joh. 18, 1-19, 30*. Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 30. München: Kösel, 1972.
- Davies, Margaret. *Rhetoric and Reference in the Fourth Gospel*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 69. Sheffield: JSOT, 1992.
- Davies, W. D. *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine*. Sheffield: JSOT, 1994. Reprinted, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

- _____. *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.
- Day, John, ed. *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 270. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.
- Deines, Roland. *Die Pharisäer: Ihr Verständnis im Spiegel der christlichen und jüdischen Forschung seit Wellhausen und Graetz*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 101. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- _____. *Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit: Ein archäologisch-historischer Beitrag zum Verständnis von Joh 2,6 und der jüdischen Reinheitshalacha zur Zeit Jesu*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/52. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1993.
- Deines, Roland, and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, eds. *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen, 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum 1.—4. Mail 2003, Eisenach/Jena eds.* Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament 172. Tübingen: Siebeck, 2004.
- de Jonge, Marinus. *Christology in Context: The Earliest Christian Response to Jesus*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988.
- _____. *God's Final Envoy: Early Christology and Jesus' Own View of His Mission*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- _____. *Jesus, the Servant-Messiah*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Delamarter, Steve. *A Scripture Index to Charlesworth's the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002.
- DeSilva, David A. *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002.
- Dietzfelbinger, Christian. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. 2 vols. Zürcher Bibelkommentare zum Neuen Testament 4. Zürich: Theologischer, 2001.
- Di Lella, Alexander A., and Patrick W. Skehan. *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*. The Anchor Bible 39. New York: Doubleday, 1987.
- Dimant, Devorah. *Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*. Part 4 of *Qumran Cave 4, XXI: Parabiblical Texts*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 30. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.
- DiTommaso, Lorenzo. *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 39. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2001.
- Dodd, C. H. *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology*. London: Nisbet, 1952.
- _____. *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

- _____. *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954.
- Dohmen, Christoph, and Thomas Söding, eds. *Eine Bibel, zwei Testamente: Positionen Biblischer Theologie*. Uni-Taschenbücher 1893. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1995.
- Dommershausen, Werner. *1 Makkabäer, 2 Makkabäer*. 2nd ed. Die Neue Echter Bibel 12. Würzburg: Echter, 1995.
- Driver, S. R. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*. 3rd ed. The International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1978.
- Dschulnigg, Peter. *Jesus Begegnen: Personen und ihre Bedeutung im Johannesevangelium*. Münster: Lit, 2002.
- Dunderberg, Ismo. *Johannes und die Synoptiker: Studien zu Joh 1-9*. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae 69. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia 1994.
- Dunn, James D. G. *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origin of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1989.
- _____. *Jesus Remembered*. Christianity in the Making 1. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.
- _____. *A New Perspective on Jesus: What the Quest for the Historical Jesus Missed*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005.
- _____. *The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity*. 2nd ed. London: SCM, 2006.
- _____. *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity*. 3rd ed. London: SCM, 2006.
- Durham, John I. *Exodus*. Word Biblical Commenatry, vol. 3. Waco, TX: Word, 1987.
- Efird, James M., ed. *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Studies in Honor of William Franklin Stinespring*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1972.
- Elliger, K., and W. Rudolph. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1977.
- Elliott, Mark. *The Survivors of Israel: A Reconsideration of the Theology of Pre-Christian Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- Ellis, E. Earle. *The Making of the New Testament Documents*. Biblical Interpretation Series 39. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- _____. *The Old Testament in Early Christianity: Canon and Interpretation in the Light of Modern Research*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 54. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1991.
- Epstein, Isidore, ed. *The Babylonian Talmud*. 35 vols. London: Soncino, 1935-48.
- Ernst, Josef. *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte*.

Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 53. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989.

Evans, Craig A. *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: A Guide to the Background Literature*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005.

_____, ed. *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004.

_____. *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Studies in Language and Tradition*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 33. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000.

_____. *The Function of Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 154. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.

Evans, Craig A. *Word and Glory: On the Exegetical and Theological Background of John's Prologue*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 89. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1993.

Evans, Craig A., and J. A. Sanders, eds. *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 148. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997.

Evans, Craig A., and W. R. Stegner, eds. *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 104. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994.

Fabry, Heinz-Josef, and Klaus Scholtissek. *Der Messias: Perspektiven des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. Die Neue Echter Bibel Themen 5. Würzburg: Echter, 2002.

Fishbane, Michael. *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Semitic Background of the New Testament*. Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.

_____. *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*. Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979.

Flint, Peter W. *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 17. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Förster, Niclas. *Marcus Magus: Kult, Lehre und Gemeindeleben einer valentinianischen Gnostikergruppe: Sammlung der Quellen und Kommentar*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 114. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.

Fortna, Robert T. *The Fourth Gospel and Its Predecessor: From Narrative Source to Present Gospel*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988.

_____. *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel*. Society for the New Testament Studies Monograph Series 11. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

- France, R. T. *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission*. Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1982.
- Francke, August H. *Das Alte Testament bei Johannes: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung und Beurteilung der johanneischen Schriften*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1885.
- Frankemölle, Hubert. *Studien zum jüdischen Kontext neutestamentlicher Theologien*. Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände 37. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2005.
- Freed, Edwin D. *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 11. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965.
- Freedman, David N., ed. *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Freedman, H., trans. *Genesis: Midrash Rabbah*. 2 vols. London: Soncino, 1951.
- Fretheim, Terence E. *Exodus*. Interpretation. Louisville: John Knox, 1991.
- Frey, Jörg and Udo Schnelle, eds. *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditions-geschichtlicher Perspektive*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 175. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Freyne, Seán. *Galilee and Gospel: Collected Essays*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 125. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- _____. *Jesus, a Jewish Galilean: A New Reading of the Jesus Story*. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Frühwald-König, Johannes. *Tempel und Kult: Ein Beitrag zur Christologie des Johannesevangeliums*. Biblische Untersuchungen 27. Regensburg: Pustet, 1998.
- Fuller, Reginald H. *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*. New York: Scribner, 1965.
- Fuß, Barbara. "Dies ist die Zeit, von der geschrieben ist . . .": Die expliziten Zitate aus dem Buch Hosea in den Handschriften von Qumran und im Neuen Testament. Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen NF 37. Münster: Aschendorff, 2000.
- Gerhardsson, Birger. *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity with Tradition and Transmission in Early Christianity*. 2nd ed. Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Gese, Hartmut. *Essays on Biblical Theology*. Translated by Keith Crim. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981.
- _____. *Vom Sinai zum Zion*. Munich: Kaiser, 1974.
- Gieschen, Charles A. *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 42. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Glasson, T. Francis. *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*. Studies in Biblical Theology 40.

- London: SCM, 1963.
- Gleßmer, Uwe. *Einleitung in die Targume zum Pentateuch*. Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 48. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995.
- Gnilka, Joachim. *Johannesevangelium*. 5th ed. Neue Echter Bibel zum Neuen Testament 4. Würzburg: Echter, 1999.
- _____. *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament Supplement 5. Freiburg: Herder, 1994.
- Goldstein, Jonathan A. *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible, vol. 41A. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983.
- Goodenough, Erwin R. *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935.
- Goodspeed, Edgar J. *An Introduction to the New Testament*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.
- Goppelt, Leonhard. *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*. Translated by Donald H. Madvig. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982.
- Graf Reventlow, Henning. *Problems of Old Testament Theology in the Twentieth Century*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985.
- Green, Joel B., Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall, eds. *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1994.
- Grob, Francis. *Faire l'œuvre de Dieu: Christologie et éthique dans l'Évangile de Jean*. Etudes d'histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses 68. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986.
- Gruen, Erich S. *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 30. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Haar, Stephen. *Simon Magus: The First Gnostic?* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 119. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.
- Haenchen, Ernst. *John: A Commentary on the Gospel of John*. Edited by Robert W. Funk and Ulrich Busse. 2 vols. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.
- Hafemann, Scott J. *Paul, Moses and the History of Israel: The Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Argument from Scripture in 2 Corinthians 3*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 81. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995.
- Häfner, Gerd. *Der verheißene Vorläufer: Redaktionskritische Untersuchung zur Darstellung Johannes des Täufers im Matthäusevangelium*. Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge 27. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1994.
- Hahn, Ferdinand. *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. 2 vols. Tübingen: Siebeck, 2002.
- _____. *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity*. London: Lutterworth, 1969.

- Hakola, Raimo. *Identity Matters: John, the Jews and Jewishness*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 118. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Hamid-Khani, Saeed. *Revelation and Concealment of Christ: A Theological Inquiry into the Elusive Language of the Fourth Gospel*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/120. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- Hamilton, James M., Jr. *God's Indwelling Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testaments*. NAC Studies in Bible & Theology. Nashville: B & H, 2006.
- Hannah, Darrell D. *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/109. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.
- Hanson, Anthony Tyrrell. *The Living Utterances of God: The New Testament Exegesis of the Old*. London: Barton, Longman and Todd, 1983.
- _____. *The New Testament Interpretation of Scripture*. London: SPCK, 1980.
- _____. *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991.
- Hare, Douglas R. A. *The Son of Man Tradition*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1990.
- Harner, Philip B. *The "I Am" of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Johannine Usage and Thought*. Facet Books Biblical Series 26. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1970.
- Harris, Elizabeth. *Prologue and Gospel: The Theology of the Fourth Evangelist*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 107. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994.
- Harris, J. Rendel. *Testimonies*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916-1920.
- Harstine, Stan. *Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel: A Study of Ancient Reading Techniques*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 229. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002.
- Hasel, Gerhard F. *New Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978.
- Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A. Redpath. *A Concordance to the Septuagint: And the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998.
- Haupt, Erich. *Die alttestamentlichen Citate in den vier Evangelien*. London: Williams & Norgate, 1871.
- Hawthorne, Gerald F., Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid, eds. *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993.
- Hayes, John Haralson, and Frederick C. Prussner. *Old Testament Theology: Its History and Development*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1985.

- Hays, Richard B. *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Helmer, Christine, and Christof Landmesser, eds. *One Scripture or Many?: Canon from Biblical, Theological and Philosophical Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Hempel, Charlotte. *The Damascus Texts*. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000.
- Hengel, Martin. *The Atonement: The Origins of the Doctrine in the New Testament*. London: SCM, 1981.
- _____. *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Collection and Origin of the Canonical Gospels*. Translated by John Bowden. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000.
- _____. *Die johanneische Frage: Ein Lösungsversuch*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 67. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993.
- _____. *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 109. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1999.
- _____. *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976.
- _____. *Studies in Early Christology*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995.
- Hengel, Martin, and Hermut Löhr, eds. *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 73. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1994.
- Hennecke, Edgar, and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds. *New Testament Apocrypha*. 2 vols. Translated by R. McL. Wilson. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963.
- Hill, Charles E. *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Hjelm, Ingrid. *The Samaritans and Early Judaism: A Literary Analysis*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 303. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000.
- Holladay, Carl R. *Poets: The Epic Poets Theodotus and Philo and Ezekiel the Tragedian*. Vol. 2 of *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*. Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations 30. Atlanta: Scholars, 1989.
- _____. *Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 40. Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1977.
- Holladay, William L. *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 1-25*. Hermeneia 21/1. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986.
- Hollander, John. *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

- Horbury, William. *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ*. London: SCM, 1998.
- _____. *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Twelve Biblical and Historical Studies*. London: T & T Clark, 2003.
- Horgan, M. P. *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretation of Biblical Books*. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 8. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979.
- Horsley, Richard A. *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee: The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis*. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity, 1996.
- _____. *Galilee: History, Politics, People*. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity, 1995.
- Hoskyns, Edwin. *The Fourth Gospel*. 2nd ed. London: Faber, 1947.
- Hossfeld, F. L., ed. *Wieviel Systematik erlaubt die Schrift?: Auf der Suche nach einer gesamtbiblischen Theologie*. Quaestiones disputatae 185. Freiburg: Herder, 2001.
- Hübner, Hans. *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. 3 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990-95.
- Hübner, Hans, and Antje and Michael Labehn. *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997-2002.
- Hühn, Eugen H. Th. *Die alttestamentlichen Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testamente*. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1900.
- Hummelfarb, M. *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Hurtado, Larry W. *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?: Historical Questions about Earliest Devotion to Jesus*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- _____. *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.
- _____. *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*. 2nd ed. London: T & T Clark, 1998.
- Huyen, Susan. *Allusion and Meaning in John 6*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 137. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- Iustini Martyris *Dialogus cum Tryphone*. Edited by Miroslav Marcovich. Patristische Texte und Studien 47. Berlin: Gruyter, 1997.
- Jacobson, Howard. *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Janowski, Bernd, and Peter Stuhlmacher, eds. *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*. Translated by Daniel P. Bailey. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.

- Jenni, Ernst, Wilhelm Hollenberg, and Karl Budde. *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments: Neubearbeitung des Hebräischen Schulbuchs*. 2nd ed. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1981.
- Johnson, S. Lewis. *The Old Testament in the New: An Argument for Biblical Inspiration*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980.
- Jones, F. Stanley. *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source on the History of Christianity: Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions 1.27-71*. Texts and Translations 37. Atlanta: Scholars, 1995.
- Jones, Henry S. ed. *A Greek-English Lexicon: Compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Jones, Larry P. *The Symbol of Water in the Gospel of John*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 145. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997.
- Josephus*. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. 10 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926-65.
- Jouön, Paul, and T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. 3 vols. Subsidia Biblica 14/1, 2. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2003.
- Juel, Donald. *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988.
- Kaiser, Walter C. *The Uses of the Old Testament in the New*. Chicago: Moody, 1985.
- Käsemann, Ernst. *The Testament of Jesus: A Study of the Gospel of John in the Light of Chapter 17*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968.
- Kaufman, Stephen A., and Michael Sokoloff. *A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance to Targum Neofiti: A Guide to the Complete Palestinian Aramaic Text of the Torah*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Keener, Craig S. *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*. 2 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003.
- Kelber, Werner H. *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983.
- Kelly, Page H., Daniel S. Mynatt, and Timothy G. Crawford. *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia: Introduction and Annotated Glossary*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Kim, Seyoon. *The Son of Man as the Son of God*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 30. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983.
- Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-74.
- Kittel, Rudolf., Karl Elliger, Wilhelm Rudolph, Hans Peter Ruger, and G. E. Weil. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997.

- Knöppler, Thomas. *Die theologia crucis des Johannesevangeliums: Das Verständnis des Todes Jesu im Rahmen der johanneischen Inkarnations- und Erhöhungschristologie*. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 69. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1994.
- Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Koester, Craig R. *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the Old Testament*. The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 22. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989.
- _____. *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel: Meaning, Mystery, Community*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003.
- Koester, Helmut. *Introduction to the New Testament*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. New York: de Gruyter, 1994.
- _____. *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 65. Berlin: Akademie, 1957.
- Kohlenberger, John R., Edward W. Goodrick, and James A. Swanson. *The Exhaustive Concordance to the Greek New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995.
- Kohlenberger, John R., and James A. Swanson. *The Hebrew English Concordance to the Old Testament: With the New International Version*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998.
- Kohler, Herbert. *Kreuz und Menschwerdung im Johannesevangelium: Ein exegetisch-hermeneutischer Versuch zur johanneischen Kreuzestheologie*. Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 72. Zürich: Theologischer, 1987.
- Koskenniemi, Erkki. *Apollonios von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese: Forschungsbericht und Weiterführung der Diskussion*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/61. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.
- _____. *The Old Testament Miracle-Workers in Early Judaism*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/206. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Köstenberger, Andreas. *John*. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004.
- Kotila, Markku. *Umstrittener Zeuge: Studien zur Stellung des Gesetzes in der johanneischen Theologiegeschichte*. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae 48. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1988.
- Kuhn, Hans-Jürgen. *Christologie und Wunder: Untersuchungen zu Joh 1,35-51*. Biblische Untersuchungen 18. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1988.
- Kysar, Robert. *Voyages with John: Charting the Fourth Gospel*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2005.

- Laato, Antti. *Josiah and David Redivivus: The Historical Josiah and the Messianic Expectations of Exilic and Postexilic Times*. Coniectanea biblica Old Testament 33. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1992.
- _____. *A Star Is Rising: The Historical Development of the Old Testament Royal Ideology and the Rise of Jewish Messianic Expectations*. International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism 5. Atlanta: Scholars, 1997.
- Labahn, Michael. *Jesus als Lebensspender: Untersuchungen zu einer Geschichte der johanneischen Tradition anhand ihrer Wundergeschichten*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 98. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999.
- _____. *Offenbarung in Zeichen und Wort: Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte von Joh 6,1-25a und seiner Rezeption in der Brotrede*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/117. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- Labahn, Michael, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, eds. *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- Leaney, Alfred R. C. *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. New Testament Library. London: SCM, 1966.
- Lee, Aquila H. I. *From Messiah to Preexistent Son: Jesus' Self-Consciousness and Early Christian Exegesis of Messianic Psalms*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/192. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Léon-Dufour, Xavier. *To Act according to the Gospel*. Translated by Christopher R. Smith. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005.
- Levenson, Jon Douglas. *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993.
- Liddell, Henry G. *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon: Founded upon the Seventh Edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1889.
- Liddell, Henry G., and Robert Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Revised by Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Liebers, Reinhold. *"Wie geschrieben steht": Studien zu einer besonderen Art frühchristlichen Schriftbezuges*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993.
- Lierman, John. *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/173. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Lim, Timothy H. *Pesharim*. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 3. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002.
- Lincoln, Andrew T. *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John*. Black's New Testament Commentary 4. London: Continuum, 2005.
- Lindars, Barnabas. *The Gospel of John*. New Century Bible. London: Marshall, Morgan

& Scott, 1972.

_____. *Jesus Son of Man: A Fresh Examination of the Son of Man Sayings in the Gospels*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983.

_____. *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961.

Ling, Timothy J. M. *The Judaeen Poor and the Fourth Gospel*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 136. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Loader, William R. G. *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: Structure and Issues*. 2nd ed. Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie 23. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992.

_____. *Jesus' Attitude towards the Law: A Study of the Gospels*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/97. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.

Lohse, Eduard. *Grundriß der neutestamentlichen Theologie*. 5th ed. Theologische Wissenschaft 5. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1998.

_____. *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und deutsch mit masoretischer Punktation*. 4th ed. München: Kösel, 1986.

Loisy, Alfred F. *Le quatrième évangile: Les épîtres dites de Jean*. Paris: Émile Nourry, 1921.

Longenecker, Richard N. *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.

Lüdemann, Gerd. *The Acts of the Apostles: What Really Happened in the Earliest Days of the Church*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2005.

_____. *Primitive Christianity: A Survey of Recent Studies and Some New Proposals*. London: T & T Clark, 2003.

_____. *Untersuchungen zur simonianischen Gnosis*. Göttinger theologische Arbeiten 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975.

Lust, Johan. *Messianism and the Septuagint: Collected Essays*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 178. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004.

MacDonald, John. *Memar Marqah: The Teaching of Marqah*. 2 vols (the Text and Translation). Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 84. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1963.

_____. *The Theology of the Samaritans*. The New Testament Library. London: SCM, 1964.

Macgregor, G. H. C. *The Gospel of John*. Moffatt New Testament Commentary. New York: Harper, 1928.

Magne, Sæbø, ed. *From the Beginings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300)*. Vol. 1. of *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. Göttingen:

- Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.
- Maher, Michael, ed. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*. Aramaic Bible 1B. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1992.
- Maier, Johann. *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer*. 3 vols. Uni-Taschenbücher 1862, 1863, and 1916. München: E. Reinhardt, 1995-96.
- _____. *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation & Commentary*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 34. Sheffield: JSOT, 1985.
- _____. *Zwischen den Testamenten: Geschichte und Religion in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels*. Neue Echter Bibel zum Alten Testament 3. Würzburg: Echter, 1990.
- Malina, Bruce J. *The Palestinian Manna Tradition: The Manna Tradition in the Palestinian Targums and Its Relationship to the New Testament Writings*. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des späteren Judentums und des Urchristentums 7. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Malina, Bruce J., and Richard L. Rohrbaugh. *Social-Science Commentary on the Gospel of John*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.
- Manning, Gary T., Jr. *Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 270. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Markschies, Christoph. *Gnosis: An Introduction*. Translated by John Bowden. London: T & T Clark, 2003.
- Marshall, I. Howard. *Moulton and Geden Concordance to the Greek New Testament*. 6th ed. London: T & T Clark, 2002.
- Martínez, Florentino García, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1996-97.
- Martyn, J. Louis. *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*. 3rd ed. The New Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2003.
- Mason, Steve. *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study*. Studia Post-Biblica 39. Leiden: Brill, 1991.
- McConville, J. Gordon. *Deuteronomy*. Apollos Old Testament Commentary 5. Leicester: Apollos; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002.
- McGrath, Alister E. *The Making of Modern German Christology: 1750-1990*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994.
- McGrath, James F. *John's Apologetic Christology: Legitimation and Development in Johannine Christology*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 111. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- McNamara, Martin. *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*. 2nd ed. Analecta Biblica 27a. Rome: Biblica, 1978.

- _____. *Targum and Testament: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible, a Light on the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972.
- _____, ed. *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*. Aramaic Bible 1A. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1992.
- Meeks, Wayne A. *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 14. Leiden: Brill, 1967.
- Meier, John P. *Companions and Competitors*. Vol. 3 of *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*. The Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 2001.
- _____. *Mentor, Message, and Miracles*. Vol. 2 of *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*. The Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1994.
- _____. *Origins of the Problem and the Person*. Vol. 1 of *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*. The Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1991.
- Menken, Maarten J. J. *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*. Kämpen: Kok Pharos, 1996.
- Merrill, Eugene H. *Deuteronomy*. The New American Commentary, vol. 4. Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1994.
- Metzger, Bruce M. *A Concordance to the Apocrypha/Deuterocanonical Books of the Revised Standard Version*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983.
- Metzger, Bruce M., and Bart D. Ehrman. *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Metzner, Rainer. *Das Verständnis der Sünde im Johannesevangelium*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 122. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000.
- Meyers, Carol L. and Eric M. Meyers. *Zechariah 9-14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible, vol. 25C. New York: Doubleday, 1993.
- Meyers, Carol L., and Zeev Weiss, eds. *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture*. Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996.
- Midrash Rabbah: Genesis II*. Translated by H. Freedman. London: Soncino, 1951.
- Milgrom, Jacob. *Numbers: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation Commentary*. The JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990.
- Miller, Patrick D. *Deuteronomy*. Interpretation. Louisville: John Knox, 1990.
- Miranda, Juan P. *Der Vater, der mich gesandt hat: Religionsgeschichtlich Untersuchungen zu den johanneischen Sendungsformeln: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur johanneischen Christologie und Ekklesiologie*. Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/7. Bern: Theologischer, 1972.

- Mlakuzhyil, George. *The Christocentric Literary Structure of the Fourth Gospel*. *Analecta Biblica* 117. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1987.
- Moloney, Francis J. *The Gospel of John*. *Sacra Pagina* 4. Wilmington, DE: Liturgical, 1998.
- _____. *The Johannine Son of Man*. 2nd ed. *Biblioteca di scienze religiose* 14. Rome: Libreria Ateneo Salesiano, 1978.
- _____. *Signs and Shadows: Reading John 5-12*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996.
- Moo, Douglas J. *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives*. Sheffield: Almond, 1983.
- Moore, Johannes C. de. *A Bilingual Concordance to the Targum of the Prophets*. Leiden: Brill, 1995- .
- Morris, Leon. *The Gospel according to John*. Rev. ed. *New International Commentary on the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.
- Mowinckel, Sigmund. *He That Cometh: The Messiah Concept in the Old Testament and Later Judaism*. *The Biblical Resource Series*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Moyise, Steve. *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*. *Continuum Biblical Studies Series*. London: Continuum, 2001.
- Moyise, Steve, ed. *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 189. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000.
- Moyise, Steve, and Maarten J. J. Menken, eds. *The Psalms in the New Testament*. *The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel*. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Müller, Mogens. *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint*. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Series* 206. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1996.
- _____. and Hennik Tronier, eds. *The New Testament as Reception*. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Series* 230. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002.
- Müller, Ulrich B. *Johannes der Täufer: Jüdischer Prophet und Wegbereiter Jesu*. *Biblische Gestalten* 6. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2002.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint: Keyed to the Hatch-Redpath Concordance*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998.
- Myers, Jacob M. *I and II Esdras: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. *The Anchor Bible* 42. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974.
- Nagel, Titus. *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert: Studien zur vorirenäischen Aneignung und Auslegung des vierten Evangeliums in christlicher und christlich-agnostischer Literatur*. *Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte* 2. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000.
- Neill, Stephen, and Tom Wright. *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1986*. 2nd

- ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Nelson, Richard D. *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*. The Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2002.
- Neusner, Jacob. *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis*. 3 vols. Brown Judaic Studies 104-06. Atlanta: Scholars, 1985.
- _____. *Messiah in Context*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.
- _____. *The Midrash: An Introduction*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1990.
- _____, ed. *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*. 35 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982-1994.
- _____, trans. *The Mishnah: A New Translation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- _____, and Bruce D. Chilton. *Jewish-Christian Debates: God, Kingdom, Messiah*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.
- Neusner, Jacob, and Alan J. Avery-Peck, eds. *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning*. 2 vols. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 80. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Neusner, Jacob, William S. Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs, eds. *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of Christian Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Nicholson, Godfrey C. *Death as Departure: The Johannine Descent-Ascent Schema*. SBL Dissertation Series 63. Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.
- _____. *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*. Harvard Theological Studies 26. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Nicol, W. *The Semeia in the Fourth Gospel: Tradition and Redaction*. Novum Testamentum Supplement 32. Leiden: Brill, 1972.
- Noack, Bent. *Zur Johanneischen Tradition: Beiträge zur Kritik an der literarkritischen Analyse des vierten Evangeliums*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1954.
- Noble, Paul R. *The Canonical Approach: A Critical Reconstruction of the Hermeneutics of Brevard S. Childs*. Biblical Interpretation Series 16. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Nodet, Etienne. *A Search for the Origins of Judaism: From Joshua to the Mishnah*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 248. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997.
- Obermann, Andreas. *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/83. Tübingen: Mohr

- Siebeck, 1996.
- Odeberg, Hugo. *The Fourth Gospel: Interpreted in Its Relation to Contemporaneous Religious Currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic-Oriental World*. Chicago: Argonaut, 1929; repr. Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1968.
- Oegeman, Gerbern S. *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 27. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.
- Öhler, Markus. *Alttestamentliche Gestalten im Neuen Testament: Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999.
- _____. *Elia im Neuen Testament: Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des alttestamentlichen Propheten im frühen Christentum*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 88. Berlin: Gruyter, 1997.
- Okure, Teresa. *The Johannine Approach to Mission: A Contextual Study of John 4:1-42*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/31. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988.
- Osborne, Grant R. *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to biblical Interpretation*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1991.
- Ottlinger, Angelika. *Vorläufer, Vorbild oder Zeuge?: Zum Wandel des Täuferbildes im Johannesevangelium*. Dissertationen Theologische Reihe 45. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1991.
- Painter, John. *The Quest for the Messiah: The History, Literature and Theology of the Johannine Community*. 2nd ed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1993.
- Pancaro, Severino. *The Law in the Fourth Gospel: The Torah and the Gospel, Moses and Jesus, Judaism and Christianity according to John*. Supplements to Novum testamentum 42. Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- Patte, Daniel. *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 22. Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1975.
- Paulien, Jon. *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets: Literary Allusions and Interpretation of Revelation 8:7-12*. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 11. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1988.
- Petzke, Gerd. *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament*. Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti 1. Leiden: Brill, 1970.
- Phillips, Peter M. *The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel: A Sequential Reading*. Library of New Testament Studies 294. London: T & T Clark, 2006.
- Philo*. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. 12 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929-62.
- Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer (The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great) according to the Text of the Manuscript belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna*. Translated by Gerald

- Friedlander. New York: Bloch, 1916.
- Plummer, Alfred. *The Gospel according to St. John*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1880.
- Polhill, John B. *Acts*. New American Commentary, vol. 26. Nashville: Broadman, 1992.
- Pomykala, Kenneth. *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*. Early Judaism and Its Literature 7. Atlanta: Scholars, 1995.
- Popp, Thomas. *Grammatik des Geistes: Literarische Kunst und theologische Konzeption in Johannes 3 und 6*. Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 3. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001.
- Porter, J. R. *Moses and Monarchy: A Study in the Biblical Tradition of Moses*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1963.
- Porter, Stanley E. *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*. McMaster New Testament Studies. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.
- Propp, William H. C. *Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible, vol. 2. New York: Doubleday, 1998.
- Pryor, John W. *John: Evangelist of the Covenant People: The Narrative and Themes of the Fourth Gospel*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992.
- Puech, Emile. *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?: histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*. 2 vols. Etudes bibliques 21-22. Paris: Lecoffre, 1993.
- _____. *Qumrân grotte 4, XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 25. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Pummer, Reinhard. *The Samaritans*. Iconography of Religions 23/5. Leiden: Brill, 1987.
- Qimron, Elisha. *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions*. Judean Desert Studies. Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1996.
- Rahlfs, Alfred, ed. *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX Interpretes*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979.
- _____. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931- .
- Rebell, Walter. *Gemeinde als Gegenwelt: Zur soziologischen und didaktischen Funktion des Johannesevangeliums*. Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie 20. Frankfurt: Lang, 1987.
- Reed, Jonathan L. *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-examination of the Evidence*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000.

- Reim, Günter. *Jochanan: Erweiterte Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*. Erlangen: Der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1995.
- _____. *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums*. Society for the New Testament Studies Monograph Series 22. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Reitzenstein, Richard. *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1906.
- Rendtorff, Rolf. *Canonical Hebrew Bible: A Theology of the Old Testament*. Tools for Biblical Study 7. Leiden: Deo, 2005.
- Richter, Georg. *Studien zum Johannesevangelium*. Biblische Untersuchungen 13. Regensburg: Pustet, 1977.
- Richter, Wolfgang. *Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte: Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Studie zu 1 Sam 9,1-10,16, Ex 3f. und Ri 6,11b-17*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 101. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970.
- Ridderbos, Herman N. *The Gospel of John: A Theological Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Rosas, Ricardo López. *La señal del templo: Jn 2, 13-22, redefinición Cristológica de la sacro*. Bibliotheca mexicana 12. Mexico: Universidad Pontificia de México, 2001.
- Rothfuchs, Wilhelm. *Die Erfüllungszitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums: Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung*. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 88. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1969.
- Ruckstuhl, Eugen. *Die literarische Einheit des Johannesevangeliums: Der gegenwärtige Stand der einschlägigen Forschungen*. Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus 5. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987.
- Ruckstuhl, Eugen, and Peter Dschulnigg. *Stilkritik und Verfasserfrage im Johannesevangelium: Die Johanneischen Sprachmerkmale auf dem Hintergrund des Neuen Testaments und des zeitgenössischen hellenistischen Schrifttums*. Novum testamentum et orbis antiquus 17. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1991.
- Runia, David T. *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey*. Compendia Rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 3/3. Van Gorcum: Assen; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993.
- Rüterswörden, Udo. *Von der politischen Gemeinschaft zur Gemeinde: Studien zu Dt 16, 18-18, 22*. Bonner biblische Beiträge 65. Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1987.
- Sadananda, Daniel R. *The Johannine Exegesis of God: An Exploration into the Johannine Understanding of God*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 121. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004.
- Saito, Tadashi. *Die Mosevorstellungen im Neuen Testament*. Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/100. Bern: P. Lang, 1977.
- Saladrini, Anthony J. *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A*

- Sociological Approach*. 2nd ed. Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.
- Sanders, E. P. *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66 CE*. Philadelphia: Trinity, 1992.
- _____. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977.
- Sanders, James A., ed. *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 4. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.
- Sanderson, Judith E. *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExodum and the Samaritan Tradition*. Harvard Semitic Studies 30. Atlanta: Scholars, 1986.
- Sasse, Markus. *Der Menschensohn im Evangelium nach Johannes*. Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 35. Tübingen: Francke, 2000.
- Schadick, Stefan. *Auf dem Weg in den Konflikt: Exegetische Studien zum theologischen Profil der Erzählung vom Aufenthalt Jesus in Samarien (Joh 4, 1-42) im Kontext des Johannesevangeliums*. Bonner biblische Beiträge 126. Berlin: Philo, 2000.
- Schenke, Ludger. *Johannes: Kommentar*. Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1998.
- Schiffman, Lawrence H., and James C. VanderKam, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Schlatter, Adolf. *Der Evangelist Johannes, wie er spricht, denkt und glaubt: Ein Kommentar zum vierten Evangelien*. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1975.
- _____. *Die Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten*. Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie 6/4. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902.
- _____. *Rückblick auf meine Lebensarbeit*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1977.
- Schmithals, Walter. *Johannesevangelium und Johannesbriefe: Forschungsgeschichte und Analyse*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 64. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992.
- Schnackenburg, Rudolf. *The Gospel according to St John*. 3 vols. Herder's Theological Commentary on the New Testament. New York: Crossroad, 1982.
- _____. *Jesus in the Gospels: A Biblical Christology*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1995.
- Schneemelcher, Wilhelm, ed. *New Testament Apocrypha*. Rev. ed. 2 vols. Translated by R. McL. Wilson. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991.
- Schneider, Johannes. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1976.
- Schnelle, Udo. *Antidocetic Christology in the Gospel of John: An Investigation of the Place of the Fourth Gospel in the Johannine School*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- _____. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. 2nd ed. Theologischer Handkommentar zum

Neuen Testament 4. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999.

_____. *The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.

Schnelle, Udo, Michael Labahn, and Manfred Lang, eds. *Texte zum Johannesevangelium*. Vol. I/2 of *Neuer Wettstein: Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechentum and Hellenismus*. Berlin: Gruyter, 2001.

Scholtissek, Klaus. *In ihm sein und bleiben: Die Sprache der Immanenz in den Johanneischen Schriften*. Herders biblische Studien 21. Freiburg: Herder, 2000.

Schottroff, Luise. *Der Glaubende und die feindliche Welt: Beobachtungen zum gnostischen Dualismus und seiner Bedeutung für Paulus und das Johannesevangelium*. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 37. Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1970.

Schreiber, Stefan. *Gesalbter und König: Titel und Konzeptionen der königlichen Gesalbtenervartung in frühjüdischen und urchristlichen Schriften*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 105. Berlin: Gruyter, 2000.

Schuchard, Bruce G. *Scripture within Scripture: The Interrelationship of Form and Function in the Explicit Old Testament Citations in the Gospel of John*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 133. Atlanta: Scholars, 1992.

Schulz, Hans-Joachim. *Die apostolische Herkunft der Evangelien: Zum Ursprung der Evangelienform in der urgemeindlichen Paschafeier*. 3rd ed. *Quaestiones disputatae* 145. Freiburg: Herder, 1997.

Schulz, Siegfried. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. 5th ed. Neue Testament Deutsch 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987.

_____. *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Methodengeschichte der Auslegung des 4. Evangeliums*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957.

Schürer, Emil. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*. 3 vols. Translated by T. A. Burkill. Revised and edited by Geza Vermes. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986.

Schweizer, Eduard. *Ego Eimi: Die religionsgeschichtlich Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der johanneischen Bildreden, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Quellenfrage des vierten Evangeliums*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 56. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939.

_____. *Jesus Christus: Im vielfältigen Zeugnis des Neuen Testaments*. 4th ed. Gütersloher Taschenbücher/Siebenstern 126. Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1976.

Scobie, Charles H. H. *The Ways of Our God: An Approach to Biblical Theology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.

Scott, James, ed. *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 56. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

- _____. *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 72. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Scroggie, W. Graham. *A Guide to the Gospels*. London: Pickering & Inglis, 1948.
- Setzer, Claudia. *Resurrection of the Body in Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Doctrine, Community, and Self-Definition*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Seybold, Klaus. *Das Davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 107. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972.
- Shires, Henry M. *Finding the Old Testament in the New*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974.
- Siker, Jeffrey S. *Disinheriting the Jews: Abraham in Early Christian Controversy*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991.
- Smalley, Stephen S. *John: Evangelist and Interpreter*. 2nd ed. Gospel Profiles 4. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1998.
- Smith, D. Moody. *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel: Bultmann's Literary Theory*. Yale Publications in Religion 10. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- _____. *Johannine Christianity: Essays on Its Setting, Sources, and Theology*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984.
- _____. *John*. Abingdon New Testament Commentaries. Nashville: Abingdon, 1999.
- _____. *John among the Gospels: The Relationship in Twentieth-Century Research*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- _____. *The Theology of the Gospel of John*. New Testament Theology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Smits, Crispinus. *Handelingen van de Apostelen, Evangelie van Johannes, Apocalyps en Katholieke Brieven*. Vol. 2 of *Oud-Testamentische Citaten in het Nieuwe Testament*. Hertogenbosch, Netherlands: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1955.
- Smyth, Herbert Weir. *Greek Grammar*. Revised by Gordon M. Messing. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Snaith, John G. *Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach*. The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Spawn, Kevin L. "As It Is Written" and Other Citation Formulae in the Old Testament: Their Use, Development, Syntax and Significance. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 311. New York: de Gruyter, 2002.
- Sperber, Alexander. *The Bible in Aramaic*. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Stanley, Christopher D. *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*. Society for New Testament Studies

- Monograph Series 74. Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1992.
- Stauffer, Ethelbert. *Jesus and His Story*. New York: Knopf, 1960.
- Stein, Robert H. *Studying the Synoptic Gospels: Origin and Interpretation*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001.
- Stemberger, Günther. *Der Leib der Auferstehung: Studien zur Anthropologie und Eschatologie des palästinischen Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (ca. 170 v. Chr.-100 n. Chr.)*. Analecta Biblica 56. Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972.
- _____. *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*. 2nd ed. Translated and Edited by Markus Bockmuehl. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996.
- _____. *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995.
- Stibbe, Mark W. G. *John as Storyteller: Narrative Criticism and the Fourth Gospel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Stone, Michael E. *Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra*. Harvard Semitic Studies 35. Atlanta: Scholars, 1989.
- _____. *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*. Hermeneia 60/2. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990.
- Stowasser, Martin. *Johannes der Täufer im Vierten Evangelium: Eine Untersuchung zu seiner Bedeutung für die johanneische Gemeinde*. Österreichische biblische Studien 12. Klosterneuburg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992.
- Strack, Herman L., and Paul Billerbeck. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*. 6 vols. München: C. H. Beck, 1922-1961.
- Strauss, Mark L. *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement 110. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995.
- Strecker, Georg. *Theology of the New Testament*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2000.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/70. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T., and Wendy E. S. North, eds. *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 263. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Stuhlmacher, Peter. *How to Do Biblical Theology*. Princeton Theological Monograph Series 38. Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1995.
- _____. *Jesus of Nazareth—Christ of Faith*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993.
- Taylor, Joan E. *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism*. Studying

- the Historical Jesus. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Taylor, Vincent. *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition: Eight Lectures*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1949.
- Teeple, Howard M. *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*. Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 10. Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1957.
- Theobald, Michael. *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos: Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh.* Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen (New Series) 20. Münster: Aschendorff, 1988.
- _____. *Im Anfang war das Wort: Textlinguistische Studie zum Johannesprolog*. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 106. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1983.
- Thielman, Frank. *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1994.
- _____. *Theology of the New Testament: A Canonical and Synthetic Approach*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005.
- Thyen, Hartwig. *Das Johannesevangelium*. Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 6. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Tigay, Jeffrey H. *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation*. JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996.
- Tilly, Michael. *Johannes der Täufer und die Biographie der Propheten: Die synoptische Täuferüberlieferung und das jüdische Prophetenbild zur Zeit des Täufers*. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 7. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994.
- Tov, Emanuel. *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 39. Oxford: Clarendon, 2002.
- Toy, Crawford H. *Quotations in the New Testament*. New York: Scribner's, 1884.
- Tromp, Johannes. *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary*. Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 10. Leiden: Brill, 1993.
- Tuckett, Christopher M. *The Scriptures in the Gospels*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium 131. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997.
- van Belle, Gilbert. *The Signs Source in the Fourth Gospel: Historical Survey and Critical Evaluation of the Semeia Hypothesis*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium 116. Louvain: Peeters, 1994.
- van Belle, Gilbert, Jan G. van der Watt, and P. J. Maritz. *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium 184. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005.
- VanderKam, James C. *An Introduction to Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.

- VanGemeren, Willem A., ed. *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
- van Henten, Jan Willem. *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 57. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Wallace, Daniel B. *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996.
- Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael P. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- Wansbrough, Henry, ed. *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 64. Sheffield: JSOT, 1991.
- Watson, Francis. *Text and Truth: Redefining Biblical Theology*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- _____. *Text, Church, and World: Biblical Interpretation in Theological Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Webb, Robert L. *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 62. Sheffield: JSOT, 1991.
- Weiser, Alfons. *Die Theologie der Evangelien*. Vol. 2 of *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie 8. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1993.
- Weiss, Johannes. *The History of Primitive Christianity*. New York: Wilson-Erikson, 1937.
- Wengst, Klaus. *Bedrängte Gemeinde und verherrlichter Christus: Ein Versuch über das Johannesevangelium*. 4th ed. Kaiser Taschenbücher 114. München: Chr. Kaiser, 1992.
- _____. *Das Johannesevangelium*. Rev. ed. 2 vols. Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 4. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000-01.
- Werner, Dommershausen. *1 Makkabäer, 2 Makkabäer*. 2nd ed. Neue Echter Bibel 12. Würzburg: Echter, 1995.
- Westcott, B. F. *The Gospel according to St. John*. London: John Murray, 1894.
- Westermann, Claus. *Das Johannesevangelium aus der Sicht des Alten Testaments*. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1994. Translated from *The Gospel of John in the Light of the Old Testament*. Translated by Siegfried S. Schatzmann. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998.
- Wetter, Gillis P. *"Der Sohn Gottes": Eine Untersuchung über den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannes Evangeliums, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Heilandsgestalten der Antike*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 26. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1916.
- Wevers, John W., ed. *Genesis*. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 1.

- Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974.
- Wevers, John W. *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 39. Atlanta: Scholars, 1995.
- _____, ed. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922- .
- Widmer, Michael. *Moses, God, and the Dynamics of Intercessory Prayer: A Study of Exodus 32-34 and Numbers 13-14*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2/8. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Wieser, Friedrich. E. *Die Abrahamvorstellungen im Neuen Testament*. Europäische Hochschuleschriften 23/317. Bern: Lang, 1987.
- Wigram, George V. *The Englishman's Hebrew Concordance of the Old Testament: Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996.
- Wilckens, Udo. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. 2nd ed. Das Neue Testament Deutsch 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.
- Windisch, Hans. *Paulus und Christus: Ein biblisch-religionsgeschichtlicher vergleich*. Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 24. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1934.
- Wink, Walter. *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Wise, Michael O., Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. Rev. ed. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005.
- Witherington, Ben, III. *John's Wisdom: A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1995.
- Wonneberger, Reinhard. *Understanding BHS: A Manual for the Users of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. 3rd ed. Subsidia Biblica 8. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2001.
- Wright, N. T. *Jesus and Victory of God*. Christian Origins and the Question of God 2. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996.
- _____. *The New Testament and the People of God*. Christian Origins and the Question of God 1. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- Xeravits, Géza G. *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 47. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Yamauchi, Edwin M. *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins*. Harvard Theological Studies 24. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Yarbrough, Robert W. *The Salvation-Historical Fallacy?: Reassessing the History of New Testament Theology*. History of Biblical Interpretation Series 2. Leiden: Deo, 2004.

- Zimmermann, Johannes. *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/104. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.
- Zumstein, Jean. *Kreative Erinnerung: Relecture und Auslegung im Johannesevangelium*. 2nd ed. Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 84. Zürich: Theologischer, 2004.

Articles and Reviews

- Abegg, Martin G., Jr. "The Messiah at Qumran: Are We Still Seeing Double?" *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995): 125-44.
- _____. "Who Ascended to Heaven?: 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness." In *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, 61-73. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Achtemeier, Paul J. "Omne Verbum Sonat: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109 (1990): 3-27.
- Agua Pérez, Agustín del. "Jewish Procedures of Bible Interpretation in the Gospels: A Proposal for a Systematic Classification." *Estudios bíblicos* 60 (2002): 77-106.
- Albertz, Rainer. "Isaak II: Neues Testament." In *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by Horst R. Berline: de Gruyter, 1987.
- Alexander, Loveday. "Ancient Book Production and the Circulation of the Gospels." In *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. Richard Bauckham, 71-112. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Alexander, Philip. "Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures." In *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jan Mulder, 217-54. Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988.
- _____. "Targum, Targumim." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Allison, Dale C., Jr. "Elijah Must Come First." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 256-58.
- _____. "The Living Water (John 4:10-14, 6:35c, 7:37-39)." *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 30 (1986): 143-57.
- Anderson, Gary, and Joseph Dan. "Abraham III: Judentum." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by Hans D. Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.
- Anderson, H. "4 Maccabees." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2:533-64. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1985.

- Anderson, Paul N. "Aspects of Historicity in the Gospel of John: Implications for Investigations of Jesus and Archaeology." In *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 587-618. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.
- _____. "The *Sitz im Leben* of the Johannine Bread of Life Discourse and Its Evolving Context." In *Critical Readings of John 6*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper, 1-60. Biblical Interpretation Series 22. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Anderson, Robert T. "Samaritan Literature." In *Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000.
- _____. "Samaritans." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Ashton, John. "Narrative Criticism." In *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel*, 141-65. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- _____. "The Signs Source." In *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel*, 90-113. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- _____. "Son of Man." In *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 337-73. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.
- _____. "Studying John." In *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel*, 184-208. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- _____. "The Transformation of Wisdom." In *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel*, 5-35. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Atkinson, Kenneth. "On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from Psalm of Solomon 17." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118 (1999): 435-60.
- Attridge, Harold W. "Genre Bending in the Fourth Gospel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 121 (2002): 3-21.
- Aune, David E. "The Contribution of Howard Merle Teeple to New Testament Scholarship." *Biblical Research* 43 (1998): 70-81.
- _____. "Dualism in the Fourth Gospel and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reassessment of the Problem." In *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl Henning Ulrichsen, 281-303. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 106. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Baarda, Tjitze. "John 1,17b: The Origin of a Peshitta Reading." *Ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium* 77 (2001): 153-62.
- Baillet, Maurice. "Le texte samaritain de l'Exode dans les manuscrits de Qumrân." In *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, ed. André Dupont-Sommer, 363-81. Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1971.
- Balentine, Samuel E. "The Prophet as Intercessor: A Reassessment." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 161-73.

- Balfour, Glenn. "The Jewishness of John's Use of the Scriptures in John 6:31 and 7:37-38." *Tyndale Bulletin* 46 (1995): 357-80.
- Barnett, Paul W. "Indications of Earliness in the Gospel of John." *Reformed Theological Review* 64 (2005): 61-75.
- Barr, James. "Childs' *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 16 (1980): 12-23.
- Barrera, Julio T. "Elijah." In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Barrett, Charles K. "Christocentric or Theocentric?: Observations on the Theological Method of the Fourth Gospel." In *Essays on John*, 1-18. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982.
- _____. "The Father is Greater Than I' (Jo 14, 28): Subordinationist Christology in the New Testament." In *Neues Testament und Kirche: Für Rudolf Schnackenburg*, ed. Joachim Gnilka, 144-59. Freiburg: Herder, 1974. Reprinted in *Essays on John*, 19-36. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982.
- _____. "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New." In *The Cambridge History of the Bible, From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, 1: 377-411. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- _____. "John and Judaism." In *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. Reimund Bieringer, Didier Pollefeyt, and Frederique Vandecasteele-Vanneville, 231-46. Jewish and Christian Heritage Series 1. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001.
- _____. "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel." *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1947): 155-69.
- Barstad, Hans M. "The Understanding of the Prophets in Deuteronomy." *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 8 (1994): 236-51.
- Barth, Gerhard. "Biblische Theologie: Versuch einer vorläufigen Bilanz." *Evangelische Theologie* 58 (1998): 384-99.
- Bartlett, David L. "Interpreting and Preaching the Gospel of John." *Interpretation* 60 (2006): 48-63.
- Barton, George A. "'A Bone of Him Shall Not Be Broken': John 19:36." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 49 (1930): 13-19.
- Barton, John. "Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective." In *The Nature of New Testament Theology: Essays in Honour of Robert Morgan*, ed. Christopher Rowland and Christopher Tuckett, 18-30. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.
- _____. "The Messiah in Old Testament Theology." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, John Day, ed., 365-79. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 270. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.

- Bassler, Jouette M. "A Man for All Seasons: David in Rabbinic and New Testament Literature." *Interpretation* 40 (1986): 156-69.
- Bauckham, Richard. "The Audience of the Fourth Gospel." In *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna und Tom Thatcher, 101-12. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001.
- _____. "The Eyewitnesses and the Gospel Traditions." *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 1 (2003): 28-60.
- _____. "For Whom Were Gospels Written?" In *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. Richard Bauckham, 9-48. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- _____. "Life, Death, and the Afterlife in Second Temple Judaism." In *Life in the Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker, 80-95. McMaster New Testament Studies. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- _____. "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Christian or Jewish." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976): 447-58.
- _____. "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel: Is There a Connection?" In *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years after*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, 267-79. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 26. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997.
- _____. "The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John." In *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, 105-15. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.
- _____. "The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus." In *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origin of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, 43-69. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 63. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Bauer, D. R. "Son of David." In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Edited by Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992.
- Bauer, Johannes Baptist. "Drei Cruces: Joh 7:38 und Spr 18:4." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 9 (1965): 84-91.
- Bauernfeind, Otto. "Tradition und Komposition in dem Apokatastasispruch Apostelgeschichte 3:20f." In *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel, Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Otto Betz, Martin Hengel, and Peter Schmidt, 13-23. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums 5. Leiden: Brill, 1963.
- Beale, Gregory K. "Positive Answer to the Question Did Jesus and His Followers Preach the Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?" In *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale, 387-404.

Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994.

- Beasley-Murray, George R. "John 12,31-34: The Eschatological Significance of the Lifting up of the Son of Man." In *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Heinrich Greeven*, ed. Wolfgang Schrage, 70-81. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 47. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986.
- _____. "John 13-17: The Community of True Life." *Review and Expositor* 85 (1988): 473-84.
- _____. "The Lifting up of the Son of Man." In *Gospel of Life: Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 34-58. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991.
- Becker, Jürgen. "Beobachtungen zum Dualismus im Johannesevangelium." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 65 (1974): 71-87.
- _____. "Ich Bin die Auferstehung und das Leben: Eine Skizze der johanneischen Christologie." *Theologische Zeitschrift* 39 (1983): 138-51.
- Becker, Michael. "4Q521 und die Gesalbten." *Revue de Qumran* 18 (1997): 73-96.
- Belano, Alessandro. "Χάρις ἀντὶ χάριτος (Gv 1,16): 'Grazia su grazia?'" *Rivista biblica* 53 (2005): 479-82.
- Beltz, Walter. "Elia redivivus: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Verbindung von Gnosis und Altem Testament." In *Altes Testament-Frühjudentum-Gnosis: Neue Studien zur "Gnosis und Bibel"*, ed. Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, 137-41. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1980.
- Berger, Klaus. "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament." In *Augstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 25.2:1031-1432. Part 2, *Principat*, 25.2. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. New York: Gruyter, 1984.
- _____. "Die königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments." *New Testament Studies* 20 (1973): 1-44.
- Bergey, Ronald. "The Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32.1-43) and Isaianic Prophecies: A Case of Early Intertextuality?" *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 28 (2003): 33-54.
- Bergmeier, Roland. "Fragen zur Interpretation der johanneischen Schriften: Homogenität und Widersprüche." *Theologische Zeitschrift* 60 (2004): 107-30.
- _____. "Die Gestalt des Simon Magus in Apg 8 und in der simonianischen Gnosis: Aporien einer Gesamtdeutung." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 77 (1986): 267-75.
- Bernard, Jacques. "David et le péché original chez les Tannaïm." In *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l'ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeulen, 277-314. *Lectio Divina* 177. Paris: Cerf, 1999.

- Bernstein, Moshe J. "4Q252: Method and Context, Genre and Sources." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 85 (1994): 61-79.
- Betz, Otto. "Das Johannesevangelium und das Alte Testament." In *Wie verstehen wir das Neue Testament?* 87-108. Wuppertal: Aussaat, 1981.
- _____. "Donnersöhne, Menschenfischer und der Davidische Messias." *Revue de Qumran* 3 (1961): 41-70.
- Beutler, Johannes. "Das Hauptgebot im Johannesevangelium." In *Das Gesetz im Neuen Testament*, ed. Johannes Beutler and Karl Kertelge, 222-36. *Quaestiones disputatae* 108. Freiburg: Herder, 1986.
- _____. "The Identity of the 'Jews' for the Readers of John." In *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuille, 229-38. *Jewish and Christian Heritage Series 1*. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001.
- _____. "Literarische Gattungen im Johannesevangelium: Ein Forschungsbericht 1919-1980." In *Augstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.25: 2506-68. Part 3, *Principat*, 2.25. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. New York: Gruyter, 1985.
- _____. "Zur Struktur von Johannes 6." In *Studien zu den johanneischen Schriften*, 247-62. *Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände 25*. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998.
- Bieringer, Reimund, and Didier Pollefeyt. "Open to Both Ways . . . ?: Johannine Perspectives on Judaism in the Light of Jewish-Christian Dialogue." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 11-32. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- Bindemann, Walther. "Der Johannesprolog: Ein Versuch, ihn zu verstehen." *Novum Testamentum* 37 (1995): 331-54.
- Black, Matthew. "Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament." *New Testament Studies* 18 (1971): 1-14.
- Bloch, Renée. "Quelques aspects de la Figure de Moïse dans la Tradition Rabbinque." In *Moïse, l'homme de l'alliance*, ed. Henri Cazelles, 93-167. Special Issue of *Cahiers Sioniens*. Tournai: Desclée, 1955.
- Block, Daniel I. "My Servant David: Ancient Israel's Vision of the Messiah." In *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R., 17-56. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003.
- Blum, Erhard. "Abraham I: Altes Testament." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by Hans Dieter Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.
- Blumenthal, Christian. "Charis anti charitos (Joh 1,16)." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 92 (2001): 290-94.
- Bock, Darrell L. "Elijah and Elisha." In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Edited by

- Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992.
- Bockmuehl, Markus. "Qumran Commentaries in Greco-Roman Context" [on-line]. Accessed 2 February 2006. Available from <http://orion.mscc.kuji.ac.il/symposiums/9th/papers/BockmuehlPaper.pdf>; Internet.
- Bodi, Daniel. "Der altorientalische Hintergrund des Themas der 'Ströme lebendigen Wassers' in Joh 7,38." In *Johannes-Studien: Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Johannes-Evangelium, Freundesgabe der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Neuchâtel für Jean Zumstein*, ed. Martin Rose, 137-58. Zürich: Theologischer, 1991.
- Boismard, Marie-Émile. "Jésus, le prophète par excellence, d'après Jean 10, 24-39." In *Neues Testament und Kirche: Für Rudolf Schnackenburg*, ed. Joachim Gnllka, 160-71. Freiburg: Herder, 1974.
- Bondi, Richard A. "John 8:39-47: Children of Abraham or of the Devil?" *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 34 (1997): 473-98.
- Borchert, Gerald L. "The Resurrection Perspective in John: An Evangelical Summons." *Review and Expositor* 85 (1988): 501-14.
- Borgen, Peder. "The Gospel of John and Hellenism: Some Observations." In *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black, 98-123. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1996.
- _____. "Heavenly Ascent in Philo: An Examination of Selected Passages." In *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans, 246-68. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 14. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1993.
- _____. "John 6: Tradition, Interpretation and Composition." In *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. de Boer, 268-91. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 84. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993.
- _____. "Observations on the Targumic Character of the Prologue of John" In *Logos was the True Light and Other Essays on the Gospel of John*, 13-20. Trondheim: Tapir, 1983.
- _____. "The Son of Man Saying in John 3:13-14." In *Logos was the True Light and Other Essays on the Gospel of John*, 133-48. Trondheim: Tapir, 1983. Reprinted in *Philo, John and Paul: New Perspectives on Judaism and Early Christianity*, 103-20. Atlanta: Scholars, 1987.
- _____. "The Use of Tradition in John 12:44-50." *New Testament Studies* 26 (1979): 18-35. Reprinted in *Philo, John and Paul: New Perspectives on Judaism and Early Christianity*, 185-204. Atlanta: Scholars, 1987.
- Bostock, D. Gerald. "Jesus as the New Elisha." *Expository Times* 92 (1980-81): 39-41.
- Bowley, James E. "The Compositions of Abraham." In *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. John C. Reeves, 215-38. Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature 6. Atlanta: Scholars, 1994.

- _____. "Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed." In *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed. Peter W. Flint, 159-80. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.
- _____. "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran." In *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 2:354-78. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Bowman, John. "David, Jesus Son of David and Son of Man." *Abr-Nahrain* 27 (1989): 1-22.
- _____. "Early Samaritan Eschatology." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 6 (1955): 63-72.
- _____. "The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 40 (1958): 298-308.
- Boyarin, Daniel. "Justin Martyr Invents Judaism." *Church History* 70 (2001): 427-61.
- Brawley, Robert L. "An Absent Complement and Intertextuality in John 19:28-29." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112 (1993): 427-43.
- Breytenbach, A. P. B. "Moses versus die Messias: 'n Samaritaanse tradisie." *Skriften Kerk* 19 (1998): 534-43.
- Britt, Brian. "Prophetic Concealment in a Biblical Type Scene." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 64 (2002): 37-58.
- Broer, Ingo. "Knowledge of Palestine in the Fourth Gospel?" In *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher, 83-90. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001.
- Brooke, George J. "The Amos-Numbers Midrash (CD 7:13b-8:1a) and Messianic Expectation." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92 (1980): 397-404.
- _____. "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community." In *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*, ed. George J. Brooke and Florentino García Martínez, 117-32. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 15. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- _____. "Kingship and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, 434-55. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 270. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.
- _____. "Melchizedek (11QMelch)." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David N. Freedman. New York: Double day, 1992.
- _____. "The Messiah of Aaron in the Damascus Document." *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991-1992): 215-30.
- _____. "The Psalms in Early Jewish Literature in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, 5-24. The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel. London: T & T Clark, 2004.

- _____. "The *Temple Scroll* and the New Testament." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, 97-114. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.
- _____. "The Thematic Content of 4Q252." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 85 (1994): 33-59.
- Brown, Raymond E. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament." In *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 1-8. New York: Crossroad, 1990.
- _____. "The Messianism of Qumrân." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 19 (1957): 53-82.
- _____. "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles." In *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. Krister Stendahl, 183-207. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957.
- Bruce, F. F. "The Background to the Son of Man Sayings." In *Christ the Lord: Studies in Christology Presented to Donald Guthrie*, ed. Harold H. Rowdon, 50-70. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1982.
- _____. "The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts." In *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor*, ed. Gary A. Tuttle, 7-17. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978.
- Brueggemann, Dale A. "Brevard Childs' Canon Criticism: An Example of Post-Critical Naiveté." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 32 (1989): 311-26.
- Brueggemann, Walter. "Biblical Theology Appropriately Postmodern." In *Jews, Christians, and the Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures*, ed. Alice Ogden Bellis and Joel S. Kaminsky, 97-108. SBL Symposium Series 8. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000.
- Buchanan, George Wesley. "Samaritan Origin of the Gospel of John." In *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, 149-75. Studies in the History of Religions 14. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Büchsel, Friedrich. "Ἰουδαϊσμός." In *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964.
- Bultmann, Rudolph. "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums." *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 24 (1925): 100-46.
- Burge, Gary M. "Interpreting the Gospel of John." In *Interpreting the New Testament: Essays on Methods and Issues*, ed. David Alan Black and David S. Dockery, 357-90. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2001.
- _____. "The Literary Seams in the Fourth Gospel." *Covenant Quarterly* 48 (1990): 15-25.
- Burnett, Fred W. "Philo on Immortality: A Thematic Study of Philo's Concept of Palingenesia." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 46 (1984): 447-70.
- Burns, R. J. "Jesus and the Bronze Serpent." *Bible Today* 28 (1990): 84-89.

- Burridge, Richard A. "Gospels." In *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu, 432-44. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Burton, Mack. "Under the Shadow of Moses: Authorship and Authority in Hellenistic Judaism." *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 21 (1982): 299-318.
- Busse, Ulrich. "Die Tempelmetaphorik als ein Beispiel von implizitem Rekurs auf die biblische Tradition im Johannesevangelium." In *The Scripture in the Gospels*, ed. C. M. Tuckett, 395-428. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaiensium 131. Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997.
- Buth, Randall. "A More Complete Semitic Background for בן־אדם, 'Son of Man.'" In *The Function of Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, 176-89. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 154. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.
- Calvert, N. L. "Abraham." In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Edited by Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992.
- Campbell, Jonathan G. "4QTestimonia (4Q175)." In *The Exegetical Texts*, 88-99. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 4. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- _____. "11QMelchizedek (11Q13)." In *The Exegetical Texts*, 56-66. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 4. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Cangh, Jean-Marie, van. "'Fils de David' dans les évangiles synoptiques." In *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l'ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeulen, 345-96. *Lectio Divina* 177. Paris: Cerf, 1999.
- Capes, David B. "Imitatio Christi and the Gospel Genre." *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 13 (2003): 1-19.
- Carmignac, Jean. "Le document de Qumran sur Melchisédeq." *Revue de Qumran* 7 (1970): 343-78.
- Carroll R., M. Daniel. "New Lenses to Establish Messiah's Identity?: A Response to Daniel I. Block." In *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R., 71-81. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003.
- Carson, D. A. "John and Johannine Epistles." In *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture, Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson, 245-64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- _____. "Redaction Criticism: On the Legitimacy and Illegitimacy of a Literary Tool." In *Scripture and Truth*, ed. D. A. Carson and John D. Woodbridge, 119-46. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983.
- Casey, Maurice. "Aramaic Idiom and the Son of Man Problem: A Response to Owen and Shepherd." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 25 (2002): 3-32.
- _____. "Corporate Interpretation of 'One Like a Son of Man' (Dan 7:13) at the Time of Jesus." *Novum Testamentum* 18 (1976): 167-80.

- _____. "General, Generic and Indefinite: The Use of the Term 'Son of Man' in Aramaic Sources and in the Teaching of Jesus." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 29 (1987): 21-56.
- _____. "Idiom and Translation: Some Aspects of the Son of Man Problem." *New Testament Studies* 41 (1995): 164-82
- _____. "Lord Jesus Christ: A Response to Professor Hurtado." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27 (2004): 83-96.
- _____. "Method in Our Madness, and Madness in Their Methods: Some Approaches to the Son of Man Problem in Recent Scholarship." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 42 (1991): 17-43.
- _____. "Monotheism, Worship and Christological Developments in the Pauline Churches." In *Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, 214-33. Supplements to the *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 63. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Chancey, Mark A. "The Cultural Milieu of Ancient Sepphoris." *New Testament Studies* 47 (2001): 127-45.
- Chancey, Mark A., and Eric M. Meyers. "How Jewish was Sepphoris in Jesus' Time?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 26, no. 4 (July/August 2000): 18-33, 61.
- Chancey, Mark A., and Adam Porter. "The Archaeology of Roman Palestine." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 64, no. 4 (December 2001): 164-203.
- Charlesworth, James H. "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in iQS 3:13-4:26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Gospel of John." In *John and Qumran*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 76-106. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1972.
- _____. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to John." In *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black, 65-97. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1996.
- _____. "From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects." In *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity: The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 3-35. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- _____. "Have the Dead Sea Scrolls Revolutionized Our Understanding of the New Testament?" In *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, James C. VanderKam, and Galen Marquis, 116-32. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.
- _____. "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek ha-Yahad." In *Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Shmaryahu Talmon, 197-224. Biblical Interpretation Series 28. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- _____. "Introduction: Messianic Ideas in Early Judaism." In *Qumran-Messianism:*

Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema, 1-8. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.

_____. "Jesus Research and Near Eastern Archaeology: Reflections on Recent Developments." In *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl H. Ulrichsen, 37-70. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 106. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

_____. "The Messiah in the Pseudepigrapha." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 19.1:188-218. Part 2, *Principat*, 19.1. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. New York: Gruyter, 1979.

_____. "Messianology in the Biblical Pseudepigrapha." In *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, Gerbern S. Oegeman, 21-52. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.

_____. "Towards a Taxonomy of Discerning Influence(s) between Two Texts." In *Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament: Festschrift für Christoph Burchard zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Dieter Sänger and Matthias Konradt, 41-54. Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 57. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Academic, 2006.

Chester, Andrew. "Jewish Messianic Expectations and Mediatorial Figures and Pauline Christology." In *Paulus und das antike Judentum: Tübingen-Durham-Symposium im Gedenken an den 50. Todestag Adolf Schlatters (19. Mai 1938)*, ed. Martin Hengel and Ulrich Heckel, 17-89. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991.

Childs, Brevard S. "Does the Old Testament Witness to Jesus Christ?" In *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jostein Ådna, Scott J. Hafemann, and Otfried Hofius, 57-64. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997.

_____. "Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 16 (1971): 137-50.

Chilton, Bruce D. "Jesus Ben David: Reflections on the Davidssonfrage." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 14 (1982): 88-112.

_____. "Rabbinic Literature: Targumim." In *Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000.

_____. "Rabbinic Traditions and Writings." In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Edited by Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992.

_____. "Targums." In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Edited by Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992.

Chinitz, Jacob. "Moses: Intermediary or Teacher?" *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 30 (2002): 196-200.

- Chouinard, Larry. "Gospel Christology: A Study of Methodology." In *New Testament Interpretation and Methods: A Sheffield Reader*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans. The Biblical Seminar 45. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997. Reprint, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 30 (1987): 21-37.
- Clark, Douglas K. "Signs in Wisdom and John." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45 (1983): 201-09.
- Clements, Ronald E. "The Book of Deuteronomy: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections." In *The Book of Numbers, the Book of Deuteronomy, Introduction to Narrative Literature, the Book of Joshua, the Book of Judges, the Book of Ruth, the First and Second Books of Samuel*. Vol. 2 of *The New Interpreter's Bible*, ed. Leander E. Keck, 271-538. Nashville: Abingdon, 1998.
- Coakley, James F. "Jesus' Messianic Entry into Jerusalem (John 12:12-19 par.)." *Journal of Theological Studies* 46 (1995): 461-82.
- Cohn, Robert L. "The Second Coming of Moses: Deuteronomy and the Construction of Israelite Identity." In *Comity and Grace of Method: Essays in Honor of Edmund F. Perry*, ed. Thomas Ryba, George D. Bond, and Herman W. Tull, 133-46. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2004.
- Collins, John J. "Foreword: Mowinckel's *He That Cometh* in Retrospect." In *He That Cometh: The Messiah Concept in the Old Testament and Later Judaism*, ed. Sigmund Mowinckel, xv-xxxii. The Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- _____. "Jesus and the Messiahs of Israel." In *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflection: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 3, ed. Hubert Cancik, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Peter Schäfer, 287-302. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1996.
- _____. "Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Qumran—Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema, 100-19. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.
- _____. "Jewish Monotheism and Christian Theology." In *Aspects of Monotheism: How God Is One*, ed. Hershel Shanks and Jack Meinhardt, 82-94. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1997.
- _____. "Messianism in the Maccabean Period." In *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, ed. Jacob Neusner, William S. Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs, 97-107. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- _____. "The Nature of Messianism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim, 119-217. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000.
- _____. "Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation in Second Temple Judaism." In *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January, 1997*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Michael E. Stone, and Avital Pinnick, 43-58. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 31. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

- _____. "The Sibylline Oracles." In *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone, 357-81. *Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* 2/2. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984.
- _____. "The Sibylline Oracles." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1983.
- _____. "The Son of God Text from Qumran." In *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. de Boer, 65-82. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 84. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1993.
- _____. "The Works of the Messiah." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994): 98-112.
- Collins, Nina L. "Ezekiel, the Author of the Exagoge: His Calendar and Home." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 22 (1991): 201-11.
- Collins, Raymond F. "Speaking of the Jews: 'Jews' in the Discourse Material of the Fourth Gospel." In *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, 281-300. *Jewish and Christian Heritage Series* 1. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001.
- Colpe, Carsten. "New Testament and Gnostic Christology." In *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, 227-43. *Studies in the History of Religions* 14. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Cook, Edward M. "A New Perspective on the Language of Onqelos and Jonathan." In *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, 142-56. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 166. Sheffield: JSOT, 1994.
- Cook, K. "Neutestamentliche Profetenauslegung in vorchristlicher Zeit?: Der Habakuk-Peschär aus Qumran." In *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift: Festschrift für Odil Hannes Steck zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz, Thomas Krüger, and Konrad Schmid, 321-34. *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 300. Berlin: Gruyter, 2000.
- Cortés, Juan B. "Yet Another Look at Jn 7:37-38." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 29 (1967): 75-86.
- Cothenet, Edouard. "De Jean-Baptiste au disciple Bien-Aime." *Esprit et Vie* 113, no. 94 (2003): 16-21; n. 95 (2003): 17-24; n. 96 (2003): 10-16.
- Coulot, Claude. "David à Qumrân." In *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l'ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeulen, 315-44. *Lectio Divina* 177. Paris: Cerf, 1999.
- Cowan, Christopher. "The Father and Son in the Fourth Gospel: Johannine Subordination Revisited." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 49 (2006): 115-35.

- Croatto, J. Severino. "Jesus, Prophet like Elijah, and Prophet-Teacher like Moses in Luke-Acts." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124 (2005): 451-65.
- Cross, Frank Moore. "Testimonia (4Q175 = 4QTestimonia = 4QTestim)." In *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, vol. 6B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 308-27. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2002.
- Crotty, Robert B. "The Suffering Moses of Deutero-Zechariah." *Colloquium* 14 (1982): 43-50.
- Crown, Alan D. "Redating the Schism between the Judaeans and the Samaritans." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 82 (1991): 17-50.
- Culpepper, R. Alan. "The Death of Jesus: An Exegesis of John 19:28-37." *Faith and Mission* 5 (1988): 64-70.
- _____. "The Pivot of John's Prologue." *New Testament Studies* 27 (1980): 1-31.
- _____. "The Theology of the Gospel of John." *Review and Expositor* 85 (1988): 417-32.
- _____. "The Theology of the Johannine Passion Narrative: John 19:16b-30." *Neotestamentica* 31 (1997): 21-37.
- Cunningham, J. Alexander. "Christology and the Angel of the Lord." *Journal from the Radical Reformation* 6 (1997): 3-15
- Daise, Michael A. "'If Anyone Thirsts, Let That One Come to Me And Drink': The Literary Texture of John 7:37b-38a." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122 (2003): 687-99.
- Daly-Denton, Margaret. "David in the Gospels." *Word & World* 23 (2003): 421-29.
- _____. "The Psalm in John's Gospel." In *The Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, 119-37. *The New Testament and The Scriptures of Israel*. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- D'Angelo, Mary Rose. "A Critical Note: John 20:17 and Apocalypse of Moses 31." *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990): 529-36.
- Daube, David. "Earliest Structure of the Gospels." *New Testament Studies* 5 (1959): 174-87.
- Davies, Philip R. "The Teacher of Righteousness and the 'End of Days.'" In *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics*, 89-94. *South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism* 134. Atlanta: Scholars, 1996.
- Davies, W. D. "Reflections on Aspects of the Jewish Background of the Gospel of John." In *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black, 43-64. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1996.
- Davila, James R. "Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls*

after *Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 2:461-85. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

- _____. "Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron: Introductory Reflections on Divine Mediators and the Origins of the Worship of Jesus." In *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, 3-18. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 63. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Déaut, Roger, Le. "Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 4 (1974): 243-89.
- de Boer, Martinus D. "The Depiction of 'the Jews' in John's Gospel: Matters of Behavior and Identity." In *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, 260-80. Jewish and Christian Heritage Series 1. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001.
- _____. "Narrative Criticism, Historical Criticism, and the Gospel of John." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 47 (1992): 35-48. Reprinted in *The Johannine Writings: A Sheffield Reader*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, 95-108. The Biblical Seminar 32. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995.
- Deines, Roland. "The Pharisees between 'Judaisms' and 'Common Judaism.'" In *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 1 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, ed. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid, 443-504. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/140. Tübingen: Siebeck, 2001.
- Deines, Roland, and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr. "Philo und das Neue Testament—Das Neue Testament und Philo: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen." In *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen, 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum 1.—4. Mail 2003, Eisenach/Jenaeds*, 3-20. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172. Tübingen: Siebeck, 2004.
- de Jonge, Marinus. "Christology and Theology in the Context of Early Christian Eschatology, Particularly in the Fourth Gospel." In *Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neiryck*, ed. Frans van Segbroeck, 1835-53. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 100. Louvain: Leuven University Press; Peeters, 1992.
- _____. "Christology, Controversy and Community in the Gospel of John." In *Christology, Controversy and Community: New Testament Essays in Honor of David R. Catchpole*, ed. David G. Horrell and Christopher M. Tuckett, 209-30. Supplement to Novum Testamentum 99. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- _____. "The Conflict between Jesus and the Jews and the Radical Christology of the Fourth Gospel." *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 20 (1993): 341-55.
- _____. "Jesus as Prophet and King in the Fourth Gospel." *Ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium* 47 (1973): 160-77.
- _____. "Jesus, Son of David and Son of God." In *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel*, ed. Sipke Draisma, 95-104. Kampen:

Kok, 1989.

- _____. "Jewish Expectations about the 'Messiah' according to the Fourth Gospel." *New Testament Studies* 19 (1973): 246-70. Reprinted in *Jesus, Stranger from Heaven and Son of God: Jesus Christ and the Christians in Johannine Perspective*, 77-116. Missoula, MT: The Society of Biblical Literature, 1977.
- _____. "John the Baptist and Elijah in the Fourth Gospel." In *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul & John in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Beverly R. Gaventa, 299-309. Nashville: Abingdon, 1990.
- Dennis, John. "Jesus' Death in John's Gospel: A Survey of Research from Bultmann to the Present with Special Reference to the Johannine Hyper-Texts." *Currents in Biblical Research* 4 (2006): 331-64.
- _____. "The Presence and Function of Second Exodus-Restoration Imagery in John 6." *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 30 (2005): 105-21.
- Derrett, J. Duncan M. "The Bronze Serpent." *Estudios biblicos* 49 (1991): 311-29.
- _____. "Law in the New Testament: The Palm Sunday Colt." *Novum Testamentum* 13 (1971): 241-58.
- _____. "The Reprobate's Peace: 4QDa (4Q266) (18 v 14-16)." In *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, 245-49. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 23. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Dewey, Arthur J. "The Eyewitness of History." In *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher, 59-70. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001.
- Dewey, Joanna. "The Gospel of John in Its Oral-Written Media World." In *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher, 239-52. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001.
- Dexinger, Ferdinand. "Die frühesten samaritanischen Belege der Taheb-Vorstellung." *Kairos* 26 (1984): 224-52.
- _____. "Josephus Ant 18,85-87 und der samaritanische Taheb." In *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d'Études Samaritaines, Tel-Aviv, April 11-13, 1988*, ed. Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin, 49-59. Tel-Aviv: Chaim Rosenberg School for Jewish Studies, Tel-Aviv University, 1991.
- _____. "Der 'Prophet wie Mose' in Qumran und bei den Samaritanern." In *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M Mathias Delcor*, ed. André Caquot, Simon Légasse, and Michel Tardieu, 97-111. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 215. Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker, 1985.
- _____. "Reflections on the Relationship between Qumran and Samaritan Messianology." In *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema, 83-99. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.

- _____. "Der Taheb: Ein 'messianischer' Heilsbringer der Samaritaner." *Kairos* 27 (1985): 1-172.
- _____. "Die Taheb-Vorstellung als politische Utopie." *Numen* 37 (1990): 1-21.
- Dietrich, Walter. "David I: Biblisch." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by Hans D. Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998-2005.
- Dietzfelbinger, Christian. "Aspekte des Alten Testaments im Johannesevangelium." In *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion III, Frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hermann Lichtenberger, 203-18. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996.
- _____. "Der ungeliebte Bruder: Der Herrenbruder Jakobus im Johannesevangelium." *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 89 (1992): 377-403.
- _____. "Sühnetod im Johannesevangelium?" In *Evangelium—Schriftauslegung—Kirche: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jostein Ådna, Scott J. Hafemann, and Otfried Hofius, 65-76. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997.
- Dimant, Devorah. "New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha—4Q390." In *Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991*, 2 vols., ed. Julio C. Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, 2:405-48. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 11. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- _____. "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance." In *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman, 23-58. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 16. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Donaldson, Terence L. "Parallels: Use, Misuse and Limitations." *Evangelical Quarterly* 55 (1983): 193-210.
- Doran, Robert. "The Second Book of Maccabees." In *1 & 2 Maccabees, Introduction to Hebrew Poetry, Job, Psalms*. Vol. 4 of *The New Interpreter's Bible*, ed. Leander E. Keck, 181-299. Nashville: Abingdon, 1996.
- Downing, F. Gerald. "The Resurrection of the Dead: Jesus and Philo." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 15 (1982): 42-50.
- Dozeman, Thomas B. "Masking Moses and Mosaic Authority in Torah." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119 (2000): 21-45.
- _____. "Moses: Divine Servant and Israelite Hero." *Hebrew Annual Review* 8 (1984): 45-61.
- _____. "Sperma Abraam in John 8 and Related Literature." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980): 342-58.
- Droge, A. J. "'No One Has Ever Seen God': Revisionary Criticism in the Fourth Gospel." In *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. Craig A. Evans, 169-84. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004.

- Dschulnigg, Peter. "Die Berufung der Jünger Joh 1,35-51 im Rahmen des vierten Evangeliums." *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 36 (1989): 427-47.
- _____. "Die Frau aus Samaria im Joh." In *Jesus Begegnen: Personen und ihre Bedeutung im Johannesevangelium*, 122-35. Münster: Lit, 2002.
- _____. "Johannes der Täufer im Joh." In *Jesus Begegnen: Personen und ihre Bedeutung im Johannesevangelium*, 10-35. Münster: Lit, 2002.
- _____. "Natanaël im Joh." In *Jesus Begegnen: Personen und ihre Bedeutung im Johannesevangelium*, 82-89. Münster: Lit, 2002.
- Duhaime, Jean. "Recent Studies on Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, James C. VanderKam, and Galen Marquis, 789-99. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.
- Duling, Dennis C. "Matthew's Plurisignificant 'Son of David' in Social Science Perspective: Kinship, Kingship, Magic, and Miracle." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 22 (1992): 99-116.
- Dumbrell, William J. "Grace and Truth: The Progress of the Argument of the Prologue of John's Gospel." In *Doing Theology for the People of God: Studies in Honor of J. I. Packer*, ed. Donald Lewis and Alister McGrath, 105-21. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1996.
- _____. "Israel in John's Gospel." In *In the Fullness of Time*, 79-94. Homebush West: Lancer, 1992.
- _____. "Law and Grace: The Nature of the Contrast in John 1:17." *Evangelical Quarterly* 58 (1986): 25-37.
- Dunn, James D. G. "Altering the Default Setting: Re-Envisaging the Early Transmission of the Jesus Tradition." *New Testament Studies* 49 (2003): 139-75.
- _____. "Jesus in Oral Memory: The Initial Stages of the Jesus Tradition." *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 39 (2000): 287-326.
- _____. "John and the Oral Gospel Tradition." In *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. Henry Wansbrough, 351-79. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 64. Sheffield: JSOT, 1991.
- Edgar, S. L. "New Testament and Rabbinic Messianic Interpretation." *New Testament Studies* 5 (1958): 47-54.
- Edwards, Mark J. "'Not Yet Fifty Years Old': John 8:57." *New Testament Studies* 40 (1994): 449-54.
- Edwards, Ruth B. "Charin anti charitos (John 1:16): Grace and the Law in the Johannine Prologue." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 32 (1988): 3-15.
- _____. "The Christological Basis of the Johannine Footwashing." In *Jesus of Nazareth: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*, ed. Joel

B. Green and Max Turner, 367-83. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994.

Ego, Beate. "Der Diener im Palast des himmlischen Königs: Zur Interpretation einer priesterlichen Tradition im rabbinischen Judentum." In *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt*, ed. Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, 361-83. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 55. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991.

Ehrlich, Carl S. "Moses, Torah, and Judaism." In *Rivers of Paradise: Moses, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, and Muhammad as Religious Founders*, ed. David Noel Freedman and Michael J. McClymond, 11-119. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.

Ellis, E. Earle. "Background and Christology of John's Gospel." In *Christ and the Future in New Testament History*, 70-88. Supplement to Novum Testamentum 97. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

_____. "Foreword." In *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, Leonhard Goppelt, ix-xx. Translated by Donald H. Madvig. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982.

_____. "Jesus' Use of the Old Testament and the Genesis of New Testament Theology." In *Christ and the Future in New Testament History*, 20-37. Supplement to Novum Testamentum 97. Leiden: Brill, 2000. Reprinted in *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 3 (1993): 59-75.

Ellis, Peter F. "Understanding the Concentric Structure of the Fourth Gospel." *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 47 (2003): 131-54.

Epstein, I. "Foreword." In *Genesis*, vol. 1 of *Midrash Rabbah*, trans. H. Greedman and Maurice Simon, ix-xxxiii. London: Soncino, 1951.

Eshel, Esther. "4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn." *Revue de Qumran* 17 (1996): 175-203.

_____. "The Identification of the 'Speaker' of the Self-Glorification Hymn." In *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich, 619-35. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 30. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Eshel, Hanan. "The Historical Background of the Peshier Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho." *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991-92): 409-20.

Evans, Craig A. "Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Man of Faith and Failure." In *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed. Peter W. Flint, 149-58. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature 1. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.

_____. "Assessing Progress in the Third Quest of the Historical Jesus." *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 4 (2006): 35-54.

_____. "David in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, 183-97. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 26. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997.

- _____. "Diarchic Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Messianism of Jesus of Nazareth." In *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, James C. VanderKam, and Galen Marquis, 558-67. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.
- _____. "The Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R., 85-102. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002.
- _____. "Messiahs." In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- _____. "Obduracy and Lord's Servant: Some Observations on the Use of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel." In *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring, 221-36. Atlanta: Scholars, 1987.
- _____. "Old Testament in the Gospels." In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Edited by Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992.
- _____. "The Old Testament in the New." In *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research*, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne, 130-48. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004.
- _____. "On the Quotation Formulas in the Fourth Gospel." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 26 (1982): 79-83.
- _____. "Qumran's Messiah: How Important Is He?" In *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler, 135-49. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- Fabry, Heinz-Josef. "Altes Testament, Frühjudentum und Qumran." In *Der Messias: Perspektiven des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Klaus Scholtissek, 9-54. Die Neue Echter Bibel Themen 5. Würzburg: Echter, 2002.
- _____. "Methoden der Schriftauslegung in den Qumranschriften." In *Stimuli: Exegese und Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum: Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann*, ed. Georg Schöllgen and Clemens Scholten, 18-33. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 23. Münster: Aschendorff, 1996.
- _____. "Schriftverständnis und Schriftauslegung der Qumran-Essener." In *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition: Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Helmut Merklein, Karlheinz Müller, and Günter Stemberger, 87-96. Bonner biblische Beiträge 88. Frankfurt: Hain, 1993.
- Faierstein, Morris M. "Why Do the Scribes Say That Elijah Must Come First." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100 (1981): 75-86.
- Falk, Daniel K. "Moses." In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Faure, A. "Die alttestamentlichen Zitate im 4. Evangelium und die

Quellenscheidungshypothese." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 21 (1922): 99-121.

Fee, Gordon D. "Once More—John 7:37-39." *Expository Times* 89 (1978): 116-18.

Feldman, Louis H. "Hengel's Judaism and Hellenism in Retrospect." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1977): 371-82.

Fishbane, Michael. "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran." In *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. M. J. Mulder, 339-77. *Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* II/1. Assen; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988.

Fitzter, G. "Μωυσης." In *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991-92.

Fitzmeyer, Joseph A. "'4QTestimonia' and the New Testament." In *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, 59-89. London: G. Chapman, 1971.

_____. "Aramaic Evidence Affecting the Interpretation of Hosanna in the New Testament." In *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for His 60th Birthday*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Otto Betz, 110-18. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987.

_____. "The Aramaic Language and the Study of New Testament." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99 (1980): 5-21.

_____. "David, 'Being Therefore a Prophet' (Acts 2:30)." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 34 (1972): 332-39.

_____. "Methodology in the Study of the Aramaic Substratum of Jesus' Sayings in the New Testament." In *Jésus aux origines de la Christologie*, 73-102. *Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium* 40. Gembloux: Duculot, 1975.

_____. "More about Elijah Coming First." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 104 (1985): 295-96.

_____. "The New Testament Title 'Son of Man' Philologically Considered." In *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*, 143-60. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 25. Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979.

_____. "Problems of the Semitic Background of the New Testament." In *Yahweh/Baal Confrontation and Other Studies in Biblical Literature and Archaeology Essays in Honour of Emmett Willard Hamrick*, ed. Julia M. O'Brien and Fred L. Horton Jr., 80-93. *Studies in Bible and Early Christianity* 35. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1995.

_____. "Review of Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*." *Theological Studies* 29 (1968): 322-28.

_____. "Review of Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30 (1968): 417-28.

_____. "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in

the New Testament." *New Testament Studies* 7 (1960/1): 297-333.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. "4Q374: A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The Deification of Moses and Early Christology." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3 (1996): 236-52.

_____. "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity Texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7 (2000): 292-312.

Flusser, David. "Melchizedek and the Son of Man." In *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, 186-92. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988.

Ford, J. M. "'Mingled Blood' from the Side of Jesus (John XIX.34)." *New Testament Studies* 15 (1969): 337-38.

Fortna, Robert T. "Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Redaction-Critical Perspective." *New Testament Studies* 21 (1975): 489-504.

Fossum, Jarl. "The New Religionsgeschichtliche Schule: The Quest for Jewish Christology." *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 30 (1991): 638-46.

_____. "Samaritan Sects and Movements." In *Samaritans*, ed. Alan D. Crown, 293-389. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989.

Fouts, David. "מִטָּה." In *New International Dictionary of the Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.

_____. "שָׁבֵט." In *New International Dictionary of the Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.

Fraade, Steven D. "Moses and the Commandments: Can Hermeneutics, History, and Rhetoric Be Disentangled?" In *Idea of biblical interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman, 399-422. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 83. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Frankemölle, Hubert. "ΑΥΤΙ." In *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990-93.

_____. "'Biblische' Theologie: Semantisch-historische Anmerkungen und Thesen." In *Studien zum jüdischen Kontext neutestamentlicher Theologien*, 1-22. Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände 37. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2005. Reprinted in *Theologie und Glaube* 92 (2002): 157-76.

_____. "Johannes der Täufer und Jesus im Matthäusevangelium: Jesus als Nachfolger des Täufers." *New Testament Studies* 42 (1996): 196-218.

_____. "Mose in Deutungen des Neuen Testaments." *Kirche und Israel* 9 (1994): 70-86.

Freed, Edwin D. "Did John Write His Gospel Partly to Win Samaritan Converts?" *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970): 241-56.

_____. "Samaritan Influence in the Gospel of John." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30 (1968): 580-87.

- _____. "Who or What was before Abraham in John 8:58." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 17 (1983): 52-59.
- Freedman, David N. "The Formation of the Canon of the Old Testament: The Selection and Identification of the Torah as the Supreme Authority of the Postexilic Community." In *Religion and Law: Biblical-Judaic and Islamic Perspectives*, ed. Edwin B. Firmage, Bernard G. Weiss, and John W. Welch, 315-31. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- Frey, Jörg. 2004.
- _____. "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für das Verständnis des Neuen Testaments." In *Qumran-Die Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer: Vorträge des St. Galler Qumran-Symposiums vom 2./3. Juli 1999*, ed. Michael Fieger, Konrad Schmid, and Peter Schwagmeier, 129-208. *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 47. Fribourg: 2001.
- _____. "Das Bild 'der Juden' im Johannesevangelium und die Geschichte der johanneischen Gemeinde." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 33-54. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002.
- _____. "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on Their Background and History." In *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995, Published In Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, 275-335. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 23. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- _____. "Die 'theologia crucifixi' des Johannesevangeliums." In *Kreuzestheologie im Neuen Testament*, ed. Andreas Dettwiler and Jean Zumstein, 169-238. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 151. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.
- _____. "'Wie Mose die Schlange in der Wüste erhöht hat . . .': Zur frühjüdischen Deutung der Schlange und ihrer christologischen Rezeption in Joh 3,14f." In *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum*, ed. Martin Hengel and Hermut Löhr, 153-205. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 73. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1994.
- Freyne, Sean. "Galilee and Judaea in the First Century." In *Origins to Constantine*. Vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young, 37-52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Friedland, Eric L. "'Elija der Prophet möge bald mit dem Messias kommen': Messianismus in der Pesach-Haggada des fortschrittlichen Judentums." In *Der Messias*. Vol. 8 of *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*, ed. Ingo Baldermann, Ernst Dassmann, and Ottmar Fuchs, 251-71. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1993.
- Frölich, Ida. "The Biblical Narratives in Qumran Exegetical Works (4Q252; 4Q180; The Damascus Document)." In *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.-26. Juli 1993*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, 111-24. *Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum*

4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.
- Fuerst, Wesley J. "Moses as Intercessor." In *Scripture and Prayer: A Celebration for Carroll Stuhlmueller*, ed. Carolyn Osiek and Donald Senior, 5-19. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988.
- Fuller, Michael E. "The Davidic Messiah in Early Jewish Literature." In *Spirit and the Mind: Essays in Informed Pentecostalism to Honor Dr. Donald N. Bowdle Presented on His 65th Birthday*, ed. Terry L. Cross and Emerson B. Powery, 65-86. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000.
- Fuller, Reginald H. "Lower and Higher Christology in the Fourth Gospel." In *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Beverly R. Gaventa, 357-65. Nashville: Abingdon, 1990.
- García-Moreno, Antonio. "Aspectos teológicos del Prólogo de S. Juan." *Scripta Theologica* 21 (1989): 411-30.
- Garland, David E. "The Fulfillment Quotations in John's Account of the Crucifixion." In *Perspectives on John: Method and Interpretation in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Robert B. Sloan and Mikeal C. Parsons, 229-50. NABPR Special Studies Series 11. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1993.
- _____. "John 18-19: Life through Jesus' Death." *Review and Expositor* 85 (1988): 485-500.
- Gawlick, Matthias. "Mose im Johannesevangelium." *Biblische Notizen* 84 (1996): 29-35.
- Geiger, G. "Aufruf an Rückkehrende: Zum Sinn des Zitats von Ps 78,24b in Joh 6,31." *Biblica* 65 (1984): 449-64.
- Geller, Stephen A. "The God of the Covenant." In *One God or Many?: Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World*, ed. Barbara N. Porter, 273-319. Transactions of the Casco Bay Assyriological Institute 1. Chebeague, ME: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 2000.
- Gerhardsson, Birger. "The Gospel Tradition." In *Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-É. Boismard, W. R. Farmer, F. Neirynck, Jerusalem 1984*, ed. David L. Dungan, 497-545. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 95. Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1990.
- Gese, Hartmut. "The Law." In *Essays on Biblical Theology*, 60-92. Translated by Keith Crim. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981.
- _____. "The Messiah." In *Essays on Biblical Theology*, 141-66. Translated by Keith Crim. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981.
- _____. "Zur Bedeutung Elias für die biblische Theologie." In *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jostein Ådna, Scott Hafemann, and Otfried Hofius, 126-50. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997.
- Gilman, Florence M. "Moses: New Testament." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.

- Glasson, T. Francis. "Davidic Links with the Betrayal of Jesus." *Expository Times* 85 (1974): 118-19.
- _____. "John the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel." *Expository Times* 67(1956): 245-46.
- Glenny, W. Edward. "Typology: A Summary of the Present Evangelical Discussion." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 40 (1997): 627-38.
- Goldstein, Jonathan. "Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism." In *Semites, Iranians, Greeks, and Romans: Studies in Their Interactions*, 1-32. Brown Judaic Studies 217. Atlanta: Scholars, 1990.
- Goodwin, Charles. "How Did John Treat His Sources?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 73 (1954): 61-75.
- Gordon, Robert P. "David." In *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
- Gosse, Bernard. "Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, Moïse et Josué, Elie et Elisée et l'unification du corpus biblique." *Estudios bíblicos* 58 (2000): 513-26.
- Grabbe, Lester L. "Israel from the Rise of Hellenism to 70 CE." In *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu, 285-300. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- _____. "The Jews and Hellenization: Hengel and His Critics." In *Second Temple Studies III: Studies in Politics, Class and Material Culture*, ed. Philip R. Davies and John M. Halligan, 52-66. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 340. Sheffield: JSOT, 2002.
- Green, Brad. "The Foundations of New Testament Theology." In *Interpreting the New Testament: Essays on Methods and Issues*, ed. David Alan Black and David S. Dockery, 481-505. Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2001.
- Greenspoon, Leonard J. "Between Alexander and Antioch: Jews and Judaism in the Hellenistic Period." In *Oxford History of the Biblical World*, ed. Michael D. Coogan, 420-65. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Grelot, Pierre. "Jean 8:56 et Jubilés 16:16-29." *Revue de Qumran* 13 (1988): 621-8.
- Grigsby, Bruce H. "'If Any Man Thirsts': Observations on the Rabbinic Background of John 7:37-39." *Biblica* 67 (1986): 101-08.
- Grundmann, W. "Χριστός." In *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-74.
- Guelich, Robert. "The Gospel Genre." In *The Gospel and the Gospels*, ed. Peter Stuhlmacher, 173-208. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.
- Guijarro Oporto, Santiago. "Why Does the Gospel of Mark Begin as It Does?" *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 33 (2003): 28-38.
- Gundry, Robert H. "How the Word in John's Prologue Pervades the Rest of the Fourth

- Gospel." In *The Old Is Better: New Testament Essays in Support of Traditional Interpretations*, 324-62. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 178. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- _____. "The Symbiosis of Theology and Genre Criticism of the Canonical Gospels." In *The Old Is Better: New Testament Essays in Support of Traditional Interpretations*, 18-48. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 178. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Gunneweg, Antonius H. J. "Sinaibund und Davidsbund." *Vetus Testamentum* 10 (1960): 335-41.
- Haenchen, Ernst. "Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis." *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 49 (1952): 316-49.
- Hafemann, Scott H. "Moses in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Survey." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 7 (1990): 79-104.
- _____. "Paul and the Exile of Israel in Galatians 3-4." In *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James Scott, 329-71. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 56. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- _____. "Paul's Argument from the Old Testament and Christology in 2 Cor 1-9: The Salvation-History/Restoration Structure of Paul's Apologetic." In *Corinthian Correspondence*, ed. Reimund Bieringer, 277-303. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 125. Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1996.
- Hägerland, Tobias. "John's Gospel: A Two-Level Drama?" *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 25 (2003): 309-22.
- Hahn, Ferdinand. "Eine religionswissenschaftliche Alternative zur neutestamentlichen Theologie?: Ein Gespräch mit Heikki Räisänen." In *Grundsatzfragen, Jesusforschung, Evangelien*. Vol. 1 of *Studien zum Neuen Testament*, ed. Jörg Frey and Juliane Schlegel, 151-62. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 191. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006.
- _____. "Das Zeugnis des Neuen Testaments in seiner Vielfalt und Einheit: Zu den Grundproblemen einer neutestamentlichen Theologie." In *Grundsatzfragen, Jesusforschung, Evangelien*. Vol. 1 of *Studien zum Neuen Testament*, ed. Jörg Frey and Juliane Schlegel, 163-84. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 191. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006.
- Ham, Clay. "The Title 'Son of Man' in the Gospel of John." *Stone-Campbell Journal* 1 (1998): 67-84.
- Hamilton, Victor. "אָן." In *New International Dictionary of the Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
- Hanson, Anthony T. "John 1:14-18 and Exodus 34." *New Testament Studies* 23 (1976): 90-101.
- _____. "John's Technique in Using Scripture." In *The New Testament Interpretation of Scripture*, 157-76. London: T & T Clark, 1980.

- _____. "The Treatment in the LXX of the Theme of Seeing God." In *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings*, (Manchester, 1990), ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars, 557-68. Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 33. Atlanta: Scholars, 1992.
- _____. "The Word on Sinai and at Bethel." In *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament*, 21-41. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991.
- Harrington, Daniel J. "Biblical Text of Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 33 (1971): 1-17.
- Harris, M. J. "Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament." In *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. Edited by Colin Brown. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986.
- Hasel, Gerhard F. "Biblical Theology: Then, Now, and Tomorrow." *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 4 (1982): 61-93.
- Hasitschka, Martin. "Die Führer Israels: Mose, Josua und die Richter." In *Alttestamentliche Gestalten im Neuen Testament: Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie*, ed. Markus Öhler, 117-40. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999.
- Hay, David. M. "Moses through New Testament Spectacles." *Interpretation* 44 (1990): 240-52.
- Hayman, Peter. "Monotheism—A Misused Word in Jewish Studies?" *Journal of Jewish Studies* 42 (1991): 1-15.
- Hays, J. Daniel. "If He Looks like a Prophet and Talks like a Prophet, Then He Must Be . . . : A Response to Daniel I. Block." In *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R., 57-70. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003.
- Hays, Richard B. "Can the Gospels Teach us How to Read the Old Testament?" *Pro Ecclesia* 11 (2002): 402-18.
- Hayward, Robert. "Phinehas—the Same is Elijah: The Origins of a Rabbinic Tradition." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978): 22-34.
- Hengel, Martin. "Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft: (Presidential Address, SNTS, Chicago, August 1993)." *New Testament Studies* 40 (1994): 321-57.
- _____. "Jesus, der Messias Israels: Zum Streit über das 'messianische Sendungsbewußtsein' Jesu." In *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity, Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Ithamar Gruenwald, Shaul Shaked, and Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa, 155-76. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.
- _____. "Jesus der Messias Israels." In *Der messianische Anspruch Jesu und die Anfänge der Christologie: Vier Studien*, ed. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, 1-80. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 138. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.

- _____. "Jesus, the Messiah of Israel: The Debate about the 'Messianic Mission' of Jesus." In *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, 323-50. New Testament Tools and Studies 28/2. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- _____. "Das Johannesevangelium als Quelle für die Geschichte des antiken Judentums." In *Judaica, Hellenistica, et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II*, ed. Martin Hengel with Jörg Frey and Dorothea Betz, 293-334. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 109. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.
- _____. "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited." In *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling, 6-37. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 13. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001.
- _____. "The Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel." In *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, 380-95. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 104. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994.
- _____. "Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangeliums auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese." In *"Gesetz" als Thema Biblischer Theologie*, ed. Ingo Baldermann and Dwight R. Daniels, 249-88. Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie 4. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen, 1989.
- _____. "'Schriftauslegung' und 'Schriftwerdung' in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels." In *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum*, ed. Martin Hengel and Hermut Löhr, 1-71. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 73. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1994.
- _____. "The Scriptures and Their Interpretation in Second Temple Period." In *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, 158-75. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 166. Sheffield: JSOP, 1994.
- _____. "'Sit at My Right Hand!': The Enthronement of Christ at the Right Hand of God and Psalm 110:1." In *Studies in Early Christology*, 119-226. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995.
- _____. "Tasks of New Testament Scholarship." *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 6 (1996): 67-86.
- Hengel, Martin, and Daniel P. Bailey. "The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period." In *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher, 75-146. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Hengel, Martin, and Roland Deines. "'E P Sanders' 'Common Judaism,' Jesus, and the Pharisees: Review Article of *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah and Judaism: Practice and Belief* by E. P. Sanders for Hartmut Gese on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday with Gratitude." *Journal of Theological Studies* 46 (1995): 1-70.
- Herbert, Leroy. "'Kein Bein wird ihm gebrochen werden' (Jo 19,31-37): Zur johanneischen Interpretation des Kreuzes." In *Eschatologie: Bibeltheologische und philosophische Studien zum Verhältnis von Erlösungswelt und Wirklichkeitsbewältigung, Festschrift für Engelbert Neuhäusler zur Emeritierung gewidmet von kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Rudolf Kilian, Klemens Funk,

- and Peter Fassl, 73-81. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1981.
- Hezser, Catherine. "Diaspora and Rabbinic Judaism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu, 120-32. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Hieke, Thomas. "Vom Verstehen biblischer Texte: Methodologisch-hermeneutische Erwägungen zum Programm einer 'biblischen Auslegung.'" *Biblische Notizen* 119-120 (2003): 71-89.
- Higgins, A. J. B. "Review of T. F. Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 18 (1965): 232-33.
- Hindley, J. C. "Witness in the Fourth Gospel." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 18 (1965): 319-37.
- Hofius, Otfried. "'Der in des Vaters Schoß ist': Joh 1:18." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 80 (1989): 163-71; Repr. In *Johannesstudien: Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Vierten Evangeliums*, ed. O. Hofius and H.-C. Kammler, 24-32. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 88. Tübingen: Siebeck, 1996.
- _____. "Struktur und Gedankengang des Logos-Hymnus in Joh 1:1-18." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 78 (1987): 1-25.
- Holladay, Carl H. "Ezekiel the Tragedian." In *Poets: The Epic Poets Theodotus and Philo and Ezekiel the Tragedian*, vol. 2. of *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 301-529. Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations 30. Atlanta: Scholars, 1989.
- _____. "New Testament Christology: Some Considerations of Method." *Novum Testamentum* 25 (1983): 257-78.
- Hooker, Morna D. "Johannine Prologue and the Messianic Secret." *New Testament Studies* 21 (1974): 40-58.
- _____. "John the Baptist and the Johannine Prologue." *New Testament Studies* 16 (1969-1970): 354-58.
- _____. "The Nature of New Testament Theology." In *The Nature of New Testament Theology: Essays in Honour of Robert Morgan*, ed. Christopher Rowland and Christopher Tuckett, 75-92. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.
- Horbury, William. "The Gifts of God in Ezekiel the Tragedian." In *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Twelve Biblical and Historical Studies*, 65-82. London: T & T Clark, 2003.
- _____. "'Gospel' in Herodian Judea." In *The Written Gospel*, ed. Markus Bockmuehl and Donald A. Hagner, 7-30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- _____. "Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age." In *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. S. North, 16-

44. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 263. London: T & T Clark, 2004.

_____. "Messianism in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, 402-33. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 270. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.

_____. "Rabbinic Literature in New Testament Interpretation." In *Herodian Judaism and New Testament Study*, 221-35. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 193. Tübingen: Mohr Sebeck, 2006.

Horsley, Richard A. "Jesus and Empire." *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 3-4 (2005): 44-74.

_____. "Like One of the Prophets of Old: Two Types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 47 (1985): 435-63.

Hübner, Hans. "New Testament Interpretation of the Old Testament." In *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300)*. Vol. 1 of *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, ed. Magne Sæbø, 332-72. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.

Hugenberger, Gordon P. "Introductory Notes on Typology." In *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts: Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. G. K. Beale, 331-41. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994.

_____. "The Servant of the Lord in the 'Servant Songs' of Isaiah: A Second Moses Figure." In *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of the Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon Wenham, 105-39. Tyndale House Studies. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995.

Hultgård, Anders. "The Ideal 'Levite,' the Davidic Messiah, and the Saviour Priest in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." In *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*, ed. John J. Collins and George W. E. Nickelsburg, 93-110. Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 12. Chico, CA: Scholars, 1980.

Hunman, Roger J. "The Function and Form of the Explicit Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John." *Lutheran Theological Review* 1 (1988/9): 31-54.

Hunn, Debbie. "Who Are 'They' in John 8:33?" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 66 (2004): 387-99.

Hurst, L. D. "Did Qumran Expect Two Messiahs?" *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 9 (1999): 157-80.

Hurtado, Larry W. "Devotion to Jesus and Historical Investigation: A Grateful, Clarifying and Critical Response to Professor Casey." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27 (2004): 97-104.

_____. "Does Philo Help Explain Christianity?" In *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen, 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum 1.—4. Mail 2003, Eisenach/Jenaeds*, ed. Roland Deines and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, 73-92. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen

Testament 172. Tübingen: Siebeck, 2004.

_____. "First-Century Jewish Monotheism." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 71 (1998): 3-26.

_____. "New Testament Christology: Retrospect and Prospect." *Semeia* 30 (1984): 15-27.

Hyldahl, Niels. "The Maccabean Rebellion and the Question of 'Hellenization.'" In *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, ed. Per Bilde, 188-203. Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 1. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990.

Jacobs, Martin. "David III. Judentum, 1. Antike." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. Edited by Hans D. Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998-2005.

Jacobson, Howard. "Mysticism and Apocalyptic in Ezekiel's Exagoge." *Illinois Classical Studies* 6 (1981): 272-93.

Jan de Jonge, Henk. "'The Jews' in the Gospel of John." In *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, 239-59. Jewish and Christian Heritage Series 1. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001.

Janowitz, Naomi. "Translating Cult: The Letter of Aristeas and Hellenistic Judaism." *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 22 (1983): 347-57.

Janowski, Bernd. "Biblical Theology." In *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu, 716-31. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

_____. "The One God of the Two Testaments: Basic Questions of a Biblical Theology." *Theology Today* 57 (2000): 297-324.

Jeremias, Joachim. "Μωυσης." In *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967.

Jewett, Robert. "New Testament Christology: The Current Dialogue between Systematic Theologians and New Testament Scholars." *Semeia* 30 (1984): 3-12.

Johnson, Sherman E. "Notes on the Prophet-King in John." *Anglican Theological Review* 51 (1969): 35-37.

Johnstone, William. "The Portrayal of Moses as Deuteronomic Archetypal Prophet in Exodus and Its Revisal." In *Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 159-74. Oudtestamentische studiën 45. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Jones, Donald L. "The Title *Christos* in Luke-Acts." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 32 (1970): 69-76.

Joynes, Christine E. "A Question of Identity: 'Who Do People Say That I Am?': Elijah, John the Baptist and Jesus in Mark's Gospel." In *Understanding, Studying and Reading: New Testament Essays in Honour of John Ashton*, ed. Christopher Rowland and Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, 15-29. *Journal for the Study of the New*

Testament Supplement Series 153. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.

- Kaiser, Walter C., Jr. "Witnessing and Expecting the Arrival of Elijah—Malachi 4:4-5." In *The Uses of the Old Testament in the New*, 77-88. Chicago: Moody, 1985. Reprint. "The Promise of the Arrival of Elijah in Malachi and the Gospels." *Grace Theological Journal* 3 (1982): 221-33.
- Katz, Peter. "Text of 2 Maccabees Reconsidered." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 51 (1960): 10-30.
- Katz, Steven T. "Issues in the Separation of Judaism and Christianity after 70 CE: A Reconsideration." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 43-76.
- Kaufman, Stephen A. "Dating the Language of the Palestinian Targums and Their Use in the Study of First Century CE Texts." In *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, 118-41. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 166. Sheffield: JSOP, 1994.
- Kaufmann, Yehezkel. "The Messianic Idea: The Real and the Hidden Son-of-David." *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 22 (1994): 141-50.
- Kearley, F. Furman. "Davidic and Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Last Things: Essays Presented by His Students to Dr. W. B. West, Jr., upon the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jack P. Lewis, 74-95. Austin, TX: Sweet, 1972.
- Kilpatrick, George D. "Punctuation of John 7:37-38." *Journal of Theological Studies* 11 (1960): 340-42.
- Kimelman, Reuven. "Birkat ha-minim and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Jewish Prayer in Late Antiquity." In *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, ed. E. P. Sanders, Albert I. Baumgarten, and Alan Mendelson, 2:226-44. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981.
- Kingsbury, Jack D. "The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976): 591-602.
- Klappert, Bertold. "'Mose hat von mir geschrieben': Leitlinien einer Christologie im Kontext des Judentums Joh 5,39-47." In *Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Erhard Blum, Christian Macholz, and Ekkehard W. Stegemann, 619-40. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990.
- _____. "Word." In *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. Edited by Colin Brown. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986.
- Klauck, Hans-Josef. "Geschrieben, erfüllt, vollendet: die Schriftzitate in der Johannespassion." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 140-57. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- Klein, Ralph W. "Aspects of Intertestamental Messianism." *Concordia Theological Monthly* 43 (1972): 507-17. Reprinted in *The Bible in Its Literary Milieu: Contemporary Essays*, ed. Vincent L. Tollers and John R. Maier, 191-203. Grand

Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979.

- Knapp, Henry M. "The Messianic Water Which Gives Life to the World." *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 19 (1997): 109-21.
- Knibb, Michael A. "Interpreter of the Law." In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- _____. "Teacher of Righteousness." In *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- _____. "Teacher of Righteousness—A Messianic Title?" In *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History*, ed. Philip R. Davies and Richard T. White, 51-65. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 100. Sheffield: JSOT, 1990.
- Knoppers, Gary N. "David's Relation to Moses: The Contexts, Content and Conditions of the Davidic Promises." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, 91-118. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 270. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.
- _____. "Images of David in Early Judaism: David as Repentant Sinner in Chronicles." *Biblica* 76 (1995): 449-70.
- Knox, John. "'Prophet' in New Testament Christology." In *Lux in lumine: Essays to Honor W. Norman Pittenger*, ed. Richard A. Norris, Jr., 23-34. New York: Seabury, 1966.
- Koakley, J. F. "Jesus' Messianic Entry into Jerusalem (John 12:12-19 par.)." *Journal of Theological Studies* 46 (1995): 461-82.
- Koch, C., and K. Huber. "Konzentrisches Erzählkonzept im Johannesevangelium: Skizze eines Strukturierungsvorschlags." *Protokolle zur Bibel* 12 (2003): 129-42.
- Koch, Klaus. "Two Testaments—One Bible: New Trends in Biblical Theology." *Bangalore Theological Forum* 28 (1996): 38-58.
- Koester, Craig R. "Messianic Exegesis and the Call of Nathanael (John 1.45-51)." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 39 (1990): 23-34.
- Koskenniemi, Erkki. "Apollonius of Tyana: A Typical Theios Aner?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117 (1998): 455-67.
- Köstenberger, Andreas J. "Frühe Zweifel an der johanneischen Verfasserschaft des vierten: Evangeliums in der modernen Interpretationsgeschichte." *European Journal of Theology* 5 (1996): 37-46.
- _____. "Hearing the Old Testament in the New: A Response." In *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 255-94. *McMaster New Testament Studies*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.

- _____. "Jesus as Rabbi in the Fourth Gospel." *Bulletin of Biblical Research* 8 (1998): 97-128.
- _____. "Review of Andreas Obermann, *Die christologische Erfüllung der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung zur johanneischen Hermeneutik anhand der Schriftzitate*." *Critical Review of Books in Religion* 10 (1997): 200-02.
- Kotzé, P. P. A. "Die betekenis en konteks van genade en waarheid in Johannes 1:14-18." *Skriften kerk* 8 (1987): 38-51.
- Kraus, Wolfgang. "Die Vollendung der Schrift nach Joh 19,28: Überlegungen zum Umgang mit der Schrift im Johannesevangelium." In *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. C. M. Tuckett, 629-36. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 131. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997.
- _____. "Johannes und das Alte Testament: Überlegungen zum Umgang mit der Schrift im Johannesevangelium im Horizont Biblischer Theologie." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 88 (1997): 1-23.
- _____. "Moses II: Neues Testament." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by Hans D. Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998-2005.
- Krause, Alfred E. "Historical Selectivity: Prophetic Prerogative or Typological Imperative?" In *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison*, ed. Avraham Gileadi, 175-212. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988.
- Kreuzer, Siegfried. "'Wo ich hingehe, dahin könnt ihr nicht kommen': Joh 7,34; 8:21; 13,33 als Teil der Mesotypologie im Johannesevangelium." In *Die Kirche als historische und eschatologische Grösse: Festschrift für Kurt Niederwimmer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Wilhelm Pratscher and Georg Sauer, 63-76. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994.
- Kruger, Paul A. "מִלֵּוּ." In *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, ed. Willem A. vanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
- Kugel, James L. "David the Prophet." In *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. James L. Kugel, 45-55. Myth and Poetics. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- _____. "The Ladder of Jacob." In *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children*, 9-35. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Kuhn, Karl G. "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament." *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 47 (1950): 192-211.
- _____. "St John 7:37-8." *New Testament Studies* 4 (1957): 63-65.
- Kuyper, Lester Jacob. "Grace and Truth: An Old Testament Description of God, and Its Use in the Johannine Gospel." *Interpretation* 18 (1964): 3-19.
- Kvalbein, Hans. "Die Wunder der Endzeit: Beobachtungen zu 4Q521 und Matth 11,5p." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 88 (1997): 111-25.

- _____. "The Kingdom of God and the Kingship of Christ in the Fourth Gospel." In *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl H. Ulrichsen, 215-32. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 106. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- _____. "The Wonders of the End-Time: Metaphoric Language in 4Q521 and the Interpretation of Matthew 11.5 Par." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 18 (1998): 87-110.
- Kysar, Robert. "The Expulsion from the Synagogue: The Tale of a Theory." In *Voyages with John: Charting the Fourth Gospel*, 237-46. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2005.
- Labahn, Michael. "Between Tradition and Literary Art: The Miracle Tradition in the Fourth Gospel." *Biblica* 80 (1999): 178-203.
- _____. "Controversial Revelation in Deed and Word: The Feeding of the Five Thousand and Jesus' Crossing of the Sea as a 'Prelude' to the Johannine Bread of Life Discourse." *Irish Biblical Studies* 22 (2000): 146-81.
- _____. "Jesus und die Autorität der Schrift im Johannesevangelium: Überlegungen zu einem spannungsreichen Verhältnis." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 185-206. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- Lambrecht, Jan. "John the Baptist and Jesus in Mark 1:1-15: Markan Redaction of Q?" *New Testament Studies* 38 (1992): 357-84.
- Lange, Armin. "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination." In *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995, Published In Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, 377-435. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 23. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Langner, Cordula. "Was für ein König ist Jesus?" In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 247-68. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004.
- La Potterie, Ignace de. "La tunique 'non divisée' de Jésus, symbole de l'unité messianique." In *New Testament Age: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke*, 2 vols, ed. William C. Weinrich, 127-38. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984.
- LaSor, William S. "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel." *Vetus Testamentum* 6 (1956): 425-29.
- Laurin, Robert B. "Problem of Two Messiahs in the Qumran Scrolls." *Revue de Qumran* 4 (1963): 39-52.
- Leonhardt-Balzer, Jutta. "Der Logos und die Schöpfung: Streiflichter bei Philo (Op 20-25) und im Johannesprolog (Joh 1,1-18)." In *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditions-geschichtlicher Perspektive*, ed. Jörg Frey and Udo Schnelle, 295-320. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum

- Neuen Testament 175. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Lerle, Ernst. "Die Ahnenverzeichnisse Jesu: Versuch einer christologischen Interpretation." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 72 (1981): 112-17.
- Leske, Adrian M. "Context and Meaning of Zechariah 9:9." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 62 (2000): 663-78.
- Lewis, Jack P. "The Semitic Background of the Gospel of John." In *Johannine Studies*, 97-110. Malibu, CA: Pepperdine University Press, 1989.
- Lichtenberger, Achim. "Jesus and the Theater in Jerusalem." In *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 283-99. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.
- Lichtenberger, Hermann. "Täufergemeinden und frühchristliche Täuferpolemik im letzten Drittel des 1ten Jahrhunderts." *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 84 (1987): 36-57.
- Lieu, Judith. "Biblical Theology and the Johannine Literature." In *New Directions in Biblical Theology: Papers of the Aarhus Conference, 16-19 September 1992*, ed. Sigfred Pedersen, 93-107. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 76. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- _____. "Movements." In *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu, 372-81. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- _____. "Narrative Analysis and Scripture in John." In *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, 144-63. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 189. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000.
- Lincoln, Andrew T. "The Beloved Disciple as Eyewitness and the Fourth Gospel as Witness." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 85 (2002): 3-26.
- Lindars, Barnabas. "The Son of Man in the Johannine Christology." In *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: In Honor of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, ed. Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley, 43-60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- _____. "Traditions behind the Fourth Gospel." In *L'Évangile de Jean: Sources, redaction, theologie*, ed. Marinus de Jonge, 107-24. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 44. Leuven: Peeters, 1987.
- Lindemann, Andreas. "Mose und Jesus Christus: Zum Verständnis des Gesetzes im Johannesevangelium." In *Das Urchristentum in seiner literarischen Geschichte: Festschrift für Jürgen Becker zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Mell and Ulrich B. Müller, 309-34. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 100. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999.
- Loader, William. "Jesus and the Law in John." In *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. Gilbert van Belle, Jan G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, 135-54. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 184. Leuven: Leuven University, 2005.

- _____. "John 1:50-51 and the 'Greater Things' of Johannine Christology." In *Anfänge der Christologie: Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ferdinand Hahn, Cilliers Breytenbach, and Henning Paulsen, 255-74. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.
- _____. "Your Law"—the Johannine Perspective." In ". . . was ihr auf dem Weg verhandelt habt": *Beiträge zur Exegese und Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Müller, Christine Gerber, and Thomas Knöppler, 63-74. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2001.
- Logan, Alastair H. B. "John and the Gnostics: The Significance of the Apocryphon of John for the Debate about the Origins of the Johannine Literature." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 43 (1991): 41-69. Reprinted in *The Johannine Writings: A Sheffield Reader*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, 109-37. The Biblical Seminar 32. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995.
- Lohfink, Norbert. "Distribution of the Functions of Power: The Laws concerning Public Offices in Deuteronomy 16:18-18:22." In *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy*, ed. Duane L. Christensen, 336-52. Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 3. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993.
- Löhr, Hermut. "Isaak, Jakob, Esau, Josef." In *Alttestamentliche Gestalten im Neuen Testament: Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie*, ed. Markus Öhler, 75-96. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999.
- Lohse, Eduard. "ῥωαννά." In *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-74.
- Longenecker, Richard N. "Three Ways of Understanding Relations between the Testaments: Historically and Today." In *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for His 60th Birthday*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Otto Betz, 22-32. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Tübingen: Siebeck, 1987.
- _____. "Who is the Prophet Talking About?: Some Reflections on the New Testament's Use of the Old." *Themelios* 13 (1987): 4-8.
- Lübbe, John. "A Reinterpretation of 4Q Testimonia." *Revue de Qumran* 12 (1986): 187-97.
- Lüdemann, Gerd. "The Acts of the Apostles and the Beginnings of Simonian Gnosis." *New Testament Studies* 33 (1987): 420-26.
- _____. "ἕψω." In *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1993.
- Lunt, H. G. "Ladder of Jacob." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2:401-11. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1985.
- Luz, Ulrich. "Das Neue Testament." In *Gesetz*, ed. Rudolf Smend and Ulrich Luz, 58-139. Kohlhammer Taschenbücher 1015. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1981.

- Maccoby, H. "Rabbinic Literature: Talmud." In *Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000.
- MacDonald, John. "Samaritan Doctrine of Moses." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 13 (1960): 149-62.
- Mach, Michael. "Concepts of Jewish Monotheism in the Hellenistic Period." In *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, 21-42. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 63. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Macina, Robert. "Jean le Baptiste était-il Élie: Examen de la tradition néotestamentaire." *Proche Orient chrétien* 34 (1984): 209-32.
- Maddox, Robert. "The Function of the Son of Man in the Gospel of John." In *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology Presented to L. L. Morris on His 60th Birthday*, ed. Robert Banks, 186-204. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974.
- Maier, Johann. "Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature." In *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300)*. Vol. 1 of *Hebrew Bible—Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, ed. M. Saebo, 108-29. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.
- _____. "Schriftrezeption im jüdischen Umfeld des Johannesevangeliums." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 54-90. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- Marcus, Joel. "The Old Testament and the Death of Jesus: The Role of Scripture in the Gospel Passion Narratives." In *The Death of Jesus in Early Christianity*, ed. John T. Carroll and Joel B. Green, 205-33. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.
- _____. "Rivers of Living Water from Jesus' Belly (John 7:38)." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117 (1998): 328-30.
- Marguerat, Daniel. "La 'source des signes' existe-t-elle?: Réception des récits de miracle dans l'évangile de Jean." In *Communauté johannique et son histoire: La trajectoire de l'évangile de Jean aux deux premiers siècles*, ed. Johannes Beutler and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, 69-93. Monde de la Bible. Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1990.
- Marrs, Rick R. "John 3:14-15: The Raised Serpent in the Wilderness, the Johannine Use of an Old Testament Account." In *Johannine Studies: Essays in Honor of Frank Pack*, 132-47. Malibu, CA: Pepperdine University Press, 1989.
- Marshall, I. Howard. "An Assessment of Recent Developments." In *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson, 1-24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- _____. "The Son of Man in Contemporary Debate." In *Jesus the Saviour: Studies in New Testament Theology*, 100-20. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1990.

- Martens, Elmer A. "ⲓⲛⲓ." In *New International Dictionary of the Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
- Martin, James D. "Ben Sira's Hymn to the Fathers: A Messianic Perspective." In *Crises and Perspectives: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Polytheism, Biblical Theology, Palestinian Archaeology, and Intertestamental Literature, Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference, Held at Cambridge, U.K., 1985*, ed. Johannes Cornelis de Moor, 107-23. Oudtestamentische studiën 24. Leiden: Brill, 1986.
- Martin-Achard, Robert. "Israël, peuple sacerdotal." *Cahiers de la revue de théologie et de philosophie* (1984): 129-46.
- _____. "Moïse, figure du médiateur selon l'Ancien Testament." *Cahiers de la revue de théologie et de philosophie* 11 (1984): 107-28.
- Martínez, Florentino García. "Escatologización de los escritos proféticos en Qumrán." *Estudios bíblicos* 44 (1986): 101-16.
- _____. "Messianic Hopes in the Qumran Writings." In *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Julio Treballe Barrera, 159-89. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Martínez, Florentino García, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude. "11QMelchizedek." In *Qumran Cave 11, II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31*, 221-41. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 23. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Martyn, J. Louis. "From the Expectation of the Prophet-Messiah like Moses . . ." In *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 101-23. 3rd ed. New Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2003.
- _____. "Glimpses into the History of the Johannine Community." In *The Gospel of John in Christian History: Essays for Interpreters*, 90-121. New York: Paulist, 1979. Reprinted in *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 145-67. 3rd ed. New Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2003.
- _____. ". . . To the Presence of the Son of Man." In *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, 124-43. 3rd ed. New Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2003.
- _____. "We Have Found Elijah." In *Jews, Greeks, and Christians: Essays in Honor of William David Davies*, ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs, 181-219. *Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* 21. Leiden: Brill, 1976. Reprinted in *The Gospel of John in Christian History*, 9-54. *Theological Inquiries*. New York: Paulist, 1979.
- Mason, Rex. "The Messiah in the Postexilic Old Testament Literature." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, 338-64. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 270. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.
- Mastin, B. A. "Neglected Feature of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel." *New Testament Studies* 22 (1975): 32-51.
- Matson, Mark A. "The Temple Incident: An Integral Element in the Fourth Gospel's

Narrative." In *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher, 145-53. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001.

Mayer, G. "Aspekte des Abrahambildes in der hellenistisch-christlichen Literatur." *Evangelische Theologie* 32 (1972): 118-27.

McBride, S. Dean, Jr. "Polity of the Covenant People: The Book of Deuteronomy." In *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy*, ed. Duane L. Christensen, 62-77. Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 3. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993.

_____. "Transcendent Authority: The Role of Moses in Old Testament Traditions." *Interpretation* 44 (1990): 229-39.

McCaffrey, U. P. "Psalm Quotations in the Passion Narratives of the Gospels." In *Relationship between the Old and New Testament: Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the New Testament Society of South Africa, Held at the University of Potchefstroom for Christian Higher Education from the 1st to the 3rd of July 1980*, ed. Nuwe-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap van Suid-Afrika, 73-89. Bloemfontein, South Africa: New Testament Society of South Africa, 1981.

McCartney, Dan, and Peter Enns. "Matthew and Hosea: A Response to John Sailhamer." *Westminster Theological Journal* 63 (2001): 97-105.

McConville, J. G. "King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, 271-95. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 270. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.

McHugh, John. "'In Him Was Life.'" In *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70 to 135, the Second Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium on Earliest Christianity and Judaism (Durham, September, 1989)*, ed. James D. G. Dunn, 123-58. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.

McKeating, Henry. "Ezekiel the 'Prophet Like Moses.'" *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 61 (1994): 97-109.

McLay, R. Timothy. "Biblical Texts and the Scriptures for the New Testament Church." In *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 38-58. McMaster New Testament Studies. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.

McNamara, Martin. "The Targums and Johannine Literature." In *Targum and Testament: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible, a Light on the New Testament*, 142-59. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972.

Mealand, David L. "Christology of the Fourth Gospel." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 31 (1978): 449-67.

Meeks, Wayne A. "The Divine Agent and His Counterfeit in Philo and the Fourth Gospel." In *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 43-67. University of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity 2. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976.

- _____. "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 91 (1972): 44-72.
- _____. "Moses as God and King." In *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, 354-71. Studies in the History of Religions 14. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- _____. "Simon Magus in Recent Research." *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 130-42.
- Meier, John P. "From Elijah-like Prophet to Royal Davidic Messiah." In *Jesus: A Colloquium in the Holy Land*, ed. Doris Donnelly, 45-83. London: Continuum, 2001.
- _____. "The Present State of the 'Third Quest' for the Historical Jesus: Loss and Gain." *Biblica* 80 (1999): 459-87.
- Menken, Maarten J. J. "The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: A Survey of Recent Research." In *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. de Boer, 292-320. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 84. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993.
- _____. "'Do Not Fear, Daughter Zion . . .' (John 12:15)." In *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, 80-97. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15. Kampen: Kok, 1996. Translated from "Die Redaktion des Zitates aus Sach 9,9 in Joh 12,15." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 80 (1989): 193-209.
- _____. "'He Gave Them Bread from Heaven to Eat' (John 6:31)." In *The Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, 47-65. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15. Campen: Kok, 1996. Reprinted from "The Provenance and Meaning of the Old Testament Quotation in John 6:31." *Novum Testamentum* 30 (1988): 39-56.
- _____. "'He Who Eats My Bread, Has Raised His Heel against Me' (John 13:18)." In *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, 123-38. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15. Kampen: Kok, 1996. Reprinted from *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 40 (1990): 61-79.
- _____. "'I Am the Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness . . .' (John 1:23)." In *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, 21-36. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15. Kampen: Kok, 1996. Reprinted from *Biblica* 66 (1985): 190-205.
- _____. "Interpretation of the Old Testament and the Resurrection of Jesus in John's Gospel." In *Resurrection in the New Testament*, ed. Reimund Bieringer, 189-205. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 165. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.
- _____. "Die jüdischen Feste im Johannesevangelium." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 269-86. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004.
- _____. "'Not a Bone of Him Shall be Broken' (John 19:36)." In *Old Testament*

- _____. *Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, 147-66. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15. Kampen: Kok, 1996. Reprinted from "The Old Testament Quotation in John 19,36: Sources, Redaction, Background." In *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, ed. Frans van Segbroek et al. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 100. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992.
- _____. "Observations on the Significance of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel." In *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, 155-76. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 184. Leuven: Leuven University, 2005. Reprinted from *Neotestamentica* 33 (1999): 125-43.
- _____. "Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John." In *New Testament Writers and the Old Testament: An Introduction*, ed. John M. Court, 29-45. London: SPCK, 2002.
- _____. "The Origin of the Old Testament Quotation in John 7:38." *Novum Testamentum* 38 (1996): 160-75.
- _____. "The Provenance and Meaning of the Old Testament Quotation in John 6:31." *Novum Testamentum* 30 (1988): 39-56.
- _____. "The Quotations from Zech 9,9 in Mt 21,5 and in Jn 12,15." In *John and the Synoptics*, ed. Adelbert Denaux, 571-78. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 101. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992.
- _____. "Die Redaktion des Zitates aus Sach 9:9 in Joh 12:15." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 80 (1989): 193-209.
- _____. "'They Hated Me without Reason' (John 15:25)." In *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, 139-46. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15. Kampen: Kok, 1996.
- _____. "'They Shall Look on Him Whom They Have Pierced' (John 19:37)." In *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, 167-85. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15. Campen: Kok, 1996. Reprinted from "The Textual Form and the Meaning of the Quotation from Zechariah 12:10 in John 19:37." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 55 (1993): 494-511.
- _____. "The Use of the Septuagint in Three Quotations in John: Jn 10,34; 12,38; 19,24." In *Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. C. M. Tuckett, 367-93. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 131. Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997.
- _____. "'Zeal for Your House Will Consume Me' (John 2:17)." In *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*, 37-46. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 15. Kampen: Kok, 1996.
- Merrill, Eugene H. "Royal Priesthood: An Old Testament Messianic Motif." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 150 (1993): 50-61.
- Metzger, Bruce M. "The Formulas Introducing Quotations in the N. T. and the Mishna."

Journal of Biblical Literature 70 (1951): 297-307.

- _____. "The Fourth Book of Ezra." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 1:517-24. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1985.
- Meyer, R. "'Elia' und 'Ahab': (Tg. Ps.-Jon. zu Deut. 33,11)." In *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel: Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Otto Betz, Martin Hengel, and Peter Schmidt, 356-68. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums 5. Leiden: Brill, 1963.
- Meyers, Eric M. "Recent Archaeology in Palestine: Achievements and Future Goals." In *Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 3, ed. William Horbury, W. D. Davies, and John Sturdy, 59-74, 1082-85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Meynet, Roland. "Jésus, fils de David dans l'évangile de Luc." In *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l'ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeyleen, 413-28. Lectio Divina 177. Paris: Cerf, 1999.
- Michaelis, Wilhelm. "Joh. 1,51, Gen. 28,12 und das Menschensohn-Problem." *Theologisch Literaturzeitung* 85 (1960): 561-78.
- Michel, Otto. "Der aufsteigende und herabsteigende Gesandte." In *The New Testament Age: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke*, ed. William C. Weinrich, 2:335-61. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984.
- Milik, Jozef Tadeusz. "Lettre de Siméon Bar Kokheba." *Revue biblique* 60 (1953): 276-94.
- Miller, Merrill P. "The Problem of the Origins of a Messianic Conception of Jesus." In *Redescribing Christian Origins*, ed. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller, 301-35. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 28. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004.
- Miller, Paul. "'They Saw His Glory and Spoke of Him': The Gospel of John and the Old Testament." In *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 127-51. McMaster New Testament Studies. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.
- Miller, Robert J. "Elijah, John, and Jesus in the Gospel of Luke." *New Testament Studies* 34 (1988): 611-22.
- Mitchell, Margaret M. "Rhetorical and New Literary Criticism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu, 615-33. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Moenikes, Ansgar. "Die Tora des Mose: Beispiel eines kanongeschichtlichen Prozess in der antiken Religionsgeschichte." In *Hairesis: Festschrift für Karl Hoheisel zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Manfred Hutter, Wassilios Klein, and Ulrich Vollmer, 19-32. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 34. Münster: Aschendorff, 2002.
- Moloney, Francis J. "The Gospel of John as Scripture." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 67 (2005): 454-68.
- _____. "Israel, the People and the Jews in the Fourth Gospel." In *Israel und seine*

Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 351-64. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.

_____. "The Johannine Son of Man Revisited." In *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, 177-202. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 184. Leuven: Leuven University, 2005.

_____. "Narrative and Discourse at the Feast of Tabernacles: John 7:1-8:59." In *Word, Theology, and Community in John*, ed. John Painter, R. Alan Culpepper, and Fernando F. Segovia, 155-72. St. Louis: Chalice, 2002.

_____. "Where Does One Look?: Reflections on Some Recent Johannine Scholarship." *Antonianum* 62 (2000): 223-51.

Morgan, Richard. "Fulfillment in the Fourth Gospel: The Old Testament Foundations." *Interpretation* 11 (1957): 155-65.

Morgen, Michèle. "Bulletin johannique." *Recherches de science religieuse* 89 (2001): 561-91.

_____. "La promesse de Jésus à Nathanaël (Jn 1:51): Éclairée par la hagaddah de Jacob-Israël." *Revue des sciences religieuses* 67 (1993): 3-21.

_____. "Les écrits johanniques." *Recherches de science religieuse* 93 (2005): 291-324.

Motyer, Stephen. "Two Testaments, One Biblical Theology." In *Between Two Horizons: Spanning New Testament Studies and Systematic Theology*, ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner, 143-64. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

Motyer, Steve. "Method in Fourth Gospel Studies: A Way Out of the Impasse?" *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 66 (1997): 27-44.

Moule, C. F. D. "Christology of Acts." In *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, ed. Leander E. Keck, Paul Schubert, and J. Louis Martyn, 159-85. Nashville: Abingdon, 1966.

Moyise, Steve. "Can We Use the New Testament in the Way Which the New Testament Authors Use the Old Testament?" *In die Skriflig* 36 (2002): 643-60.

_____. "Intertextuality and Biblical Studies: A Review." *Verbum et Ecclesia* 23 (2002): 418-31.

_____. "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament." In *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, 14-41. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 189. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000.

Muilenburg, James. "Intercession of the Covenant Mediator." In *Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas on His Retirement from the Regius Professorship of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, 1968*, ed. Peter R. Ackroyd and Barnabas Lindars, 159-81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

- 1968.
- Mulder, M. J. “יְשׁוּעָה.” In *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990.
- Müller, Mogens. “Neutestamentliche Theologie als Biblische Theologie: Einige grundsätzliche Überlegungen.” *New Testament Studies* 43(1997): 475-90.
- Müller, Ulrich B. “Die Heimat des Johannesevangeliums.” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 97 (2006): 44-63.
- Mullins, Terence Y. “Jesus, the ‘Son of David.’” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 29 (1991): 117-26.
- Mußner, Franz. “Die ‘semantische Achse’ des Johannesevangeliums: Ein Versuch.” In *Jesus von Nazareth im Umfeld Israels und der Urkirche: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. Michael Theobald, 260-69. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 111. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.
- Nagel, Titus. “Zur Gnostisierung der johanneischen Tradition: Das ‘Geheime Evangelium nach Johannes’ (Apokryphon Johannis) als gnostische Zusatzoffenbarung zum vierten Evangelium.” In *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, ed. Jörg Frey und Udo Schnelle, 675-94. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 175. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Necker, Gerold. “Elia II: Judentum.” In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, ed. Hans D. Betz, 2:1211-12. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.
- Neeb, John H. C. “Jacob/Jesus Typology in John 1,51.” *Proceedings, Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies* 12 (1992): 83-89.
- Neufeld, Dietmar. “And When That One Comes?: Aspects of Johannine Messianism.” In *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, 120-40. *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* 1. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Neusner, Jacob. “One Theme, Two Settings: The Messiah in the Literature of the Synagogue and in the Rabbis’ Canon of Late Antiquity.” *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 14 (1984): 110-21.
- Newsom, Carol A. “4Q374: A Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, 40-52. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 10. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Reprinted in *Qumrân Cave 4 XIV: Parabiblical Texts*, part 2, ed. M. Broshi, 99-110. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 19. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- _____. “4Q378 and 4Q379: An Apocryphon of Joshua.” In *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.-26. Juli 1993*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, 35-85.

Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.

Neyrey, Jerome H. "The Jacob Allusions in Joh 1:51." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 44 (1982): 586-605.

_____. "Jacob Traditions and the interpretation of John 4:10-26." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 41 (1979): 419-37.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. "Abraham the Convert: A Jewish Tradition and Its Use by the Apostle Paul." In *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, 151-75. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 1998.

_____. "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded." In *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone, 89-156. *Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* 2/II. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984.

Niebuhr, Karl-Wilhelm. "Die Werke des eschatologischen Freudenboten: 4Q521 und die Jesusüberlieferung." In *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, 637-46. *Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium* 131. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997.

Niehoff, Maren. "Mose III, 1: Antike Judentum." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by Hans D. Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.

Niehoff, Maren, and Saverio Campanini. "Jakob II: Judentum." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by Hans D. Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.

Nielsen, Helge Kjær. "Johannine Research." In *New Readings in John: Literary and Theological Perspectives Essays from the Scandinavian Conference on the Fourth Gospel in Århus 1997*, ed. Johannes Nissen and Sigfred Pedersen, 11-30. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 182. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1999.

Nilsen, Tina Dykesteen. "The True and the False: The Structure of John 4,16-26." *Biblische Notizen* 128 (2006): 61-64.

Nitzan, Bilhah. "Eschatological Motives in Qumran Literature: The Messianic Concept." In *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, 132-51. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 243. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997.

Nongbri, Brent. "The Use and Abuse of P⁵²: Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel." *Harvard Theological Review* 98 (2005): 23-48.

North, Wendy E. S. "Monotheism and the Gospel of John: Jesus, Moses, and the Law." In *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. S. North, 155-66. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 263. London: T & T Clark, 2004.

Novakovic, Lidija. "Jesus as the Davidic Messiah in Matthew." *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 19 (1997): 148-91.

Nützel, Johannes M. "Eliojah- und Elischa-Traditionen im Neuen Testament." *Bibel und*

Kirch 41 (1986): 160-71.

- Nwaoru, Emmanuel O. "The Motif 'Food of Life' in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions." *Biblische Notizen* 105 (2000): 16-27.
- Oberhänsli-Widmer, Gabrielle. "Mose/Moselied/Mosesegen/Moseschriften III: Apokalyptische und jüdisch-hellenistische Literatur." In *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by Horst Robert Balz. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994.
- Oblath, Michael. "'To Sleep, Perchance to Dream . . .': What Jacob Saw at Bethel (Genesis 28.10-22)." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 95 (2001): 117-26.
- Oegema, Gerbern S. "Messianic Expectations in the Qumran Writings: Theses on Their Development." In *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema, 53-82. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.
- O'Grady, John F. "Jesus the Revelation of God in the Fourth Gospel." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 25 (1995): 161-5.
- Öhler, Markus. "Elijah und Elischa." In *Alttestamentliche Gestalten im Neuen Testament: Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie*, ed. Markus Öhler, 184-203. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999.
- _____. "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118 (1999): 461-76.
- O'Kane, Martin. "Isaiah: A Prophet in the Footsteps of Moses." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 69 (1996): 29-51.
- Okorie, A. M. "Jesus and the Eschatological *Elijah*." *Scriptura* 73 (2000): 189-92.
- O'Neill, J. C. "Son of Man, Stone of Blood (John 1:51)." *Novum Testamentum* 45 (2003): 374-81.
- _____. "The Trinity and the Incarnation as Jewish Doctrines." In *Who did Jesus Think He Was?*, 94-114. Biblical Interpretation Series 11. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- _____. "'Who Is Comparable to Me in My Glory?': 4Q491 Fragment 11 (4Q191C) and the New Testament." *Novum Testamentum* 42 (2000): 24-38.
- Onuki, Takashi. "Fleischwerdung des Logos und Fehltritt der Sophia—Erwägungen zur johanneischen und gnostischen Lichtsprache." In ". . . was ihr auf dem Weg verhandelt habt": *Beiträge zur Exegese und Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Müller, Christine Gerber, and Thomas Knöppler, 75-86. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2001.
- O'Rourke, John J. "Explicit Old Testament Citations in the Gospels." *Studia Montis Regii* 7 (1964): 37-60.
- _____. "John's Fulfillment Texts." *Sciences ecclésiastiques* 19 (1967): 433-43.
- O'Toole, Robert F. "The Parallels between Jesus and Moses." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 20 (1990): 22-29.

- Otto, Eckart. "Jakob I: Altes Testament." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Hans D. Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.
- _____. "Mose I: Altes Testament." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Hans D. Betz. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.
- Overholt, Thomas W. "Elijah and Elisha in the Context of Israelite Religion." In *Prophets and Paradigms: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker*, ed. Stephen Breck Reid, 94-111. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1996.
- Paffenroth, Kim. "Jesus as Anointed and Healing Son of David in the Gospel of Matthew." *Biblica* 80 (1999): 547-54.
- Painter, John. "C. H. Dodd and the Christology of the Fourth Gospel." *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 59 (1987): 42-56.
- _____. "The Enigmatic Johannine Son of Man." In *Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, ed. F. van Segbroeck, 1869-87. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 100. Louvain: Leuven University Press; Peeters, 1992.
- _____. "Inclined to God: The Quest for Eternal Life—Bultmannian Hermeneutics and the Theology of the Fourth Gospel." In *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black, 346-68. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996.
- _____. "Monotheism and Dualism: John and Qumran." In *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, 225-44. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 184. Leuven: Leuven University, 2005.
- _____. "The Point of John's Christology: Christology, Conflict and Community in John." In *Christology, Controversy and Community: New Testament Essays in Honor of David R. Catchpole*, ed. David G. Horrell and Christopher M. Tuckett, 231-52. Supplement to Novum Testamentum 99. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- _____. "Rereading Genesis in the Prologue of John?" In *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl H. Ulrichsen, 179-201. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 106. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Pamment, Margaret. "Is There Convincing Evidence of Samaritan Influence on the Fourth Gospel." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 73 (1982): 221-30.
- _____. "The Son of Man in the Fourth Gospel." *Journal of Theological Studies* 36 (1985): 56-66.
- Pannenberg, Wolfhart. "Problems in a Theology of (Only) the Old Testament." In *Problems in Biblical Theology: Essays in Honor of Rolf Knierim*, ed. Henry T. C. Sun and Keith L. Eades, 275-80. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Parente, Pascal P. "Ascetical and Mystical Traits of Moses and Elias." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 5 (1943): 183-90.

- Parker, S. B. "Sons of (the) God(s)." In *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, ed. Bob Becking, Pieter W. van der Horst, and Karel van der Toorn. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Parsons, Mikeal C. "The Critical Use of the Rabbinic Literature in New Testament Studies." *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 12 (1985): 85-102.
- Peri, Chiara. "The Construction of Biblical Monotheism: An Unfinished Task." *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 19 (2005): 135-42.
- Petrotta, Anthony J. "A Closer Look at Matt 2:6 and Its Old Testament Sources." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 28 (1985): 47-52.
- Phillips, Elaine A. "The Singular Prophet and Ideals of Torah: Miriam, Aaron, and Moses in Early Rabbinic Texts." In *Function of Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, 78-88. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 154. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.
- Philonenko, Marc. "'Jusqu'à ce que se lève un prophète digne de confiance' (1 Maccabées 14,41)." In *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity, Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Ithamar Gruenwald, Shaul Shaked, and Gedaliahu A. G. Stroumsa, 95-98. *Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum* 32. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.
- Pichler, Josef. "Abraham." In *Alttestamentliche Gestalten im Neuen Testament: Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie*, ed. Markus Öhler, 54-74. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1999.
- Pilgaard, Aage. "The Hellenistic *Theios Aner*—A Model for Early Christian Christology?" In *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism*, ed. Peder Borgen and Søren Giversen, 101-22. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1995.
- _____. "The Qumran Scrolls and John's Gospel." In *New Readings in John: Literary and Theological Perspectives: Essays from the Scandinavian Conference on the Fourth Gospel in Århus 1997*, ed. Johannes Nissen and Sigfred Pedersen, 126-42. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 182. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1999.
- Piper, Otto A. "The 'Book of Mysteries' (Qumran I 27): A Study in Eschatology." *Journal of Religion* 38 (1958): 95-106.
- Piper, Ronald A. "Satan, Demons and the Absence of Exorcisms in the Fourth Gospel." In *Christology, Controversy and Community: New Testament Essays in Honor of David R. Catchpole*, ed. David G. Horrell and Christopher M. Tuckett, *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 99, 253-78. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Poirier, John C. "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10 (2003): 221-42.
- Polhill, John B. "John 1-4: The Revelation of True Life." *Review and Expositor* 85 (1988): 445-57.
- _____. "Perspectives on the Miracle Stories." *Review and Expositor* 74 (1977): 389-99.

- Pomykala, Kenneth. "Images of David in Early Judaism." In *Ancient Versions and Traditions*. Vol. 1 of *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*, ed. Craig A. Evans, 33-46. Library of Second Temple Studies 50. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Porter, Stanley E. "Can Traditional Exegesis Enlighten Literary Analysis of the Fourth Gospel?: An Examination of the Old Testament Fulfillment Motif and the Passover Theme." In *Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and W. Richard Stegner, 396-428. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 104. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1994.
- _____. "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology." In *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, 79-96. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 148. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997.
- Porton, Gary G. "Midrash." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Priest, J. "Testament of Moses." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 1: 919-34. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1985.
- Pryor, John W. "Justin Martyr and the Fourth Gospel." *Second Century* 9 (1992): 153-69.
- Puckett, Gary B. "Elijah Redux." *Trinity Seminary Review* 20 (1998): 99-110.
- Puech, Émile. "Ben Sira 48:11 et la Résurrection." In *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Harold Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, 81-89. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990.
- _____. "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism." In *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich, 545-65. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 30. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- _____. "Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)." *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1992): 475-522.
- Purvis, James D. "Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans." *Novum Testamentum* 17 (1975): 161-98.
- Quispel, Gilles. "Nathanael und der Menschensohn (Joh 1 15)." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 47 (1956): 281-83.
- Rainbow, Paul A. "Melchizedek as a Messiah at Qumran." *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 7 (1997): 179-94.
- Rakotoharintsifa, Andrianjatovo. "Chronique johannique," *Études théologiques et religieuses* 75 (2000): 81-102.

- _____. "Chronique johannique II." *Études théologiques et religieuses* 78 (2003): 79-95.
- Ramón-Díaz, José. "Palestinian Targum and the New Testament." *Novum Testamentum* 6 (1963): 75-80.
- Reed, David A. "How Semitic Was John?: Rethinking the Hellenistic Background to John 1:1." *Anglican Theological Review* 85 (2003): 709-26.
- Refoulé, François. "Jésus, nouveau Moïse, ou Pierre, nouveau Grand Prêtre? (Mt 17,1-9; Mc 9,2-10)." *Revue théologique de Louvain* 24 (1993): 145-62.
- Reicke, Bo. "Unity and Diversity in New Testament Theology." In *Good New in History: Essays in Honor of Bo Reicke with a Contribution by Professor Reicke*, ed. Ed L. Miller, 173-92. Atlanta: Scholars, 1993.
- Reim, Günter. "Targum und Johannesevangelium." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 27 (1983): 1-13.
- Reimer, David J. "Old Testament Christology." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, John Day, ed., 380-400. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 270. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998.
- Reinhartz, Adele. "'Jews' and Jews in the Fourth Gospel." In *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, 341-56. Jewish and Christian Heritage Series 1. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001.
- Rensberger, David. "The Messiah Who Has Come into the World: The Message of the Gospel of John." In *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher, 15-24. Louisville: Westminster/John Know, 2001.
- Reumann, John H. P. "Profiles, Problems, and Possibilities in Biblical Theology Today Part I." *Kerygma und Dogma* 44 (1998): 61-85.
- _____. "Profiles, Problems, and Possibilities in Biblical Theology Today Part II: New Testament." *Kerygma und Dogma* 44 (1998): 145-69.
- Reventlow, Henning Graf. "Response to Klaus Koch: Two Testaments, One Bible: New Trends in Biblical Theology." *Bangalore Theological Forum* 28 (1996): 59-62.
- Richard, Earl. "The Old Testament in Acts: Wilcox's Semitisms in Retrospect." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980): 330-41.
- Richter, Georg. "Die alttestamentlichen Zitate in der Rede vom Himmelsbrot Joh 6,26-51a." In *Schriftauslegung: Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments und im Neuen Testament*, 193-279. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1972.
- _____. "Die Fleischwerdung des Logos im Johannesevangelium." *Novum Testamentum* 13 (1971): 81-126; and 14 (1972): 257-76. Reprinted in *Studien zum Johannesevangelium*, ed. Josef Hainz, 149-98. Biblische Untersuchungen 13. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1977.
- Ridderbos, Herman. "The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: History and Interpretation."

- In *Saved by Hope: Essays in Honor of Richard C. Oudersluys*, ed. James I. Cook, 15-26. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978.
- Riesner, Rainer D. "Galilee." In *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, ed. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1994.
- Roberts, J. J. M. "Melchizedek (11Q13 = 11QMelch)." In *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*. Vol. 6B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 264-73. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2002.
- Robertson, R. G. "Ezekiel The Tragedian." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 803-20. New York: Doubleday, 1985.
- Robinson, J. A. T. "Elijah, John and Jesus: An Essay in Detection." *New Testament Studies* 4 (1958): 263-81.
- Rogers, Cleon L., Jr. "The Davidic Covenant in the New Testament." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 150 (1993): 458-78.
- _____. "The Davidic Covenant in the New Testament." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 151 (1994): 71-84.
- _____. "The Promises to David in Early Judaism." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 150 (1993): 285-302.
- Roloff, Jürgen. "Der johanneische 'Lieblingsjünger' und der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit." *New Testament Studies* 15 (1968-1969): 129-51.
- Romanowsky, J. W. "'When the Son of Man is Lifted Up': The Redemptive Power of the Crucifixion in the Gospel of John." *Horizons* 32 (2005): 100-16.
- Rordorf, Willy. "Gen 28,10ff und John 1,51 in der patristischen Exegese." In *Johannes—Studien: Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Johannes—Evangelium, Freundesgabe der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Neuchâtel für Jean Zumstein*, ed. Martin Rose, 39-46. Zürich: Theologischer, 1991.
- Rose, Martin. "Manna: Das Brot aus dem Himmel." In *Johannes-Studien: Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Johannes—Evangelium, Freundesgabe der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Neuchâtel für Jean Zumstein*, ed. Martin Rose, 75-107. Publications de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Neuchâtel 6. Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1991.
- Ross, James F. "The Prophet as Yahweh's Messenger (1962)." In *Prophecy in Israel: Search for an Identity*, ed. David L. Peterson, 112-21. Issues in Religion and Theology 10. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987.
- Roth, Wolfgang. "Jesus as the Son of Man: The Scriptural Identity of a Johannine Image." In *The Living Text: Essays in Honor of Ernest W. Saunders*, ed. D. E. Groh and R. Jewett, 11-26. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985.
- _____. "Scriptural Coding in the Fourth Gospel." *Biblical Research* 32 (1987): 6-29.

- Roure, Damià. "La figure de David dans l'évangile de Marc: Des traditions juives aux interprétations évangéliques." In *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII^e congrès de l'ACFEB (Lille, 1^{er}-5 septembre 1997)*, ed. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeulen, 397-412. *Lectio Divina* 177. Paris: Cerf, 1999.
- Rowland, Christopher. "John 1.51, Jewish Apocalyptic and Targumic Tradition." *New Testament Studies* 30 (1984): 498-507.
- Ruckstuhl, Eugen. "Johannine Language and Style: The Question of Their Unity." In *L'Évangile de Jean: Sources, rédaction, théologie*, ed. Marinus de Jonge, 125-48. *Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium* 44. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1977.
- Runia, David T. "God and Man in Philo of Alexandria." *Journal of Theological Studies* 39 (1988): 48-75.
- Sabbe, Maurits. "The Johannine Account of the Death of Jesus and Its Synoptic Parallels (Jn 19:16b-42)." *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 70 (1994): 34-64.
- Saldarini, Anthony J. "Rabbinic Literature and the NT." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Sanders, E. P. "Jesus' Galilee." In *Fair Play: Diversity and Conflicts in Early Christianity, Essays in Honour of Heikki Räisänen*, ed. Ismo Dunderberg, Christopher Tuckett, and Kari Syreeni, 3-42. *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 103. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- _____. "Jesus in Galilee." In *Jesus: A Colloquium in the Holy Land*, ed. Doris Donnelly, 5-26. London: Continuum, 2001.
- Sanders, James A. "A New Testament Hermeneutic Fabric: Psalm 118 in the Entrance Narrative." In *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring, 177-90. Atlanta: Scholars, 1987.
- Sandmel, Samuel. "Parallelomania." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962): 2-13.
- Sänger, Dieter. "Mose/Moselied/Mosesegen/Moseschriften II: Neues Testament." In *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by Horst Robert Balz. 26 vols. Berlin: Gruyter, 1994.
- _____. "'Von mir hat er geschrieben' (Joh 5,46): Zur Funktion and Bedeutung Mose im Neuen Testament." *Kerygma und Dogma* 41 (1995): 112-35.
- Schäfer, Peter. "Die sogannante Synode von Jabne." In *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums*, 45-55. *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* 15. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- Schapidick, Stefan. "Autorität ohne Inhalt: Zum Mosebild des Johannesevangeliums." *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 97 (2006): 177-206.
- Schencke, H. M. "Jacobs-brunnen-Josephsgrab-Sychar." *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 84 (1968): 159-84.

- Schenke, Ludger. "Die formale und gedankliche Struktur von Joh 6:26-58." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 24 (1980): 21-41.
- _____. "Die literarische Vorgeschichte von Joh 6:26-58." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 29 (1985): 68-89.
- Schmidt, Andreas. "Zwei Anmerkungen zu P. Ryl. III 457." *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 35 (1989): 11-12.
- Schmidt, Werner H. "Das Prophetengesetz Dtn 18,9-22 im Kontext erzählender Literatur." In *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans*, ed. M. Vervenne and J. Lust, 55-69. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 133. Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997.
- Schmithals, Walter. "Das Alte Testament im Neuen." In *Paulus, die Evangelien, und das Urchristentum: Beiträge von und zu Walter Schmithals zu seinem 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach, 563-614. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 54. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Schnackenburg, Rudolf. "The Gnostic Myth of the Redeemer and the Johannine Christology." In *The Gospel according to St John*, 1:544-48. Herder's Theological Commentary on the New Testament. New York: Crossroad, 1982.
- _____. "'Der Vater, der mich gesandt hat': Zur johanneische Christologie." In *Anfänge der Christologie: Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ferdinand Hahn, Cilliers Breytenbach, and Henning Paulsen, 275-92. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.
- Schneider, G. "ῥάβδος." In *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-74.
- Schnelle, Udo. "Das Johannesevangelium als neue Sinnbildung." In *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, 291-314. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 184. Leuven: Leuven University, 2005.
- _____. "Ein neuer Blick: Tendenzen der gegenwärtigen Johannesforschung." *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 16 (1999): 29-40.
- _____. "Johannes als Geisttheologe." *Novum Testamentum* 40 (1998): 17-31.
- _____. "Perspektiven der Johannesexegese." *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 15 (1990): 59-72.
- _____. "Trinitarisches Denken im Johannesevangelium." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 367-86. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- Scholtissek, Klaus. "Die Brotrede Jesu in Joh 6,1-71: Exegetische Beobachtungen zu ihrem johanneischen Profil." *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 123 (2001): 35-55.

- _____. "‘Geschrieben in diesem Buch’ (Joh 20,30): Beobachtungen zum kanonischen Anspruch des Johannesevangeliums." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klauss Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 207-26. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- _____. "‘Ich und der Vater, wir sind eins’ (Joh 10,30): Zum theologischen Potential und zur hermeneutischen Kompetenz der johanneischen Christologie." In *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, 315-46. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 184. Leuven: Leuven University, 2005.
- _____. "Johannes auslegen I: Forschungsgeschichtliche und methodische Reflexionen." *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 24 (1999): 35-84.
- _____. "Johannes auslegen II: Methodische, hermeneutische und einleitungswissenschaftliche Reflexionen." *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 25 (2000): 98-140.
- _____. "Johannes auslegen III: Ein Forschungsbericht," *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 27 (2002): 117-53.
- _____. "Johannes auslegen IV: Ein Forschungsbericht." *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 29 (2004): 67-118.
- _____. "The Johannine Gospel in Recent Research." In *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research*, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne, 444-72. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004.
- _____. "Johannine Studies: A Survey of Recent Research with Special Regard to German Contributions." *Currents in Research* 6 (1998): 227-59.
- _____. "Johannine Studies: A Survey of Recent Research with Special Regard to German Contributions II." *Currents in Research* 9 (2001): 277-305.
- _____. "Neues Testament." In *Der Messias: Perspektiven des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Klaus Scholtissek, 55-108. Die Neue Echter Bibel Themen 5. Würzburg: Echter, 2002.
- _____. "‘Die unauflösbare Schrift’ (Joh 10,35): Zur Auslegung und Theologie der Schrift Israels im Johannesevangelium." In *Johannesevangelium—Mitte oder Rand des Kanons?: Neue Standortbestimmungen*, ed. Thomas Söding, 146-77. Quaestiones disputatae 203. Freiburg: Herder, 2003.
- Schreiber, Stefan. "Rätsel um den König: Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Herkunft des König-Titels im Johannesevangelium." In *Johannes aenigmaticus: Studien zum Johannesevangelium für Herbert Leroy*, ed. Stefan Schreiber and Alois Stimpfle, 45-70. Biblische Untersuchungen 29. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2000.
- Schwankl, Otto. "Aspekte der johanneischen Christologie." In *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, 347-76. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 184. Leuven: Leuven University, 2005.

- Schwartz, Daniel R. "Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Jerusalem." In *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27-31 January, 1999*, ed. David M. Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz, 45-56. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 37. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- _____. "The Messianic Departure from Judah (4Q Patriarchal Blessings)." *Theologische Zeitschrift* 37 (1981): 257-66.
- Schwartz, Eduard. "Aporien im vierten Evangelium." *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 14 (1907): 342-72; 15 (1908): 115-88, 497-560.
- Schweizer, Eduard. "Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and Its Old Testament Background." In *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert*, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn, 186-93. Nashville: Abingdon, 1966.
- Scobie, Charles H. H. "Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity." *New Testament Studies* 19 (1973): 390-414.
- Scott, Ian W. "Is Philo's Moses a Divine Man?" *Studia philonica Annual* 14 (2002): 87-111.
- Scott, James. "Jesus' Vision for the Restoration of Israel as the Basis for a Biblical Theology of the New Testament." In *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann, 129-43. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002.
- _____. "Restoration of Israel." In *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid, 796-805. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993.
- Seeman, Chris J. "Judea." In *Dictionary of New Testament Background*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter, 616-24. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000.
- Segal, Alan F. "Some Observations about Mysticism and the Spread of Notions of Life after Death in Hebrew Thought." *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 35 (1996): 385-99.
- Seifrid, Mark A. "The 'New Perspective on Paul and Its Problems.'" *Themelios* 25, no. 2 (February 2000): 4-18.
- _____. "Paul's Use of Habakkuk 2:4 in Romans 1:17: Reflections on Israel's Exile in Romans." In *History and Exegesis: New Testament Essays in Honor of Dr. E. Earle Ellis for His 80th Birthday*, ed. Sang-Won Son, 133-49. London: T & T Clark, 2006.
- Seitz, Christopher R. "Two Testaments and the Failure of One Tradition History." In *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann, 195-211. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002.
- Selman, Martin J. "Messianic Mysteries." In *The Lord's Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham, 281-302. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995.

- Sills, Deborah. "Vicious Rumors: Mosaic Narratives in First Century Alexandria." *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 31 (1992): 684-94.
- Silva, Moisés. "Has the Church Misread the Bible?" In *Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation: Six Volumes in One*, ed. Moisés Silva, 11-90. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996.
- _____. "Ned B Stonehouse and Redaction Criticism, pt 2: The History of the Synoptic Tradition." *Westminster Theological Journal* 40 (1978): 281-303.
- _____. "The New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Text, Form, and Authority." In *Scripture and Truth*, ed. D. A. Carson and J. D. Woodbridge, 147-65. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983.
- Simian-Yofre, H. "מִטְּוֵה." In *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-2004.
- Simmers, Gary. "Who is 'The Angel of the Lord?'" *Faith and Mission* 17 (2000): 3-16.
- Sinclair, Lawrence A. "David I: Altes Testament." In *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by Horst Robert Balz. Berlin: Gruyter, 1981.
- Ska, Jean-Louis. _____. "Jesus and the Samaritan Woman (John 4): Using the Old Testament." *Landas* (1999): 81-94.
- _____. "Jésus et la Samaritaine (Jn 4): Utilité de l'ancien Testament." *La nouvelle revue théologique* 118 (1996): 641-52.
- Smalley, Stephen S. "Johannine Son of Man Sayings." *New Testament Studies* 15 (1969): 278-301.
- Smend, Friedrich. "Die Behandlung alttestamentlicher Zitate als Ausgangspunkt der Quellenscheidung im 4. Evangelium." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 24 (1925): 147-50.
- Smend, Rudolf. "Methoden der Moseforschung." In *Gesammelte Studien*. Vol. 2 of *Zur ältesten Geschichte Israels*, 45-115. Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie 100. Munich: Kaiser, 1987.
- Smith, D. Moody. "The Contribution of J. Louis Martyn to the Understanding of the Gospel of John." In *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, J. Louis Martyn, 1-18. 3rd ed. New Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003.
- _____. "The Life Setting of the Gospel of John." *Review and Expositor* 85 (1988): 433-44.
- _____. "Postscript for Third Edition of Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*." In *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, ed. J. Louis Martyn, 19-23. 3rd ed. New Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003.
- _____. "Setting and Shape of a Johannine Narrative Source." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976): 231-41.

- _____. "When Did the Gospels Become Scripture?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119 (2000): 3-20.
- Smith, Morton. "Comparison of Early Christian and Early Rabbinic Tradition." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 82 (1963): 169-76.
- Söding, Thomas. "Die Schrift als Medium des Glaubens: Zur hermeneutischen Bedeutung von Joh 20:30f." In *Schrift und Tradition: Festschrift für Josef Ernst zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Knut Backhaus and Franz Georg Untergassmair, 343-71. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996.
- _____. "Die Tempelaktion Jesu." *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 101 (1992): 36-64.
- Songer, Harold S. "John 5-12: Opposition to the Giving of True Life." *Review and Expositor* 85 (1988): 459-72.
- Sprinkle, Joe M. "Is There Truth in the Law (John 1:17)?: On the Gospel of John's View of the Mosaic Revelation." In *Biblical Law and Its Relevance: A Christian Understanding and Ethical Application for Today of the Mosaic Regulations*, 29-40. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006.
- Stalley, Jeffrey L. "The Structure of John's Prologue: Its Implications for the Gospel's Narrative Structure." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 48 (1986): 241-64.
- _____. "What Can a Postmodern Approach to the Fourth Gospel Add to Contemporary Debates about Its Historical Situation?" In *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher, 47-58. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001.
- Stamps, Dennis L. "Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament as a Rhetorical Device: A Methodological Proposal." In *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 9-37. McMaster New Testament Studies. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.
- Starcky, Jean. "Les Maîtres de Justice et la chronologie de Qumrân." In *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor, 249-56. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 46. Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1978.
- _____. "Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumran." *Revue biblique* 70 (1963): 481-505.
- Stefanovic, Zdravko. "Jacob's Well." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Stegemann, Ekkehard W. "Die Tragödie der Nähe: Zu den judenfeindlichen Aussagen des Johannesevangeliums." *Kirche und Israel* 4 (1989): 114-22.
- Stegemann, Ekkehard W., and Wolfgang Stegemann. "König Israels, nicht König der Juden?: Jesus als König im Johannesevangelium." In *Messias-vorstellungen bei Juden und Christen*, ed. Ekkehard Stegemann, 41-56. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1993.
- Steiger, Johann A. "Nathanael—Ein Israelit, an dem kein Falsch ist: Das hermeneutische Phänomen der Intertestamentarizität aufgezeigt an Joh 1,45-51." *Berliner*

- Theologische Zeitschrift* 9 (1992): 50-73.
- Stein, Robert H. "The Benefits of an Author-Oriented Approach to Hermeneutics." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 44 (2001): 451-66.
- _____. "Is Our Reading the Bible the Same as the Original Audience's Hearing it?: A Case Study in the Gospel of Mark." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 46 (2003): 63-78.
- Stemberger, Günter. "Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel." In *Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel und des Alten Testaments*, ed. Christoph Dohmen and Günter Stemberger, 23-74. Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie 1,2. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996.
- _____. "Pesachhaggada und Abendmahlsberichte des Neuen Testaments." *Kairos* 29 (1987): 147-58.
- Stendahl, Krister. "Biblical Theology, Contemporary." In *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by George A. Buttrick. New York: Abingdon, 1962.
- Sterling, Gregory E. "The Place of Philo of Alexandria in the Study of Christian Origins." In *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen, 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum 1.—4. Mail 2003, Eisenach/Jenaeds*, ed. Roland Deines and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, 21-52. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament* 172. Tübingen: Siebeck, 2004.
- Stibbe, Mark W. G. "The Elusive Christ: A New Reading of the Fourth Gospel." In *Gospel of John as Literature: An Anthology of Twentieth-Century Perspectives*, ed. Mark W. G. Stibbe, 231-47. *New Testament Tools and Studies* 17. Leiden: Brill, 1993.
- Stiglmair, Arnold. "Der Durchbohrte: Ein Versuch zu Sach 12." *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 116 (1994): 451-56.
- Stone, Michael E. "The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra." In *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, 295-312. *Studies in the History of Religions* 14. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Strange, James F. "Recent Discoveries at Sepphoris and Their Relevance for Biblical Research." *Neotestamentica* 34 (2000): 125-41.
- Strotmann, Angelika. "Relativ oder absolute Präexistenz?: Zur Diskussion über die Präexistenz der frühjüdischen Weisheitsgestalt im Kontext von Joh 1,1-18." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 91-106. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- Strugnell, John. "Apocryphon of Moses." In *Parabiblical Texts*, part 2 of *Qumran Cave 4, XIV*, ed. Joseph A. Fitzmyer and James A. Vanderkam, 111-36. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 19. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- _____. "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works." In *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, 221-56.

- Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 8. Sheffield: JSOT, 1990.
- _____. "Notes en marge du volume V des Discoveries in the Judaean desert of Jordan." *Revue de Qumran* 7 (1970): 163-276.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. "'Angels' and 'God': Exploring the Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism." In *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E. S. North, 45-70. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 263. London: T & T Clark, 2004.
- Stuhlmacher, Peter. "Das Gesetz als Thema biblischer Theologie." *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 75 (1978): 251-80.
- _____. "Isaiah 53 in the Gospels and Acts." In *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher, 147-63. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- _____. "My Experience with Biblical Theology." In *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann, 174-91. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002.
- Sundberg, Albert C. "Christology in the Fourth Gospel." *Biblical Research* 21 (1976): 29-37.
- Swancutt, Diana M. "Hungers Assuaged by the Bread from Heaven: 'Eating Jesus' as Isaian Call to Belief, the Confluence of Isaiah 55 and Psalm 78 (77) in John 6:22-71." In *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, 218-51. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 48. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997.
- Tabor, James D., and Michael O. Wise. "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 10 (1992): 149-62.
- Tal, Abraham. "Samaritan Literature." In *The Samaritans*, ed. Alan D. Crown, 413-67. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989.
- _____. "The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch." In *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jan Mulder, 189-216. *Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* 2/1. Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988.
- Tan, Randall K. J. "Recent Developments in Redaction Criticism: From Investigation of Textual Prehistory Back to Historical-Grammatical Exegesis?" *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 44 (2001): 599-614.
- Taylor, Marion Ann, and John E. Harvey. "Moses." In *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
- Tcherikover, Victor. "Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas." *Harvard Theological Review* 2 (1958): 59-86.

- Teeple, Howard M. "Qumran and the Origin of the Fourth Gospel." *Novum Testamentum* 4 (1960): 6-25; repr. In *The Composition of John's Gospel: Selected Studies from Novum Testamentum*, ed. David E. Orton, 1-20. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Tenney, Merrill C. "The Old Testament and the Fourth Gospel." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 120 (1963): 300-8.
- Theobald, Michael. "Abraham—(Isaak—) Jacob: Israels Väter im Johannesevangelium." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 158-84. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- _____. "Gott, Logos und Pneuma: 'trinitarische' Rede von Gott im Johannesevangelium." In *Monotheismus und Christologie: Zur Gottesfrage im hellenistischen Judentum und im Urchristentum*, ed. Hans-Josef Klauck, 41-87. *Quaestiones disputatae* 138. Freiburg: Herder, 1992.
- _____. "Der Johannesprolog im 20. Jahrhundert." In *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos: Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh*, 54-161. *Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen (New Series)* 20. Münster: Aschendorff, 1988.
- _____. "Schriftzitate im 'Lebensbrot'-Dialog Jesu (Joh 6): Ein Paradigma für den Schriftgebrauch des vierten Evangelisten." In *The Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, 327-66. *Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium* 131. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997.
- Thiel, Winfried. "Character and Function of Divine Sayings in the Elijah and Elisha Traditions." In *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Henning Reventlow, 189-99. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 243. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997.
- Thielman, Frank. "Grace in Place of Grace: Jesus Christ and the Mosaic Law in John's Gospel." In *The Law and the New Testament: The Question of Continuity*, 78-110. *Companions to the New Testament*. New York: Crossroad, 1999.
- Thoma, Albrecht. "Das Alte Testament im Johannes-Evangelium." *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 22 (1879): 18-66, 171-223, 273-312.
- Thoma, Clemens. "David II: Judentum." In *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by Horst R. Balz. 36 vols. Berlin: Gruyter, 1981.
- Thomas, John C. "The Fourth Gospel and Rabbinic Judaism." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 82 (1991): 159-82.
- Thompson, J. A., and Elmer A. Martens. "פְּתָח" In *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
- Thompson, Marianne Meye. "Thinking about God: Wisdom and Theology in John 6." In *Critical Readings of John 6*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper, 221-46. *Biblical Interpretation Series* 22. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

- Thompson, Michael B. "The Holy Internet: Communication between Churches in the First Christian Generation." In *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. Richard Bauckham, 49-70. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Thüsing, Wilhelm. "Die johanneische Theologie als Verkündigung der Grösse Gottes." *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 74 (1965): 321-31.
- Thyen, Hartwig. "Ich bin das Licht der Welt: Das Ich- und Ich-Bin-Sagen Jesu im Johannesevangelium." *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 35 (1992): 19-46.
- Tomson, Peter J. "'Jews' in the Gospel of John as Compared with the Palestinian Talmud, the Synoptics, and Some New Testament Apocrypha." In *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, 301-40. Jewish and Christian Heritage Series 1. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001.
- Trafton, Joseph L. "Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252=4QcommGenA=4QP Bless)." In *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, vol. 6B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.
- Trocme, Etienne. "Jean-Baptiste dans le Quatrième Évangile." *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 60 (1980): 129-51.
- Tromp, Johannes. "The Davidic Messiah in Jewish Eschatology of the First Century BCE." In *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, ed. James M. Scott, 180-201. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 72. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- _____. "Taxo, the Messenger of the Lord." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 21 (1990): 200-09.
- Trudinger, Paul. "Davidic Links with the Betrayal of Jesus: Some Further Observations." *Expository Times* 86 (1974-75): 278-79.
- _____. "Hosanna to the Son of David: St John's Perspective." *Downside Review* 109 (1991): 297-301.
- _____. "A Prophet Like Me (Deut 18:5): Jesus and Moses in St John's Gospel, Once Again." *Downside Review* 113 (1995): 193-95.
- Tucker, Gene. "Deuteronomy 18:15-22." *Interpretation* 41 (1987): 292-97.
- Tuckett, Christopher. "Paul, Scripture and Ethics." In *New Testament Writers and the Old Testament: An Introduction*, ed. John M. Court, 71-97. London: SPCK, 2002.
- Turner, John D. "Sethian Gnosticism and Johannine Christianity." In *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. G. van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, 399-434. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 184. Leuven: Leuven University, 2005.
- Ulrichsen, Jarl H. "Jesus—der neue Tempel?: Ein kritischer Blick auf die Auslegung von

Joh 2,13-22." In *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. David E. Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl H. Ulrichsen, 202-14. Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 106. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

- Umoh, Camillus. "The Temple in the Fourth Gospel." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im vierten Evangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 314-33. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.
- Untergaßmair, Franz G. "Das Johannesevangelium: Ein Bericht über neuere Literatur aus der Johannesforschung." *Theologische Revue* 90 (1994): 91-108.
- Urban, Linwood, and Patrick Henry. "'Before Abraham Was I Am': Does Philo Explain John 8:56-58?" *Studia philonica* 6 (1979-1980): 157-95.
- van Bell, Gilbert. "Christology and Soteriology in the Fourth Gospel: The Conclusion to the Gospel of John Revisited." In *Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel: Essays by the Members of the SNTS Johannine Writings Seminar*, ed. Gilbert van Belle, J. G. van der Watt, and P. Maritz, 435-62. *Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium* 184. Leuven: Leuven University, 2005.
- van de Water, Rick. "Moses' Exaltation: Pre-Christian?" *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 21 (2000): 59-69.
- van der Horst, Pieter W. "Anti-Samaritan Propaganda in Early Judaism." In *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context: Selected Essays on Early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity*, 134-50. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament* 196. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006.
- _____. "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 34 (1983): 21-29.
- _____. "Some Notes on the Exagoge of Ezekiel." In *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity*, 72-93. *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 14. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990.
- van der Waal, C. "The Gospel according to John and the Old Testament." In *Essays on the Jewish Background of the Fourth Gospel: Proceedings of the Sixteenth Meeting of the New Testament Society of South Africa*, 28-47. *Neotestamentica* 6. Bloemfontein, South Africa: The New Testament Society of South Africa, 1972.
- van der Watt, Jan G. "The Composition of the Prologue of John's Gospel: The Historical Jesus Introducing Divine Grace." *Westminster Theological Journal* 57 (1995): 311-32.
- _____. "Salvation in the Gospel according to John." In *Salvation in the New Testament: Perspectives on Soteriology*, ed. Jan G. van der Watt, 101-31. Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 121. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- van der Woude, Adam S. "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI." *Oudtestamentische studiën* 14 (1965): 354-73.
- van Henten, Jan Willem. "Moses as Heavenly Messenger in *Assumptio Mosis* 10:2 and

- Qumran Passages." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 54 (2003): 216-27.
- van Seters, John. "Divine Encounter at Bethel (Gen 28,10-22) in Recent Literary-Critical Study of Genesis." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 110 (1998): 503-13.
- Veerkamp, Ton. "Die Frau am Jakobsbrunnen: John 4,4-42." *Texte & Kontexte* 27 (2004): 71-96.
- Vermes, Geza. "La Figure de Moïse au tournant des deux Testaments." In *Moïse: L'homme de l'alliance*, ed. Henri Cazelles, 63-92. Paris: Desclée, 1955.
- _____. "Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections on Methodology." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 361-76.
- _____. "Jewish Studies and New Testament Interpretation." In *Jesus in His Jewish Context*, 53-67. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003.
- _____. "The Present State of the 'Son of Man' Debate." In *Jesus in His Jewish Context*, 81-90. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003.
- _____. "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in Its Historical Setting." *Leeds University Oriental Society Annual* 6 (1966-68): 85-97.
- Verseput, Donald J. "The Davidic Messiah and Matthew's Jewish Christianity." *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 34 (1995): 102-16.
- Visotzky, Burton L. "Midrash, Christian Exegesis, and Hellenistic Hermeneutics." In *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*, ed. Carol Bakhos, 111-31. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 106. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Von Wahlde, Urban C. "Archaeology and John's Gospel." In *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 523-86. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.
- _____. "Literary Structure and Theological Argument in Three Discourses with the Jews in the Fourth Gospel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984): 575-84.
- _____. "'You Are of Your Father the Devil' in Its Context: Stereotyped Apocalyptic Polemic in John 8:38-47." In *Anti-Judaism and the Fourth Gospel: Papers of the Leuven Colloquium, 2000*, ed. R. Bieringer, D. Pollefeyt, and F. Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, 418-44. Jewish and Christian Heritage Series 1. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001.
- _____. "The Witnesses to Jesus in John 5:31-40 and Belief in the Fourth Gospel." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 43 (1981): 385-404.
- Voorwinde, Stephen. "John's Prologue: Beyond Some Impasses of Twentieth-Century Scholarship." *Westminster Theological Journal* 64 (2002): 15-44.
- Waetjen, Herman C. "Genealogy as the Key to the Gospel according to Matthew." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976): 205-30.
- Walker, William O. "John 1:43-51 and 'The Son of Man' in the Fourth Gospel." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 56 (1994): 31-42.

- _____. "The Son of Man: Some Recent Developments." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45 (1983): 584-607.
- Walter, Nikolaus. "Zur theologischen Problematik des christologischen 'Schriftbeweises' in Neuen Testament." *New Testament Studies* 41 (1995): 338-57.
- Waltke, Bruce K. "Micah." In *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, and Habakkuk*, vol. 2 of *The Minor Prophets*, ed. Thomas E. McComiskey, 591-764. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993.
- Watts, James W. "The Legal Characterization of Moses in the Rhetoric of the Pentateuch." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117 (1998): 415-26.
- Wcela, Emil A. "Messiah(s) of Qumrân." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 26 (1964): 340-49.
- Wedderburn, Alexander J. M. "Jesus' Action in the Temple: A Key or a Puzzle?" *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 97 (2006): 1-22.
- Weder, Hans. "Mein hermeneutisches Anliegen im Gegenüber zu Klaus Bergers Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments." *Evangelische Theologie* 52 (1992): 319-31.
- Weinfeld, Moshe. "God Versus Moses in the Temple Scroll: 'I Do Not Speak on My Own But on God's Authority' (Sifrei Deut sec 5; John 12, 48f)." *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991-1992): 175-80.
- Weinreich, Otto. "Antikes Gottmenschentum." In *Römischer Kaiserkult*, ed. Antonie Wlosok, 55-81. Wege der Forschung 372. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978.
- Wells, M. Jay. "Figural Representation and Canonical Unity." In *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann, 111-25. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002.
- Whitsett, Christopher G. "Son of God, Seed of David: Paul's Messianic Exegesis in Romans 1:3-4." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 119 (2000): 661-81.
- Whitters, Mark F. "Why Did the Bystanders Think Jesus Called upon Elijah before He Died (Mark 15:34-36)?: The Markan Position." *Harvard Theological Review* 95 (2002): 119-24.
- Widengren, Geo. "King and Covenant." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 2 (1957): 1-32.
- Wiebe, John M. "The Form, Setting and Meaning of the Song of Moses." *Studia Biblica et Theologica* 17 (1989): 119-63.
- Wieder, Naftali. "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 4 (1953): 158-75.
- Wiens, Devon H. "Mystery Concepts in Primitive Christianity and in Its Environment." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 23.2:1248-84. Part 2, *Principat*, 23.2. Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: Gruyter, 1980.
- Wilckens, Ulrich. "Gott, der Drei-Eine: Zur Trinitätstheologie der johanneischen

Schriften." In *Der Sohn Gottes und seine Gemeinde: Studien zur Theologie der Johanneischen Schriften*, 9-28. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 200. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

_____. "Monotheismus und Christologie." In *Der Sohn Gottes und seine Gemeinde: Studien zur Theologie der Johanneischen Schriften*, 126-35. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 200. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

Wilcox, Max. "The Aramaic Background of the New Testament." In *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, 362-78. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 166. Sheffield: JSOT, 1994.

Williams, Catrin H. "Isaiah in John's Gospel." In *Isaiah in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, 101-16. London: T & T Clark, 2005.

Williamson, H. G. M. "History." In *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture, Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson, 25-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Williamson, H. G. M., and C. A. Evans. "Samaritans." In *Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000.

Wilson, Robert McL. "Philo and the Fourth Gospel." *Expository Times* 65 (1953): 47-49.

_____. "Simon and Gnostic Origins." In *Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie*, ed. Jacob Kremer, 485-91. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 48. Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1979.

Windisch, Hubert. "Joh I 51 und die Auferstehung Jesu." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 31 (1932): 199-204.

Wink, Walter. "'The Son of Man' in the Gospel of John." In *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, ed. Robert T. Fortna and Tom Thatcher, 117-23. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2001.

Wright, R. B. "Psalms of Solomon." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2:639-50. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1985.

Xeravits, Géza G. "The Early History of Qumran's Messianic Expectations." *Ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium* 76 (2000): 113-21.

_____. "Moses Redivivus in Qumran?" *Qumran Chronicle* 11 (2003): 91-105.

_____. "Wisdom Traits in the Qumranic Presentation of the Eschatological Prophet." In *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, 183-92. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003.

Yamauchi, Edwin M. "Gnosticism and early Christianity." In *Hellenization Revisited:*

Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World, ed. Wendy E. Helleman, 29-61. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994.

_____. "The Pre-Christian Gnosticism Reviewed in the Light of the Nag Hammadi Texts." In *Nag Hammadi Library after Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration*, ed. John Douglas Turner and Anne Marie McGuire, 72-88. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 44. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Yarbro-Collins, Adela. "Narrative, History, and Gospel." *Semeia* 43 (1988): 145-53.

_____. "The Worship of Jesus and the Imperial Cult." In *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origin of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, 234-57. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 63. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

York, Anthony D. "Dating of Targumic Literature." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 5 (1974): 49-62.

Zangenberg, Jürgen. "Between Jerusalem and Galilee: Samaria in the Time of Jesus." In *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 393-432. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.

Zeller, Dieter. "Elija und Elischa im Frühjudentum." *Bibel und Kirch* (1986): 154-60 (1986): 154-60.

Zenger, Erich. "Mose/Moselied/Moseseugen/Moseschriften I: Altes Testament." In *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by Horst Robert Balz. 36 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994.

Zumstein, Jean. "Die Schriftrezeption in der Brotrede (Joh 6)." In *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium: Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek, and Angelika Strotmann, 123-39. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004.

_____. "L'interprétation johannique de la mort du Christ." In *Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, ed. Frans van Segbroeck and Christopher M. Tuckett, 3:2119-38. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium 100. Louvain: Peeters, 1992.

Dissertations

Bampfylde, Gillian P. "Old Testament Quotations and Imagery in the Gospel according to St. John." Ph.D. diss., University of Hull, 1967.

Behrens, Rainer K. W. "The Use of Moses Traditions in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to John's Use of the Old Testament." Ph.D. diss., University of Gloucestershire, 2004.

Bowersox, Phil G. "The Use of Isaiah 6:10 in John 12:40 and the Theology of Rejection." Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1978.

Brunson, Andrew C. "The Coming One: An Intertextual Study of Psalm 118 in the

- Gospel of John." Ph.D. diss., University of Aberdeen, 2001.
- Castner, P. Josef M. "Moses im Neuen Testament: Eine Untersuchung der Mosestraditionen in den neutestamentlichen Schriften." Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, 1967.
- Clark-Soles, Jamie. "Scripture Cannot Be Broken: The Social Function of the Use of Scripture in the Fourth Gospel." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2001.
- Daly-Denton, Margareth. "David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms." Ph.D. diss., Trinity College, Dublin, 1996.
- Hamid-Khani, Saeed. "Revelation and Concealment of Christ: A Theological Inquiry into the Elusive Language of the Fourth Gospel." Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1997.
- Hamilton, James Merrill, Jr. "He Is with You and He Will Be in You: The Spirit, the Believer, and the Glorification of Jesus." Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2003.
- Harstine, Stan. "The Functions of Moses as a Character in the Fourth Gospel and Responses of Three Ancient Mediterranean Audiences." Ph.D. diss., Baylor University, 1999.
- Hoskins, Paul M. "Jesus as the Replacement of the Temple in the Gospel of John." Ph.D. diss., Trinity International University, 2002.
- Hotz, Eugene. "L'Interpritation de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Evangile selon Saint-Jean." Ph.D. Diss., Neuchatel, 1943.
- Hultberg, Alan D. "Messianic Exegesis in the Apocalypse: The Significance of the Old Testament for the Christology of Revelation." Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2001.
- Johnson, David H. "Our Father Jacob: The Role of the Jacob Narrative in the Fourth Gospel Compared to Its Role in the Jewish Bible and in the Writings of Early Judaism." Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1992.
- Kierspel, Lars. "ΚΟΣΜΟΣ and ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ in the Fourth Gospel: Parallelism, Function, and Context." Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2006.
- Kim, Stephen S. "The Relationship of the Seven Sign-Miracles of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel to the Old Testament." Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 2001.
- Lierman, John D. "The New Testament Moses in the Context of Ancient Judaism." Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2002.
- Manning, Gary T., Jr. "Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period." Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2003.
- Marty, William Henry. "The New Moses." Th.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1984.

- McGrath, James F. "John's Apologetic Christology: Legitimation and Development in Johannine Christology." Ph.D. diss., University of Durham, 1998.
- Meeks, Wayne A. "Jesus as King and Prophet in the Fourth Gospel." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1965.
- Nash, Steven Boyd. "Kingship and the Psalms in the Fourth Gospel." Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2000.
- Pond, Eugene W. "Theological Dependencies of John's Gospel on Isaiah." Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1985.
- Scannel, Timothy Joseph. "Fulfillment of Johannine Signs: A Study of John 12:37-50." Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1998.
- Thomas, Cherian. "Jesus the New Moses: A Christological Understanding of the Fourth Gospel." Th.D. diss., Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1989.
- Wallace, Eric M. E. "The Testimony of Moses: Pentateuchal Traditions and Their Function in the Gospel of John." Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2004.
- Woods, Mark William. "The Use of the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel: The Hermeneutical Method Employed in the Semeia and Its Significance for Contemporary Biblical Interpretation." Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1980.

ABSTRACT

OLD TESTAMENT CHARACTERS AS CHRISTOLOGICAL WITNESSES IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

Sanghee Michael Ahn, Ph.D.
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2006
Chairperson: Dr. John B. Polhill

This dissertation examines the Christological witness function of the Old Testament characters in the Gospel of John. Chapter 1 discusses the problem concomitant to the bi-partite nature of the Christian Bible and the scholarly solutions suggested to remedy this issue. The importance of Christology for John and the Gospel's indebtedness to the Jewish heritage is also noted. Combining these two aspects, some scholarly attempts to account for Johannine Christology in terms of Jewish hero *redivivus* theories are reviewed. An important consensus has emerged from German scholarship that sees the role of the Old Testament as Christological witness. This perspective gave impetus to the present research concerning the same witness function of the Old Testament characters. The rest of chapter 1 discusses the preliminary questions, such as, the justification, contributions, methodology, terms, and limits of the present study.

Chapter 2 investigates the contribution of Jacob and Abraham to Johannine Christological understanding in view of relevant intertestamental Jewish literature. In contrast to some scholarly arguments, the main function of these patriarchs is to undergird the messianic identity of Jesus.

Chapter 3 concerns Elijah in early Judaism and John. The eschatological expectation of Elijah in the former period is marked by his militant subjugation of the gentiles along with the reconciliation ministry. The contextual reading of the passages related to Elijah in John reveals that he is a type of John the Baptist rather than Jesus.

Chapter 4 examines David, probably the most influential messianic prefiguration of the intertestamental period. He is characterized by his competence as a ruler, his loyalty to Judaism, and his status as an eschatological figure. While the first half of John's Gospel does not portray Jesus as a Davidic figure, the latter half is replete with the references to the Davidic trials. Although one can argue for a correspondence between David and Jesus in the Johannine passion accounts, the analogy is more evident between Yahweh and Jesus, let alone the suffering aspect of David, which did not constitute the messianic expectations of early Judaism.

Chapter 5 engages in a study of Moses as depicted in early Judaism and John. In contrast to the perspectives of the Hebrew scriptural traditions, in which Moses is understood as the prophet *par excellence*, the fourth evangelist presents him merely as a Christological witness, not as a messianic prefiguration.

Chapter 6 summarizes the foregoing observations and offers hermeneutical implications for the study of the Gospel of John, especially with reference to the redactional capability of the fourth evangelist and the value of the intertestamental Jewish literature.

VITA

Sanghee Michael Ahn

PERSONAL

Born: April 18, 1971, Kyounggi, South Korea
Parents: Ghilsu Ahn and Okhee Song
Married: Juhyun Judy Kim, December 21, 2000
Child: Grace H. Ahn, born January 23, 2003

EDUCATIONAL

Diploma, Kyoungdong High School, Seoul, South Korea, 1990
B.Th., Korea Baptist Theological University, Taejon, Korea, 1997
M.A.R., Liberty Baptist Theological Seminary, Lynchburg, VA, 1999
M.Div., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KY, 2002

MINISTERIAL

Director of Children, Banseok Baptist Church, Seoul, South Korea, 1989-1995
Minister of Worship, East Audubon Baptist Church, Louisville, Kentucky,
2001-2006
Pastor, All Nations Baptist Church, Arlington, Texas, 2006 -

ACADEMIC

Teaching Assistant, Liberty Baptist Theological Seminary, 1999
Translator, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2003
Garrett Teaching Fellow, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2003-
2004
Greek Tutor, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2005-2006

ORGANIZATIONAL

Evangelical Theological Society