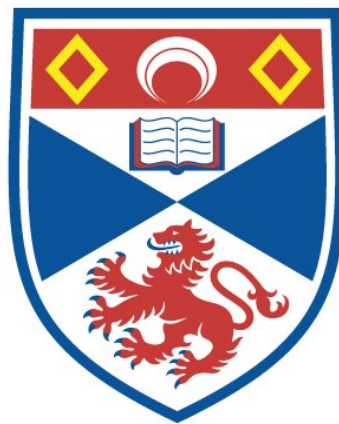


THE SON OF MAN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

William J. Moulder

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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THE SON OF MAN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

AND THE GOSPEL TRADITIONS

William J. Moulder

A Thesis Presented for the Degree of Ph.D.

The University of St. Andrews



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me, that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree.

The thesis which follows (a study of the term "Son of Man" in the Old Testament and related literature and in the New Testament particularly as this O.T. background has been utilized) is a research project undertaken in the Department of New Testament Languages and Literature, following admission to the University of St. Andrews as a research student in October, 1969, and acceptance as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in October 1970.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I. THE OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND TO THE SON OF MAN	4
<u>Psalms</u>	4
Psalm 8	
Psalm 80	
<u>Daniel 7</u>	6
<u>The Parables of I Enoch</u>	16
<u>IV Ezra 13</u>	30
<u>Comparison and Summary</u>	32
<u>A Brief History of the Tradition of the Old Testament</u>	
<u>Throne Theophany Prophetic Commission</u>	33
I Kings 22	
Isaiah 6	
Ezekiel 1-3	
Ezekiel 8-10	
Daniel 7	
I Enoch 14	
I Enoch 46	
I Enoch 60	
I Enoch 71	
<u>Summary and Conclusion</u>	50
NOTES	58
CHAPTER II. THE SON OF MAN IN THE NEW TESTAMENT OUTSIDE THE GOSPELS	77
<u>Methodological Considerations</u>	77
<u>The Son of Man in the New Testament</u>	
<u>Outside the Gospels</u>	79
Acts 7:56	
Hebrews 2:6	
Revelation 1:13; 14:14	
Paul's Second Man/Adam Christology	
Summary	
<u>The Creativity of Jesus and the Early Community</u>	88
NOTES	90

CHAPTER III.	THE SON OF MAN IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS . . .	94
	<u>The Future Son of Man Sayings</u>	94
	The Double Tradition	
	Mt. 24:27, 37, 44 = Lk. 17:24, 26; 12:40	
	Lk. 17:22, 30	
	Mt. 12:30	
	Mt. 12:40 = Lk. 11:29	
	Mark	
	14:62	
	8:38	
	13:26	
	9:9	
	Special Traditions	
	Mt. 10:23	
	Mt. 13:41	
	Mt. 16:27, 28; 19:28; 24:30, 39; 24:31; 25:31	
	Lk. 17:22, 30; 12:8, 9 (=Mt. 10:32); 18:8; 21:36	
	<u>The Present Son of Man Sayings</u>	111
	The Double Tradition	
	Mt. 8:20 = Lk. 9:58	
	Mt. 11:19 = Lk. 7:34	
	Mt. 12:32 = Lk. 12:10	
	(Mt. 5:11 =) Lk. 6:22	
	Mark	
	2:10	
	2:28	
	Special Traditions	
	Mt. 13:37	
	Mt. 16:13	
	Lk. 19:10	
	<u>The Suffering Son of Man Sayings</u>	149
	Mark	
	9:12	
	10:45	
	8:31; 9:31; 10:33f.	
	14:21 (bis); 14:41	
	Special Traditions	
	Mt. 26:2	
	Lk. 22:48	
	Lk. 24:7	
	NOTES	167
CHAPTER IV.	THE JOHANNINE SON OF MAN SAYINGS	203
	<u>Ascending and Descending</u>	203
	John 1:51	
	3:13	
	6:62	
	<u>Exalted and Glorified (= Crucified)</u>	225
	John 3:14	
	8:28	
	12:23	
	12:34 (bis)	
	13:31	

<u>Judge</u>	265
John 5:27	
<u>Savior</u>	274
John 6:27, 53	
9:35	
<u>Daniel 7, the Son of Man and the Son (of God)</u>	289
<u>NOTES</u>	303
CONCLUSION	336
EXCURSUS: A DISCUSSION OF GÜNTER REIM'S <u>STUDIEN ZUM</u> <u>ALTTESTAMENTLICHEN HINTERGRUND DES JOHANNES-</u> <u>EVANGELIUMS</u>	340
A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	345

PREFACE

The present interest in New Testament christology stems from seminary studies when working through various aspects of biblical theology (and christology in particular) under the tutelage of Dr. Richard N. Longenecker. When it became necessary to select a topic for a major research project, it was natural that it should be in the area of New Testament christology. No christological title is more important than the Son of Man (however formidable the prospect of working on so well-worn a subject). The continuing appearance of new works on the Son of Man problem and the confidence that persistent research will yield answers to the perplexities of the subject were encouragements to pursue a study of this intriguing christological title.

The literature on the Son of Man is immense, though works on the Johannine material are relatively few. One of the most recent contributions relevant to the Johannine section of the present study is Günter Reim's Studien zum Alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums. Unfortunately this monograph became available too late to incorporate into the main body of the thesis. A discussion of this important work therefore appears in an excursus.

Many helpful suggestions which have now taken on more substantial form in the pages which follow came from post-graduate seminars in St. Marys College, one in New Testament

christology and the other in I Enoch and other Jewish apocalyptic texts. To the members of those seminars I acknowledge my indebtedness. I should like to express my gratitude also to Principal Matthew Black for his invaluable help at every stage of the research.

ABBREVIATIONS

Journals

<u>B.J.R.L.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</u>
<u>C.B.Q.</u>	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
<u>E.T.</u>	<u>The Expository Times</u>
<u>J.B.L.</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>J.T.S.</u>	<u>The Journal of Theological Studies</u>
<u>N.T.S.</u>	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
<u>R.B.</u>	<u>Revue Biblique</u>
<u>R.H.P.R.</u>	<u>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses</u>
<u>R.S.R.</u>	<u>Recherches de Science Religieuse</u>
<u>S.J.T.</u>	<u>Scottish Journal of Theology</u>
<u>U.S.Q.R.</u>	<u>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</u>
<u>V.T.</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
<u>Z.A.W.</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
<u>Z.N.W.</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
<u>Z.T.K.</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</u>

Other Abbreviations

<u>B.Z.A.W.</u>	Beiheft zur <u>Z.A.W.</u>
<u>I.C.C.</u>	<u>International Critical Commentaries</u>
LXX	The Septuagint
M.T.	Masoretic Text
N.E.B.	New English Bible
<u>T.D.N.T.</u>	<u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u> (ed. by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 1932ff.; English trans. by G.W. Bromiley, 1964ff.; 8 vols.)

INTRODUCTION

There is no other subject in the study of the New Testament which is more central to the understanding of the life and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth and which is at the same time subject to more controversy than the "Son of Man". Perhaps more of the work of biblical scholars has been expended on this important topic than on any other one subject, and yet there appears to be as much disagreement as ever on the essential meaning of and the history of the title.

It is this factor which provides the raison d'être for yet another study of this well-worn topic. Though there is at present no consensus among scholars on even certain basic features of this enigmatic title, it is of course hoped that continued research will ultimately yield answers to the problems which at present vex all who study the matter.

Undertaking the present study may be further justified by the difference of approach it follows. The value of taking an approach limited to a certain line of investigation has been demonstrated by Morna Hooker, who limited her study of the Son of Man to Mark's Gospel only. Another such approach is that of Frederick Borsch who, following the History of Religions school, explored the full gamut of Near Eastern religious documents in an attempt to shed light on the N.T. Son of Man. It has been the approach of this study to examine material closer to hand to the N.T. writers, the early church,

and Jesus himself--the Old Testament (and related Jewish apocryphal works). Though the influence of other factors may have helped in the shaping of the Son of Man tradition, the use of the O.T. and its profound influence would seem certain.

In the examination of the Synoptic Son of Man logia it will not be necessary to study every saying in detail--this has been done often enough --but each major group of sayings will be scrutinized. Mark 10:45, for example, being perhaps the most important of the Markan passion predictions with a clear O.T. background, will be examined in detail, while other Markan passion predictions (such as 8:31; 9:31) will not be treated in such depth.

A special emphasis will be given to the Johannine Son of Man sayings in this study. The reason for this emphasis is the fresh interest in the Fourth Gospel, as witnessed by the recent appearance of several major commentaries on John, coupled with a new appreciation of the tradition this Gospel embodies.* At the same time, while seemingly every possible avenue of exploration has been pursued in attempting to understand the Synoptic Son of Man, the Johannine Son of Man has been largely neglected. Only one monograph on the subject, Siegfrid Schulz's Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium (1957), has appeared. Even Schulz's work (now out of print) is a relatively short monograph and many of the logia are given only a paragraph of discussion. Thankfully A. J. B. Higgins does include John in his study.

(Jesus and the Son of Man, 1964) and one can be grateful for Stephen Smalley's article ("The Johannine Son of Man Sayings", N.T.S. 15 (1968-69), 278-301). But there is still plenty of room for a more expanded study of the puzzling Son of Man in the Fourth Gospel, not only for understanding the Son of Man as presented by John, but also for thereby gaining possible insight into the Synoptic Son of Man (a subject laudably initiated by Rudolph Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, I, Exkurs V) and the history of tradition of this most important christological title.

*This new appreciation of John's Gospel is seen in C. H. Dodd, Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: University Press, 1963) and the importance of Dodd's contribution is pointed out by A. J. B. Higgins ("The Words of Jesus According to St. John", B.J.R.L. 49 (1966-67), 363-86), who says (p. 371) Dodd has ". . . strengthened the case for the view that the fourth evangelist utilized an independent tradition, which may preserve some historical elements neglected by the synoptists."

CHAPTER I

THE OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND TO THE SON OF MAN

Any study of the Son of Man should include a consideration of the O.T. Son of Man material. Therefore the main elements of the conception as it evolves in several places in the O.T. will be noted: first in the Psalms, then in the seventh chapter of Daniel, and finally in the extra-canonical books of I Enoch and IV Ezra.

Psalms

There are two important occurrences of Son of Man in the Psalms: in Psa. 8:4 and in Psa. 80:17.

Psalm 8

Linguistically "son of man" is a poetic synonym for man in this psalm (cf. Psa. 144:3). In this sense E. G. Briggs is right¹ that the psalmist means son of man(kind)--i.e., "not any particular man, but the human kind, man as a race." Still one can see the possibilities for later theological developments if, as Briggs says (p. 64), the statement that man is a little lower than the Elohim is a reference back to Gen. 1 and 2, where man is made in the image of Elohim. This man/son of man is the head of the race of men made in the image of God. Significantly this psalm is used as a testimonium to Christ in Heb. 2:6-9.²

Psalm 80

In Psalm 80 the use of "son of Man" is more particular. There are two possible interpretations of Son of Man in this Psalm: (1) the people of God, Israel, or (2) the messianic king. If the term (perhaps taken from Psalm 8³) has been narrowed from a poetic designation for the human race (synonymous with man) to a term for a particular group of men, then it is the people of God (Israel) who stand at God's right hand, in the place of honor and favor (Psa. 110:1).⁴ Most recent commentators suggest, however, that son of man is a reference to the king,⁵ on whose behalf supplication is made, together with a request (v. 16) for victory over the enemy. The בְּנֵי אָדָם בְּיָמֶיךָ , in parallelism with son of man, בְּיָמֶיךָ בְּיָמֶיךָ , which is thought by Gunkel to be an allusion to Benjamin, is more likely, as Kraus says, a poetic reference to the king with an allusion to the picture of the king sitting at the right hand of Yahweh (Psa. 110:1).⁶ The בְּנֵי אָדָם בְּיָמֶיךָ has its semantic equivalent in the Ugaritic bnš, vocalized bu-nu-šo, and composed of bun, "son", and nōš, "man", which in some texts is used of a courtier, and probably means a person of importance with a genealogy (cf. Psa. 146:3, where "son of man" is parallel to "princes").⁷ Since בְּנֵי אָדָם בְּיָמֶיךָ has this connotation of one of rank and stands parallel to the poetic reference to the king in בְּנֵי אָדָם בְּיָמֶיךָ , it is likely the king is meant.

But if the primary reference of "son of man" in Psa. 80:17 is to the king, this does not exclude a secondary reference to Israel, since "the personification of Israel as Jehovah's son underlies the language of the verse."⁸ This

language, first applied to Israel, is now applied to Israel's king. Furthermore, the father-son relationship between God and the king developed and was possibly influenced by very old Oriental mythology, as Kraus notes⁹, though whether it is correct to speak of the "deity" of the king is another matter.

Daniel 7

The significance of Daniel's "son of man" as background to the N.T. Son of Man is obvious from the fact that the most explicit reference to an O.T. passage in any of the Son of Man logia is to Dan. 7:13 in Mk. 14:62.¹⁰ Furthermore, the dependence of the N.T. Son of Man conception on Jewish apocalyptic literature, especially Dan. 7, is unquestionable.¹¹ Both the theological and the historical difficulties of the Son of Man problem in the N.T.¹² are to be seen to some extent in Daniel's "son of man" as well. An examination of Daniel's vision, its interpretation, and related issues is therefore essential before attempting to answer some of the questions posed by the Son of Man in the Gospels.

Perhaps a preliminary word should be said about Dan. 8:17, the only place in Daniel beside 7:13 where "son of man" occurs (excepting 10:16 where the plural is used). Here, in a vision, Gabriel addresses Daniel as "son of man", a usage so much reminiscent of that in Ezekiel, where the prophet is addressed 87 times as "son of man", that J. Bowman takes it Daniel has borrowed from Ezekiel.¹³ Bowman carries this view further in his comparison of Dan. 7 to Ezek. 1.¹⁴ The significance of Ezekiel's "son of man" is given even more weight by

G. S. Duncan, who believed Jesus was primarily dependent on Ezekiel.¹⁵ Duncan discarded the apocalyptic associations of son of man in favor of an understanding that made the term merely a prophet's title, as in Ezekiel.¹⁶ A. J. B. Higgins rejects this view because Jesus had no prominent association with the Spirit as Ezekiel had.¹⁷ T. W. Manson rejects a similar attempt by W. A. Curtis¹⁸ to find the derivation of the Synoptic Son of Man in Ezekiel and the Servant of the Lord of Isaiah. As Manson notes, among Jesus' sparse references to Ezekiel, only one has to do with the son of man, and then it is God himself who is at work, not the son of man prophet.¹⁹ This leaves the main O.T. source for the Son of Man in Dan. 7.

There are several notable features of the vision and its interpretation in Dan. 7. The four beasts rise out of the sea, 7:1-8, the Ancient of Days sits in glory and judges the four beasts, 7:9-12, and finally "one like a son of man" comes on the clouds to be given an eternal dominion by the Ancient of Days, 7:13, 14. The interpretation of the vision follows in 7:15-28. The four beasts symbolize four pagan kings. The "one like a son of man" represents the "saints of the Most High"--i. e., righteous Israel. Though a direct equation, that the son of man is the saints of the Most High, is not explicitly given in the interpretation, it is clear that this is what is meant. In the vision dominion was given to the son of man; twice in the interpretation, 7:18, 27, it is said that dominion will be given to the saints of the Most High. In v. 22 the Ancient of Days comes and judgment is given to the saints of the Most High, then in v. 25 the

fourth beast is said to wear out the saints of the Most High.

The difference between the son of man as apparently an individual in the vision and the saints of the Most High as collective in the interpretation is one of several such differences between the vision and the interpretation.²⁰ More of these differences are noted by Morna Hooker:²¹ in the vision the son of man appears after the victory of the Ancient of Days over the beasts, but in the interpretation the saints of the Most High have been there all along. The son of man is absent from the first part of the vision, whereas the beasts are absent from the last part of the interpretation, a difference which Hooker takes to provide a contrast between the temporal dominion of the pagan kingdoms and the eternal dominion of the saints.²² Finally there is the difference between the dignity of the son of man and the suffering of the saints.²³

Equally significant is the fact that certain aspects of the vision are not interpreted at all: the sea from which the beasts arise, and the clouds on which the son of man comes. This leads some scholars to believe that there was a current mythological conception of a son of man well known to Daniel and his readers which made it unnecessary to interpret these features. But C. Colpe concludes from the differences between the vision and the interpretation and the absence of an interpretation of some items of the vision that Daniel has borrowed this visionary material from foreign sources with which he was not greatly familiar and is thus unable to interpret all the details.²⁴ The question of the origin of Daniel's son of man

is a difficult one to answer. Perhaps the answer is to be found somewhere midway between F. H. Borsch, who sees Daniel as partaking wholly of current mythological concepts, and A. Feuillet, who rules out any foreign influence on Daniel's son of man. Borsch surveys a great mass of Near Eastern mythological material and concludes that Daniel is dependent on a current mythological kingship rite because ". . . there are too many relics from such enthronement sagas which cannot be fitted to other backgrounds."²⁵ A. Feuillet, on the other hand, takes the origin of Daniel's son of man to be strictly Jewish without any foreign influence.²⁶ He finds sufficient background to Daniel's son of man in Ezekiel 1 (where God is manifested in human form) and the O.T. theophanies as well as the hypostatizing of Wisdom in the wisdom literature.²⁷ But is it not possible that Daniel drew from both backgrounds? While Daniel's son of man may seem to share ~~some~~ aspects of the Man mythology, there are as well many features which appear to be distinctly Jewish conceptions.²⁸

With respect to the interpretation of Daniel 7, the symbolical nature of the term "son of man", as of the four symbolic beasts, is made clear by the use of the preposition ד, "like" or "resembling" a son of man.²⁹ According to T. W. Manson, the son of man is not a divine, semi-divine, or angelic figure coming down from heaven to bring deliverance but is a human figure going up to receive it.³⁰ The son of man, as a symbol for Israel, is a figure corresponding to the earlier Remnant or Servant of the Lord figures (and comparable to the Body of Christ, the New Israel, the Bride of Christ in the N.T.). From this is developed Manson's well known corporate

interpretation. The figure represents a "body of persons united by a common loyalty and obligation to God."³¹ H. E. Tödt follows a quite different line. Noting as Manson did, the emphasis on the human character of the son of man in contrast to the four beasts, he nonetheless sees implied in the $\psi\text{ן} \text{א} \text{ן} \text{ן} \text{ן}$ more dissimilarity to man than similarity. This dissimilarity is due to the influence of the Urmensch myth with its half-divine, half-human figure.³² It would seem, however, that the author's intention was to set the man (son of man) over against the beasts in order to emphasize the humanity (or humaneness) of the people of God (saints of the Most High) as opposed to the bestiality of the pagan peoples.³³

A corporate interpretation of Daniel's son of man has found widespread acceptance. T. W. Manson's corporate thesis is similar to the corporate personality (or corporate solidarity) thesis of H. Wheeler Robinson and others. Noting a certain oscillation between the group and its representative often found in some Israel-messiah O.T. passages, Manson finds the same phenomenon in Dan. 7 and in the Gospels' Son of Man sayings. Though Dan. 7 uses the son of man as a corporate symbol (as is clear from the equation of the son of man with the saints of the Most High), Manson notes that it is commonly held that the term soon became a personal title for the Messiah, especially a pre-existent, heavenly Messiah.³⁴ Finally the term appears in the Gospels in a number of sayings which are susceptible to either a corporate or an individual interpretation.³⁵ Scholars have reacted variously to Manson's hypothesis. H. H. Rowley, finding an element of truth in Manson's

thesis, believes the collective interpretation is best suited to the logia referring to a future coming of the Son of Man, inasmuch as Son of Man is a symbol for the coming Kingdom of God.³⁶ M. Black agrees that the corporate meaning of the Son of Man, carried from Dan. 7 into the Gospels logia, is in some cases probable, but he cautions that it should not be taken as the only meaning.³⁷ O. Cullmann sees in Dan. 7:13 and in Jesus' usage that the corporate meaning is present, but he finds the individual interpretation to be more prominent.³⁸ C. C. McCown offers three objections to the corporate view in the Gospels.³⁹ (1) No Gospel passage suggests that Jesus and his followers were thought of as a corporate entity, called Son of Man. But this objection surely begs the question. (2) The Son of Man in I Enoch (clearly an individual) was probably known to Jesus and the Gospels writers. The uncertainty as to the dating of the Similitudes opens this consideration to question, however.⁴⁰ (3) The popularity of angelology and hypostatizing would tend to individualization of the son of man rather than to the abstract corporate view. (The association with the tradition of the throne-theophanies would also lead more to the individualization of the son of man.) At any rate a modification of Manson's view is probably the best interpretation: the fact that son of man is used in a corporate sense in Dan. 7 means⁴¹ that one should not be surprised if to some extent this collective understanding of the term makes its way into the Gospels Son of Man.

In spite of the strictly symbolic nature of "son of man" in Dan. 7, whatever its potential for later theological

developments, there has been considerable discussion of the question whether "son of man" is a messianic title. Borsch, for example, finds that "son of man" is not a title, but it is messianic. In view of the uses of son of man in Dan. 7, 8, and 10, he finds no consistency which would indicate a technical vocabulary. Since both God, an angel (Gabriel), and Daniel are called "manlike" or addressed as man, the term must not be taken simply to refer to humanity.⁴² The Danielic figure is messianic, in that he does the work of messiah, but he is not messianic, in that he is not the earthly hero expected by the Jews.⁴³ Geza Vermes, after a thorough study of ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܗܝܡܢܐ in Jewish Aramaic, concludes ". . . not one among the hundreds of examples scrutinized by me suggests that bar nash(a) was ever employed as a messianic designation."⁴⁴ While this does not mean that there is philological proof that the "son of man" was unsuitable to be used as a title,⁴⁵ it does reinforce the fact that, whatever it may have been in other Jewish apocalyptic literature, "son of man" was in Dan. 7 a symbol and no more a title than the other symbols (such as lion, 7:4, bear, 7:5, or the terrible beast, 7:7).

The question of a pre-existent Son of Man also comes into the discussion of Dan. 7. Morna Hooker, for example, attempts to find a prior existence of the son of man in Dan. 7. Reference has already been made to her notice of the difference between the appearance of the son of man after the victory of the Ancient of Days in the vision and the presence all along of the saints of the Most High in the interpretation. Her argument for pre-existence rests on understanding the under-

lying myth and its application to Israel's history in terms of restoration, not of re-creation. The restoration is the giving back to Israel (and her representative, the Son of Man) the dominion which was originally hers. The saints of the Most High are seen in the interpretation of Dan. 7 to have been in existence prior to this restoration. It follows then for Hooker that the Son of Man who represents the saints must have been in existence as well.⁴⁶ Tödt, on the other hand, says emphatically that there is no reference in Dan. 7 to a primeval existence of the Son of Man,⁴⁷ and this view would appear to be more in line with the strictly symbolical nature of the son of man.

This leads to the question whether the son of man in Daniel may be associated with suffering. If so, Dan. 7 may provide (at least partially) the background for the association of the Son of Man with suffering in the Gospels. In the same way that Hooker finds pre-existence of the Son of Man in Dan. 7 by his connection with the saints who were present before, she also finds the Son of Man associated with suffering by his connection with the saints of the Most High who doubtless endure suffering (7:25).⁴⁸ A. J. B. Higgins objects that this view fails to give due emphasis to the apocalyptic motif and exaggerates the suffering-vindication theme.⁴⁹ Interestingly, Borsch notes that the suffering motif, which was essential to the Man myth which he traced in its varied developments, shows relatively few traces in Daniel.⁵⁰ He notes the possibility that in the suffering of the saints their leader will also suffer but points out that this is not

the emphasis of Dan. 7.⁵¹ It may be concluded that, although the son of man is not said to suffer in Dan. 7, the fact that the son of man is the symbol of the saints who do suffer means that the Son of Man is thereby associated with suffering.

Traditionally it has been believed that Jesus combined the son of man in Dan. 7 with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah to establish his own teaching concerning himself.⁵² Recent scholarly opinion has differed widely on this subject, however. On the one hand, Higgins feels the combination of Servant with the Son of Man was not original with Jesus or the Gospels writers but existed in Judaism prior to Jesus.⁵³ Borsch finds the seeds of this idea in the enthronement myth, which consistently involved the king in suffering, and in the association of the king with the Servant concept, especially at Jerusalem.⁵⁴ On the other hand, this view is rejected outright by both Rowley, who cannot find a suffering son of man in Dan. 7,⁵⁵ and by S. Mowinckel, who finds no suffering Son of Man anywhere in pre-Christian Judaism.⁵⁶ R. H. Fuller rejects the idea of a fusion of the Son of Man and the Servant, even in the teaching of Jesus. He maintains that Jesus distinguished two periods in the Son of Man sayings: the first was suffering, the second was glorious (the coming kingdom).⁵⁷ But in view of the fact that the son of man in Daniel is in some measure associated with suffering (the emphasis, of course, being on his glory), one may conclude that Dan. 7 provides a background for both a glorious and a suffering Son of Man.⁵⁸

Daniel 7 is also relevant to the discussions of the relation of the Son of Man to the Kingdom of God in the Gospels.

Philip Vielhauer maintains that the two ideas never come together.⁵⁹ Because he does not find the two together in Q, Vielhauer believes they must be two different traditions. This being the case, if Jesus spoke of the Kingdom of God, he could not have spoken of the Son of Man. The Son of Man must be a christological title of the church, taken from Jewish apocalyptic literature where it signified a pre-existent heavenly being, but not the Messiah. The church took this designation and applied it to Jesus at his second coming. This view, held also by Hans Conzelmann,⁶⁰ is challenged by E. Schweizer.⁶¹ Schweizer holds that in some of the Son of Man sayings there is a genuine self-designation from Jesus. Most important of these is Mk. 14:62, which preserves the basic meaning of Dan. 7:13, the exaltation of the Son of Man. The one other genuine Son of Man exaltation saying is Lk. 12:8, where the exalted role of the Son of Man is that of witness, not of judge. These sayings are based on the Jewish eschatological belief of Erniedrigung und Erhöhung of the righteous man, who may suffer and even die but will survive death to see his persecutors given their just punishment.⁶² Whatever may be said about Schweizer's treatment of the Son of Man sayings, the point he makes, that even one who suffers may be exalted to see his tormentors requited, is well supported. Thus even a suffering Son of Man could be associated with glory. Daniel 7 seems to support this view: if the Son of Man figure is associated with the suffering of the saints (7:25), he is also associated with their exaltation, when they receive the kingdom (7:18, 22, 27). Does the fact, that here

the Son of Man and an idea similar to the Kingdom of God in the Gospels are closely associated, provide further indication of the importance of the influence of Dan. 7 on the N. T. Son of Man christology?

The Parables of I Enoch

In considering the importance of I Enoch as background material to the N. T. Son of Man concept there are two problems which must be dealt with at the outset: the question of the date of I Enoch 37-71 and the question of the origin of this section must both be discussed.

Since R. H. Charles placed the date of the Similitudes in the first century B.C.,⁶³ the Similitudes have been commonly accepted as pre-Christian.⁶⁴ This date has been challenged most by British scholars⁶⁵ and largely for two reasons: alleged Christian elements and the lack of manuscript evidence for chapters 37-71 in the Greek and Aramaic fragments of I Enoch. Regarding the possible Christian interpolations, two divergent viewpoints are presented by Nils Messel and Erik Sjöberg respectively. Messel confines the genuine Son of Man passages (apparently all others are suspect of Christian tampering) to I Enoch 46:2-4 and 48:2, which (with Daniel) employ Son of Man as a symbol for the people of Israel (the elect community of the righteous).⁶⁶ Sjöberg, on the other hand, has serious doubts that the Similitudes have an Christian interpolations: what reasons, he asks, could there have been why Christians should insert the Son of Man?⁶⁷ This conclusion is further substantiated by the lack of any distinctly Christian

differentia (especially the equation of the Son of Man with Jesus) in the Similitudes.⁶⁸ Nevertheless there is the possibility that the Parables have been influenced by the Gospels.⁶⁹ But the question of relationship or dependence cannot be answered apart from other considerations.

The second objection to a pre-Christian date for the Parables rests on the absence of any fragments of chapters 37-71 from the extensive Greek fragments and from the Aramaic fragments found at Qumran.⁷⁰ The negative evidence of Qumran is minimized by Hooker, who feels it is not decisive,⁷¹ and by A. J. B. Higgins, who says the lack of evidence may be an accident.⁷² The evidence is ignored by many other scholars,⁷³ even though the weight of the evidence is rather considerable: the Aramaic fragments represent eleven manuscripts, and include most chapters except 37-71.⁷⁴ This noticeable absence has led some scholars to feel the Parables cannot be held as first rate evidence for a pre-Christian Son of Man concept.⁷⁵ C. H. Dodd notes that the lack of a Greek text (in addition to the absence of the Aramaic) results in great uncertainty in the Similitudes. Furthermore, he observes, the Ethiopic version, where scholars are able to test it against the Greek, does not inspire confidence. His conclusion is that it cannot be certain that the Parables are pre-Christian.⁷⁶

In addition to the lack of manuscript evidence for an early date for the Similitudes, a forceful argument by J. C. Hindley, on the basis of the historical allusions in I Enoch, has established the possibility (if not probability) of a date for the parables in the early second century A.D.⁷⁷ Much of Hindley's argument rests on the reference (in chapter 56) to

the Parthians and the Medes, which he takes as a reflection of an encounter of Parthia with Rome and then seeks the most plausible date for this encounter. The position of Sjöberg that this was most likely 40-38 B.C., when a Parthian invasion raised Jewish hopes of deliverance from Rome, is rejected because it requires the unlikely assumption that I Enoch 56:5, 6 refers to historical events while 56:7 is prophetic, and because I Enoch represents the Parthian invasion as hostile, whereas Josephus shows it was welcomed by the Jews. The only other time when Parthia gained sufficient strength to have given rise to Enoch's statement is A.D. 115-117, when Parthia invaded Syria, possibly as far as Antioch, during Trajan's campaign. Other historical allusions corroborate and make this a likely setting for I Enoch's reference in chapter 56.

The most detailed and up to date attempt to date the Parables of Enoch comes from J. T. Milik.⁷⁸ After noting the dependence of parts of the Parables on Greek copies of Jewish Enochic writings, especially the Book of the Watchers (I Enoch 1-36), he lists the evidence in three categories: (1) negative facts, which indicate the Parables did not exist in the pre-Christian era, (2) literary genre, which ties the Parables to the Sibylline literature of the second, third, and fourth centuries A. D., and (3) alleged Christian elements.

The negative facts are that the Parables are entirely unrepresented at Qumran, though most of the rest of I Enoch is. The Parables are not quoted in the first to fourth centuries when allusions to Enochic literature abound. There are as well the absence of early versions (except the Ethiopic) and

the silence in the Coptic literature (no Greek or Coptic sample of the Parables has been found in the Egyptian Byzantine papyri).⁷⁹

The literary genre of the Parables puts them most closely akin, in Milik's estimation, to the Sybilline Oracles which flourished in the second to fourth centuries. They are akin stylistically, in that both are metrical poetry, with clear divisions into sections ("parables", "books"), and they share a confusion in sequence of ideas, in long and frequent repetitions, lacunae, and a jumble of historical and eschatological plans. The Parables and the Sibylline literature have similar content as well: descriptions of past and future catastrophies, of punishment of sinners and happiness of the just, of God's interventions, of the Messiah, of angels and demons--in other words, a common interest in astrological and magical subjects.⁸⁰

Two notable parallels between the Similitudes and the Sibylline books are given by Milik. The first has to do with the association of the Jewish Sibyl with the personages of Noah and Enoch. The Sibyl and Enoch are related in two ways in particular. First, the Sibyl takes the name Sabbe or Sambethe, thus "Sabbat", which associated her with Enoch, the inventor of the sacred calendar, which includes Sabbaths. Secondly, Sibyl is made the sister of Enoch by the Egyptian Christians. Several inscriptions, mainly coptic, speak together of Enoch, the (just) scribe, and Sibyl the prophetess.⁸¹

The second important parallel between the Parables and the Sibyllines contains allusions to historical wars.

This is how Milik puts the case:

Il me paraît assez évident que ce texte apocalyptique s'inspire d'événements qui étaient contemporains de l'auteur, les années terribles d'anarchie et d'invasions de milieu du III^e siècle et en particulier les campagnes victorieuses de Sapor I qui le portèrent jusqu'en Syrie et culminèrent avec l'emprisonnement de l'empereur Valérien en septembre 260. . . .

C'est donc vers l'an 270 ou peu après que je placerais la composition du livre des Paraboles. L'auteur l'a conçu sur le modèle des Oracles Sibyllins qui circulaient à cette époque, lus avidement par les chrétiens et cités assidûment par les écrivains ecclésiastiques: Hermas, Athénagore, Théophile d'Antioche, Clément d'Alexandrie; bientôt Lactance, Eusèbe, etc.⁸²

The third category of evidence Milik produces is the Christian elements in the parables. He notes, for example, that in I Enoch 61:6 winged angels are spoken of, something completely unknown (apart from the cherubim and seraphim) until the winged angels of Christianity in the fourth century (cf. Tertullian, Apolog. XXII, 8).⁸³

How is one to evaluate Milik's evidence? The absence of the Paraboles from Qumran as well as the silence on them in early Christian writings are facts which in themselves and by their very nature must be inconclusive. At best the negative evidence provides an argument from silence, and this silence, though curious and not to be taken lightly, may be capable of explanation.

As to the literary genre and the parallels to the Sibylline literature, again these must be carefully evaluated. I Enoch 61:5 and 51:1-3, speaking as they do of the last resurrection, may well have their roots in Dan. 12:2, of which they are an elaboration. (The use of Dan. 7 in the Paraboles will

be noted later.) The allusions to the warring Parthians and Medes are more telling, though here again, Sjöberg's explanation may be the best.

The supposed Christian elements must not be over-estimated. The references to Easter, to Noah as a type of Christ, and to the wooden arch of the angels as a cross are not entirely clear and thus form dubious evidence. As has been pointed out before, the supposed Christian interpolations are merely that--interpolations--and have not to do with the contents of the Parables.

. . . it is important to notice that all the alleged Christian elements are in the Ethiopic translation and not in the contents translated into Ethiopic. It is very doubtful if, by themselves, formal Christian elements of this kind are sufficient to prove Christian tampering with the contents. What is required is that some one should point to features unambiguously Christian in the latter; and it is just this which scholars have found so extraordinarily difficult to do, for, as Charles and many others have impressively pointed out, there is not a single detail in the whole work which is remotely reminiscent of the history of the Christian Son of Man, a circumstance unparalleled in the Christian apocalypses.⁸⁴

Still Milik's argument retains much of its force and one is left to consider whether some old traditions are not embodied in what may well be later formulated writings.

Another important question regarding the Similitudes concerns the origin of their Son of Man concept.⁸⁵ Answers given to the problem range from a primary dependence on mythology to a dependence on Daniel. Tödt, for example, believes the Parables combine an eschatological saviour with a primal man concept (including the ideas of pre-existence and his ultimate purpose).⁸⁶ But while there may be a general resemblance to the Man concept in Eastern mythology, such mythological

details as are found in Manicheanism, Mandeism, Naassenism, and so many Gnostic groups,⁸⁷ and even in some Rabbinic literature,⁸⁸ are absent. There are very good reasons for believing the origin of I Enoch's Son of Man is in Dan. 7.⁸⁹ In particular I Enoch 46-48 appears to be an expanded version of Dan. 7:9-14.⁹⁰ The Similitudes' Son of Man passages appear to be an apocalyptic poetic midrash on Dan. 7 (comparable to the more prosaic Jubilees). As a matter of fact, the opening verses of the Similitudes use the very language and imagery of Daniel's Son of Man and the rest of the Similitudes more or less amplify and adapt this motif. The culmination is in the last chapter, which identifies the figure with an historical person--Enoch.⁹¹ The Similitudes probably draw on many sources,⁹² and thus have both mythological resemblances and biblical (especially Danielic) concepts, but the figure of the Son of Man in the Similitudes is one which has been so much modified from mythology by biblical ideas as to be a "new creation", a noble, righteous, wise figure without the excesses of Eastern mythology.⁹³

An important matter to be considered is the nature of the term "Son of Man" as it appears in the Parables: is it a title or not? It is perhaps significant that in chapter 48 the name of the figure is changed from the Elect One to the Son of Man after he is enthroned, apparently showing the significance of the designation Son of Man as a title for one who is enthroned.⁹⁴ But there are linguistic reasons for thinking that Son of Man may not be a title. It is a well known fact that three Ethiopic expressions are used to translate

the Greek.⁹⁵ The exact meaning of these Ethiopic expressions is not clear, nor is it certain that they were all meant to be "Son of Man". They may be different names for the Elect One or may be a personification of the elect ones.⁹⁶ The translator himself may not have recognized the Greek term(s) as a title, if it was. In view of this uncertainty, many scholars doubt that a title is represented here, either in the translation or in the original.⁹⁷

Related to the matter of the various Ethiopic translations of the Son of Man is the problematic use of the demonstrative with it. Sjöberg finds that the demonstrative hints at the reference of the Son of Man in later occurrences (except 71:14) back to the basic description in chapter 46. This reference back is valid, he feels, even though the demonstrative was probably absent in the original text (except 46:4 and 48:2 where it was probably in the original since in 48:2 the demonstrative follows the noun, contrary to Ethiopic usage).⁹⁸ Some scholars take the demonstrative to indicate that the Son of Man concept was known to the readers of I Enoch, though it may not necessarily have been commonly known.⁹⁹ On the other hand, T. W. Manson argues that the reverse is true. He believes that the demonstrative may be the author's way of indicating that Son of Man is to be taken in a special sense (rather than with the usual meaning of "man"). The demonstrative is apparently not a translation of the Greek article since it is not used for ὁ ἐκλεκτός, which has its meaning clearly self-contained and does not need the indication of a special meaning as would Son of Man.

Manson concludes that Son of Man was an ordinary term (for "man") with a special meaning in certain contexts (indicated by the demonstrative).¹⁰⁰ But there is not general agreement with Manson at this point. In view of this uncertainty, perhaps it is asking too much to find in the enigmatic use of the demonstrative an indication whether the concept Son of Man was known or not.

How then is the "Son of Man" in the Parables of I Enoch to be understood? Tödt is inclined to doubt the vitality of the figure: the vision is primarily occupied with a judgment scene and the blessed salvation to follow and the Son of Man figure is but an afterthought interjected to embody these images.¹⁰¹ But Sjöberg feels the Son of Man is more than just a symbol: it represented a heavenly reality (yet not a messianic one, but a judge). The existence of this reality was unquestionable to those in the apocalyptic milieu from which the Similitudes come.¹⁰² In response to Sjöberg's denial of the messianic significance of the figure, it has been pointed out that Enoch refers to the Son of Man's anointing (48:10; 52:2; Sjöberg himself had noticed these) as possible indications of messianic significance (though this is not certain since kings, priests, and others as well as the messiah were anointed).¹⁰³ An even stronger indication of the messianic import is found in the parallels of the Similitudes to messianic passages of prophetic scripture, both to the Davidic messiah and to the Servant of the Lord.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps the most significant feature of the Enochic Son of Man comes at 71:14 where the exalted Son of Man figure

is identified with the earthly Enoch. Charles was so startled by this difficulty that he emended the text, changing the second person to the third person. Mowinckel gets round the problem by saying Enoch was exalted to be with the Son of Man, not to be him.¹⁰⁵ But scholars now commonly accept this verse as an intended identification of the Son of Man with Enoch: Enoch is exalted to become the one whom he proclaimed.¹⁰⁶ As Sjöberg puts it, Enoch was elevated and identified with the pre-existent Son of Man in heaven, though the problems this identification presents are said to be without resolution.¹⁰⁷ Manson, however, attempts to solve the difficulties by discarding the idea of Son of Man as a pre-existent heavenly being and by applying a corporate-solidarity interpretation (see below).¹⁰⁸

It is worth noting, as Hooker, does, that the identification of Enoch with the Son of Man was no problem for the author: he made no metaphysical speculations but was concerned with the disclosure of a secret truth, namely the identity of God's Elect One who will preside at the last judgment. This Son of Man and righteous one par excellence is Enoch.¹⁰⁹ This identification may be regarded as further indication of the thoroughly Jewish midrashic character of I Enoch (especially chapter 71), since Son of Man is identified with an historical figure--and that Enoch, not Jesus.¹¹⁰ The identification also shows the important advance I Enoch makes on the Dan. 7 Son of Man symbol by individualizing it.¹¹¹

If the Son of Man is identified with an individual, is there room for a collective interpretation in I Enoch, as was the original use of the term in Dan. 7? T. W. Manson finds

that in I Enoch an oscillation between the individual and the group fulfills the historical realization of the main elements of the Son of Man conception.¹¹² Thus Enoch incarnates the divine idea (but not a divine being) and is hailed Son of Man after he lived a righteous life on earth. He is the first actualization in history of the Son of Man; others follow him in the corporate Son of Man group.¹¹³ Sjöberg and Tödt both acknowledge the close relation of the Son of Man in I Enoch to a group, but they question a corporate interpretation or a personification.¹¹⁴ V. Taylor¹¹⁵ and more recently F. H. Borsch¹¹⁶ have ruled out a collective understanding of the Son of Man. But other scholars are more open to the possibility. Nils Messel,¹¹⁷ noted with approval by M. Black,¹¹⁸ is particularly favorable to the Son of Man being a collective symbol. Hooker observes that the close connection between the individual and the group is quite similar to that in Daniel's Son of Man.¹¹⁹ This might be expected if I Enoch depends on Daniel. But given the possibility that the Enochic Son of Man is corporate, how can this be reconciled with the identification of this figure with Enoch? Manson speaks of an oscillation between the individual and the group.¹²⁰ There seems to be no reason that this idealized Son of Man figure, though closely associated with an ideal society, could not be identified with Enoch and still be the symbol of the Elect community.¹²¹

The question whether I Enoch presents the Son of Man as pre-existent has already been touched upon. Tödt finds pre-existence of the Son of Man in I Enoch but with a con-

cealment before his manifestation. It was out of his pre-existence, where he was already among the righteous community, preserved under God's wings in the presence of His might and concealed by the Most High, that the Son of Man appears at last to reveal the hidden world.¹²² Sjöberg likewise finds a real pre-existence of the Son of Man, but since he is inactive before his revelation, he may be said to be concealed.¹²³ Since he considered the identification of the Son of Man with Enoch to be an exaltation rather than an incarnation, Sjöberg considered the difficulty pre-existence presented to be insoluble. On the other side of the question, T. W. Manson does not find any real pre-existence at all in I Enoch.¹²⁴ He concedes there is a premundane election of the Enoch Son of Man, but he denies that this means a premundane existence (except in God's mind).¹²⁵ Along the same lines, Black notes that chapter 48 comes the nearest to describing pre-existence, but it is only the name of the Son of Man which was known from the beginning and this alone does not establish his pre-existence.¹²⁶ Hooker concurs in this opinion, finding in I Enoch not pre-existence (as she found in Dan. 7) but something more like predestination (though she does not use this term).¹²⁷

Is the motif of suffering associated with the Son of Man in I Enoch (which may be perhaps the beginning of a synthesis of the Son of Man with the Servant of the Lord figure)? Whether J. Jeremias originally held this view or not, he has made it clear in the revised edition of his The Servant of God (1965), that he finds no suffering

associated with the Son of Man in I Enoch.¹²⁸ The combination with the Son of Man of traits describing the Servant of God is restricted, he believes,¹²⁹ to the traits exalting the Servant's glory: "The suggestion that this combination in Eth. En. embraces the statements about the servant's humiliation as well . . . is untenable."¹³⁰ It is mainly against Jeremias' now abandoned position (if he ever held it) that Sjöberg¹³¹ and Tödt¹³² and others argue, though as Jeremias noted, a few others suggest the association with suffering.¹³³ In addition Borsch seems to find a hint of suffering but feels that I Enoch, rather than depending on the Isaianic Suffering Servant, depends for his suffering motif on a source common to I Enoch and Isaiah.¹³⁴ Though perhaps there is no direct suffering of the Elect One or Son of Man in I Enoch, in his identification with the remnant which suffers he is, Hooker feels, associated with suffering. The lack of a strong suffering motif is due to an individualizing of Daniel's corporate Son of Man.¹³⁵ Higgins feels the reverse is true: I Enoch is closer to an original apocalyptic concept and Daniel is an adaptation of it. He doubts the evidence Hooker produces for a Jewish exegesis of Dan. 7 as a suffering Son of Man is sufficient to prove the point.¹³⁶ Nevertheless the parallels in the Similitudes to messianic prophetic scriptures are noteworthy.¹³⁷ One of the most significant of these passages is noted by Black: I Enoch 48:4 has parallels to Isa. 42:6; 50:4; and 61:1, 2. He concludes that if this passage in I Enoch 48 is genuine then both Isaiah and Daniel have been the inspiration of the Similitudes.¹³⁸ Perhaps

this is the beginning of the synthesis of these ideas later developed more fully in the Gospels.¹³⁹

Finally one may note that the function of the Son of Man in I Enoch is that of vindicator of the righteous. Sjöberg notes that the Son of Man is subordinate to God, with the function of an eschatological judge.¹⁴⁰ Tödt gives a detailed account of the marked emphasis on the Son of Man's function as judge, together with his enthronement.¹⁴¹ The negative judgment (on the wicked) in I Enoch is particularly detailed (62:2, 3, etc.), especially judgment on those who persecute the righteous and deny the Lord's name (41:2; 45:1f.), with the mention of the positive election (51:2) and salvation and deliverance (48:4) of the righteous prominent as well.¹⁴² In contrast to Daniel's Son of Man, who assumes rule only after judgment takes place, the enigmatic Son of Man of I Enoch is more clearly defined as an eschatological judge of the world.¹⁴³

To set the Enoch Son of Man in context it is worth noting that there is evidence that several concepts of apocalyptic figures were developing in Palestine in the first century B.C. and the first and second centuries A.D. I Enoch presents but one of these figures (identified with the Patriarch Enoch), and examples of other such figures are the Melchizedek of Qumran and the Moses of the Samaritans. The Qumran figure appears not to have developed to the full extent that the later apocalyptic figures did, but the Enochic Son of Man and the Samaritan Moses seem to have had a rich history. In fact it may be possible to trace in Enoch (and in the Samaritan Moses)

the influence of Christian tradition.¹⁴⁴

IV Ezra 13

In this late¹⁴⁵ Jewish apocryphal work one meets in chapter 13 the "likeness of a man" (13:3, reminiscent of Dan. 7:13). This figure rises from the sea and flies with the clouds of heaven, destroying everything in his path by the voice of his mouth (13:1-13). This series of destructive acts ceases rather abruptly with the appearance of a peaceable multitude (13:12) and the vision ends. The establishment of a new reign, which would be expected, is strangely missing. "The whole purport of the vision appears to be the defeat of the hostile powers and the deliverance of the captives which this defeat guarantees."¹⁴⁶

The dependence of this vision in IV Ezra on Dan. 7 is clearly demonstrable.¹⁴⁷ Apart from the reappearance in IV Ezra 13 of the manlike figure of Dan. 7:13, there are the winds on the waters (Dan. 7:2; IV Ezra 13:2), the four winds of heaven (Dan. 7:2; IV Ezra 13:5), the carved mountain (Dan. 7:34f.; IV Ezra 13:6, 7), the fires (Dan. 7:9f.; IV Ezra 13:10), and the destruction of enemies by fire (Dan. 7:11; IV Ezra 13:11).¹⁴⁸ The author admits his dependence on Daniel in IV Ezra 12:11f. But his use of Daniel's imagery is far removed from what Daniel had made of it.¹⁴⁹ It is not possible (nor relevant) to go into a comparison of the details of the imagery,¹⁵⁰ but a consideration of the Son of Man and the multitude associated with him in IV Ezra 13 may prove helpful.

It has been shown that the concern of the author of IV Ezra to vindicate the people of God runs right through the book.¹⁵¹ The true heirs of Adam are the people of Israel alone (IV Ezra 6:53-59). Israel's suffering is directly connected to Adam's sin (IV Ezra 3:7). In chapter 8 (especially 26-30) the author prays that God should not think of the wicked among the people of Israel but rather that God should save the whole people of Israel because of the righteous among them. In this same passage the "bestiality" of the rebellious against God is the same as in Dan. 7, though there it was non-Jews, whereas here it is Jews (who act like non-Jews), which are represented as beasts.¹⁵² Repeatedly the author shows that, although he refers to the fall (7:118-26), sin (7:46), and judgment (7:70) of all men, his primary concern is with Israel.

It is in this context that the vision of chapter 13 occurs. Ezra's vision is an attempt to deal with the question why heathen powers, who have been rejected by God, should have dominion over Israel, God's chosen people.¹⁵³ On this central point, Ezra is facing the same problem Dan. 7 deals with: why are the people of Israel not given their promised inheritance and rule over the world. "But whereas Daniel's vision expressed his confidence that the correct relationship will soon be re-established, Ezra's prayer is one of complaint that the existing order continues so long."¹⁵⁴

When therefore the author of IV Ezra speaks in chapter 13 of the manlike figure, he is concerned with the exaltation of the people of Israel. Though God's people now suffer under

the heathen (bestial) powers who dominate them, this will not always be so. The Son of Man will arise, destroy his enemies, and the people of God, the true Israel, will be vindicated and exalted to their rightful reign.

Comparison and Summary

What has been said so far may be briefly summarized in a comparison between Dan. 7 and other Jewish apocalyptic literature, notably I Enoch 37-71 and IV Ezra 13, which reveals several differences as well as similarities.¹⁵⁵ (Though the dates of these works¹⁵⁶ mean they cannot be sources for the N.T. Son of Man concept, they possibly embody older traditions which are relevant to the N.T. Son of Man.) The Son of Man figure in the parables of I Enoch is, as Tödt notes, the most detailed account of "that man" in Jewish apocalyptic.¹⁵⁷ The Parables deal with his origin, enthronement, and activities in judging and saving. The man is, if not pre-existent and concealed (46:3; 62:7), at least forenamed (48:2, 3). He is enthroned, judging angels and men (61:8; 55:4). The man bears little resemblance to the man of IV Ezra 13, where a complete course of his actions is followed. The interest of IV Ezra is in the actions of the man, that of I Enoch is in the person of the man. The traits of sovereignty in I Enoch are seen in the traditional last judgment scene, in IV Ezra in a series of destructive acts, but in Dan. 7 in the mere conferring of a reign. Daniel's Son of Man was a corporate symbol, but in I Enoch, though the Son of Man is often connected with a group, a corporate interpretation has not found wide

acceptance.¹⁵⁸ Manson does include I Enoch in his corporate interpretation,¹⁵⁹ but this view is rejected by Taylor¹⁶⁰ and by Sjöberg.¹⁶¹ Probably Son of Man is not a title in Dan. 7 and possibly not in I Enoch, but it may be in IV Ezra. There are important differences in what these works have to say about the Son of Man and suffering and pre-existence. All of these differences point up the fact that the Son of Man concept has undergone considerable development from the time it appeared in Dan. 7 until it is seen in IV Ezra and in the N.T. Gospels.¹⁶²

Having examined the principal occurrences of the Son of Man in the O.T. and related literature,¹⁶³ one may now turn to a related theme occurring in many of the works already examined. This theme, the O.T. throne-theophany prophetic commission, is not irrelevant to the study of the Son of Man since it comes into contact with the Son of Man in Dan. 7 and it may have made a major contribution to the shaping of the N.T. understanding of the Son of Man.¹⁶⁴

A Brief History of the Tradition of the O.T.

Throne Theophany Prophetic Commission

In his recent commentary on the book of Ezekiel, Walter Zimmerli, discussing the call vision of Ezekiel in chapters 1 and 2, draws attention to the fact that the vision of God (in human form) seated on his throne followed by the commission of the prophet, comes in the midst of a line of developing tradition which goes back through Isa. 6 to I Kings 22:19ff.¹⁶⁵ Although this observation is not new,¹⁶⁶ Zimmerli discusses it in perhaps greater detail than has been

done before and in so doing demonstrates the importance of this emerging tradition. His remarks are worth careful consideration: it may indeed be possible to go beyond them to find further points of contact in this tradition.

I Kings 22

In I Kings 22:19-23 the prophet Micaiah justifies the unfavorable prophecy he has given King Ahab against the prophecies of the four hundred prophets of Israel.¹⁶⁷ He refers to a vision he received from God in which he saw the Lord "commission" the prophets of Israel with a false message. Micaiah saw the Lord sitting on a throne (v. 19), יְהוָה יֹשֵׁב עַל-כִּסֵּא, surrounded by hosts of heavenly beings בְּיָמֵינוּ וְיְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ וְיְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ וְיְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ וְיְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ. In the vision he hears the Lord take counsel with His hosts, asking who will entice Ahab to go to Ramoth-Gilead so that he may fall in battle there (v. 20). After some deliberation within the divine council, a spirit comes forward to volunteer his services (v. 21). When asked by the Lord how he will entice Ahab, the spirit replies, "I will go forth and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets" (v. 22).¹⁶⁸ The spirit is then commissioned to do so.

Isaiah 6

In a striking way Isa. 6 displays the same main elements seen in I Kings 22:19-23. The description here is of Isaiah's vision of the Lord enthroned and the prophet's subsequent call. In spite of the obvious difference in that I Kings 22 has to do with the "commission" of false prophets whereas Isa. 6 deals

with a true prophet, the similarities are "close and various."¹⁶⁹ These similarities notwithstanding, it is equally true that Isaiah treats the elements of the throne theophany commission in his own way--that is, there is definite development in the tradition.

In his vision Isaiah sees the Lord on a lofty throne (in His temple), v. 1. Surrounding Him are the seraphim (v. 2), who cry to one another in praise of God's holiness and glory (v. 3), as the foundations of the place shake (v. 4). The prophet, aware of his uncleanness in the face of God's holiness, cries out (v. 5). One of the seraphim then brings a coal from the (heavenly) altar and, touching the prophet's mouth, cleanses him (vv. 6, 7). After this the Lord asks for someone whom he can send to be His messenger and the prophet volunteers (v. 8). The prophet is commissioned to go with the foreknowledge that his message will be rejected (vv. 9-13).

Zimmerli sees several characteristics of this throne theophany commission which occur both in I Kings 22 and in Isa. 6. (1) In both places the word comes to the prophet from the heavenly sphere of the divine court where Yahweh is enthroned with his attendants standing by, I Kings 22:19; cf. Isa. 6:1. (2) The attendants (more precisely defined as seraphim in Isa. 6:2) act as mediators to the prophet on earth, I Kings 22:22; cf. Isa. 6:6, 7. (3) The deliberation begins with a question from Yahweh to his attendants, I Kings 22:20; cf. Isa. 6:8. (4) One attendant only out of the heavenly retinue is chosen to whom God will listen and who will be sent as God's messenger, I Kings 22:21, 22; cf. Isa. 6:8, 9. (5) A spirit (or word) is

put in the prophet's mouth, I Kings 22:22; cf. Isa. 6:5-7.

(6) The result of the prophet's message is foretold as rejection, I Kings 22:22, 23; cf. Isa. 6:9-13.¹⁷⁰

I Kings 22

Isaiah 6

- | | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|
| 19) | I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing beside him on his right hand and on his left; | 1) | I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne |
| 20) | and the Lord said, "Who will entice Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead?" | 2) | Above him stood the seraphim . . . |
| 21) | Then a spirit came forward and stood before the Lord, saying, "I will entice him." | 8) | And I heard the voice of the Lord saying, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" Then said I, "Here am I! Send me." |

If it is established that Isa. 6 shares the main elements of the throne theophany commission of I Kings 22, this fact does not mean that Isaiah has not given the formula his own peculiar slant. Especially notable is the fact that the scene is described in terms of the Jerusalem temple (cf. Isa. 6:1 בְּיְהוָה "temple"). The throne is parallel to the ark of the covenant; the heavenly hosts of I Kings 22 have become in Isa. 6 the seraphim (cf. the cherubim on the ark of the covenant); the smoke of Isa. 6:4 parallels the shekinah glory; and the coals of the temple altar are referred to explicitly (Isa. 6:6).¹⁷¹

Another development in Isa. 6 beyond the tradition of I Kings 22 is that the prophet, who at first merely listens to the proceedings of the divine council, later actually participates in them by addressing God directly and offering his services. He is then commissioned directly by God--a privi-

lege reserved for the spirit mediator in I Kings 22.¹⁷²

Zimmerli concludes this comparison of I Kings 22 and Isa. 6 convinced that the two accounts prove that there existed in the 9th-8th centuries a form of prophet's commission incorporating a vision of God on His throne.¹⁷³ But the formula for this tradition was not rigid, as can be seen in the way in which the tradition appears in Isa. 6.

Ezekiel 1-3

Zimmerli sees a similar situation when he turns to Ezek. 1-3: the traditional form of throne theophany after which the prophet receives his commission is followed but the form is not so rigidly adhered to that Ezekiel cannot modify it to suit his own purposes.¹⁷⁴

(1) Ezekiel sees the throne with the likeness of a human form upon it (1:26; 1:28 explains this as "the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord"). Here Ezekiel carries on the traditional vision imagery of the Lord seated upon a throne but with the addition of the appearance of the Lord in human form (1:26). This was perhaps implied previously (the Lord "sitting", I Kings 22:19; Isa. 6:1) but it is made explicit here. The implications of the vision of God in human form will become more important later in the tradition (especially in Dan. 7).

(2) The hosts of attendants surrounding the Lord in I Kings 22:19, which were seen as the seraphim in Isa. 6:2, are now in Ezek. 1 described in great detail as "living creatures" with four faces (Ezek. 1:5-14) and each moves about on a wheel (Ezek. 1:15-24).

(3, 4) There follows the dialogue between God and the prophet, not with a question from God asking who He might send as His messenger as in I Kings 22:20 and Isa. 6:8, but with God addressing the prophet directly (as in Isa. 6). The prophet is then filled with the spirit and set on his feet in order to receive his commission.

(5) In the prophet's commission the vivid imagery of touching the prophet's mouth (his instrument of proclaiming the message), first seen in I Kings 22:22 and Isa. 6:5-7, is now heightened in Ezek. 2:8-3:3. Here the prophet is told to open his mouth and eat what is given him, which turns out to be a scroll inscribed with the message of mourning and lamentation which he is to proclaim.

(6) As the spirit given to the prophets was a lying one to deceive Ahab (I Kings 22:22f.) and a hardening one to close the hearts of his hearers to Isaiah (Isa. 6:9-13), so Ezekiel is to find that his hearers will not listen to his message (Ezek. 3:7, 8).

Ezekiel 8-10

Elements of the throne theophany commission tradition are employed again in Ezek. 8-10, though less fully than in chapters 1-3. There is the reference to the habitation of the Lord (1) and to His glory (Ezek. 8:1-4, 7, 14, 16) and especially to the vision of the Lord in human form (8:2). The cherubim (2) are referred to (9:3). But the commission (3, 4, 5) is a very different one. It is given to six executioners (9:2) and to a "man clothed in linen" (9:2), who is to mark out those who take no part in the sin of the people (9:4).

It is a commission of evil or judgment as before. But two important distinctions need to be noted: in Ezek. 1-3 (as in I Kings 22 and Isa. 6) the prophet is commissioned whereas in Ezek. 9 it is heavenly messengers who are commissioned. Secondly, it is worth noting the way in which the vision of God in human form has developed. Whereas it was implied in I Kings 22 and Isa. 6, it was made explicit in Ezek. 1:26; and now in Ezek. 8:2 a vision of a human form representing God appears, parallel to that in Ezek. 1:26.¹⁷⁵ This human form of God then commissions another human form, a "man in linen". in 9:2, 4. Is there here a preparation for the vision of Dan. 7 when the enthroned God commissioned another divine human figure (the "Son of Man")?¹⁷⁶

(In addition to the recurrence of the main elements of this continuing tradition in Ezekiel, there is also the use he makes of details of the imagery of Isa. 6,¹⁷⁷ most important of which is the reference to the coals of the altar. In Isa. 6:6, 7 the coals are used to cleanse the prophet's sin whereas in Ezek. 10:2, 6, 7 (cf. 1:13) the coals from among the living creatures are used to destroy the city (of Jerusalem) in judgment for her sin. But the parallel seems to be fairly certain.)

It seems safe to conclude that Ezek. 1-3, 8-10 is in the same line of tradition as Isa. 6 and develops this continuing tradition of the throne theophany commission just as Isa. 6 built on the tradition of I Kings 22. The verbal and conceptual parallels are too extensive to be coincidental.

Daniel 7

It is possible to trace the development of this tradition still further to the book of Daniel, especially chapter 7 which employs the main elements of the throne theophany commission, if not in all their details.

(1) There is the vision of God enthroned in heaven. The human form, which in former visions (I Kings 22, Isa. 6, and Ezek. 1:26) represented God, is here separated from God--possibly a development along lines similar to Ezek. 8:10. This is perhaps the most significant development in the throne theophany tradition which is found in Dan. 7. (There are the accompanying phenomena of fire and wheels, Dan. 7:9, 10, which form further links with Isa. 6 and Ezekiel.)

(2) The myriads of heavenly attendants at the throne are present here as well. They play a relatively unimportant part, especially when compared with what Ezekiel has made of them. But if the suggestion of Mowinckel and Noth¹⁷⁸ is valid, that the "holy ones of the Most High" (7:18, 22, 25, 27) are really divine or celestial beings (rather than the people of God on earth¹⁷⁹) and the Son of Man represents them, then these hosts of heaven are given an added significance.

(3, 4) The commission of Dan. 7 is not a prophetic commission as in I Kings 22, Isa. 6, and Ezek. 1-3. It is rather the commission of the Son of Man to receive a kingdom or dominion (7:13, 14). There is no dialogue between the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days; the whole event takes place in heaven (rather than between heaven and earth) and

Daniel merely sees it from the earth. There is, however, the communication of Daniel on earth with one of those who stood by in heaven (7:16, 23f.), and this one acts as a mediator to explain the vision.

(6) There is the note of evil consequences and judgment on evil. As Isaiah and Ezekiel were told their messages would be rejected, similarly the kingdom given to the Son of Man will not come until the fourth beast and the ten horns have prevailed over (7:21) and worn out (7:25) the holy ones of the Most High.

In the context of Daniel's apocalyptic vision the throne theophany commission formula has undergone considerable revision. But the essential features are recognizable.¹⁸⁰ God is seen on His throne, with the appearance of a human form, and a commission is given, not now to a prophet but to the human figure--the Son of Man.

(The significance of this Son of Man should now be viewed in terms of the connection between Dan. 7 and Ezek. 1, which may include both literary and theological dependence.¹⁸¹)

En tenant compte de toutes ces données, on peut donc avancer que le Fils de l'homme de Daniel appartient nettement à la catégorie du divin et est comme une sorte d'incarnation de la gloire divine, au même titre que la silhouette contemplée par Ézekiel (I,26).¹⁸²)

I Enoch 14

The tradition carries on into I Enoch's throne theophanies as well. In I Enoch 14:14ff. the writer sees a vision in which God appears to him and commissions him to take a message to the "Watchers of heaven"--i.e., the "sons of God" of Gen. 6:2.

Again the basic elements of the throne theophany commission are present.

(1) Enoch sees with a splendid house or temple (the heavenly habitation of God; cf. Ezek. 10:18, 19) a lofty throne (Θρόνον ἕψηλον, 14:18). Descriptions of fire underneath the throne and of the glory of God provide further parallels to Isa. 6:6, 7 and Ezek. 1:13 (cf. 10:2, 6, 7). Noticeably lacking is any reference to a human form (yet cf. 17:1 where the "sons of God" take on human form at will).

(2) The heavenly attendants are seen as well. The wheels (14:8) recall Ezek. 1; the seraphim of Isa. 6:2, and the myriads of myriads (14:22) recall particularly I Kings 22:20. It is noteworthy that here as in Isa. 6:3f. (cf. Zimmerli, p. 20) those around the throne of God are unable to approach it because of the glory of God which is unapproachable (14:22).

(3) God calls out one from among the hosts, in this case Enoch (14:24). Here as throughout the tradition God addresses the prophet and asks (or tells) him to approach the divine throne in order to receive the prophetic commission.

(4) Enoch responds to the call of God (14:25). He is lifted to his feet (cf. Ezek. 2:1 where Ezekiel is told to stand on his feet to be addressed by God) by "one of the holy ones" who causes him to approach to the door of the heavenly temple (14:25; 15:1).

(5) He is then commissioned to go and is told what to say (without reference to the figure of touching the prophet's mouth), 15:2ff.

(6) His message is one of evil in that it consists of judgment on the sons of God for leaving their appointed duties (15:7; 16:1).¹⁸³

I Enoch 46

In this, the next important theophany of I Enoch, the basic form of the throne visions occurs. (1) The writer sees in heaven (within an enthronement context, cf. 45:3) the Head of Days, whose description follows that of the Ancient of Days of Daniel 7 (both have hair white like wool, Dan. 7:9; I Enoch 46:1b), and with him "another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man"¹⁸⁴ (I Enoch 46:1c), recalling Daniel's Son of Man (Dan. 7:13).

Although it is only one angel (46:1) whom the prophet actually addresses, and no other heavenly hosts (2) are described in the vision, there are, in the same context, the elect ones (46:5) who will dwell on the transformed earth (cf. 46:4, the transformed heaven), as well as the congregations of the Lord of Spirits and "the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits" (46:8). The whole passage speaks of the persecuted faithful who will be vindicated.

The prophet, although not first addressed by God (3), responds (4) to the vision with a question to an angel about the Son of Man. In answer (5) he is given a description of the Son of Man (46:3, 4) and is told of the judgment (6) to be executed against those who refuse to acknowledge him (46:5f.) and who persecute His faithful (46:7, 8).

I Enoch 60

This vision is clearly a throne theophany, "the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory" (60:2), but the manlike figure (1) is missing. The angelic hosts (2) are here (60:1, "the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand"; cf. 60:2, 4). The prophet responds to the vision (4) with "a great trembling" and fear, falling upon his face (60:3). An angel is sent from Michael to lift up the prophet (60:4), who is then addressed with a question (3). The message given the prophet (5) is that, although mercy and long suffering have been shown to those disobedient ones on earth (60:5), punishment and judgment will come for "those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take His name in vain" (60:6; cf. 60:25).

I Enoch 71

Perhaps the most important single vision in I Enoch (for the study of the Son of Man) is in chapter 71. Here the spirit of the writer is translated into heaven where he sees the holy sons of God.

(1) The throne of God is seen (v. 7) and the Head of Days (cf. Dan. 7, the Ancient of Days) appears as well (vv. 10, 13, 14), with the accompanying fire (vv. 1, 25). The human form representing God has now developed into a completely separate figure, the "Son of Man", the mystery of whose identity is finally dispelled as He is revealed to be none other than Enoch himself (71:14). This is certainly

an advance on the Danielic Son of Man figure.¹⁸⁵

(2) The accompanying hosts are present as well: sons of the angels (v. 1), the seraphim, cherubim, and ophanim (v. 7), and thousands of thousands (vv. 8, 9, 13).

(3) In v. 14 God addresses the prophet who has prostrated himself before God and blessed God in response to the vision he is given (4).

(5) The word given to the prophet is not one of commission but one of revelation. The identity of the Son of Man is revealed as the prophet himself, Enoch.¹⁸⁶ The message of the Son of Man's long and peaceful reign (vv. 14-17) contrasts with the evil consequences (6) of previous messages.

Of lesser importance, but not to be overlooked, is the vision of I Enoch 90:20-27. Here Enoch again sees a throne erected (in a "pleasant land"--heaven?) and "the Lord of the sheep" sits upon it (90:20). The fire which formerly was associated with divine glory has become here the fire of judgment in the fiery abyss (90:24, 25). The scene is one of judgment rather than of commission. It lacks the extensive parallels of Enoch 14, but the same tradition of throne theophany may possibly be reflected in it.

A word should be said about the relationship between these various theophanies in I Enoch. This subject involves the larger question of the composition of I Enoch, its dependence on sources and its composite nature--a question which goes beyond the scope of the present discussion.¹⁸⁷ Limiting the discussion to the theophanies of Enoch already considered, it is possible to make some observations about the relationship between these visions. There can be little question that

I Enoch 14 is the oldest of the theophanies. This statement could stand on external grounds alone. The first vision of Enoch (chapters 1-36) can be dated in the second century B.C.,¹⁸⁸ whereas the second vision of Enoch (which, as Milik points out,¹⁸⁹ is the right title for chapters 37-71--see 37:1, "the second vision of Enoch") should probably be considered post-Qumran, not only because of its failure to appear in the Qumran fragments but also because of literary and historical considerations.¹⁹⁰ But a comparison of the vision in chapter 14 with the visions of I Enoch 37-71 provides additional, internal grounds for seeing I Enoch 14 as the oldest vision and for believing the theophanies of the later section to be based on it. Such a comparison shows that the vision in I Enoch 14 has the basic content of the theophanies in I Enoch but in a less developed, less complete form. This is especially clear from the absence in chapter 14 of the appearance of God in human form. In the place of the anthropomorphic vision of Ezekiel, there is seated on the lofty throne (14:18-20) the Great Glory, which may have, in the interests of monotheism and to avoid anthropomorphisms, replaced the human figure representing God.¹⁹¹ This manlike one, or Son of Man, reappears in the visions of both I Enoch 46 and I Enoch 71 (though not in I Enoch 60). Neither the vision in chapter 46 nor the one in chapter 71 gives a complete vision and interpretation: in chapter 46 the Son of Man appears in the vision (46:1) but not in the interpretation (unless v. 3 is the interpretation), whereas chapter 71 has no Son of Man in the vision¹⁹² but does have in the interpretation (71:14). Chapter 71 may

depend on I Enoch 46 for the interpretation of the Son of Man (both refer to his righteousness, 46:3; 71:14; cf. 15:1) and it is certainly necessary to supplement I Enoch 71 with I Enoch 46 for the Son of Man in the vision. From the most primitive form in I Enoch 14 (primary Enoch) the theophanies of secondary Enoch (46, 60, 71) have developed into their fulness with the appearance of the Son of Man and the interpretation of him.

In order to facilitate comparison of the theophanies of I Enoch, the main elements of each vision are reproduced below:

I Enoch 14

18. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of cherubim.
20. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow.
22. . . . ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before Him.
23. And the most holy ones who were next to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him.
24. And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling: and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me: 'Come hither, Enoch, and hear my word.'
25. And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me, and he made me rise up and approach the door: and I bowed my face downwards.
- 15:1. And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: 'Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous man and scribe of righteousness: approach hither and hear my voice.'

I Enoch 46

1. And there I saw One, who had a head of days, And His head was white like wool, And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

2. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning the Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days?
3. And he answered and said unto me:
This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness, . . .
5. And he shall put down kings from their thrones . . .

I Enoch 60

1. . . . the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand.
2. And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.
3. And a great trembling seized me,
And fear took hold of me, . . .
4. And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, . . .
5. And Michael said unto me: ' . . .
Until this day lasted the day of His mercy;
and He hath been merciful and longsuffering towards those who dwell on the earth.
6. And when the day, and the power, and the punishment come, . . .
25. When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, . . .

I Enoch 71

5. And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens, . . .
7. And round about were Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophanin, . . . (who) guard the throne of His glory.
8. And I saw angels who could not be counted,
A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand, . . .
9. . . . And many holy angels without number.
10. And with them the Head of Days,
His head white and pure as wool,
And His raiment indescribable.
11. And I fell on my face, . . .
13. And that Head of Days came with Michael . . .
thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.
14. And he (the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me:
'[Thou art] the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness; . . .
16. And all shall walk in [thy] ways since righteousness never forsakes [thee]: '193

Clearly Enoch's throne visions (especially that in chapter 14) are in line with the continuing tradition of the throne theophany commission. What is most striking is the fact that, while most of the main elements are used fully in Enoch's vision, the appearance of God in human form or God and a separate human form (as is so important in Dan. 7) has now taken on an individuality of his own--the Son of Man.

This line of tradition of prophetic vocation stands out more clearly when contrasted with a second type which runs through the O.T. from Moses to Jeremiah.¹⁹⁴ There is no vision of God in heaven on his throne, but rather there is an appearance of God on earth. The prophet, when called by God, does not volunteer but seeks to avoid the prophetic commission. God must then provide signs and miracles to persuade the reluctant prophet to accept the call. In Exodus 3, 4 Moses sees God in a burning bush, is told he is to go to Pharaoh, but offers excuses to avoid the call of God. God then gives the sign of the rod changing to a serpent, the sign of Moses' hand becoming leprous then whole again, and the miracle of the Nile turning to blood. Similarly Gideon in Judges 6 sees the angel of the Lord and is told to deliver Israel from Midian. When Gideon replies that he is the least of the weakest clan of Manasseh (Judges 6:15), God gives the sign of the meat and unleavened cake offering consumed by fire (6:21) and the wet and dry fleeces (6:37-40). Jeremiah receives his call (Jer. 1) but cries to the Lord that he is only a youth (1:6) and does not know how to speak. But the Lord miraculously touches his mouth, putting the prophetic words in his mouth and giving

Jeremiah the visions he is to tell to the nations.

The primary differences between these two lines of prophetic vocation are:

(1) The manner of the vision of God; in type I God is seen on his throne in heaven; in type II God appears (not enthroned) on earth.

(2) The response of the prophet: in type I the prophet gladly offers himself to the prophetic service; in type II the prophet gives excuses to avoid the call of God.

These two lines of tradition may be set out as follows:

Type I (vision of heavenly throne)	Type II (God appears on earth)
I Kings 22 (Micaiah)	Exodus 3, 4 (Moses)
Isaiah 6	
Ezekiel 1-3, 8-10	Judges 6
Daniel 7	
I Enoch 14 (90)	Jeremiah 1

Summary and Conclusion

Surveying the O.T. passages which lie behind the N.T. Son of Man concept has brought to light certain points which may be summarized here. Psalm 8 speaks of the Son of Man merely as a poetic synonym for man, particularly in his lowliness before God. Psalm 80 narrows the reference to speak of the Son of Man as a particular people--Israel. Daniel 7 carries on with the thought of "Son of Man" as a figure (of whatever origin) for Israel (the saints of the Most High).

The essential meaning of the Son of Man as true humanity is clearly brought out by the setting of the Son of Man against the terrible beasts which symbolize the pagan nations. It is important to notice that Son of Man in Dan. 7 is still a symbol and as such should not be given personal attributes (such as pre-existence). The idea of suffering, however, may not be completely disassociated from the Son of Man, since the saints of the Most High, whom the Son of Man represents, suffer.

In I Enoch one is faced with the difficult, if not at this point insoluble, question of the date of the Parables. Milik's arguments for a late date call for the consideration that, if old tradition is found in the Parables, it is probably preserved in formulations of a much later date. The Son of Man figure has changed considerably since it was seen in Dan. 7 and is now much more detailed and certainly to be thought of as an individual (though still probably representative of a corporate body). In addition to spelling out the sovereign traits of the Son of Man, particularly judgment, the author of the Parables is especially concerned to reveal the mystery of the identity of the Son of Man, who turns out to be Enoch. IV Ezra's Son of Man is a destructive individual and lacks the corporate aspects seen in Dan. 7.

A second theme running through the O.T. converges with the Son of Man theme at Dan. 7--namely the throne theophany prophetic commission tradition. This theme can be seen to develop from I Kings 22 through Isa. 6, Ezek. 1-3, 8-10, to Dan. 7 and I Enoch 14, 46, 60, 71. What is most significant

in this tradition of prophetic commission is that the commission is accompanied by a vision of God in human form, on his throne. In Dan. 7 and especially in I Enoch the human form has become a second figure being commissioned by God--this figure being the "Son of Man". This tradition then supplies many of the elements of the N.T. Son of Man christology which are not found in the O.T. Son of Man tradition and provides for the interpretation of the Son of Man as "glorified Israel".

There is a clear convergence in Dan. 7 and I Enoch, especially chapters 46 and 71, of these two O.T. traditions, the Son of Man emerging as a figure symbolic of Israel and the prophetic call accompanied by a vision of God in human form. The Son of Man tradition has developed from a synonym for man in general in Psa. 8 to a symbol for Israel, the people of God, or, as in Dan. 7, the saints of the Most High. At the same time the evolution of the second tradition has progressed to the point that in Dan. 7 and I Enoch 46 and 71 the manlike figure is distinct from the Ancient of Days/Head of Days, and has become virtually a second deity. In Dan. 7 the second of these traditions appears in Daniel's vision, whereas the first tradition appears in his interpretation. The problem of reconciling these two apparently conflicting traditions of the Son of Man is a difficult one. A. Feuillet summarizes the three attitudes taken to this problem.¹⁹⁵ (1) Son of Man is taken as a reference exclusively to the Messiah. This approach separates the vision from the interpretation and underlines the distinction between the Son of Man and the saints of

the Most High. The identification of the Son of Man with the people of God in vv. 18, 22, 27 is the mistaken interpretation of the author who did not understand the foreign visionary material he has borrowed. (2) Son of Man is merely a symbol for the saints of the Most High, the nation Israel considered as a people set apart because of her election. (3) Son of Man is first and foremost a figure for the theocratic people, but since the ancients could not conceive of an empire without its chief and since in antiquity "there was no fundamental distinction between the State and the chief of State", the Messiah is included in the people of God of the eschatological era.

The difficulty with each of these views is that they leave out one or the other of the meanings of Son of Man which are clearly present in the two converging traditions. The first approach fails to take account of the Son of Man as a symbol for Israel; the second leaves out the significance of the Son of Man as a heavenly figure. The third view, while attempting to take into account both sides of the Son of Man, fails to do full justice to the divine-heavenly aspect of the Son of Man figure.

An acceptable explanation must take full account of both traditions and meanings of the Son of Man. Such a solution emerges when the essential data are put in the form of the proposition:

If Son of Man = Israel
and Son of Man = heavenly (divine) being
then Israel = heavenly (divine) being.

In other words, the two Son of Man traditions have developed

into an "apotheosis" of Israel. The people of God, the righteous remnant, symbolized by the manlike figure, will be exalted and glorified and given the kingdom, as the Son of Man. None of the aspects of the Son of Man traditions is omitted and no separation of Daniel's vision from its interpretation is necessary. It does not hold the author responsible for misunderstanding his borrowed material and it has the merit of preserving the material as a literary and theological unity. Furthermore, it answers Feuillet's difficulties, which had led him to say, "Il est impossible de voir dans le Fils de l'homme, soit principalement, soit à plus forte raison exclusivement un symbole des Saints des Très-Haut."¹⁹⁶ In the first place the language of the vision, "coming with the clouds of heaven", which is the language of theophanies in the Bible, is not "strange and inappropriate" for designating the people of God on earth,¹⁹⁷ if in fact the apotheosis of Israel is what the writer had in mind. On the contrary the language is quite in keeping with a "deification" of the people of Israel. The second objection to identifying the saints with the Son of Man is that, whereas in the interpretation of the vision it is said the four beasts are four kings, it is not said that the Son of Man is the people of the saints of the Most High, but that the saints will receive the kingdom.¹⁹⁸ The reason the angelus interpretes does not say the Son of Man is the saints of the Most High may be stylistic. But in v. 18 the clear implication of putting the saints in the place of the Son of Man in the vision and of saying the saints will receive the kingdom which was received

by the Son of Man in the vision, is that the two are to be identified. The objection to the identification of the Son of Man with the people of God because of his transcendent character¹⁹⁹ is also met if the identification is understood as symbolizing the glorification of Israel. So far from the transcendent character forbidding the identification, it is the reason for it. Finally the two levels of the activity of the vision and the interpretation, the celestial and the terrestrial,²⁰⁰ pose no problem either. Feuillet describes this two-plane aspect of the vision:

. . . On est donc comme en présence de deux registres d'un même tableau: dans la partie supérieure les bêtes sont condamnées au ciel par l'Ancien des jours et le Fils de l'homme est intronisé à ses côtés; dans le registre d'en bas, on a le retentissement terrestre de ces événements célestes: les empires païens sont détruits et la portion fidèle du peuple choisi (les Saints du Très-Haut) reçoit le royaume, un royaume dont le chef est un être céleste, ce qui est pour lui une garantie de pérennité.²⁰¹

This activity in two spheres is entirely consistent with the understanding of the vision as an apotheosis of Israel. The earthly Israel will be exalted to receive a heavenly kingdom.

It is therefore the celestial Israel, not the terrestrial, which is in view in Dan. 7. The faithful remnant, those who have purified themselves and been refined (Dan. 12:10), rather than the national Israel, are the ones who will be exalted and given the kingdom and who will awake to everlasting life (Dan. 12:2). There is nothing strange in this development which has given an almost divine status to Israel, the Son of Man who has been exalted to God's right hand. Apocalyptic prophecy had always given the nation a special place among the nations in the divine plan. That this tradition

should lead to a corporate apotheosis of the righteous remnant of the chosen people is the logical development.²⁰²

Confirmation that the tradition was leading to a glorification of Israel may be found in various places. In the War scroll from Qumran, which is characteristically apocalyptic, the final conflict between Israel and her enemies, set in an earthly scene around Jerusalem, is lifted to a supernatural plane where the angelic hosts, including Israel's protecting angels and Michael, take part. The Prince of Light is sent to help Israel and Michael brings her eternal light.²⁰³ This lifting of Israel's conflict to the celestial sphere accords well with the scene in Dan. 7 and supports the exegesis which interprets the picture there as one of Israel's exaltation.

In the Testament of Moses chapter 10 this idea appears again. In a passage which speaks of divine intervention at the end of the world one reads:

8. Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy,
And thou shalt mount upon the necks and wings of the eagle,
And they shall be ended.
9. And God will exalt thee,
And He will cause thee to approach to the heaven of the stars,
In the place of their habitation.
10. And thou shalt look from on high and shalt see thy enemies in Gehenna,
And thou shalt recognize them and rejoice,
And thou shalt give thanks and confess thy Creator.²⁰⁴

In a note on these lines, E.-M. Laperrousaz states²⁰⁵ that the eagle of v. 8 is not to be taken as a symbol of Rome as it is in other passages (IV Ezra 11, 12), nor is the import of the verse to be taken more broadly as the manifestation of Israel's triumph over her enemies in mounting them by treading them under

her feet. Rather the interpretation of Lagrange is to be preferred: "Israël fait son ascension au ciel sur le dos de l'aigle."²⁰⁶ This verse presents a graphic statement of Israel's exaltation to heaven, as on the back of an eagle. This picture is entirely in line with the tradition of Israel's exaltation-apotheosis as seen in Dan. 7 and I Enoch.

NOTES

¹E. G. Briggs, Psalms (2 vols., The International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906-7), I, p. 63. Cf. Wilfrid Stott, "'Son of Man'--A Title of Abasement", E.T. 83 (1971-72), pp. 278-81 (especially p. 279) for a recent discussion of the Psalms as background to the N.T. Son of Man.

²But the use of Psa. 8 as a testimonium to Christ did not originate with the author of Hebrews since Psa. 8:7 is cited in I Cor. 15:27 (with Psa. 110:1, which is used in Mk. 14:62 with Dan. 7:13) in a passage where Christ is called $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma = \psi\lambda\chi^{-}\gamma\lambda\ \chi\omega\lambda^{-}\gamma\lambda$. See Dodd, Interpretation, p. 241. Psalm 8:5 is used of Christ as representative head of humanity (ideal or redeemed).

³Briggs, Psalms, II, P. 209. Verse 18 is said to be a doublet of v. 16, interpreting it messianically, based on Psa. 8:5; 110:1.

⁴R. Kittel, Die Psalmen (Kommentar zum Alten Testament, Band XIII; Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1929), p. 270 on v. 18; cf. Briggs, Psalms, II, p. 209, who says the editor of the psalm may have thought of Israel placed at the right hand of God but probably rather had in mind the messianic king of Psa. 110:1.

⁵Hans-Joachim Kraus, Psalmen (2 Bde., Biblische Kommentar Altes Testament, XVI/1&2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins G.m.b.H., 1960), II, p. 559; Mitchel Dahood, The Psalms (3 vols., The Anchor Bible, vols. 16, 17, 17a; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1968), II, p. 260, on Psa. 80:17; Briggs, Psalms, II, p. 209.

⁶Kraus, Psalmen, II, p. 559; Dahood, Psalms, II, p. 260; Hans Schmidt, Die Psalmen (Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Erste Reihe 15; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1934), p. 154.

⁷C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, Grammar, Texts in transliteration, Cuneiform selections, Glossary, Indices (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), Glossary, No. 486; cf. Dahood, Psalms, II, p. 260.

⁸A. F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms, With Introduction and Notes (The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges; Cambridge: University Press, 1902), p. 488.

⁹Kraus, Psalmen, II, p. 259; cf. II Kings 23:3 on the renewal of the God-to-people relationship; cf. also Psa. 71:20; 85:7; Hosea 6:2; 19b. See as well H. Gressmann, "Der Ursprung der isr.-jud. Eschatologie," Forschung zur Religion und Literature des A. und N.T., VI (1905), 340-54; C. H. Kraeling, Anthropos and Son of Man (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), pp. 130-51.

¹⁰This fact is noted by T. W. Manson, Studies in the Gospels and Epistles, p. 125.

¹¹Tödt, Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, p. 22.

¹²M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem in Recent Research and Debate", B.J.R.L. 45 (1963), 305.

¹³J. Bowman, "The Background of the Term 'Son of Man'", E.T. 59 (1948), 284. Bowman notes that early midrash (Lev. R. 2:8) took this Son of Man as a term of honor addressed to Ezekiel. "Sons of men" is used in Dan. 10:16 in reference to the angel messenger who comes to Daniel. Few scholars make much of this reference, but it may be worth noting that it is a heavenly being which is described as in "the likeness of the sons of men". Cf. F. H. Borsch, The Son of Man in Myth and History, pp. 138ff.

¹⁴Among the parallels Bowman finds are the throne of the Ancient of Days with wheels and fire, clouds, Ezek. 1:4; Dan. 7:13; four beasts in antithesis to man (though not the same beasts), Ezek. 1:5; Dan. 7:3f. The meaning of this Son of man he finds to be symbolic for Israel glorified, corporate and not individual. He notes that this meaning may not necessarily determine the meaning in the Gospels after two centuries of midrashic interpretation.

¹⁵G. S. Duncan, Jesus, Son of Man, pp. 145, 146; so also J. Y. Campbell, "Son of Man" in A Theological Wordbook of the Bible (ed by Alan Richardson; London: Macmillan, 1950), p. 234.

¹⁶R. Leivestad, "Exit the Apocalyptic Son of Man", N.T.S. 18 (1971-72), 243-67; Borsch, Myth and History, pp. 138ff., notes that "exalted" humanity is the meaning of Son of Man when used of the prophet, whether Ezekiel or Daniel (chapter 8).

¹⁷A. J. B. Higgins, "Son of Man Forschung since 'The Teaching of Jesus'", New Testament Essays (ed. by A. J. B. Higgins; Manchester: University Press, 1959), p. 124.

¹⁸W. A. Curtis, Jesus Christ the Teacher (Oxford: University Press, 1943), pp. 127-43; he discusses Ecclesiastes 3:18-21 and Isa. 41:2 as well as Psa. 8, Ezekiel, Daniel, and I Enoch.

¹⁹T. W. Manson, Studies, p. 124.

²⁰Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 24; the interpretation robs the Son of Man of his individuality and puts the saints of the Most High in his place!

²¹Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 24; Hooker takes this inconsistency to be the unavoidable result of combining the creation myth and history as done here in Dan. 7. She notes that what is pictured here is a restoration, not a re-creation, a point which has implications for the question of pre-existence (see the discussion below).

²²Ibid., p. 26.

²³Ibid., p. 27. Hooker notes that this contrast must not be overplayed since the Son of Man represents the saints of the Most High and thus must not be disassociated from the people's suffering.

²⁴Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", pp. 403-81. He argues (p. 406) that just as Daniel has borrowed the symbols of the beasts so also he has borrowed the man figure.

²⁵Borsch, Myth and History, pp. 141-2. Borsch notes others in agreement with him include Bentzen, Gressmann, Herzfeld, Kraeling, and Morgenstern (p. 141). Whereas Borsch relates Daniel to an enthronement mythology (wherein the king enacts God in a creation rite), Hooker carries the mythology all the way back to creation myths themselves (Hooker, Son of Man in Mark, pp. 11-17).

²⁶A. Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique", R.B. 60 (1953), 170-202, 321-46.

²⁷Feuillet's view is rejected by J. Coppens because the figure of wisdom was too closely associated with God to be the basis of a Son of Man figure distinct from God; cf. J. Coppens, "Le messianisme sapiential et les origines littéraires du Fils de l'homme danielique", in Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East (H. H. Rowley Festschrift; ed. by M. Noth and D. Winton Thomas, Supplements to V. T., III (1955), 33-41.

²⁸For further evidence of this, see the section on the throne theophany commission tradition; cf. M. Black, "The 'Son of Man' in the Old Biblical Literature", E.T. 60 (1949), 11-15, especially 11, 12, 14.

²⁹T. W. Manson, Studies, p. 126. ³⁰Ibid. ³¹Ibid., p. 127.

³²Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 22-23; see his bibliographical notes, p. 23, n. 2, and p. 24, n. 1.

³³T. W. Manson, Studies, p. 126.

³⁴Ibid., p. 127. Support for this view comes largely from I Enoch's individualized Son of Man and from the concept of the Messiah in Rabbinic literature.

³⁵Ibid., p. 129.

³⁶H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic (London: Lutterworth, 1944), pp. 120-2; Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament (2d ed., revised; London: Lutterworth, 1952), pp. 78-80. In this situation the meaning would be closest to that in Dan. 7.

³⁷M. Black, "Unsolved New Testament Problems: The 'Son of Man' in the Teaching of Jesus," E.T. 60 (1949), 32-6.

³⁸Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959), p. 159. See C. K. Barrett, "The Background of Mark 10:45", in New Testament Essays (ed. by A. J. B. Higgins; Manchester: University Press, 1959), p. 17, n. 39, who points out that representatives are of two types: (1) abstraction of the community represented, without an independent existence (e.g., "John Doe"), or (2) a distinct person (e.g., an ambassador). In favor of (2) he notes first that Daniel knows of this kind of representative, especially Michael, who acts on behalf of the people of God (Dan. 10:13, 21; 12:1), and secondly that it is possible to identify other visionary figures of Dan. 7, such as the little horn which represented Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), and thirdly that the other Hebrew phrases in Daniel (8:15 has בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים; 10:16 בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים; 10:18 בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים) probably meant בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים (7:13) and are not abstractions. (He finds there is even less probability that Son of Man is a mere abstraction of the people in I Enoch.)

³⁹C. C. McCown, "Jesus, Son of Man: A Survey of Recent Discussion", Journal of Religion 18 (1948), 9.

⁴⁰See, for example, M. Black, "Recent Research", p. 312, and Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 47, 48, as well as the discussion below on the date of I Enoch. Even if a pre-Christian date of I Enoch 37-71 were certain, it would remain to be demonstrated that Jesus or the Gospels writers knew of it.

⁴¹S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 360-2. Mowinckel holds that Daniel 7 is a reinterpretation (and thus secondary) in a corporate sense of an existing belief in an individual Son of Man. Borsch, Myth and History, p. 144, doubts that Daniel's Son of Man was idealized beyond his individuality, but he is not concerned with the question since the figure is a symbolic one and, as in Dan. 2 where Nebuchadnezzar is both the king and the kingdom, so the figure here represents both the individual and the group. See also R. H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology, p. 36, and n. 37, on p. 56, where he cites

Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 348-53, as following Reitzenstein, Volz, and Kraeling, as well as E. Stauffer, Jerusalem und Rom (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1957), p. 139, n. 7, and O. Cullmann, Christology, p. 139. Cf. A. J. B. Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 199.

⁴²Borsch, Myth and History, p. 139, n. 1. Pierson Parker, "The Meaning of 'Son of Man'", J.B.L. 60 (1941), 151-7, agrees that there is no messianic title to be found here.

⁴³Borsch, Myth and History, p. 143.

⁴⁴Geza Vermes, "The Use of בן אדם in Jewish Aramaic", Appendix E of M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (3rd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 327. Dr. Vermes finds three principal meanings of the Aramaic phrase: a human being, an indefinite pronoun, and a circumlocution for the first person (pp. 316f., 318f., 320f.).

Norman Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, pp. 259f., finds in Dan. 7 only an imagery and not a title. This imagery was later treated in a peshar fashion by the Christian community. Cf. N. Perrin, "Mark XIV.62: The End Product of a Christian Peshar Tradition?", N.T.S. 12 (1965-66), 150-5; and see the critique of Perrin by A. J. B. Higgins, "Is the Son of Man Problem Insoluble?" in Neotestamentica et Semitica (M. Black Festschrift; ed. by E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), 70-87.

⁴⁵Higgins, "Son of Man Forschung", p. 124; M. Black, Aramaic Approach, pp. 328-9, in a note on Geza Vermes study of בן אדם expresses the opinion that barnash is suitable for messianic use.

⁴⁶Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 24-5.

⁴⁷Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 284, 300.

⁴⁸Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 27.

⁴⁹Higgins, "Is the Son of Man Problem Insoluble?", p. 74. Higgins thinks rather that Dan. 7 is a corporate reinterpretation of an already present conception of an individual eschatological Son of "an deliverer, but not one who suffered.

⁵⁰Borsch, Myth and History, p. 229.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 145; cf. M. Black, "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man", S.J.T. 6 (1953), 8.

⁵²A. Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel", p. 345: "Et la merveille, c'est qu'il trouve le moyen de réaliser la synthèse de ces deux conceptions: le Fils de l'homme, qui est venu pour servir et donner sa vie en rançon, est le même qui doit revenir un jour sur les nuées dans sa gloire." He goes on

to note that Jesus was condemned for saying he was the Son of Man of Daniel, which the Sanhedrin judged to be blasphemy.

See also M. Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings in the Gospel Tradition", Z.N.W. 60 (1969), 1-8, where he takes issue with Tödt and others who minimize the influence of the Isaianic Servant.

⁵³Higgins, "Son of Man Forschung", p. 129. He finds support in W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.C.K., 1955); others in agreement are Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 117, n. 2; Moule, "From Defendant to Judge", pp. 40-53.

⁵⁴Borsch, Myth and History, p. 130.

⁵⁵Rowley, The Servant of the Lord, p. 64, n. 3.

⁵⁶Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p. 410; E. Sjöberg likewise finds no pre-Christian Jewish suffering Son of Man (Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch [Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1946], pp. 116f.; and Der Verborgene Menschensohn in den Evangelien [Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1955], pp. 70f.).

⁵⁷Fuller, Foundations, p. 107.

⁵⁸Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 108-9, shows how the glory and suffering of the Son of Man relate to each other.

⁵⁹Philip Vielhauer, "Gottesreich und Menschensohn in der Verkündigung Jesu" in Festschrift für Gunther Dehn (ed. by W. Schneemelcher; Neukirchen: Verlag des Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins Neukirchen Kreismöers, 1957).

⁶⁰Hans Conzelmann, "Gegenwart und Zukunft in der synoptischen Tradition", Z.T.K. 54 (1957), 277-96.

⁶¹E. Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship (London: S.C.M., 1960); M. Black, "Recent Research", pp. 305f.; cf. Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 298-316.

⁶²Evidence for this belief is found in Jubilees 4:23; 10:17; and Wisdom 2-5. Schweizer follows the corporate interpretation of I Enoch with Manson and concludes that I Enoch and the suffering righteous form a prototype of the Gospels Son of Man. M. Black, "Recent Research", pp. 305f., criticizes Schweizer for ignoring sayings exceptional to his view and accepting as genuine the sayings which support it. He nevertheless commends Schweizer for his observations regarding Jewish eschatology and the role of suffering and exaltation at judgment assigned the righteous.

⁶³R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), II, p. 171. Charles placed I Enoch not before 95 B.C. when the blood of the righteous was shed (47:1, 2, 4),

namely the Maccabeans, and not later than 64 B.C. because Rome was not known as a world power to the writer and in 64 B.C. Rome interposed in world affairs in Judaea. Since the Pharisees were in power 79-70 B.C., I Enoch must have been written during 94-79 B.C. or 70-64 B.C. While Charles notes (p. 169) that ". . . all critics are now agreed that the Parables are distinct in origin from the rest of the book, . . ." he does not reckon with the possibility of a later date for the Similitudes as is now argued by several scholars (see below).

⁶⁴ Fuller, Foundations, p. 37, n. 41 (p. 57); he notes as accepting the Parables as pre-Christian are "such diverse scholars" as Stauffer, Mowinkel, Riesenfeld, Otto, Bultmann, Jeremias, Tödt, Hahn, and Cullmann.

⁶⁵ Fuller, Foundations, p. 37, n. 42 (p. 57), cites J. Y. Campbell, "The Origin and Meaning of the Term Son of Man", J.T.S. 48 (1957), 145-55; Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 116f.; Interpretation, pp. 242f.; and others.

⁶⁶ Nils Messel, Der Menschensohn in den Bilderreden des Henoch (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1922; Beihefte 35, Z.A.T.W.). Messel has the agreement of Campbell, "Origin and Meaning", p. 148, but is criticized by M. Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 12, who points out that the supposedly Christian elements are not in the contents themselves but in the Ethiopic translation. Cf. Sjöberg's criticism of Messel in Henochbuch, pp. 14ff.

⁶⁷ Sjöberg, Henochbuch, p. 1. He is followed by Borsch, Myth and History, p. 146, who likewise doubts any sound reasons can be given why Christians should interject material into the Parables, especially when the Son of Man is ultimately identified with Enoch. Even given the possibility of a pre-Christian date for the Parables, Borsch still doubts much indebtedness to I Enoch on Jesus' part. He does not mention the possibility of Christian influence without direct Christian tampering with the text, however. See here also G.H.P. Thompson, "The Son of Man--Some Further Considerations", J.T.S., n.s. 12 (1961), 203-9. Thompson feels that Mk. 2:10 and Jn. 12:32-34 are evidence of a first century belief in a heavenly Son of Man (as in Jubilees). Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 198, n. 3, criticizes Thompson for underestimating the christological significance of these passages.

As to the question of possible motivations for Christian interpolation in I Enoch, it is possible that this might have been thought to enhance the Christian tradition. That I Enoch was a respected writing is clear from the fact that it is quoted (I Enoch 1:9) in Jude 14, 15. Interpolation is acknowledged in other writings (e.g., IV Ezra). There is almost certainly interpolation at I Enoch 105:2 (as M. Black argues in the forthcoming edition of the Aramaic fragments of Enoch from Qumran) and this supports the possibility at least of interpolations in the Parables.

⁶⁸Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 47-48. She suggests that although not Christian (because there is no distinctively Christian interpretation of the Son of Man), the Parables could be post-Christian and by a Jewish author. Fuller, Foundations, pp. 37, 38, and The Mission and Achievement of Jesus, p. 98, finds the lack of Christian differentia may indicate that pre-Christian tradition is embodied here.

⁶⁹M. Black, "Recent Research", p. 312.

⁷⁰The existing Greek fragments are catalogued and given in a new edition of the Greek Enoch by M. Black, Apocalypsis Henochi Graece, and Albert-Marie Denis, Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Quae Supersunt Graece (Vol. III of Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece; ed. by A.-M. Denis and M. de Jonge; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 1-45. Apart from citations and allusions to I Enoch in the early Fathers (listed in full by Black, pp. 10-14), only two larger portions of the Greek version of the book of Enoch have survived. The Gizeh fragment contains 1:1-32:6 and in duplicate 19:3-21:9. The Chester Beatty Papyrus has 97:6-104: and 106-107, though chapters 105 and 108 (probably spurious) are gone (Black, p. 8). Besides these fragments there exists the Vatican's tachygraphical manuscript and several fragments in Georgiu Syncellus.

The Aramaic fragments are catalogued by J. T. Milik and M. Black in their forthcoming edition of the Aramaic fragments from Qumran and also by J. T. Milik in "Problèmes de la Littérature Hénochique à la lumière des Fragments Araméens de Qumran", Harvard Theological Review 64 (1971), 333-78, on pp. 336-7.

⁷¹Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 47-8.

⁷²Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 199; he also suggests the absence may be a reflection on the theology of Qumran. It is doubtful that the absence is accidental at any rate. In his initial communique to the Revue Biblique ("Le Travail d'Édition des Fragments Manuscrits de Qumrân": La Grotte 4 de Qumran (4Q), (Communication de J. T. Milik, pp. 60-2), R.B. 63 (1956), p. 60), Milik outlines the extent of the coverage in I Enoch of the Aramaic fragments (of eight manuscripts in cave 4) and says, "La partie II, livre des Paraboles, manque entièrement et cela ne semble pas être dû au hasard."

⁷³Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, though one of the most recent and most thorough studies of the Son of Man problem, does not even mention the possibility of a post-Christian date!

⁷⁴M. Black lists those parts of I Enoch which are missing from the Aramaic (in J. T. Milik and M. Black, The Aramaic Fragments of I Enoch from Qumran [Oxford: Clarendon Press, forthcoming 1974]):

Book I, chs. 15-20, 24, 27-30, 33, 34

Book II, chs. 37-71

(12)

(34)

Book III, chs. 72, 75, 80, 81 (4)
 Book IV, chs. 83, 85, 90 (3)
 Book V, chs. 95-104 (9)

As Black notes, the longest gaps are 9 chapters in Book V (95-104) and 5 chapters in Book I (15-20)--with the notable exception of 34 chapters in Book II.

⁷⁵So Black, "Recent Research", p. 312. He notes that the Parables were the primary support for the view of Bultmann, Vielhauer, Conzelmann, and others, that the church took the Son of Man concept from the Jewish apocalyptic figure of a pre-existent heavenly being.

⁷⁶Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 116, 117.

⁷⁷J. C. Hindley, "Towards a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch", N.T.S. 14 (1967-68), pp. 551-65.

⁷⁸Milik, "Problèmes de la Littérature Hénochique", pp. 333-78; idem, "Turfan et Qumran: Livre des Géants juif et manichéen" in Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt (Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag; hrsg. von Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, und Hartmut Stegemann [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971]), pp. 117-27.

⁷⁹Milik, "Problèmes de la Littérature Hénochique", pp. 333, 375.

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 375-6.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 376.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 377-8.

⁸³Ibid., p. 378; Tertullian, Apologeticum, XII 8, (ed. E. Dekkers; C. C. series lat. I, (1954), p. 129, 34.

⁸⁴Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 12.

⁸⁵Cf. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II, pp. 163f., who states that the consensus of scholars is that the Similitudes have an origin separate from the rest of I Enoch.

⁸⁶Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 284; he depends on P. Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934), p. 190. Cf. I Enoch 48:3, 6; 62:7; 39:6; 40:5.

⁸⁷See Borsch, Myth and History, for a thorough survey of this material.

⁸⁸J. M. Creed, "The Heavenly Man", J.T.S. 26 (1925), pp. 113-36.

⁸⁹J. W. Bowman, The Religion of Maturity (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948), p. 225.

⁹⁰Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 38f. She notes in particular I Enoch 71:14 where the statement that Enoch is the Son of Man born to righteousness makes righteousness the fundamental characteristic of the Son of Man, which is true to Daniel's concept, as is the close connection between the individual and the community. Cf. also E. H. Borsch, "Mark XIV.62 and I Enoch LXII.5", N.T.S. 14 (1967-68), pp. 565-67.

⁹¹Black, "Old Biblical Literature", pp. 12, 13. Black finds dependence on Isaiah as well (p. 15).

⁹²Cf. Campbell, "Origin and Meaning", p. 147; so also Borsch, Myth and History, p. 148, who finds dependence on Daniel (or a common source) and on mythology.

⁹³Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 14.

⁹⁴Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 60. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II (Introduction to I Enoch), of course felt this was due to there being different sources brought together. Son of Man was the title in one source, the Elect One was the title in the second source. If Charles is right, Hooker's argument loses its force. Sjöberg's recent argument for the Similitudes as a literary unit is forceful however, (cf. Hindley, "Towards a Date", p. 551) in Henochbuch, pp. 33-35.

Fuller, Foundations, p. 37, feels that the Son of Man was probably a title for a transcendent agent of redemption by the time of Daniel, but if not by then, certainly by the time of I Enoch.

⁹⁵In spite of the attempt of Nathaniel Schmidt, "The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch" in Old Testament and Semitic Studies, in memory of William Rainey Harper (ed. by R. F. Harper and others; 2 vols.; Chicago: University Press, 1908), II, pp. 329-49. Schmidt tries to establish the translation of the Ethiopic directly from the Aramaic, but this is doubtful. Schmidt's position has recently been taken up by E. Ullendorff in a report read to the Accademia dei Lincei (in Atti Rend.; Rome, 1959), p. 261. This position is untenable however; mistranslations in the Ethiopic are due to variations in the Greek and not in the Aramaic (Black gives examples in his forthcoming edition of The Aramaic Fragments).

⁹⁶Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 116, 117.

⁹⁷Ibid.; Campbell, "Origin and Meaning", pp. 146-7. Campbell is most emphatic in noting the great "untrustworthiness of the Ethiopic translation of the Greek, its confused arrangements, especially in the Similitudes, and the use of three Ethiopic phrases to translate the same Greek phrase. He concludes (p. 148): ". . . the Book of Enoch affords not the slightest trustworthy evidence for the existence of 'the Son of Man' as a messianic title in pre-Christian times."

⁹⁸Sjöberg, Henochbuch, pp. 52-7. Sjöberg is followed by Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 28, n. 1, and by Borsch, Myth and History, p. 148; Borsch takes the demonstrative to mean "that Son of Man whom you know", presumably from I Enoch 46 or from current tradition.

⁹⁹Sjöberg, Evangelien, p. 242; Borsch, Myth and History, p. 46; M. Goguel, Jesus, p. 248; E. Percy, Die Botschaft Jesu (Lung: Gleerup, 1953), p. 257.

¹⁰⁰T.W. Manson, Studies, pp. 128-30; this is corroborated by the fact that the demonstrative is not used in the later Ethiopic Gospels because the special meaning is well established and can be taken for granted.

¹⁰¹Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 30. This is in spite of the admitted increase in sovereign attributes and a closer relation to the saved community. The figure was, Tödt feels, rather fitted into eschatological events already there in the tradition.

¹⁰²Sjöberg, Henochbuch, pp. 58f.; Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 297; cf. Borsch, Myth and History, p. 154, who on the basis of his royal man thesis says I Enoch's Son of Man is to be thought messianic, if the Messiah was conceived of in royal terms.

¹⁰³Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 14. He notes further the parallels in the Similitudes to messianic prophetic scripture (as pointed out by W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp. 173f.).

¹⁰⁴W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp. 173ff. I Enoch 48:4 is based on Isa. 42:6; 50:4; 61:1-2. Cf. Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 15.

¹⁰⁵Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 441, 444; Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 201, likewise doubts that Enoch becomes the Son of Man.

¹⁰⁶R. Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, p. 213. Jesus, Otto says, believed this of himself as well.

¹⁰⁷Sjöberg, Henochbuch, pp. 171, 185f.

¹⁰⁸T. W. Manson, Studies, pp. 140ff.

¹⁰⁹Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 42.

¹¹⁰Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 13. The reasons a late first century Jew might wish to identify the Son of Man with someone other than Jesus are obvious. Cf. M. Black, "The Development of Judaism in the Greek and Roman Periods" in New Peake's Commentary on the Bible, pp. 693-8; see p. 697 where

Black says the Similitudes are suspect of Christian influence or tampering. See also M. Black, "The Eschatology of the Similitudes of Enoch", J.T.S., n.s. 3 (1952), 1-10.

¹¹¹Of further interest is the importance attached by Hindley, "Towards a Date", p. 565, to this identification of the Son of Man with Enoch: it is taken as a possible indication of the post-Christian provenance of the Similitudes as an anti-Christian polemic by a Jewish author.

¹¹²T. W. Manson, Studies, pp. 138ff.: these elements are divine election, divine protection and guidance, divinely given righteousness, and divine vindication and eternal happiness. Cf. T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus, pp. 228; idem, Studies, p. 141. Support for this oscillation phenomenon in Israel is found in such scriptures as Isa. 41:8; Psa. 89:4; Heb. 7:1-10; and Eph. 1:4.

¹¹³T. W. Manson, Studies, p. 141.

¹¹⁴Sjöberg, Henochbuch, pp. 86-98, 101; Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 27f.

¹¹⁵V. Taylor, The Names of Jesus (London: Macmillan, 1953), pp. 31f.

¹¹⁶Borsch, Myth and History, p. 154.

¹¹⁷Messel, Der Menschensohn, pp. 35ff.

¹¹⁸Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 12; idem, "Recent Research", p. 312, where he states that the Son of Man of I Enoch could possibly be no more than a collective symbol (except at 71:14).

¹¹⁹Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 43ff.

¹²⁰See note 111.

¹²¹Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 14; no matter how closely associated with each other, the Elect One and the elect ones are still clearly distinguished (cf. 51:5), so the Enochian Son of Man is not merely a symbol for Israel (as was Daniel's Son of Man).

¹²²Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 28; he cites 46:3 (pre-existence) and 62:7 (concealment); cf. p. 28, n. 2 on Sjöberg's view.

¹²³Sjöberg, Henochbuch, pp. 90-3, 102, 115, Sjöberg finds this concealment to be the basis for the messianic secret of the Gospels (p. 115), to which Tödt objects (Synoptic Tradition, p. 302). Cf. Otto, Kingdom of God, pp. 192, 233f.; and Borsch, Myth and History, p. 148, who, it may be noted, believes there is possibly pre-existence in I Enoch 48:2.

¹²⁴T. W. Manson, Studies, p. 138.

¹²⁵Ibid., pp. 132, 136; cf. the premundane election of Israel (Romans 9-11) and of the church (Eph. 3:1f.; I Pet. 1:1f.). Manson prefers to drop the term pre-existence altogether (as Sjöberg, Charles, and others use it of I Enoch 48:2f.). As to the meaning in I Enoch 48:2, Manson rejects the possibility of a reference to the Son of Man being called into existence in this way (as in the Primal Man myth of the Manicheans, whose cosmology is quite far removed from that of the O.T. and the Jews) though the parallels in the Similitudes point to Manichean or similar influence on them. Manson prefers to emphasize the parallel conception in the Babylonian kingship rites and in the O.T. (Isa. 43:1; 45:3) as an explanation for the naming of a name, indicating a designation to a high destiny. This is its probable meaning in I Enoch: a story of pre-mundane decisions made in heaven to be fulfilled on earth. (It may be asked, however, whether this explanation gives full enough account to the growing importance in Judaism of the "name"--that is, could "naming a name" amount to "bring into existence"?)

¹²⁶Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 14.

¹²⁷Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 42. She notes her difference from Sjöberg and Tödt and her doubts that the author of I Enoch regarded the Son of Man as pre-existent. The naming of 48:3 does not mean creating, she contends, because of 48:2, and the choosing before the beginning (in 48:6) need not imply this either. This only means that the Son of Man was to have a part in God's plan. The terms used are, she feels, perhaps borrowed from the Man mythology.

¹²⁸J. Jeremias and W. Zimmerli, The Servant of God (rev. ed.; London: S.C.M. Press, 1965), p. 61.

¹²⁹He believes this in I Enoch is the first synthesis of these two terms. His position of course depends on a pre-Christian date for the Similitudes.

¹³⁰Jeremias, The Servant of God, p. 61, n. 255a; he cites Strack-Billerbeck (Kommentar, II, p. 282); J. Jeremias, "Erlöser und Erlösung im Spätjudentum und Urchristentum", Deutsch Theologie 2 (1929), 106-19; and W. Staerk, "Soter", Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, 2d series 31 (1933), pp. 72-84.

¹³¹Sjöberg, Henochbuch, pp. 116-39; idem, Evangelien, pp. 70f. Sjöberg says that the more individual connections between the Ebed songs and the Son of Man, the greater is the significance of the lack of reference to the humility and suffering of the Son of Man.

¹³²Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 142.

¹³³See, for example, Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, II, p. 282, n. 1: Eine Ausnahme bilden gewisse Teile der Bilderreden des Buches Henoch. Nach unserer Auffassung ist es hier der 'Ebed Jahves Deuterofesajas, der von Gott zum Messias bestimmt ist. Vor antritt seines messianischen Berufs stirbt er als Märtyrer. Seitdem weilt er im Himmel bei Gott, um dereinst in Herrlichkeit als Messias wiederzukehren.--Soweit es sich hier um Leiden des Messias designatus handelt, haben die Aufstellungen der Bilderreden Henochs in der nächstfolgende Zeit keine Beachtung gefunden; . . . " Bultmann takes a different view (Theology of the New Testament, I, p. 30; and idem, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 155).

¹³⁴Borsch, Myth and History, p. 154. He feels I Enoch could depend on Second Isaiah for some ideas but not for the suffering motif.

¹³⁵Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 109.

¹³⁶Higgins, "Is the Son of Man Problem Insoluble?", p. 75.

¹³⁷W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp. 173ff.

¹³⁸Black, "Old Biblical Literature", p. 14. He notes that I Enoch's Son of Man is an ideal figure like that in Isaiah, but not that in Daniel, transcending national boundaries (cf. Ezekiel's "son of man" as "man"). See also Sjöberg, Henochbuch, p. 146, and Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 298, who feel that the Son of Man in I Enoch is not to be identified with the Messiah, King of David's Seed. Sjöberg finds the Isaianic passages quoted to be inconclusive of demonstrating messianic connections and concludes: "Die festgestellten, sehr begrenzten Beziehungen zwischen dem Menschensohn und den Ebed-Jahve-Liedern geben also keinen hinreichenden Grund für die Annahme, daß die Bilderreden den Menschensohn mit Vorstellung des leidenden Ebed-Jahve verbunden haben." (He italicizes the entire sentence, p. 128.)

¹³⁹Perhaps the suggestion of W. Manson (Jesus the Messiah, p. 117) should not be overlooked: "Is it not possible that the great expansion of the Son of Man doctrine according to which the Son of Man's exaltation (Dan. vii.13-14) is from a human life of suffering on earth originated first in the mind of Jesus himself." (Italics his.)

¹⁴⁰Sjöberg, Henochbuch, p. 82.

¹⁴¹Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 70, n. 4; cf. p. 86, n. 2, where he cites I Enoch 45-46; chs 53, 54 deal with the judgment on unbelievers. The enthronement and judging of men (55:4) and angels (61:8f.) by the Son of Man is considered by Tödt to be a decisive step forward towards a more radically transcendent concept of the Son of Man which characterized Jewish apocalypticism of the Hellenistic period.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 226.

¹⁴⁴See, for example, what was done with Melchizedek at Qumran, in M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament", N.T.S. 12 (1965-66), pp. 301-26; and compare the Moses "christology" of the Samaritans, in John Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans (London: S.C.M. Press, 1964), pp. 147-224.

¹⁴⁵G. H. Box on IV Ezra in Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II, pp. 552-3, dates the sources of IV Ezra variously from before A.D. 70 until A. D. 100, with the final redaction ca. A.D. 120.

¹⁴⁶Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 25.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.; W. O. E. Oesterley, II Esdras (The Ezra Apocalypse): with introduction and notes (Westminster Commentaries; London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1933), pp. 149-50.

¹⁴⁸Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 49f.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 49, n. 2; whether the author took over a vision already intact, or whether he constructed his own out of mythological material he did not understand but wanted to employ, the dependence on Dan. 7 (and Dan. 2) is still there.

¹⁵¹See Hooker's lengthy discussion on this subject (The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 49-56). Miss Hooker suggests (p. 56) the Anthropos tradition may have influenced IV Ezra.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 53. ¹⁵³Ibid., pp. 50f. ¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁵⁵For a discussion of the literary and material relations between Dan. 7:9, 10, 13, and I Enoch 46-47; 48:2-7; 71, see K. Müller, "Menschensohn und Messias: Religionsgeschichtliche Vorüberlegungen zum Menschensohnproblem in den synoptischen Evangelien", Biblische Zeitschrift, n.f. 16 (1972), 161-87 (in particular pp. 175-77).

¹⁵⁶See the discussion above on the date of the Parables and cf. note 145.

¹⁵⁷Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 27f. cf. p. 22, where Tödt speaks of this.

¹⁵⁸See the discussion above.

¹⁵⁹T. W. Manson, Studies, p. 141.

¹⁶⁰V. Taylor, The Names of Jesus, pp. 31f.

¹⁶¹Sjöberg, Henochbuch, pp. 96-8, 101. Sjöberg acknowledges a close connection between the Son of Man and the community, but

he does not find that the Son of Man is the community's personification (Henochbuch, p. 297). Cf. Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 27f.

¹⁶²Cf. K. Müller, "Menschensohn und Messias", p. 178.

¹⁶³On the wisdom literature, see A. Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel", pp. 321-46, who believes that the hypostatizing of wisdom is behind Dan. 7 (and the Son of Man); but compare J. Coppens, "Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East", pp. 33-41.

¹⁶⁴The relevance of this throne vision has been recognized by Müller, "Menschensohn und Messias", p. 178.

¹⁶⁵Walter Zimmerli, Ezekiel, 1 Teilband (Ezekiel 1-24), Band XIII/1 in Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament (ed. by Martin Noth and Hans Walter Wolff; Neukirchen Vluyn, Netherlands: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins G.m.b.H., 1969), pp. 18-21.

¹⁶⁶R.B.Y. Scott, "Behold, He Cometh with Clouds", N.T.S. 5 (1958-59), pp. 127-32, notes it; and the observation goes back at least as far as G. A. Cooke, Ezekiel (I.C.C.); Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936), pp. 20, 21. O. Froesch, "Die Berufungsvision Hezekiels", B.Z.A.W., 34 (1920), pp. 141-9, makes no mention of it.

¹⁶⁷Zimmerli, Ezekiel, I, p. 18. ¹⁶⁸Ibid. ¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁷⁰Ibid. ¹⁷¹Ibid., pp. 19, 20. ¹⁷²Ibid. ¹⁷³Ibid.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁷⁵W. Eichrodt, Ezekiel: A Commentary (trans. by Cosslett Quin; Old Testament Library; London: S.C.M. Press, 1970; from Der Prophet Hesekiel: Das Alte Testament Deutsch 22/1-2; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965-66), p. 122, thinks the "man" of 8:2 is probably to be identified with the "one who sits on the throne" of 1:26.

¹⁷⁶In Ezek. 40:3 and 43:7 there likewise occurs in the temple visions a human form which appears to represent some heavenly messenger (like the man in linen); cf. H. R. Balz, Methodische Probleme der neutestamentlichen Christologie (Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testamenten No. 25; Neukirchen-Vluyn, Netherlands: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins G.m.b.H., 1967), pp. 82, 83.

¹⁷⁷E.g., Ezekiel's preoccupation with the living creatures owes some of its descriptions to Isaiah; cf. Ezek. 1:11; Isa. 6:2.

¹⁷⁸Martin Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High" in The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays (trans. by D. R. Ap-Thomas; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966), pp. 215-28.

¹⁷⁹This does not mean, however, that these "holy ones" could not have been understood as earthly saints by first century readers.

¹⁸⁰Balz, Methodische Probleme, p. 80, makes further comparisons between Daniel and Ezekiel.

¹⁸¹A. Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel", pp. 183-90. Feuillet lists in detail the motifs common to Ezekiel and Daniel and other evidence of dependence of Daniel on Ezekiel, particularly the "appearance of a man" in Dan. 8:15 and 10:16 which is borrowed directed from Ezekiel (p. 187). He then says, "Nous croyons en effet qu'en l'occurrence le contact littéraire s'accompagne d'un contact théologique d'une importance considérable, car il permet d'éclairer un des problèmes les plus embrouillés de tout l'Ancien Testament, la signification exacte du personnage du Fils de l'homme." (p. 186)

¹⁸²Ibid., pp. 188-9.

¹⁸³Is there evidence of literary dependence? Cf. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II, in loc. on I Enoch 14:18-22. Charles says Enoch draws on Ezek. 1:10, on Isa. 6, and on Dan. 7:8, 10.

¹⁸⁴Charles' translation.

¹⁸⁵It is not possible to discuss the complex question of the composition of I Enoch. However, R. H. Charles, The Book of Enoch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), p. 81 (in a note on 14:18), says that the author of 71:5-8 has used a previous vision, 14:18-22, which itself is dependent on Isa. 6, Ezek. 1:10, and Dan. 7:8, 10. However that may be, there seems to be little question that these passages are all part of the same developing tradition. (Cf. also Black, "Old Biblical Literature", pp. 12, 13: "The Enoch Similitudes, in particular the Son of Man passages, resemble nothing so much as an apocalyptic poetic Midrash on Dn 7, parallel to other such Midrashim (Jubilees, though a prose work, is the most obvious parallel).")

¹⁸⁶The great value of this vision in I Enoch is that it shows one kind of Son of Man tradition which was present in Judaism--a tradition which was willing to identify the Son of Man with an important biblical figure.

¹⁸⁷This is discussed by Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II, pp. 168-77, and by Milik in detail in his forthcoming publication.

¹⁸⁸Milik, "Problèmes de la Littérature Hénochique", pp. 335, 344-6.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 374. ¹⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 333, 375-346.

¹⁹¹"Glory" was commonly used in Palestinian Judaism to avoid anthropomorphisms; cf. Kittel, "δόξα", T.D.N.T. II, p. 245.

192 Charles puts brackets between vv. 13-14 of chapter 46 with the following suggestion: "Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch asked one of the angels (as in 46³) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was."

193 Charles translates the second persons of vv. 14-16 as third persons.

194 Zimmerli, Ezekiel, I, pp. 17-18.

195 Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel", pp. 191-5.

196 Ibid., p. 191.

197 Ibid., p. 192; he cites on this point Ernst Sellin, Die israelitisch-jüdische Heilandserwartung (Berlin, 1909), p. 71; Hermann Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921), p. 328.

198 Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel", p. 192.

199 Ibid., p. 195: "Le Fils de l'homme représente le peuple messianique au même titre que le Messie davidique, mais son caractère transcendant l'empêche plus encore que ce dernier de s'identifier avec lui."

200 Ibid., pp. 192, 195. He says (pp. 192-3) that the opposition is between the celestial and the terrestrial, not between the bestiality of the pagan nations and the humaneness of the people of God. But surely both contrasts are inherent in the passage. The fact that the human features are given the beasts (v. 4 the winged lion stands like a man and is given a man's mind; v. 8 the little horn has eyes like a man and a mouth speaking great things) may only be to emphasize the fact that it is really men who are so inhumane and so bestial, behaving like animals.

201 Ibid., p. 195.

202 That the apotheosis of Israel was the natural development of the tradition which gave a special position to the chosen people was suggested by Matthew Black in a lecture given at University College, Bangor, 7 March 1972.

203 M. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1961), p. 154.

204 R. H. Charles, "The Assumption of Moses" in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II, p. 422.

205 E.-M. Laperrousaz, Le Testament de Moïse (Généralment appelé «Assomption de Moïse»), trans. with introduction and notes, in Semitica 19 (Paris: Adrien-Maissonneuve, 1970), p. 129, n. 8.

²⁰⁶Quoted by Laperrousaz, ibid., p. 129, n. 8; M.-J. Lagrange, Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ (2nd ed.; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1931), p. 241, n. 1.

CHAPTER II
THE SON OF MAN IN THE NEW TESTAMENT
OUTSIDE THE GOSPELS

Methodological Considerations

Before proceeding with an investigation of the N.T. Son of Man material, a brief word about methodology may be in order. On this important matter a great deal of helpful material has been taken from the works of Morna Hooker, especially her article on methodology in N.T.S.¹ From this article in particular the following principles have been noted:

(1) The principle of dissimilarity should be used in a positive way to increase confidence in a saying, not in a negative way. Application of this principle to the Son of Man sayings should indicate that particularly the present and suffering sayings go back to Jesus, since these have no parallel outside the N.T., even if the apocalyptic sayings might have.²

(2) The presence of Aramaisms is a positive indication of the antiquity of a saying, even if it is not definite proof of genuineness.

(3) The principle of multiple attestation should also be used in a positive, not a negative way.

(4) Parables likely go back to Jesus, but details may be later additions and the original point may have been lost. The use of paradox and irony may also point to a dominical origin.

(5) A saying must be given a "reasonable 'pedigree', whether the saying is attributed to Jesus or the church", taking

account at every stage of the reconstruction of what can be known about Jesus and the church.

(6) The principle of consistency or coherence should be used to determine the Sitz im Leben for a saying and for placing it in the life of Jesus or the community.

One additional principle (or perhaps rather an extension of (4) above) to which considerable attention has been given, is that the use of the O.T. passages may indicate dominical material. This principle is based on the assumption that Jesus gave his first disciples at least a core of O.T. passages applied to his ministry, and suggested how these passages should be developed.³ Support for this assumption may be found in Lk. 24:24-27, 44, 45 (which, whatever else may be made of them, at least express the belief of the early community that it was building on Jesus' own teaching), Mk. 9:12; 14:21, 49, as well as in the many logia attributing to Jesus the use of the O.T., which by sheer weight of numbers must mean he in fact did use the O.T. in this way (apart from the inherent probability that he as a good Jew would have looked to the O.T. to interpret his ministry).⁴ The early community may have added other O.T. passages and may have developed the use of the passages beyond Jesus' original use. But rather than assuming the presence of O.T. material is indicative primarily of the creative activity of the church, it may be assumed that such activity had its roots in the teaching of Jesus. This is particularly true with respect to two very important christological categories-- the Son of Man and the Servant of the Lord.⁵

Quotation need not be the only criterion for O.T.

background: allusion and the use of common O.T. ideas may sometimes indicate an O.T. passage was so thoroughly imbedded in the tradition that quotation was unnecessary.⁶

Another observation on method which may be made is that, even when it is clear that the theology of the evangelist is in evidence in a particular saying, one is not thereby certain that he has created the material as opposed to merely selecting from traditional material to suit his particular emphasis or adapting it for his purposes. Even the theology of the Evangelist may have roots deep in the tradition.⁷

As V. Taylor said (referring to the Servant christology, but the same applies to the Son of Man christology⁸), it would be a mistake of method to begin with the Gospels sayings themselves. An examination of the Son of Man in the N.T. should begin with the Acts and the Epistles in order to determine to what extent there was a Son of Man christology in the early church.

The Son of Man in the New Testament

Outside the Gospels

Acts 7:56

Outside the Gospels this is the only occurrence of the full form ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in the N.T.⁹ Significantly it is reported as coming from the lips of Stephen, the only time the term is used by someone other than Jesus.¹⁰ The questions then arise, why did Stephen speak of the Son of Man and does this indicate a Son of Man christology in the circles from which Stephen (or the writer of Acts) came?

C. F. D. Moule suggested the reason Son of Man appears

in Acts 7:56 but not elsewhere in the N.T. outside the Gospels is that the title is particularly appropriate to a martyr context, because Jesus as the Son of Man martyr will be vindicated when he comes on the clouds. Furthermore, the rarity of the term other than on the lips of Jesus may be due to the fact that half of its content was past (applying to Jesus' ministry and sufferings) and half was future (applying to the Second Coming).¹¹ If this suggestion is true, the Sitz im Leben of the Son of Man title is to be found in the life of Jesus rather than in the life of the church.

One recent suggestion of the reason that Stephen refers to Jesus as the Son of Man, whereas neither the disciples nor anyone else had done so before, was that Stephen realized that the humiliation of the Son of Man (which is the principal meaning of the Son of Man for Stott,¹² based on O.T. passages which provide this meaning) had come to an end and that the Ancient of Days had given dominion to the Son of Man. To Stephen Daniel's vision had come true, and the universal redemption, implied in the term "Son of Man" (which indicated it was all mankind, not just Israel, that was included in God's salvatory purpose), and of which Stephen spoke in his self defense (Acts 7:2ff.), had come to pass.

Perhaps more appropriate to the context is the view of Higgins that the Son of Man is seen as the intercessor or advocate. This is the significance of the Son of Man standing: "He does not sit as a judge, but stands."¹³ He stands in God's presence, as do the intercessory angels, though not before God, but at His right hand, because he is the unique Son of Man

(Psa. 110:1).¹⁴ This shows the importance of Stephen's vision as seeing the Son of Man both as exalted to God's right hand and as advocate there for those who have confessed him before men (Lk. 12:8f.; Mk. 8:38).¹⁵

The question which is of most importance for the present study is whether Stephen's use of the Son of Man title indicates a living Son of Man christology. Higgins believes the fact that for Stephen the son of Man is the exalted advocate at God's right hand is proof of a living christology.¹⁶ Even more is made of Stephen's use of the term by William Walker who, largely following H. M. Teeple,¹⁷ believes Acts 7:56 shows the writer of Acts associated the Son of Man christology with Hellenistic Jewish Christianity, or that the writer knew Stephen and his circle actually held a Son of Man christology: "In any case, I suggest that it was among Greek-speaking, not Aramaic-speaking, Christians that the exegetical tradition produced the Son of Man christology."¹⁸

But Walker has surely gone beyond the evidence, for there is no other indication of a Son of Man christology among the Hellenists (or anyone else, for that matter) in the book of Acts. Never again does the term occur in Acts and this fact, Luke's reticence to use it independently, in addition to the importance attached here to God as well as to the Son of Man (seen in the reference to *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God) probably indicates " . . . that the concept was no longer a living one, or stood in need of explanation in the form in which it occurs, for it

is odd that the Son of Man stands rather than sits at God's right hand."¹⁹ Furthermore, the fact that the picture of the Son of Man given here is almost a quotation of Dan. 7:13 and is not elaborated or developed may indicate the lack of a doctrine of the Son of Man other than that he is the Son of Man of Dan. 7. The account may also depend on Lk. 12:8 and Mk. 8:38, of which it could be seen to be the necessary fulfilment. "When Stephen sees 'the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God', he has just acknowledged Jesus before the Sanhedrin; now he in turn is acknowledged by the Son of Man, standing at God's right hand as advocate on Stephen's behalf."²⁰ Such dependence (on Synoptic logia) reinforces the secondary nature of the Son of Man in this account, and coupled with the fact that Luke does nothing more with the Son of Man title, indicates that there was no genuinely living Son of Man christology.

Finally note should be taken of the suggestion of Colpe²¹ that the "standing" of the Son of Man came from a Samaritan tradition which predicates standing of God. If this is so, a divine attribute has been transferred to the Son of Man. This Samaritan theology is not well understood, however, so that "only with reservations, then, can one venture the opinion that acc. to the tradition in Acts 7 the Son of Man takes God's place by ushering in the end in judgment and salvation."²² If Colpe's suggestion has any foundation (and one must keep in mind his reservations and the rather skimpy evidence), a further development may be seen in the tradition of the O.T. Son of Man throne theophanies. If the Son of Man

had in the O.T. throne theophany tradition become almost a second deity (see the discussion in the first chapter), here a divine attribute has been transferred to him.

Hebrews 2:6

Hebrews 2:6 quotes Psa. 8:5ff. (using a text agreeing with the LXX, omitting the first clause of v. 7, which also agrees with the Hebrew²³) and thus raises the question of a Son of Man christology in the community which this epistle represents. What the writer understood by Son of Man is not difficult to determine. An interesting Jewish tradition says that these words were spoken to God by ministering angels when Moses went up to receive the law: "'O Lord of the world,' they said, 'wilt Thou give flesh and blood that precious thing which Thou hast kept for 974 generations? (Ps. viii.5) Give Thy glory rather to heaven' (Sabb. 88, I)."²⁴ "The thought of man's frailty comes first."²⁵ But the O.T. quotation is given christological meaning as well. The writer of Hebrews believes that, while mankind as a whole has yet to receive the redemption and dominion it was meant to have from its creation, in the sufferings of Jesus this has already begun. "In some way 'the son of man' was to fulfill the purpose for which man had been created, and this in spite of his frailty and insignificance."²⁶ No really creative use is made of the O.T. testimony, however, beyond its simple application to Christ.²⁷ "What was in the O.T. a saying about the majesty of creaturely man, a majesty limited by God's power as Creator, now becomes a saying about the majesty which is paradoxically ascribed to

one who is lowly."²⁸

Is there a genuine Son of Man christology in the book of Hebrews? The preponderance of O.T. christological titles in the letter with only the one reference to the Son of Man (and that in an O.T. quotation rather than in the words of the writer²⁹) would indicate there is not. In the very passage where "Son of Man" is mentioned, it is not primarily a Son of Man christology which is in mind, but rather a view of Christ as the Pioneer, ἀρχηγός (2:10), the more important christology being the Son of God.³⁰ But it must be granted that the writer (and perhaps his readers) were familiar with the Son of Man christology.³¹ For, although in both Psa. 8 and Dan. 7 "Son of Man" is equivalent to "man", a real "human being", "The fact remains that, ever since Jesus spoke of Himself as the Son of Man, this expression has had for Christians a connotation beyond its etymological force, and it had this connotation for the writer of Hebrews."³²

Revelation 1:13; 14:14

As in Acts 7:56, the Son of Man in Rev. 1:13 and 14:14 is seen in a vision. Here it is the returning Son of Man who is seen (especially in 14:14). While the suffering of the now glorified Son of Man is reflected in Rev. 1:7 ("pierced"),³³ he is at present reigning and will return with the clouds³⁴ to reap judgment on earth.³⁵

As to the question of a continuing Son of Man christology, Higgins feels that the thoughts and expressions common to Daniel and Revelation as well as the occurrence of the Son

of Man figure in both Johannine writings (the Gospel and the Revelation) indicates a "living interest in the Son of Man Christology as such."³⁶ But there are reasons to question this view. First, the use of Dan. 7 may indicate a simple dependence on a well known Son of Man testimonium (reference to Dan. 7 would seem inevitable³⁷) without independent or creative use of it.³⁸ Certainly Jesus spoke of an eschatological judgment of the Son of Man (Mt. 13:37ff.; 25:31ff.³⁹) and there is no real advance on his teaching here: the setting in Rev. 1 and 14 is the traditional one of vindication and judgment.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the addition of heterogeneous materials to augment the traditional Son of Man,⁴¹ rather than the development of inherent or associated ideas may indicate lack of real understanding of the Son of Man concept: it at least shows that the movement is away from a Son of Man christology. Also of significance is the transference of Son of Man sayings to the Son of God.⁴²

One important point to note in Rev. 1:13 is that the "hair like pure wool" of the Ancient of Days in Dan. 7:9 now belongs to the Son of Man of Rev. 1:13, 14 whose "head and his hair were white as white wool." Here, as in Acts 7:56, a divine attribute of the Ancient of Days has been transferred to the Son of Man, or perhaps rather the son of Man and the Ancient of Days have become one and the same!⁴³

Paul's Second Man/Adam Christology

Paul uses his Adam/Christ typology in three ways: (1) to show the universality of grace (Rom. 5:12-21), (2) to

establish the certainty of the resurrection (I Cor. 15:22), and (3) to demonstrate the certainty of the spiritual body (I Cor. 15:45-49).⁴⁴ It appears at first that these uses bear little or no relation to the traditional Son of Man christology. But the Pauline passages must be examined more closely to determine whether there is an underlying Son of Man christology upon which Paul relies.

In Rom. 5:12 the term *ἄνθρωπος*, which in v. 15c may echo the Greek Son of Man title, is unnecessary, inasmuch as the Christ-Adam typology is possible without the Son of Man title, though it is made easier with it.⁴⁵ Son of Man is quite incidental to Paul's typology: "it has no relevance to the Christology of the section, which rests on other pre-suppositions than apoc. Son of man Messianology."⁴⁶ Romans 5:12ff. may reflect the same interaction of Paul with the current Jewish doctrine of two Adams as is seen in I Cor. 15:45-49.⁴⁷

In Cor. 15:21f., 44b-49, Paul, who understands the incarnation in terms of the Son of Man, is denying the Jewish doctrine of two Adams--a doctrine which, as explained by Philo, said that there was a heavenly Man (the Adam of Gen. 1:27, who is the heavenly man made in God's image) and there was an earthly man (the Adam of Gen. 2:7, who is the historical first member of the human race). Higgins believes Paul, using the terms Adam and man instead of Son of Man, though he was aware of a Son of Man christology, is not the first to use "man" in this sense.⁴⁸ Rather Paul is dependent on the pre-Pauline hymn of Phil. 2:6-11 for the substitution of "Man" for "Son of

Man"--a substitution which must have taken place quite early. In Phil. 2 Paul adapts a Greek form of an Aramaic hymn: ". . . this Greek form of an Aramaic hymn provided Paul with the suitable word for use in contrasting Christ as the "Man" with Adam."⁴⁹ The Son of Man christology merely made possible Paul's use of the older categories of pneumatic/psychic man--the macrocosmic, upper, first man as opposed to the microcosmic, lower, second man--with his new typology.⁵⁰ One might conclude that I Cor. 15:45, 46 has no real Son of Man christology, though it does show familiarity with it, but rather has an imaginative interpretation of Adam from Gen. 1 and 2, as well as a Jewish doctrine of two Adams, and applies this to a new development in christology.

Summary

Can it be said then that the passages examined indicate a living Son of Man christology in the early Christian community? In the passages outside the Gospels where the title Son of Man occurs, it seems clear that the writers were familiar with the Son of Man christology (they could hardly have been ignorant of it), but there is little or no creative use made of it. Hebrews 2:6 does little more than quote Psa. 8, probably a well known Son of Man testimonium.⁵¹ The other passages, Acts 7:56 and Rev. 1:13; 14:14, merely depend on Dan. 7, an O.T. testimonium so obvious that its use was inevitable. Likewise Paul's second man/Adam typology, though perhaps founded on it, merely shows familiarity with the Son of Man christology and moves away from it, avoiding the title and not really developing its motifs. Taken as a whole then, the evidence outside the Gospels

indicates that there was a familiarity with the Son of Man christology but no extensive development of it and little creative use of it.⁵² The fact that there are occurrences of the term "Son of Man" (even if very few and in varying constructions: Acts 7:56 is the only full form, Heb. 2:6 lacks the second article, and Rev. 1:13; 14:14 lack both articles) means there was at least a familiarity with the Son of Man christology; and the fact that there are not more means that it surely was not a living christology.

The question of a Son of Man christology in post N.T. writings cannot be gone into, though Colpe⁵³ and Higgins⁵⁴ believe a Son of Man christology did survive into this period.

The Creativity of Jesus and the Early Community

If it is true, as the preceding survey of the N.T. material outside the Gospels suggests it is, that there was no living Son of Man christology being creatively developed in the early church, how then is one to account for the use of the term in the Gospels? Taking the Gospels accounts at face value would give as an answer to this question that Jesus himself used the term of himself and developed it in his own distinctive way. It will be necessary to see whether this answer can stand up under the weight of an examination of the Son of Man logia themselves (for they could be and have been taken as evidence of a Son of Man christology in the early church). But at this point it may not be out of order to suggest that greater attention be given to the creativity of

Jesus. This plea is important to balance against the common assumption that the Son of Man concept as it is found in the Gospels is the product of the widespread creative activity of the early community as it passed on the tradition.⁵⁵

As long ago as 1948 V. Taylor drew attention to the creativity of Jesus in an attempt to correct the course of much N.T. discussion which attributes virtually all to the ever present (but still anonymous) community⁵⁶ (about which less is known than is sometimes recognized--a fact to which Hooker has recently called attention⁵⁷). Twenty-five years later one finds the situation very little changed and the amount of creativity or originality ascribed to Jesus by many scholars is still very little indeed.⁵⁸ Often what creativity has been allowed Jesus has been limited to the use of striking phrases, parables, and metaphors. But the question must be posed whether the founder of Christianity has not had more to do with the formation and development of some of its leading ideas,⁵⁹ especially the development of the Son of Man concept, particularly in the broadening of the idea to include the earthly ministry of a genuinely human (not just an apocalyptic, future) Son of Man, as well as his suffering on behalf of others.

NOTES

¹Morna D. Hooker, "Christology and Methodology", N.T.S. 17 (1970-71), 480-7, especially pp. 486-7.

²Ibid., pp. 483-4.

³Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 110.

⁴Bruce, New Testament Development of Old Testament Themes, p. 29: "There seems to be no convincing argument for excluding this insistence [upon fulfilment of Scripture in the suffering of the Son of Man] from His authentic sayings."

⁵Jeremias, "Παῖς Θεοῦ", pp. 676-713.

⁶Bruce, New Testament Development, p. 30.

⁷Cf. Stephen Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", pp. 278-301, who shows this to be true even in the case of John's Gospel.

⁸So V. Taylor, "The Origin of the Markan Passion-sayings", N.T.S. 1 (1954-55), 159-67, especially pp. 160f.

⁹Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 143.

¹⁰John 12:34 is no real exception, since the crowd is quoting Jesus; Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", 461; cf. Bruce, New Testament Development, p. 28.

¹¹Moule, "The Influence of Circumstances on the Use of Christological Terms", 247-63.

¹²Wilfrid Stott, "'Son of Man'--A Title of Abasement", p. 280.

¹³Higgins, Son of Man, p. 145. ¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 146. The view that Stephen sees the parousia about to take place--i.e., the Son of Man rises in order to return (so H. P. Owen, "Stephen's Vision in Acts 7:55-6", N.T.S. 1 (1954-55), 224-6) is not supported by the context which makes no reference to the parousia (p. 145).

Cf. Moule, "From Defendant to Judge", where he suggests the Son of Man stands as a witness " . . . giving decisive evidence in vindication of his oppressed disciples." (pp. 47ff.)

- ¹⁶Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 146.
- ¹⁷H. M. Teeple, "The Origin of the Son of Man Christology", J.B.L. 84 (1955), 213-50.
- ¹⁸William O. Walker, "The Origin of the Son of Man Concept as applied to Jesus", J.B.L. 91 (1972), 482-90. For a less confident suggestion of a similar nature, see Stephen Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 300, who suggests a Son of Man christology may come from a tradition ". . . which was given expression and shape in the early kerygma, came into the substructure of the Gospels and Acts, and survived in the adaptations found in Rom. v and vii, Phil. ii, Col. i, I Tim. iii, and so on." He believes further that "The Son of Man sayings in John or anywhere else need not be 'kerygmatic therefore inauthentic'; why should they not have become kerygmatic precisely because they were authentic?"
- ¹⁹Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 462.
- ²⁰Bruce, New Testament Development, p. 28.
- ²¹Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", pp. 462-3.
- ²²Ibid., p. 463. Luke's dependence on a source is indicated by the plural heavens, which may correspond to a $\Omega \Gamma \Delta \Psi$ in the tradition Luke used (E. Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971; p. 292, n. 5).
- ²³B. F. Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews (London: Macmillan, 1892), p. 478.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 43. ²⁵Ibid.
- ²⁶W. Stott, "'Son of Man'--A Title of Abasement", p. 280.
- ²⁷G. Zuntz, The Text of the Epistles (London: Macmillan, 1953), pp. 48f., thinks the writer has deliberately altered the LXX to suit his christology, but this view is effectively dismissed by R. V. G. Tasker, "Text of the 'Corpus Paulinum'", N.T.S. 1 (1954-55), 180-91 (review of Zuntz's book).
- ²⁸Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 464.
- ²⁹Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 146.
- ³⁰Stott, "'Son of Man'--A Title of Abasement", p. 280.
- ³¹Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 146.
- ³²F. F. Bruce, The Epistle to the Hebrews (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), in loc.

³³Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 148.

³⁴G. E. Ladd, A Commentary on the Revelation of John (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 220, notes that clouds are often associated with the parousia (Mt. 24:30; Rev. 1:7).

³⁵Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, pp. 147-8.

³⁶Ibid., p. 148.

³⁷Ibid.: "It would have been surprising had the seer made no use of the apocalyptic Danielic Son of man."

³⁸Christ is simply introduced by a description based on Dan. 7 (Ladd, Revelation, p. 199).

³⁹Ladd, Revelation, p. 199.

⁴⁰Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 301, n. 4, notes the similarity to the Johannine Son of Man which he also feels is based on traditional material.

⁴¹Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 463. ⁴²Ibid., p. 464.

⁴³R. G. Hammerton-Kelley, Pre-Existence, Wisdom, and the Son of Man: A Study of the Idea of Pre-existence in the New Testament (S.N.T.S. Monograph No. 21; Cambridge: University Press, 1973), pp. 53-4: "In Rev. 1:14 an attribute of the "Ancient of Days" in Dan. 7:9--namely his white hair--has been transferred to the Son of Man. In Dan. 7:9, the white robe is an attribute of "the Ancient of Days", while in Mark 9:3 it belongs to the transfigured Jesus. This could mean that in Mk. 9:3, as in Rev. 1:14, an attribute of the "Ancient of Days" has been applied to Jesus, understood as the Son of Man." If this is true, then even the ascription in Rev. of the divine attribute (the white hair of the Ancient of Days) is no new advance but has a precedent in Mark 9.

⁴⁴J. Jeremias, "ΑΣίμ", T.D.N.T. I, pp. 141-3.

⁴⁵Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 472. ⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 150. ⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 152. The substitution of "man" for "Son of Man" must have been natural enough, since the idea of Son of Man as "true man" was surely always present to some extent in the Son of Man christology.

⁵⁰Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 471: the originally non-messianic Psa. 8 is used for the first time in Christian tradition, probably because of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

⁵¹Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 471, says I Cor. 15 makes the first use of it in a messianic sense.

⁵²Perhaps Higgins' statement requires qualification: "It is not the case that the church had no theology of the Son of Man, for it is present both in its original form and in the adaptation "Man". (Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 152) Cf. Hooker, "Christology and Methodology", p. 484; and J. A. T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, p. 57, n. 2.

⁵³Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνομήτου", pp. 473ff.

⁵⁴Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, pp. 148-9.

⁵⁵As an example of the widespread creativity attributed to the Gospel writers and the early community and the little allowed to Jesus, see N. Perrin, "Creative Use of the Son of Man Traditions by Mark", U.S.Q.R. 23 (1967-68), 357-65.

⁵⁶V. Taylor, "The Creative Element in the Thought of Jesus" (an address given Nov. 5, 1948, at Hands_worth College, Birmingham), in New Testament Essays (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), pp. 36-47, especially pp. 36-7.

⁵⁷Hooker, "Christology and Methodology", p. 482.

⁵⁸Taylor, "Creative Element", p. 39, quoting Barth's estimation of Jesus' creativity.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 37: "We must face the inherent probability that a rich and persistent movement like Christianity began with a creative personality. This likelihood is at its strongest when the greatest of His followers speak of Him with veneration and awe."

CHAPTER III

THE SON OF MAN IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

Having considered the O.T. background to the Son of Man and some methodological questions, one is in a better position to turn to an examination of the N.T. Son of Man, particularly as the term occurs in the Synoptic Gospels. It may prove especially helpful to take careful note of the way in which O.T. texts are quoted, alluded to, or built upon in the development of the Son of Man tradition. Perhaps it is best to begin with the group of Synoptic Son of Man sayings which refer to the future coming and glory of the Son of Man, since these sayings may most readily be seen to stand in direct line with the O.T. Son of Man background already examined, especially the tradition which stems from Daniel 7.

The Future Son of Man Sayings

The Double Tradition

Three of these logia occur in Mt. 24 (vv. 27, 37, 44 = Lk. 17:24, 26; 12:40; as well as special Lk. 17:22, 30 and Mt. 24:30, which Fuller classifies editorial¹), the "little apocalypse".² Many O.T. passages have been used to shape this apocalyptic discourse. "In the days of Noah", Mt. 24:37ff., used Gen. 6:5, 9-12 (describing the wickedness of men); 7:6-24 (describing the destruction of the wicked). Matthew 13:41 echoes Zeph. 1:3 in the gathering of the wicked for destruction. Matthew 26:27, 28, speaking of God's act of requiting men according to their deeds,

recall such O.T. passages on this subject as Ps. 28:4; 62:12; Prov. 24:12; Sir. 35:19. Matthew 24:28 may reflect Job 39:39; and Mt. 24:31 appears to build upon Isa. 27:13 and Ezech. 9:14.

But Daniel 7 can be seen as the basic text in the development of the discourse as a whole, if not in the individual logia. In particular Mt. 24:30, 31, go directly back to Dan. 7: in both passages the Son of Man comes with the clouds of heaven (Mt. 24:30; Dan. 7:13).³ The usage of the verb ἐρχομαι as a technical term for the eschatological appearing of the Son of Man goes back to Dan. 7:13 (cited in both Mt. 24:30 and 26:64, following the same usage as Mark, though Matthew conforms more to the LXX text.⁴). This coming of the Son of Man will be with glory (Mt. 24:30; Dan. 7:14 LXX⁵), with the angels (Mt. 24:31; Dan. 7:10), and with the elect (Mt. 24:31; Dan. 7:18)--all elements having a foundation in Dan. 7. The theme of judgment is common to both passages as well.

The other saying in the double tradition is Mt. 12:40 = Lk. 11:30.⁶ This saying is present in several forms in the N.T. Perrin has organized these into four groups: a) Mark 8:12, the most simple, b) Mt. 12:39 = Lk. 11:29 (Q) with the addition of "except the sign of Jonah" (cf. Mt. 16:4 duplication, which is Matthew's version of (a)), c) the interpretation of the sign of Jonah, Mt. 12:40 = Lk. 11:30, and d) the double saying, including the queen of the South and the men of Ninevah.⁷ After sorting out these various forms and assigning them their place in the history of tradition,⁸ Perrin concludes that the one authentic element in the saying is the refusal of a sign, except the sign of Jonah. (What this sign meant to Jesus and his hearers Perrin is unable to ascertain.) The sign possibly referred to the future vindication of the Son of Man, analogous to Jonah's deliverance,

though there is no indication the Ninevites had any knowledge of Jonah's deliverance. But Perrin prefers to understand the sign as meaning the preaching of Jonah (cf. the mention of Jonah's preaching in Mt. 12:41). For Jesus the significance of Jonah was the effectiveness of his preaching.⁹ As the sign of Jonah was his preaching, so the preaching of Jesus will be effective. And like Jonah's, Jesus' message and ministry will be vindicated, though it is not specified when or how; but the reference to those who will rise at the judgment means that Jesus' work will be vindicated.¹⁰

There are other interpretations of the sign of Jonah. Klostermann takes it that as Jonah was for Nineveh a sign--that is, he acted under the impending threat of judgment--so the sign for this generation will be the coming of the Son of Man to judgment.¹¹ But F. Filson interprets the sign (in view of Mt. 12:40) as a reference to Jesus' resurrection,¹² This view is also taken by R. T. France.¹³

The two interpretations of the sign (as the preaching or as an eschatological event, whether Jesus' resurrection or the parousia) need not be wholly separated. If Matthew does refer to Jesus' resurrection and Luke to his preaching, the former is the vindication of the latter. The eschatological nature of the saying, made clear by the reference to judgment, is important. Yet it is significant that in this saying the eschatological Son of Man is tied to the earthly Jesus and his preaching ministry and its vindication. In this respect the term Son of Man is broad enough to include both the eschatological and the earthly aspects which this saying includes. Here is perhaps an anticipation of the way in which the Fourth Gospel

ties the eschatological to the present by its distinctive use of ὑψωθῆναι (see the discussion of this in Chapter IV).

Though there are differences in the various forms of this saying (c and d above) in their reference to Jonah, and though they are taken by Perrin as independent, they are both, he believes, dominical.¹⁴ In confirmation of this view is the fact that the antiquity of the saying may be reflected in the Semitism: "rise up" ἀναστῆναι.¹⁵ The likelihood that the mention of the queen of the South may also be dominical, inasmuch as it is vivid and accords with Jesus' use of unlikely good example,¹⁶ further underlines the authentic nature of the material in this pericope.

Concerning the O.T. elements in this logion, the obvious use of Jonah 1:17 (Mt. 12:40¹⁷; and Jonah 1:2; 3:5, in Mt. 12:41) and I Kings 10:2; 2 Chron. 9:1 (Mt. 12:42) may be noted. But it seems unlikely that the theme of vindication (which is the real import of this saying) has come from these passages. Is it not possible that the real O.T. source for that theme, as for the title Son of Man itself, is Daniel 7?

Mark

A discussion of the future Son of Man sayings in Mark may well begin with Mark 14:62. Because of the importance of this saying it will be given special attention.

Mark 14:62

In his trial before the Sanhedrin (Mk. 14:53-71; parr.) Jesus apparently gives a full confession of his messiahship to Caiaphas. Though the origin of this report has been thought a problem, the early community would certainly have obtained

some information about these proceedings which were so important to it.¹⁸ The accuracy of the account (and its historicity) is much debated however.¹⁹ There are elements in the account which do not follow the prescribed procedure in the Mishnah (Sanhedrin, iv-vii).²⁰ It is possible that the Sanhedrin abandoned its rules in order to condemn Jesus regardless, but it is more likely that the description in Mk. 14 is that of an informal hearing for the purpose of reaching a consensus of opinion rather than of a formal trial passing a judgment.²¹

The question of the High Priest, to which Jesus replies with the words of Mk. 14:62, is of importance. The apparent equivalence of Χριστός and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ is problematic. The periphrasis for God is well enough attested, though usually it is found in the formula $\text{ܠܝܟܝܢ ܩܕܝܫܝܢ ܩܕܝܫܝܢ}$ or the Aramaic $\text{ܘܠܝܟܝܢ ܩܕܝܫܝܢ ܩܕܝܫܝܢ}$ rather than the simple "blessed", $\text{εὐλογητός} = \text{ܩܕܝܫܝܢ}$ or ܩܕܝܫܝܢ . But in I Enoch 77:1 "Most High" and "He Who is Blessed Forever" are equivalent names and in Mishnah Berakoth 7:3 there occurs "bless the Lord Who is to be blessed."²² Thus the simpler form does occur, discounting Joseph Klausner's view that it is unjewish and a later addition.²³ This periphrasis is more likely on the priest's lips than Matthew's ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ .²⁴ But even if the εὐλογητός as a periphrasis is established, the use of "Son of God" as a messianic title by Jews of Jesus' time is not attested, though the term was used by early Christians.²⁵ This fact suggests that the High Priest's question has been rephrased by the Evangelists in the interest of their Christology.²⁶ Higgins suggests that it is not wholly inconceivable that the priest used the term, however, since it was used of kings (Psa. 2:7) and the messianic expectations sprang from kingship ideas.²⁷

It has been suggested that the priest used the term, which did not express his own messianic views, because he knew of such a saying as Q's (Mt. 11:27 = Lk. 10:22) or on the basis of the parable of the wicked husbandmen (Mk. 12:1-12),²⁸ thinking to catch Jesus in his own words.

In Jesus' reply there are several indications that primitive tradition has been transmitted here. The first indication is a linguistic consideration: the peculiar circumlocution for the divine name, ἡ Δύναμις, has been shown to be a rare Jewish idiom.²⁹ It is attributed to James by Hegesippus (Eusebius, ii, 23), but more significantly it is used in Acts 8:10 of Simon Magus, ἡ Δύναμις μεγάλη (Luke having added τοῦ Θεοῦ, as in Lk. 22:69, and the καλούμενη by way of explanation), meaning he was thought to be "God". In the Gospel of Peter 5:19, the cry of dereliction, Jesus says, "My power, O power, thou hast forsaken me." Dalman takes the sense to be that the power which for Jesus is God had left him--that is, God had left him. In this case Jesus would be addressing God similarly to Psa. 59:18, where God is addressed יְהוָה , "my strength".³⁰ (Whether or not the thought of God forsaking Jesus was a difficulty for the writer,³¹ the substitution of power for God may be a toning down of the cry of despair.³²) The account of Simon Magus is the most significant, in that it is set in the particular milieu from which the idiom comes, namely Samaritanism.³³ The idiom is peculiar to northern Palestine,³⁴ so it is probably from this setting that the tradition of Mk. 14:62 comes.

A second indication of the primitiveness of the tradition in Mk. 14:62 is in its use of O.T. scripture. A conflation of Psa. 110:1a and Dan. 7:13 is used in reference to the Son of

Man.³⁵ These particular testimonia occur in some of the oldest parts of the N.T. They appear in the speeches of Acts (2:34f.; 7:55f.),³⁶ but Paul also knew of the importance of both of these passages, as is clear from his use of Psa. 110:1 in I Cor. 15:25; Rom. 8:34 (and cf. Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1) and his knowledge of Dan. 7:13 in I Cor. 15:45f. and in Phil. 2:7,³⁷ which is probably earlier than the epistle itself.³⁸ One may thus safely assume that this influence of Psa. 110:1 and Dan. 7:13 on N.T. Christology is at least pre-Pauline. Certainly Mark believed Jesus himself defined Son of Man in terms of these O.T. scriptures.³⁹ Perhaps the origin of the early Christian confession of the Christ in terms of Psa. 110:1 (cf. Lk. 22:69 which represents Jesus as speaking of the Son of Man in terms of Psa. 110:1) and Dan. 7:13 is in the teaching of Jesus.⁴⁰

If Jesus spoke something like the words of Mk. 14:62, was he identifying himself with the Son of Man or not? The account shows that Caiaphas understood him to do so, for whether the blasphemy was in the use of the title or in the assumption of a divine prerogative,⁴¹ the priest must have understood Jesus to refer to himself as the Son of Man.⁴² It is unlikely that Caiaphas misunderstood Jesus (that is, Jesus really meant the Son of Man as another⁴³), since then there would have been no substance in the charge of blasphemy.⁴⁴ There is nothing in the account to indicate such a misunderstanding.⁴⁵

The difficulty has long been recognized, however, that even if Jesus is referring to himself as the coming Son of Man, he seems to be speaking of another. This third person for the first person manner of speaking, referring to the Son of Man apparently as "another", is most pronounced perhaps in Mk. 8:38.

What has perhaps not been fully recognized is that this "distinction" between Jesus and the Son of Man exists in the earthly ministry and passion sayings as well (e.g., Jn. 8:28; 12:34; Mt. 8:20; 11:19, par.), yet it is clear that these refer to Jesus. Is there any reason why Jesus should have spoken in this third person language of himself? The $\chi\omega\iota\ \gamma\iota$ first person circumlocution is one answer.⁴⁶ It is to avoid undue or immodest emphasis on himself (possibly to dissociate himself from something unpleasant, as suffering) that Jesus uses $\chi\omega\iota\ \gamma\iota$, a term perfectly suited to serve the function of a circumlocution for the first person and to serve as a concealed title at the same time.

It has been suggested,⁴⁷ on the basis of certain Qumran materials,⁴⁸ that behind the messianic secret (and one could suggest behind the mysterious use of the Son of Man title) there may have been the tradition of Judaism (or some circles in Judaism) that the Messiah, when he came, could assume the title "Messiah" only after he had performed the work of the messiah. On this understanding Jesus would use a messianic title to refer to himself only indirectly, since he had not yet finished the work of the messiah.⁴⁹ This view is consistent with C. F. D. Moule's circumstantial explanation for the sparcity of the Son of Man title outside the Gospels--namely that the title referred in part to the past and in part to the future. Jesus was $\delta\ \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\eta\varsigma$, the suffering Son of Man, and he will be $\delta\ \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma$.⁵⁰ Jesus was not designated by the latter term since it was all future and it was improper to ascribe it to him before he successfully accomplished this task. The former term, the Son of Man on earth, could properly be used of Jesus (except in the Gospels which por-

tray the situation before the accomplishment of the task) since he had performed that task. But the church chose not to use it (except of course in reproducing Jesus' own use of it in the Gospels) since a less ambiguous term (*ἄρσενος*) could be used to describe his common share in humanity; and such terms as Christ, Lord, and Son of God were preferred in reference to the glorified (as opposed to the coming) Son of Man.⁵¹

Does this Son of Man saying provide any indication of the way in which the Son of Man was defined in early tradition, particularly with reference to O.T. scripture? The development of O.T. Son of Man scriptures and of the Son of Man Christology, though without the title itself, is carried further in the N.T., especially in Paul's "Second Adam" and the Christology of the book of Hebrews. But what was the meaning in Mk. 14:62? The theme of vindication seems clear enough with the reference to Dan. 7 and to Psa. 110. If then the primary meaning of this logion is that the Son of Man will be vindicated, then the question arises whether the vindication is understood as exaltation (ascending to God's right hand) or as the parousia (coming from God's right hand).⁵²

An argument in favor of exaltation is that this was the meaning in Dan. 7, as is seen in the fact that the Son of Man goes up to God to receive a "kingdom", rather than comes from God with it.⁵³ Furthermore, the parousia is linked with judgment, whereas it is a "reign" which is envisaged here, by the reference to Psa. 110:1.⁵⁴ Since the members of the Sanhedrin obviously did not see the parousia during their lifetime, it must be the exaltation of Jesus which is meant.⁵⁵ Though the order here is problematic (session before coming) to the exaltation

view, the fact that the two participles (which are without time significance at any rate) are present, indicating simultaneous action, alleviates this difficulty.⁵⁶ In addition, Glasson says that no Jewish exegesis of Dan. 7 takes this as a coming of the Messiah to earth.⁵⁷

On the other hand, it seems Dan. 7 is used to refer to the parousia, especially v. 22, where the Ancient of Days comes (to earth?) and judgment is given to the saints of the Most High (who are the Son of Man).⁵⁸ The reference to rule in Mk. 14:62 (by the citation of Psa. 110:1, with Psa. 80:17 as the possible bridge; cf. the vine imagery) is not ruled out, since reign as well as judgment appears in Dan. 7:22, in that the saints possessed the kingdom.⁵⁹ It is thus not necessary to doubt that there is a state of exaltation, which Lk. 22:69 rather clearly shows, preceding the parousia.⁶⁰ The fact that the Sanhedrin did not see the parousia in their lifetime is no more a problem for the parousia view than for the exaltation (which the Sanhedrin cannot be said to have seen either). Rather, according to this view, the members of the Sanhedrin will be raised to see the parousia at the last judgment.⁶¹ The order of καθήμενον and ἐρχόμενον facilitates this view as well⁶² and is compatible with the tense of the participles and their simultaneous action.⁶³ Finally, Jewish exegesis of Dan. 7 does speak both of the messiah going to God from earth (Midrash, Psa. 2:9; 21:5) and of the messiah coming to earth from God (Midrash, Genesis R. 13:11; Numbers R. 13:14).⁶⁴ However there is support for the belief that the usual Jewish interpretation was to understand the passage symbolically.⁶⁵

Perhaps it is not necessary to decide between exaltation and parousia. The saying may have expressed a very general idea

of vindication which could include both the imminent exaltation and the more distant parousia.⁶⁶ The present exaltation of the Son of Man in heaven will become an earthly reality at the parousia.⁶⁷ Again there is a great deal in Hooker's reminder that as figurative, symbolic language, this imagery should not be pressed too far.⁶⁸ The spatial terms are a language accommodation and vary anyway: in Dan. 7:13 the Son of Man came; in 7:22 the Ancient of Days comes.⁶⁹ But for the basic meaning in Mk. 14:62, as in Dan. 7, one must come back to Moule's view that the exaltation-vindication of the Son of Man was more important to the writers than any ascending or descending as such.⁷⁰

Parenthetically it is interesting to note what is done with this imagery later in I Thes. 4:15-18, where it is said that Christ will descend and those who are his will ascend to meet him in the air at his coming. Here are used both the spatial terms from Dan. 7, rising to and coming from, and both the individual and the corporate, Christ and those "in Christ", ideas. Thus the Son of Man community ascends to heaven at the parousia and the Son of Man comes from heaven to meet it.

This raises the question of an itinerary or order of eschatological events in this saying. Hooker argues that in Dan. 7 the thrones are set before the arrival of the Son of Man, which is consistent with the order of Mk. 14:62--the vindication is preceded by the judgment.⁷¹ The most thorough attempt at establishing an itinerary in this verse is that of E. Lohmeyer.⁷² He finds three stages: 1) the exaltation to Kyrios, the Son of Man raised to the right hand of God,⁷³ 2) the parousia, and 3) the heavenly assize with the Son of Man as judge.⁷⁴ But Tödt's criticism of Lohmeyer is probably valid: no apocalyptic picture (or itinerary) is intended, but only a public confession of Jesus'

messiahship, with a reference to the coming and the reign to emphasize this without setting it out in stages.⁷⁵ There is evidence of Lohmeyer's itinerary in Phil. 2:6-11 but not in Mk. 14:62, and perhaps not clearly in any Synoptic saying.⁷⁶ The language here is that of imagery, describing vindication⁷⁷ in exaltation and parousia, and does not intend to give an order of events.

From this discussion of Mk. 14:62 certain implications may be noted. First, there is the suggestion that the Son of Man was at least in part defined by Jesus in terms of Psa. 110 and Dan. 7:13 (with Psa. 80 as a possible bridge). This means that not only should one be alert to other Synoptic sayings in line with this definition, but also that in the remainder of the N.T. where these O.T. passages are used there may be an underlying Son of Man Christology. The development of this Christology in the early church may be seen as the explication of elements implicit in Jesus' own teaching, along certain lines he set out. This means further that N. T. Christology is in effect the teaching of Jesus (if elaborated) and is not something fundamentally different from his own self understanding.⁷⁸

Finally, it should be reiterated that Mk. 14:62, perhaps the most important of the future Son of Man sayings, is clearly built on Dan. 7 (in combination with Psa. 110:1). Daniel 7 provides the basis for the assertion that the Son of Man, now the defendant, will be vindicated and will become the judge.⁷⁹ But both the imagery of exaltation from Psa. 110 and the imagery of exaltation from Dan. 7 are used as imagery and the conclusion this leads to is well put by Hooker:

either we may believe that they were originally used of a literal ascension into heaven and a "coming" on clouds; or

we must suppose that phrases which were originally intended to express in vivid language the vindication of Jesus and his claims were understood literally by the Church, which then interpreted the vindication hope in terms of ascension and parousia.⁸⁰

But the important step has also been taken to a messianic interpretation of the Son of Man--which is the logical development of the tradition of a corporate apotheosis of the faithful remnant of Israel.⁸¹

A brief look at the other future Son of Man sayings in Mark shows a similar dependence on Daniel 7 for the imagery of the vindication of the son of Man.

Mark 8:38

In Mk. 8:38 "the reference to Dan. 7:13f or to the apocalyptic tradition is obvious."⁸² The angels (or heavenly inhabitants) of Dan. 7:10 are here, as is the mention of the kingdom (Mk. 9:1; cf. Dan. 7:18) and the context of judgment is certainly the same. If, as Tödt believes,⁸³ this logion can fairly certainly be attributed to the preaching of Jesus, then further support is found here for the belief that Jesus defined the Son of Man essentially in terms of Dan. 7.

Mark 13:26

Again in Mk. 13:26 it is clear that Dan. 7 stands close at hand: the Son of Man comes on the clouds (Dan. 7:13; Mk. 13:26), the angels are present (Dan. 7:10; Mk. 13:27), and so are the elect (Dan. 7:18, the "saints"; Mk. 13:27). The Danielic theme of the vindication of the Son of Man and of judgment is clearly in evidence as well. (But the idea of the regathering of the outcast and dispersed, Mk. 13:27, may go back to Dt. 30:4).

Mark 9:9

The prediction of the rising from the dead of the Son of Man, which occurs after the transfiguration, as Jesus charges his disciples not to make known what they had seen, is then followed by a question from the disciples about the prediction that Elijah would return. The question itself refers to Mal. 4:5, 6, the prophecy of Elijah's return, and thus introduces this important O.T. passage into the Son of Man tradition.

If in Mk. 9:9 the Dan. 7 Son of Man motifs are not found, the central thought of the vindication of the Son of Man is still primary. At this point Hooker's discussion is helpful: the transfiguration experience looked forward to the vindication of the Son of Man, the ultimate accomplishment of which the disciples have been given a glimpse and which they are to keep silent until the Son of Man has been vindicated. Whether or not an originally broad description of vindication has been more precisely defined in terms of resurrection, ". . . we may at least conclude, however, that Jesus spoke, as in 8:31, of final triumph for the Son of Man after apparent disaster."⁸⁴

Special Traditions

A similar picture emerges when the special traditions are examined. All of the Matthean logia reflect the influence of Dan. 7.

Matthew 10:23

In Mt. 10:23 Jesus' followers are told they will be persecuted but will not have fled through all the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes. Although at first sight this saying seems to refer to the parousia, there have been

numerous attempts to interpret the logion as referring to a triumph of the Son of Man prior to the parousia--notably to the triumph in judgment through the Romans with the destruction of Jerusalem in the Jewish Wars.⁸⁵ The echo of Dan. 7:13 is not so clear at first in Mt. 10:23, but if it is to be connected with Mk. 8:38-9:1, which like Mt. 10:23 presents Jesus as expecting a fulfillment of Dan. 7:13-14 within "this generation",⁸⁶ then Dan. 7 is not so far away. The connection with Dan. 7 is strengthened when it is noted that the context of both passages is one of persecution of the saints (Mt. 10:23; Dan. 7:25) and their vindication (Mt. 10:22, 23; Dan. 7:26, 27).

Matthew 13:41

The Son of Man is here associated with the breaking in of the kingdom. "Already on earth, amidst the sons of the evil one, that basileia of the Son of Man is present and yet merely a provisional entity; for admission into the basileia of the Father still lies ahead of the sons of the basileia."⁸⁷ The context is an eschatological one: "The relationship between the Son of Man as the one who sows the seed and as the one who purges his kingdom through the agency of his angels is to be understood in the sense that the historical activity, the sowing, of the Son of Man who is Jesus, is part of the eschatological event."⁸⁸

The fact that Matthew has put into close juxtaposition two different categories of Son of Man logia, present (v. 37) and future (v. 41), shows how closely the two ideas were joined in his thought.⁸⁹ The "Son of Man" of Mt. 13:37 clearly refers to Jesus' present activity on earth as a teacher, sowing the good seed--that is, the sons of the kingdom.⁹⁰ The reader would not be surprised to find this designation of Jesus' present activity,

since it has already occurred in Mt. 9:6 (Mk. 2:10); 12:8 (Mk. 2:28); and 12:32.⁹¹ Tôdt finds this teaching activity to involve full authority. Jesus appears nowhere in this section of Matthew as the lowly one. In his sowing of the sons of the kingdom he exercises unique sovereignty, which ἐξουσία is confirmed in the Son of Man's judgment of the world (v. 41).⁹² But his sovereignty is that of one who is the chief representative of the Son of Man community,⁹³ and the parable of the sower and the seed is appropriate to illustrate this relationship between the chief representative and those who comprise the Son of Man community (the sons of the kingdom).

The O.T. background comes to the fore in the association of the Son of Man with the breaking in of the kingdom and with the sons of the kingdom, which is reminiscent of the Danielic Son of Man who represents the saints of the Most High (sons of the kingdom) who comprise the kingdom being inaugurated. In Mt. 13:41 the Son of Man of Dan. 7:13, the angels of Dan. 7:10, the kingdom of Dan. 7:18, 22, 27, and the judgment of Dan. 7:22, 26, all appear.

Matthew 16:27, 28; 19:28; 24:30, 39; 24:31; 25:31

Matthew 16:27, 28 are obviously built on Dan. 7: the angels (Dan. 7:10), the glory (Dan. 7:14), and the judgment (Dan. 7:22, 26) all make this clear. Similarly Mt. 19:28 presents the Son of Man as well as the glorious thrones of Dan. 7:9 and the judgment of Dan. 7:22, 26. The scene described in Mt. 19:28 is remarkably like that in Dan. 7. Matthew 24:30, 39 are both in a Q context of judgment already discussed and found to be in harmony with its Dan. 7 background. Matthew 24:30 also uses the testimonium Zech. 12:10ff. (found as well

in Jn. 19:37 and Rev. 1:7).^{93a} Finally Mt. 24:31 speaks of the glory of the Son of Man (Dan. 7:14), the angels (Dan. 7:10), and the glorious throne (Dan. 7:9), as does also Mt. 25:31.

Luke 17:22, 30; 12:8, 9;
18:8; 21:36

In special Luke, 17:22, 30 occur in the Q context⁹⁴ of the little apocalypse (cf. Mt. 24) already discussed and found to be in the Dan. 7 tradition. Similarly Lk. 12:8, 9 (=Mt. 10:32, 33, which has "me" rather than Son of Man) is more or less equivalent to Mk. 8:38, where the reference to Dan. 7 is again quite clear. Luke 18:8, whatever its place in the history of tradition,⁹⁵ clearly speaks of vindication ("Will not God vindicate His elect?" Lk. 18:7), and judgment is implied in, "Will he find faith on the earth?" Luke 21:36 issues a warning of the suddenness of the coming of "that day" and of the need to be prepared, thus clearly implying the judgment (as in Dan. 7) to take place then, especially in the phrase "to stand before the Son of Man" (Lk. 21:36; cf. Dan. 7:22, 26).

From this survey of the future Son of Man sayings it is clear that Dan. 7 has provided the framework and the basic motifs of the Son of Man logia: the Son of Man, though now the defendant, will ultimately be vindicated and will in fact become the judge. The fundamental idea of vindication of the Son of Man, thought of in terms of resurrection, exaltation, parousia,⁹⁶ can be traced back to the preaching of Jesus himself.⁹⁷ It can be seen that on this point there are points of contact with the tradition of the Fourth Gospel, most notably at Jn. 5:27.

The Present Son of Man Sayings

As seen in the background study of the O.T. and apocalyptic literature (Chapter I), the Son of Man is a term rich in meaning. The common tendency to take the significance of the term as it is developed in late Jewish apocalyptic (especially I Enoch) and assume this is its primary significance in the N.T. errs in concentrating on only one aspect of the term. The effect of this tendency is often most detrimental in the treatment of the "present" Son of Man sayings--those sayings which deal with the Son of Man acting in his present work on earth apart from the passion and resurrection of Jesus. This whole group of sayings is rather summarily dismissed by R. Bultmann, whose only statement concerning them (in his Theology of the New Testament) is that they originated as a misunderstanding of the translation into Greek of the Aramaic "Son of Man" which meant "I" or "a man", but was not a title.⁹⁸ But if a wider meaning may be allowed "Son of Man", there is good reason why these sayings are worthy of more careful attention. The sayings in "Q" will be examined first.⁹⁹

The Double Tradition

Matthew 8:20 = Luke 9:58

Although this saying is generally consigned to Q,¹⁰⁰ there are certain differences between Matthew and Luke. G. Bornkamm believes Matthew is the oldest exegete of this narrative and is the one to pass it on. Furthermore only Matthew inserts the saying in the context of the miracle of the stilling of the storm.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, the context in both Matthew and Luke is that of a discipleship theme. G. W. H. Lampe, noting that

the saying is mostly Q material, points out that Luke adds the third claimant (Lk. 9:61, 62) and even the second claimant in Luke differs from Matthew's in that he is called by Jesus and is given command to proclaim the kingdom of God.¹⁰² But F. Filson prefers Luke's setting to Matthew's, which he feels is editorial: Matthew connects Jesus' departure with the temporary visit implied in the preceding events, whereas Luke makes it clearer that Jesus is going to Jerusalem.¹⁰³ Lohmeyer does not see the connection of this passage with that which precedes it. Matthew seems rather to have a break in the narrative: the crowd is not the same as the sick of v. 16 (note the absence of the article δ from $\delta\chi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, v. 18). The $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\omega$ of v. 18 is characteristically Matthean.¹⁰⁴ Lohmeyer and H. J. Held both note that Matthew (8:18) changed Mark's $\delta\iota\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (Mk. 4:35) to $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ to provide a sort of catchword link to the storm stilling story which follows.¹⁰⁵ Held believes Matthew has inserted this discipleship story (vv. 19-22) into the narrative as it is in Mark in order to give meaning to the miracle, providing this catchword link ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$) as well as the direct reference to the disciples (8:23) as a further link. The storm stilling story is thus interpreted by Matthew as a story of discipleship. Verse 18 must be understood (in view of 8:23) as a call to discipleship, and 8:19-22 portrays the answer to this call. To facilitate all of this Matthew moved the call at the beginning (as in Lk. 9:59) into the second half (Mt. 8:22) since for Matthew the call had already taken place (Mt. 8:18). This call in Matthew 8:22 is not a first call to discipleship, but a call to overcome reservations in the way of an undivided discipleship.¹⁰⁶

The discipleship theme is not Matthew's creation, however,

for, as R. H. Fuller notes,¹⁰⁷ there is an emphasis in both Matthew and Luke on the challenge to discipleship, inasmuch as following Jesus means following a "rejected-one." These challenges end with the stern warning as to the cost of discipleship in the statement, "Let the dead bury the dead."¹⁰⁸ N. Perrin observes that this saying is the most radical of Jesus' sayings on the response to the challenge to discipleship, for in Judaism the responsibility to bury the dead was very great and superceded all other obligations of the law. In fact other obligations could be set aside to meet this responsibility. Attempts to explain this saying with less force (for example, as a mistranslation of a noun participle, "burier of the dead," as an imperatival infinitive, or as speaking of the spiritually dead) are not acceptable. Indeed the radical force of this saying is the best guarantee of its authenticity.¹⁰⁹ The consequence of following Jesus will be the inevitable severing of certain relationships.¹¹⁰

Bultmann finds the basis of this saying, in which Son of Man, he feels, means man in general, in an ancient proverb which speaks of the homelessness of mankind.¹¹¹ Tödt also notes the possibility of an underlying proverb.¹¹² But Fuller takes issue with Bultmann's attempt to explain this verse (as well as Mk. 2:10, 28; Mt. 11:19 par.; Mt. 12:32 par.) by either a self-effacing substitute for "I" ("I have nowhere to lay my head") or as meaning "one"--that is, "having nowhere to lay one's head is part of our general human lot."¹¹³ Instead Fuller takes Son of Man as a title of majesty in all these passages and assumes throughout that Son of Man is derived from pre-Christian apocalyptic tradition. Higgins also rejects

the proverb suggestion of Bultmann,¹¹⁴ as does T. W. Manson.¹¹⁵ But whereas Fuller takes the meaning of Son of Man as denoting majesty, Manson gives it a corporate interpretation: Jesus and his followers suffer homelessness and rejection.

Tödt doubts that a previous version of this saying had Son of Man in it. He argues that the Q form did not have Son of Man: only the man's offer to follow Jesus (Mt. 8:19b; Lk. 9:57) and the challenge to the man are original. The man is asked to consider that following Jesus will mean homelessness and deprivation. The saying should be compared to the one which adjoins it in Q (Mt. 8:21f.; cf. Mk. 10:28par.; Mt. 10:37 par.). In this saying the tension between Jesus and his opponents, "this generation" which rejects him, is seen forcefully. The reason Jesus uses Son of Man instead of I (in the present version of the saying) is, according to Tödt,¹¹⁶ that Jesus is with full authority summoning men to follow him. But Tödt's reconstruction is built on the assumption that Son of Man must mean a "sovereign one" and that consequently "Son of Man" is a later insertion by the church which understood Jesus as acting in this sovereign role. But one does not have the impression that in this saying sovereignty, or authority in calling a follower to follow and to suffer with him, is the exclusive or even primary meaning of "Son of Man." "It is more likely to be a metaphorical expression of the sense of rejection felt by Jesus which would also be experienced by his disciples. There may even be an allusion to his passion and final rejection. . . . there is no doubt that Jesus was conscious of rejection by the people."¹¹⁷

T. W. Manson suggested a corporate interpretation of this saying.¹¹⁸ Bultmann's interpretation of it as a reference

to all mankind has already been ruled out, though it is partially accepted by Cullmann.¹¹⁹ T. Preiss combined the ideas of representation of mankind and of humility as the meaning of this saying,¹²⁰ which in its present form apparently refers to Jesus himself.¹²¹ Certainly Son of Man in Matthew and Luke is, as Klostermann notes,¹²² commonly a self-designation of Jesus, though Klostermann is not sure what the original meaning of the term was.

In the context of Mt. 8:20 there is a contrast of the Son of Man with the animals (foxes and birds) which have their shelter while the Son of Man has not.¹²³ The association of the Son of Man with homelessness may be a point of contact with the wisdom tradition, since wisdom is associated with rejection and homelessness (Sir. 24:7; I En. 42) as is the Son of Man here.¹²⁴ The contrast of the homelessness of the Son of Man with the animal creation (over which he was given dominion) is reminiscent of Psa. 8:4ff. and the contrast in Dan. 7 between the Son of Man (as a real human being, symbolic of the humane people of God) and the horrible beasts (symbolic of the bestiality of the pagans surrounding the people of God). In the Psalm the verbs referring to man's dominion over the animal creation are in the past tense, indicating God's purpose when he created man. "Here then the thought connected with 'son of man' is not so much a dominion in the future as God's purpose for man at the beginning."¹²⁵ It is the more remarkable that, while the animal creation over which man is to have dominion still has its home, the Son of Man has no home. The emphasis is on the very real humanity of the Son of Man. So far from being supernatural, he suffers very human frailties. He is one with the human race,¹²⁶

and he is lowly and rejected to the point of being homeless.¹²⁷
 As the Son of Man Jesus is one with men in their humanity,
 enduring humiliation and rejection that is here described as
 having no place to lay his head.¹²⁸

Matthew 11:19 = Luke 7:34

M. Dibelius classified this section as a parable which contains a story or fable with typical motifs. He considered the section complete in itself in Q.¹²⁹ But Bultmann does not believe the application of the similitude (v. 19), though old, is from the oldest tradition.¹³⁰ Nevertheless there are several indications of the antiquity of this saying. Higgins includes among this evidence the criticism of Jesus and his disciple for not fasting, the accusation of friendliness with outcasts, the rejection by "this generation" of both Jesus and John the Baptist but for opposite reasons, the lack of any allusion to John as either an opponent or a witness to Jesus and (as Jeremias notes) the equal plane with John on which Jesus puts himself (whereas the church stressed the subordination of John).¹³¹ Thus Higgins believes the saying is authentic and not the creation of the church, though Son of Man does not, he feels, belong in the oldest strata. (Here he has the agreement of McNeile.¹³²) Son of Man could be original in the saying if it meant "man", but Higgins (following Manson) finds this impossible in this context.¹³³ Manson solved the problem by understanding Son of Man as meaning "I", but Higgins rejects this approach. He prefers to view the saying as it now stands as the result of a Christian interpretation of an original "I".¹³⁴ Tödt finds the term itself to be the product of the Palestinian church. There is no reason to think the Hellenistic community would assign to Jesus an Aramaic name

which it did not even use. When Son of Man in the present and similar verses is understood without the meaning of transcendent sovereignty, there is no reason to make it a Hellenistic addition. Its origin must be in the Palestinian milieu.¹³⁵

Following a similar line N. Perrin notes the strong arguments for the authenticity of this saying¹³⁶ but believes the reference to the Son of Man is confessional and thus comes from the early church. The saying becomes confessional in Greek with the article in the context of early Christian tradition. But this explanation is not supported by the evidence of the Gospels where Son of Man is used only by Jesus and then as a self-designation.

If "Son of Man" is not primarily an expression of the faith of the early community (there is evidence in the N.T. that it is not a Christological confessional term¹³⁷), it is hard to see why it would have been ~~included~~ in the words of Jesus unless it was known Jesus used the term in this way himself. Furthermore it has been shown that all attempts to remove Son of Man from the saying on the basis of the a priori assumption that Jesus cannot have used the title of himself are unnecessary.¹³⁸ It may be better to follow E. Schweizer, who accepts this saying (as well as others in this category) as a genuine reference of Jesus to himself in his earthly ministry, speaking of his humanity and his humility.¹³⁹

The main concern of this saying is the characterization of "this generation" and their evasion of Jesus' message (as of that of John the Baptist). In their objection to the association of the Son of Man with outcasts, Jesus' opponents use a quasi-stereotyped phrase, "tax collectors and sinners."¹⁴⁰ In Mk.

2:15-17, which records Jesus sitting at table with outcasts, he clearly wished to be their friend. This seems also to be the case in Mt. 11:19: Jesus' particular task is to call sinners to the kingdom of God, or (as Zahn phrased it) to the supper of God's reign.¹⁴¹ Herein Tödt finds the meaning of Son of Man in this context. Jesus bestows on sinners table fellowship, which means a place at the bridegroom's supper (which in Mk. 2:18ff. is contrasted with the Pharisees' fasting). As the Son of Man Jesus acts with supreme authority in bestowing this table fellowship.¹⁴² Even so, the tension was not between a transcendent Son of Man and men, but between Jesus (as a man) and men (cf. the tension in Lk. 11:30; Mk. 8:38; Lk. 12:3f.). The term "Son of Man" replaces "I" but in a special way--" . . . expressing the sovereignty of the Son of Man's mission as a whole, which is denoted by the phrase 'he is come'."¹⁴³ Nevertheless, Tödt points out the sovereignty and transcendence of the Son of Man is not thereby brought down to earth; the Son of Man will be unrestricted by earth. But this whole understanding of Jesus' present work as Son of Man is not, Tödt (with Bultmann) believes, that of Jesus himself, for then he would have understood Daniel's Son of Man in terms of himself and not vice versa. The interpretation of Jesus' present activity as that of the Son of Man is the creation of the Palestinian community.¹⁴⁴

There are several objections to Tödt's interpretation, however. The whole context of Mt. 11:19 seems more naturally to point to an emphasis on lowliness and humility than on the sovereignty of which Tödt speaks. Jesus may be broad minded in the company he keeps, but this need indicate no more sovereignty than any man possesses, though it may signal a kind of prophet's

prerogative (John the Baptist exercises a similar ministry to the poor, outcasts, and lawless¹⁴⁵). The association Todt makes of Jesus' table fellowship with a messianic banquet would add an element of sovereignty, but it is not clear that any thought of a messianic banquet is really present. The regulations which Jesus sets aside are, for the most part, those of the Pharisees, not explicitly those of O.T. law: it is manmade institutions which Jesus is disregarding, not the law of God.¹⁴⁶ The tone of slander aimed at Jesus points to humiliation and his lowliness in associating with the lowest of mankind.¹⁴⁷ The proverb of Mt. 11:19b, "Wisdom is justified by her deeds (or children)", adds the idea of vindication and thus completes the pattern of suffering, rejection, and vindication.¹⁴⁸

The logion brings in the richness of the O.T. meaning of the term, emphasizing the humanity and lowliness of the Son of Man. Contrary to Todt's view that the transcendence and sovereignty of the Son of Man (if indeed the term had that exalted meaning for Jesus and his hearers) is not brought down to earth, it seems that this is exactly what this logion does.¹⁴⁹ This view (emphasizing the humanity and humility of Jesus) presents no conflict with Dan. 7 either (though Todt thought so), for there the emphasis is on the humanity of the figure (as opposed to the grotesque beasts of the inhumane pagan nations), who is representative of the people of God (or the remnant of Israel). In this passage Jesus, as true man and representative of mankind, is calling out the "new humanity" (the people of God, the new Israel) from the most unlikely lot of humans--publicans and sinners.¹⁵⁰

This fact is noted by Walter Wink.¹⁵¹ He notes that

Mt. 11:12f. and Lk. 16:16¹⁵² refer to the fact that John ministered to the lawless and poor,¹⁵³ the folk who were less than finicky in keeping the law, but who John maintained could be regenerated by baptism apart from the law. John's ministry to these poor was regarded by the Evangelist as an eschatological sign in relation to Jesus (Lk. 4:18 = Isa. 61:1f.; Lk. 14:13, 20; Lk. 9:22 = Mt. 11:5; cf. Lk. 3:11 on sharing with the poor). John even speaks of the Coming One as a peasant or man of the soil (chopping trees, harvesting crops) rather than as a king. F. W. Danker¹⁵⁴ takes it that this passage incorporates a complaint of the Pharisees against John which Jesus turns into a praise of John's success. The Pharisees' main complaint is that from the advent of John the reign of law and order has ended, since the kingdom of God is publicly proclaimed and popularized so that everyone, sinners and publicans included, and not just the righteous, forces his way in. Then Jesus takes it up and says that this is true. Wink continues (p. 21), saying that here the source of conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees is John and the question of John's authority (cf. Mk. 11:28-33).

Behind both versions [of Mk. 11:27-33 in Mt. 21:23-27 and Lk. 20:1-8] lies the notion that John has somehow been the instrument of God in inaugurating the kingdom of God, and this by virtue of his indiscriminate offer of baptism to all who would repent, even tax collectors and harlots.¹⁵⁵

The tendency of the church to put John in subordination to Jesus makes it unlikely this passage is a church formulation. "Apparently we are to trace this eschatological conception of John's role in the preaching of the kingdom back to Jesus, and unwittingly, by way of their mumblings and grumblings, to the Pharisees themselves."¹⁵⁶

In his statement about the Pharisees' condemnation of John as an ascetic fanatic and of Jesus as a drunkard (Mt. 11:16-19;

Lk. 7:31-51) Jesus implies a judgment on the Pharisees for seeing the difference between John and Jesus but not perceiving that John's call for repentance is the last warning before judgment and that Jesus' "licentiousness and lawlessness" are the sign that the messianic kingdom has already broken in.¹⁵⁷ In both John and Jesus (though in different ways) the kingdom of God has come among men. The poor and sinners recognize this and become children of wisdom (Lk. 7:35) while the Pharisees refuse John and Jesus and are blind to the eschatological signs. Jesus sees himself in unity with John who was more than a prophet; he was a herald of the kingdom of God (Mt. 11:19). "Even John's negativism participates in the good news, for with John the doors of the kingdom are thrown wide open for all who wish to submit to the judgement of God and enter."¹⁵⁸

It is in this context that one must understand the meaning of the "Son of Man", recalling the apparent double entendre which would have been present in the Aramaic. Thus "Son of Man" could either mean "I" or it could have a special (messianic) meaning.¹⁵⁹ As it appears on the lips of Jesus the most obvious meaning was "I" and only those "with ears to hear" would catch the reference to something more. The saying was intelligible without being understood as a messianic title, but the full import included this meaning.¹⁶⁰ In this respect the Gospels writers were right in seeing the term as messianic: Jesus intended a covert allusion to his own identity as Son of Man. The context and this ambiguity show that the complex apocalyptic Son of Man eschatology is "realized" or brought down to earth. The final revelation of the Son of Man is still future, but the Son of Man has nonetheless come as a true man in Jesus. The synthesis of prophetic scriptures and Jewish apocalyptic

eschatology is realized in Jesus.¹⁶¹

What O.T. passages can be seen as influencing the formation of this saying? Daniel 7 has already been noted, as it is the classic Son of Man passage and supplies the idea of the Son of Man as one who is truly human (the Son of Man is a genuine human being and the symbol of the people of God, as opposed to the pagan beasts). In addition the motif of the association with publicans and sinners suggests Isa. 53:12 where the Servant of the Lord was numbered with transgressors. There is no verbal coincidence with this well-known O.T. passage but the idea of associating with and thereby being identified with sinners is the same.

Matthew 12:32 = Luke 12:10

There are two forms of this saying in the Synoptics. One in Mk. 3:28-30 speaks of blasphemy by the sons of men, whereas the Q version has blasphemy against the Son of Man. Higgins notes two possible explanations of Son of Man in Q: 1) Jesus used the term in the generic sense and Q misunderstood the Aramaic as a messianic title, or 2) Jesus meant himself but not in a messianic sense. He rules out both possibilities, the second because it would mean Jesus spoke of himself as "Son of Man" at times and as "I" at other times, which Higgins doubts, and the first possibility because there is no evidence that Jesus used Son of Man in a generic sense. While favoring Q, Higgins feels that the saying probably was invented by the church (and it is not the result of a misunderstanding of the Aramaic). But if a case be made for one saying developing from the other, he believes, as does Bultmann,¹⁶² the case is better

for Q as prior.¹⁶³ Tödt likewise believes Mark generalized the Q form, and thus he no longer understood Son of Man as meaning Jesus acting on earth with full authority. This is, Tödt feels, borne out in the rest of Mark's Gospel, where (except for 2:10, 28 taken from pre-Markan material) Son of Man means either the transcendent coming Son of Man or the suffering Son of Man, but not the Son of Man acting with authority on earth. His lack of understanding leads Mark to make alterations.¹⁶⁴ But rather than a lack of understanding by Mark (as Tödt suggests) it could be that this is not the meaning of Son of Man in this context. On the other hand, Fuller, like Manson, takes Q's Son of Man as a mistaken substitution for sons of men.¹⁶⁵ Mark's version is then taken as the original form and as an authentic saying.¹⁶⁶

Manson felt the original context of the saying was that in Mk. 3:28.¹⁶⁷ Tödt objects to Manson's removing the saying from the context in Q, which Tödt regards as original, and interpreting it by Luke (though in Mark's context). Tödt feels that Luke's context is secondary and results from the joining of 12:8 to 12:10 with the catchword link. The saying should rather, Tödt feels, be in the context of Jesus' defense against the charge of being in league with demons, as seen in Mk. 3:28 and in Mt. 12:25-30; Lk. 11:17-23. Here the blasphemies against Jesus are the concern and the saying follows logically. In this context Son of Man does not have the transcendent connotations but is, as in Mt. 11:19par., a designation of Jesus acting on earth and meeting opposition.¹⁶⁸ To connect the saying with Lk. 12:8f. is less satisfactory, since there the Son of Man (according to Tödt) refers to the eschatological guarantor. But Tödt does not then reinterpret one or the other of these sayings

(as Manson reinterprets Luke). Rather he attempts to fit each saying into its place in Q. The saying on whether blasphemy can be forgiven belongs to the Beelzebub pericope. This is clear from Matthew's connecting the form as in Mark (Mt. 12:31) and the form as in Q (Mt.12:32) in spite of their competing content.¹⁶⁹ The resultant meaning is that there is no forgiveness for those who oppose the clear work of the Holy Spirit in the post resurrection Son of Man. In this way two periods are distinguished in Q; Jesus' earthly work and the period of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷⁰ In the second period the Exalted Lord reveals himself in the Spirit. This distinction is blurred in Mark, Tödt continues, where the Holy Spirit is seen in Jesus' earthly work (and this shows that Mark is later than Q). Possibly Mark knew Q's form but rejected it because blasphemy against the transcendent Son of Man (as Tödt believes Mark would have understood the term) was unthinkable. Therefore the saying was generalized to sons of men, even though this does not accord with the context--a practice which is consistently followed in Q where more reproaches against the Son of Man follow. But Tödt's argument may rest too heavily on the assumption that Mark could only have understood Son of Man as a transcendent person. Furthermore the supposed distinction (in Q) between Jesus' earthly work and the period of the Holy Spirit is not altogether clear cut, since in Q (Mt. 11:28 = Lk. 11:20 "by the finger of God") as well as in Mark, Jesus does his work by the power of the Holy Spirit.

Cullmann lists this verse with Mk. 2:27 as one where possibly Son of Man means just men in general and is not primarily a reference to Jesus (in this he follows H. Lietzmann).¹⁷¹ But

the meaning of this saying in the Aramaic Q (now obscured in the Greek) was, according to Manson, that the one unforgiveable sin is rejecting Jesus' eschatological message: ". . . slander against the disciples would put the slanderers in gravest peril, since the same Holy Spirit that worked in Jesus worked also in his followers."¹⁷² Likewise Bultmann interprets Son of Man as equivalent to "I" or "one", though Fuller disagrees.¹⁷³ This is the most obvious meaning in the context and the one the Evangelists appear to have had in mind. The meaning therefore is that sin against Jesus will be forgiven but not sin against the Holy Spirit.

Is it possible that all of these difficulties arise out of the fact that Jesus himself used the ambiguous Aramaic ~~ܡܘܢ~~ ~~ܡܘܢ~~ here as he did on other occasions? The clear reference to Jesus in the context of his being accused of being in league with Beelzebub provides the condition for the circumlocution for the first person in unpleasant circumstances. Jesus would naturally shrink from the accusation made against him. Could he have hinted at his humble position as a man which resulted in his being subject to such slander? If he thought of his messianic role as the obedient Servant, then slander against such a lowly figure might be thought to be forgiveable,¹⁷⁴ whereas blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (who is the real Guarantor here, rather than a coming Son of Man) is not forgiveable.

There may be not immediately apparent O.T. background to this saying. However the meaning of Son of Man in this saying is consistent with the general concept of the lowly Son of Man, suffering rejection during his ministry, seen in other sayings which do utilize O.T. scriptures.

(Matthew 5:11 =) Luke 6:22

In spite of the differences between Matthew's and Luke's forms, which might lead some to question whether this is a Q saying,¹⁷⁵ most scholars trace the saying to the double tradition.¹⁷⁶ But granted that Q is the underlying source, there has obviously been some editorial work done by one or both of the Evangelists. Creed, noting Loisy's view that both Evangelists follow Q in the general arrangement of the sermon and Streeter's view that Luke is closer to Q, decides that both Evangelists have done rearranging of the material.¹⁷⁷ Creed is probably right that in the overall arrangement Matthew's editorial work is more extensive.¹⁷⁸

An important question in this saying is whether Matthew's *ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ* or Luke's *ἐνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is closer to the original. Bultmann feels that Matthew substituted "I" for a traditional "Son of Man".¹⁷⁹ The form of this saying (as of most in this passage) in Luke may be nearer the original than the form in Matthew, which shows signs of modeling the material, as in the additions in 5:3 ("in spirit"), in 5:6 ("after righteousness"), and in 5:11 ("falsely").¹⁸⁰ Matthew has tried to clarify Jesus' point, that the characteristic of life in the new kingdom is a reversal of the world's values, by spiritualizing the Beatitudes.¹⁸¹ Higgins argues that, in view of Matthew's tendency to make a clear identification of Jesus and the Son of Man (either by introducing the title, Mt. 16:13; Mk. 8:27, or by replacing it with the first personal pronoun, Mt. 16:21; Mk. 8:31), it is likely Matthew has changed Son of Man in his source to the first personal pronoun.¹⁸² But, as Higgins observes, the textual support is too weak to give weight to this conjecture;¹⁸³ and what sense would the saying have made without some such phrase at any rate? P. Vielhauer was convinced that Son of Man was

taken over from Q by Luke 6:22.¹⁸⁵ Tödt will not go so far, but he thinks it probable that Son of Man did not originate with Luke.¹⁸⁶ But further confirmation of the more primitive form being in Luke comes from Manson's discussion. He notes a parallel situation to this in Lk. 12:8 where the Lucan Son of Man is not supported by Matthew. A comparison of Mt. 10:29 with Lk. 18:29, where Luke altered Mark, suggests that here too, Mt. 5:11 is closer to the original than Lk. 6:22. Yet, on the other hand, Lk. 12:8 is closer to Mk. 8:38 than Mt. 10:32. Manson concludes in favor of the Lucan version as more original than Mt. 5:11.¹⁸⁷

It has been argued by Bultmann that this saying is a "new element of tradition" which differs from the older elements of tradition (Lk. 6:20f. or Mt. 5:3-9) by its form (the second person and the greater detail in the blessing) and its content. It has arisen ex eventu and is therefore a creation of the church. It is in this later element as well that the direct reference to the person of Jesus is made, by a Son of Man "I-saying."¹⁸⁸ Tödt finds Bultmann convincing on this point, though he attributes the creation to the Palestinian community whereas Bultmann credits the Hellenistic church for its formation.¹⁸⁹

Other considerations, however, point to the antiquity of the saying. The change of persons need not be such a great problem, for there are parallels in Judaism.¹⁹⁰ The more original form in Luke has the second person throughout the passage and there is no reason to doubt it was so in Q.¹⁹¹ But the second person directness itself need not mean the saying came about ex eventu. An earlier third person form may have been changed to second person in view of the relevance of the saying to a later situation.¹⁹² If Kümmel is right,¹⁹³ it is not necessary to think Jesus could not have foreseen persecution

for his followers and have spoken this word of comfort.

The saying has undeniable Aramaic elements, which may point to its antiquity. The ultimate Aramaic origin of ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρόν meaning εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν is beyond question.¹⁹⁴ The expression (ἐκβάλλειν τὸ ὄνομα τινός ὡς πονηρὸν) is a Semitic idiom, as clearly illustrated by the Aramaic 'appeq, its equivalent Hebrew verb, and the old Syriac.¹⁹⁵ This Semitism, as well as the אֲשֶׁר בְּרַב underlying the Son of Man, coupled with the fact that this is a Q saying, suggest that this saying comes from the very earliest stratum of tradition.

The persecution referred to in the saying may have been the use of the disciples' names as a curse.¹⁹⁶ If so, the saying may be based on the curses of the synagogue directed against early Christians. An assurance is given that the suffering of Christians was foreseen by their Lord.¹⁹⁷ The persecution perhaps involved "excommunication" from the synagogue and possibly more in addition.¹⁹⁸ Lampe suggests that it was the influence of this persecution from the Jews which led to the "expansion in Luke of Matthew's form of the saying."¹⁹⁹ It is certainly possible that Luke has modelled the traditional material in view of the church's present experience. To go beyond this to the conclusion of Tödt that this is a church creation (ex eventu) is another matter.²⁰⁰ Tödt's conclusion is based on the meaning he gives to Son of Man and is not necessarily supported by the reference to persecution. On the contrary, Kümmel points out that Lk. 6:22 (as well as Mt. 10:28; Mk. 8:34; 10:35ff.), which clearly envisages persecution arising during Jesus' lifetime, shows that Jesus reckoned on suffering for his disciples.²⁰¹ It may not have required great prophetic insight for Jesus to

suppose that his followers would be persecuted. Messianic uprisings appear to have been frequent and were often accompanied by great slaughters by the Romans and suffering for the followers of the messianic pretender.²⁰² If opposition to Jesus was anything like the Gospels represent it,²⁰³ and if there is any truth behind such accounts as that of the man born blind who was cast out of the synagogue for his allegiance to Jesus, then it would have taken little perception for Jesus to see the possible consequence for his followers and to give them a word of comfort. The promise of blessing for those persecuted and the admonition to rejoice are reminiscent of Ps. 126:5, 6, and Isa. 61:3.

Further substantiation to the claim that this saying was created by the church is often found in the μακάριοι. The "futurist-eschatological" meaning of the Beatitudes, while not apparent in their wording, is clear from their connection with Jesus' other eschatological pronouncements.²⁰⁴ This beatitude is said to be an eschatological promise given to those who endure suffering (that is, to the persecuted church) for the sake of the Son of Man. The promise is connected to "that day" in heaven in Lk. 6:23.²⁰⁵

But it is not certain that the eschatological element in this saying means that it is a community composition. There were certainly adequate precedents for Jesus to draw on in giving these Beatitudes. Even the comparative length of the last beatitude (as well as the change in person) has parallels in Jewish liturgy and in the O.T.²⁰⁶ In this connection M. Black has an important discussion of the influence of Isa. 61 on the Beatitudes. Luke 4:16 records that Jesus opened his public ministry by reading Isa. 61. He replied in these verses (from

Isa. 61) to the question of John the Baptist, Mt. 11:5 = Lk. 7:22. The quotation from Isaiah is followed by *καὶ μεκάρσιός ἐστιν ὁς εἰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῆ ἐν ἐμοί*. Black suggests that this was the occasion when the Beatitudes were addressed to the disciples and that this was their conclusion.²⁰⁷ In this light it seems plausible enough that Jesus could have spoken the blessing of Lk. 6:22.

So far from the eschatological element in the saying suggesting the church origin of the logion, it rather fits perfectly well Jesus' teaching on the kingdom of God and the eschatology that involved. The Beatitudes spoke of the Reign of God breaking in upon those who follow Jesus. As Bultmann says, "They who await God's reign aright, hungry and sorrowing, knowing how poor they are--to these pertains the promise of salvation."²⁰⁸ The essence of Jesus' teaching on this point is well summarized by Caird. The Beatitudes sermon is a description of life in the new Israel, which is also life in the kingdom of God. The fulness of the kingdom will not come until the end, so throughout the Beatitudes the present conditions are contrasted with the future.

But the good news which Jesus proclaimed was that the Kingdom was already breaking in upon the present, so that men could here and now begin to enter into the ultimate blessedness. ²⁰⁹ Thus the Beatitudes were not merely a promise but an invitation.

This leads to the final consideration: the meaning of "Son of Man" here. Tödt takes it to be a designation of the community for Jesus in his "sovereignty and uncompromising claim", for whose sake his disciples suffer.²¹⁰ Bultmann believes that the saying gives evidence of a "Christian conception of the person of Jesus."²¹¹

On the other hand, could not the ambiguous Aramaic *כְּוַן גַּל* be the source of the difference between Matthew and Luke

and at the same time indicate a covert allusion to Jesus in a special sense? Luke preserves the ambiguity, but Matthew has made the reference to Jesus more explicit, as was his tendency.²¹² At the same time there may have been a corporate reference, as in Dan. 7, which included in the figure of the Son of Man those who suffered with the one who was the chief representative of the people of God, for whose sake they suffered.²¹³ If Jesus saw his own role as one which would involve suffering,²¹⁴ he may also have foreseen that those who followed him would suffer as well. As Leaney says, "Son of Man" is in origin a corporate personality and though he may be a real individual, he includes his fellows with him (as in Dan. 7). This corporate sense is perhaps never entirely absent from the Synoptics. Jesus is the Son of Man but still includes with him all who belong to him.²¹⁵

This saying well illustrates the two ideas which Jesus combined in ministry--the ideas of sovereignty (in the authoritative "for my sake") and of suffering.²¹⁶ In addition, the thought of the kingdom of God introduces the eschatological blessing of the Reign of God breaking in and, as in Dan. 7, the whole corporate notion of the Son of Man. The suffering idea is here as well. Those who follow Jesus will suffer just as he suffers. As W. Manson said, ". . . it seems likely that Jesus chose 'the Son of Man messiology' because it was 'weighted with a deeply human pathos'". And it suggested his kinship with humanity: "It gave him back something of his own sense of oneness with the poor and the unfriended, the sinful and the ostracized among his own people whom he came to save."²¹⁷

Mark

There are only two present Son of Man sayings, but they are both of special importance.

Mark 2:10

The question of the place of this logion in the history of tradition is a difficult one. Tödt disagrees with Bultmann's assignment of the saying to the Hellenistic community because the apocalyptic title Son of Man is used.²¹⁸ This suggestion is disproved by the fact that Son of Man is used several times in Q, where the Palestinian tradition used "Son of Man" in two ways: (1) apocalyptic future Son of Man, and (2) the earthly Jesus. In the second use it is not the transcendent Son of Man which is in mind, but the use of the Son of Man to mean Jesus' ἐξουσία. This usage is the reason Son of Man is introduced into the controversy dialogues, where the main point of concern is Jesus' authority.²¹⁹ In facing the question of authority the early church traced its authority back to Jesus, who gave them the only authority they had.²²⁰ Since the church had to build on Jesus' authority in the controversy dialogues, it designated Jesus' earthly activity with the title of dignity, "Son of Man".²²¹

The subjection of the discussion in this logion is the ἐξουσία of Jesus,²²² whom the community calls "Son of Man" because it sees him in this position of authority--setting aside the law (which demands the sinners' punishment) and taking the divine prerogative of forgiveness.²²³ The prerogative of forgiveness is not taken from the apocalyptic title, since it is nowhere else ascribed to that figure, thus giving rise to the suggestion that

"by calling Jesus in his unique authority the Son of Man and conceiving of Jesus' authority as including forgiveness, the community can formulate the saying that the Son of Man has the ἐξουσία to forgive sins on earth."²²⁴ Though the question whether this saying is a community creation is open to debate,²²⁵ the importance of Mk. 2:10 as speaking of Jesus' authority (as Son of Man) to forgive sins is rightly recognized.

This saying may go farther back in the history of tradition. If, as Hooker argues, the early church could claim such authority for (and from) Jesus, is it not possible that this was so because of some saying which may have implicitly carried such a claim, even if in a veiled sense?²²⁶ Hooker feels that a view that the saying is a creation of the church (unless it looks beyond this passage) can be criticized in view of the absence of "Son of Man" in other passages where it might have been introduced by those who did not understand it.

How is "Son of Man" to be interpreted in this logion? One view is that "Son of Man" has taken the place of a statement about man in general. This view is the one held by Wellhausen²²⁷ and has more recently been taken up by Colpe.²²⁸ This view has been widely criticized. V. Taylor, for example, doubts that Mk. 2:10, 28 should be lightly set aside as cases of ἄσω γρ being erroneously interpreted as a title in the primitive tradition, the true meaning having been "man".²²⁹ Taylor rather believes this is a genuine utterance of Jesus, which he spoke without the expectation of being immediately understood.²³⁰ Tödt finds Wellhausen's view untenable in view of Mt. 9:8, and the demands of the context of Mark 2 which show that the controversy is over Jesus' authority.²³¹

A second view is the collective interpretation: the authority to forgive sins is given to the "Son of Man people", the disciples of Jesus.²³² This view is criticized by I. H. Marshall²³³ as inadequate because a collective understanding of the Son of Man would still include Jesus and it would still be his authority mediated to his followers. Matthew 9:8 lends no real support to this view because even there the authority given men is derived from Jesus.²³⁴

Thus the understanding of Son of Man most in harmony with the context is that the Son of Man refers to Jesus. It is not adequate, however, to see the Son of Man in this logion as merely a circumlocution for "I",²³⁵ for the ἐξουσία of Jesus is the point of emphasis.²³⁶ Even so Hooker finds nothing to suggest that Son of Man is a "messianic" term. Jesus' use of Son of Man evoked no surprise. The Son of Man of Daniel and Enoch, Hooker notes, is given authority on earth, and forgiveness, though not mentioned there, might be expected since it is a destruction of evil and expresses the relationship between the Son of Man and other men. These ideas are found in I Enoch and are implied in Daniel, insofar as Son of Man there is both corporate and individual.²³⁷ "This divine activity [forgiveness] is an inbreaking of God's kingdom into his world, an overthrow of evil by good and a restoration of man--in other words it is, like healing, one of the signs of the New Age, and an eschatological event."²³⁸

There may well have been a certain ambiguity to this logion, due to the fact that $\lambda\omega\iota\ \gamma\ \beta$ might mean either a man or generic man or could refer to the speaker. Certainly Mt. 9:8 shows that the saying about the power of the Son of Man on earth to forgive sins could be variously understood. Yet it was the "arrogation of Divine authority to forgive sins by a 'mere man'

which raised the cry of blasphemy from the Scribes."²³⁹

However shocked his hearers were at the Son of Man's appropriation of the authority to forgive sins, there are some O.T. precedents for this absolution which may make it appear somewhat less radical. Psalm 103:3 and Isa. 43:25 speak of divine forgiveness in such a way as to assert that the writer has the certainty he has been forgiven. But even more important is II Sam. 12:13 where Nathan announces to David that God had forgiven his sin with Bathsheba. The similarity of Nathan's statement to David ("The Lord has also put away your sin") and Jesus' words to the paralytic ("My son, your sins are forgiven") is noteworthy. The authority of the Son of Man to forgive sins certainly goes beyond Nathan's simple announcement as a prophet of God's forgiveness, but it does prepare the way for the christological development. Add to this the fact that judgment (of which forgiveness may be said to be a corollary) is a clear function of the Son of Man in Dan. 7, and the preparation is made for the attribution to the Son of Man of the function of forgiveness. Thus if the Son of Man of Dan. 7 is, or becomes in the course of the development of the tradition, a divine figure (see the discussion of the throne theophany tradition) and the Son of Man assumes in Mk. 2:10 the divine prerogative of forgiveness, then the implications of the O.T. background have been further worked out in this important logion.²⁴⁰

Additional motifs in Mark 2 may be traced to related O.T. Son of Man passages. The thought of the inbreaking of the reign of God²⁴¹ (which the forgiveness of sins by the Son of Man signals) found its earliest expression in Dan. 7, where the Son of Man and the kingdom of God are linked together.²⁴² And the authority of the Son of Man in his earthly ministry was anticipated in Psa. 8:6 which speaks of his "dominion over the works of Thy hands" and of his "holding all things under his feet".²⁴³

Mark 2:28

This passage (Mk. 2:23-28) in its present form is generally held to be a composition of the early Christian community. Several factors seem to indicate its late place in the history of tradition. Not the least of these factors is the usefulness of this saying to the early church in defence of its Sabbath doctrine.²⁴⁴ In this respect it is related to Mk. 2:10, both sayings carrying ecclesiastical doctrinal overtones. Whether this consideration is decisive for dating the pericope or not, it should be taken in conjunction with other factors. That it is the behavior of the disciples and not that of Jesus which is called into question here may further indicate that the story is a church composition.²⁴⁵ Nevertheless Jesus' opponents sometimes attacked his disciples as a means of thereby attacking Jesus.²⁴⁶

What was it in the disciples' action which so offended the Pharisees? The suggestion of Meyers, Bacon, and others that the disciples were making a footpath through the grain field by plucking up the grain is doubtful.²⁴⁷ The actual meaning is clarified by comparing the parallels. The reworking of Mark in Mt. 12:1 and Lk. 6:1 interprets the situation as one in which the disciples, being hungry, plucked the grain to eat, since possibly they had been and would yet be a long time without food. The Pharisees' objection concerns the breach of a Sabbath prohibition--*Ἰδε τί ποιοῦσιν τοῖς σάββασις ὃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν;* Apparently the disciples were accused of working on the Sabbath-- that is, of "harvesting" grain on the Sabbath.²⁴⁸ This would seem to be a breach more of the Pharisaic interpretation of the Sabbath than of any explicit O. T. Sabbath regulation. If this is the case,

it is remarkable that, so far from challenging the Pharisees' interpretation of the Sabbath (as he might well have done), Jesus admits a breach of the Sabbath and then justifies it.²⁴⁹

The justification given for the disciples' action involves an O.T. reference, namely I Sam. 21:1-6, where David broke the law. Rawlinson notes that the Midrash on I Samuel supposes that the action of David took place on the Sabbath, giving added relevance to this logion.²⁵⁰ Interesting as this may be, however, there is no indication in the Marcan passage that David broke the Sabbath, so the connection with I Sam. 21 must be elsewhere. It has been suggested that the association of Jesus with David has messianic import.²⁵¹ Though it would be fitting for the Messiah to appeal to David, it is doubtful there is a veiled messianic claim here.²⁵²

The problem of this connection with I Sam. 21 is a very real difficulty for Haenchen. He feels that the account of David's action is so very different in nature from the situation of Jesus that it can be reconciled to the passage as an answer of Jesus to the Pharisees only by a great deal of twisting the text. Haenchen calls notice to the words "what David did . . . when he was hungry" and says the narrative stems from a wrong understanding of the tradition which emphasized the disciples' eating a stranger's property.²⁵³ But Cranfield's explanation of the passage is more helpful: "The drift of the argument is that the fact that scripture does not condemn David for his action shows that the rigidity with which the Pharisees interpreted the ritual law was not in accordance with scripture, and so was not a proper understanding of the Law itself."²⁵⁴

Most commentators look for some extenuating feature in

both accounts which releases the transgressors from the ordinary demands of the law. One suggestion is that there were extenuating circumstances: the situation was an emergency, the disciples were in real need of something to eat.²⁵⁵ But it is doubtful that the disciples were in such urgent need of food. Fuller suggests that this was an emergency in the sense of its eschatological importance.²⁵⁶

It has also been suggested that, rather than the situation providing extenuating factors, in which case the law could be broken, the law was not in fact broken at all by the disciples. It was, according to this view, the Pharisees' too rigid interpretation of the law which was transgressed. In drawing attention to the David story Jesus argued that since the scriptures do not condemn David for his actions, the Pharisees' interpretation of the law was too rigid and was not in line with the scriptures nor the law itself.²⁵⁷ The Pharisees in effect broke the Sabbath by requiring too strict observance of it: they had made themselves lords of the Sabbath by their regulations and must learn who is truly Lord of the Sabbath.

Another suggestion is that the extenuating factor is the special position which David and Jesus both enjoyed. Because of their status, they could dispense with the law. This is the argument of Hooker, who says that just as David was in a special position and could set aside the Mosaic regulations, so could Jesus as the Son of Man.²⁵⁸ Tödt sees this as well, in that the church is ascribing full authority to Jesus.²⁵⁹ Etienne Trocmé sums it up this way: the setting aside of the Sabbath regulations by the disciples is possible because of Jesus' authority in the same way that the breach of the temple regulations was possible to those with David because of David.²⁶⁰ In this

connection the additional argument in Matthew is significant. Matthew notes that the priests by virtue of their position and their required duties on the Sabbath must violate the Sabbath to maintain the temple ritual. Then he adds that a greater than the temple "is here". Tödt interprets Matthew's argument to mean that Jesus is greater than the temple but not than the law, which v. 8 says makes legitimate the lordship of the Son of Man over the Sabbath. So, he finds, the saying does not make the disciples lords over the Sabbath but traces their behavior to Jesus'

ἑξουσία.²⁶¹ It may be argued whether Matthew intended to say a greater one (that is, Jesus) or a greater thing (that is, a higher principle, superior law or extenuating factor). At any rate Matthew's interpretation tends to support the view that Jesus did point to some factor which in the present situation exempted him and his disciples from the Sabbath regulation.

The difficulty of coordinating vv. 27 and 28 has been much discussed. Lohmeyer thinks that v. 28 is virtually another answer to the Sabbath problem from what v. 27 gives. In one sense, he notes, v. 28 says more than v. 27, for by using the word "lord" it implies that the Sabbath ordinance first received its validity through the Son of Man and he can confirm or abolish it. But in another sense it says less than v. 27: it does not make the Son of Man the focus of the ordinance but is silent as to the meaning it has for him. The first saying depends on the second, if the two sayings are to fit together at all.²⁶²

Lohmeyer's solution is to attribute both sayings to the early community. Haenchen seems to think v. 27 is from the older part of the tradition and v. 28 has a different origin. Already by Mark's time v. 27 was too hard to accept, putting man over the

Sabbath as it does. The tradition which Mark follows had already narrowed the meaning of v. 27 by the addition of v.28: not every man but only the Son of Man could dispense with the Sabbath. (This means the verse is no evidence that Jesus designated himself Son of Man, but rather that it was the community which spoke of him in this way.) Matthew and Luke pass on the tradition in v. 28, appropriate to their time, omitting v. 27 in favor of the more limited v. 28.²⁶³ In doing so they were not following a common tradition, Haenchen suggests, but a common experience in their time.²⁶⁴ F. Hahn concurs in this judgment: Mk. 2:28 is a Christological reinterpretation of v. 27, the fundamental validity of which was questioned.²⁶⁵ Tödt agrees that the difference between v. 27 and v. 28 indicates v. 28 is an independent saying, which he connects with Mk. 2:10 (following Campenhausen).²⁶⁶ Higgins' approach is similar. Finding no reason to doubt v. 27 textually, he suggests that Matthew and Luke omit it because of the difficulty of relating it to v. 28,²⁶⁷ rather than because of its offensiveness. Verse 28 is a creation of the church which saw in the David story a messianic meaning. If David could break the law, how much more could the messiah. Thus Mk. 2:28 is a Christological affirmation like Mk. 2:10, perhaps evoked by the Pharisees' criticism of the Palestinian church for its neglect of the Sabbath.²⁶⁸

On the opposite side of the question, Morna Hooker notes that Matthew and Luke retain the very verse which is said to be a Christian comment and discard what is said to be authentic. She feels that Matthew and Luke support just the opposite view.²⁶⁹

Verse 27 has an important Rabbinic parallel. Billerbeck cites Rabbi Simeon ben Menasja, on Exodus 31:14, who says, "The

Sabbath is given over to you, not you to the Sabbath."

Billerbeck comments that the Sabbath did not lose its validity by this interpretation, but it could be profaned in cases of extreme urgency, that is, in life or death matters.²⁷⁰ Haenchen states that the notion was generally held (but with some exceptions) that the Sabbath prevailed over all human needs. It was consecrated from the creation, as the scribes emphasized, and was willed by God, not by man. But Jesus saw God as the good Father, whose ordinances were given for man's good, not to limit or distress him. In this way he saw man as really lord over the Sabbath.²⁷¹

There are other Rabbinical statements (Ex. R. 25:11, on Ex. 16:29; Deut. R. 1:21; Midr. Teh. on Psa. 92:2) which indicate an understanding that the Sabbath was not given to mankind in general but to Israel only. The Sabbath was a privilege for Israel to keep which the Pharisees had turned into a burden, thus opposing God's original intention. Jesus' intention was to restore the original purpose of the Sabbath.²⁷² Hooker connects the Sabbath with a restoration theme, with forgiveness and healing as a part of this restoration. In this light the healing and its accompanying forgiveness were quite appropriately done on the Sabbath in connection with this restoration.²⁷³

Who then is this "Son of Man" who is lord of the Sabbath? If the *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is to be understood collectively, as some argue, it must mean either mankind in general or the new humanity (the remnant, new Israel). "Son of Man" in v. 28 would then be a poetic synonym for man in v. 27, much as "man" and "son of man" in Psa. 8:4.²⁷⁴ The first possibility (mankind in general) was the view of Wellhausen and the earlier view of T. W. Manson.²⁷⁵ It is largely rejected

by other scholars on the grounds that Jesus would not say man in general was lord of the Sabbath which had been instituted by God. The second possibility is Manson's later view: "Son of Man" is collective as in Dan. 7:13 and represents the people of God. This view provides a good connection between v. 27 and v. 28 and fits the rabbinical references which limit the giving of the Sabbath to Israel alone rather than to man in general.²⁷⁶ "Son of Man" as a corporate figure could thus include Jesus and his followers and both verses 27 and 28 refer to "Son of Man," the people of God. But Higgins rejects this view without argument because he finds no compelling evidence for a collective Son of Man in the Gospels.²⁷⁷ Cranfield doubts Manson's view as well, but nevertheless notes that it is supported in the rabbinic references and in Jubilees 2:31, as well as by the fact that in v. 23 it is the disciples who infringed the Sabbath (which implies that they should be included in the "Son of Man"). Jesus and his disciples might have regarded the claims of the kingdom of God (tied closely with the Son of Man²⁷⁸) had priority over the Sabbath observance.²⁷⁹ M. Black regards Mk. 2:28 as probably an exception to Manson's communal interpretation, though he finds it attractive to include the disciples with Jesus as forming the Son of Man (elect community). But he notes that, as Wellhausen said, if v. 28 follows logically v. 27, Son of Man must be generic. If Son of Man is the eschatological community (instead of an individual only) there is still a non sequiter.²⁸⁰

Oscar Cullmann's discussion of Mk. 2:28 is helpful at this point. He feels that perhaps Son of Man means mankind in general (cf. Mt. 12:31f.) and refers to Jesus only secondarily.

Jesus' answer (v. 27) obviously refers to man in general, not the Son of Man. In v. 28 an unprejudiced view would mean that men are lords of the Sabbath, but v. 28 has Son of Man. Mark apparently understood Jesus to make himself lord of the Sabbath, else he would have used *ἄνθρωπος* in v. 28 as in v. 27. So Mark interpreted the saying in the same way as John 5:17 which gives a Christological basis for non-observance of the Sabbath. But the problem remains that in Mk. 2 the logical connection between v. 27 and v. 28 is not clear. This means that the possibility that Jesus did not refer to himself in v. 28 must be kept in spite of the Evangelist's interpretation. In other words **גַּל אִישׁ** was used in both verses and both places it meant man in general. Yet the Evangelist's interpretation (that Jesus referred to himself) need not be excluded, if one can accept the essential core of Manson's later collective view.²⁸¹ On this point Cullmann agrees with T. Preiss that a double interpretation of **אִישׁ גַּל** is intended, including every man and the one who represents the many. "If man in general is the one for whom the Sabbath exists, how much more reason will there be for the man who came to save men to be Lord of the Sabbath."²⁸²

Special Traditions

Matthew 13:37

Two present Son of Man sayings occur in the special Matthew tradition. Matthew 13:37 occurs in a context distinctive to Matthew,²⁸³ and the logion itself (or at least the term "Son of Man") is generally considered to be an editorial addition.²⁸⁴ Tödt's observation²⁸⁵ is significant, that Matthew has in the interpretation of the parable of the tares and the wheat given along side each other both sayings about the parousia of the

Son of Man and about the earthly activity of the Son of Man, indicating how closely in Matthew's thinking the two aspects of the Son of Man are connected in the figure of Jesus.²⁸⁶ Something like this overlapping or joining of different categories of the Son of Man sayings appears also in John's Gospel (see Chapter IV).

The meaning of this logion is not difficult to determine. It refers to Jesus' activity on earth as a teacher. He sows the seeds by his teaching and his authority as a teacher is assumed in the title Son of Man.²⁸⁷ But the parable clearly refers to the activity of judging as well and so brings in the Dan. 7 Son of Man. "Jesus is the Son of Man both as the one who teaches on earth with full authority and as the one who will judge the world according to 'the weightier matters' of this teaching (cf. Matt. 23.23; Matt. 25.31 ff.)."²⁸⁸

Matthew 16:13

Matthew 16:13 is usually thought to be Matthew's editorial adaptation of Mk. 8:27.²⁸⁹ Klostermann's objection that Son of Man can hardly be a messianic title, otherwise Jesus' question is really no question at all,²⁹⁰ is countered by Tödt's argument that Matthew does not intend this as a genuine question. Rather it is a sort of heading to the section about Peter's confession, which initiates the church period.²⁹¹ (Similarly Matthew uses "Son of Man" in Mt. 26:2 as a heading to the passion account.) From this it is clear that Matthew understands "Son of Man" not as a neutral self-designation but as a title of special importance.²⁹²

Luke 19:10²⁹³

Bultmann credits Luke with the addition of v. 10 to this

account in Luke, noting that the saying is also appended to different texts in Lk. 9:56 and Mt. 18:11.²⁹⁴ But the MSS evidence tells the story here. Matthew 18:11 and Lk. 9:56 both have very weak MS support and seem rather definitely to be modelled after Lk. 19:10. On the other hand the saying is fixed firmly in Lk. 19:10 as far as the MS evidence goes.²⁹⁵ The additional grounds for suspecting v. 10 which Higgins finds in its resemblance to Mk. 10:45²⁹⁶ seem rather to support it as having an early Palestinian origin, as seen by comparing the two sayings with I Tim. 1:15 and 2:5f. which are in more Hellenistic terms.²⁹⁷ Klostermann allowed that v. 10 may belong to the basic text despite its having a "late form".²⁹⁸ The "is come" is no indication of a late origin since it appears in Q (Mt. 11:19par.) with "Son of Man".²⁹⁹ Tödt argues that since no other present Son of Man sayings were created by Luke, the one at Lk. 19:10 must have been in the traditional material peculiar to Luke.³⁰⁰ The conclusion that v. 10 belongs to the basic text finds even greater confirmation in the parallel case of Lk. 5:32, where Luke added only "to repentance" to the saying (according to Bultmann³⁰¹). It is unlikely that Lk. 19:10 was created after the story of Levi, since the only common feature in the two accounts is that both were tax collectors. There is no reason to doubt that the story was derived by Luke from a special source independent of Mark.³⁰² Nor is there force in Hahn's objection that present "salvation" as the purpose of Jesus' earthly work is a late concept.³⁰³ It may then be concluded that Luke has preserved traditional material which he received.³⁰⁴

What then about the tradition which Luke received? If Bultmann's arguments that this pericope is a "unitary composition"

do not mean Luke composed the story, is it possible that Luke's predecessor produced this narrative as an expanded version of Mk. 2:14-17?³⁰⁵ It seems just as unlikely that Luke's source modelled the Zacchaeus account after the Levi story, with which it has so little in common, as that Luke did.³⁰⁶ Wellhausen's view was that Zacchaeus did not literally follow Jesus as did Levi because salvation had come τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ (v. 9)--that is, his whole household was converted.³⁰⁷ Certainly not all of Jesus' converts literally followed him,³⁰⁸ so the fact that Zacchaeus did not need not indicate the story is late, when the physical act of following was not possible.³⁰⁹ But Bultmann may be right that the saying was appended to the Zacchaeus story.³¹⁰ This proves no more, however, than that the logion could have been an isolated or floating piece of tradition.³¹¹

Tödt argues that, by analogy with other present Son of Man sayings (which he finds were church creations), this saying cannot be authentic.³¹² However, this line of reasoning has been criticized as circular.³¹³ The Palestinian origin of the saying has already been noted,³¹⁴ which at least points to the (probable) primitive origin, if not authenticity, of the saying. It may be noted as well that v. 10 is close to Ezekiel 34:16.³¹⁵ The saying fits well Jesus' use of the shepherd motif,³¹⁶ as in Lk. 15:4-7 (the parable of the lost sheep). "It is quite possible that it was a saying without any context, which, because it was so obviously genuine, had to be fitted in somewhere."³¹⁷

Perhaps more should be said about the reference in Lk. 19:9 to salvation. Salvation is found elsewhere in Luke only in connection with the Zechariah messianic prophecy (Lk. 1:69, 71, 77).

This saying views the messianic salvation as a present reality,³¹⁸ which came to Zacchaeus and his household in the person of Jesus.³¹⁹ In Zacchaeus' receiving the kingdom message and with it messianic salvation, which showed him to be a son of Abraham,³²⁰ the kingdom is breaking in. It is in this context that a reference to the Son of Man, which as Daniel 7 shows represents the kingdom of God and the saints of the Most High (the heirs of Abraham), might be expected.³²¹

How should "Son of Man" be understood in v. 10? Tödt says that Jesus' mission is formulated as a general obligation by the designation "Son of Man". "There can be no doubt that this designation in Lk. 19:10 is a name of sovereignty which emphasized the legitimacy and exousia of Jesus' mission."³²² But to find here a designation primarily of sovereignty is perhaps to mistake the point of the saying. As Tödt himself notes,³²³ the opposition to Jesus in the preceding narrative (especially in Lk. 19:7) is instructive of the meaning to be found in "Son of Man". Rather than a sovereign Son of Man lording over his enemies, he is the lowly "Son of Man" enduring the reproach of men because he befriends sinners and outcasts. The similarity to Mt. 11:19par. is clear.³²⁴ If a connection is made to Lk. 5:32,³²⁵ which reads, "I came to call sinners to repentance," a case might be made for an underlying saying of Jesus using $\chi\omega\iota\ \gamma\iota$ as a self designation. Luke 19:10 preserves the veiled allusion of Jesus to himself, whereas Lk. 5:32 has made it more explicit.³²⁶ This is then no misunderstood translation of an "I" saying.³²⁷ "There is no good reason why Jesus should not have understood his mission in terms of the bringing of salvation and made the creative link between the coming of the Son of Man and the Advent of salvation."³²⁸

It has been seen that as far as their O.T. basis is concerned, the present sayings have gone considerably beyond the future sayings which were built almost exclusively on Dan. 7. Certainly there are some present sayings which remain close to the future sayings in their emphasis on the extraordinary nature of the Son of Man. Mark 2:10 and Mk. 2:28 stress particularly the Son of Man's special authority, by virtue of which he is able to forgive sins and to set aside the lawful observance of the Sabbath.³²⁹ Matthew 13:37 speaks of the special place of the teaching of the Son of Man in the coming of the kingdom of heaven and so again puts him in an extraordinary category. Luke 19:10 refers to his coming to seek and to save the lost--surely a mission beyond the powers of an ordinary man. Likewise Mt. 16:13, though at face value only a question in which Jesus seeks to know how the crowds have identified the Son of Man, is specially important as the preface to Peter's great confession of Jesus as the Christ.

But there is a second very important group of present sayings which speak rather differently of the Son of Man and in so doing use other O.T. texts to greatly expand the conception of the Son of Man. In these sayings the Son of Man is now seen as the rejected one: he is homeless, Mt. 8:20 = Lk. 9:58 (cf. Psa. 8; Sir. 24:7; I Enoch 42), is slandered as a glutton, drunkard, and friend of sinners, Mt. 11:19 = Lk. 7:34 (cf. Isa. 53:12), is blasphemed, Mt. 12:32 = Lk. 12:10, and is seen to bless his followers who will surely suffer with him, Mt. 5:11 = Lk. 6:22.

It is readily apparent that the second of these two groups of present sayings comes from the "Q" tradition, whereas

the first comes only from the Marcan and special traditions.

The Suffering Son of Man Sayings

Most of the Son of Man passion sayings occur in the Marcan tradition, which will be discussed first.³³⁰

Mark

Mark 9:12

This prediction of the sufferings of the Son of Man falls in the midst of a discussion of the return of Elijah before the messiah comes. A question from the disciples on this subject had been provoked by the transfiguration and a prediction of the rising of the Son of Man (Mk. 9:9). The O.T. passage in mind in the Elijah discussion is obviously Mal. 4:5, 6. But the O.T. passage in mind when Jesus spoke of the sufferings of the Son of Man, which are to come "as it is written" (cf. the *Sei* of Mk. 8:31, which means scriptural necessity³³¹) is less easily identified. Other Son of Man logia, it will be seen, are more precise in their reference to the O.T.

Mark 10:45

The importance of this logion cannot be overestimated.

"The scholar's judgement on Mark 10:45 decisively helps determine his view of Jesus himself, of his teaching, and of the community's witness to Jesus and his message."³³²

The Palestinian origin of the saying is fairly certain.³³³ The religious use of *λύτρον* shows this,³³⁴ as does the language of Mk. 10:45, which is Palestinian, in comparison with Lk. 22:27 which is more Hellenistic.³³⁵ A further comparison of Mk. 10:45 with I Tim. 1:15 and 2:5f. shows the latter to be in Hellenistic terms, perhaps a Hellenistic rewriting of Mk. 10:45.³³⁶ Mark 10:45 has such Semitic expressions as "Son of Man", "give his life", and

"for many".³³⁷ If the logion incorporates an allusion to a Hebrew text of Isa. 53, this is further evidence of Palestinian origin.³³⁸ (The primitiveness of the setting, however, is much more questionable. If, as Bultmann argues, Mk. 9:35 and Lk. 9:45b were originally isolated units, it is likely that Mk. 10:13ff. was also without setting.³³⁹ Confirmation of this may be seen by comparing the parallel in Lk. 22:27)

If the Palestinian origin of this saying is virtually certain, there are many scholars who argue for an O.T. background to the saying. The strongest arguments for an allusion to Isa. 53 are those of J. Jeremias. The allusion is seen in the use of *λόγρον* (which also shows the logion to be ancient, coming from the earliest tradition³⁴⁰), from the *ὑπέρ* formula and the link with *πολλοί*, which is the catchword of Isa. 53, and from *(παρα)διδόναι* (the reflective points to Semitic speaking circles), which is often an allusion to Isa. 53.³⁴¹ That the Hebrew (rather than the LXX) of Isa. 53 is behind the saying is indicated by the fact that *ὑπέρ* renders a Semitic equivalent since *ὑπέρ* with the genitive is lacking in the LXX of Isa. 53 (where there is *διὰ* with the accusative and *περί* with the genitive). A translation variant is behind the *ἀντὶ πολλῶν*, pointing to a Semitic Urtext.³⁴² The Semitic background appears in the *πολλῶν* (a Semitism) which in Greek (as in English) meant "many" as distinct from "all", whereas the Hebrew rabbim could have the inclusive sense which is the meaning of *πολλῶν* here.³⁴³ He argues further that *πολλοί* as understood in Jesus' day was used in the inclusive sense to include Gentiles as well as Jews,³⁴⁴ and was so understood in pre-Christian times of *πολλοί* in Isa. 53.³⁴⁵

One of the strongest recent denials of Isa. 53 in Mk. 10:45 comes from C. K. Barrett.³⁴⁶ Rather than *λύτρον* pointing to Isa. 53, he notes that the LXX never uses this word for *ἴασαμ*, and indeed the two words have very different meanings.³⁴⁷ The distinction Barrett makes has been criticized as overly precise, however, and the ransom metaphor should not be pressed.³⁴⁸ Mark 10:45 sums up the general thought in Isa. 53 of vicarious death and sacrifice for sin.³⁴⁹ The N.T. writers are not, at any rate, confined to the LXX.³⁵⁰ Barrett does not feel that the *ἀντὶ πολλῶν* points to Isa. 53 either, since *ἀντὶ* is bound up with and demanded by *λύτρον*.³⁵¹ The *πολλοί*, though it occurs in Isa. 52:14, 15; 53:11, 12 (bis), is not conclusive because it is a common O.T. word.³⁵² There is no evidence in the *οὐ διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι* since *ἔβεδ* is rendered in the LXX by several Greek words but never by *διακονέω* or its cognates (and it is an uncommon word in the LXX).³⁵³ Though *δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ* reflects Isa. 53:12 (in that there is a measure of linguistic parallel), Isa. 53:12 is unique in the O.T. and its words are uncommon, whereas the phrase *ψυχὴν δίδόναι* (as in Mark) had in the Greek period developed its own background other than Isa. 53 and had come to denote the death of a martyr or devotion of one's life in service.³⁵⁴ Barrett's objections overlook Jeremias' main point, namely that it is precisely because the phrases are non-Septuagintal that they point to a Palestinian origin of the saying and a use of the Hebrew of Isa. 53. This situation rules out the kind of linguistic precision between Mark and the LXX which Barrett finds lacking.³⁵⁵

Confirmation of the reference to Isa. 53 is found in the association of the concepts in the *λύτρον* saying with those in

eucharistic sayings, especially Mk. 14:24. Lohse finds that Mk. 14:24 and Mk. 10:45 refer to Isa. 53 in a parallel way,³⁵⁶ and this argument is decisive for Tödt.³⁵⁷ In Mk. 14:24, "poured out for many", a free reference to Isa. 53:12, "poured out his soul to death", interpreting the new covenant by means of Isa. 53,³⁵⁸ may preserve authentic tradition.³⁵⁹ In the parallel passage, Lk. 22:27 surely refers to Isa. 53 and the direct reference in Lk. 22:37 to Isa. 53 confirms that this servant song was in mind in v. 27.³⁶⁰

The coincidence of ideas with Phil. 2 is yet again evidence that Isa. 53 was in mind. That Phil. 2:7 is based on Isa. 53:12 is clear from the Greek *ἑαυτὸν ἐρένωσεν* which is nowhere else in Greek. It is harsh and probably renders literally the "poured out his soul" of Isa. 53:12. In v. 7 *δοῦλος* corresponds to *לַדָּבָר* (Isa. 52:13) and *μέχρι θανάτου* (v. 8) shows Phil. 2:5-11 was connected with Isa. 52:13-53:12 in that v. 12 is here translated. The unusual Greek of Phil. 2 translated the unusual Hebrew of Isa. 53. In a similar way Mk. 10:45 is a scriptural translation of Isa. 53:12 or an adaptation of the whole passage.³⁶¹ One may then do well to agree with Higgins' conclusion: "There seems to me to be no compelling reason for abandoning the view that Mark 10:45 has its main background elements derived from Isa. 53."³⁶²

The association of Isa. 53 with the death of Jesus may well go back to Jesus himself. (Whether Mk. 10:45b is dominical in this place or not is another question.) Higgins finds the reference in Mk. 10:45 too direct to go back to Jesus, though he agrees with Jeremias that it is of great age.³⁶³ But B. Lindars³⁶⁴ finds this is the starting point of Christian use

of Isa. 53 and gives full weight to the verba Christi in Mk. 10:45; 14:24. The allusions to Isa. 53 differ from each other and from the LXX, as the other allusions vary as well.

It is the beginning of a doctrine of the atonement. The wide variety of non-Septuagintal phrases indicates that the biblical work has been done at the earliest possible period, very probably by Jesus Himself. The results have entered into the normal Christian speech, and there is no need to adduce the specific text.³⁶⁵

There is reason to believe that further O.T. background to Mk. 10:45 is found in Daniel, especially Dan. 12:3 which, if it refers to Isa. 53:11b, is a pre-Christian interpretation of Isa. 53. The "many" (rabbim) of Dan. 12:3 are those from Israel who led many to righteousness.³⁶⁶ According to H. L. Ginsberg it is unquestionable that the writer of Dan. 11, 12 has identified the Servant of Isa. 52:13-53:12 with the maskilim (the enlightened, enlighteners) of his day, and the many of the same passage with the many of Dan. 11:33, 34. The maskilim, like the Servant, justify the many not only by instruction (Dan. 11:33) but by suffering martyrdom and then being resurrected (Dan. 12:3). The final glory of these martyrs is strikingly similar to that of the Servant.³⁶⁷ These themes of Daniel are also carried on in I Enoch: the suffering theme,³⁶⁸ the same close relation of the Son of Man figure to his people,³⁶⁹ and the ultimate glorification.³⁷⁰

This background in Isaiah's Servant and the Son of Man of Daniel and Enoch shows that Judaism developed its theology of martyrdom in order to meet the contemporary situation of persecution.³⁷¹ This fact is demonstrated by Barrett, who shows that the significance given to suffering combined with a new "individualism" in

Judaism produced the classic formula of Dan. 12:2. Relating this to the Jewish corporate concepts, the martyr's death was seen to influence the people as a whole (II Maccabees 7:37f.) as intercessors, making atonement for Israel (cf. IV Maccabees 6:27ff.; 17:22; 18:4).³⁷² Suffering was even said to be of greater value than offerings, since these atone for only particular sins, whereas suffering (especially martyrdom) atones for all sins.³⁷³ There may have been a martyr theology in the Essene community as well.³⁷⁴ Thus late Judaism had a means of atonement, except for heathen nations which were excluded.³⁷⁵

The preceding discussion shows that the O.T. and late Judaism provided adequate background to Mk. 10:45, making it unnecessary to resort to supposed Pauline influence³⁷⁶ or to the redemptive ideas of Hellenistic Christianity.³⁷⁷ It is more likely that Mk. 10:45 represents a tradition which accounts for the "Pauline" way of speaking about Jesus' death, and thus cannot be interpreted via Paul.³⁷⁸ This renders void the argument that Lk. 22:27 is more original than Mk. 10:45, the latter being a rewriting of the logion in favor of Pauline redemptive theology.³⁷⁹

The parallel to Mk. 10:45 in Lk. 22:27 is said to have come down by way of a tradition independent of Mk. 10:45,³⁸⁰ though probably the two are ultimately derived from the same source.³⁸¹ Mark's antithesis, οὐ σακκοῦθησὴναι ἀλλὰ σακκοῦσθαι, rather than showing alteration of Luke's form (as Bousset thought³⁸²), is probably more original.³⁸³ Mark's Palestinian language is certainly more primitive than Luke's more Hellenistic.³⁸⁴ The greater age of Mark may also be indicated by the ἐν ὑμῖν of Luke which may possibly point to a later stage in the tradition.³⁸⁵

Luke's form may be closer to the original in its omission of the phrase found in Mk. 10:45b,³⁸⁶ if this addition is a gloss on serving, which is not certain.³⁸⁷ The ἡλθεν, which views the mission of the Son of Man as a whole, could also be later.³⁸⁸

Mark 10:45a may have been transmitted alone, 45b being a secondary addition. If this is so, it would seem not only to fit the context better but also to accord with Lk. 22:27 (excepting of course that Luke does not have the Son of Man title).³⁸⁹

Mark 10:45 also fits the general nature of the present sayings, being particularly paralleled by Mt. 11:19par. and Lk. 19:10 which regarded the mission as a whole, "he is come."³⁹⁰ There may be a limited parallel as well to Mk. 2:10, 28 (which emphasize the Son of Man's authority on earth) in that here too, it is his coming to serve which is the authoritative example to the disciples that they should serve as well.³⁹¹ The latter parallel should not be pressed, however, since Mk. 2:10, 28 are set in the context of disputes concerning Jesus' authority. Here there is no dispute, though there may have been a misunderstanding of the nature of Jesus' mission. A parallel is found as well in Mt. 8:20, which like Mk. 10:45 relates the disciples' behavior to Jesus and, again like Mk. 10:45, speaks of the lowly Son of Man. Tödt, whose interpretation of the present sayings as emphasizing the full authority of the Son of Man has been found to need qualification, thinks the humility of the Son of Man in these earlier sayings (present sayings) was imposed upon him from without,³⁹² whereas in Mk. 10:45 it is represented as an inward, voluntary humility, and as part of the Son of Man's mission. But does this distinction stand up? In Mt. 8:20 the homelessness of the Son of Man was perhaps due in part to the

Son of Man's rejection by men (as Tödt emphasizes), but it may have been due as well to the nature of Jesus' itinerant ministry and his personal poverty, both factors brought about voluntarily. The scorn he incurred from eating with sinners and outcasts (Mt. 11:19par.) was again due in part to his rejection by men, but surely an inward humility prompted Jesus to associate with the downtrodden and humiliated, before he encountered this rejection. Again to a lesser extent this inward humility is seen in Mt. 12:32, where the rejection and blasphemy of the Son of Man is said to be forgivable. Only the inwardly humble Son of Man would willingly have placed himself in such a position to encounter men's rejection and would have reacted so meekly to it. One should not therefore eliminate this saying because it gives a "new" view of "inward humility": to do so, by emphasizing the thought of authority, is to miss the point of the logion.³⁹³

The phrase in Mk. 10:45b poses certain interpretative problems. Barrett thinks that just as there is a contrast in 45a, a contrast is implied in 45b: the Son of Man gives life, rather than destroying it.³⁹⁴ But more common is the view that 45b is a gloss on the serving saying in 45a.³⁹⁵ Thus Lk. 22:27 is more original in omitting 45b.³⁹⁶ But Mark's addition (if such it be) is not then to be thought to come from the "redemptive theories of Hellenistic Christianity",³⁹⁷ since the Palestinian origin of the saying is clearly established.³⁹⁸ The phrase in 45b could be, as Tödt thinks it is, a Palestinian gloss on the serving, inasmuch as 45a can stand complete without 45b.³⁹⁹ And it is precisely the nature of 45a, where the Son of Man of his own volition seeks the humility of serving, which offers the possibility of appending the Christological-soteriological interpretation of Isa. 53 in 45b.⁴⁰⁰ In this way Mk. 10:45

bridges the present sayings and the passion sayings,⁴⁰¹ finding the connection in the word "serve".

It has been said that a tension exists between 45a and 45b (indicating that 45b is secondary) in that 45a offers a summons to the disciples not just to follow the example of Jesus, but to make their behavior correspond to his, whereas in 45b this correspondence of behavior is impossible.⁴⁰² If, however, the martyrdom theology of Daniel is in the background of 45b, then it is not inconceivable that the disciples' behavior could correspond to Jesus' in his death as a martyr and a "ransom for many". That this is the case might be inferred from the context as well, since the question of the disciples' place at Jesus' right and left hands in his glory has provided the setting for this saying.

What is the connection between 45a and 45b? Does service include dying as a ransom? A. Schweitzer thought so: "In the case of Jesus it meant the bitter suffering of death. Both count as serving, inasmuch as they establish a claim to a position of rule in the kingdom."⁴⁰³ If Jesus then thought of his passion in terms of atonement,⁴⁰⁴ this seems to introduce a new element into the Son of Man concept.⁴⁰⁵ But this may be more a difference of emphasis than a radical new departure, redemption being an aspect of serving.⁴⁰⁶ The suffering aspect does fit the context: the *οὐ . . . ἀλλὰ* contrast in 45a follows the situation when some of the disciples wanted more to be served than to serve (Mk. 10:37), to which Jesus replied by promising that they would suffer as he will (v.39).⁴⁰⁷

What is the meaning of Son of Man here? Tödt finds Mk. 10:45 unique among the present sayings in that it speaks

of a deliberate humility of the Son of Man.⁴⁰⁸ But the distinction he draws has already been seen to be perhaps exaggerated: both in Mt. 8:20 and in Mt. 11:19 there is an inward, essential humility which led the Son of Man to put himself in the humble place where he could be rejected and reproached. Thus it is not wholly true that it is only in Mk. 10:45⁴⁰⁹ that the paradox appears of the sovereign one becoming the lowly one.⁴¹⁰ But the contrast (οὐ . . . ἀλλὰ) perhaps indicates that it was thought the Son of Man had come to be ministered to, since Dan. 7:14 says all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him.⁴¹¹ According to Mk. 10:45, then, the picture of the glorious Son of Man who comes that all may serve him is incomplete: the Son of Man came to serve.⁴¹² This serving includes suffering as well: the Son of Man will suffer before his coming into glory. The triumph of the Son of Man will show God accepts the atoning suffering of martyrs for his people (according to the Danielic martyr theology). The Son of Man has a special relationship to mankind and suffers in a representative capacity: his suffering, like the martyrs', is happārāh, λούτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν.⁴¹³ The close parallel to Mk. 10:45 in Lk. 22:27 is the most explicit reference on the lips of Jesus to his role as Servant of the Lord.⁴¹⁴ "It is as if Jesus said, 'The Son of Man came to fulfill the task of the ebed Yahweh.' Jesus consciously united in his person the two central concepts of the Jewish faith, barnasha and ebed Yahweh."⁴¹⁵

Mark 8:31; 9:31 (and 9:12); 10:33f.

Of the other Marcan suffering Son of Man sayings, one may group together Mk. 8:31; 9:31 (and 9:12); and 10:33f.--all

of which have the same "framework", even if they do exhibit verbal differences.⁴¹⁶

If it can be established that Isa. 53 stands behind the passion saying in Mk. 10:45,⁴¹⁷ there is considerably more disagreement whether Jesus spoke of his sufferings in terms of Isa. 53 in these passion predictions. In his Mission and Achievement of Jesus⁴¹⁸ Fuller set out in detail the phrases in these passion sayings which seem to reproduce the Hebrew of Isa. 53: (1) set at nought, *ἐξουδενηθή* (Isa. 53:3) פָּיַדָּ , (2) be rejected, Mark's *ἀποδοκιμασθήναι* paraphrases the Hebrew לִפְנֵי , (3) the hands of men echoes the בְּיַד־אֲנָשִׁים of Isa. 53:3. (In addition there are the phrases from Mk. 10:45: give his life a ransom, *δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον* and, for many, *ἀντὶ πολλῶν*). There are the more general terms as well, of suffering many things, *πολλὰ παθεῖν*, and being killed, *ἀποκτανθῆναι* (and the general term in Mk. 10:45, "minister"). Tödt has posited sources other than Isa. 53 for these elements of the passion sayings: (1) and (2) are, he feels, variant translations of Psa. 118:22, the *ἐξουδενηθή* of Mk. 9:12 occurring in a quotation of the Psalm in Acts 4:11, and the *ἀποδοκιμασθήναι* of Mk. 8:31 occurring in a quotation of the Psalm in Mk. 12:10.⁴¹⁹ This leaves only the *εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων* (Mk. 9:31) as possibly echoing the Hebrew 'isham of Isa. 53:3 (though the phrases in Mk. 10:45b are recognized as referring to Isa. 53).

Although Bultmann relegated them to the Hellenistic church,⁴²⁰ the Palestinian milieu of these passion predictions has been firmly established.⁴²¹ Mark 9:31 is the most certainly Palestinian, for it uses the formula *παράδιδόσθαι εἰς χεῖρας τίνος*, which comes from the Palestinian language milieu.⁴²²

Inasmuch as Mk. 8:31 and 10:33f. conform to Mk. 9:31, they too may be of Palestinian origin. Further indication of their Palestinian derivation is seen in the use of ἀποκτανθῆναι (in Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:34) not the Hellenistic σταυρωθῆναι, and in the use of ἀναστῆναι.⁴²³

It may be possible to trace this group of sayings even farther back in the history of tradition, at the same time noticing their O.T. roots. I. H. Marshall has offered several arguments which may lead beyond the Palestinian community into the teaching of Jesus for the setting of these logia.⁴²⁴

(1) There are two indications of the antiquity of the reference to the Son of Man being delivered up: (a) the characteristic παραδίδωμι is not linked with Christ, but rather with Son of Man, Lord Jesus, and God's Son; and (b) if a reference to Isa. 53 is not certain in the Gospels, it is much more evident in such pre-Pauline texts as Rom. 4:25; 8:32; and I Cor. 16:23.

(2) Psalm 118:22, which is said to have provided the ἐξουθενηθῆναι of Mk. 9:12 and the ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι of Mk. 8:31, was known to Jesus, as Mk. 12:10 shows.⁴²⁵

(3) The description of the Jewish authorities is consistent with what Jesus might have said, and εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων is an O.T. expression.

(4) That it is death rather than crucifixion which is spoken of indicates an early form of the prediction.

(5) The oldest resurrection predictions refer to "after three days". This ambiguous form in Mark is changed by Matthew and Luke to the later form "on the third day". The earliest

kerygmatic reference, I Cor. 15:4 (there is no indication that "after three days" was used in the kerygma), has "on the third day" and it is likely that the more precise "on the third day" replaced in the kerygma the original ambiguous wording of Jesus.

Mark 14:21; 14:41

Two Marcan Son of Man passion predictions remain to be discussed: Mk. 14:21 and Mk. 14:41. Both have been taken as church creations,⁴²⁶ but there are reasons for thinking they must be placed early in the history of tradition. These sayings, like others, may have been in a different place--that is, they may have "floated" independently in the tradition for a time, but this does not say anything about their authenticity.⁴²⁷

What indications are there of the milieu from which these sayings have come? Both sayings employ vocabulary which is probably early. In Mk. 14:21 there are four such indications:

- (1) ὑπάγω, meaning "to go to death", occurs only here and in the Fourth Gospel (which has "I" in place of Mark's Son of Man, cf. John 8:14, 21ff; 13:3, 33; 14:4, 28; 16:5, 10, 17). The widespread use of the expression in John supports the general reliability of Mk. 14:21 in using the expression on Jesus' lips.⁴²⁸ Behind this Greek expression may very well be the Aramaic ܘܢܝܐ, "to go away; to fail, cease, vanish."⁴²⁹ Probably "I go" was for Jesus a favorite way of speaking.⁴³⁰

(2) καλόν, for the comparative is a well attested Semitism.⁴³¹

(3) The combination of μέν and δέ is rare in Mark.⁴³²

(4) The word play on "that man" and Son of Man⁴³³ would have been clear in Aramaic. It recalls Mk. 9:31 and Lk. 9:44 where there is opposition between sinful men and the Son of Man.

The conclusion is justifiable then that Mk. 14:21 comes from the Palestinian language sphere.⁴³⁴

Similarly there are indications of early vocabulary in Mk. 14:41:

(1) It has been suggested that behind ἀπέχειν, a difficult crux interpretum, there is an Aramaic proverb which has been misread and so gave rise to the awkward Greek text of Mk. 14:41 and to the variant which D gives, ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡ ὥρα.⁴³⁵

(2) The expression εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν is Semitic.⁴³⁶

(3) The hour is come, ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα, is paralleled by John 12:23, Ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. This fact, rather than providing ground for dismissing Mk. 14:41,⁴³⁷ indicates that Son of Man and ὥρα were linked in two widely different traditions.⁴³⁸

In both Mk. 14:21 and 14:41 Son of Man is joined with παραδίδωμι, as it is as well in Mk. 9:31 and 10:33.⁴³⁹ These sayings emphasize the irony of the situation in which the Son of Man, whose authority is seen in his earthly activity of forgiving sins (Mk. 2:10) and being lord of the Sabbath (Mk. 2:28), is delivered up to the men who deny his authority and refuse to acknowledge him. "As in Daniel, the usurping powers of evil are triumphant: the Son of Man is handed over into the hands of sinners."⁴⁴⁰

Special Traditions

Matthew 26:2

This saying appears as a sort of introduction to Matthew's account of the crucifixion. The directness of this prediction, in terms both of its apparently precise dating of the crucifixion (after two days) and of its designating the

manner of death as crucifixion, rather than a general prediction of death as in Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:34, may suggest it has been rephrased in terms indicative of the fuller understanding of the circumstances of Jesus' death after it had occurred.

Luke 22:48

This saying most probably is not a Lukan modification of a Markan source but is rather from the special Lukan source.⁴⁴¹ The saying then comes from an early tradition which used the Son of Man title in association with Jesus' betrayal. It fits well the whole pattern of Son of Man passion sayings and is consistent with them. It provides a dramatic climax to the whole theme, "the Son of Man is betrayed."⁴⁴² Possibly the use of the Son of Man title by Luke in Jesus' rebuke of Judas is meant to indicate the enormity of the crime Judas is committing.⁴⁴³ This may be true not only because the one betrayed is the Son of Man but also because the betrayer is himself one of the Son of Man community.

Luke 24:7

Whether this saying is the work of an editor who has joined together Lk. 9:22 and 9:44,⁴⁴⁴ or is a reworking of Markan passion sayings,⁴⁴⁵ or is independent tradition,⁴⁴⁶ the language of the saying is certainly traditional.

Careful examination shows that each word and phrase in this logion is firmly embedded in the tradition. The construction (hyperbaton) of the opening of the sentence is Semitic, more Hebrew or Aramaic than Greek.⁴⁴⁷

The $\delta\epsilon\iota$ is used to note the necessity of the Son of Man's betrayal, crucifixion, and rising in order to fulfill the scriptures.⁴⁴⁸ This apodictic $\delta\epsilon\iota$ is absent from Mk. 9:31 but may be reflected in the $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$ of Mt. 17:22 = Lk. 9:44.⁴⁴⁹

It is reflected in the Johannine Son of Man sayings, especially John 3:14, where it is said the Son of Man must (the *dei* of divine imperative⁴⁵⁰) be lifted up (= suffering crucifixion and rising, both of which John comprehends in a single *ὑψωθῆναι*⁴⁵¹).

The *παραδιδόναι*, whether by itself a formula as Jeremias says⁴⁵² or not,⁴⁵³ is widespread in the tradition, occurring at Mk. 9:31; 10:33; 14:21, 41; Lk. 22:48; Mt. 26:2. It is certainly to be regarded as a formula when combined with "into the hands of men/sinners".⁴⁵⁴ The non-Hellenistic and pre-Pauline origin of the term is indicated by its occurrence in pre-Pauline texts (Rom. 4:25; 8:32; I Cor. 11:23) which agree with Acts. 3:13 and by the fact that it is never used in association with the title "Christ".⁴⁵⁵

The phrase *εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν* in Lk. 24:7 (cf. Mk. 14:41, *εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν*) is another traditional phrase. "Into the hands of men" is an O.T. expression⁴⁵⁶ (cf., e.g., Judges 2:14; 6:13; 10:7; II Sam. 21:9; Job 16:11; *et al.*). There is a play on words in the Aramaic behind Mk. 9:31 *אֲשֶׁר יִנְיָ / אֲשֶׁר יָבַ*, "sons of men"/Son of Man.⁴⁵⁷

Another Aramaism occurs in Lk. 24:7 in the use of *ἄνθρωπος* as an indefinite, *ἄνθρωποι* (= *τινες*) *ἁμαρτωλοί* (= *חַוְּיָ יִי 7 7 7*).⁴⁵⁸ Furthermore, the combination of "to be delivered" with "into the hands of men/sinners" is a formula which comes from the Palestinian milieu.⁴⁵⁹

Luke's *σταυρωθῆναι*, which is a familiar kerygmatic term,⁴⁶⁰ is often taken as a later, more precise substitution for the more general *ὑποκτείνω* (*ἀποθανῆναι*).⁴⁶¹ But John, by contrast, uses the more general *ὑψωθῆναι* for *σταυρωθῆναι*.⁴⁶²

The later, more precise τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ of Lk. 24:7 has replaced the earlier ambiguous μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας (cf. Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:34, all pre-Markan).⁴⁶³ This replacement of the earlier phrase by the more precise one in Matthew and Luke (Mt. 16:21 = Lk. 9:22; Mt. 17:23; 20:19 = Lk. 18:33) corresponds to the replacement of "kill" in the passion announcements by the kerygmatic term "crucify" (Mt. 20:19; 26:2; Lk. 24:7).⁴⁶⁴ In view of the fact that the earlier kerygmatic reference (in I Cor. 15:4) has τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ whereas μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας does not appear (cf. Acts 10:40), the conclusion is well founded that "after three days" was the original, ambiguous wording used by Jesus; it could mean 'after a short time,' but it was given unequivocal precision in the kerygma.⁴⁶⁵

Luke 24:7 (like Lk. 18:33) uses the probably early term ἀναστῆναι, which is found in the pre-Markan tradition (Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:34).⁴⁶⁶ Tödt believes the ἀναστῆναι is earlier than the ἐγερθῆναι of Mt. 16:21 = Lk. 9:22; Mt. 17:23; 20:19 (and Acts 10:40), primarily because of the scriptural text fundamental to the resurrection predictions, namely Hosea 6:2, which has supplied the τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, the verb, and therefore must surely have contributed this term to the tradition as well.⁴⁶⁷ But there is the possibility that the resurrection announcements derive from a tradition based on an interpretation in terms of resurrection of a non-Septuagintal text of Hosea. This possibility is suggested by the fact that, in addition to the ἀναστῆναι from Hosea 6:2 (LXX) in the resurrection sayings of Mark, there is the ἐγερθῆναι of Mt. 16:21 = Lk. 9:22; Mt. 17:23; 20:19. Since the early kerygmatic reference in I Cor. 15:4 used the ἐγείρω it seems not unlikely that the ἐγείρω may in fact be the older term.⁴⁶⁸ The likelihood of this possibility is strengthened by

the existence of a Jewish targum, almost certainly pre-Christian, which interprets Hosea 6:2 of resurrection. "It seems highly probable that the original inspiration of the Gospel resurrection predictions is to be traced to this Aramaic interpretation of Hosea 6:2. It is certainly a very old Jewish pesher tradition indeed which is embedded in the New Testament kerygma."⁴⁶⁹

The history of tradition of this rising of the Son of Man reaches its theological apex in John's Gospel when he introduces the term ὑψωθῆναι (this time from Isa. 52:13,⁴⁷⁰ not from Hosea 6:2) as a single term embracing the whole salvation history sequence--suffering, death, and resurrection (cf. John 3:14).⁴⁷¹ John's distinctive contribution is that he sees the lifting up of the Son of Man not just finally in his exaltation/resurrection but already in his crucifixion.⁴⁷²

This progression of thought may be diagrammed as follows:

ἐρεῖπω ————— ἀναστῆναι ————— ὑψωθῆναι

(Hosea 6:2) Targum	(Hosea 6:2) LXX	(Isa. 52:13) Aramaic behind
(Mt. 16:21 = Lk. 9:22)	Mk. 8:31	ὑψωθῆναι = ܘܦܫܘܬܝܢܐ
Mt. 17:23; 20:19	9:31	John 3:14
	10:34	8:28
	Lk. 18:33	12:34
	24:7	(ܫܘܚܘܫܝܢܐ) 12:23; 13:31

In this saying, which attributes to Jesus a prediction of his passion and resurrection (in terms of scripture, Lk. 24:26-27), in the traditional language coming from very early tradition and based on a non-Septuagintal interpretation of Hosea 6:2, one finds a logion which, in spite of its context in a post-resurrection appearance,⁴⁷³ may in fact go back to the teaching of Jesus himself.⁴⁷⁴

NOTES

¹R. H. Fuller, The Mission and Achievement of Jesus, pp. 96, 97 (where he classifies the Son of Man sayings).

²On the relation to Mark 13, see G. R. Beasley-Murray, A Commentary on Mark Thirteen, pp. 227-31; cf. also V. Taylor, "The 'Son of Man' Sayings Relating to the Parousia", E.T. 58 (1947), 12-5, who clearly charts (p. 13) the sayings in both Mark and Q and concludes, "The Apocalyptic Document embedded in Mark 13 is a lodestone which has attracted to itself the majority of the sayings about the Coming of the Son of Man." (Italics his.)

³N. Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, pp. 173-81; the clouds of Dan. 7:13 are taken over as a fixed element in the presentation of the eschatological Son of Man in early Christian tradition (cf. Mk. 13:26; 14:62). Lohmeyer cites II Macc. 2:7 to show that clouds are an eschatological motif.

⁴J.-C. Ingelaere, "La «parabole» du jugement dernier", R.H.P.R. 50 (1970), 23-60; he cites (p. 26) K. Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew, pp. 80, 212ff.

⁵Ingelaere, ibid., p. 26: "La mention de la gloire doit aussi venir de Daniel. La $\delta\acute{o}\zeta\alpha$ apparait en effet dans la version de la Septante en Dn. 7/14."

⁶See the discussion of this Q saying in Anton Vögtle, "Der Spruch vom Jonaszeichen" in Synoptische Studien (Alfred Wikenhauser Festschrift; München: Karl Zink Verlag, 1953), pp. 272ff.

⁷Perrin, Rediscovering, pp. 191ff.

⁸He finds that b, c, and d are joined editorially in Q; a is a variant of b, having omitted "except the sign of Jonah" (apparently because it was thought other signs were given, such as Jesus' miracles). Q has the regular Semitic idiom. Perrin concludes that Mk. 8:12 comes from Mt. 12:39 = Lk. 11:29. D was independent of c, since there is no mention of a sign in d.

Regarding the differences between Matthew and Luke, McNeile prefers the order of Luke (which Matthew, he feels, has probably reversed). The sayings were probably connected with the sign of Jonah from the very beginning (McNeile, Matthew, p. 182). Klostermann thinks Matthew is a development of an older source (Matthäusevangelium, p. 245).

⁹Perrin, Rediscovering, pp. 194-5. K. Stendahl, omitting Mt. 12:40 as a later Christian interpretation, takes the meaning of the sign for Matthew to have been the preaching ministry ("Matthew" in Peake's Commentary, p. 781).

Other interpreters who feel the sign is the preaching are Leaney (Luke, p. 92), noting Lk. 11:32, and Ellis (Luke, p. 166), who likewise notes that in Luke the sign is the message brought and the power in which it is manifest (Lk. 7:21ff.; cf. Jn. 2:18ff.).

Another view is that of W. Wink (John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition, p. 22, n. 2). He notes O. Cullmann (Peter, Disciple, Apostle, Martyr [2d rev. and expanded ed.; trans. by Floyd F. Filson; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962] pp. 21f.) compares Mt. 16:17 with Jn. 1:42; 21:15f. to show that Jonah can serve as a shortened form of John. It is possible, Wink suggests, that "the sign of Jonah", Lk. 11:29, 30; Mt. 12:39-41, is a deliberately veiled allusion to the repentance preaching of John (cf. C. H. Kraeling, John the Baptist [New York: Scribners, 1951], pp. 136f., who considers the Lukan form an authentic saying of Jesus). By this word play John is certified as a prophet in the tradition of Jonah, whose mission is the preaching of repentance prior to an act of God anticipated as judgment but received as grace. The passage would thus be one more witness to the enormous solidarity between John and Jesus, who stakes the issue of his entire ministry on the single eschatological sign of John's preaching of repentance.

¹⁰Perrin, Rediscovering, pp. 194-5. He draws from C. Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου". The sign of Jonah is complete and the interpretation only comes later, either from Jesus himself or from the early community. Matthew 12:40 interprets the sign as in the passion predictions and the narrative of Mt. 16:21; 27:63. His interpretation of Lk. 11:30, which takes it as a product of the early church is disputed by Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 53ff.

¹¹Klostermann, Matthäusevangelium, p. 245.

¹²F. Filson, Matthew, p. 152.

¹³R. T. France, Jesus and the Old Testament, pp. 80-2; he vigorously defends the authenticity of the saying.

¹⁴Perrin, Rediscovering, pp. 194f.

¹⁵Black, Aramaic Approach, p. 134.

¹⁶R. G. Hammerton-Kelly, Pre-existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man, p. 36, brings in the wisdom theme here, which he feels is important Son of Man background, in suggesting that Jesus seems to be identified with the Son of Man in his capacity as the wise man and the prophet greater than Solomon and Jonah respectively.

¹⁷Richard Edwards, The Sign of Jonah in the Theology of the Evangelists and Q (Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series,

No. 18; London: S.C.M., 1971), p. 97, believes Mt. 12:40 to be the work of the Evangelist who has put the quotation in place of the eschatological correlative he received from Q in order to clarify the meaning of the refusal of a sign and its exception.

¹⁸ Though it is said the early Christians would have had no eyewitnesses accessible to them so the account must be fictitious; thus M. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, pp. 192ff.; H. Leitzmann, Der Prozess Jesu (Sitzungsbericht der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften 14; 1931), pp. 312-22; Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 269ff., 433; Nineham, Mark, p. 401.

On the other hand, see A. J. B. Higgins, Jesus and the Son of Man, p. 67 (though he still doubts the accuracy, but not the historicity, of the account); V. Taylor, Mark, in loc.; Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, p. 50; Cranfield, Mark, p. 439. It may have been Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea who gave this report to the early Christians (though Nineham, Mark, p. 402, rejects this as speculation). It is probable that the charges against Jesus would have been well known, since the Jewish leaders would feel the need for justification of the execution of someone as popular as Jesus.

¹⁹ M. Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 163ff., gives a bibliography of recent attempts to uphold the reliability of Mk. 14:62 (p. 164, n. 1). Cf. Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 66ff.; see in particular E. Dabrowski, "The Trial of Christ in Recent Research", Studia Evangelica, Vol. IV in Texte und Untersuchungen 102 (1968), pp. 21-28.

²⁰ Nineham, Mark, p. 400.

²¹ So M. Goguel, La Vie de Jesus, p. 495; idem, "A propos du proces de Jesus", Z.N.W. 31 (1937), 298f.; Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, pp. 48-51; Dodd, Parables, p. 91, n. 1; Taylor, Mark, pp. 565, 570; J. Blinzer, Trial of Jesus (trans. from 2d rev. and enlarged ed. by Isabel and Florence McHugh; Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1959), pp. 7f. (who rather suggests, pp. 59ff., that Mk. 14:53 was indeed a legal sentence passed on Jesus and the law of the Mishnah had not yet come into force).

Nineham, Mark, p. 401, notes that this view then harmonizes with John's account (19:13ff., 24, 28ff.) which implies informal proceedings before the trial by Pilate. Cf. Mk. 15:1 (which Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, thinks earlier), confirming this informal scene: συμβούλιον ἐποιήσαντες (or ποιήσαντες) does not mean hold a council meeting, but rather means to make a decision, form a plot; cf. Mk. 3:6; Mt. 12:14; 22:15; 27:7; 28:12; so W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (trans. and ed. from W. Bauer's Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch, 4th ed.; Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957); cf. Taylor, Mark, pp. 565, 646; A. N. Sherwin-White, Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament (The Sarum Lectures 1960-61; Oxford: Univ. Press, 1963), pp. 44f.; Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 164.

²² Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, Vol. II, p. 51; see as well Jerusalem Talmud, Sanh. 38a (noted by Cranfield); cf. Dalman, The Words of Jesus, p. 200.

²³Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth, p. 342. It is nonetheless strange that Matthew's "Semitic" Gospel does not have this form, whereas Mark's more "Gentile" Gospel has it.

²⁴Dalman, Words, p. 200.

²⁵Nineham, Mark, p. 407; Dalman, Words, pp. 272, 275; Dodd, Interpretation, p. 253; Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 293ff., 368; Cullmann, Christology, p. 274.

²⁶Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 232f.; p. 37, he finds the scene full of christological reflections, especially in the juxtaposition of three titles, Christ, Son of God, and Son of Man. He finds Mk. 8:38 more in line with Q sayings and Mk. 13:26 closer to the traditional apocalyptic.

²⁷Higgins, Son of Man, p. 68; cf. Blinzler, Trial of Jesus, p. 102, n. 30.

²⁸Cranfield, Mark, p. 443. ²⁹Dalman, Words, pp. 200-202.

³⁰Ibid., p. 201; cf. Ex. 15:2; Psa. 46:2; 81:2; Siphre Num. 112 (ed. Friedm. 33a) Jerus. Talmud, Sanh. 28a; Siphre Deut. 319 for further evidence of the use of the Aramaic אלהים (ἰδὲ θεός) as a substitute for God. Cf. E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936), pp. 69f.

³¹A. Harnack, Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1893), p. 65.

³²"The Gospel of Peter", in New Testament Apocrypha (ed. by E. Hennecke; trans. and ed. by R. McLachlan Wilson), pp. 181-2. He finds no thought here of separation of the supreme Christ from the body of flesh. It is closer to the canonical Gospels than to gnosticism, though it prepares for the latter.

³³J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans (1907), p. 215.

³⁴E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem, p. 70, has shown this. See M. Black, The Scrolls and Christians Origins, pp. 64f., 81; idem, Aramaic Approach (3d ed.), p. 95, notes a further Semitism in that some texts omit the definite article before θεός

³⁵See B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 50ff.; Jean Danielou, "La Session à la Droite du Père", in Studia Evangelica (ed. by K. Aland, F. L. Cross, et al., Texte und Untersuchungen 73; 1959), pp. 689-98.

³⁶Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 35.

³⁷E. Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus, p. 40, notes the Pauline ἄνθρωπος (I Cor. 15:45; Dan. 7:13), the Pauline or pre-Pauline ἐν θεοῦ ἰσχυρίᾳ (Phil. 2:7), and the Johannine ἄνθρωπος (Rev. 1:13; 14:14) as equivalent to אלהים of Dan. 7:13. The influence of Dan. 7:13 extends to all three of the Markan Coming Son of Man sayings, 14:62; 13:26 (which two sayings Tödt feels [Synoptic Tradition, pp. 222f.] were influenced

by way of literary medium, as seen in the "unmistakable motif of coming with the clouds") and is not so far from Mk. 8:38.

The influence of Psa. 110:1a is seen as well in Mk. 12:35-37, where the whole verse is cited but only 1a has significance; cf. Heb. 1:3; 8:1; 12:2 (only 1a is cited) and cf. Acts 2:34; I Cor. 15:25; Eph. 1:20; Heb. 1:13; 10:12f., which have both 1a and 1b. In view of the way in which Psa. 110:1a is used in these passages it is not safe to infer 1b is implied when 1a is cited--that is, no reference to the negative function as judge should be read in, but only the positive rule at God's right hand (Tödt, p. 40, n. 1). This needs to be considered with the fact that Psa. 110:1a is used in conjunction with Dan. 7:13, which is closely aligned with the judgment idea of Dan. 7:22 (which Paul knew, I Cor. 6:2), so judgment is not to be ruled out.

³⁸R. P. Martin, Carmen Christi: Philippians ii.5-11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967).

³⁹The fact that this public confession does not fit Mark's theme emphasizing the messianic secret indicates that Mark did not invent it but it must have been so imbedded in the tradition and Mark must have been so convinced of its truth and importance that he included it despite its not fitting.

⁴⁰Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 36, 222f., concedes that Psa. 110 and Dan. 7:13 have influenced early Christian thinkers (as Dodd suggests, According to the Scriptures, pp. 67-69) but doubts Jesus would have formulated sayings about the coming Son of Man with reference to scripture. No support is offered for this far reaching assumption. Jesus cannot have been ignorant of the O.T. and would have had reason to go to the O.T. (as much as the early Christians would have had) for help in shaping his own teaching. One reason Tödt finds no authentic sayings with scripture reference is that the very presence of O.T. references is ruled out a priori.

In this connection, but following a different line, N. Perrin suggests ("Mark 14:62", pp. 150-55) that Mk. 14:62 is an historicization (by putting it into the mouth of Jesus) of the joining of two Christian pesher traditions, one starting from the resurrection and using Psa. 110:1 and Dan. 7:13, the other starting from the crucifixion and using Zech. 12:10ff., expanded by adding the idea of the parousia and Dan. 7:13. He traces the development of these traditions (going back to two Jewish interpretations of Dan. 7:13: the messiah coming from God to earth, Midr. Gen. R. 13:11; Numbers R. 13:14; the messiah going to God from earth, Midr. Psalms 2:9; 21:5; p. 151) to their conflation in Mk. 14:62. The first leads through Acts 2:34, Mk. 12:35-37 (the historicization; cf. the theologizing on it in Rom. 8:34; Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1), Acts 7:55f. (where the link is formed with Dan. 7:13 and it is historicized), and Acts 1:9 (where Luke depends on the same pesher tradition). The second tradition is seen in Rev. 1:7 (Dan. 7 in its second Jewish interpretation and Psa. 110:1), Mt. 24:30; Jn. 19:37 (using the Greek text of Zech. 12:10b, 12b, 14a), historicized in Mk. 13:26 (reading it into the teaching of Jesus).

In spite of the great value in much of what Perrin says, especially in the tracing the two traditions to Mk. 14:62, he fails to make his main point, the historicization of this pesher

tradition. He finds the Christian pesher largely parallel to Qumran pesher, but nowhere does he demonstrate that such "historicization" was done at Qumran (either by creating events, or by putting created sayings into the mouth of the "Teacher of Righteousness", for example). Nor is there real reason for thinking Christians have "historicized" here, nor adequate reason to believe this is a church creation (Kümmel, Promise, p. 51, n. 102). Secondly, Perrin, though he notes the Qumran parallels, fails to take into account that the example (paradigm) for the Qumran interpreters was given by the Teacher of Righteousness, who gave the O.T. texts and suggested (or gave the "key") how they should be developed (F. F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, pp. 16, 17; see IQpHab. vii.1-5; viii.1-3). In the same way Christian interpreters may have followed the paradigm of Jesus, as they seem to acknowledge (in such places as Mk. 14:62; cf. Lk. 24:27). Much of Perrin's attempt at identifying this "historicization" is speculative. He does not explain why it is here in Mark's trial scene (of all places) that this pesher has been introduced. The earliest tradition, he says (p. 155), had only which certainly would have fitted a high christology (as in John's "I am" sayings). There is reason therefore to believe that Mk. 14:62 is something more like the "origin" than the "end product" of the Christian pesher tradition.

⁴¹ It was the assumption of the divine prerogative, sitting at the right hand of God, which actually constituted the blasphemy; cf. Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 172f.; O. Linton, "The Trial of Jesus and the Interpretation of Psalm 110", N.T.S. 7, pp. 258-62. See the parallel situation in Mk. 2:5-7, where Jesus is accused of blasphemy for assuming a divine prerogative (forgiving sins).

⁴² Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 172f.; the charge of blasphemy shows that Caiaphas took the "Son of Man" to be Jesus.

⁴³ Higgins, Son of Man, p. 73.

⁴⁴ Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 172f. It is inconceivable that Caiaphas condemned Jesus because he supposed Jesus claimed to be the Son of Man and the disciples preached Jesus as the Son of Man and that both were wrong!

⁴⁵ P. Vielhauer, "Gottesreich und Menschensohn", p. 64, finds Mk. 14:62 is the only place where Jesus identifies himself expressly with the Son of Man; cf. Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 343.

⁴⁶ Vermes, "The Use of ܩܘܡܪܢ / ܩܘܡܪܢ in Jewish Aramaic", pp. 310-30.

⁴⁷ See J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature", J.B.L. 75 (1956), 174-87 (especially pp. 176f. where Allegro states that the equation of the Interpreter of the Law with the Qumran "messiah" is certain). Cf. J. M. Allegro, "Fragment of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrasim", J.B.L. 77 (1958), 350-4.

⁴⁸ This theological position is seen at Qumran in two documents (CDC and 4QFlor.): the Interpreter of the Law, a

leading figure in the founding of the sect (CDC vi.7; vii.18) is identified in 4QFlor. 10-11 and in CDC vii. 18-20 as one of the two "messiahs" of Qumran expectation (Allegro, "Further Messianic References", pp. 176f.). Yet other references in CDC (vii.21; xiv. 19; xx.1) speak of the appearance of the "messiahs" of Aaron and Israel as yet future. The reason that the same document (CDC) speaks of the coming "messiahs" and yet identifies at least one (possibly both; D. Flusser, "Two Notes on the Midrash on 2 Sam. 7", Israel Exploration Journal 9 (1959), 99-109, argues strongly that the Interpreter of the Law was a messianic pretender and suggests the same of the Teacher of Righteousness; see also A. Dupont-Sommer, Dead Sea Scrolls (1952); H. H. Rowley, E.T. 63, p. 382; M. Black, "The Servant of the Lord and the Son of Man", pp. 4f.; F. F. Bruce, The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts, pp. 35ff.; R. N. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity, pp. 71-3) with a present historical character is its theology which demands the success of a messianic pretender before the title can be ascribed to him. The idea is not greatly different from than in Haggai 2:20-23 where Zerubbabel is designated for the present as "governor of Judah", but in the Day of the Lord, he will be "God's Servant" (A. S. van der Woude, Der messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân, p. 116: in the same way Bar Kochba called himself "prince" (מלך) rather than king or messiah, since he had not yet done the work expected of the messiah). Again Judas of Galilee (Acts 5:37) was a pretender but not "messiah" when he died. Josephus (Jewish Wars, II, 444) adds that on Judas' murder his status as pretender was given to his son (Flusser, p. 107).

⁴⁹J. C. O'Neill, "The Silence of Jesus", N.T.S. 15, 153-67, also suggests that the Jews would expect the Messiah not to claim to be messiah but to wait for God to enthrone him.

⁵⁰Moule, "The Influence of Circumstances", p. 257.

⁵¹Moule, "From Defendant to Judge", p. 49.

⁵²Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 170; Lohmeyer, Markus, pp. 328f., takes it as two ways of referring to divine functions; cf. Higgins, Son of Man, p. 72.

⁵³Lohmeyer, Markus, p. 328, doubts Dan. 7 refers to exaltation. Manson, "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch, and the Gospels", p. 126, says it is not a semi-divine figure coming down from God to bring deliverance but a human figure going up to receive it. But cf. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, pp. 45, n. 2, 51, who says the spatial terms cannot be pressed, so this is exaltation (as in Dan. 7) not parousia. E. Schweizer, Lordship and Discipleship, p. 39, n. 4 (and "Der Menschensohn", Z.N.W. 50 (1959), 185-209), accepts no parousia sayings but thinks behind Mk. 14:62 is a reference to exaltation, misunderstood as parousia by Mark. For a critique of Schweizer, see M. Black, "The Son of Man Problem in Recent Research", p. 308; cf. T. F. Glasson, "The Reply to Caiaphas (Mark xiv.62)", 88-93; Robinson, "Expository Problems", 336-40; V. Taylor, Mark, p. 569.

⁵⁴Though P. Vielhauer, "Gottesreich", p. 54, finds no mention of the kingdom of God here and uses this as support for

his view that the kingdom of God and the Son of Man are not associated and thus Jesus could not have identified himself as the Son of Man.

⁵⁵The ὄψεσθε is thus taken in the sense of a spiritual experience; Kümmel, Promise, p. 50; n. 102, cites K. Weiss, Irrtumslosigkeit, pp. 175ff.; G. S. Duncan, Jesus Son of Man, pp. 175ff., 181; N. B. Stonehouse, The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ, pp. 240f.; V. Taylor, "The 'Son of Man' Sayings Relating to the Parousia", pp. 3f.

⁵⁶Glasson, "The Reply to Caiaphas", p. 89; cf. Matthew's ὁπὶ ἄρτι which it is unlikely Matthew would insert, since he has a tendency to eschatology; thus it is exaltation here. Cf. Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 169; E. Schweizer, "Der Menschensohn", p. 195, suggests Mark misunderstood exaltation as parousia and inverted the sequence.

⁵⁷Glasson, "The Reply to Caiaphas", 88-93.

⁵⁸Noted by Beasley-Murray, Mark Thirteen, p. 91. He concludes that Dan. 7 and Jesus' teaching (especially Mk. 13:26 and 14:62) refer to the parousia only. Cf. Higgins, Son of Man, p. 72; Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 45, who points to Mk. 8:38 where the reference to the parousia is clear, but without the apocalyptic description and in contrast to Lk. 12:8f. The parousia is indicated by the "stereotyped characteristics" from the stock of tradition (so Tödt).

⁵⁹Beasley-Murray, Mark Thirteen, p. 91; Higgins, Son of Man, p. 73, says the saying refers to the parousia, not just to exaltation.

⁶⁰Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 285, n. 2, finds no exaltation in Mk. 14:62 and no allusion to an act of enthronement; the saying rather means that he who will come at the parousia comes with the authority of one who sits at God's right hand.

⁶¹This explanation, which seems the best, is offered by Cranfield, Mark, pp. 444f., following J. P. Bercovitz.

⁶²It avoids the necessity of postulating that Mark misunderstood this as a reference to the parousia and thus inverted the sequence (so Schweizer, "Der Menschensohn", p. 195). See Marshall, "The Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 341.

⁶³The simultaneous action would support Tödt's view that the Son of Man sitting and coming at the same time means he comes with authority (Synoptic Tradition, p. 285, n. 2).

⁶⁴Perrin, "Mark XIV.62", p. 151.

⁶⁵Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 170, n. 1, citing the opinion of Rabbi Isidore Epstein, quoted by Glasson, "The Reply to Caiaphas", p. 63.

⁶⁶So Eugen Walter, Das Kommen des Herrn II. Die Eschato-

logische Situation nach den synoptischen Evangelien (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1942), p. 90, who takes this as a reference to the present experience of exaltation and the future witnessing of the parousia. Jewish exegesis also takes Dan. 7 both ways (see Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, in loc.).

⁶⁷Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 171. Though Tödt (Synoptic Tradition, p. 82) feels Matthew's πλὴν and ἀπ' ἄρτι increase the contrast of Jesus' claim and the parousia announcement (implying the coming Son of Man is someone else), these temporal elements could be merely Matthew's way of indicating that the parousia was not to be expected immediately. Or Matthew's ἀπ' ἄρτι could be ἀπὸ ἄρτι (certainly), so W. Michaelis, "Exegetisches zur Himmelfahrtspredigt", Kirchenblatt für d. ref. Schweiz 108 (1952), p. 115. But Kümmel, Promise, p. 51, doubts this is possible, since Lk. 22:69, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, shows the same need for alteration. Luke follows Matthew's "hereafter" but drops the reference to the parousia (though not because it does not fit his eschatology, as Tödt suggests [Synoptic Tradition, p. 82], as Lk. 21:27 shows), perhaps because it presented a problem to understand in this context or because it was not in his source, if he was not following Mark. Luke's account suggests what will be in force from now, in the new era of the history of salvation (Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 85).

⁶⁸Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 161-8; this is the imagery of vindication and should not be pressed (p. 172); she believes Dan. 7 meant exaltation but the church took it as parousia.

⁶⁹Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, pp. 45, n. 2, 51; thus these terms prove very little; cf. Kümmel, Promise, p. 50.

⁷⁰Moule, "From Defendant to Judge", p. 46.

⁷¹Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 170-1; thus Mk. 14:62 is parallel to Dan. 7 and cannot be rejected on the grounds that judgment precedes the coming of the Son of Man in Dan. 7 but not in Mk. 14:62 (as Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 34f.).

⁷²E. Lohmeyer, Gottesknecht und Davidssohn, pp. 25f.

⁷³Which he refers to the stage of christology when Kyrios is exalted to reign before the parousia.

⁷⁴Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 38.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 39-40; the traits of sovereignty are not different from the apocalyptic concepts but are in a different setting.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 39; cf. also IV Ezra 13.

⁷⁷Moule, "From Defendant to Judge", p. 46.

⁷⁸It could mean that the whole attempt to distinguish church christology from Jesus' teaching about himself is unnecessary

- ⁷⁹Moule, "From Defendant", pp. 40-53.
- ⁸⁰Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 170.
- ⁸¹Matthew Black in a lecture given at the University College of North Wales, Bangor, during the session 1972-73.
- ⁸²Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 44. ⁸³Ibid., p. 40.
- ⁸⁴Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 129.
- ⁸⁵A. Feuillet, "Les origines et la signification de Mt. 10,23b", C.B.Q. 23 (1961), 182-98. Cf. R. E. Nixon's suggestion (p. 829, on Mt. 10:23, in New Bible Commentary [ed. by D. Guthrie, et al.; London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970]) that the Son of Man came in judgment through the Romans in the Jewish Wars. See also R. T. France, Jesus and the Old Testament, p. 140, n. 2.
- ⁸⁶France, Jesus and the Old Testament, pp. 139-40.
- ⁸⁷Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 263. Tödt says (p. 263, n. 2) that in Matthew the church occupied the same position as the fellowship bestowed by Jesus on earth. The church is corpus permixtum, but also (according to Matthew) the sons of the basileia are in the church. But at the judgment it will not suffice to appeal to fellowship on earth with Jesus since this fellowship was not a real one.
- ⁸⁸Cf. W. Schmauch, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, p. 223, n. 2.
- ⁸⁹Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 135. ⁹⁰Ibid.
- ⁹¹Ibid., p. 135, n. 1; cf. the discussion below of Mt. 13:37.
- ⁹²Ibid., p. 79.
- ⁹³McNeile, Matthew, p. 200. He finds no messianic reference here, but he contrasts v. 41 (which does have a messianic reference). If the words of v. 37 were spoken by Jesus, then McNeile says they point to a time after Peter's confession, but this seems to assume a messianic context.
- ^{93a}Higgins, Son of Man, p. 112; cf. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, p. 126.
- ⁹⁴Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 83ff.
- ⁹⁵Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 99f.
- ⁹⁶Marshall, "The Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 348:
 " . . . resurrection and parousia are not two alternative descriptions of the same reality. The resurrection of Jesus is the act by which he is exalted, and the future appearance of the Son of man is of one who already occupies an exalted position. Consequently, there is no conflict between the thought of the resurrection of Jesus and his future coming as the Son of Man, although the two ideas are not brought into connexion with each other in any of the sayings; . . . "

⁹⁷Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 40, believes that Mk. 8:38 at least can be traced back to the preaching of Jesus. See Moule's "From Defendant", pp. 46f.

⁹⁸Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 30. Bultmann has nothing further to say about these sayings as a group and does not exegete them individually.

⁹⁹Fuller, Foundations, p. 124, rejects Mk. 2:10, 28 as church creations, since they reflect Palestinian interests, but he finds that the Q sayings have a freshness and an anchoring in Jesus' ministry which makes it hard to eliminate them, even though they do not fit the Jewish apocalyptic framework.

¹⁰⁰Cf. Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 120.

¹⁰¹G. Bornkamm, "The Stilling of the Storm in Matthew", in Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰²Lampe, "Luke", p. 833. He finds the passage reminiscent of the call of Elisha by Elijah (I Kings 19:19-20); this is noted as well by Leaney, Luke, p. 173. It is noted that Elisha was plowing at the time. Leaney is not certain whether this saying in Luke was invented or not. But it is clear that the authority and urgency of Christ's summons rules out any such delays as Elijah allowed. For a detailed comparison of Matthew's and Luke's accounts, see Stendahl, "Matthew", on Mt. 8:20, p. 781. Cf. Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 57, where he notes that the ideal or symbolic character of the situation is due to the incompatibility of the circumstances and the pathos of the saying.

¹⁰³Filson, Matthew, p. 114.

¹⁰⁴Lohmeyer, Mattäusevangelium, p. 162; cf. Mt. 8:18; 14:9; 14:19, 28; 18:25; 27:58, 64; Lk. 18:40.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 162, n. 2; Lohmeyer thinks ἀπέρχομαι may be a technical term for a disciple. Unfortunately there are gaps in Lohmeyer's commentary and these occur at the places of the other sayings in Matthew.

¹⁰⁶Held, "Matthew as Interpreter of Miracle Stories", in Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, pp. 163-300; see pp. 201-3: the γραμματεὺς of Mt. 8:19 may be possibly regarded as one of the disciples.

¹⁰⁷Fuller, Foundations, p. 148; cf. n. 23a (on p. 176) where he postulates that the original and authentic form read, "He who follows me has nowhere to lay his head", which corresponds to Mk. 8:34. On the authenticity of this, see E. Dinker, Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolph Bultmann (ed. by W. Eltester; 2d ed.; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1957), pp. 110-29, who suggests the cross referred not to Jesus' cross but to the tau sign or seal of God's ownership.

¹⁰⁸Perrin, Rediscovering, p. 45; so J. Jeremias, Unknown

Sayings of Jesus (trans. by R. H. Fuller; London: S.P.C.K., 1957), pp. 54ff.; cf. Lk. 9:50f.

¹⁰⁹Perrin, Rediscovering, p. 144.

¹¹⁰Higgins, Son of Man, p. 126; he feels both sayings are authentic but are not in the Son of Man category. Cf. E. Ellis, Luke, pp. 151-2, for an explanation of the saying on the burying of the dead and the Rabbinical tradition behind it.

¹¹¹Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 27.

¹¹²Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 122.

¹¹³Fuller, Foundations, p. 43; idem, Mission and Achievement, pp. 100, 106f.; cf. A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (London: S.C.M. Press, 1958), p. 129.

Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 150, lists all these present sayings among those where a reference to Jesus is a secondary introduction into the saying, often done without changes or new formulations, and very simply when a saying is put into a particular context: here it is by interpreting of Jesus the "Son of Man"; cf. pp. 15-16.

¹¹⁴Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 123f.

¹¹⁵Manson, Sayings, p. 72, says that the suggestion that mankind in general has no home is "nonsense". Cf. Cullmann, Christology, p. 154, n. 2.

Cf. Higgins, Son of Man, p. 124; he rejects Manson's suggestion that foxes and birds refer to alien powers around Israel but suggest nonetheless that foxes and birds were associated in popular Palestinian speech much as in English, "cats and dogs". Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 122, also rejects Manson's interpretation of foxes and birds as well as his corporate view.

¹¹⁶Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 122-3; cf. Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 125-6.

¹¹⁷Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 341.

¹¹⁸Higgins, Son of Man, p. 124, believes that Son of Man in the Gospels never has a corporate sense.

¹¹⁹Cullmann, Christology, p. 162.

¹²⁰T. Preiss, Fils de l'Homme, pp. 29-30. Cullmann (Christology, p. 163) thinks "Son of Man" was primarily a term of exaltation but he feels it must also suggest humiliation.

¹²¹Kümmel, Promise, p. 46, n. 93: "Matt. 8:20 makes sense only if Jesus is speaking of his own fate, . . ."

¹²²Klostermann, Matthäusevangelium, p. 216. He suggests it meant "I" or was an ironical "dein Menschensohn" or was put in contrast to ἀλώπεκες and πετεινά.

¹²³Ibid., p. 77; he notes the antithetical parallelism. McNeile (Matthew, p. 109) feels that if Son of Man were addressed to one of the twelve after Caesarea Philippi (Peter's confession) it would have made sense but not before then and not to anyone besides the twelve. On the importance of Caesarea Philippi for the meaning of this term, see also M. Black, "The 'Son of Man' in the Teaching of Jesus", p. 35, who feels that "Son of Man" in Mt. 8:20par. ". . . is apocalyptic title only, and Luke's Gospel is probably historical in placing it after Caesarea Philippi."

¹²⁴Hammerton-Kelly, Pre-existence, pp. 29, 43.

¹²⁵See the recent discussion of Psa. 8 as background to the N.T. Son of Man by Wilfrid Stott, "'Son of Man'--A Title of Abasement", p. 279.

¹²⁶Black, "Teaching of Jesus", p. 35. Johannine christology at this point is rooted in the Synoptic tradition (see Chapter IV).

¹²⁷Filson, Matthew, p. 114. He notes this is the first time the term is used in Matthew. The term is Jesus' favorite self-designation in all four Gospels (Mt. 13x; Mk. 14x; Lk. 25x; Jn. 13x--all used by Jesus). Besides signifying the humble lot of Jesus, as here, it at other times means his mission of suffering and death and at still other times means his final triumph and glory. The background of the term he traces to Psa. 2, Ezekiel's son of man, Dan. 7:13, and I Enoch, but the merging of "Son of Man" with suffering servant figure of Isaiah is the work of Jesus. Vielhauer ("Jesus und der Menschensohn", pp. 163-5) objects to understanding this saying in terms of rejection; but, as Marshall notes ("Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 341), his reasons are not clear.

¹²⁸Black, Aramaic Approach, p. 330, notes this verse with others (e.g., 12:41par.; Mk. 14:62par.; Lk. 17:24par, 30) from a core of genuine Son of Man sayings stems from Jesus' mind and relates to both his ministry and his coming.

Cf. Stendahl, "Matthew", p. 781, who says that since there are obviously genuine sayings in the category of "coming glory" ". . . it would be a strange coincidence of language if these were technical and not referring to Jesus but to a celestial figure while the same Aram. term would also have been used conspicuously often by Jesus in an innocent meaning of "I" without any reference to the Son of Man." He believes it was rather the only term which Jesus wanted to use during his earthly ministry and the traditions retain it as such.

¹²⁹Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, p. 252; Manson, Sayings, pp. 66-71; Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 114.

¹³⁰Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 172.

¹³¹Higgins, Son of Man, p. 122; Jeremias, Parables, p. 121, n. 75.

¹³²Higgins, Son of Man, p. 122; McNeile, Matthew, p. 158,

feels the contrast between the manner of life of Jesus and of John is based on an authentic logion but the Evangelists added "Son of Man".

¹³³Higgins, Son of Man, p. 122; Manson, Teaching, pp. 217ff.

¹³⁴Higgins, Son of Man, p. 123; he follows Tödt (Synoptic Tradition, pp. 106-0) in taking the term as a Hoheitsbezeichnung.

¹³⁵Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 117-8; this is further supported by Mt. 8:20par. and possibly by 6:22.

¹³⁶Perrin, Rediscovering, p. 120. It is strongly Semitic and easily retranslated into Aramaic. The reference to children is an observation of Palestinian life characteristic of Jesus, rather than of the church, as is the high view of the Baptist and his ministry (on the same level with Jesus). The opposition to Jesus belongs to the period of his ministry, not to the life of the church. The parable and its application have gone together from the beginning. They both belong to Jesus and fit together so well that they must have been together throughout the tradition.

¹³⁷"Son of Man" occurs only on the lips of Jesus in the Gospels and outside the Gospels only in Acts 7 (the dying Stephen sees the Son of Man at God's right hand) and in Revelation. It is conspicuous by its absence from the christological statements of the epistles (e.g., Phil. 2:5ff. and especially from a passage like Eph. 2:6 referring as it does to the exaltation of "Christ Jesus" to heavenly places; Col. 1:15ff., etc.) and its total absence from Hebrews is significant. See Vernon H. Neufeld, The Earliest Christian Confessions (Vol. V of New Testament Tools and Studies; ed. by Bruce M. Metzger [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963]), pp. 142f. (et passim) who shows the earliest confession of the Gospels was of Jesus as $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (p. 142), which was broadened in the period after the resurrection to express the significance of the death and resurrection of Jesus, a process already reflected in the Gospels in Jesus' "interpretation", in terms of suffering and dying of the Son of Man, of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ after Peter's confession (Mk. 8:31; cf. 9:31; 10:33, 34). One must note that the Gospels always portray "Son of Man" as the teaching title of Jesus, never as a confession of believers.

¹³⁸Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 340.

¹³⁹Schweizer, "Der Menschensohn", 185ff.; idem, "Son of Man", J.B.L. 79 (1960), 119ff. He includes Mt. 11:19par.; 8:20par.; 12:41par.; 24:37par. and possibly also Mk. 8:28. Furthermore he doubts that the Markan passion predictions need be regarded as vaticinia ex eventu but are traditional sayings of suffering and rejection and authentic teaching of Jesus.

Kümmel, Promise, p. 46, n. 93, says, "Matt. 11:19 is an original comparison between Jesus and the Baptist, for the good reason that the early church never saw the contrast between them as clearly as this." (*Italics his.*)

¹⁴⁰Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 117; cf. Mt. 9:10 and also in Q, Mt. 5:46 and Lk. 6:32f.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 115; cf. Klostermann, Markus, p. 27.

¹⁴²Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 115-6; Perrin, Rediscovering, p. 105, seems to be following the same line here.

¹⁴³Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 116. ¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁴⁵See Mt. 11:12f. ; Lk. 16:16.

¹⁴⁶Fuller, Foundations, p. 149. He says Jesus is not rebelling against society but is bringing eschatological salvation: Jesus' actions are vindicated by his resurrection. Jesus' eating with outcasts anticipated the Messianic banquet. This is no new interpretation of Jesus' conduct but is an explicit form of what Jesus had asserted in view of his subsequent vindication. (Cf. p. 247, where Fuller interprets this action and others as giving a functional, not ontological, christological statement.)

¹⁴⁷See, e.g., Cullmann, Christology, pp. 162-3, on the humility of the Son of Man. H. Conzelmann, The Theology of Luke, has a note (p. 227, n. 2) on Lk. 7:34 in which he suggests that v. 34 makes it plain "that sinfulness is not a characteristic of man as such."

¹⁴⁸Moule, "From Defendant", pp. 82-99.

¹⁴⁹Black, "Teaching of Jesus", p. 35, believes Jesus did bring it down to earth.

¹⁵⁰Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 18. Association with publicans and sinners is an act of love and encounters the slander of "glutton and drunkard". This act of love might be viewed as an expression of humanity at its highest (in descending to the lowest).

¹⁵¹Wink, John the Baptist, pp. 20-3.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 20. He says neither Matthew nor Luke have this in its original context: Matthew has it in the group of Baptist sayings, Luke in a discussion of the law. Matthew's form is preferred since it is more difficult and probably older. The saying has become unintelligible by the time of the Evangelists. The parallelism of βιάζεται and ἐπιβιάζειν (Mt. 11:12) denotes a negative act of violence (p. 21). He takes the meaning, as does Kümmel (Promise, p. 123; cf. E. Käsemann, Essays on New Testament Themes [trans. by W. J. Montague from Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen, I Band; 2d ed.; London: S.C.M., 1964], pp. 42f.; G. Schrenck, "βιάζεται", T.D.N.T. I, 611), to be that from the Baptist's appearance until now the kingdom of God is violently assaulted and violent men wish to rob it.

¹⁵³This was first recognized by Lohmeyer, Johannes der Täufer, pp. 53-6. John's ministry to the poor included converts

who were tax collectors (Lk. 3:12; 7:29; Mt. 21:32), harlots (Mt. 21:32), and soldiers (Lk. 3:14). Note the hyperbole, "all the people went to hear John" (Mk. 1:5; 11:32par.; Mt. 3:5; Lk. 3:3; 7:29; Acts 13:24; and even Josephus, Antic., XVII.5, 2).

¹⁵⁴F. W. Danker, "Luke 16,16--An Opposition Logion", J.B.L. 77 (1958), 231-43; noted by Wink, John the Baptist, p. 21.

¹⁵⁵Wink, John the Baptist, p. 21. ¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. 22, n. 1, citing F. Mussner, "Der nicht erkannte Kairos", Biblica 40 (1959), 599-602. He notes Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 172, 199, challenges the unity of 16-19, feeling 18, 19 are an appended interpretation by the Hellenistic church to the original 16, 17 (an authentic parable of Jesus). Wink concedes church modification of the passage (especially ἤλαυν and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου appear to be technical terms), but he notes the present tense of λέγουσιν and ἔχει. Whatever the history of transmission, it is doubtful the church would term Jesus a "glutton and drunkard", thus arming its opponents, or that it created the parallelism putting Jesus and John on the same plane when it otherwise subordinated John.

¹⁵⁸Wink, John the Baptist, pp. 22-3.

¹⁵⁹Black, Aramaic Approach, p. 107; "Teaching of Jesus", p. 35.

¹⁶⁰Black, "Teaching of Jesus", p. 34.

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 35. See the various discussion of this subject: Stendahl, "Matthew", pp. 235f.; McNeile, Matthew, p. 158; Filson, Matthew, p. 139; Leaney, Luke, p. 146; Helmer Ringgren, Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East (Lund: H. Ohlssons, 1947), p. 125; W. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 156; A. Feuillet, R. B. 62 (1955), pp. 195f.

¹⁶²Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 13-14.

¹⁶³Higgins, Son of Man, p. 129.

¹⁶⁴Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 120, n. 3; he notes Mk. 3:28f. is secondary to Q. Cf. Fuller, Foundations, p. 125; A. Fridrichsen, "Le péché contre le Saint-Esprit", R.H.P.R. 3 (1923), 367ff.

¹⁶⁵Manson, Sayings, p. 110; Fuller, Foundations, p. 125.

¹⁶⁶Manson, Sayings, p. 110. Further indication of the antiquity of the saying may be seen in the Semitism, probably from the Aramaic original, in the expression "to say a word with regard to (eis) or against (κατά)" (Black, Aramaic Approach, pp. 194-5; cf. Dan. 7:25).

¹⁶⁷Manson, Sayings, p. 110. For Manson blasphemies against the Son of Man are unthinkable, but Tôdt takes Son of Man at Lk. 12:10 as just "man", so the difficulty for him disappears (Synoptic Tradition, p. 118, n. 1).

¹⁶⁸Tôdt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 118-9.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 119, n. 1.

¹⁷⁰Bornkamm, "End-Expectation and Church in Matthew", pp. 15ff., in Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew; p. 34.

¹⁷¹H. Lietzmann, Der Menschensohn; Cullmann, Christology, pp. 138, 152ff.

¹⁷²Manson, Sayings, p. 110; Fuller, Foundations, pp. 43, 125.

¹⁷³Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 30.

¹⁷⁴"The Son of Man may be misunderstood as a human being and people may fail to see His divine character, but that is different from the deliberate quenching of the conscience." (R. E. Nixon, on Mt. 12:32, p. 832 of New Bible Commentary, ed. by D. Guthrie, et al.; London: Inter-Varsity, 1970).

¹⁷⁵Fuller, Mission and Achievement, p. 96, n. 3, says this may be from Q, but that there is no parallel in Matthew (though cf. Mt. 5:11).

¹⁷⁶Creed, Luke, p. 90; Higgins, Son of Man, p. 119; A. Harnack, Sayings of Jesus, pp. 52f.; Vielhauer, "Gottesreich", p. 52; Manson, Teaching, p. 216.

¹⁷⁷Loisy, Luc, pp. 203ff.; Creed, Luke, p. 90.

¹⁷⁸"Matthew has imposed a better arrangement and Luke is closer to the loosely assorted material." (Creed, Luke, p. 90).

¹⁷⁹Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 30. Cf. Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", T.D.N.T. VII, p. 451, n. 345, who says the Son of Man title was already inserted before Luke (cf. Tôdt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 114f.) and 6:23 must have been interpreted independently of the Son of Man title; Colpe takes Mt. 5:11 as primary against Lk. 6:22, p. 444, n. 297.

¹⁸⁰Leaney, Luke, p. 135.

¹⁸¹Caird, Luke, p. 102. Luke's version has the danger of implying a general blessing on misfortune (which Matthew's spiritualizing safeguards against), but Matthew's version has the danger of implying that an ethical standard is set for entry into the kingdom and that men earn their blessedness by meekness, etc. Luke's simpler version safeguards against this.)

¹⁸²Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 119-20. Cf. Jeremias, Sermon on the Mount (E. M. Wood Lectures; 2d rev. ed.; London: Athlone Press, 1961), p. 18.

183 Harnack, Sayings of Jesus, pp. 52ff.

184 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 120.

185 Vielhauer, "Gottesreich", p. 52.

186 In view of Mt. 11:19; 12:32; 8:20; cf. Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 123.

187 Manson, Teaching, p. 216. Perhaps an ambiguous bar nasha lies behind the variants and both preserve a side of the true meaning. On the Matthean variant Manson notes that the phrase "for my sake" does not appear in Mark until after Peter's confession (cf. Mk. 8:55; 10:29; 13:9). But Manson does not explicitly account for the phrase in this location in Matthew. There need be no objection to "Son of Man" being used before the confession (as Mk. 2:10, 28) if "Son of Man" is taken as an innocuous term, without messianic significance but used by Jesus in his own way and with his own meaning, as Hunter suggests (Work and Words, p. 86).

188 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 110, 151. Cf. p. 127: "The addition of the old Beatitudes of some new ones in which the persecuted disciples are blessed (Lk. 6:22, 23par.) is itself part of a specifically Christian tendency."

189 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 123. Higgins, Son of Man, p. 120, also follows Bultmann, attributing to the church (for the same reasons as Bultmann) the christology: "the Jesus for faith in whom persecution has broken out is the Son of Man in heaven."

190 Leaney, Luke, p. 135; cf. Isa. 63:7f.; Eccclus. 47:12ff.; 48:1ff. See D. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 196ff.

191 Matthew and Luke are in agreement on the second person in this saying at any rate.

192 It is important to remember the principle set out by Marshall, "The Synoptic Son of Man Sayings," p. 347, that ". . . to allow the presence of Christian influence in a section of a Gospel is by no means to prove that each individual item has suffered from this influence; each item must be examined individually from this point of view."

193 Kümmel, Promise, p. 99.

194 Black, Aramaic Approach, p. 191.

195 Ibid., pp. 135ff. Black cites evidence in the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, in the Jerusalem Targum of Gen. 34:30 (different Hebrew phrases), and in the same Targum on Num. 13:32; cf. Targum Prov. 10:18 and the Palestinian Syriac version of Lk. 6:22. Plummer's literal interpretation of the idiom finds no support from either the Greek or the Semitic equivalent. The earlier violent force of the word has been lost in later Koine and even in the LXX, as Wellhausen noted (Luke, in loc.). Note

also the Hebrew hosi' in its idiomatic use, "to give out, to publish"; cf. Dt. 22:14, 19; Num. 13:32; 14:36, 37; and Palestinian Talmud, Kethub. 4:2f 28b line 55.

¹⁹⁶Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, II, p. 159. See also Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 451, n. 344, who also cites Karl B. Bornhäuser, Die Bergpredigt: Versuch einer Zeitgenössischen Auslegung (Gütersloh: C. Bertelmann, 1923), pp. 28f.

¹⁹⁷Leaney, Luke, p. 136; cf. Acts. 28:22; I Pet. 4:14.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. 135; cf. Jn. 9:22; 12:42 (an explicit reference to being "put out of the synagogue"); 16:1. Also Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 449, n. 344, takes the reference to excommunication from the synagogue as indication of the secondary nature of the verse, as is also seen in ἀπορίσσειν and μισήσασιν.

¹⁹⁹Lampe, "Luke", p. 830.

²⁰⁰Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 123; cf. Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 30.

²⁰¹Kümmel, Promise, pp. 79, 99.

²⁰²See, e.g., H. Montefiore, "Revolt in the Desert? (Mk. 6:30ff)", N.T.S. 8 (1961-62), 135-41.

²⁰³Mt. 12:14f.; 13:54f.; 16:1, 12; 19:3f.

²⁰⁴Kümmel, Promise, p. 49, n. 98.

²⁰⁵Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 123; cf. Mk. 8:38; Lk. 12:8f.par.; Mt. 19:28. But see Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου". p. 451, n. 345, who thinks v. 23 was independent.

²⁰⁶Leaney, Luke, p. 135; cf. Isa. 63:7f.; Ecclus. 47:12ff. See Daube, New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 196ff.

²⁰⁷Black, Aramaic Approach, p. 158.

²⁰⁸Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 22.

²⁰⁹Caird, Luke, p. 102.

²¹⁰Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 123. The persecution is not on account of the coming Son of Man (when there is always a confession or a being ashamed connected with the parousia), but the persecution is, Tödt feels, connected with the Son of Man's activity on earth. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, p. 96, n. 3, and idem, Foundations, p. 176, n. 30, agrees with Tödt.

²¹¹Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 30.

²¹²Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 119-20; cf. n. 8.

²¹³Lampe, "Luke", p. 830: ". . . a reference to the suffering Son of Man, in whose character his people partake."

- ²¹⁴As argued by Jeremias, "παῖς Θεοῦ", 654-717.
- ²¹⁵Leaney, Luke, p. 136; V. Taylor, New Testament Essays, p. 17; Bruce, New Testament Development, p. 29.
- ²¹⁶Hunter, Work and Words, pp. 86-7: "But (and this is the startlingly original contribution of Jesus) with sovereignty Jesus combined the idea of service and sacrifice; . . ."
- ²¹⁷W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 118.
- ²¹⁸Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 127; Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 155. Cf. Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel, p. 43; he takes it as Gemeindebildung, underlining Jesus' authority to forgive sins with the Son of Man title.
- ²¹⁹Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 127; cf. Martin Albertz, Die Botschaft des Neuen Testaments (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1955), p. 56.
- ²²⁰Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 15f.
- ²²¹Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 128.
- ²²²Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 15-6. Cf. Fuller, Foundations, p. 149, who says it asserts Jesus' authority against his critics, which had been called into question by the cross, but was vindicated by the resurrection. The forgiveness of the paralytic is proleptic of the utterance of the word which he as Son of Man will pronounce at the last judgment. While this saying makes explicit the christology implicit in Jesus' teaching, Fuller takes it as the work of the early church (Foundations, p. 176, n. 25). Cf. idem, Mission and Achievement, p. 106; Foundations, p. 124, on Mk. 2:10, 28, as church formations.
- ²²³Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 129, from H. F. von Campenhausen, Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten (Tübingen: Mohr, 1953), pp. 8f.
- ²²⁴Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 129; cf. Perrin, Rediscovering, p. 164, where he lists this as an apocalyptic Son of Man saying.
- Tödt finds further support for this saying as an invention of the community. In the same way that in the parousia sayings Jesus makes fellowship with himself the basis of the guarantee by the Son of Man of fellowship with God, so here Jesus promises that his followers by virtue of their fellowship with the coming Son of Man (Mt. 19:28) are freed already on earth from the bondage of sin. Jesus has authority to summon into a fellowship which guarantees entry into God's kingdom, if men will repent (Mk. 1:15par.; Mt. 18:3; 11:20ff.). Thus Tödt concludes (p. 130) that though Taylor (Names, p. 27) finds this saying authentic, it must rather in its present form in the controversy dialogues have issued from the situation of the community (Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 14ff.).
- ²²⁵There are at least two reasons for doubting that the church created this saying in order to provide itself with domini-

cal authority to forgive sins. One is the argument of Hooker (Son of Man in Mark, pp. 83f.) that the church has not inserted Son of Man into contexts (at least not in Mark) where it might have done so. The second reason is that to view this saying as a church creation fails to account for the origin in the church of the practice of proclaiming forgiveness of sins. It assumes the saying is based on the practice, whereas it is easier to assume the reverse is true.

226 Hooker, Son of Man in Mark, p. 82, faults Bultmann, Dibelius, Tödt, and others who take the view that the church is justifying its own claim to forgive sins in the name of its master on the basis of Jesus' authority, for not explaining why Jesus' followers would assume authority which Jesus never did. If Dibelius' view is taken, that the declaration of forgiveness is original but vv. 6-10 is fictitious (an invention of the Christian preacher to explain how he understood the encounter), then it may be asked whether the word of forgiveness would have passed unchallenged or would some such argument as Mark gives be expected. Even Dibelius admits the story never existed without this element.

227 Wellhausen, Marci, p. 17.

228 Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 423; Hooker, Son of Man in Mark, pp. 83-4.

229 Taylor, Names, pp. 27f.; Wellhausen, Marci, p. 16; Klostermann, Markusevangelium, p. 27; Manson, Teaching, p. 214; F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity (London, 1920-33; 5 vols.), Part I, I, p. 375; C. J. Cadoux, The Historic Mission of Jesus (London: Lutterworth, 1941), pp. 99f.

230 Taylor, Names, pp. 27f.; Mark, pp. 197-201; he feels Mk. 2:28 is an early comment on the saying in v. 28 (Mark, p. 219f.). A. M. Hunter, Work and Words, p. 86, is unwilling to set aside Mk. 2:10, 28, on the assumption that the title was used only after Caesarea Philippi. He thinks it unsafe to trim the evidence to fit a neat theory, and he doubts that "Son of Man" was a "loaded" term, but it was one which Jesus could mould and fill with his own meaning.

231 Wellhausen, Marci, p. 17. Rawlinson, Mark, p. 25, notes Wellhausen's view but doubts it fits the context and the Evangelist's point of view. The argument is not that the scribes are wrong, but that they are right--only God can forgive sins and the Son of Man as God's representative can declare forgiveness. The question concerns not just the use of the (supposed) title but the exercise of a divine prerogative. Lagrange, Marc, p. 38, says the reason Wellhausen (and Loisy) do not feel this saying is messianic is that it comes out of time, before Peter's confession. Loisy suspects the whole discourse: there is a dilemma, if Jesus wanted to prove he was the Messiah, he chose his terms badly; if he did not want to prove it, then the messianic title should not be used here. Lagrange says the dilemma is not so great: the real problem is the prematurity of the declaration (cf. Dalman, Words, p. 216). Either (1) the episode is misplaced, Mark is not troubled to give the exact location and does not care to reveal

the Messiah little by little, or (2) Son of Man here means "I". Lagrange excludes (2).

²³²Taylor, Mark, pp. 199f.

²³³Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 342.

²³⁴Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 126. Haenchen's view (Der Weg Jesu, p. 104) is something like this, since he finds this saying is a church formation and "Son of Man" then means not "man" but, as seen from Mt. 9:8, it means Jesus and his community whose power to forgive sins is here legitimized by the healing miracle.

²³⁵Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 15; Fuller, Foundations, p. 43.

²³⁶Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 126-7; cf. Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 15f.

²³⁷Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 92-3.

²³⁸Ibid., p. 90. Miss Hooker notes earlier that Son of Man is linked to the community (because of the importance of the saying to the early church as the basis for its forgiving sin) and Jesus' authority is extended to his followers. It is clear that Jesus and the Son of Man are in some way identifiable (pp. 89-90). The Son of Man's authority to forgive sins is in fact a divine prerogative and even the Messiah was not credited this in Jewish thought (cf. Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, I, p. 495).

²³⁹Black, "Teaching of Jesus", p. 35. Cullmann (Christology, p. 160) suggests that the combination of the Son of Man and the suffering Servant of God seen in Mk. 8:31 is also here in Mk. 2:10 and is indeed basic to Jesus' self-consciousness. He also feels that the collective significance of Son of Man must be considered, and especially so here in view of Mt. 18:18 where the disciples receive authority to bind and loose on earth (ibid., p. 160, n. 4; cf. Preiss, Fils de l'Homme, p. 27). The reason Jesus preferred Son of Man to the title "Servant" is that the former is more comprehensive (Christology, pp. 160-1; W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp. 156f.).

²⁴⁰See Chapter I, pp. 33-50.

²⁴¹Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 129-30, where he quotes Campenhausen, Kirchliches Amt, pp. 8f., in a noteworthy statement.

²⁴²Ingelaere, "La «parabole» du jugement dernier", pp. 23-60, notes the dependence of various sayings on Dan. 7 (p. 26) and then expresses his belief that "Son of Man" and "King" were both christological titles which could plausibly be interchanged (p. 30). The "Son of Man" was understood to be a "King" (p. 31) with a kingdom and performing such divine functions as judge and shepherd (cf. Ezek. 34).

²⁴³Swete, Mark, p. 37. Whether it is possible to find,

as does Hooker (Son of Man in Mark, p. 91), that the authority of the Son of Man to forgive sins goes back to Gen. 1:26, 30 and is part of man's dominion over earth (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς is used in the LXX of Gen. 1) or not may be left open.

244 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 16. 245 Ibid.

246 Cranfield, Mark, p. 114.

247 Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu, p. 119, calls the suggestion of Meyers "absurd" and Rawlinson, Mark, p. 33, says Bacon took the Greek too literally.

248 Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu, pp. 119-20.

249 Cf. Rawlinson, Mark, p. 33. 250 Ibid., p. 34.

251 Cranfield, Mark, pp. 114f. 252 Ibid.

253 Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu, p. 120.

254 Cranfield, Mark, p. 115.

255 Rawlinson, Mark, p. 33, says Jesus shows that the law is subordinate to human need.

256 Fuller, Foundations, pp. 149f.; but cf. Cranfield, Mark, p. 115.

257 Cranfield, Mark, p. 115.

258 Hooker, Son of Man in Mark, pp. 96-7.

259 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 131: "There is reason enough for their [disciples'] action in Jesus' full authority."

260 Trocmé, Formation de l'Évangile selon Marc, pp. 136f.

261 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 132; cf. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, p. 116; Bornkamm, "End-Expectation and Church in Matthew" in Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, pp. 15ff.

262 Lohmeyer, Markus, p. 66. He finds no example of Jesus calling himself Lord or Son of Man, except where the early church has inserted these designations. Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 131, notes Lohmeyer's discussion of these verses with approval.

263 A. J. Hultgren, "The Formation of the Sabbath Pericope in Mark 2:23-28", pp. 39-43, decides against the possibility of v. 27 being a later addition to Mark and thus absent from Mark when Matthew and Luke made use of it. In spite of the omission of v. 27 in the Western texts of Mark, Codex Bezae (D), and some old Latin versions (a, c, e, ff), v. 28 is really dependent on v. 27 and v. 28 could not have given rise to Mk. 2:23-26 whereas v. 27 could have. Two stages of the development are seen (p. 42): (1) to the free floating dominical saying, v. 27, is added a conflict story, 2:23, 24, then (2) additional material, 2:25f., 28 is added.

- 264 Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu, p. 121.
- 265 Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel, p. 43.
- 266 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 131, notes that Campenhausen places the two sayings next to each other.
- 267 Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 28f. 268 Ibid.
- 269 Hooker, Son of Man in Mark, pp. 95-8; Rawlinson, Mark, p. 33.
- 270 Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, I, p. 5.
- 271 Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu, p. 121; Rawlinson, Mark, p. 34, quotes Abrahams (I, pp. 129ff.) to the effect that some of the Pharisees with less rigid views of the Sabbath would have agreed with Jesus.
- 272 Hooker, Son of Man in Mark, pp. 95-8; yet the whole nation could not be Lord of the Sabbath (p. 97).
- 273 Ibid., pp. 99-101. The suggestion of Lohmeyer, Markus-evangelium, pp. 65-6, is noteworthy. He thinks the positive and negative assertions of v. 27 may veil an exegetical quarrel over the meaning of Gen. 1 and 2. In Gen. 1:26 man is made for the Sabbath (it could be argued), since the hallowing of the Sabbath follows the creation of man. On the other hand at Gen. 2:7 the creation of man follows the consecration of the Sabbath, suggesting that the Sabbath was made for man. Lohmeyer thinks the sense of Mk. 2:27 is that God is Lord of man and of the Sabbath. He ordained both and he entrusted man with the right administration of the Sabbath, giving man freedom within the limits of the ordinance. This meaning contrasts with the Rabbinic statement about the Sabbath, which saw God's people as the goal of God's ordinance. Here man is seen in his solitude and freedom before God. Seen historically the saying relates to the Jewish ordinance and establishes the possibility of a crossing over from the Jewish celebration of the Sabbath to early Christian Sunday celebration. The inner freedom of which it speaks has parallels only in the Fourth Gospel (cf. Jn. 1:16; 7:22f.), none in the Synoptics.
- 274 Fuller, Mission and Achievement, p. 100, says Jesus would have been giving free license to men to break the Sabbath. Loisy, Marc, p. 104, concluded that it is rather the Evangelist who attributes to the Son of Man (Jesus) the power over the law. He finds no support for the Son of Man meaning man in general in the David story (contra Wellhausen, n. 39). Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu, p. 120, notes the difficulty that v. 28 does not follow v. 27 (v. 28 should have "men" instead of "Son of Man") and rejects the attempt to remove the problem by taking "Son of Man" as the Aramaic bar nasha which should be reduced to "man". Cranfield, Mark, p. 118, as well denies that Son of Man meant "man" but doubts that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is a mistranslation of bar nasha which should here mean "man", on the basis of Rawlinson's objection that Jesus would not have made man lord over the Sabbath.

275 Manson, in his earlier view (Teaching, p. 214), felt vv. 27, 28 were both originally bar nasha. Black, "Teaching of Jesus", p. 33, notes the criticism of this view which asks why then the Greek did not translate all the same. In response he says it is because v. 27 had 'enash ($\delta \psi\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$), with the poetic synonym $\psi\chi\alpha \gamma\beta$ in v. 28, as in Psa. 8:4. Dalman's objection (Words, pp. 215f.) to Wellhausen, that if v. 27 had 'enash then the same word would had to have been in the original to give $\delta \psi\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ in v. 28, takes no account of the saying being in poetic form. Wellhausen took v. 28 (as 2:10) to be "man", wrongly elevated to "Son of Man", and on the foundation of his $\epsilon\chi\theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$, which only the Messiah could have, the connection was made with David. Cf. Higgins, Son of Man, p. 29, where he rejects Manson's view.

276 Manson, "Mark 2:27f."

277 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 28.

278 As far back as Dan. 7, where the Son of Man (= saints of the Most High) are given "dominion and kingdom" (v. 14) and they "possess the kingdom for ever" (v. 18). Cf. Ingelaere, "La «parabole» du jugement dernier", pp. 30-1.

279 Cranfield, Mark, p. 117; Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 95.

280 Black, "Teaching of Jesus", p. 33.

281 Cullmann, Christology, pp. 152-3.

282 Preiss, Le Fils de l'Homme, pp. 28ff.; cf. Cranfield, Mark, p. 118; Swete, Mark, p. 50; Plummer, Luke, pp. 96-7.

283 Jeremias, Parables, pp. 64-7.

284 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 97; Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 135; Fuller, Mission and Achievement, p. 96; idem, Foundations, p. 176.

285 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 135.

286 Fuller, Mission and Achievement, p. 135.

287 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 135. 288 Ibid.

289 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 99; Fuller, Mission and Achievement, p. 96.

290 Klostermann, Matthäusevangelium, p. 138.

291 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 150-1. 292 Ibid.

293 This is the only exclusively Lukan saying to be found in the Son of Man logia. Luke 6:22 has a parallel in Mt. 5:11, and Lk. 22:48 has no parallel but Lk. 18:31 and 22:22 and the Synoptic parallels deal with the betrayal of the Son of Man (so

Stonehouse, The Witness of Luke to Christ, p. 171, n. 4.

²⁹⁴Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 34. Higgins thinks much the same (Son of Man, p. 76): v. 10 is superfluous, as the narrative is complete without it and the saying is also found at Mt. 18:11. (It may be for this reason that Fuller, Foundations, does not even discuss Lk. 19:10.) Higgins thinks v. 9a was Jesus' word to Zacchaeus, with which the story ended: vv. 9b, 10 are later insertions, giving different conclusions.

²⁹⁵Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 134; in both cases (Lk. 9:56; Mt. 18:11) the MSS prove these are secondary variants and may be dependent on Lk. 19:10. In Lk. 9:56 the interpolation gives reason why James and John should not call down fire on the Samaritans. "Son of Man" may not be expressive of Jesus' sovereignty, as Tödt suggests, but may rather refer to his mission to be a friend and help to the needy. In Mt. 18:11 a christological reason for respecting little ones is indicated by Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 135. But again the meaning may be that Jesus' mission is to help and befriend the needy.

²⁹⁶Higgins, Son of Man, p. 77.

²⁹⁷Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 342: this "shatters" Bultmann's view that Lk. 19:10 and Mk. 10:45 are Hellenistic. Leaney, Luke, p. 241, finds the passage has many Semitisms. Cf. Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 155; Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 76-7.

²⁹⁸Klostermann, Lukasevangelium, p. 184.

²⁹⁹Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 133-4. Cf. also Golpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου", p. 456.

³⁰⁰Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 133.

³⁰¹Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 92, 324; cf. Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 133.

³⁰²Higgins, Son of Man, p. 76; cf. Easton, Luke, p. 279; Levi was called to follow, Zacchaeus was not.

³⁰³Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel, p. 45; Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 342, n. 11.

³⁰⁴Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", pp. 342-3.

³⁰⁵Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 34. He says (p. 57) that the point of the story at Lk. 19:10 was to give consolation to the sinners who needed it.

³⁰⁶See the discussion above; cf. n. 302.

³⁰⁷Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 34.

³⁰⁸Cf. Mk. 1:40ff.; 2:1ff.; 3:1ff.; 5:1-20 (especially v. 19 where Jesus forbids the restored Gerasene demoniac from following him).

309 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 34. 310 Ibid.

311 Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", pp. 342, 343, n. 1.

312 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 134; it might be argued on the contrary that if some of the present Son of Man sayings are authentic (and there are reasons to believe some are), the one in Lk. 19:10 cannot be ruled out by "analogy".

313 Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 343.

314 See the above discussions (and notes 296 and 297) on the comparison of this saying (and Mk. 10:45) with I Tim. 1:15 and 2:5f. which shows the Synoptic saying to be free of Hellenistic overtones and coloring. Cf. Leaney, Luke, p. 241, on the Semitisms.

315 Cf. Leaney, Luke, p. 241.

316 Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 343. Cf. Ezek. 34:16. Jesus is the instrument of Yahweh's redemptive work among his people. This need not be thought an arrogant claim. Cf. the smitten shepherd of Zech. 13:7ff. See Moule, "Influence of Circumstances", p. 258. Cf. also Jn. 10.

317 Manson, Teaching, p. 225 (italics added).

318 Ellis, Luke, p. 222. 319 Caird, Luke, p. 208.

320 Ellis, Luke, p. 221.

321 Even if the saying (v. 10) was isolated and introduced to this context secondarily, it is not unrelated to the context.

322 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 134. He connects (p. 133) Lk. 19:10 in meaning to Mk. 2:10, 28, but the connection holds only when the sayings are given Tödt's interpretation.

323 Ibid.

324 Ibid.; Tödt sees this connection also, but takes Son of Man as a designation of sovereignty in both places.

325 Ibid.

326 Higgins notes with approval that Easton (Luke, p. 279) calls this a "public and unambiguous" use of Son of Man (Son of Man, p. 77). Easton takes the story as trustworthy but finds the saying is the Evangelist's generalization.

327 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 150. Marshall, "The Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 343, says that "to criticize a saying because it has the form of an 'I-saying' (like Lk. 7:34) is a case of gross petitio principii." Tödt also doubts this entire group of sayings came about as a result of misunderstanding the translation into Greek.

328 Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 343.

329 Best, Temptation and Passion, pp. 164-5.

- 330 Ibid., p. 163. Best observes that the majority of Markan sayings about Jesus' suffering and death are put in terms of "Son of Man". In those cases where this is not so, it is because of the use of a metaphor which prevents reference to the Son of Man.
- 331 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 32. See also n. 448.
- 332 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 136.
- 333 Perrin, "Creative Use of the Son of Man Traditions by Mark", U.S.Q.R. 23 (1967-68), 357-65, notes the difficulty of determining the extent of Markan redaction or composition (p.364).
- 334 Jeremias, "παῖς Θεοῦ", p. 715.
- 335 Ibid., and n. 474; cf. Jeremias, "Lösegeld", pp. 258-62.
- 336 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 44; Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 342.
- 337 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 44; this rules out Bultmann's view (Synoptic Tradition, p. 155) that Lk. 19:10; Mk. 10:45 are Hellenistic (so Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 342); cf. also Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel, p. 45.
- 338 Jeremias, "παῖς Θεοῦ", p. 706.
- 339 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 143; he suggests (p. 144) the section vv. 42-45 is made out of an older saying vv. 43f. But as the following discussion shows, there is evidence (v. 45) the saying is quite old and based on a testimonium.
- 340 Jeremias, "παῖς Θεοῦ", pp. 706, 709.
- 341 Ibid., p. 710; cf. Mk. 14:24; Mt. 26:28; Mt. 20:28. Otto, Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, p. 252, also finds links with Isa. 53; but W. Staerk, Die Erlösungserwartung in den östlichen Religionen, Soter II (1938), pp. 93f., does not, though he finds in Jesus' consciousness of being "Son" and "Savior" the link between the parousia and the glory sayings.
- 342 Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, p. 179; Lohse, Martyrer, p. 119, felt the allusions to Isa. 53 presupposed use of the Hebrew text.
- 343 Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, p. 181; cf. I Tim. 2:6 ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων (cf. Rom. 8:32), note the Semitic word order of the prepositional phrase in Mk. 14:24. Hebrew and Aramaic have no word for all (כָּל and כָּלֵךְ designate totality, not sum, hence have no plural). The lack of the article may be explained by comparison with the LXX and the Targums and the receding distinction between the definite and the indefinite in Aramaic.
- 344 Ibid., pp. 227-8: rabbim-πολλοί is almost a leitmotif of Isa. 52:13-53:12. Cf. I Enoch 46:4-5; 48:8; 55:4; 62:1, 3, 6, 9; 63:1-11 (where Enoch takes the "many" as referring to the

Gentiles); Wisdom of Solomon 5:1-23; cf. 2:19, 20 ("many" refers to both Jews and Gentiles).

³⁴⁵Ibid., p. 229.

³⁴⁶Barrett, "The Background of Mk. 10:45", pp. 1-18. See also M. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant, pp. 74-79; idem, Son of Man in Mark, pp. 141-2.

³⁴⁷Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", pp. 5-7: λύτρον means equivalence or substitution, whereas 'asam means guilt, compensation (Kümmel, Promise, pp. 72-4, also doubts that λύτρον = 'asam).

³⁴⁸Higgins, Son of Man, p. 46. ³⁴⁹Rawlinson, Mark, pp. 147f.

³⁵⁰Higgins, Son of Man, p. 46.

³⁵¹He admits that ἀντί and the Hebrew equivalent occur in Isa. 53:12, but he does not find this significant!

³⁵²Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", p. 7.

³⁵³Ibid., p. 4.

³⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 4-5; cf. Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 47-8, who notes the phrase was used of martyrs.

³⁵⁵Barrett's argument ("Background of Mark 10:45", p. 8), that the contrast ("not to be served, but to serve") would be pointless if the servant is in mind, fails to reckon with the fact that it is the "Son of Man" which demands the contrast, inasmuch as it is being defined in terms of the servant. As Barrett points out, the most powerful motive for the contrast, οὐ . . . ἀλλά, arose out of Jesus' ministry as the humble Son of Man, not from literary motives.

³⁵⁶Lohse, Märtyrer, pp. 123, 126.

³⁵⁷Tódt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 205, n. 1, says that no proof of Mk. 14:24 referring to Isa. 53 can be found in the "for many", since it was a current Semitism, but the parallel to Mk. 10:45 would indicate reference to Isa. 53. Tódt (p. 203) nonetheless finds both references to Isa. 53 to be secondary since I Cor. 11 is the more original form of the cup word than Mk. 14:24. Here he follows Kümmel, Promise, pp. 73ff. On the points at which he finds I Cor. 11 more original Tódt may well be right (Paul preserves the separation of the cup from the bread by the meal in between), but the Hellenistic reformations (which Tódt notes) may account for the lack of a reference to Isa. 53, which, as already noted, was transmitted in the Palestinian tradition, and the appending of Isa. 53 quite early (Tódt, p. 205). The atonement reference of Isa. 53 is not inconsistent with the new covenant motif (Jer. 31:31, see Lohse, Märtyrer, p. 124, n. 3). Mark retains the Mosaic covenant allusion (Ex. 24:8) as in the Palestinian tradition.

358 Lohse, Martyrer, p. 124, n. 3, thinks "pour out" could come from sacrifice terminology as well; see also p. 125, n. 1; cf. Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, pp. 118, 122f.

359 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 204-5, credits the association with Isa. 53 to the church; but it could go back to Jesus (see Jeremias, "παῖς Θεοῦ", pp. 712ff.; Cranfield, Mark, p. 342).

360 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 39.

361 Jeremias, "παῖς Θεοῦ", p. 711; Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 93; Higgins, Son of Man, p. 43; Cullmann, Christology, p. 65.

362 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 46. 363 Ibid., pp. 39, 41.

364 Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 78-9.

365 Ibid., p. 79; Cullmann, Christology, p. 65.

366 Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, p. 229, n. 1; Isa. 52:15.

367 H. L. Ginsberg, "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant", pp. 400-4, especially p. 402.

Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", p. 10, emphatically denies dependence of Dan. on Isa. 53. He finds no connection in the haskil and hisdik since they deal with glory, not suffering, and are common words. Furthermore, they have different meanings in Isa. 52:13 ("attain an aim", thus speaking of the triumph of the servant) and Dan. 12:3 (which refers back to 11:3, 35), cf. the similar use in the Zadokite fragment 13:7 and Manual of Discipline 3:13; 9:18; Hodayoth (Meg. Gen.). But Daniel is a book which speaks of martyrdom, as 11:33 shows, and Dan. 7 speaks of the suffering of the saints of the Most High under the suppression of the nations represented by the beasts (Barrett, pp. 13-4).

Cf. W. Manson, Jesus the Messiah, pp. 173f.; F. F. Bruce, "The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community", in Neotestamentica et Semitica, pp. 228f.

368 See 1:1; 46:8; 47:2.

369 The Son of Man is righteous, the people are righteous; the Son of Man is elect, the people are elect; cf. Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", p. 14; Manson, "Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels", pp. 188ff.

370 Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", pp. 14-5, thinks I En. 71, where Enoch is exalted to become the Son of Man, must have prepared the way for the thought of one who lived on earth being exalted to heaven and awaiting his appearance as judge.

371 Ibid., p. 10; Barrett doubts that a continuity can be established from Isaiah through Daniel and I Enoch to Mark. But he denies the rather considerable evidence of Jeremias, "παῖς Θεοῦ", pp. 680-98; Aux Sources de la Tradition chrétien: Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1950), pp. 113-19; he follows Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 325-33, 410-15.

372 Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", pp. 11-12.

373 Ibid., p. 13, n. 43; Mid. Ps. on Psa. 118:18; cf. A. Büchler, Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1928), pp. 175-89; Joseph Bonsirven, Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps du Jésus-Christ (Paris: Beauchesne, 1935), II, pp. 96ff.; G. F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, The Age of Tannaim (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), I, pp. 546-52; Solomon Schechter, Aspects of Rabbinic Theology (New York: Schocken Books, 1961; first published in 1909 under the title Some Aspects . . .), pp. 307-11; Lohse, Märtyrer, pp. 29-32.

On martyrdom effecting atonement, see Siphre Deut. 333 (A Rabbinic Anthology [selected and arranged with comments and intro. by C. J. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe; New York: Meridan Books, 1960], p. 226). Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 47f., notes that the expression δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ was used of martyrs.

374 Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", p. 13, doubts the Dead Sea Scrolls have a clear martyr theology. But Bruce, New Testament Development, p. 99, believes they did.

375 Cf. Mek. Ex. 21:30, "no redemption for heathen nations"; cf. Psa. 49:8f. Jeremias, Eucharistic Words, pp. 230-1; but Jesus said there was a means of atonement for all people of the world in his vicarious death (p. 231).

376 H. J. Holtzmann (editor), Hand-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament I, 1 Die Synoptiker (2d ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901), p. 52; cf. A. Schweitzer, Mystery of the Kingdom of God, pp. 2f., who doubted Pauline influence.

377 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 144, 155; for this reason he believes the verse to be a secondary formulation.

378 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 203.

379 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 144; cf. W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 8. Higgins, Son of Man, p. 45, notes that ὑπὲρ does not appear in Paul (it is found only here and the parallel in Mt. 20:28 in the N.T.) and even ὑπὲρ πάντων is only found in I Tim. 2:6, which depends on Mk. 10:45. While Paul's theology was distinct, it had its roots in the primitive Christian tradition (see Taylor, Mark, pp. 445f. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, pp. 56ff., demonstrates Isa. 53 was part of the background of this saying and shows the non-Pauline nature of the saying (a view he later rejected).

380 Lohse, Märtyrer, p. 118, doubts that one of the sayings is derived from the other, though Mark is certainly earlier, since it is framed in Palestinian language and refers to the Hebrew of Isa. 53, whereas Luke is more Hellenistic.

381 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 144, suggests the source of Mk. 9:35, which he believes original to Mark's text. The absence of ἐν ὑμῖν or ὑμῶν in 9:35 could be more original, though the double saying form of the saying in Mk. 10:43f. is more likely original (9:35 may have come from a double saying).

- 382 Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 8, n. 1.
- 383 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 144.
- 384 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 39. This Hellenistic tradition (in Luke) and Palestinian tradition confirm the independent descent of the two forms.
- 385 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 148.
- 386 While Luke lacks Mt. 10:45b, he makes up for the omission of the reference to Jesus' death by the setting he provides (cf. Higgins, Son of Man, p. 37).
- 387 See the discussion below on Mk. 10:45b; cf. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 8, n. 1, on this as a reason for taking Luke as the more original form; cf. Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 135. How, if serving was thought inconceivable of the "Son of Man", could this be glossed by the (presumably) even less conceivable "death as a ransom"?
- 388 Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 8, n. 1.
- 389 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 137.
- 390 Ibid.; as opposed to Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 152, n. 1, who says in Q there are no sayings at all about the Son of Man as the divine envoy walking on earth in humility. But to eliminate Mt. 11:19; 8:20, etc., he is forced to the untenable position that "Son of Man" in these places is a mere misunderstanding.
- 391 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 137. 392 Ibid., pp. 208-9.
- 393 Ibid., pp. 208f., says the lowliness is seen in the Son of Man's sovereignty itself. It is difficult to find Tödt convincing at this point. Does it not misconstrue the meaning of such sayings as Mt. 8:20 and Lk. 19:10 to speak of sovereignty rather than of service?
- 394 Barrett, "The Background of Mark 10:45", p. 9. The source of this contrast is probably not, Barrett feels, in the Urmensch mythology, since this is too speculative (p. 10).
- 395 Bousset, Kyrios Christos, p. 8, n. 1; Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 136; Klostermann, Markusevangelium, p. 109, says most exegetes feel this way, but Tödt disagrees.
- 396 Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 144. 397 Ibid.
- 398 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 203, 205; he notes Lohse, Märtyrer, p. 118, says that the Son of Man name and as equivalent to ! in the exegetic sense confirm the Palestinian origin. But to grant the Palestinian origin is not to refute Bousset's view that 45b is a gloss (Tödt, p. 205).
- 399 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 203, 206. Thus v. 45b was already added in the Palestinian language area (as well as

the reference to Isa. 53) and the formulation probably resulted from the Lord's Supper being interpreted by Scripture (Mk. 14:24), and in turn this insight was applied to the whole of Jesus' mission (p. 210).

400 Ibid., p. 209. The paradox in v. 45b is characteristic of the suffering sayings and is thus extended by allusion to "giving life for many" (p. 138).

401 Ibid., p. 138.

402 Ibid., pp. 206-7. The step by step correspondence of Jesus' and the disciples' behavior in both Mk. 10:45 and Lk. 22:27 leads Tödt to believe they are dependent on the same material, though perhaps descended through different traditions (Lohse, Martyrer, p. 118).

403 A. Schweitzer, Mystery of the Kingdom of God, p. 9.

404 Ibid., p. 6. Schweitzer believed service is the fundamental law of interim ethics (p. 10). Any correspondence between Jesus' and the disciples' behavior stops here.

405 This is the basis of Tödt's rejection of the saying (Synoptic Tradition, p. 206).

406 Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 36-7.

407 Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", p. 8. He finds this promise of suffering inconsistent with Mk. 10:45 and thus prefers Lk. 22:27. But there need be no inconsistency, especially if a martyrdom theology underlies the saying.

408 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 137. 409 Ibid., p. 138.

410 Cf., e.g., the shepherd motif, Lk. 19:10, where the element of sovereignty would appear to be kept to the minimum.

411 Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", p. 8; cf. v. 27 and I En. 46:3-6; 48:5; 62:8; and cf. Psalms 8:5f. (See Barrett's n. 8 on this Psalm which was interpreted of the supernatural Son of Man figure who was entitled to universal service; cf. Psalms 110:1 and I Cor. 15:27; Eph. 1:22; Heb. 2:6-9.)

412 Ibid., p. 9. Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 209; cf. Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 48, 49, n. 1: the church added "Son of Man"; Tödt thinks the serving is the more significant in view of the authority which made it natural for Mark to go beyond Luke and make "I" become "Son of Man".

413 Barrett, "Background of Mark 10:45", p. 14.

414 Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, p. 78. He feels that Mk. 10:45 and Lk. 22:27 were originally separate. Cf. Kümmel, Promise, p. 47, n. 95. He differs with Sharman, Son of Man, p. 32, and finds Son of Man an ambiguous term without any clear connotation of the Son of Man as judge.

- 415 Cullmann, Christology, p. 65.
- 416 Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 349.
- 417 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 136, 209-11; Fuller, Foundations, pp. 119, 153 (Isa. 53 is also behind Mk. 14:24).
- 418 Fuller, Mission and Achievement, pp. 56-9; he follows Jeremias, "πᾶς Θεοῦ", p. 709.
- 419 Cf. Fuller, Foundations, pp. 118-9, 136-7.
- 420 Bultmann, Theology, I, p. 30.
- 421 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 152ff., 200-2; Fuller, Foundations, pp. 119, 137.
- 422 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 160, n. 1, cites evidence given by Schlatter, Matthäus, pp. 357f. Cf. also Büchsel, "παρὰδοσις", T.D.N.T. II, p. 172 lines 8ff.; Fuller, Foundations, p. 137.
- 423 Fuller, Foundations, pp. 136, 137, n. 63.
- 424 Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings," pp. 349-50.
- 425 On the genuineness of Mk. 12:10, see Cranfield, Mark, pp. 368f.
- 426 Wellhausen, Marci, in loc.; Bultmann, Synoptic Tradition, p. 152; Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 50-2.
- 427 Hooker, Son of Man in Mark, pp. 159-60. 428 Ibid.
- 429 Black, Aramaic Approach, pp. 302-3, argues convincingly that the usage both in Mark and John is "sufficiently unusual to suggest alien influence" which, because of the Aramaic coloring of John and for other reasons, he takes to be Aramaic.
- 430 Taylor, Mark, in loc.; Cranfield, Mark, p. 424.
- 431 Black, Aramaic Approach, p. 117; Hooker, Son of Man in Mark, pp. 160-1.
- 432 Cranfield, Mark, p. 424.
- 433 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 199. 434 Ibid., p. 198.
- 435 Black, Aramaic Approach, pp. 225-6.
- 436 Is it possibly reminiscent of the 'isham of Isa. 53? See the discussion of Mk. 9:31 and cf. Fuller, Mission and Achievement, p. 58.
- 437 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 53.
- 438 If John's theological use of ἴψα depends on Mk. 14:41

this does not cast doubt on Mark. If John does not depend on Mark, then two independent traditions preserve what must surely be a genuine reminiscence of how Jesus spoke of his approaching end.

439 One wonders whether this fact is in itself significant: has Mark provided these sayings with a uniform formula, Son of Man with παρὰς οὐρανοῦ, or is there here a genuine recollection of dominical predictions (certainly in broad enough terms!) of the Son of Man's being delivered up?

440 Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, pp. 162-3.

441 F. Rehkopf, Die Lucanische Sonderquelle: ihr Umfang und Sprachgebrauch (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 5; Tübingen: Mohr, 1959), pp. 50-6.

442 Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 80-1.

443 Plummer, Luke, p. 512.

444 Cf. Easton, Luke, p. 356; Kümmel, Promise, p. 72, n. 175, says Lk. 24:7, which is part of the Special Tradition, refers back to 9:44.

445 Sjöberg, Der verborgene Menschensohn in den Evangelien, p. 236, suggests (in a note) a modelling on Mk. 16:7.

446 So Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 80-2; Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", p. 3; Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 176ff., puts Lk. 9:44; 24:7 in the same category as Mk. 9:31; 14:41.

447 Black, Aramaic Approach, p. 53; idem, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", p. 3.

448 Cf. W. Grundmann, "Sei", T.D.N.T. II, pp. 22ff.; E. Fascher, "Theologische Beobachtungen zu Sei", Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolph Bultmann, Beiheft 21 zur Z.N.W. (1954), pp. 228-54.

449 Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", p. 3.

450 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 191, relates the "must" to a scriptural necessity for the Son of Man's suffering rather than to an apocalyptic eschatological "must" formula: "From the beginning the reason for that 'must' is given by way of scriptural prophecy and is thus rendered comprehensible."

451 Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", pp. 5-6; Schnackenburg, "Der Menschensohn im Johannesevangelium", pp. 130f.

452 Jeremias, "παῖς θεοῦ", p. 707.

453 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 159. 454 Ibid., pp. 176-7.

455 Ibid., pp. 156-9.

456 Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 349.

- 457 Jeremias, "παῖς Θεοῦ", p. 715.
- 458 Black, Aramaic Approach, p. 106; "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", p. 3.
- 459 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 177; Schlatter, Matthäus, pp. 537f.
- 460 The tradition in Luke appears also in Mt. 20:19 (which has "crucify", whereas Mk. 10:34 has "kill") and in Mt. 26:2. Cf. Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", p. 3. "Crucify" occurs in the kerygma at Acts 2:23, 36; 4:10; I Cor. 1:23; 2:2, 8; II Cor. 13:4; Gal. 2:20; 3:1.
- 461 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 82.
- 462 John 3:14; 8:28; 12:34; Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", pp. 5-9.
- 463 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 185.
- 464 Ibid., p. 184; cf. Higgins, Son of Man, p. 82.
- 465 Marshall, "Synoptic Son of Man Sayings", p. 350.
- 466 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 185. 467 Ibid.
- 468 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 82.
- 469 Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", p. 5.
- 470 Schnackenburg, St. John, I, Excursus V, p. 536.
- 471 Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", pp. 5-6.
- 472 Schnackenburg, St. John, I, p. 536.
- 473 Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, p. 184: ". . . the tendency towards the concrete is also perceivable within the post-Easter tradition and does not at all oblige us to presuppose sayings that had authentically issued from Jesus."
- 474 Higgins, Son of Man, p. 82, says that in spite of the fact that the terminology indicates Lk. 24:7 is not a saying of Jesus, ". . . it may preserve the knowledge that he referred to his death and resurrection while still in Galilee." Cf. Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", pp. 3, 8.

CHAPTER IV

THE JOHANNINE SON OF MAN SAYINGS

The thirteen occurrences of the term "Son of Man" in the Fourth Gospel may be grouped into four categories according to the following motifs: (1) ascending-descending, (2) exalted-glorified (=crucified), (3) judge, and (4) savior. The logia will be dealt with in terms of these motifs and examined as they occur in John under these headings.

Ascending and Descending

John 1:51

The first Son of Man logion to occur in John is a traditional one.¹ It makes clear use of the O.T., for it is apparent that the story of Jacob's vision of the ladder to heaven is behind John's imagery.² A comparison of the LXX on Gen. 28:12 with Jn. 1:51 shows parallel wording.

LXX ἡς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι
Jn.1:51 ὄψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεωγρότα καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους
LXX τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπὶ αὐτῆς.
Jn.1:51 τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τ. ο. τ. α.

But there are two significant variations from the LXX (apart from the accusative of τοὺς ἀγγέλους, which was necessarily altered because of its position in the sentence) which suggest that at some stage, perhaps early, the Hebrew text of Gen. 28:12 was used or at least that resort was made to it in varying

from the LXX. Firstly, there is the variation in the tense of the participles: the present tense of John may parallel more closely the Qal plural participles of the Hebrew לְיָדָיו and לְיָדָיו . The continuing traffic of the angels fits better the point the Evangelist wants to make (the unbroken connection between heaven and earth established in Jesus as the Son of Man, see discussion below). Another indication that John's sayings is based on the Hebrew is in his substitution of $\delta\ \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\iota\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon$ for $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ (antecedent: $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\varsigma$). The LXX by its use of the feminine makes it clear that it was on the ladder that the angels moved, whereas the masculine $\text{י}(\text{ל})$ of the Hebrew is ambiguous--it could be the ladder or it could be Jacob.³ Thus the ladder, which was Jacob in some Rabbinic interpretations,⁴ is understood to be Jesus.⁵ But this parallel must not be pressed, since at any rate, it is mainly imagery from Jacob's vision which is used here.⁶

Some scholars have seen a reference to Ezekiel 1 in this logion. There is some resemblance in the wording of Ezek. 1:1, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\nu\omicron\iota\chi\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\ \delta\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\beta\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\iota,$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu\ \omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon,$ but this is not strong evidence, since the opening of the heavens was a common metaphor for the imparting of a vision or revelation from God.⁷ There is similarity of ideas in that both John and Ezekiel speak of visions. "Son of Man" appears in Ezekiel also, but as a designation for the prophet, who sees the likeness of a heavenly man on the likeness of a throne (LXX 1:26 $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\omega\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\omega\mu\alpha\ \omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\iota\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\iota\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$). This is not to say that there is a primary allusion of Jn. 1:51 to Ezek. 1, for the essential ingredients in the Son of Man logion are missing in Ezekiel: there are no angels and there

is no ascending-descending movement.⁸ But it is nonetheless likely that the O.T. throne-theophany vision may have played some part in the development of thought leading up to this logion.

What meaning does John give to the Jacob's ladder imagery? One interpretation suggests that John is speaking of a heavenly counterpart above ("Son of Man") to the earthly body of Jesus, between which the angels travel.⁹ This interpretation is supported by the rabbinic exegesis of Gen. 28 (in Gen. R. 68:18). Rabbi Yannai cites Isa. 49:3, taking the "thou" to refer to a heavenly image י'י'י'א' (from Greek Εἰκότιον) of Jacob (Israel) which was on high while Jacob slept below and angels kept contact between the heavenly image and the earthly body below.¹⁰ The rabbinic interpretation of Ezek. 1 borders on this idea.¹¹ It is significant that the Targums (Onkelos and Jerusalem) have God's shekinah on the ladder. Gilles Quispel has suggested that an esoteric Jewish interpretation of Ezek. 1 and Isa. 6:1 was combined with a merkabah mysticism in Jerusalem, which John takes up here: Nathaniel is promised a vision of the enthroned Christ.¹² In line with this view is the possible reflection in Justin (Trypho, 86:2) of an early Christian belief that Christ was on the ladder--i. e., Jesus was the localization of the shekinah.

A second, and probably better, interpretation of the saying understands John to substitute "Son of Man" for Jacob, who was substituted for the ladder in the rabbinic interpretation of Gen. 28:12 (based on the Hebrew masculine י).¹³ Thus the Son of Man, being both human and divine, stretches between heaven and earth to bring continuous contact between

them. This view, rather than that of a heavenly image above and an earthly man below, seems preferable for several reasons. First is the fact that the particular rabbinic interpretation cited for the "heavenly image" view is too late to have influenced John.¹⁴ Quispel's view is largely built on this, has only weak support from John (12:41 being the only verse he can cite, then he gives it an interpretation prejudiced to his view), and is largely speculative. Secondly, the "heavenly image" view makes more out of the use of "glory" as a means of circumlocution for the divine name or as an avoidance of anthropomorphisms for God than the evidence warrants. To interpret this glory as having a separate existence from God surely goes beyond what the Jewish writers intended.¹⁵ Thirdly, the idea of a heavenly image of the Son of Man above is foreign to John's way of thinking. It is not the heavenly image of the Son of Man above with which Jesus has communion on earth. Rather it is God the Father with whom Jesus as the Son is in continuous fellowship and union.¹⁶ Here the view that the Son of Man is the ladder stretched between heaven and earth fits better John's concept. It is not that Jesus communes with his heavenly image which in turn communes with God in heaven. This would make the heavenly image the mediator. Rather Jesus as God's Son communicates directly with God: Jesus is the Mediator between God and men. This mediatorial office is pictured by the ladder stretched between heaven and earth:¹⁷ just as the ladder establishes contact between two places (heaven and earth), the mediator establishes contact between two persons (God in heaven and man on earth). This view has the support of the rabbinic interpretation of Gen. 28:12 which understood *בין* to refer to

Jacob.¹⁸ It fits the meaning of ἐπι better as well. Though it is true that ἐπι with the accusative can mean either movement to a goal or movement across a surface (or medium), it seems that in this context of dual movement (ascending and descending) that if dual goals were intended (the heavenly image above and the earthly man below), this sense could have been expressed more clearly by using ἐπι twice and stating the two goals. Or it could have been expressed by using εἰς, as for example in Prov. 30:4 (LXX), or better, by using εἰς, as in Psa. 117:26 (LXX). On the other hand, ἐπι is the correct preposition to use to express movement across the ladder (which is what the LXX has, ἐπ' αὐτῆς).¹⁹ This is probably John's meaning. But if it is difficult to decide precisely how John intended the picture to be taken, his basic meaning is clear enough: in the Son of Man a continuous line of communication is set up between heaven and earth.²⁰

The use of the ἀναβαίνειν-καταβαίνειν motif has often led scholars to see a Gnostic background to this logion.²¹ Quispel suggests the same may come from 777 in the technical sense it had in the merkabah mysticism: its obscurity could have suited it to be used of the ascent to the throne world (and to be used of the descent).²² Angels go between the enthroned Christ and Nathaniel, to whom the promise is given of a vision of Christ on the throne. A parallel idea is found in the Gospel of Peter 36-40, where there is an account of angels descending from heaven and ascending with Jesus. But it is doubtful John had the same thing in mind as the writer of the Gospel of Peter, in addition to which the order of the ascent-descent is reversed in the Gospel of Peter.²³ Quispel's view demands too much from

the $\tau\tau$: in the LXX ἀναβαίνειν translates mostly $\pi\lambda\gamma$ (Qal) and καταβαίνειν mostly $\tau\tau$ (Qal). It is not satisfactory to suggest the angels go between Nathaniel and the Son of Man,²⁴ for though Nathaniel was the new Jacob in v. 47, the Son of Man is the new Jacob in v. 51.²⁵ Apparently Nathaniel brought to mind the Jacob story, which is then applied to the Son of Man who is the real new Jacob in v. 51. The focus is no longer on Nathaniel, for Jesus has changed to the plural address (cf. $\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ and $\delta\ \psi\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$).²⁶

A better understanding of the ascent-descent motif is that of Bultmann: this is a mythological picture for the unbroken fellowship between Jesus and the Father.²⁷ John has borrowed this picture imagery from the Jacob story to illustrate this one point. The details should not be pressed further.²⁸

The theme of ascending and descending, apart from its use in the Jacob story, is not an unusual one but was rather common in Jewish thought as a mythological-symbolical theme. In Psa. 107:26 the life of sailors (who see the works of $\pi\lambda\gamma$) is described: they mount up to heaven and go down again. The psalmist speaks of God's omnipresence, saying (in Psa. 139:8) that if he ascends to heaven ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\acute{\omega}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\ \rho\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$; $\pi\lambda\gamma$) or makes his bed in Sheol, God is there. Speaking of the knowledge of God, Agur the son of Jakeb asks (in Prov. 30:4) who has ascended up into heaven and descended. Applied to more mundane matters there is the proverb (Prov. 25:7) that one should humbly take a low seat at a banquet, since it is better to be raised than to be put lower. The independence and freedom of the human spirit is characterized by an upward and downward movement (Eccles. 3:21). Pronouncing God's judgment Amos says that though the wicked climb

to heaven, God will bring them down (Amos 9:2; cf. 9:5). The motif occurs as well in I Ezech 12-16, which has been suggested as the prototype of this motif in the N.T.²⁹ since the apocalyptic imagery is very similar, even if the theology is not.

The motif is used in a similar way in the N.T. John 3:13 asks who has ascended into heaven (to attain knowledge of God) except the Son of Man who came down from heaven (cf. Rom. 10:6; Prov. 30:4). Ephesians 4:9, 10 speak of Christ ascending and descending. In the matter of ethics, men are warned not to be proud, since he who exalts himself shall be humbled (cf. Prov. 25:7), as Capernaum was exalted but was to be brought low (Matt. 11:23; Lk. 10:13). Thus the widespread use of this motif means it is not unusual that John should use it here. It also answers the question of order, why the ascending precedes the descending. This was the order commonly used in this motif and, regardless of any theological implications this might introduce,³⁰ this is the order followed here.

It is not without significance that Nathaniel addressed Jesus as the Son of God, the King of Israel, but that Jesus replied in terms of the Son of Man. There is perhaps more to this substitution of titles than just the author's piling up of Christological titles for Jesus.³¹ This Son of Man is apparently not the transcendent, heavenly figure of Jewish apocalyptic, but is rather Jesus who, as the Son of Man, is working on earth while in communion with the Father.³² "This is the only title in the chapter that Jesus uses of himself, a fact that may reflect a historical reminiscence that Jesus did use this title, as distinct from the titles given him by the disciples after the resurrection, e. g., Son of God."³³

The relation of Jn. 1:51 to the Synoptic Son of Man logia is important. It is probable that the starting point for John was the Synoptic (especially Mk. 13:26; 14:62) and other Jewish apocalyptic sayings about the Son of Man.³⁴ The variant ἀπ' ἄρτι, though used in Jn. 13:19 and 14:7 is most likely taken from Mt. 26:64, showing that Jn. 1:51 was thought to be related to Mt. 26:64.³⁵ But, as already noted, Jn. 1:51 is not an apocalyptic prediction. The Son of Man here is essentially the earthly Son of Man, as both Bultmann³⁶ and R. Schnackenburg emphasize (against Quispel). The open heavens and the ministering angels may show a connection with the Mark-Matthew baptism and temptation narratives, not with the passion,³⁷ though Schnackenburg doubts a recollection of Mk. 1:13 is intended.³⁸

The problem to first century Christians of God's transcendence and his immanence (His revelation and His presence on earth) may be reflected in Jn. 1:51. John, it is suggested, used the O.T. figure of the angel of the Lord, combined with his belief in the presence of God in Christ, as well as an esoteric interpretation of Isa. 6:1 and Ezek. 1:26.³⁹ But against this view, there is no indication that John used the O.T. angel of the Lord here, nor is Isa. 6:1 or Ezek. 1:26 really relevant. John has "solved" the problem merely by illustrating the incarnation in terms of the Jacob ladder imagery.⁴⁰ There seems to be no attempt to explicate doctrine but only to picture the Son of Man as the mediator between heaven and earth.⁴¹ ". . . Jesus is making the point that through the life of the Son of Man a connexion has been decisively established between the historical and the eternal."⁴²

The desire to depict Christ as the "new temple" may be in mind in Jn. 1:51. Alluding to Jacob's dream, some rabbis identified the stone on which Jacob slept as the foundation stone of the temple at Jerusalem.⁴³ There is also a tradition to the effect that Jacob's ladder marked the site of the new temple (Gen. B. 68:12; 69:7). "What John would appear to be saying therefore is that the bond joining heaven and earth is no longer the temple of Jerusalem, where the glory or presence of God was hidden in the holy of holies, but Christ, in whom the divine glory is made visible."⁴⁴

The use of Gen. 28:12 will be seen increasingly to be important as other legia and the O. T. testimonia used with them in John are examined. The Jacob's ladder story was certainly an important event in Israel's history. So was the plague of snakes and the strange cure provided in a brazen serpent (Numbers 21). So was the provision of manna in the wilderness. All these events are reflected in the Johannine Son of Man sayings, suggesting that the Son of Man re-enacted at least certain events in the history of Israel, since he is the new Israel.

If then the Son of Man in Jn. 1:51, upon whom the angels of God ascend and descend, represents in his own person the new Israel, it is in the same way that Jacob, whom he now replaces, represented the old Israel. "Jacob, as the ancestor of the nation of Israel, summarizes in his person the ideal Israel in posse, just as our Lord, at the other end of the line, summarizes it in esse as the Son of Man."⁴⁵ In this way the Johannine Son of Man is corporate (representative)⁴⁶ as well as individual. John teaches that God has providentially worked

through the historical revelation to Israel.⁴⁷ Now God is revealing (through the "opened heavens") himself in the mediatorship (pictured by the traffic of the angels) of the Son of Man (as representative of the new people). In John's mind, the new Israel is the new humanity, those recipients of the new revelation of God mediated in Christ, who in the deepest sense is not only their king (v. 49) but their inclusive representative--they are in him and he in them.⁴⁸ So far from Son of Man having no special importance in John, as Lagrange suggests,⁴⁹ the term is rather loaded with meaning for the Evangelist. And if there is a further connection with Isa. 49:3, 5, as Smalley suggests, then ". . . Like the Servant of Yahweh, Jesus as the representative of the true Israel not only glorifies God but also is glorified by him after suffering (Isa. xlix.3, 5)."⁵⁰

John 3:13

In this logion the same ἀναβαίνειν-καταβαίνειν theme occurs as in Jn. 1:51.⁵¹ But, whereas Jn. 1:51 built on Gen. 28:12, Jn. 3:13 reflects Prov. 30:4 and Deut. 30:12.

The ascent-descent motif appears in both Prov. 30:4, τίς ἀνέβη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ κατέβη (LXX), טַרְגוֹן מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד (MT, Qal perfect), and in Jn. 3:13 where the Greek has the perfect tense, ἀναβέβηκεν and the aorist participle καταβάς. An additional similarity is the mention of wind (Prov. 30:4b; Jn. 3:8) and water (Prov. 30:4c; Jn. 3:5), though they are treated differently. A third connection with Prov. 30:4 is the mention of "son" in 30:4c (LXX τέκνον, variant υἱῶ; MT בֶּן), suggesting the possibility that John has moved from בֶּן

to $\text{ΠΤΑ} \text{ } \Gamma\text{B}$ ($\text{WJX} \text{ } \Gamma\text{B}$) or $\delta \text{ υιός } \tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\ \delta\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$. Perhaps the most significant connection between Jn. 3:13 and Prov. 30:4 is their similar context and meaning: both speak of the attaining of knowledge of heavenly things by ascending into heaven and returning to earth to reveal this supernatural knowledge.⁵²

John 3:13 is similar to Jn. 1:51 not only in the use of the ascent-descent motif, but also in the contrast of the heavenly and the earthly. In Jn. 1:51 the Son of Man, the new Israel, was in constant fellowship with God above, establishing permanent communication between heaven and earth. Here in John 3 the Son of Man again brings contact between heaven and earth, for only he has ascended to heaven to attain knowledge of spiritual things and then descended with this knowledge.

The contrast in John 3 between the "heavenly" and the "earthly" may be noted, for it is a theme running through this chapter.

	<u>In heaven</u>	<u>On earth</u>
Jn. 3:11	what we have seen and know	we speak and testify
12	heavenly things	earthly things
13	ascended into heaven	Son of Man came down
14f.	(how one can share in this spiritual knowledge which only the Son of Man has and which he offers: one shares it only by believing in the Son of Man who must be lifted up)	
cf. 3:32	what he has seen and heard	
		3:31 come from above
		34 whom God sent

As to the meaning of the logion (3:13), the descent is easily enough understood of the incarnation. It is the common way John refers to Christ's coming in the flesh, $\text{κατὰ } \beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$

ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cf. 6:33, 38, 41, 42, 50, 51, 58), and this is uniquely Johannine.⁵³

The primary difficulty is in understanding the ἀναβέβηκεν. What is to be made of the perfect tense, which apparently implies this ascending has already taken place? Barrett feels this reflects the post-resurrection situation and John is reflecting back on the ascension of Jesus after the resurrection.⁵⁴ Bernard (with Lagrange) interprets the tense only as a denial that anyone had previously gone into heaven to know heavenly things: what especially refers to the Son of Man is the descent, not the ascent.⁵⁵ This understanding of ἀναβέβηκεν is more in line with the meaning of Prov. 30:4. The questions (apparently modelled after Job 38; cf. Prov. 8:24-29) asked in Prov. 30:4 speak of divine acts, but the subject is not God (which is precluded by the reference to a son and by the ascent-descent motif which shows that earth is the starting place). Proverbs 30:4 should be understood then as a sarcastic description of a man who has supernatural power and understanding and who can speak authoritatively of God's nature and administration.⁵⁶ John, knowing that in Jesus God does have a son, and believing Jesus possessed special knowledge of "God's nature and administration", has answered the questions of Prov. 30:4 by saying that the Son of Man is the only one who fits this description and thus is able to speak of things heavenly and things earthly.⁵⁷

The notion of someone going up into heaven to obtain spiritual knowledge is reflected in Jewish apocalyptic as well: Enoch (I En. 70:1 et passim), Abraham (Testament of Abraham), and Isaiah ascend to attain such knowledge.⁵⁸ But as already

noted, John reflects more the kind of imagery found in Prov. 30:4 and Deut. 30:12 than that in the legends of Jewish apocalyptic.⁵⁹ Whether the original understanding of the ascent-descent of the Son of Man had, under the influence of the post-resurrection preaching, come to be understood as a reference to the ascension it may not be possible to say.⁶⁰ The order of ascent-descent is against the later understanding, but it may have been possible to understand them in a reverse order.

The variant on v. 13, which introduces the phrase $\epsilon\upsilon\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\upsilon\pi\alpha\nu\eta$ is significant and is relevant to the previous discussion. The variant is probably not original. The arguments against it advanced by Bernard seem valid,⁶¹ and the papyri (p^{66, 75}) are against it as well. Yet Barrett argues for it,⁶² because it presents the difficulty that at the moment of speaking the Son of Man was on earth. It was to remove this difficulty that \aleph , B, W, etc., omit it and the old Syriac version "improves" it. But the variant may in fact reflect the post-ascension standpoint when the Son of Man who had descended from heaven to earth in his incarnation was again in heaven.

If any special meaning is to be attached to the ascent, it may be that the pre-existence of the Son of Man is in mind, as in the prologue.⁶³ In this logion John is developing a theme perhaps implicit in classical Jewish apocalyptic. In I En. 48:2-3, though it is doubtful there is a real pre-existence of the Son of Man, there is the potential for reading the idea into this Son of Man passage. In the same way that John has reworked many classical themes of the Son of Man, including the primary function as judge, which appears only in Jn. 5, the Evangelist has developed the pre-existence motif by making explicit what was to him at least implicit in the classical Son of Man tradition.⁶⁴

The Son of Man is the only one in a position to speak authoritatively of heavenly things since he alone has ascended into heaven (that is, in his pre-existence) and has descended (in his incarnation) to bring this knowledge to men.⁶⁵ He is not so obviously the new Israel here as in Jn. 1:51, but this idea is not far away. The true people of God (the new Israel), who through Jesus the Son of Man as their Representative have received the knowledge of heavenly things, are rejected by the Jews, the old Israel.⁶⁶ This way of understanding the Son of Man is apparently John's own development of an independent tradition, inasmuch as there is no Synoptic parallel to it (though cf. Rom. 10:6, 7; Eph. 4:8-10).⁶⁷

This interpretation of the Son of Man as the new Israel is underlined by the allusion to Deut. 30:12. What makes this allusion probable is not only the fact that the ascent-descent motif is in Deut. 30 (Moses ascended Mt. Sinai, God descended in his shekinah glory) but also their similar meaning: Deut. 30 says that God's commandment is near his people, not far off where an ascent to heaven to obtain spiritual knowledge and a descent to reveal it would be required; John 3:13 ascribes to the Son of Man the unique position of one who has ascended to heaven (to receive divine knowledge) and descended (to reveal it).

The allusion to Deut. 30:12 becomes most striking in the rendering of the Targum Neophiti, which reads:

מן יסק לשמיא ה'ך
 משה נביא
 מן ייעבר לנא מעבר לים ה'ך
 ה'ך יונא נביא

As M. McNamara notes,⁶⁸ probably the idea of Moses ascending to heaven to receive the law comes from Ex. 19:20 which speaks of the Lord descending on Mt. Sinai and calling Moses, who then goes up. The theophany at Mt. Sinai is similarly spoken of in Pseudo-Philo and IV Ezra. Since the latter two works are early (first century A.D.), they suggest the tradition of the Targum is also early⁶⁹ and thus possibly contemporary to John. Was John thinking that the New Moses⁷⁰ had arrived (descended) in the Son of Man after he had ascended to heaven to receive the New Law to give to the New Israel (of whom he was also the representative)?⁷¹

John 6:62

This Son of Man logion employs the by now familiar ἀνάβασις theme (cf. 1:51; 3:13). Though the κατὰ βῆσιν is not used in the logion itself, it can be found in the larger context, having just been used in an important discourse on the "new manna" (v. 58).⁷² The ἀναβαίνειν refers to the ascension of Jesus after his resurrection, as an examination of the occurrences of ἀναβαίνειν in John indicates. John 20:17 is particularly relevant, being the only place in the Gospel where the word is used theologically but not in direct connection with the Son of Man title.⁷³ These post-resurrection words of Jesus refer to his imminent ascension to heaven. The meaning is probably the same here in Jn. 6:62, as will be seen more clearly later.

How does this ἀναβαίνειν relate to the characteristicly Johannine use of ὑψοῦν? The two words clearly have similar meanings: ἀναβαίνειν means "to ascend", and ὑψοῦν refers to

"lifting up". But the theological meaning which John puts into his use of these words sets them apart. Some commentators have taken ἀναβαίνειν to refer to the death of Jesus--that is, of the start of his going from earth to heaven.⁷⁴ C. K. Barrett, for example, though not taking ἀναβαίνειν as referring primarily to the death of Jesus, nevertheless takes it as meaning Jesus will ascend through death: ". . . the ascending (ἀναβαίνειν) of the Son of Man means at once suffering and glory; he returns where he was before (cf. 1:1) by mounting upon the cross."⁷⁵ But the way in which ἀναβαίνειν is employed elsewhere does not support this interpretation. "It never refers to the crucifixion, but to the ascension."⁷⁶ There is no suggestion of suffering or shame associated with ἀναβαίνειν: it connotes unmixed blessing and glory in exaltation.

On the other hand, ὑψοῦν is the Johannine word which suggests glorification through suffering. This is obvious from Jn. 3:14 and particularly Jn. 12:32-34 (v. 33 leaves no doubt that the word refers to Jesus' crucifixion). It is not just that Jesus will be lifted up to glory after being lifted up to die. Rather the two "lifting up" are identified: Jesus' glory is his death (cf. 3:14; 3:32ff.). This double meaning is clear enough in the Johannine usage of ὑψοῦν. But it is not to be found in his use of ἀναβαίνειν and it is perhaps a mistake to import this meaning to ἀναβαίνειν from John's use of ὑψοῦν. If there is any tie between ἀναβαίνειν and the exaltation-crucifixion motif, it is through their proximity in some contexts, not through any inherent meaning of ἀναβαίνειν.⁷⁷

John 6:62 is notably different from the previous two logia employing the ascent-descent motif (1:51; 3:13), in that

it reverses the order from ascent-descent to descent-ascent. This may in fact be a development of the motif by the addition of another ascent, so that what it really presents is ascent-descent-ascent. John 1:51 only suggests the ascent and descent of the Son of Man; it is Jn. 3:13 where this is made explicit and which is most clearly akin to 6:62. In Jn. 3:13 the ascent and descent theme of Prov. 30:4/Deut. 30:12 was employed. The "ascent" merely expressed the idea that no one had gone up to heaven to obtain supernatural, spiritual knowledge. The only one who had this knowledge was the Son of Man who "descended" in his incarnation.⁷⁸ In Jn. 6:62, the pre-existence of the Son of Man is implied in the τὸ πρότερον.⁷⁹ The descent is not mentioned in 6:62, though it occurs prior to this logion in 6:58: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβῆς. Probably this assertion by Jesus was the σκληρός λόγος which is referred to in Jn. 6:60. Again "descent" refers to the incarnation. But following this descent comes an "ascent":⁸⁰ ἐν οὐν θεωρῆτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον; If the mention of the "descent" of Jesus gave offence to his hearers, what if they see him "ascend" where he was before?

The use of ἀναβαίνειν in referring to the ascension of Jesus is in agreement with the Synoptic tradition. Smalley notes this:

But the concept of exaltation in terms of 'ascent', using the verb ἀναβαίνειν, here as elsewhere in John is not unlike the synoptic presentation of ascension. This appears to be the case in the post-resurrection announcement to Mary Magdalene, Ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου (xx.17); and we know that ἀναβαίνειν was also a traditional 'ascension' word among the early Christians (cf. Mark i.10; Rom. x.6; Eph. iv.8-10). Moreover, the saying of vi.62 is addressed significantly enough to the disciples (61); and as in the Synoptics it is to them in particular that the risen Christ appears before the ascension. In other words, despite the

eschatological perspective of the Fourth Gospel, John still finds a place for an 'ascension' which is pegged out in time, just as he also finds a place for a final resurrection and a last day (vi.39f., 44, 54). The theological 'comings and goings' of the Gospel, however, are more distinctively John's way of thinking about the subject of incarnation and exaltation, using the simple verb *ὑπάγω* (John vii.33; xiii.3; xvi.5; al.). It is quite possible, then, that John has preserved here and also in iii.13 a genuine saying about the ascendancy of the Son of man which has been reshaped by an earlier tradition and not by his theology at all.⁸¹

That it should be said that the Son of Man will ascend *ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον* is significant. It suggests at once the pre-existence of the Son of Man: he must have existed prior to his descent in the incarnation in order for him to ascend to the place he was before the descent. The "place" to which he will ascend is certainly heaven (from which he came down, 6:32, 33, 38, 41, 42, 50, 51, 58), as 3:13 makes clear. "No one ever went up into heaven except the one who came down from heaven, the Son of Man whose home is in heaven." (NEB) In Jn. 20:17 it is "to his Father" that Jesus is to ascend (cf. 1:1, "the Word was with God.").

Pre-existence is not an unknown theme for the Son of Man in Jewish apocalyptic. In Dan. 7 the Son of Man is not said explicitly to have been pre-existent, but some interpreters have seen this idea in the passage. I Enoch is much more explicit, especially in I En. 48:2, 3, where there is no question that the Son of Man had a pre-mundane existence. Similarly IV Ezra 13:3 is clearly interpreted in 13:26, 52, as referring to the Son of Man's pre-existence. But John does not make as much of this attribute as these Jewish apocalyptic works do. For, though pre-existence is implied in the *ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον* (6:62), it is only implicit, being neither fully explicated nor given any

real prominence.⁸² In fact John's Gospel makes very little of the Son of Man's pre-existence (though cf. the logos prologue). In this respect the Johannine Son of Man agrees with the Synoptic, where there is no undisputed logion connecting the Son of Man with pre-existence.⁸³

A noteworthy similarity of Jn. 6:62 to 3:13 is in the contrast between $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $\piνε\upsilon\mu\alpha$. John 3:13 is really the climax (in the contrast of the $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \gamma\eta\varsigma$ with the $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \acute{\omicron}\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$) to the contrast of flesh and spirit, introduced in Jn. 3:6 by way of explanation of the $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$. In the same way Jn. 6:62 climaxes the discussion of offence taken at Jesus' words in the preceding section of the chapter (the ultimate offence occurring at his "ascent", v. 62). The discussion goes back to the words of Jesus that he who eats his flesh and drinks his blood will have eternal life (6:50, 51, 54, 58). Jesus' words are spiritual and life-giving (v. 63), in contrast to "the flesh". The meaning here, as in 3:13, is that the Son of Man offers spiritual words which, if heeded (if the hearers "believe on the Son of Man, 3:13, 14, and "eat the flesh of the Son of Man", 6:53, 54), will give eternal life, since the spirit gives life (6:63a) and the words of Jesus are "spirit" (6:63b). This emphasis on the spiritual recalls Jn. 1:51 where the Son of Man maintains continuous contact with heaven, indicating the spiritual nature of his ministry.

The contrast of the $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \gamma\eta\varsigma$ ⁸⁴ with the $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \acute{\omicron}\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$, as in Jn. 3:13, is emphasized in John 6. The Son of Man has come down from heaven (where he will go again, 6:62), 6:32, 33, 38, 41, al. This contrast was implied in Jn. 1:51, where the ascent and descent of the angels of God signified the continuous

contact of the Son of Man with God, bridging the gap between earth and heaven. The emphasis of 6:62, associating this theme with the Son of Man, is on his bringing heavenly knowledge--the words of eternal life⁸⁵--down to earth, to those who will see and believe the "greater things" promised (1:51) at the beginning of his ministry.

The phrase, "seeing the Son of Man ascending", is reminiscent of the promise in Jn. 1:51 of "seeing greater things", the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man.⁸⁶ But more significantly it recalls the Synoptic parousia predictions, particularly Mk. 14:62: "You will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of God and coming with the clouds of heaven." (NEB) Is it possible that John knew the same sort of tradition as that Mk. 14:62 recalls, speaking of "seeing the Son of Man" in his future glory? As Schnackenburg suggests,⁸⁷ the Johannine "exaltation" may be his equivalent of the Synoptic "sitting at the right hand of God". But John differs from the Synoptics in that he applies the "seeing" to the ascension of the Son of Man (just as in Acts 1:4ff, especially v. 11), whereas the Synoptics emphasize the coming again in glory (parousia).

The structure of the logion is difficult to analyse. Bernard⁸⁹ calls it an "aposiopesis"--that is, a sentence which omits the apodosis. What might have been expected was $\tau\acute{\iota} \omicron\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$, and the omission of $\tau\acute{\iota}$ is awkward. The important question is how the sentence should be completed. Should it be understood that if the condition is fulfilled (seeing the Son of Man ascending where he was before) that the offence will be heightened (that is, this verse asks indirectly

the question asked in v. 67, so Bultmann⁹⁰) or that the offence will disappear (so Bauer⁹¹)? C. K. Barrett follows Westcott⁹² in opting for both meanings, since they are not exclusive of each other and each seems to bear a part of the full meaning of the verse. Barrett combines the two views by understanding them as referring to Jesus' death: his ascension will be by way of the cross.

The whole process of the return of Christ to the glory of the Father, including as it did the crucifixion, was both the supreme scandal, and the vindication of Christ as the bread of life; and, at the same time, the proof that eating his flesh and drinking his blood was neither murderous nor magical. This allusion to the scandal of the cross also makes clear the nature of the offence given by Jesus in the course of his ministry.⁹³

But in view of the above discussion of ἀναβαίνειν, John cannot be thought to be speaking primarily of the crucifixion in 6:62. In fact ἀναβαίνειν is never used of the death of Jesus. In this context in particular any reference of the ascent to Jesus' death is precluded by ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον. Where the Son of Man was before and where he will ascend again is not the cross but heaven.

Perhaps it is possible to reconcile the two meanings suggested by the aposiopesis⁹⁴ by remembering the two groups into which Jesus' hearers fell. The unbelievers (v. 64, "there are some of you that believe not") and those who finally rejected Jesus (v. 66, "Many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him") would be completely scandalized (just as they were by his descent, 6:38, 41) by his ascension.⁹⁵ Jesus' disciples (6:68, 69), on the other hand, who might now find his words "hard", would then (at his ascension) see that he had not been speaking of anthropophagy. For them the ascension will be a vindication of Jesus' words. But there is also the

suffering which will come to them as well. Schulz calls attention to this: "Die Auffahrt des Menschensohnes in den Himmel wird die Jünger allein auf der Erde zurücklassen, und deutlich wird man an die Situation der Abschiedsreden erinnert, die angesichts des Weggangs Jesu für die Jünger durch $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta$ und $\Theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\iota\varsigma$ gekennzeichnet ist."⁹⁶ But when he goes beyond this to compare the farewell speeches of Jesus (14:18f.; 16:16f.), Schulz too easily substitutes ascension for parousia, failing to support his view that John has transferred these parousia elements to an ascension logion. On the other hand, the compatibility of this "ascent" word with the other Johannine Son of Man "ascent" sayings points to a common theme in John into which this logion fits,⁹⁷ perhaps rather than to the modification of a previous parousia saying.

This interpretation clarifies just how this logion fits into its context. Jesus' hearers have just confessed that his words were $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. But Jesus says that if his descent from heaven and the act of faith response it requires ("eating the flesh of the Son of Man", v. 53) were hard, those who cannot believe this will be even more offended at his ascension back to where he was before.⁹⁸ Not all disbelieved, as Peter's confession (6:68, 69) shows, and they will have their questions of faith resolved at Jesus' ascension.

What further understanding of the Son of Man does John give his readers in this logion? Both the heavenly and the earthly aspects of the Son of Man are present, both his divine and his human side. The divine nature is clear from the allusion to this pre-existence ("where he was before") and to his return (ascension) to that place of pre-existence (heaven).⁹⁹

The human nature of the Son of Man is implied in the reference to descent in incarnation: "I am the bread come down from heaven" (6:41). Yet even in his incarnation the Son of Man is one with the Father: "For I am come down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me" (6:38).

Besides the christology in this section, there is a strong emphasis on soteriology. This is put most graphically in another Son of Man saying in this passage, v. 53: "unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood you can have no life in you." The consequence of one's faith in or rejection of the Son of Man is implied in 6:62. If the descent of the Son of Man was a stone of stumbling, his ascension will have an even greater effect on his hearers: some will be utterly offended; others will have their faith vindicated or restored. The exaltation (ascension) of the Son of Man will bring life to those who see it (*ὁσωνήτε*, cf. the soteriology of 3:14; cf. 5:40).¹⁰⁰ This in turn is akin to the suggestion of a collective view of the Son of Man, "the inclusive representative of true humanity".¹⁰¹

Exalted and Glorified (=Crucified)

John 3:14

Here is another Johannine Son of Man logion which is illustrated by an O.T. event--in this case it is the account of the brazen serpent, described in Numbers 21, made by Moses and set up as a cure for the plague of snakes. The Johannine logion uses the O.T. text merely as an illustration,¹⁰² apparently with no concern to follow the text literally, since there

is no parallel wording of John with either the MT, the LXX (possibly the source of John's σημεῖον¹⁰³), or the Targumim. The points of similarity between the O.T. event and the truths John wishes his readers to know about the Son of Man are found in the fact that the serpent was "lifted up" and that considering this σημεῖον ("believing on it") meant life. It was important to introduce the O.T. illustration at this point because the Son of Man's being lifted up, ὑψωθῆναι, might have been taken as equivalent to the ἀναβαίνειν of 3:13: the illustration of the serpent clearly shows that a wider meaning is intended.¹⁰⁴

John uses ὑψοῦν to describe the erection of the serpent on the pole as a symbol of the Son of Man in such a way that it refers both to Jesus' crucifixion and to his exaltation:¹⁰⁵ his exaltation is through his crucifixion. This word play is most likely based on an Aramaic word which was capable of both meanings. In a recent comprehensive discussion of this question,¹⁰⁶ Martin McNamara summarizes the various views which have suggested three different Aramaic words¹⁰⁷ as the source of the Johannine ὑψωθῆναι-σταυρωθῆναι-δοξασθῆναι word play.

The first Aramaic word, ܩܦܬܐ or ܩܦܬܐܝܢܐ, was first suggested by C. Lattey¹⁰⁸ in 1912, and later supported by E. A. Abbott.¹⁰⁹ F. C. Burkitt,¹¹⁰ however, felt that ܩܦܬܐ was not a fitting Semitic correspondent to ὑψοῦν, since ܩܦܬܐ meant "to erect, stake, fix, or hang" but "hardly ever" was it used of "raising to a higher level." He suggested instead ܩܘܘܬܐ (Hebrew ִקְוֶה) which means "to exalt" as well as "to raise to a higher level."¹¹¹ But as McNamara notes, there is no indication that ܩܘܘܬܐ meant to die, so it could not be used in the kind of pun which John employs. The word which McNamara favors is ܩܘܘܬܐ, which was

suggested by C. C. Torrey.¹¹² But Torrey gave the word (in particular the reflective פָּנֹחַ) a meaning which was foreign to the context of John. McNamara suggests the Ithpaal of פָּוַח was used to mean "to die", as Jastrow cites it. Though this particular meaning might have been expected from the meaning in Hebrew, it has been disputed.¹¹³ Now it is confirmed in the Palestinian Targumim: Numbers 11:26 and 21:1 (bis) in Neophiti use it and the Fragment Targum has it in Deut. 32:1. But this word, פָּוַח, has as many drawbacks as McNamara finds with קָפַח: when used in the sense of "lift up", it usually means "to suspend", as "to tuck up the trail of a garment", or suspend in the sense of "dismissing someone from office".¹¹⁴ When used of a person rising, it often means "to rise to go, to remove oneself". (Ab. I, 16: Targum Y. Ex. 12:43; Keth. 106^a).

The objection to קָפַח as the basis for John's pun is mainly that it means "to hang, to erect" rather than "to raise to a new level". Were it true that this precise nuance in meaning is absent, it could be asked whether such a fine distinction is valid. The pun could perhaps have been made just the same.¹¹⁵ But it may not be that this nuance is lacking from the word. The occurrences of קָפַח in biblical Hebrew (Psa. 145:14; 146:8) both refer to the mercy of the Lord in straightening (that is, raising: 145:14, קָפַחְתָּ; 146:8, קָפַחְתָּ) those who are bowed down. Though it is true that in the strictest sense of the word, קָפַח refers here to making erect, the basic meaning is still "to raise", even "to elevate", since implied is the idea that the erect position is more "exalted" than the prostrate or bowed. Turning to biblical Aramaic, in Ezra 6:11 he who alters the decree of Darius is to be "lifted up" and

fastened on a beam from his house. Here $\eta\pi\tau$ is used of execution by hanging, but it seemed necessary to make this clear by using $\lambda\pi\delta\eta\tau$. The idea of raising up and lifting up is inseparable from the basic meaning of the word, but the sense of "hanging to death" had to be indicated.¹¹⁶ G. Kittel has discussed the relevant passages:¹¹⁷ $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$ came to be the special word for hanging, but $\eta\pi\tau$ could bear this meaning as well, though its more common meaning was "to hang up, uplift, erect." In conclusion, there appears to be no insuperable argument against $\eta\pi\tau$ as the source of John's word play.¹¹⁸

Another important issue arises from the use of $\delta\epsilon\iota$ in this logion.¹¹⁹ The same terminology occurs in Jn. 12:34, where again "the Son of Man must be lifted up" (cf. Jn. 8:28). These logia are especially reminiscent of Mk. 8:31 (cf. Mk. 9:31 and 10:32f). The similarity of these Synoptic passion predictions to Jn. 3:14, as noted by R. Schnackenburg,¹²⁰ points to a definite relationship. Schnackenburg argues convincingly that it is basically the Synoptic tradition, modified to meet John's own purpose and meaning, which is behind the Johannine Son of Man logia. He is at pains to show other traces of Synoptic tradition which John has modified, reinterpreted, and made part of his own Gospel.¹²¹ If John has done this in other areas, may he not have done so with the Son of Man tradition? This view is confirmed by various parallels of Johannine sayings to Synoptic sayings,¹²² as here in Jn. 3:14 where the passion predictions are reflected. A. M. Hunter suggests that Jn. 3:14; 8:28; and 12:32, 34 correspond to the three Synoptic predictions in Mk. 8:31; 9:31; and

10:32f. Furthermore, since the Johannine forms are less detailed than the Synoptic, they are conceivably more ancient.¹²³

Along the same lines, M. Black has pointed out the agreement of this "pre-Johannine" saying (3:14) with the Synoptic saying in Lk. 24:7, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι σεῖ... σταυρωθήναι, and the "exaltation christology" of Lk. 24:26, which may indicate Luke and John depended on a common tradition.¹²⁴ The ambiguous Aramaic expression behind this tradition could in fact be dominical: it could certainly explain how Mk. 9:31, which is clear enough in Greek, might have been misunderstood in Aramaic by those who heard it. John solved the ambiguity of the Aramaic by taking both meanings, exaltation and crucifixion.¹²⁵

Schnackenburg suggests that the O.T. background behind the Johannine passion sayings is Isa. 53, the prophecy of the Servant of the Lord. This O.T. testimonium may have been the inspiration of John's exaltation-glorification christology.¹²⁶ What makes this suggestion extremely plausible is the fact that the two prominent Johannine concepts, ὑψωθῆναι-δοξασθῆναι, are used synonymously in Isa. 52:13: "Behold, my servant shall prosper, he shall be lifted up, exalted to the heights." (NEB) Ἴδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα. The christological use of this testimonium is quite early, for it appears in Phil. 2:9-11 (v. 9, *ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερέψωσεν*). But John's contribution beyond the earlier christology was this, "daß er die Stunde der „Erhöhung“ am Kreuz schon auch als die der „Verherrlichung“ betrachtete (vgl. 12, 32f. mit 32 34c; 13:31f.; 17:1f.)."¹²⁷ But it is possible that even this development was pre-Johannine, going back to the ambiguous Aramaic *ḡpt*.

The Johannine crucifixion-exaltation-glorification concept then is readily explainable in terms of its inspiration in Isa. 52:13, where the LXX uses $\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\epsilon\psi\omega\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, two of the ideas, and of the Aramaic pun on קָפַר , which supplies the third idea ($\epsilon\psi\omega\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota = \sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\pi\omega\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$). The Isaianic inspiration would be even more firmly established if the Hebrew $\text{קָפַר יְהוָה$ were translated by the Aramaic קָפַר , laying the foundation for the Johannine double usage ($\epsilon\psi\omega\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota - \sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\pi\omega\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$). The Targum does not use קָפַר (it uses קָפַר) but this need not rule out the possibility קָפַר could have been used in a pre- or non-Targumic translation. On the other hand, it is not really necessary to posit that קָפַר was originally used in Isa. 52:13 at all, though it is a possibility. (Indeed it is the LXX's use of $\epsilon\psi\omega\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota - \delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ which most clearly demonstrates John's use of Isa. 52:13.) A tradition relating קָפַר to the crucifixion-exaltation of Jesus could have been circulated independently, and then have been connected to Isa. 52:13 as a testimonium which gave O.T. authority to the paradoxical humiliation-exaltation of Jesus.

This exaltation christology (including the uniquely Johannine identification of the crucifixion with the exaltation) may well have early roots. The use of $\epsilon\psi\omega\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ in reference to Christ is rather infrequent in the N.T., occurring, significantly enough, only in Phil. 2:9 ($\delta\upsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\psi\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega$, the only occurrence in the N.T.) and Acts 2:33 and 5:31, where there is a christology of exaltation.¹²⁸ "This suggests that Isaiah 52:13 applied to the Son of Man circulated as a testimonium independently and before the Fourth Evangelist adopted and possibly adapted it."¹²⁹ The probable source of John's identification

of the crucifixion with the exaltation in the Aramaic ^{9PT} suggests as well an early origin in an Aramaic-speaking milieu, probably in Palestine, prior to John.

This particular logion is worthy of notice for what it reflects of Johannine theology. An explicitly soteriological purpose for the Son of Man's exaltation-crucifixion is given in v.15: Ἰὼν παῖς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον (cf. 3:16ff.; 3:36). As the lifting up of the serpent pictured the lifting up of the Son of Man, so the healing effect of looking upon the serpent pictured the salvatory effect of believing on the exalted-crucified Son of Man. "Those who looked in faith upon the brazen serpent uplifted before them were delivered from death by poison; those who look in faith upon the Crucified lifted up on the cross, shall be delivered from the death of sin."¹³⁰ In this respect, John's thought (which is even more explicit in 6:40; cf. Gal. 3:1) follows more the line taken in old Jewish interpretations of the brazen serpent than that taken in the later Christian interpretations. (Barrett cites Barnabas 12:5-7; Justin, I. Apol. 60: Trypho 94, 112; Tertullian Adv. Marc. III, 18, who treat the serpent as a type of Christ, which is not John's intention.¹³¹) Wisdom 16:5-7 (NEB) says:

Even when fierce and furious snakes attacked thy people and the bites of writhing serpents were spreading death, thy anger did not continue to the bitter end; their short trouble was sent them as a lesson, and they were given a symbol of salvation to remind them of the requirements of thy law. For any man who turned towards it was saved, not by the thing he looked upon but by thee, the saviour of all.

Similarly in Rosh ha-Shanah 3:8:

But could the serpent slay or the serpent keep alive?—it is, rather, to teach thee that such time as the Israelites directed their thoughts on high and kept their hearts in subjection to their Father in heaven, they were healed.

"As in the old Jewish interpretation the uplifted serpent drew the hearts of Israel to God for their salvation, so the uplifted Jesus drew men to himself and so gathered to God those who were his children (cf. 12:32; 11:52)."¹³² If a doctrine of atonement is not spelled out explicitly here, at least the groundwork for it is laid.

This soteriology is further elaborated by the Evangelist in vv. 16-21. Verse 16 reiterates the purpose of God's love in sending his unique son: that men might have ζωὴν αἰώνιον,¹³³ by believing on him (possibly an allusion to the binding of Isaac in Gen. 22, thus equating the "giving" of the Son with his being "lifted up"¹³⁴). This salvatory purpose is contrasted with judgment (condemnation), possibly set against the background of the Son of Man's function as judge in Jewish apocalyptic (and cf. Jn. 5:27). The judgment is not future, but has already come (vv. 18-19), inasmuch as those who have not believed on God's Son are judged already. In 3:36 wrath is said to abide on those who do not believe in the Son. The judgment is related to John's theme of light (v. 19). This light judges men's works by casting light on them and showing them to be either good or evil and accordingly showing who has believed on the Son and who has not.

If the "crucifixion" side of the Johannine pun on ὑψοῦν is soteriological, the "exaltation" side is christological. By his use of the O.T. event in Num. 21, John does not intend the serpent to be a type of Christ.¹³⁵ Rather it is the "lifting up" which he has in mind.¹³⁶ John's choice of this event from the history of Israel shows again what is recurrent in his presentation of the Son of Man--namely, that he is the New Israel.

As God intervened to bring salvation in the old Israel, so He has intervened again to bring salvation in the New Israel. The corporate aspect of the new order (New Israel) cannot be pressed in this context however. It is only Jesus as the supreme representative of the New Order, who is to be lifted up in crucifixion (and believed on for eternal life).

But prominent as the lifting up in crucifixion is, there is another aspect of John's exaltation christology. This is noted by Loisy:¹³⁷

Cependant cette «élévation» n'épuise pas tout le sens du texte, et l'auteur s'est abstenu de déterminer le verbe par un complément circonstanciel, afin que la pensée du lecteur puisse passer, de l'exaltation matérielle sur le croix, à l'exaltation spirituelle dans la gloire, la première étant la condition providentielle et aussi la figure de la seconde.

A similar statement is made by Schlatter:¹³⁸ "Das gibt dem *ὑψωθῆναι* die positive Bedeutung der Jesus offenbarenden Verherrlichung." Here is another Johannine paradox: the Son of Man must be both humiliated and exalted.

The Evangelist elaborates his christology in the following section, 3:16-21.¹³⁹ Bultmann says v. 16 answers the question, posed by v. 15, why faith in the uplifted Son of Man gives life.¹⁴⁰ It is basically a "sonship" christology in this section.¹⁴¹ God gives his unique son that the world might have eternal life, v. 16. Again in v. 17, God sends his son, and in v. 18, belief is necessary in God's unique Son.¹⁴² John takes up this "sonship" christology once more in the last section of this chapter, 3:31-36, after briefly mentioning again the contrast between the earthly and the heavenly, recalling the *ὑψωθῆναι-καταβῆναι* Son of Man

christology of 3:13. This time the Evangelist completes the christological picture by referring to God as the Father who loves the Son (v. 35; cf. v. 36, where "Son" appears again). And, as so often is the case, this christology is closely related to the soteriology,¹⁴³ v. 36.

John 8:28

Once again the Son of Man is spoken of in terms of ὑψοῦν. Bernard, however, feels that in Jn. 8:28, "ὑψοῦν must relate to the lifting up on the cross, and not to the 'lifting up' of the ascension, for the latter was not in any sense the act of the Jews, as the Crucifixion was (cf. Acts 3:14)."¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless it seems in keeping with John's overall understanding of ὑψοῦν and it appears suitable to the present context that both meanings of ὑψοῦν are intended.¹⁴⁵ The double meaning is particularly appropriate here, as Barrett notes,¹⁴⁶ in that the exaltation of Jesus will vindicate his claim and the lifting up in crucifixion will prove how completely Jesus was obedient to the will of his Father who sent him.¹⁴⁷

The consequence of this lifting up is said to be τότε γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι.¹⁴⁸ The ἐγώ εἰμι seems to begin an unfinished clause, giving rise to the question whether a predicate should be supplied.¹⁴⁹ The more immediate context would suggest that "Son of Man" from the preceding clause is the implied predicate: "When you have lifted up the Son of Man, then you will know that I am he (that is, I am the Son of Man)."¹⁵⁰ But the wider context, the use of ἐγώ εἰμι in John 6 and in the whole Gospel, suggests that no predicate

is to be supplied at all. Rather this is the absolute "I AM" of divine proclamation. R. Brown lists this as one of four occurrences where it is clear that an absolute ἐγώ εἰμι with no predicate is used,¹⁵¹ three of which occur in Jn. 8 (vv. 24, 28, and 58; cf. 13:19). There is no doubt this absolute meaning is intended in 8:58, suggesting this is the meaning throughout the chapter.

Whichever view is taken (supplying a predicate to ἐγώ εἰμι or taking it as an absolute), the sentence has the style of a divine proclamation.¹⁵² And the meanings of Son of Man and I AM (as a divine appellative) are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The first reaction of Jesus' hearers (or John's readers) to the "I am" might have been to add the Son of Man as predicate, implied by the preceding clause. But characteristic of Johannine style (and of the "Son of Man" title as well¹⁵³) there is a deeper meaning than the apparent one. Those who reflect on this saying, those with eyes to see and ears to hear, will recognize that while a great deal is to be perceived of Jesus' person as Son of Man, ". . . it does not fit John's thought that the ultimate insight into the exalted Jesus would be that he is Son of Man."¹⁵⁴ As Brown points out, the climactic confession of Jesus in John's Gospel is 20:28 where he is confessed to be "Lord and God". It is fully in keeping with this final confession that the divine ἐγώ εἰμι should be read in 8:28.¹⁵⁵ This possibility is even more likely if Braun's suggestion is correct that Isa. 43:10 (which uses the divine "I am") is reflected here.¹⁵⁶

There are more consequences to the lifting up of the Son of Man than knowing who Jesus is. The ὅτι governs not

just the ἐγώ εἰμι but also the following clauses¹⁵⁷ καὶ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ ποιεῶ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἐδίδαξέν με ὁ πατήρ ταῦτα λαλῶ. Verses 26 and 28 are complementary in this respect: in v. 26 Jesus claims that he does not say anything of himself; in v. 28 he neither does nor says anything of himself.¹⁵⁸ Similar words occur in 5:19, 30; 7:28; 12:49; and 14:10, and are reminiscent of what Moses said regarding his work (Num. 16:28).¹⁵⁹ The import of the widespread use of this expression for the Son's relation to the Father goes beyond the clear truth that no man is able to do anything except by the power which God gives him. The meaning here is profoundly theological, expressing as it does the deep intimacy of the Father and the Son, to the point that they are of one will and that the words and deeds of the Son are always in accordance with the will of the Father who sent him (3:17). Any ἐξουσία (10:18) the Son has is derived from the Father. "Thus the Incarnate Son is represented as continually seeing on earth what the Father is doing in heaven, and as Himself doing the same thing."¹⁶⁰ What this particular teaching expresses of the Father-Son relationship in John applies equally well to the Son of Man. This is of course relevant to the logion under consideration: after the lifting up of the Son of Man, it will be known that Jesus did nothing of himself. The Son was obedient to the Father even to the point of dying on the cross (cf. Phil. 2:8). This obedience, clearly known after the lifting up, was characteristic of the whole ministry of the Son of Man. What this particular logion says about the Son of Man was first said in Jn. 1:51, where the permanent contact between heaven and earth¹⁶¹ established by the Son of Man was first manifested. John 8:28 is a development of this thought

(of the communion with the Father, as A. Schlatter put it¹⁶²) in terms more explicit and more specifically applied to the ministry of Jesus.

The fact that Jesus' hearers are divided into two camps, his enemies and his friends,¹⁶³ fits the judicial context in which this logion is set. The Johannine motifs of "witness" (μαρτυρία, 8:13-18) and "judgment" (κρίσις, v. 15f., 26) are here.¹⁶⁴ But the Son of Man is not primarily judge here (as he is in Jn. 5:27; cf. 12:47);¹⁶⁵ rather he is the defendant. Jesus' hearers must pass "judgment" on him with regard to his claims which will be vindicated by his being "lifted up". The traditional Jewish theme (seen in Dan. 7) of honor through suffering, or in more judicial terms in this context, of trial, judgment, and eclipse then vindication, is clearly seen.¹⁶⁶ It is in terms of this theme applied to the Son of Man, rather than the apocalyptic, heavenly Son of Man as judge, that this saying is to be understood. When the Son of Man has been exalted in his crucifixion, then recognition of the truth of Jesus' claims will follow.

One may well ask how this lifting up is related to the recognition of who Jesus is and how it vindicates his claims. If the Jews did not acknowledge Jesus before his crucifixion, how will they do so afterwards? Bernard thinks that, when it is too late, they will be convinced by the pressure of facts (including the fall of Jerusalem) that what Jesus had said was true. He takes this as the meaning of *τότε γνώσεσθε*, regret but not repentance, rather than the conviction of sin for not believing Jesus (cf. 16:8, 9).¹⁶⁸ But if, as Braun says,¹⁶⁹ knowing and believing are synonymous in John, this is impossible.

What must also be taken into consideration are the statements (7:34, 36, and 8:21, though these may be interpreted otherwise) that when Jesus is gone, they (the Jews?) will seek him but will not find him.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps what is more in view in this logion is that believers will have their doubts cleared and will understand after the crucifixion and exaltation, as they had not understood before, Jesus' special relationship of intimacy and obedience to God the Father (seen in the ὑποῦν of crucifixion), as well as the fullest meaning of his being Son of Man and the divine "I am" (seen in the ὑποῦν of exaltation). The solution may then lie in part in the double meaning of ὑποῦν.

The Son of Man is seen as lowly, humble, and obedient to the will of God to the point of being lifted up in crucifixion. This crucifixion is at once his humiliation and his glorification. It implies a certain hiddenness of his glory, so that the Jews did not know Jesus to be who he was, else they would not have crucified him (I Cor. 2:8). As noted before,¹⁷¹ the Son of Man in John has many of the aspects of the Synoptic messianic secret. The same seems to be true here: the real nature of who Jesus is will be hidden until after his lifting up, then the secret will be known. "Like ὑποῦν it [the Son of Man] has a special appropriateness here, if we are right in seeing in it a reference both to the supernatural heavenly man, and to the real human existence of Jesus."¹⁷² The human side of the Son of Man would of course be obvious: the weakness and humiliation of the Son of Man were clearly seen in the ὑποῦν of crucifixion. But the secret to be known afterwards is that there is more to come. The Son of Man will be lifted up in exaltation and glory and his glorious nature as the Son of God and Lord (Jn. 20:28)

will be then known. It is to those "with eyes to see and ears to hear" that the fullness of the meanings both in the "lifting up" and the $\delta \upsilon \delta \varsigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \delta \alpha \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \tau \omicron \upsilon$ will be known. It is significant that there is a similar suggestion of this hiddenness to be revealed in Jn. 12:32ff., where the crowd expresses its perplexity as to the identity of the Son of Man.¹⁷³ This situation is also reminiscent of that described in Mk. 8:27-31: the common folk are quite puzzled as to Jesus' true identity, but the disciples who have added spiritual insight ("eyes to see") know that Jesus is the Christ.¹⁷⁴

There are other connections with the Synoptic tradition. The same situation pertains to Jn. 8:28 as to Jn. 3:14, where a definite reflection of (and relationship to) the Synoptic passion predictions was found.¹⁷⁵ Although the (apocalyptic) Sei^{η} does not occur in Jn. 8:28, as it does in 3:14 and 12:32-34, the logion seems to reflect the Synoptic pattern of passion predictions. The force of the $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\upsilon$ here implies a certainty which may in fact be equivalent to the Sei^{η} , though lacking the theological connotations.

The content of the logion, describing some consequence of the passion, is similar to Mt. 17:9, for example, where it is said that only after the resurrection will the disciples be free to tell of the transfiguration (then the "secret" can be proclaimed). This is the pattern also in Mk. 8:38: at some time subsequent to his coming in glory the Son of Man will be ashamed of those who were ashamed of him.¹⁷⁶ So it is in Jn. 8:28 that subsequent to the lifting up of the Son of Man his hearers will know who he is and the truth of

what he said and did. Here in John the consequence of the Son of Man's passion and exaltation is tied back to the relationship of his hearers to Jesus before his crucifixion.

It is often observed that the Johannine Son of Man sayings cannot be forced into the common groupings of the Synoptic logia: earthly ministry, passion, and exaltation-glorification of the Son of Man. This is clearly the case with the saying under consideration, which Smalley says belongs to all three groups.¹⁷⁷ As he notes, the "defendant to judge" role¹⁷⁸ of the Son of Man is present here and involves at least the passion and future glory of the Son of Man, as well as his present ministry which is being called into question. John's Son of Man is clearly related to the Synoptic, but is developed along obviously distinctive lines.

John 12:23

There are two Johannine logia which speak of the glorification of the Son of Man, Jn. 12:23 and 13:31. The whole pattern of thought which connects $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ and $\delta\ \sigma\iota\delta\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ is of crucial importance and should be carefully examined.

Because of the significance of the appearance of the Gentiles on the scene,¹⁷⁹ this Son of Man saying is often traced to the Jewish-Gentile conflicts of the early church in the late first century.¹⁸⁰ But there may be some old tradition behind this passage, as the difficulties of the narrative suggested to Brown,¹⁸¹ since an almost identical logion occurs in Mk. 14:41.¹⁸² On the other hand, Johannine elements are

present. The Greeks asked to "see" Jesus. "See" in this context probably means "to visit or meet", but it may carry as well the Johannine sense of "believe in."¹⁸³ This latter sense is suggested by C. H. Dodd,¹⁸⁴ Lagrange,¹⁸⁵ and Moore.¹⁸⁶ Though it is possible this sense is implied, it is not developed in the verses which follow.

The words attributed to Jesus in v. 23 begin with the phrase Ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα. The mention of "the hour" is typically Johannine.¹⁸⁷ There is a definite progression of this theme in John (as well as in the Synoptics to a lesser extent¹⁸⁸). Prior to Jn. 12:23 Jesus' hour had not yet come: in 2:4 there is the hint that Jesus should manifest himself as the Messiah, but the time for this has not yet come; in 7:30 and 8:20 the Jews attempt to take Jesus, but again his time has not yet come. (Notice also 7:6, 8, where Jesus' καιρός is not yet.) But from 12:23 onwards the hour has come. In 12:23 it is the hour for his glorification through his death (from which he is tempted in 12:27 to ask his Father to deliver him). In 13:31, 32, Jesus recognizes that the hour has come for his departure from the earth to the Father. Several times in chapter 16 Jesus speaks of the hour which is to come for his disciples when they too will suffer (16:2, 4, 21, 25, 32). The progression of this theme is noted by A. George,¹⁸⁹ who describes the meaning of the "hour" for John: "C'est l'instant où il achève sa mission terrestre (xvii.4, 6, 8), où il quitte les siens et vient à son Père (xvii.11-13) dans l'acte sacrificiel de sa mort (xvii.19), où il demande sa Gloire de Fils

Unique (xvii.1, 51)." George has noted the paradoxical situation that, important to John's thought as the prayer of Jesus is at "this hour", John has given no clear indication of the setting (when and where) of this prayer. Only the note in 18:1 suggests that it may have been on the way to Gethsemane. The lack of any clear time indication, however, fits John's peculiar treatment of time and his notion of "this hour" in particular. The prayer of chapter 17 seems to be situated both in the present and in the future, both in time and in eternity. George makes a comparison of this prayer with the Synoptic accounts of Jesus' prayers and finds that John's rather original conception of time stands out even more strikingly,¹⁹⁰ especially Jn. 12:23 and Jesus' recognition there that his hour has come. "The Fourth Gospel is written throughout, as Jesus Himself spoke, sub specie aeternitatis. He is represented as knowing from the beginning the time and manner and sequel of the end of His public ministry in the flesh."¹⁹¹

The phrase ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα is found in the Synoptics only in the betrayal scene: ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα, ἰδοὺ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν (Mk. 14:41). However "hour" is connected with the Son of Man in Q: καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί, ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται. (Mt. 24:44; Lk. 12:40). The difference between this hour of the Son of Man and that in John is worth noticing. But the difference should not be exaggerated, for, though John has no equivalent of the coming Son of Man sayings of Q, he does have equivalents to the other Synoptic "hour" sayings. The Mark

saying (13:11; cf. Mt. 10:19) about the hour of the disciples' persecution is echoed in Jn. 16:2, 4. Some of the "hour" sayings in John are "realized"--that is, they have come (cf. 4:6 is it really future? ; 5:25, "the hour now is"). There are more future "hours" in the Synoptics: Mt. 24:36, 44, 50 (Lk. 12:40, 41); 25:13; Lk. 12:12 (most of the remaining occurrences are simple time designations, though cf. Lk. 27:53). But John does have the (apparently) future saying in 5:28 (and possibly 4:6).

It is not difficult to find the meaning of this "hour" in John. It is the hour of the glorification of Jesus (12:23; cf. 13:31) which is interpreted in 12:24 as the time for Jesus to die. The solemnity of v. 23 ("the hour is come" is especially solemn and is rarely used¹⁹² and v. 24 is very solemn, "Verily, verily, I say to you") recalls a former Son of Man saying with a similar solemn introduction--Jn. 1:51. Here the approach of the Greeks led Jesus to say that his hour had come: ". . . the understanding that the first Gentiles have come to Jesus explains his exclamation that the hour has come."¹⁹³

The occurrence of $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ in this saying is most important for this study. The significance of $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ - $\delta\acute{o}\xi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ in the Fourth Gospel is of course a study in itself. They are characteristically Johannine¹⁹⁴ words and central to his thought patterns, for John uses these words more than any other Gospel.¹⁹⁵ John follows the LXX rather than the Greek usage of $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$.¹⁹⁶ The word in non-biblical Greek shows its relation to $\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, "to have an opinion of some one." Greek sources have no analogy to the N.T. sense of "divine and heavenly radiance, loftiness

and majesty of God" or even "the being of God".¹⁹⁷ In the O.T. תִּירוֹב is used of the glory of God, as seen in natural phenomena, such as a thunderstorm (Psa. 97 and Psa. 29) and the heavens (Psa. 19), or in supernatural manifestations of the "shekinah" (Ex. 24:15ff.; cf. Ex. 33:18-23).¹⁹⁸ To give God תִּירוֹב is to recognize the import of his deity. "To an extraordinary degree, however, the תִּירוֹב of God is also a theme of religious hope and an established part of eschatological expectation."¹⁹⁹

The LXX translates תִּירוֹב 180 times with $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$, giving $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ a new significance by its use for תִּירוֹב . The Targums have אֲרָפִי "honor, worth" for תִּירוֹב but also advance beyond this to use אֲרָפִי (as LXX $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ κυρίου, e.g., Num. 12:8) to avoid anthropomorphisms (cf. Gen. 17:22; Ex. 20:20; 24:10 Targum Onkelos). Targum Jonathan and the Targumim on the Prophets go further still, using $\text{אֲרָפִי} \text{וְשֵׁי} \text{רָפִי}$ (Ex. 33:22; cf. Jarg. Jon. I), "the radiance of the shekinah of Yahweh", and $\text{אֲרָפִי} \text{וְשֵׁי} \text{רָפִי} \text{וְשֵׁי} \text{רָפִי}$, "the radiance of the shekinah of the king of aeons" (Isa. 6:5 Targum Prophets).²⁰⁰

The N.T. follows this tradition, using $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ in the Septuagintal manner (for the visible glory of God) rather than in the Greek manner. In the N.T. $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is not to add something not already present but rather to acknowledge it. The N.T. takes a decisive step in applying this word to Christ, a word which was used of God alone in the O.T.²⁰¹

John is peculiar among N.T. authors in that he puts both senses of the word (the Hebrew and the Greek) together almost abruptly: (1) the visible $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$, in the O.T. sense of

τίλθη; Jn. 12:41; cf. 12:16, 23, 28, and (2) the sense of human honor or glory given by men or by God, as in Jn. 12:43; cf. 5:41, 44; 7:18; 8:50, 54. "In all attempts at translation there is an almost intolerable rift of meanings which the author obviously did not himself feel. His way of using the noun and the verb stands closest to the Palestinian mode of speech which is carried over into Greek linguistic form."²⁰²

John also uses the word of the earthly Jesus more frequently than the Synoptists who largely restrict its application to the risen Lord: Matthew and Mark use it only of the parousia, Luke uses it also with the birth and transfiguration. The glory which John sees in the earthly Jesus is appropriate to his reduced eschatology. In the human (as well as the divine) Jesus, John sees the fulfilment of the eschatological hope born in the O.T. expectation of $\tau\iota\lambda\theta\eta$.²⁰³

In John 12:23f. the reduced eschatology of $\delta\omicron\zeta\eta$ is evident, for the glorification of the Son of Man is seen supremely in the death of Jesus. There can be little doubt that this is John's meaning. Verses 12:24f. give the parable of the death of a seed of grain (cf. the uses of this parable in the Synoptics, Mk. 4:3-9, 26-29, 31, 32; Mt. 13:24-30; and in Paul, I Cor. 15:31-38),²⁰⁴ which must surely apply not only to Jesus' would be disciples (v. 26), but also to Jesus himself, the Son of Man who must be lifted up (12:32-34). John's use of $\psi\upsilon\chi\omega\theta\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota$ to mean $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota$ has already been established, making it possible that the same association of $\delta\omicron\zeta\eta$ - $\theta\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota$ (not dissimilar to $\psi\upsilon\chi\omega\theta\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota$) with $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota$ has taken place.²⁰⁵ Although the association of $\psi\upsilon\chi\omega$ and $\delta\omicron\zeta\eta\zeta\omega$

is not without parallel,²⁰⁶ John gives it his own theological development.²⁰⁷ It is probable that the starting point of this development was Isa. 52:13 which connects ὑψωθήσεται and δοξασθήσεται and continues to develop the application of this theme to the Servant of the Lord in terms of suffering. Similarly John may have had in mind Psalm 8, which speaks of "the son of man" who, though dwarfed by God's creation, has been crowned with glory and honor, or even more importantly Psalm 80:14-18 which speaks of the "son of man" who endures suffering (vv. 14-16). John's Son of Man acquires glory through suffering, just as the prophet Isaiah suffered, complaining "I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for nothing" (Isa. 49:4a), but was told by God, "You are my servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified" (Isa. 49:3).²⁰⁸

The context of this saying is important as well for the meaning of δόξα. It is preceded and followed by suggestions of δόξα. Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem precedes it, which entry was accompanied in Lk. 19:38 with shouts from the crowd of Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις.²⁰⁹ (It is surprising that John, with his emphasis on "glory" should omit mention of this acclamation, if he knew the Lukan tradition.) The logion in Jn. 12:23 is followed by the mention in 12:28 of δοξάζω three times. The fact that vv. 27, 28 contain the same ideas of "the hour" and of "glory" lead Brown to suggest that at one time 12:23, 27-28 were a unit.²¹⁰

There are some indications that this saying has primitive, or at least Palestinian, origins. John's use of δόξα has been noted as most characteristically Palestinian, in that he

uses both the O.T. sense of physical manifestations of God's glory and the Greek idea of opinion or honor.²¹¹ The former is seen in this context in vv. 26, 28, 41; the latter is seen in v. 43. Another Semitic feature is the love-hate contrast of v. 25.²¹² Though there are unmistakable Johannine elements here²¹³ and the equation of $\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\upsilon\theta\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota$ and $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta\upsilon\alpha\iota$ fits John's own theology, the latter is from very old tradition, for it occurs in the primitive kerygma (Acts. 3:13; cf. I Pet. 1:11; and Lk. 24:26).²¹⁴

There is also the possible Aramaism in the use of $\overset{u}{\iota}\nu\alpha$ in v. 23. Burney suggested that the use of $\overset{u}{\iota}\nu\alpha$ is Semitic: it is used as a temporal particle, which is (mis)translated from the Aramaic $\bar{\imath}$.²¹⁵ Barrett, however, questions whether it is Semitic, quoting Moulton, who attributes the usage to John's partiality for $\overset{u}{\iota}\nu\alpha$ and the flexibility of the use of $\overset{a}{\iota}\nu\alpha$ in Koine.²¹⁶ Nor is Burney's suggestion accepted by Bernard, who rather compares 13:1; 16:2, 32, where $\overset{a}{\iota}\nu\alpha$ is used as in 12:23 with the coming of the "hour", and concludes it is purposive.

When God's predestined hour has come, the purpose which He has in view must follow. It has come in order that this purpose may be fulfilled. The use of $\overset{a}{\iota}\nu\alpha$ in such passages is an illustration of that view of the sequence of events, which is constantly present to the mind of Jn., and which he does not hesitate to ascribe to Jesus Himself.²¹⁷

Black explains it as "a possibly loose temporal use of $\overset{u}{\iota}\nu\alpha$ ", comparable to "that" in English, with a temporal antecedent, and not necessarily due to Aramaic influence. Thus in Jn. 12:23 ". . . there is no mystic telic force, but a simple extension, after a temporal antecedent, of normal usage."²¹⁸

Elements of the Synoptic scene of Jesus' agony in Gethsemane and of the transfiguration are blended in the Johannine narrative. The precise way in which the Synoptic and Johannine traditions are related is a complicated question to which perhaps no satisfactory answer can be given at present. But the parallels in Jn. 12 to the Synoptic agony scene are extensive. They are set out completely by R. Brown in an essay in which he attempts to give a solution to the problem of their relationship.²¹⁹ Scattered fragments in John parallel the Synoptic agony scene: (1) "the hour" (for Jesus' passion) occurs mainly in Mk. 14:35 (cf. 14:41 and Mt. 26:45) but it occurs 12 times in John (4:21, 23; 5:25, 28; 7:30; 8:20; 12:23, 27; 13:31; 16:25, 32; 17:1; cf. 2:4); (2) the "Rise, let us go" occurs in Mk. 14:42; Mt. 26:46 at the end of the agony scene, but in John at the Last Supper scene (14:30-31);²²⁰ (3) the "drinking of the cup" as a metaphor for the passion occurs in Jn. 18:11 at the arrest of Jesus, but in the Synoptics it is placed in Gethsemane, Mt. 26:42, 52. The parallels to the agony scene are especially frequent in John 12.²²¹ Brown lists four of these:²²² (1) "the hour", Mk. 14:35; Mt. 26:45, cf. Jn. 12:23 =Mk. 14:41; (2) "my soul is troubled" Jn. 12:27 (τάρασσειν), cf. Mk. 14:34 (περίλυπος) both reflecting Psa. 42:5²²³ (the LXX uses both περίλυπος and (συν)τάρασσειν); (3) "save me from this hour", Jn. 12:27; Mk. 14:35-36 (Jn. 12 and Hebrews 5:7 use "save", while the Synoptics do not);²²⁴ notice also Jn. 12:27, "rather for this purpose I came", cf. Mk. 14:36, "not my will, but yours"²²⁵; (4) the voice from the sky, Jn. 12:29; cf. Lk. 22:43, angels in the garden.²²⁶ Brown's proposed solution is

that the Synoptics have gathered into the prayer of the agony scene various scattered prayers²²⁷ from throughout Jesus' life to fill in the prayer in the garden; in this respect John is then closer to the original tradition. If he is right, and Brown's solution requires a certain credibility of John's narrative,²²⁸ Brown's conclusion provides an illustration of the way in which the Fourth Gospel can at times be found to be not only reliable tradition but also helpful in clarifying problems in the Synoptics.

It has been suggested that John 12 shares elements of the Synoptic transfiguration account as well. The basis for this comparison is mainly the mention of *δοξα* (cf. *δοξαδοθήναι* in the O.T., where it was used to mean transfigured with a supernatural radiance, Ex. 34:9²²⁹) and the voice from heaven (Jn. 12:28, 29; cf. Mt. 17:5; Mk. 9:7; Lk. 9:34²³⁰). But the voice from heaven gives a very different message at the transfiguration. It seems more likely that John's *ἡλιος* is related to the angel from heaven in Lk. 22:43: *ὡφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν.*²³¹ Barrett in fact suggests that John's account is built on a reminiscence of Lk. 22:43.²³² As for the mention of *δοξα*, John's way of using the word does not fit the scene of heavenly radiance as in the Synoptic transfiguration. Rather it refers to Jesus' death, which is the only transfiguration which John's Gospel has room for, and which is the culmination of the *δοξα* seen throughout Jesus' life.²³³

John has much to say about the Son of Man in this passage. The Son of Man is (1) the universal Savior, as is seen in the appearance of the Greeks to see Jesus, (2) the one

who is to die, as the use of "the hour" in the technical sense for Jesus' passion indicates, and (3) the glorious one, whose glory is nevertheless not transcendent or eschatological but immanent and present, seen in his life of humble service and above all in his death (his supreme glory) for others. It is particularly significant that the Son of Man suffers not only in his death, but also in his life, as the glimpses in John of the Gethsemane struggle may indicate.²³⁴ John's Son of Man is not a heavenly man so transcendent that he is unable to feel human weaknesses. He is the God-Man, whose incarnation is a real one, subjecting him to all the pain of bearing human sin.²³⁵ He suffers the agony of the Servant of God described (as John knew) in the Psalms (42:5, 6; 55:4, 5) and the prophets, especially Isaiah's Servant Song,²³⁶ 52:13-53:12 which provided the O.T. basis and authority for the belief that the son of Man's suffering and death in fact constituted his glory and exaltation.

John 12:32-34

John 12:32-34 is the last of the three Johannine logia²³⁷ which connects the Son of Man with lifting up, ὑψωθῆναι. The ὑψόω is used in the characteristically Johannine manner. (It occurs in John only in the Son of Man logia--3:14 (bis); 8:28; and 12:32, 34--a fact significant in itself.) If there were ever any doubt that this lifting up referred to the death of the Son of Man on the cross, there is no question that this is the meaning here. (1) The use of ἐκ τῆς γῆς makes more graphic the picture of lifting up in crucifixion.²³⁸ (2) The comment of John in v. 33 makes

it clear that this is a reference to the crucifixion: *τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν. . . ἀποθνῄσκειν*. (3) The Jews interpret it as crucifixion in v. 34, for they set it in opposition to "remain forever", which death, but not ascension, would exclude.²³⁹ This last point may have been of real interest to some Jewish circles during Jesus' lifetime, especially those Jews familiar with I Enoch. R. Brown notes this, but thinks probably John has more in mind the debates of the Jews against Jesus in the last part of the first century.²⁴⁰ There is a similar debate in Justin (Trypho, XXXII.1) of which John may be an earlier formulation. The argument of Trypho against Jesus as the Messiah (or as the Son of Man) was that he had not established the messianic kingdom and eternal rule of which the O.T. speaks.²⁴¹ Justin's reply uses the same themes as those in Jn. 12:32-34--that is, the exaltation of Jesus into the Father's presence.

The phrase *ἐκ τῆς γῆς*, as well as implying crucifixion, points very decidedly to the exaltation to glory implied in *ὑψώω* --ascension from the earth.²⁴² F.-M. Braun suggests that the phrase *ἐκ τῆς γῆς* ("Ges. trois derniers mots ne sont pas fortuits.") recalls the theme of opposition between the earthly and the heavenly, that which is *ἐκ τῆς γῆς* and that which is *ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*.²⁴³ This theme is found with the Son of Man in Jn. 1:51; 3:13 and 6:62.

It is the Fourth Evangelist in particular who has an eye to the 'two-level' character of this identity [the Son of Man as humiliated, vindicated, heavenly man], earthly and heavenly; for it is he who draws out for his readers so clearly the conjunction between these two levels in the person of the Son of Man himself.²⁴⁴

Furthermore, the appearance of *δοξά* in this context brings out

the glorious aspect of the exaltation (cf. vv. 23, 28). Clearly ὑψώ has in this logion, as previously in John, both the sense of lifting up in death and lifting up in glory.²⁴⁵

The association of ὑψωθῆναι and δοξασθῆναι is perhaps more explicit in this passage, Jn. 12:32-34, than elsewhere and apparently John is drawing on the association of these words in Isa. 52:13:²⁴⁶ Ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου, καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα. The association of these two words is not as widespread in the O.T. or Isaiah as has sometimes been thought.²⁴⁷ In addition to the proximity of the two words in Isa. 52:13, there is the combination in the Servant Song of the themes of suffering and of exaltation and this is crucial to the discussion of the two meanings of ὑψώ in John. It seems highly probable that this O.T. passage has been a formulative influence on John's tradition of the Son of Man.²⁴⁸

John draws out the soteriological implications of the exaltation of the Son of Man. In Jn. 12:32, Jesus says that if he is lifted up, he will draw all men to himself. He has said before (6:65) and will say again (12:44) that it is the Father who draws men to himself. John 12:32 is no contradiction to these statements, inasmuch as the work of the Son is to do the will of the Father (4:34; cf. 5:19) and the Father and the Son are one (17:21).

An important textual variant occurs in this connection. The usual reading taken in v. 32 is πάντας ἐλκύσω.²⁴⁹ But p⁶⁶ and Sinaiticus, as well as D, the Old Latin, and

others, support the neuter πάντα ἑλκύσω, "I will draw all things to myself."²⁵⁰ Bernard says that if this variant is genuine, it " . . . would embrace the whole creation within the circle of the attraction of Christ."²⁵¹ He feels, however, that πάντας has better support. Brown, following Blass-Debrunner's Grammar, notes that even if the neuter is accepted, it may be used only as general masculine reference.²⁵² Possibly the variant has arisen from knowledge of the kind of cosmological attributes of Jesus as are found in, e.g., Col. 1:16, 17 (τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν).

The word for "draw", ἔλκειν, occurred also in 6:44, which may depend on the LXX of Jer. 38:3 (MT 31:3):²⁵³ εἴλκυσά σε εἰς οἰκτεῖρμα,²⁵⁴ "I have drawn you with kindness." Barrett²⁵⁵ compares the use of the piel of לָקַח which is not used in Jer. 31:3 (MT) where there is rather לָקַחְתָּם for the conversion of proselytes. It is used, for example, in Pirke Aboth 1:12: "The natural desire of one who feels thus [has love] toward his fellow man is to 'bring them nigh to the Torah', for this means to make them sharers in the fuller knowledge of God."²⁵⁶ In the N.T. ἔλκειν occurs (besides Jn. 6:44; 12:32) only in Jn. 19:10 (where Peter draws his sword); 21:6, 11 (fishing nets are drawn ashore); and Acts 16:19 (Paul and Silas are dragged before the magistrates). The occurrences of ἔλκειν in the Greek sources (including the Gospel of Thomas, P. Oxy. IV 654, 10 and 14 λέγει Ἰ[] οἱ εἴλκοντες ἡμᾶς [εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, Oepke suggests²⁵⁷]), suggest the basic meaning is to "tug" or "draw" and when used of persons may mean "compel". The word occurs several times in the books of Maccabees,

where it has a "strong political and military flavor."²⁵⁸

It generally carries the idea of some resistance on the part of that which is drawn, which may be involved in the meaning in Jn. 6:44.²⁵⁹ This resistance is not in mind, however, in Song of Solomon 1:4 which speaks of being drawn in love, possibly in the same way Plato spoke of *πείθειν καὶ ἔλκειν*.²⁶⁰ The most important occurrence of *ἔλκειν* for understanding the Son of Man logion in Jn. 12:32-34 is Jn. 6:44. There what is meant by God's drawing men to himself is explained in the following verse (6:45): men are *διδάκτοὶ θεοῦ*, "taught by God" (a quotation of Isa. 54:13), fulfilling the promise in Jer. 31:33 that Yahweh will write his law on the hearts of his people.²⁶¹ John 6:65 is similar in meaning to 6:44: no one can come to Jesus unless it is granted him by the Father. John 6:65 is in the context of another Son of Man logion, 6:62, and may show that John 12:32-34 is not alone in associating this theme with the Son of Man.

The foregoing discussion illuminates much of John's soteriology. The consequence of Jesus' the Son of Man's being "lifted up" is that men will be drawn to God--that is, they will be instructed by God (cf. 6:44, 45), in fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy (31:3, 33). For the rabbis, what made men sharers in the knowledge of God was being drawn near (i.e., taught) the Torah; for John it is being drawn near to Jesus.²⁶² This explains why Jesus does not stop to talk to the Greeks: it is by being lifted up that he draws all men to himself.²⁶³ Furthermore, it is quite fundamental to John's convictions that approach to God is initiated by God and not by men.²⁶⁴

This sovereign election of God is set forth in positive terms in 6:37: "all that the Father gives Jesus come to him." The "darker side" (as Bernard calls it) of predestination is found in the present context, particularly in 12:39, which speaks of the Jews' blindness and hardness of heart in terms of Isaiah's prophecy: "He has blinded their eyes and dulled their minds, lest they should see with their eyes, and perceive with their minds, and turn to me to heal them." (NEB)

In the idea of $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ is the idea of resistance; man's resistance must be overcome by God's drawing power. Oepke notes that just as $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ is used in the O.T. of a powerful force, so for John the supernatural element cannot be left out.²⁶⁵

If Jesus then draws men to himself, he does so against their resistance and by virtue of his supernatural drawing power. It is appropriate therefore that the Son of Man title should be applied to Jesus in this context: he who is exalted through suffering and death by this same lifting up exercises a supernatural influence over men's rebellious wills and thus draws them to himself and to God. This complements 6:44, where the Father draws men to the Son; here the Son draws men to the Father through himself.²⁶⁶

The explanation by the Evangelist in v. 33 that lifting up refers to Jesus' death prevents drawing the conclusion that only his glorious exaltation is meant (cf. Lagrange²⁶⁷). He uses the word $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\iota\nu\omega$ here (as in 18:32), a word which points to something future which will come about in a rather veiled manner.²⁶⁸ John 18:10 explains that Jesus' execution by crucifixion at the hands of the Romans rather than by stoning at

the hands of the Jews (cf. 8:59) was in fulfilment of this word of Jesus. The same word is used in the prediction of the death of Peter in Jn. 21:19. There may also be an allusion in Jn. 12:33 to Jn. 3:14 and the σημεῖον which Moses lifted up in the same manner as the Son of Man will be lifted up.

The question from the crowd (12:34),²⁶⁹ putting ὁ Χριστός in proximity to the Son of Man, raises the question whether the titles are equivalent terms. If "Messiah" is understood as Jesus appears to have defined it (though Jesus did not use the word "Messiah" here and prefers everywhere to use "Son of Man"), then Jesus' Son of Man may be said to equal Jesus' "Messiah". But as the crowd defined "Messiah" (i.e., in contemporary Jewish, Davidic messianic terms, with definite political overtones), then Jesus' "Son of Man" was not the same as their "Messiah". Brown notes²⁷⁰ that in John there are really two different messianic hopes: the first is that of the Son of David to be born at Bethlehem (7:42);²⁷¹ the second is that of a concealed, hidden Messiah, similar to the expectations of the hidden Son of Man of Enoch (cf. Jn. 7:27; 1:26). These two expectations are brought together in this verse in manner quite like the Synoptic logion in the trial scene before Caiaphas, Mk. 14:62. There Caiaphas questioned Jesus in terms of the title "Messiah", but Jesus answered with "Son of Man" (cf. also Mk. 8:31). This suggests that in Jn. 12:32-34 it may have been Jesus who first made this juxtaposition of "Messiah" and "Son of Man" (rather than the crowd, which is merely repeating and questioning what Jesus had said). But Jesus has not used the title "Messiah". Why

then did the crowd associate "Messiah" with "Son of Man"? Either they determined at last that Jesus' use of "Son of Man" was meant to be equivalent to (and to redefine) Messiah, but now the mention of this approaching death of the Son of Man causes them to doubt. Or possibly they realized Jesus claimed to be the Christ, but the prediction of death makes them question whether this is what he really claimed. In the first case they doubt Jesus' meaning: by "Son of Man" does he mean "Messiah"? In the second case they doubt his claim; by Son of Man does he mean himself? The form of the question is the same as that in 7:36, *τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὃν εἶπεν;* In neither place is there an emphasis on the *οὗτος*, because John does not use *οὗτος* with this kind of emphasis.²⁷² So it cannot be understood that the questioners are asking, "Who is this Son of Man?" implying that they know of another. Rather, probably the title is unfamiliar to the questioners (whether so the Evangelist and his readers is another question²⁷³), especially as they have heard it used by Jesus. In fact, either way the question of v. 34 is understood, the Son of Man title appears to have been strange (at least as Jesus used it) to the crowd.

The hiddenness of the Son of Man in John is seen clearly in this logion. The crowd is obviously confused as to the identity of the Son of Man. This hiddenness is apparent also in 8:38, where it is after the lifting up of the Son of Man that Jesus' identity will be clear. In 9:35 the healed blind man does not know until told explicitly that Jesus is the Son of Man. The similarity of this "hiddenness" of the Son of Man

to the Markan messianic secret has been noted before.²⁷⁴

Smalley calls this John's version of the messianic secret and says that "Jesus uses this deliberately ambiguous phrase or title to unfold the mystery of his person."²⁷⁵

Another indication of some relationship between this Son of Man saying and the Synoptic logia is in the apocalyptic *δεῖ*, suggesting a connection with the Synoptic passion predictions. This relationship was noted in Jn. 3:14 and the point is reinforced by the second occurrence of this important construction here.²⁷⁶ Bernard's observation is again relevant that even if it were thought necessary to dismiss the Synoptic passion predictions and the *δεῖ ὑψωθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* [or *ἐμῆς*, v. 32] as vaticinia ex eventu, the *πάντας ἑλκύσω πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν* is in no way helped thereby or made less remarkable.²⁷⁷ But this saying (12:32-34), though clearly related to the Synoptic passion predictions, cannot be said to fit into this group only of Synoptic logia, for it speaks of the present life and the future vindication of the Son of Man as well as his suffering.²⁷⁸ Again the three categories into which the Synoptic logia neatly fit tend to run together in John.²⁷⁹

John 12:32-34 recalls the two previous Son of Man "lifting up" sayings in John which show certain similarities to it. In 3:14 there is (1) the same necessity of the Son of Man's being lifted up, and (2) the same demand for a response. The exalted Son of Man in 3:14 must be "beheld" as was Moses' brazen serpent; the exalted Son of Man in 12:32ff will draw men to himself. In 8:28 there is involved the same basic question of messianic identity as in 12:32-34.²⁸⁰ This suggests

a fundamental unity of thought of the Fourth Gospel on the lifting up of the Son of Man.

John 13:31

This last of the twelve Johannine Son of Man logia speaks of the glory of the Son of Man, recalling 12:23f. In both cases the $\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha$ of the Son of Man refers to the death of Jesus.²⁸¹ As this was made plain in 12:24 by the parable of the grain of wheat illustrating the fruit of Jesus' death, it is made clear in John 13 both by the preceding event, Judas' betrayal, and by v. 33, where Jesus states explicitly to his disciples that he is about to leave them.

This logion parallels an important Synoptic Son of Man passion saying, Mk. 14:41. Both sayings are set in the context of betrayal, the Synoptic version preceding Jesus' arrest and the Johannine following Judas' departure to arrange for the arrest. The $\nu\omicron\nu$ of 13:31 (which replaces and reinforces the $\epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu \eta' \omega\pi\alpha$ of 12:23) parallels the $\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu \eta' \omega\pi\alpha$ of Mk. 14:41.

The $\nu\omicron\nu$ in 13:31 forms a paradox with the $\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\sigma\theta\eta$ (v. 31) and $\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota$ (v. 32).²⁸² This paradox illustrates the way in which these words are spoken sub specie aeternitatis, as noted in 12:23.²⁸³ The use of the aorist thus need not indicate that this is a late composition,²⁸⁴ or that John has been careless in his writing, thoughtlessly putting an aorist where he should have put a future. It is true enough that the glorification of the Son of Man in Jesus' death was past to John. But it is true as well that in a sense it was (and this must be how John thought of it²⁸⁵) past to Jesus at this point. His death was still future

but its imminence and certainty were as real as if it had already taken place.²⁸⁶ The process leading to Jesus' death had irreversibly begun, as Judas had now gone to finalize arrangements for Jesus' arrest. It is only after Judas has left on his treacherous mission that Jesus can say $\nu\sigma\nu$ $\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta$ δ $\upsilon\iota\delta\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$

The associations of this logion with a servant christology have been pointed out by Smalley.²⁸⁷ The context is one of service and of suffering. The $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is seen in the rite of footwashing (13:1-20). The suffering is clear in the betrayal of Judas (13:21-30) as well as in the glorification of the Son of Man in his death. The latter especially recalls Isa. 52:13 with its combination of $\upsilon\psi\omega\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ and the later references in Isa. 53 to suffering (which is what $\upsilon\psi\omega\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ - $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ mean in John). Smalley sees connections with the suffering Son of Man figure in Daniel 7, I Enoch (especially 51:3), IV Ezra, and the suffering righteous man of Wisdom 2:12-20.²⁸⁸ The combination of these themes and the double meaning of $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\nu$ (which he calls "kerygmatic") means that, as observed in other Johannine Son of Man sayings, this logion cannot conveniently be classified according to the Synoptic categories, but it really fits all three groups.²⁸⁹

In this logion $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ occurs for the second time in John with δ $\upsilon\iota\delta\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$. As Caird notes, it is not enough to say that John is speaking of the cross when he uses $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$. The important question is what John wished to say about the cross by his use of $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$.²⁹⁰ The background of this word (discussed in much the same terms by Caird and

Kittel²⁹¹) includes the Hebrew תְּגַלֵּךְ which has influenced the LXX and thus the N.T. Caird clarifies this influence in terms of the addition of an "objective" sense to the usual Greek "subjective" sense, a carry over of the double sense of תְּגַלֵּךְ into biblical Greek.²⁹² But of particular importance for this logion is his discussion of the passives here and the relationship of glory between the persons of the trinity. He notes the three kinds of passives: true passives (transitives), intransitive passives (more common in the LXX, due to the influence of Hebrew statives, than in classical Greek where, however, they are not rare), and permissive or causative passives ("in which the action is done to the subject by another agent, but permitted or caused by the subject").²⁹³ That Jn. 13:31a, "Now is the Son of Man glorified", is a true passive is made clear by 13:32 ("God will also glorify him in himself and glorify him at once") as well as by Jn. 17:1 ("Father, glorify your Son").²⁹⁴ But 13:31b, "God is glorified in him", presents more difficulty. The second ἐδοξάζεσθαι cannot have the same sense as the first, where ". . . the glorification of Jesus on the cross means his endowment with a glory which, at least in his representative function as Son of Man, he has not up to that point possessed." This last meaning cannot apply to God. In fact the second ἐδοξάζεσθαι is found by Caird to be a different kind of passive: it is neither a true passive nor a causative passive²⁹⁵ but an intransitive passive, with ἐν αὐτῷ in an "unmistakably local" sense. The phrase may then be rendered: "God has revealed his glory in him." Caird seeks further justification

of his interpretation of Jn. 13:31 in the consistency of his understanding of the logion with the overall structure of John's Gospel: Jn. 13:31_a fits John 1-12 which demonstrates the glory of God in the Incarnate Logos, while Jn. 13:31_b fits John 13-21 which speaks of the believer's entrance into union with the Logos.²⁹⁶ His interpretation of 13:31 is well expressed in his translation of the logion: "Now the Son of Man has been endowed with glory, and God has revealed his glory in him."

Unfortunately Caird's exegesis does not cover the whole logion, since the whole saying includes v. 32 as well. He deals with only 13:31, breaking in mid-sentence. Schulz notes that the structure of these two verses, set out clearly in verse form,²⁹⁷ is quite striking in contrast to the preceding Johannine Son of Man logia which he says are more prosaic. The poetic rhythm of these lines recalls the prologue.²⁹⁸ He further observes that Jesus is spoken of in the third person, that characteristics of Johannine christological sayings are absent, and that these lines on the exaltation motif are remarkably compact and succinct. All of this leads Schulz to the conclusion that 13:31, 32 is from an old tradition of a "short hymn" which John has used to introduce the farewell discourses.²⁹⁹

Schulz has probably exaggerated the distinction between this and the other Johannine Son of Man sayings, for "Son of Man" is by its very nature a "poetic" term.³⁰⁰ He is right however about the striking rhythm of these verses and this poetic structure of this passage means that vv. 31 and 32 should be taken together. If Caird's understanding of v. 31

can be accepted, what is the meaning of v. 32? Some decision has to be made regarding the variant in v. 32a, εἰ δὲ θεὸς ἐδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ. The manuscript evidence is about equally divided. Barrett³⁰¹ rejects the longer reading because it adds nothing to the passage and the addition of it is explicable by dittography (though the omission is explainable by haplography). He thinks it better to omit the fuller reading, probably popularized by Origen, and to follow "the majority of earlier authorities and accept the short text." On the other hand, several scholars prefer the longer reading. Bernard³⁰² believes that its redundancy fits John's style and its omission could easily be due to homoioteleuton³⁰³ (ἐν αὐτῷ . . . ἐν αὐτῷ). Lagrange³⁰⁴ believes the weight of the authorities, sufficient for rejecting the longer reading, is counterbalanced by the other considerations, the possibility of homoioteleuton and the redundancy which fits John's style.

If this longer reading is kept, it seems to be a simple repetition of v. 31b (with the same meaning as there) as a basis for the future glorification of v. 32. The εἰ does not, according to Lagrange,³⁰⁵ indicate a hypothetical condition. Rather since God has revealed his glory in him, he will glorify him in himself, and will do so immediately. The future glorification, to whatever it refers,³⁰⁶ follows on the glorification already as certain as if it had taken place.

The future δοξάσει may be taken as referring to the glorification of Jesus in his resurrection, exaltation and ultimately in his parousia.³⁰⁷ The passion, having been initiated by Judas' departure to betray Jesus, is viewed as

past (this is the significance of the aorist, ἐδοξάσθη³⁰⁸), while the events to follow are still viewed as future. Barrett takes the ἐν αὐτῷ as referring to God.³⁰⁹ On the opposite side of the question, Bernard apparently feels it refers to Christ:³¹⁰ "It is the "glorification" which succeeded it [the Passion], God the Father glorifying Him in Himself, by taking up the humanity of Christ into the Godhead, after the passion." In a sense Jesus re-enters the eternal essence of God the Father at his resurrection and ascension.³¹¹

On the last phrase, καὶ εὐθὺς δοξάσει αὐτόν there is disagreement as well. Bernard believes John has returned to the thought of Jesus' impending death.³¹² Barrett, however, takes it as referring to Jesus' resurrection and the coming of the Spirit to bring his continued presence to the disciples.³¹³

What do John's readers learn about the Son of Man in this passage? They see again, as in 12:23, that he is glorified but that his glory is in his death. The Son of Man is a lowly one, for he is betrayed (13:21-30) and will soon have to leave his disciples to die a lonely death ("where they cannot come", 13:33). He will shortly be denied by Peter (13:36-38). His death will consummate the life of the lowly Son of Man, whose earthly ministry has been characterized by love (καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς) and service (he has just washed the disciples' feet). The disciples are to emulate their master and representative in this love and service, for the Son of Man is their representative head in his life of humble service and in his death for others.

Judge

John 5:27

The most striking feature of this logion is that Son of Man is anarthrous, a fact which makes it unique among Son of Man logia in the Gospels (though cf. Heb. 2:6; Rev. 1:13; 14:14).

The saying comes in the middle of a discourse on the authority of the Son, following the dispute with the Jews which arose out of Jesus' healing a sick man on the Sabbath at the Sheep Gate. It is right for Jesus to heal on the Sabbath because he does the work of the Father, who works always (5:17). The Son does what the Father does (5:19). The work of the Father and the Son involves primarily two interrelated activities: raising the dead back to life (5:21, 24, 25, 28, 29) and judging (5:22, 24, 27, 29; "condemns"). As these two themes are developed in terms of the work of the Father which the Son does, there comes the sudden change from δ υἱὸς (5:19bis, 20, 21, 22, 23bis [24 shifts from δ υἱὸς to με, μου], 26) to υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.³¹⁴ The reason for this unexpected change must surely be that John saw a particular appropriateness of this christological title to the two themes which run through this discourse.³¹⁵

The probable source for this unusual logion in Jn. 5:27 is the locus classicus of the Son of Man, Dan. 7:13. In the LXX the term is anarthrous: καὶ ἶδού ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἦρχετο. Furthermore Schulz finds both elements of Jn. 5:27, 28 in Dan. 7 and 12.³¹⁶ He gives a brief traditions-geschichtliche Analyse, suggesting

that 5:30 is a revision of 5:19 and that the change from Son, 5:26, to Son of Man, 5:27-29, to "I", 5:30, and the distinctive Johannine motifs of ἔρχεται ὥρα ἐν, τοῦτο, and μὴ θαυμάζετε (5:28) show how the Evangelist has worked his ideas as well as traditional themes into his Gospel.³¹⁷ Verse 27 he finds to be a compilation of motifs from Dan. 7:13, 14, demonstrating this by laying out the parallels in the texts.

- a) Jn. 5:27a: καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ...
 Dan. 7:14: καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία... (LXX)
 𐤇𐤒𐤑𐤍 𐤇𐤒𐤑𐤍 𐤇𐤒𐤑𐤍
- b) Jn. 5:27b: ... υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ...
 Dan. 7:13: ... υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ... (LXX)
 𐤇𐤒𐤑𐤍 𐤇𐤒𐤑𐤍

Common themes include υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου (anarthrous both in Jn. 5:27b and Dan. 7:13, LXX), ἐξουσία (Jn. 5:27a and Dan. 7:14, LXX), and ἔδωκεν (Jn. 5:27a, Dan. 7:22, LXX),³¹⁸ and ἐδόθη (Dan. 7:14, LXX), as well as the κρίσις ποιεῖν (Jn. 5:27a) and τὸ κρίμα ἔδωκεν (Dan. 7:22, LXX) which Schulz does not mention.³¹⁹ John 5:28f. he finds to have been built on Dan. 12:2.

- a) Dan. 12:2 καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν τῇ πλάτει τῆς γῆς ἀναστήσονται, οἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ εἰς ὄνειδισμόν, οἱ δὲ εἰς διασπορὰν καὶ αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον.
- b) Jn. 5:28f.: ... πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις ἀκούσουσιν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκπορεύσονται, οἱ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα πράξαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως.

He accounts for the changes in the text as well: πάντες for πολλοὶ is a universalistic tendency, ἀκούσουσιν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ gives it a christological interpretation, τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαντες and τὰ φαῦλα πράξαντες give the saying a "paranetischer" accent, and the change from ἀνίστημι to

ἐκπορεύονται. . . εἰς ἀνάστασιν emphasizes the judgment aspect of resurrection.³²⁰ Besides these motifs common to Jn. 5 and Dan. 7 and 12, noted by Schulz, there is in the Johannine passage the Father-Son relationship (which becomes Son of Man at v. 27) which is similar to (and may have developed from) the relationship of the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7. There is a similarity as well between the "coming" of the Son of Man, Dan. 7:13, to receive ἐξουσία and κρίσις, and the coming of Jesus, sent by the Father, Jn. 5:30 (cf. especially 9:39: "For judgment I came into the world").³²¹

These two themes, which seem to be based on Dan. 7:13ff. and 12:2, are worked together in the context of Jn. 5 in such a way as to show they are more closely related to one another (and to the Son of Man tradition) than might have appeared at first sight. The act of granting life (or of not granting it) is in a sense a judgment, so the two functions of the Son (or Son of Man) are not really unrelated.³²² These two inter-related themes each have two aspects, a present spiritual aspect and a future eschatological aspect. This fact is seen perhaps most clearly in v. 24: "In very truth, anyone who gives heed to what I say and puts his trust in Him who sent me has hold of eternal life, and does not come up for judgment, but has already passed from death to life." (NEB) Eternal life is a present possession of those who believe Jesus (note the present tense in v. 21 of ζῶνοιοι, present of ἔχει in v. 24, and the phrase in v. 25 ἔρχεται ἡώρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν; cf. Jn. 17:1, 2: "Father, the hour has come.

Glorify thy Son, that the Son may glorify thee. For thou hast made him sovereign over all mankind, to give eternal life to all whom thou hast given him." NEB). Likewise judgment has a present aspect (though it may be more difficult to see clearly). Inasmuch as judgment is bound up with the giving of life, when the latter is brought into the present, so is the former. Further indication of this present aspect of judgment comes in v. 24 in the present tense of ἔρχεται -- "he is not coming into judgment"--followed by the perfect of μεταβέβηκεν emphasizing that judgment has already been passed (cf. 9:39 which shows unambiguously the present aspect of judgment which Jesus brings). This present aspect does not exclude the future aspect, however. The future giving of life in eschatological resurrection is seen in vv. 28, 29: it is clear that a physical resurrection of bodies is meant, as the phrase πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις shows, and it is clear that this is future because the phrase καὶ νῦν ἔστιν, cf. v. 25, is omitted after ἔρχεται ὧρα. The future eschatological judgment is also clearly spoken of in these verses: εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως.³²³ What is highly significant is that John has found it suitable to introduce into this discussion "Son of Man" as an appropriate title for Jesus in his work both as life-giver and judge in the present and the future.³²⁴

There is a noticeable similarity between the πάντες here and the πολλῶν of Mk. 10:45. In both places the work of the Son of Man has consequences for a large group of his followers. In Mk. 10:45 the Son of Man, who is the Servant of God of Isa. 52:13-53:12, gives his life for many; in Jn.

5:27-29 he calls from their graves all the dead to resurrection (of life or judgment). In Jn. 5:27-29 the connection with Dan. 12:2 is clear, but the Daniel passage may also stand behind Mk. 10:45. H. L. Ginsberg has argued that Isa. 52:13-53:12, which is the basis of Mk. 10:45b, has its earliest interpretation in Dan. 12, where the Servant is identified with the maskilim of Daniel's day.³²⁵ While it is difficult to be certain what part these O.T. texts have played in the history of tradition, it seems fairly safe to say that both Isa. 53 and Dan. 12 as well as Dan. 7 provided the raw materials from which the developing christology of primitive Christianity was shaped. Daniel 7 supplied the title Son of Man (with its potential for both individual and collective interpretation) and the judgment theme, Dan. 12 supplied the resurrection theme (with Hosea 6:2), and the Servant of Isaiah supplied the content for a humble earthly ministry and atoning death of the Son of Man.

The lack of the article with υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in Jn. 5:27 is a vexing problem. A possible reason why υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου is anarthrous may be that John wished to point his readers to Dan. 7:13. He did this by the unusual anarthrous construction³²⁶ and by the specific mention of judgment and Son of Man together (heightened by the causal relationship: καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κρίσιν ποιεῖν, ὅτι υἱὸς ἐστίν.)³²⁷ Apparently John wished to make it clear to his readers that the Son of Man found elsewhere in his Gospel is the Son of Man of Dan. 7.

Lagrange says the lack of the two articles with Son of Man reduces the messianic character of the expression and emphasizes the human nature of the Son of Man.³²⁸ This is so because judgment is the last act of the history of humanity redeemed by Christ. It is to the one who died to save humanity that judgment of those who reject him is given. This answers the possible objection of sinners who might insist on judgment by a man: God, being perfect, finds flaws even in angels; a man would be more inclined to lenience (cf. Heb. 4:15).³²⁹ While Son of Man does suggest one who is human, it would be wrong, however, to make the term "Son of Man" in this context mean just "human", for it is here with the role of judge that he assumes the traditional apocalyptic role and is thus "exalted man".³³⁰ That the anarthrous Son of Man is not to be taken in a lesser sense (as merely "human") than Son of Man with the article is clear from the way it appears in Revelation (1:13; 14:14). In both places the title is anarthrous, but the figure there is anything but a mere human being. John's meaning then in Jn. 5:27 is surely that the Son is given the role of judge because he is the Son of Man of Dan. 7, to whom judgment (for the saints of the Most High) is given.

Since the article is omitted from both the nomen regens and the nomen rectum, it is possible to see a "strong Semitic coloring" in this verse.³³¹ Since this type of construction is very common in the LXX and again in N.T. quotations,³³² it is probably impossible to determine whether its occurrence here is due directly to the influence of Hebrew (or Aramaic) or indirectly to the Semitisms of the LXX (Septuagintisms). In either

case it seems safe to conclude that this is a Semitism, though this observation must be qualified by the fact that in pure Greek υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου as a title would be anarthrous anyway and the common N.T. use with the articles is strange in the first place.³³³

It may be useful to compare the situation with another christological title, [ὁ] υἱὸς [τοῦ] Θεοῦ, in the N.T. Here the occurrences with both nouns anarthrous are more numerous than is the case with υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, but still the anarthrous construction occurs less frequently than the construction with the article before one or the other of the nouns,³³⁴ showing a definite preference for the article with υἱὸς Θεοῦ as with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. This fact, plus the Semitic elements in Jn. 5 (apocalyptic motifs) suggests the anarthrous usage is a Semitism rather than a sudden return to pure Greek titular usage.

If it is clear that one source of this Johannine logion was the O.T., what is the relationship of the saying to the Synoptic tradition? There is really no Synoptic logion closely parallel to Jn. 5:27 and certainly none with the title anarthrous. There are, however, several sayings in the Synoptics which, like Jn. 5:27, appear to be based on Dan. 7:13, either taking up the judgment theme or emphasizing the clouds and glory in order to speak of the parousia of the Son of Man. Most important of those Synoptic sayings which have a judgment motif is Mk. 8:38 (and the Matthean parallel, 16:27, where the Son of Man is about to come in his Father's glory and to judge men according to their deeds; also Mt. 19:28 and Lk. 21:36 with

future judgment). The sayings which use the Dan. 7 motifs to speak of the parousia are Mk. 13:26 and 14:62 (which probably also implies a judgment theme in view of its context). There are no Synoptic parallels to the giving of life to the dead, the closest idea being the predictions of the rising again of the Son of Man (Mt. 9:9, 31; Lk. 9:22). Most of these Synoptic sayings refer to the future authority of the Son of Man, but there are of course Synoptic parallels to the kind of present authority of the Son of Man as seen in Jn. 5 where he gives life to the dead and judges in the present. Perhaps the most important parallels to this concept are Mk. 2:10 (where the Son of Man has power to forgive sins while on earth, implying a present judgment³³⁵) and 2:28 (where he has lordship of the Sabbath). John, in keeping with his more realized eschatology, has a greater emphasis on this present aspect of the Son of Man's authority than the Synoptics, though he does not neglect the future.

There are demonstrably Johannine features in this passage: the ἔρχεται ὥρα (καὶ νῦν ἐστίν) is a favorite Johannine motif, as is the ὁ πατήρ and ὁ υἱὸς theme. The Johannine ἀμήν ἀμήν is here (5:19, 24, 25). Also v. 28 has been said to contain a high concentration of characteristics of John's style: the ἔρχεται ὥρα, the τοῦτο and the μὴ θαυμάζετε.³³⁶ Whether one can legitimately say οὗτος is a Johannine word may be questioned however. It does occur frequently in the Fourth Gospel (50 times in 94 pages of Greek text). But it has a definite place in the Synoptics, especially Luke, where it occurs some 40 times in 121 pages of Greek text. (Cf. 33 times

in Matthew's 117 pages and 12 times in Mark's 81 pages.) Nor is it certain that $\Theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ is Johannine. Its frequency is greatest in Luke, 13 times as opposed to 6 times in John, 7 times in Matthew, and 4 in Mark, 5 in Acts, and once each in Galatians, II Thess., I John, and Jude. John uses it differently from the Synoptics where it occurs most often.³³⁷ In the Fourth Gospel it is not related to individual miracles nor to the attitude of Jesus' followers. It is instead "a term for the impact made by the works of Jesus."³³⁸ It is used only three times with $\mu\eta$, twice in John (3:7; 5:28) and once in I John (3:13), so that $\mu\eta \Theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ might be thought peculiarly Johannine.

But these Johannine characteristics notwithstanding, there are significant indications of pre-Johannine, primitive tradition behind this logion. The apocalyptic, Danielic motifs have been noticed already. In addition there is the possible significance of the lack of the article with $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ as showing the early origin of the title (and of this logion). Schulz takes the lack of the article to indicate that $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ has not yet matured into a technical term--so this logion is halfway between the old apocalyptic and the Christian traditions.³³⁹ Likewise Schnackenburg takes the lack of the article to indicate the derivation of the term from the early tradition.³⁴⁰ Bernard goes so far as to suggest that the term is anarthrous here because the logion is based on Jesus' own words.³⁴¹

John's readers learn more about the Son of Man in Jn. 5:27. The Son of Man stands in the special relationship to

God of the Son to the Father, for it is in the context of this relationship that John introduces Son of Man (5:26, 27). He gives life to the dead and judges men both in the present and in the future. And as the visionary figure of Dan. 7, he embodies the ideal of man (as opposed to the inhuman beasts of the vision)³⁴² and stands in a representative relationship to the saints of the Most High.

Savior

John 6:27, 53

John 6:27 and 6:53 are really related sayings and go together as the introduction to (v.27) and the culmination of (v. 53) the Bread of Life discourse. However, John 6:53 may be a more highly developed saying (not just in the present argument in John 6 but possibly also in the history of tradition).

The Bread of Life discourse has been occasioned by the feeding of the five thousand.³⁴³ The crowd has failed to see the significance of this "sign". They want the temporal blessing of bread which Jesus has given them and are not concerned to seek the abiding, eternal "bread" which Jesus as the Son of Man will give them and of which the material bread was the "sign". In the opening section of the explanation of this sign (Jn. 6:22-33) the Son of Man title is used and several O.T. themes are introduced.

The major theme in John 6 is, of course, the Bread of Life. Several terms are used, "food" (which perishes or abides, v. 27), "manna" (vv. 31, 49) or "bread (come down) from heaven"

(vv. 31, 32, 41, 50, 58), "bread of God" (v. 33), "bread of life" (vv. 35, 48), "living bread come down from heaven" (v. 51) But all these terms mean essentially the same thing: spiritual food or that which nourishes a man's spirit as bread nourishes his body. "Food" and "bread" are the terms most relevant to the setting, in which Jesus has just given physical food (as a sign that he can also give spiritual food). "Manna" is brought in as the relevant O.T. equivalent (from Ex. 16) and has importance because of its place in contemporary messianic expectations.³⁴⁴ There is evidence³⁴⁵ of Jewish expectations of the restoration of the manna (and a second exodus), sometimes associated with the Passover celebration (at which time it was thought the Messiah would appear). To what extent this evidence (from later Jewish writings) represents the significance of the manna theme in Jesus' day it is difficult to say, but this expectation (of feeding again on the manna) is seen in the Sibylline Oracles.³⁴⁶ At any rate the request of the crowd that Jesus validate his claims by a sign like that Moses gave in the manna (vv. 30, 31) seems to indicate they knew something like the later Jewish expectation of the restoration of the manna.

The primary O.T. text behind this manna motif is Ex. 16. But there is no direct literary dependence (at least in terms of verbal coincidence). The manna account has merely provided the basis of the manna expectation. However, the Jews quote the O.T. in v. 31 and here one may look for a verbal dependence on an O.T. text. No one verse seems to fit this quotation exactly, either because it is an inaccurate quotation or because

it is a conflated one. Two verses from Ex. 16 together supply the main elements of the quotation, though neither separately has them all.

Ex. 16:4 (LXX) . . . Ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ ἴω ὑμῖν ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, . . .

Ex. 16:15 (LXX) . . . Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν ἔδωκεν κύριος ὑμῖν φαγεῖν.

Jn. 6:31 οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν τὸ μάννα ἔφαγον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καθὼς ἔστιν γεγραμμένον, Ἄρτον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν.

But perhaps it is Psa. 78:24 which is being referred to.

καὶ ἔβραξεν αὐτοῖς μάννα φαγεῖν καὶ ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς.

The quotation in John may be closest to Psa. 78:24, so that verse cannot be ruled out as the basis of the quotation, though a conflation of Ex. 16:4 and Ex. 16:15 could equally well lie behind the Johannine passage. In the latter case the main change would be from the ὑμῖν of Ex. 16:15 to the αὐτοῖς of Jn. 6:31.³⁴⁷ What is clear is that the O.T. story of the miraculous supply of manna is being used to say something new and highly original about the Son of Man. This something new is summarized in v. 32, the (secondary at least, if not primary³⁴⁸) meaning of which is that the manna Moses gave was not true bread from heaven, but the Son of Man will give the true bread from heaven.

The second important theme occurring in this passage is the New Moses or New Prophet expectation.³⁴⁹ This motif is of course related to the manna theme as well. It lies perhaps below the surface at the beginning of the passage, but it is brought out explicitly in Jn. 6:32. That the crowd was asking Jesus to justify his claims and to fit their understanding of the role of the Second Moses (whose advent they

were awaiting) is clear from Jn. 6:14.³⁵⁰ Jesus' provision of bread in feeding the five thousand clearly had aroused hopes among the people that he was indeed Moses redivivus who had come to restore the manna to them.³⁵¹ Did Jesus himself intend to fill this role? From v. 32 it would seem he did not. This verse is discussed at length by Barrett, who notes the several ways in which the verse may be taken and concludes that, because of the emphatic position of οὐ Μωυση̄ς, the primary meaning of the verse is, "It was not Moses who gave you the bread from heaven (but God)."³⁵² In this case the οὐ Μωυση̄ς stands in opposition to Jn. 6:14, indicating Jesus did not wish to be thought of as the Second Moses. Lagrange³⁵³ was of the opinion that the primary opposition in 6:32 is between the old bread and the new, spiritual bread, with only a secondary opposition between Moses and the Father (insofar as the manna came indirectly from the Father through Moses the mediator, whereas the true bread comes directly from the Father). Jesus' more usual role as "Son" is brought out by his use of the term "my Father" in 6:32. But whether a sonship christology or a "New Moses" christology is more basic to the traditional form of this account, the passage as it now stands (with the multiplication of bread recalling the manna account³⁵⁴) portrays Jesus the Son of Man as the greater than Moses (cf. Hebrews) and in fact identifies him (implicitly) with God the Father: it was God who gave the old manna, it is Jesus who gives the new.

Woven into this passage are other O.T. allusions as well. There are in fact direct quotations from the O.T. in

both v. 31 and v. 45. Probably the quotation in v. 31 is Psa. 78:24, though the wording does not fit exactly. Brown lists other possible passages (Ex. 16:4, Ex. 16:15, and Wisdom 16:20),³⁵⁵ but it seems probable (see the above discussion) that v. 31 is a loose quotation of Psa. 78:24. This text may at first seem an unusual testimonium to be used with the Son of Man, but insofar as it speaks of the giving of the manna it is equally appropriate as Ex. 16. In fact, Psa. 78:24 has the merit of omitting any reference to Moses, making it perfectly clear that it was "the Lord" who rained manna from heaven, and it is with Him rather than with Moses (or a Second Moses) that the Son of Man is to be identified.

The second O.T. quotation, in v. 45, is from Isa. 54:13. But this O.T. is not really used as a testimonium. Nevertheless its O.T. context of victory and the promise of God's deliverance after suffering (the suffering Servant Song precedes this verse from Isaiah, 52:13-53:12) may well have been carried into Jn. 6. Following the sacrificial implications (developed later in the chapter, vv. 51, 53ff.) of the Son of Man as "the bread of life", there comes the promise of eternal life (v. 47) for all who believe on Jesus. After suffering there will be salvation. To what extent John wished to develop these implications of the O.T. text it is difficult to say. It may be he has simply given a scriptural explanation why some believed Jesus' claims while others did not.

The Son of Man logion itself has a rich O.T. background. Several O.T. passages come to mind as the possible basis of Jn. 6:27c, *τοῦτον γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἐσφράγισεν ὁ Θεός*. Psalm 2

(especially vv. 7ff.) speaks of the messianic coronation³⁵⁶ (the Messiah's being "sealed"). Psa. 40:7, 8 speaks of the results of this sealing in the Messiah's obedience to the Father. But chiefly Isa. 61:1-3 (quoted in Lk. 4:18, 19 at the beginning of Jesus' preaching ministry) speaks of this sealing of the Son of Man for his appointed ministry: "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me because the Lord has anointed me; he has sent me to bring good news . . ." (NEB). As the "root of Jesse" he comes with wisdom and understanding (Isa. 11:1-3; 42:1) of which the "bread" in Jn. 6 may be a figure.

The first part of the Son of Man logion takes up the manna-bread of life theme. Many O.T. passages lay the foundation for the sort of spiritualization of the manna which is found in this verse. As far back as Deut. 8:3³⁵⁷ there was the contrast between physical and spiritual food, the latter being "the words of God". This idea of God's words being food is fairly widespread. The balance of clauses may indicate this in Neh. 9:20:³⁵⁸ "Thou gavest thy good spirit to instruct them; thy manna thou didst not withhold from them, and thou gavest them water to quench their thirst" (NEB). In the wisdom literature it is wisdom which is the spiritual food. Proverbs 2:6 says, "for the Lord giveth wisdom: out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding." Wisdom 16:20 reads, "You fed your people with the nourishment of angels, and you sent them from heaven bread that took no labor." Similarly Wisdom 16:26 has, "That your sons whom you loved might learn, O Lord, that it is not the various kinds of fruit that nourish man, but it is your word that preserves those who

believe in you." And Sirach 24:21 reads, "He who eats of me [Wisdom] will hunger still; he who drinks of me will thirst for more."³⁵⁹ Philo allegorized manna to refer to Wisdom.³⁶⁰ In the prophets as well there is preparation for this spiritual interpretation. Isaiah 49:10 may have had a place in this tradition, as well as Jer. 15:16, "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart." Perhaps most significant in this emerging imagery is Isa. 55, which in thought is very close to the way the spiritual bread is spoken of in Jn. 6.³⁶¹

As has been seen before in the study of Son of Man logia, John makes full use of a rich O.T. background. It is easy to read too much of the O.T. into these logia because so much of what John says about the Son of Man assumes the O.T. and because John perhaps intends his readers to read in much of this O.T. background. However that may be, it is reasonably certain that the O.T. and later Jewish tradition did present an emerging theme of the ideal manna (with the related Second Moses expectation) of which Jesus (as John presents him) made use. But Jesus advanced significantly upon this O.T. preparation when he applied it to himself and his ministry.³⁶²

Peder Borgen,³⁶³ attempting to explain the structure of John 6, suggests that John is following the pattern of Palestinian midrash. The pattern is (1) O.T. quotation, (2) interpretation, (3) objection(s) against this interpretation, (4) repetition of the interpretation, (5) answer to objection(s) and solution to the problem. Borgen finds this

pattern in Mekilta on Ex. 16:15 and Philo, Deter. 47,18.

While Jn. 6 fits this pattern reasonably well, one may ask whether this is sufficient evidence to establish a midrashic pattern. It may be rather that John has merely used his techniques of misunderstanding and of emphasis by repetition without following strictly any formal pattern.³⁶⁴

The relation of this narrative-discourse to the Synoptic parallels is interesting. The parallel of sequence between John and Mark is especially noteworthy. (1) Mk. 8:14-21 notes that Jesus gave instructions at the time of the multiplication of the bread (first account in Mk.); John gives a discourse which constitutes such instruction. (2) In both places the crowd asked Jesus for a sign to verify his works (Mk. 8:11, 12, after the second multiplication account; Jn. 6:30). (3) There is the failure to understand the significance of the bread multiplication (Mk. 8:14-21; cf. Jn. 6:26, 32, 33). (4) Bread is used figuratively (Mk. 7:27-28; 8:14, 15 "loaves"; Jn. 6:27, 32). (5) The meaning of bread is misunderstood (Mk. 8:16, 17ff.; cf. Mt. 16:5-12; Jn. 6:32, 52ff.). All of these parallels plus the almost verbal parallels between Jn. 6:27 and Lk. 12:29 suggest that, as Brown concludes,³⁶⁵ John has made considerable use of traditional material.³⁶⁶

If there are Synoptic parallels to the larger structure of this chapter, the same can be said of the logion itself. The work of the Son of Man in giving the true bread is, in effect, a ministry of service, as in Mk. 10:45. The fact that the bread which he gives is the "true bread" shows the spiritual significance of his work and this has Synoptic

parallels.³⁶⁷ Since having this "true bread" given by the Son of Man means having eternal life and not having it means not having eternal life, the Son of Man in effect is judging (cf. Mt. 16:27; 19:28; Mk. 14:62). There are Synoptic parallels to the idea of the Son of Man's being "sealed" or certified by the Father, inasmuch as he will have a place at the right hand of power, Mk. 14:62 (Mt. 26:64; Lk. 22:69), where he will sit, and he will come in the clouds with great glory (Mt. 24:30; 25:31; Mk. 8:38; 13:26; Lk. 21:27). In spite of the relatively few verbal contacts between the Johannine and the Synoptic logia, the parallel attributes and associated ideas justify the conclusion that the Son of Man of whom John writes is not so very different from that of the Synoptic writers.

In addition to the O.T. and Synoptic elements present in this passage there are several characteristically Johannine elements present. The contrast in v. 27 between perishable food and that which lasts eternally, though not exclusively Johannine (cf. Lk. 12:29; Isa. 55; et al.), was also used in chapter 4.³⁶⁸ A Johannine idiom occurs in v. 29 where $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ is followed by a $\nu\alpha$ of explanation.³⁶⁹ Braun lists eight Johannine characteristics peculiar to the Fourth Gospel of which three occur in this passage.³⁷⁰ There is the uniquely Johannine double $\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\upsilon$ in 6:26, 32. Schulz sees further Johannine style peculiarities in 6:27c.³⁷¹ Thus it is obvious that the Evangelist has worked over and shaped the material. But inasmuch as a pre-Johannine tradition is clearly present as well (as has been seen above), there is justification for the conclusion which Smalley reaches: "The Johannine flavour

of verses 27 and 53, particularly marked in the use of the term $\text{Ζῶν} (\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\omicron\nu)$ does not by itself demonstrate their inauthenticity, especially since they are already congruent with a Son of Man tradition beyond the Fourth Gospel."³⁷³

What are John's readers to learn about the Son of Man from these logia? This Son of Man, upon whom the angels ascend and descend (1:51) and who himself has come down from heaven (3:13) and will ascend again (6:62) after his lifting up in crucifixion (3:14, 8:28), fills the role of the expected Second Moses in the provision of the "true bread" (6:27, 32, 33).³⁷⁴ And he is himself the "true bread" as well as the giver of the bread (6:33, 35).³⁷⁵ But inasmuch as it was not really Moses but God who gave the manna (6:32), this Son of Man who gives the "true bread" (even the miraculous manna was not "true" or "eternal" bread, 6:32) should be identified with God the Father (1) rather than Moses.³⁷⁶

John 9:35

The question of the breaking of the Sabbath, though important in this account, is really less important here than in similar Synoptic stories (Mk. 2:23-28; 3:1-6; Lk. 13:10-17) or than in John 5. The more central question for this account is the christological one. "Here we pass from the arguments of Jesus' ministry to the apologetic of Church and Synagogue in the era of spreading Christianity, and the evangelist shows us the prolongation into his own time of the debate over Jesus that had already begun to rage when Jesus was alive."³⁷⁷

There may be a baptismal lesson taught by the story. Raymond Brown attempts to show that this was the intention of the writer, citing first the early ecclesiastical use of Jn. 9 in catechetical instruction and examination as well as in baptismal rites. The view that it was John's intention to give a baptismal lesson is largely based on the importance of the washing in water at Siloam for effecting the healing miracle.³⁷⁸ Further support is found in John's concern to note that the man was born blind and perhaps born in sin. Healing removes the man's blindness which he had from birth; washing (i.e., baptism) removes his sin which he had from birth.³⁷⁹ Restoration of sight to the blind as a symbol for Christian baptism is found in other N.T. authors as well (Heb. 6:4; 10:32), thus further establishing the point.³⁸⁰

Does this narrative embody a core pericope that is genuine--or has the account been created for polemic reasons? Perhaps the use of mud to anoint the blind man's eyes is a genuine, historical recollection, but it does serve the purpose in the account both of providing for the anointing and of necessitating the washing at Siloam (with its possible baptismal overtones³⁸¹). Also of little real importance is the question of the disciples in v. 2. It acts only as an introduction to the story and is not further developed. This is no certain indication of its antiquity however. On the other hand the lack of (fabricated) descriptions and the brevity of the account of the miracle itself (vv. 6, 7) suggest that the core pericope may be traditional. Other indications of the primitiveness of the story are the use of spittle (also

found in the Synoptics, Mk. 8:22-26), the knowledge of the pool of Siloam, and the elaboration of Sabbath regulations.³⁸² Perhaps one should not dismiss this account too quickly as being of no historical value. While there are enough indications of the vested interest of John and his readers to warrant due care in handling the material, there are also enough indications of old tradition to serve warning against dismissing the account.

The question of the blind man in v. 36, *Καὶ τίς ἐστίν, Κύριε*, may be taken in two ways: (1) what does this term Son of Man³⁸³ mean? or (2) where is the one who bears this title? Lagrange³⁸⁴ and Bernard³⁸⁵ both believe Son of Man was not a commonly known title for the Messiah and this man's incomprehension (as well as that of Jesus' questioners in Jn. 12:34) are taken as proof of this fact. But as more recent commentators point out,³⁸⁶ Jesus' reply to the blind man suggests the meaning of his question was the second sense. The man recognized Son of Man as a title (though whether a familiar, messianic title may be yet another question), but he was unsure to whom this title belonged. Also the way in which John represents the progression of the blind man's faith in Jesus suggests that Son of Man in v. 35 is intended as the culmination of this development.³⁸⁷ But the association of the Son of Man with the traditional motif of judgment may indicate a primitive vorlage on which John has built this account. John may have received a traditional saying in which Son of Man occurred as a first person circumlocution and have used it here to make his theological (christological) point.³⁸⁸

John's development of the judgment motif and his use of it in Jn. 9 deserve closer examination. The approach of a day of judgment is a constant presupposition in John: judgment is given the Son (5:22, 27) who has come to earth to save, not judge (3:17; 8:15; 12:47) but who cannot avoid judgment (8:16).³⁸⁹ Judgment on believers (3:18, 19) and the world (12:31) and its rulers (12:31; 16:11) has already taken place. This judgment took place when the Son of Man resolved to give himself a sacrifice and God promised to glorify him (12:27-31).

The distinctive feature of Jn's thinking on judgment, even by comparison with Paul, is to be found in this emphasis on the fact that on both sides judgment is already present. . . . Before the revelation of God in His Son, which has supratemporal validity, the distinction between future and present fades. The eternal is present in time.³⁹⁰

How then does John use this judgment motif with the Son of Man? Since judgment is a traditional motif of the Son of Man (Dan. 7:13) and John uses the motif, one might expect that, if John preserves any early Son of Man tradition, he would connect Son of Man and this judgment theme. Certainly judgment and Son of Man appear to be connected in Jn. 9,³⁹¹ for it is by his confession of Jesus as Son of Man that the blind man who now sees (both physically and spiritually) leads Jesus to introduce the judgment motif. Those who see physically are judged spiritually blind because they cannot see who Jesus is (the Son of Man), while the man once blind is judged to see spiritually as well as physically, since he has confessed his belief in Jesus.

Another Johannine theme in this context, associated with both the judgment theme and the Son of Man, is the theme

of light (and the related theme of "seeing"). Just as in Jn. 9 judgment by the Son of Man means the giving of sight to the blind (and the withholding of spiritual sight), so in Jn 3 judgment (3:19) means the coming of light (which is the Son or the Son of Man, 3:13, 14) into the world. And it is Jesus (the Son of Man) who is the light of the world (9:5; cf. 3:19).³⁹² John uses φῶς in a definitely christological sense (see especially 1:4, 5, 7, 8, 9; 8:12; 9:5; 12:35, 36, 46), so it is not strange to see him connecting it with his Son of Man christology. It is interesting to make the comparison between the light motif in John and its treatment in Rabbinic writings where it is often a title for God. In *Bemidbar Rabba*, chap. 15, "the Israelites said to God, O Lord of the Universe, thou commandest us to light lamps to thee, yet thou art the light of the world."³⁹³ It is used as a title for the "Messiah" in the O.T. (Isa. 49:6; 60:1) and in *Yalkut Reubeni* on Gen. 1:4 where "the light of the Messiah" is spoken of and God tells Satan that the light under the throne of glory is reserved for Messiah.³⁹⁴ Now for John the "light" which was with God (and was God) has come to earth as the φῶς τοῦ κόσμου in the person of the Son of Man.

The healing miracle itself has no O.T. background, as Brown points out,³⁹⁵ but the prophets did foresee that when the Messiah came the spiritually blind would have their eyes opened (Is. 29:18; 35:5; 42:7). John's central christological concern with the Son of Man as judge doubtless has its roots in Dan. 7:13, though little direct evidence can be found of

his use of Dan. 7 to construct this narrative. The light theme which he associated with the judgment and with the Son of Man (9:5) may have come from Isa. 49:6.³⁹⁶ If the O.T. inspiration for this motif did come from Isa. 49, this is further evidence of the importance of the Servant Songs in early christology. One would also have the interesting christological connections in John of Son of Man = $\phi\omega\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ = $\pi\iota\iota\eta\tau\ \tau\lambda\lambda$. Finally there is in vv. 29-33 the theme of a man $\pi\alpha\rho\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ³⁹⁷ who is greater than Moses (recalling Jn. 6:32ff.) who does something no man has ever done (v. 32).

What evidence is there for John's having made use of the Synoptic traditions? Brown's discussion of this problem is useful.³⁹⁸ Having set out all the Synoptic accounts of blind men being healed, he finds only three relatively insignificant details in these accounts which are similar to details of Jn. 9: (1) the blind man sat and begged (cf. Bartimaeus, Mk. 10:46-52; Lk. 18:35-43; Mt. 20:29-34, two blind men), (2) the use of spittle (cf. healing in stages at Bethsaida, Mk. 8:22-26; cf. Mt. 25:30), (3) at Jerusalem (summary, Mt. 21:24). Brown notices that the most distinctive features of John's account are absent from the Synoptic stories:³⁹⁹ blind from birth, use of mud, washing at Siloam, questioning about the miracle, interview with the parents. Noticing the indications in the account of the primitive character of the story, Brown concludes that this is an early healing story preserved only by John.⁴⁰⁰ Similarly Bultmann believes the miracle story and its discussion are drawn from a source (as is the story of

chap. 5), which he calls a *σημεία-Quelle*. The Evangelist has enlarged upon this tradition and added his own understanding.⁴⁰¹ Because of the resemblances of Jesus' words in Jn. 9:2-4 to Synoptic sayings,⁴⁰² Brown nevertheless feels compelled to suggest that John may have found his understanding of this independently received story through the traditional (i.e., Synoptic) sayings of Jesus.⁴⁰³

There is a striking similarity between this Johannine Son of Man logion and that in Jn. 12:32-34. In both there is (1) a question as to the person of the Son of Man, (2) the use of the light and judgment themes (12:35, 36; 12:31), and the use of Isa. 6 (quoted in 12:40 and alluded to in 9:39).⁴⁰⁴ But while Jn. 12:32f. emphasizes mainly the humiliated Son of Man to be exalted in crucifixion, in Jn. 9:35 the Son of Man is Giver of Sight and Savior (Judge) in whom faith is required.⁴⁰⁵

Daniel 7, the Son of Man and the Son (of God)

Looking again at Jn. 5:27, the only anarthrous Son of Man saying in the Gospels, it will be recalled that the basis of this logion is Dan. 7:13.⁴⁰⁶ There may also be a clue in this saying as to the foundation of John's Son of Man christology and possibly more broadly to his christology in general. In particular, the fact that in Jn. 5:26 (so close to the Son of Man logion in 5:27) and indeed throughout the whole context (5:19, 25, 26) John's important christological title "Son" is predominant, raises the question whether John's "Son" christology is related to his "Son of Man" christology;⁴⁰⁷ and since John's "Son of Man" christology is related to that of the

Synoptics,⁴⁰⁸ is it possible there is a common or parallel tradition which goes back to Jesus himself? A close study of some key passages in which "Son" and "Son of Man" occur together shows (as will be seen) that the motifs associated with these titles in these passages are often traceable to Dan. 7, in association with such other O.T. testimonia as Isa. 53, Psa. 8, and later Dan. 12:2 (supplying the resurrection theme).

In Jn. 5:26, 27 "Son of Man" appears to be interjected into a "Son" discourse and to bear no real relation to the context. But closer examination shows this is not the case. The "Son of Man" title is applied to the "Son" as justification for his being given the function of judge: the Son is given power to judge because he is Son of Man. Judging is clearly a Son of Man motif (Dan. 7; Mt. 16:27; cf. Mk. 8:38; 14:62). Yet throughout this "Son" passage judging is said to be a function of the "Son". Then at 5:27 the reader is told why the Son can take this function: because he is the Son of Man. "Son of Man" is introduced then to underline the Son's authority, in this case his authority to judge. The Johannine "Son" christology, at least at this point in respect of the Son's judging function, is thus built on the Son of Man tradition coming from Dan. 7.⁴⁰⁹

But there are other parallels to Dan. 7 in this passage. The relationship between the Son and the Father is very similar to that between the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7. In Dan. 7:13 the Son of Man comes with the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days and is presented

before him. To this Son of Man is given dominion, glory and a kingdom (7:14). Two characteristics of the relationship between the Ancient of Days and the Son of Man appear here which are also found in the Johannine Son's relationship to the Father: (1) the Son of Man is in a position of submission or subjection to the Ancient of Days, just as John's Son is in submission to the Father, and (2) the Son of Man derives his authority from the Ancient of Days (Dan. 7:13, 14, 22), just as the Father grants authority to the Son (Jn. 5:26, 27, 30). The relationship of the Son of Man to the Ancient of Days is then one of subjection and dependence for his authority.

Another parallel is in the commission of the Son of Man (= saints of the Most High) and the commission of the Son. In Dan. 7 the Son of Man is commissioned to have dominion and kingdom as well as judgment. In a similar way in John's Gospel the Son is conscious that he has been commissioned or sent by the Father (in this context, 5:24, 30). In Dan. 7 the thought of the Son of Man being sent may be inferred from the fact that the Son of Man comes to receive from the Ancient of Days his commission to rule, to judge, and to be served by all peoples. The Son in John's Gospel is sent by the Father just as the Son of Man is commissioned by the Ancient of Days.⁴¹⁰

There is a further similarity in the exercise of authority by the Son and the Son of Man. Though it is a derived or given authority which the Son possesses by virtue of his relationship to the Father, yet he does exercise this authority

in and of himself (Jn. 5:22, 23, 24, 27, 30, 36). The Son has authority just as the Son of Man has dominion, glory, and a kingdom that all peoples should serve him (Dan. 7:13, 14, 22, 27). The Johannine Son exercises authority because he is the Son of Man of Dan. 7 (Jn. 5:27).

A final parallel is to be found in the resurrection theme. John 5:28, 29 proclaims that those who hear the voice of the Son-Son of Man will be resurrected. This resurrection theme is probably built on Dan. 12:2, as Schulz maintains,⁴¹¹ The passage in Dan. 12 speaks of the people of God (12:1, Your [i.e., God's] people), perhaps identified with the saints of the Most High (Dan. 7:22), represented by the Son of Man. In this way connection between the Son of Man and the resurrection theme then appears in Jn. 5:28, 29. It is the voice of the Son of Man which will raise the dead (Jn. 5:28, 29) because he is the representative of the saints of God (Dan. 7:13, 21f., 25, 27) whose deliverance will signal the last resurrection (Dan. 12:1, 2).

The point of the preceding discussion is to show that, in addition to the close association which John makes of Son and Son of Man in 5:26, 27, there are even more connections between the two titles, as seen in the use of primarily "Son of Man" motifs derived from Dan. 7 (and 12)⁴¹² with the title "Son".

One may now examine other Son of Man passages to see whether they in fact contain the same association of Son with Son of Man and the compilation of Son of Man motifs from Dan. 7. The motifs to be noted (in addition to other motifs of

importance which may occur) are:

- (1) The Father-Son relationship paralleling the Ancient of Days-Son of Man relationship, which is one of subjection, the Son of Man deriving his authority from the Ancient of Days.
- (2) The commission of the Son (his being "sent").
- (3) The exercise of authority by the Son.
- (4) The function of judgment by the Son.
- (5) The resurrection motif (Dan. 7 and 12).

In Jn. 3, where two Son of Man logia occur in juxtaposition (vv. 13, 14), a similar association of the Son and the Son of Man titles occurs as in Jn. 5:26, 27. John 3:13, 14 speak of the Son of Man, but immediately following on this the title "Son" is used (3:16, 17, 18 only Son of God).⁴¹³ Not only are the two titles placed in close position, but also the traditional Son of Man motifs are connected with the "Son". The basic judgment motif (4) is ascribed to the Son (3:17, 18, 19 κρινω̄, κρισις). It is true that it was not for κρισις that the Son came, but κρισις is the inevitable result of men's failure to believe in the Son of God. Thus the important Son of Man function of judgment is attributed to the Son and the two titles "Son" and "Son of Man" are associated with each other as in Jn. 5:27.

Other Son of Man motifs may be seen in Jn. 3 as well. The Father-Son relationship (1) is perhaps seen in the ascent-descent of the Son of Man in 3:13, which may recall the presentation of the Son of Man before the Ancient of Days in Dan. 7:13. But whether this is so or not, there is certainly a relationship between the Father and Son in Jn. 3:16ff.

parallel to that between the Ancient of Days and the Son of Man in Dan. 7.

Another motif of which one must take account in considering the association of the Son of Man and Son titles is the suffering (6) of the Son of Man and his bringing salvation to many as a result. The suffering and its salvatory effects are both ascribed to the Son of Man (suffering in the ἵψωθῆναι, 3:14; salvation, 3:15) and to the Son (suffering is implied in "gave", 3:16; salvation, 3:16, 17).

John's primary O.T. text for the suffering Son of Man is Isa. 52:13 (see Jn. 3:14, 8:28; 12:32-34). Is it possible he saw this motif also in Dan. 7, associating the sufferings of the Servant and the "wearing out of the saints of the Most High" (symbolized by the Son of Man), Dan. 7:21, 25? One who could see a reference to Christ in Moses' brazen serpent or Jacob's ladder could surely see the sufferings of the Son of Man (with the aid of Isa. 52:13 and possibly Lk. 19:10; Mk. 10:45 or similar traditions) in Dan. 7:25.⁴¹⁴

Though the emphasis of Jn. 3 is on the suffering of the Son (of Man) and the resultant salvation or judgment of men according to their response, the Son-Son of Man's authority (3) is seen as well in Jn. 3:11, 12. The Son of Man speaks with authority of heavenly things because he alone has ascended and descended (3:13). The introduction of the Son of Man title may have been to emphasize the authority of him who ascended. The paradox is that he who speaks with this unique authority is the one who will suffer. (The nature of his suffering is also unique and is thus, perhaps, authoritative suffering.)

There is no evidence of a resurrection motif (5) in chapter 3 which would resemble the raising up of the righteous in Jn. 5:28ff. The only raising in chapter 3 is the lifting up of the Son of Man in crucifixion.

To summarize, there are connected with the Son title in Jn. 3, many of the same Son of Man motifs seen in Jn. 5:27 and its context. These Son of Man motifs more likely come from Dan. 7 than from either Num. 21 or Isa. 52:13 (the O.T. texts underlying the logia), which really only add the suffering-salvation motif or elaborate it. It seems that, though used to emphasize the authority of him who alone could speak of heavenly things, the Son of Man title has carried to the context several Son of Man motifs which are now ascribed to the Son, while the Son of Man is treated in a novel way by interpreting it in terms of the servant passage.⁴¹⁵

Another passage worth examining in this light is 8:21-30, the context of the Son of Man logion in 8:28. As in 3:13, 14, the basic underlying O.T. passage is Isa. 52:13, which has provided the $\text{ὁ υἱος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου}$ formula. But there is widespread occurrence in the context of the traditional Danielic Son of Man motifs. In addition to the suffering-salvation motif (6), there is the keynote of authority (3) which the Son of Man exercises throughout this passage: the Son speaks with divine authority (8:24, 26) as he spoke with authority in 3:13, and men will be saved or lost (8:24) on the basis of their response to these authoritative words. In the broader context the Son has the authority to make men free (8:32, 36). This authority comes from his relationship to the Father (as the Son of Man's comes from his relationship to the Ancient of Days): "I do

nothing on my own authority but speak thus as the Father taught me" (8:28). Similarly he speaks of what he has seen with the Father (8:38), and he speaks to his hearers about the Father (8:27). Because of his relation to the Father, he can claim that he who knows him knows the Father (8:19).

The motif of commission can be found as well, being tied in with the authority of the divine messenger who has authority because he is sent from God. "He who sent me is true, and I declare to the world what I have heard from him." (8:26) He has God's approval (as in 6:27 God has set his seal upon him): "And he who sent me is with me; he has not left me alone, for I always do what is pleasing to him." (8:29; cf. 8:16, 18)

But most striking is the occurrence of the foundational Danielic Son of Man motif of judgment. Even here where the Son of Man is paradoxically speaking with authority while foreseeing his suffering and death, he is the judge as well. "I have much to say about you and much to judge; but he who sent me is true, and I declare to the world what I have heard from him." (8:26) "Yet even if I do judge, my judgment is true, for it is not I alone that judge, but I and he who sent me." (8:16) Significantly it is not the "Son of Man" title which is used with this theme but the "Son" title. Again one is met with the important fact that, though there is a preponderance of traditional Son of Man motifs, these are not used with the Son of Man title at all, but are found rather with the Son title; and that conversely Son of Man is not used with the traditional Son of Man motifs.

In summary, Jn. 8:28 and its context, like 3:13, 14 and context, have Isa. 52:13 behind the ὑψωθῆναι motif, and this is basic. But paradoxically (and this in typically Johannine fashion) the emphasis of the context is on the authority of the Son-Son of Man. Daniel 7 and its picture of the commission of the Son of Man may well be the source of the associated concepts found here. It is evidently possible for the Evangelist to place Son of Man and Son in close association and to transfer Son of Man ideas to the Son because he sees the two as very closely related titles. The work which the Son does in obedience to the Father is done because he is the Son of Man.

In the context (12:20-50) of two more Son of Man logia (12:23, 34) the same basic Son of Man leading ideas recur. The relationship between the Father and the Son (1), parallel to the Ancient of Days and the Son of Man, comes out in 12:26: "If any one serves the Son (of Man), the Father will honour him." It is the same in 12:27, 28, where the Son's submission to the Father is more vividly portrayed, as well as in 12:49, 50, which has similarities to the references to the Son's authority as derived from the Father (to speak as he learned from the Father) in 5:19, 20. Again one reads of the commission (2) of the Son-Son of Man; when he is tempted to avoid the cross he is reminded that ". . . for this purpose I have come to this hour" (12:27). Later, belief in Jesus is said to be tantamount to belief in him who commissioned and sent him as a light (12:44-46). The Son of Man exercises authority (3) in drawing all men to himself (12:32), and here as in 8:28 is

the paradox of the humiliation and authority of the Son of Man. There is the authoritative call to discipleship in 12:26: "If any one serves me, he must follow me" (cf. Jn. 12:49).

Perhaps most significant is the prominence in this passage of the fundamental Danielic Son of Man motif of judgment (4): "Now is the judgment of this world, now shall the ruler of this world be cast out" (12:31). Although it is said that the Son's purpose in coming was not to judge (12:47), yet judgment has come as a result of his coming (12:31) and the Son's word will be the criterion for this final judgment (12:48).

These Danielic Son of Man motifs (especially judgment) stand out more in the light of the essential theme of this passage--the humiliation and suffering of the Son (of Man), a theme not taken from Daniel at all but rather from Isa. 52:13ff. The Son of Man is to be lifted up in death on the cross (12:31, 32) for the benefit of many (as in Isa. 53:10-12), Jn. 12;24. It was for this purpose (to bring salvation) that the Son of Man came into the world (12:27, 47).⁴¹⁶ But it is significant that, even with these references to humiliation and death (based on Isa. 52:13ff.), the Danielic motifs of the exalted, authoritative Son of Man are still in evidence. This paradox is most dramatic in 12:32: "And I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself." Here is a reference to Jesus' death (cf. 12:33) directly connected with an authoritative statement, "I will draw all men to myself." It must be that both these themes (suffering and

authority) are deeply embedded in the tradition, and though superficially they appear contradictory, they were thought by the Evangelist to be an essential part of Jesus' own words concerning himself.

The final passage to be examined is Jn. 6, where three Son of Man logia appear (6:27, 53, 62). Since 6:25-71 is a eucharistic discourse growing out of the feeding of the five thousand (6:1-14), it may be treated as a unit in itself. In this context, which many believe to be to a large extent John's own statement of his sacramental theology, one nonetheless finds the same Danielic Son of Man motifs as were seen in other passages. There is the relationship (1) between the Father and the Son (Ancient of Days and Son of Man) best expressed in 6:57 (cf. 6:32, 33): "I live because of the Father." Here appear both aspects of submission (6:38, 39) and derived authority (6:37, 39, 40). The Son has been sent or commissioned (2) by his Father (6:29, 33, 44, 46, 57). Especially 6:33 ("The bread of God is that which comes down from heaven") seems to be parallel to Dan. 7:13, as does also 6:27 ("Son of Man . . . for on him has God the Father [= Ancient of Days] set his seal"). The picture is exactly that of Dan. 7:13 where the Son of Man is presented before the Ancient of Days.⁴¹⁷ The authority (3) of the Son of Man permeates this passage. The words spoken by Jesus are authoritative words, belief in which brings life (6:47), for his words are spirit and life (6:63), though unbelief finds them "hard" (6:60). Jesus makes many authoritative claims as well: to bring true manna (6:27) and in fact to be that true manna himself (6:35, 41,

48, 50, 51, 53). He claims authority to raise men up at the last day (6:40, 44, 54), thus introducing the resurrection motif (5) as well. Although an explicit reference to judgment is missing, it certainly is implied in the granting of life to some but not to others (6:35, 44, 47, 51, 53, 54, 56), and especially in the statement that he who does not partake of the flesh of the Son of Man has no life in him (6:53). Finally, references to the suffering for salvation (6) by the Son of Man (based on Isa. 52:13; cf. Dan. 7:21, 25) are not lacking. Suffering is implied in such statements as 6:51, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any one eats of this bread, he will live for ever; and the bread which I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh" (cf. 6:53, 54). The salvatory effects of this suffering are seen in the demands for belief in the Son of Man (6:29, 35, 36, 37, 40, 44, 47, 64) and the subsequent impartation of life to those who do believe (6:33, 40, 47, 50, 51, 54, 57). So even this passage, with its profound theological perspective, echoes the Danielic Son of Man tradition.

For the sake of completeness the two remaining Johannine sayings should be examined briefly. In Jn. 1:51, the motifs from Daniel are conspicuously absent. There is, however, the implied identification of the Son (of God) with the Son of Man, as has been seen in the other passages (especially Jn. 5). And there may be in the picture of the continuing fellowship of the Son of Man with the Father (seen in the ascending-descending of the angels) a parallel to the relationship between the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days. But Jn.

1:51 is built on Gen. 28, not on Dan. 7.

In Jn. 9:35 there is no parallel to the Ancient of Days-Son of Man relationship. The main Danielic Son of Man motifs are present nonetheless. The commission (2) of the Son of Man appears (Jn. 9:33, "a man from God"; 9:39 "I came into the world"). The authority (3) of the Son of Man is shown by his authoritative declaration of guilt (9:41). Judgment (4) is explicitly mentioned as the purpose of the Son of Man's coming (9:39). Belief in the Son of Man (6) is called for (9:35, 36, 38) leading to salvation (9:39, the blind seeing). There is no reference to the resurrection.

From the preceding discussion two important aspects of Johannine christological thought stand out. (1) The "Son" title is linked with the "Son of Man" title. In what way they are related is not spelled out by the Evangelist, but he feels free to apply Son of Man motifs readily to the Son, while developing the Son of Man in what appears at times to be a novel way (as, e.g., in Jn. 1:51, where there are no parallels in Daniel or the Synoptics). This observation leads to the question whether the "Son" title, though built on the "Son of Man", has tended to supplant "Son of Man". Is this in fact part of a movement away from the Son of Man title (if not from the essential ideas in the concept) in the early church's christology?⁴¹⁸

(2) John makes consistent use of motifs from Dan. 7, the basic, foundational O.T. passage. It may in fact be true that these motifs appear elsewhere, but since John points clearly to Dan. 7 (especially Jn. 5:27) it is most natural

to look to Daniel as the source of these ideas. Daniel 7 would have been readily at hand for the author of the Fourth Gospel, whereas the accessibility of other possibly contemporary Son of Man traditions is less certain. Daniel 7 provides the simplest explanation and an adequate background to understand the Johannine Son of Man. Thus Daniel 7, the principal O.T. Son of Man testimonium, has significantly influenced the "Son" concept in John's christology as well.

NOTES

¹Raymond Brown, The Gospel According to John, I, pp. 88-91; S. Schulz, Untersuchungen zur Menshensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium, p. 98. Schulz believes (pp. 99-103) John uses this logion to give a more realized eschatology than is found in the traditional Synoptic parousia predictions (Mk. 14:62; 13:26; Lk. 17:22; etc.).

One of the most recent discussions whether this is Johannine or not concludes that it is John's addition (Robert T. Fortna, The Gospel of Signs, pp. 228ff.).

²W. Bauer, Handbuch zum N. T.: Johannesevangelium, p. 26, notes that the ἀναβαίνειν-καταβαίνειν comes from Gen. 28:12; similarly R. Schnackenburg, Herder Commentary on John, in loc.; C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John, p. 156. R. Brown, John, following Bernard (I.C.C., vol. I, pp. 70, 71), notes that the connection has been made since Augustine but perhaps not before. Few would question the allusion, though see W. Michaelis, "Johannes 1, 51, Gn. 28, 12 und das Menschensohn-Problem", T. L. 85 (1960), 561-78. Cf. also Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 159-61, who questions that a midrashic interpretation of Gen. 28:12 has influenced Jn. 1:51.

³C. F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 115, 116, argues that Jn. 1:51 used the Hebrew text with יַד and substituted Jesus (as Jacob) for the ladder.

⁴Cf. Gen. R. 68:18, where R. Hiyya takes it of the ladder, but R. Yannai takes it of Jacob.

⁵The objection (Brown, John, I, pp. 90f.) which says it was Nathaniel who was the new Jacob (the true Israelite, v. 47) is not valid since a strict parallel of Nathaniel to Jacob is not maintained. Nathaniel serves to remind Jesus of the Jacob story which he then applies to himself.

⁶For Jacob the ladder meant contact with heaven, a revelation of God, but only a momentary one. For Jesus it was eternal, continuing, not a temporary event, but an expression of his relation to God the Father throughout his ministry.

⁷Cf. Isa. 64:1; Malachi 3:10 and the motif of "windows in heaven" (also II Kings 7:2, 19; Gen. 7:11); van Unnik, BZNW 30.

⁸W. H. Cadman, The Open Heaven (ed. by G. B. Caird; Oxford: Blackwell, 1969), p. 26, says the open heaven means "God revealed". Cf. Barrett, John, p. 155, on Mk. 1:10 as

parallel and the similar idea in Isa. 64:1, *ἐὰν ἀνοίξῃς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς*. The heavens are opened like "windows" both for judgment (Gen. 7:11) and for blessing (III Kings 7:2, 19: Mal. 3:10).

See the discussion below on the heavenly image (heavenly man) interpretation of this logion, which is based largely on Ezek. 1.

⁹See the discussions of Odeberg, Bultmann, and Lightfoot.

¹⁰Barrett, John, p. 156.

¹¹Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, in loc.: R. Jochan ben Zakkai alights from his donkey as a sign of respect when R. Eleazer ben Arakh expounds the Ezekiel vision. During the exposition fire falls from heaven encircling the trees of the field and a song of praise is sung in the words of Psa. 148:7ff. Then an angel speaks from the fire to say this was how the chariot vision took place. The account given by R. Johoshua is in terms of a bridal procession, which ascends Mt. Sinai to a heavenly bridal feast.

¹²Gilles Quispel, "Nathanael und der Menschensohn (Joh. 1.51)", Z.N.W. 47 (1956), 281-84, notes the allusion to Isa. 6:1 in Jn. 12:41: as Isaiah saw the glory of God, not God himself, on the throne, so John substituted Christ, who is seen in the heavenly throne room.

¹³Gen. R. 68:18: R. Hiyya takes *ל* of the ladder, but R. Yannai of Jacob. It is only the substitution of Jacob for the ladder, not the idea of a heavenly image, which is used. This substitution of the Son of Man for the ladder is based on the Hebrew text rather than the LXX, as noted above, though this does not necessarily mean John himself used the Hebrew (so Barrett, John, p. 156).

¹⁴Barrett, John, p. 156, cautions against making too much of these rabbinic interpretations. Though it is possible this rabbinic material reflects earlier tradition, it is not certain. The same applies to the rabbinic interpretation of Jacob as the ladder, though the heavenly image interpretation seems more to reflect later thought (Gnostic or semi-gnostic).

¹⁵Nor can any support be found in the Targumim which say God's shekinah was on the ladder.

¹⁶Lightfoot, John, p. 99, takes this as a description of the coming ministry in which the disciples will witness the unbroken communion of Jesus with the Father.

¹⁷See Augustine's interpretation of the ladder as typifying Christ, who is both in heaven and on earth (cf. Bernard, John, I, pp. 71, 72). Philo's interpretation of the ladder as the air, the abode of bodiless souls (Som. I, 133-5) or as the soul (146) is irrelevant and should not be used to indicate the *ἀέρος* (Barrett, John, p. 156). Cf. Bauer, Johannesevangelium, p. 26. E. M. Sidebottom, "The Son of Man as Man in the Fourth

Gospel", E.T. 68 (1957), pp. 231-5, 280-3, suggests (p. 231, n. 1) Philo makes his logos the place where heaven and earth are one, whereas John does this with Son of Man: "The Son of Man is the point of union between heaven and earth (Jn. 1:51); He is the gate of heaven of Jacob's vision (cf. 10:7)."

¹⁸Gen. R. 68:18.

¹⁹Cf., e.g., Arndt-Gingrich, Greek-English Lexicon.

²⁰This is true as well if the interpretation of E. C. Hoskyns (The Fourth Gospel; 2 vols., ed. by F. N. Davey; London: Faber & Faber, 1939), vol. I, p. 189, is accepted, that Jesus is the place of revelation, the place over which heaven opens (Mt. 3:16; Rev. 19:11), the gate of heaven (Gen. 28:10-17; Bethel--the house of God)--that is, the place of the stone in the Jacob story is taken over by Jesus (p. 110). The logion is thus a promise of insight to the disciples. So also J. Jeremias, "Die Berufung des Nathaniel", Angelos 8 (1928), 25; and I. Fritsch, ". . . videbitis . . . angelos Dei ascendentes et descendentes super Filium hominis" (Io. 1:51), Verbum Domini 37 (1959), 3-11. This view has been taken lately by R. Schnackenburg, John, I, in loc.; Brown, John, I, p. 91, besides saying the Son of Man establishes contact between heaven and earth, would add that he is the locus of divine glory.

²¹Cf. W. Bauer, Johannesevangelium, in loc.; but see Hoskyns, in loc. See the recent discussion of Wayne Meeks, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism," J.B.L. 91 (1972), 44-72.

²²Quispel, "Menschensohn", p. 283. ²³Brown, John, I, p. 89.

²⁴Ibid., I, p. 91: John says the angels are on the Son of Man, not on Nathaniel (yet cf. p. 90).

²⁵Bernard, John, I, p. 69, rules this out, saying it is Nathaniel who is typifying Jacob.

²⁶It seems more likely that there has been this shift from Nathaniel to Jesus, Son of Man, than that Son of Man should be understood corporately to include Nathaniel. There is no indication, in Brown's opinion (John, I, p. 90), that in John's Gospel the Son of Man is corporate.

²⁷Bultmann, Johannes, pp. 74f.; cf. Jn. 8:16, 29; 10:30; 16:3

²⁸As does, e.g., Cadman, who says (The Open Heaven, p. 30) that descent means his origin was in God and ascent means his coming under the guidance of the spirit to the knowledge of that origin and its implication for mankind.

Bernard, John, I, p. 69, attempts a detailed correspondence of the promise to Nathaniel and Jacob's vision.

²⁹Richard N. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity (London: S.C.M., 1970), p. 61. He notes this motif was prominent in second and third century Jewish Christianity. It is found prominently in the N.T. in the canonical Jewish Christian materials (p. 62); in Paul there is a suggestion of pre-Pauline tradition.

³⁰Thus the attempt to find suggestions of pre-existence in the account is needless. Nevertheless the suggestion of R. Schnackenburg, that the order shows that the standpoint is from earth, is worth noting. See Longenecker, Christology, pp. 58-62, for further discussion of this motif in the N.T.

³¹As Bultmann (John, p. 75) suggests; note the "pro-fusion" of christological titles for Jesus in this chapter: Lamb of God (v. 36), Messiah (v. 41), King of Israel (v. 49), Son of God (v. 49), and Son of Man (v. 51). Meeks, "Man from Heaven", p. 51, suggests that the prophecy of greater things in this context introduces the title Son of Man, ". . . thus completing the series of titles whose announcement is evidently one of the major functions of the whole section vss. 29-51."

³²Bultmann, John, p. 76. Bultmann suggests that Son of Man is being used in a "new" sense; may it not rather be in an "old" sense, as Jesus himself was believed to have used it?

³³Brown, John, I, p. 91; cf. R. H. Lightfoot, St. John's Gospel, p. 99; Bernard, John, I, in loc.

³⁴Barrett, John, p. 156. ³⁵Ibid., p. 155.

³⁶Bultmann, John, in loc.

³⁷A. Loisy, Le Quatrième Évangile, in loc.

³⁸Schnackenburg, John, I, pp. 318-21.

³⁹Quispel, "Menschensohn", 283-4.

⁴⁰Barrett, John, p. 156. ⁴¹Ibid., p. 61.

⁴²Stephen Smalley, "The Johannine Son of Man Sayings", N.T.S. 15 (1968-69), 278-301; the quotation is from p. 288.

⁴³R. J. McKelvey, The New Temple: the Church in the New Testament (Oxford: University Press, 1969), p. 77.

⁴⁴Ibid.; cf. Appendix A, pp. 188-92.

⁴⁵Burney, Aramaic Origin, p. 115.

⁴⁶But Schnackenburg, John, I, p. 533, has this to say: "We find ourselves unable to admit a corporate sense for "Son of Man" in 1:51. The role of the eschatological revealer is much rather an exclusive one, even when he acts as leader and saviour of the new "Israel"."

⁴⁷W. F. Howard, The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation, p. 235. See Jn. 4:22; 1:45, 49; 5:46f.; 6:14; etc.

⁴⁸C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, p. 246.

⁴⁹M.-J. Lagrange, Jean, p. 52, says: "On a dit très bien que « Fils de l'homme » n'a pas une importance spéciale dans le quatrième évangile; si donc Jean emploi ce term treize fois, c'est qu'il entend bien garder le contact avec la tradition des synoptiques; et si dans onze cas c'est Jésus lui-même qui prend ce titre, c'est une preuve que telle était bien la tradition, écho fidèle du fait."

⁵⁰Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 288.

⁵¹"There is a curiously close connection throughout the gospel between this title and the descent/ascent language." W. Meeks, "Man from Heaven", p. 52; cf. E. M. Sidebottom, "The Ascent and Descent of the Son of Man in the Gospel of John", A. T. R. 2 (1957), 115-22.

⁵²But if the allusion to Prov. 30:4 is established, it should be noted that John is not working from the LXX. The verbs have different tenses from the LXX. But more significantly the word for spirit is different--the LXX has $\delta\psi\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$, whereas John is playing on the double meaning of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$. Here he is possibly working from the Hebrew $\pi\iota\tau$ which likewise had the double meaning and was capable of this word play.

⁵³It occurs nowhere else in the N.T.; cf. Bernard, John, I, p. 111. Descent is used of Christ in Eph. 4:9, 10 and I Thess. 4:16, but not in the sense of incarnation.

⁵⁴Barrett, John, pp. 177-8.

⁵⁵Lagrange, Saint Jean, in loc.; Bernard, John, I, p. 111.

⁵⁶C. H. Toy, Proverbs (I.C.C.); Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899), p. 521.

⁵⁷F.-M. Braun, Jean le Théologien: Les Grandes Traditions d'Israël et l'Accord des Ecritures selon le Quatrième Evangile, p. 14: "En fait, le Fils de l'homme du quatrième Evangile est plus proche de la Sagesse que du glorieux personnage apocalyptique: . . ."

⁵⁸Cf. as well J. H. Bernard in Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, II, p. 151.

⁵⁹Bernard, John, I, p. 111.

⁶⁰As Brown suggests (John, I, p. 132), noting the "strange timelessness or indifference to normal time sequence" in John which he tries to reckon with (and cf. Jn. 4:38). But Bernard, John, I, p. 111, says there is no reference to the ascension in this passage (cf. 6:62; 20:17).

⁶¹Bernard, John, I, p. 112. There is no reason the phrase should have been omitted if in the original: (1) the pre-existence doctrine is no different from the prologue, and (2) it does not add anything, but makes the argument more difficult to follow. If kept, the phrase means the Son of Man had a

timeless existence in heaven while yet on earth--which suggests later developments.

⁶²Barrett, John, p. 178.

⁶³Longenecker, Christology, p. 59: the first half of the motif underlies the prologue of John's Gospel, speaking as it does of pre-existence, divinity, and incarnation.

Theo Preiss, Le Fils de l'Homme: Etudes Theologiques et Religieuses, Vol. 28 (1953), No. 1, p. 12, takes it Jesus himself speaks of his pre-existence in Jn. 3:11-13 and connects it with the logos doctrine.

⁶⁴Preiss, ibid., p. 7, feels that the statement of Bousset (in Kyrios Jesus) that all of John's twelve uses of Son of Man are in the sense of Jewish apocalyptic, is "abusive". Preiss doubts this, since Son of Man appears only in Jesus' mouth and other titles do not appear in the words of Jesus. "Comme dans les Synoptiques il est bien plus simple et plus immediat d'admettre qu'il reproduit une tradition archaïque qui a survécu à travers la terminologie essentiellement christologique de l'Eglise du milieu johannique et de Jean lui-même."

⁶⁵Bernard, John, I, p. 112; the exclusive claim of the Son of Man may be a polemic against those in apocalyptic or merkabah circles to have special revelations because they had ascended to heaven (see Odeberg, Fourth Gospel, pp. 72, 89). Sidebottom, "Ascent and Descent", pp. 119-22, does not see a polemic.

⁶⁶An anti-Jewish polemic, most clearly detectable first in Jn. 3:11, is continued in the logion at 3:13 and later in 3:31-36 (see preceding note).

⁶⁷Bernard, John, I, p. 112.

⁶⁸Martin McNamara, The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), pp. 74-5.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 76.

⁷⁰That John may have had this Targumic understanding of Moses in mind is further suggested by his explicit mention of Moses in the following verses (3:14f.).

⁷¹The combining here of the Prov. 30:4 ascent-descent motif with the (not unrelated) Deut. 30:12 new Moses reference is paralleled in the way John combines in chapter 6 the new manna motif with the new prophet (Deut. 18:18) motif and with the descent (incarnation) as well.

⁷²Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 294: the "ascent" of the Son of Man balances the "descent" of the bread of God (6:33, 38).

⁷³Barrett, John, p. 250.

⁷⁴H. A. W. Meyer, Johannesevangelium, in loc.; E. A. Abbott, Diatesseraica VII, 221b.

⁷⁵Barrett, John, p. 250.

⁷⁶Bernard, John, I, p. 217. Cf. P. Beeckmann, L'Évangile selon Saint Jean (Bruges: Editions Ch. Beyaert, 1951), p. 158: "Jesus fait manifestement allusion à son Ascension et non pas, comme on l'a dit parfois, à son crucifiement."

⁷⁷Through the association of these ideas in context, not through the meaning of ἀναβαίνειν as such, there is ground for Smalley's view ("Johannine Son of Man", p. 294): "The 'ascent' of the Son of Man in John vi.62 implies, as we might expect, his vindicated exaltation after death (as in iii.13, which also cannot refer to glory without suffering)." The Jewish theology of suffering and vindication is relevant to this association of ideas. It appears that this theology has been made a part of the very meaning of John's ὑψοῦν (to be lifted up = to be exalted and to be crucified).

⁷⁸Meeks, "Man from Heaven", p. 58, concludes that ". . . wherever the motif occurs, it is in a context where the primary point of the story is the inability of men of 'this world', pre-eminently 'the Jews', to understand and accept Jesus;" and later ". . . in every instance the motif points to contrast, foreignness, divisions, judgment."

⁷⁹Barrett, John, p. 251.

⁸⁰Braun, Jean le Théologien, p. 149: "Sa venue en ce monde est une κατάβασις qui sera suivie d'une ἀνάβασις (III.13; cf. VI.62), . . ."

⁸¹Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 294.

⁸²This fact (that pre-existence is only implicit and undeveloped) renders improbable the view of Schulz (Untersuchungen, p. 118) that the evangelist has applied apocalyptic motifs to the earthly Jesus: if John took his themes for the Son of Man primarily from these sources which developed the theme much more fully, why has John left the theme undeveloped?

⁸³See the discussion by Tödt, Synoptic Tradition, pp. 284ff

⁸⁴See G. H. P. Thompson, "The Son of Man--Some Further Considerations", J. T. S. n. s. 12, pp. 203-6, who discusses ἐπι τῆς γῆς in Mk. 2:10 par. and concludes it implies a familiarity of the Jews with a heavenly Son of Man, in contrast to which Jesus claims authority on earth.

⁸⁵Another theme closely tied with the Son of Man in Jn. 3:13 and 6:62 is that of ζωὴ αἰώνιος. The result of believing on the Son of Man who brings spiritual knowledge (3:13) is eternal life; or put another way, the result of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man

(6:53), the Bread of Life who descended from heaven (6:38, 50, 51, 58) and will ascend there again (6:62), is the experience of life given by the spirit (6:63).

⁸⁶Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 288, notes that 1:51 contains a parallel prediction to the prediction of the ascension in 6:62 and 14:12, if one understands Son of Man as at the top of the ladder and not as the ladder. Even if this interpretation of Jn. 1:51 is not taken, a connection between 1:51 and 6:62 remains, however, in that the establishment of a connection between heaven and earth--the eternal and the historical--spoken of in 1:51 is confirmed when the Son of Man ascends where he was before (6:62) to sit at the right hand of God (Mk. 14:62) and intercedes for the "Son of Man" people of God on earth.

⁸⁷Cf. Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, I, p. 417: "Ebenso läßt sich nicht bezweifeln, daß der joh. Gedanke der „Erhöhung“ das syn. „Sitzen zur Rechten Gottes“ (vgl. Mk 10, 37 par; 14, 62par; Mt 25, 31; Apg. 2, 33f.; 5, 31; 7, 55f.) aufnimmt, aber nicht als zweiten, auf die „Erniedrigung“ am Kreuze folgenden Akt versteht, vielmehr schon die Kreuzigung selbst als „Erhöhung“ begreift (3, 14; 8, 28; 12, 32 34)."

⁸⁸It is significant that this logion speaks of "seeing" the Son of Man ascending. The word used here is θεωρέω (a Johannine word according to Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 294), "to look at, behold, be a spectator" (Arndt-Gingrich, Greek-English Lexicon, p. 360). The emphasis is more on the "spectating" than on the physical seeing (cf. βλέπω, ὀπτάνομαι and see the discussion of these in Jn. 1:51). Michaelis observes ("ὄραω, ἴδεν, βλέπω, ὀπτάνομαι, θεάομαι, θεωρέω" in TDNT, V, pp. 315-382, especially 361-4 on "Johannine seeing") that "θεωρεῖν does not here denote sense perception or eyewitness, but a spiritual perception of the offense which necessarily gives rise to debate and decision (the decision of faith)." Michaelis bases this view on an understanding of ἀναβαίνειν as referring to "ascent" by way of the cross, something perceived not seen.

⁸⁹Bernard, John, I, p. 216.

⁹⁰Bultmann, Joh., p. 341; so also Schulz, Untersuchungen, p. 117. Bultmann says: "Dann wird--so ist offenbar zu verstehen-- das Ärgernis erst recht groß sein!"

⁹¹Bauer, Johannes, p. 101; cf. how Lagrange, Jean, p. 187, attempts to reconcile this view with the presence of οὐ rather than ἀλλὰ in v. 62.

⁹²Barrett, John, p. 250; Westcott, John, p. 109.

⁹³Barrett, John, p. 250.

⁹⁴Ibid.: "It is impossible to say why John has left his sentence incomplete. The hypothesis is attractive that he did so in order to leave room for the twofold interpretation which he seems to have intended; but this could have been done equally well if he had written τὸ οὐ ἐὰν"

⁹⁵Unbelievers would not, of course, see his ascension, but, inasmuch as "ascension" refers to the Son of Man's vindication, it is the complete vindication of the Son of Man and of his words, just now found to be so scandalous, which will be even more scandalous to the unbelieving.

⁹⁶Schulz, Untersuchungen, p. 117.

⁹⁷Whether this saying is John's own composition (as Schulz says, Untersuchungen, p. 118) or not cannot be determined now.

⁹⁸See note 95.

⁹⁹Barrett, John, p. 251, noting the use of ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν as well as ὑποῦν with John's Son of Man, says: "These observations, particularly relevant in the present context, strongly reinforce the view that for John Son of Man means the heavenly Man who descends to the work of salvation and ascends to glory (and finally judgement)."

¹⁰⁰Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 294.

¹⁰¹Dodd, Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, p. 247. Cf. Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 294, who finds this collective, "adamic" interpretation of the Son of Man in essential conformity with Daniel 7, I Enoch, and Psalm 8-Hebrews 2.

¹⁰²Westcott, John, p. 53, notes that ". . . similar figurative references to the issue of the Lord's work in His Death are found in the Synoptic record: Matt. 9:14ff.; 10:38; Mark 8:34; Luke 14:27."

¹⁰³T. F. Glasson, Moses in the Fourth Gospel (London: SCM Press, 1963), p. 36, notes that in John often ". . . it is the Hebrew Bible which leads us to essential links and connexions." He suggests further (p. 38) that John intends the cross to be the greatest σημεῖον of all.

¹⁰⁴Dodd, Interpretation, p. 376. The MT uses ׀ ׀ ׀ , the LXX has ἔστησεν, and the Targumim use ׀ ׀ ׀ (Onkelos; Samaritan Targum has ׀ ׀ ׀).

¹⁰⁵H. Odeberg, The Fourth Gospel, p. 111, argues that John's apparently intentional omission of σημεῖον or ׀ ׀ from Num. 21:9 indicates that the primary meaning of ὑψωθῆναι is not σταυρωθῆναι. But this perhaps makes too much of the omission: Jn. 12:33 makes it clear enough that ὑψωθῆναι = σταυρωθῆναι. The omission may be due to, if anything, the fact that the brazen serpent became an idol and thus a scandal in later Jewish history (cf. II Kings 18:4).

Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 161, 163, feels that the δελ of the Synoptic passion tradition shows that here ὑποῦν means crucifixion.

¹⁰⁶Martin McNamara, Palestinian Targum, pp. 145-9.

¹⁰⁷Meeks, "Man from Heaven", p. 62, believes the pun is equally as possible in Greek as in the Semitic languages. though he admits to finding no sources antedating John which use it. The Greek evidence he does cite (n. 63) shows the use of a variety of verbs, not just $\psi\alpha\upsilon\omicron\nu$.

¹⁰⁸R.S.R. 3 (1912), pp. 587f.; and J.T.S. 20 (1919), p. 335.

¹⁰⁹E. A. Abbott, Diatessera VII, 2988 (23)a.

¹¹⁰J. T. S. 20 (1919), pp. 336-338. McNamara agrees that $\eta\pi\tau$ does not equal $\psi\alpha\upsilon\omicron\nu$ in the sense of "lift up."

¹¹¹So also Bonsirven, Biblica 30, p. 430 ($\chi\lambda\gamma\lambda\chi$).

¹¹²J.B.L. 51 (1932), 320-2.

¹¹³Levy does not mention it and Jastrow's citation is doubtful.

¹¹⁴Jastrow, Dictionary, in loc.; Levy, III, p. 537. See Zeb. 18b; Gett. 52b; Erub. 54b.

¹¹⁵An exact meaning may not be required for the pun.

¹¹⁶A close parallel to the Johannine use of $\psi\alpha\upsilon\omicron\nu$ is found in Gen. 40:13, 19 (which uses $\lambda'\omega\eta$ with $\omega\lambda\eta$ in v. 19; the Targum uses $\eta\tau\tau$ in v. 13 and $\eta\tau\eta$ in v. 19); noted by Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 295.

¹¹⁷G. Kittel, " $\eta\tau\eta$ = $\psi\alpha\upsilon\omicron\nu$ = gekreuzigt werden", Z.N.W. 35 (1936), pp. 282-5.

¹¹⁸Schlatter's objection (Der Evangelist Johannes, p. 96) is mainly geographical: "Ob dieses $\psi\alpha\upsilon\omicron\nu$ von $\eta\tau\eta$ = erhöht werden, das im nördlichen Syrisch für die Kreuzigung üblich war, abhängig war, bleibt ungewiß, da nicht feststeht, ob dieser Sprachgebrauch auch im Jerusalem befestigt war." But this objection seems to require a provenance for John which is not certainly established.

¹¹⁹Higgins, Son of Man, pp. 161-3; the use of $\sigma\epsilon\iota$ in the Synoptic passion sayings confirms the meaning of $\psi\alpha\upsilon\omicron\nu$ in John as meaning crucifixion.

¹²⁰Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, pp. 411ff. Contrast what is said by P. Gardner-Smith, Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels (Cambridge: University Press, 1938), p. 18: "The discourse to Nicodemus and the meditation thereon have so little in common with anything contained in the Synoptic Gospels that they hardly bear on the subject which we are discussing."

¹²¹Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, p. 419, notes in particular the messianic announcement of John the Baptist that one greater than himself was to come.

122 Ibid.

123 A. M. Hunter, According to John, p. 92; R. Brown, John, I, p. 146. Brown feels John has been influenced by the Servant of the Lord concept more than by the Synoptics.

124 Black, "'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", p. 7.

125 Ibid.

126 Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, I, p. 418; Dodd, Interpretation, pp. 376f.

127 Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, p. 418.

128 E. Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1961), p. 48, n.1; he notes as well the Odes of Solomon 41:12 where he who is humiliated will be justly exalted. In all the remaining occurrences in the N.T. (except possibly Mt. 11:23, the pronouncement of judgment on Capernaum for rejecting Christ: "And as for you, Capernaum, will you be exalted to the skies? No, brought down to the depths." NEB) exaltation and lowliness are spoken of together (Mt. 23:12; Lk. 1:52; 10:15; 14:11; 18:14; Acts 13:17, Israel raised up from bondage in Egypt; II Cor. 11:7; James 4:10; I Peter 5:6). The closeness of these two ideas is thus carried one step further when the humiliation and exaltation of Christ are identified as one act.

129 Black, "'Son of Man' Passion Sayings", p. 7.

130 Bernard, John, I, pp. 112-3. Cf. Loisy, Le Quatrième Évangile (Paris, 1921), p. 166.

131 Barrett, John, p. 178; similarly Braun, Jean le Théologien, III, p. 174.

132 Barrett, John, p. 178; cf. G. Ziegner, "Weisheitbuch und Johannesevangelium", Biblica 38 (1957), 396-418, 39 (1958), 37-60, who makes an interesting comparative study.

133 Howard, Fourth Gospel, p. 238: "The paradox which runs through the Gospel is that life comes only through death (xii.24f.)."

Barrett, John, p. 179, suggests that $\zeta\omega\eta\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in John retains some of its original eschatological connections, but that it is also a present gift of God: in this respect it may be the Johannine equivalent to the Kingdom of God in the Synoptics. Similarly Schlatter, Johannes, p. 95, and Bultmann, Johannesevangelium, p. 109, n. 2.

134 Meeks, "Man from Heaven", p. 63.

135 R. LeDeaut, Liturgie Juive et Nouveau Testament, pp. 55, 56, notes that in the Aramaic version the serpent is that of Gen. (cf. the singular word of Neophiti in Num. 21). Cf. the old serpent of Rev. 12:9; 20:2.

¹³⁶Barrett, John, p. 178.

¹³⁷Loisy, Le Quatrième Évangile, p. 166; cf. Braun, Jean le Théologien, III, p. 113.

¹³⁸Schlatter, Johannes, p. 96.

¹³⁹R. H. Lightfoot, St. John's Gospel, p. 118, regards this section as the evangelist's elaboration of the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus.

¹⁴⁰Bultmann, Johannesevangelium, p. 110.

¹⁴¹E. D. Freed, "The Son of Man in the Fourth Gospel," J. B. L. 86 (1967), pp. 402-9, suggests that Son of Man is just a variant on "Son" in this passage (p. 404) and indeed that the Son of Man has no independent significance in John at all. While it is true that John uses the two christological terms ("Son" and "Son of Man") closely here (see the Appended Note at the end of this chapter), a subtle difference in meaning is discernible. The fact that a study of the Son of Man in John (as that of Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, I, Exkurs 5) finds a consistent and intelligible concept in John argues in favor of its having a special meaning rather than its being a stylistic variation. As noted by Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 281, n. 1, Freed's approach is purely literary.

¹⁴²The emphasis on the uniqueness of the Son implies a criticism of Nicodemus' suggestion that Jesus was just another teacher from God in the series of men sent from God; rather Jesus is one of a kind, God's Unique Son (Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, I, p. 220).

¹⁴³Lagrange's suggestion (Jean, p. 81), that John chose Ἰσοῦν not because the exaltation of Jesus followed the passion but because the cross is already for Jesus an exaltation, is relevant in that it points up the joining of soteriology (the cross) with christology (the exaltation).

¹⁴⁴Bernard, John, II, p. 303. Wikenhauser is in agreement with Bernard, whereas Zahn, Johannesevangelium, in loc., and Torrey, Gospels, take it only of exaltation. See further on the double meaning of Ἰσοῦν Chr. E. Luthardt, Das johanneische Evangelium nach seiner Eigentümlichkeit geschildert und erklärt (Nürnberg: 1852), p. 70; J. E. Belser, Das Evangelium des Johannes übersetzt und erklärt (Freiburg: 1905); G. H. C. MacGregor, John, in loc.; E. von Dobschutz, "Zum charakter des 4. Evangelium", Z.N.W. 28 (1929), 161-77, see p. 162; B. W. Bacon, The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate (London: 1910), p. 324; W. Bauer, Wörterbuch, p. 1544; E. Schweizer, "Das johannische Zeugnis vom Herrenmahl", Evangelische Theologie 12 (1953), 341-63 (p. 357); Bultmann, Johannesevangelium, in loc.

¹⁴⁵Schlatter, Johannes, p. 144, makes the point that the higher meaning is seen not in the cross but through the cross.

¹⁴⁶Barrett, John, p. 284.

¹⁴⁷S. Schulz, Untersuchungen, p. 118, n. 8, takes the double meaning of $\delta\psi\omicron\upsilon\nu$, especially the reference to Jesus' crucifixion, as evidence that the Evangelist has formulated the logion. This he seeks to confirm by comparison with Jn. 12:23. But Schulz's argument is inadequate and unconvincing. The Aramaic origin of the pun on $\delta\psi\omicron\upsilon\nu$ is against its having been invented by John. The very fact that it occurs on the lips of Jesus need not rule out a prophecy of his death either (see Jeremias, "παῖς Θεοῦ", p. 713).

¹⁴⁸Braun, Jean le Théologien, III, p. 177, notes how this prediction of belief (which it is since know and believe are equivalent in John) is in contrast to v. 24.

¹⁴⁹Brown, John, I, p. 350, says it is with typical Johannine misunderstanding that the Jews (v. 25) seek a predicate to the "I am".

¹⁵⁰Bernard, John, II, p. 303.

¹⁵¹Brown, John, I, p. 348; cf. his Appendix IV, pp. 533ff.

¹⁵²Bernard, John, II, p. 303.

¹⁵³Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 295: "As often in the tradition of the Evangelists, the title Son of Man is used to point those with eyes to see to the real nature of Jesus (e.g., Mark vii.27-31 par.; cf. John xii.34); and this is intensified by the use of $\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$." In view of this, he regards it erroneous to argue for the Johannine $\epsilon\rho\omega\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ as secondary (as does Higgins, Historicity of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 73f.).

¹⁵⁴Brown, John, I, 348 (italics added).

¹⁵⁵Ibid.; Braun, Jean le Théologien, III, p. 178, agrees.

¹⁵⁶Braun, Jean le Théologien, III, pp. 177-8.

¹⁵⁷Lagrange, Jean, p. 239.

¹⁵⁸Brown, John, I, p. 348. He (with Bernard, John, II, p. 303) notes that Ignatius writes (Magn. 7:2) in terms reminiscent of this verse: $\delta\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$.

¹⁵⁹Noted by Bernard, John, I, p. 238. ¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹H. Strathmann, Johannes, p. 148, seems to think John is correcting the cry of dereliction (Mk. 15:34; Mt. 27:46) which was out of keeping with the Johannine "Christusbild". Barrett, John, p. 284, on the other hand, thinks it unlikely that John is correcting or consciously contradicting Mk. 15:34.

¹⁶²Schlatter, Johannes, p. 144.

¹⁶³Lagrange, Jean, p. 239, thinks the "you" refers to the Jews who, after lifting up Jesus on the cross (which is a glorious elevation for him and the signal of his return on high, 3:14), will comprehend that Jesus was who he claimed and that he was sent to save them (cf. v. 24). They will understand this when they have been annihilated as a people and dispersed among the Gentiles, who are eager to believe in Jesus. (Lagrange follows Cyril of Alexandria) Similarly Schlatter, Johannes, p. 144, and Strathmann, Johannes, p. 148. Cf. Barrett, John, p. 284, who says John is addressing his readers. Braun, Jean le Théologien, III, p. 178, says that this prophecy of insight into Jesus' true nature is not intended by the Evangelist (who shows the unbelief of the Jews, and the judgment on them, 9:39-41; 12:40) to apply to all. Some of those who hear will believe, but the others will seek him when it is too late and they will not find him (7:34, 36; 8:21; cf. 12:35).

¹⁶⁴Noted by Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 295, who (probably mistakenly) says that ἐξουσία is here also.

¹⁶⁵Contra Schulz, Untersuchungen.

¹⁶⁶Moule, "From Defendant to Judge", pp. 40-53.

¹⁶⁷Cf. Schulz, Untersuchungen, p. 118.

¹⁶⁸Bernard, John, II, p. 303.

¹⁶⁹Braun, Jean le Théologien, III, p. 177. ¹⁷⁰Ibid.

¹⁷¹Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, Exkurs 5, pp. 411-32.

¹⁷²Barrett, John, p. 284.

¹⁷³Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man Sayings", p. 295.

¹⁷⁴Cf. the parallel in Mt. 16:13, which has "Son of Man".

¹⁷⁵Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, Exkurs 5, pp. 411ff.

¹⁷⁶Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 295, asks: "Could there even be in this saying a reflection of the apparent distinction drawn between Jesus and the Son of Man in Mark viii.38 par., but now including the solution to the riddle of the Son of Man's identity?"

¹⁷⁷Ibid.

¹⁷⁸Moule, "From Defendant to Judge", pp. 40-53. Notice the similarity of this situation to that in Mk. 14, actually in a court, which gives rise to Mk. 14:62: "You will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of God and coming with the clouds of heaven." (NEB) Cf. Schlatter, Johannes, p. 145.

¹⁷⁹W. Grossouw, "La glorification du Christ", in L'Évangile de Jean, by M.-E. Boismard et al. (Recherches Bibliques, III; Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958), p. 136, says it is not fortuitous that these Greeks come to Philip.

¹⁸⁰Barrett, John, p. 351, may imply this when he says the Greeks speak as representatives of the Gentile church to which John and his readers belong.

¹⁸¹Brown, John, I, 470. If John used a narrative source, as has been suggested recently most forcefully by R. T. Fortna, The Gospel of Signs (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), this brief incident with the Greeks may have been drawn from such a source (see also Bultmann, Johannes-evangelium, pp. 321f.).

For an interesting, if highly speculative, attempt to find "historical probabilities" behind the "symbolism" of this passage, see W. E. Moore, "Sir, We Would See Jesus--Was This an Occasion of temptation?" S.J.T. 20 (1967), 75-93. Moore is dependent on an article by H. Preisker ("Zum Charakter des Johannesevangelium", in Luther, Kant, Schleiermacher in ihrer Bedeutung für den Protestantismus, 379-93) in which Preisker finds three Johannine passages parallel to the Synoptic tradition but with their "mythical setting" replaced by an "historical setting".

¹⁸²Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 296.

¹⁸³Arndt-Gingrich, Lexicon, "εἶδον", #6, p. 220; cf. Brown, John, I, p. 466.

¹⁸⁴Dodd, Interpretation, p. 371, n. 1: it is a "side glance at the 'seeing' which is a vision of God and eternal life (cf. 6:40, though the verb is different)."

¹⁸⁵Lagrange, Jean, pp. 328-9.

¹⁸⁶Moore, "Sir, We Would See Jesus", p. 80.

¹⁸⁷Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 296.

¹⁸⁸Ibid.; Dodd, Interpretation, pp. 371-2; notice Mt. 26:18 and Mk. 14:41, the hour approaches (but is not yet), then the hour has come. Earlier, in Mt. 26:18 prior to the Last Supper, the phrase appeared, ὁ καιρὸς μου ἔγγυς ἐστίν.

¹⁸⁹A. George, "«L'Heure» de Jean XVII", R.B. 61 (1954), 392-7.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., p. 394.

¹⁹¹Bernard, John, II, p. 432.

¹⁹²Ibid., pp. 432-3. Bernard notes that possibly excepting here in 12:23 the phrase "the hour has come" is used only of the hour immediately preceding the betrayal of Jesus. The phrase is not used lightly, and it means more than just "the time is near." The verb is always first, making the phrase "strikingly and austere impressive and final."

¹⁹³Brown, John, I, p. 466; Bernard, John, II, pp. 429ff.; Barrett, John, p. 350.

¹⁹⁴Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 296.

¹⁹⁵Δόξα occurs 7 times in Matthew (excluding 6:13, an appendage to the Lord's Prayer), 3 times in Mark, and 13 times in Luke (including 2 times in Q and 2 times in all 3 Synoptics). But it occurs 18 times in John (which has 94 pages of Greek text in comparison to Luke's 121). Δοξάζω occurs 4 times in Matthew, once in Mark and 9 times in Luke (including once in all three Synoptics); cf. 22 times in John (including disputed reading in 13:32a).

¹⁹⁶G. Kittel and G. van Rad, "δοκέω", "δοξάζω", etc., T.D.N.T. II, pp. 232-53; see p. 247; cf. Caird, "The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel", N.T.S. 15 (1968-69), p. 267.

¹⁹⁷Kittel, "δοξάζω", p. 237.

¹⁹⁸van Rad, "δοξάζω", p. 239.

¹⁹⁹Kittel, "δοξάζω", p. 241. ²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 245.

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 248.

²⁰²Ibid., p. 248; he notes the parallel cited by A. Schlatter, Johannesevangelium, pp. 192f., 219, 247.

²⁰³Kittel, "δοξάζω", p. 241.

²⁰⁴Barrett, John, p. 352. See Brown, John, I, pp. 472-3, who questions Loisy's suggestion (Le Quatrième Évangile, p. 371) that John borrowed from Paul; he favors the suggestion that Paul drew from oral tradition of Jesus' parables; cf. D. M. Stanley, C.B.Q. 23 (1961), 26-39, and Macgregor, G. H. C. (The Gospel of John [Moffatt Commentaries; New York: Doubleday, 1929]), p. 264. W. Grossouw, "La Glorification du Christ", p. 136, takes the glorification to refer to Jesus' death by which God glorifies his name. Kittel, "δοξάζω", p. 249, considers the cross the turning point and the entry into δόξα. The emphasis of dying wheat producing fruit (12:23f.) is Johannine. What Jesus does in his death is the process by which God brings glory in him. "It is an acknowledgement of the divine δόξα . . . and it carries with it certainty of participation in the same δόξα: ὁ Θεὸς δοξάζει αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ (vs. 32). In this sense to have regard to the passion is to see δόξα even in the earthly life of Jesus."

205 Macgregor, John, p. 264, points out that Jesus does receive glory in the coming of the Greeks, but his glory is seen more profoundly in the cross.

206 Barrett, John, p. 352.

207 Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 295.

208 E. M. Sidebottom, "Son of Man as Man in the Fourth Gospel", E.T. 68 (1956-57), 231-5, 280-3. He suggests (p. 234) the importance of Isa. 49:3 in understanding John's Son of Man.

209 Noted by Brown, John, I, p. 467. Luke's $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\nu \upsilon\psi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ is a variation on Mark's (11:10; cf. Mt. 21:9) $\eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \upsilon\psi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$.

210 Brown, John, I, p. 470. 211 Kittel, " $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ ", p. 248.

212 Brown, John, I, p. 467; cf. Deut. 21:15; Mt. 6:24; Lk. 14:26.

213 For example, the equation of $\upsilon\psi\omega\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ and $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omega\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ and the use of the "hour" theme.

214 Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 296.

215 C. F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 75f.; cf. Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 296.

216 Barrett, John, p. 342; could this partiality be Semitic?

217 Bernard, John, II, p. 433

218 Black, Aramaic Approach, p. 79.

219 R. Brown, "John and the Synoptic Gospels: A Comparison", Essay XI, pp. 192-8 (deals with this passage) in New Testament Essays (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1965).

220 The parallel goes further in the statement of the $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{o}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ at hand (ibid., pp. 196-7).

221 Barrett, John, p. 354, gives the best suggestion why John put his "agony scene" here. It was not that John thought this struggle of Jesus would be out of place in chapter 17; rather John is summarizing Jesus' ministry as one of lowly service and death. John shows "God's strength made perfect in weakness", combining the humiliation and the glory of the earthly Jesus seen supremely in the cross.

222 Brown, John, I, pp. 470-1.

223 Cf. also E. C. Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, I, pp. 496-7, who says Jn. 12:27-36 does not just echo Mk. 14:33 but

refers even more directly to the agony of the Servant of God described in Psa. 42:5, 6; 55:4, 5 (LXX; cf. Lam. 2:11). "The overcoming of this trembling in the face of death is set in the context of complete surrender to and obedience of the will of the Father."

He points out as well that "In these two verses (vv. 25, 26), the author reproduces and, to some extent (see Lagrange), clarifies for his readers the teaching of Jesus scattered about in all the various strata of the Synoptic tradition--in Mark (Mark viii.35-8; ix.35, x.42-5); in Q (Mt. x.39; Lk. xvii.33); in special Matthew (Matt. xxv.31-36); in special Luke (Luke xiv. 25-35; containing the word hate; xvii.7-10; xxii.24-34).

²²⁴Brown, John, I, p. 467.

²²⁵Brown, "John and the Synoptic Gospels", p. 196.

²²⁶Brown, John, I, p. 471.

²²⁷Cf. Bernard, John, II, p. 436, who suggests there were recurring crises of spiritual decision in Jesus' life.

²²⁸Some would question this: cf. Bultmann, Johannes-evangelium, p. 327, n. 7; History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 267.

²²⁹Dodd, Interpretation, p. 207, n. 2.

²³⁰W. Grossouw, "La Glorification du Christ", p. 136.

²³¹Bernard, John, II, p. 439, simply notes Lk. 22:43 but does not feel it really corresponds to John's voice from heaven.

²³²Barrett, John, p. 355; cf. also Brown, John, I, p. 471, who calls the comparison "very tenuous".

²³³Dodd, Interpretation, p. 207, n. 2. If then John has no place for a transfiguration, it is needless (from the Johannine point of view) to discuss the transfiguration as an "eschatological anticipation" (Kittel, "Σόζω", p. 249). Or if John's equivalent "transfiguration" is the glory of God seen in Jesus' death, this is a reduced eschatology which needs no anticipation. Cf. E. Lohmeyer, "Die Verklärung Jesu nach dem Markusevangelium", Z.N.W. 21 (1922), pp. 183ff., where he analyzes the transfiguration as an "eschatological theophany" and gives a Hellenistic interpretation to the eschatological Σόζω.

²³⁴Sidebottom, "Son of Man as Man in the Fourth Gospel", p. 283.

²³⁵Ibid.; he quotes Sidney Cave, Doctrine of the Person

of Christ, p. 61: "It is a misrepresentation of the facts to describe this Gospel's portrait of Jesus as a mere Christophany. Faithfully this Gospel narrates His human weakness, His weariness at the well, His sorrow and vexation at Lazarus' death, and His thirst upon the cross. Nor is it true to say that the evangelist depicts Jesus as immune from inner conflict, praying only for didactic purposes, Himself immune from human need. His deep emotion at the visit of the Greeks is an indication of the strain with which He accepted the burden of the Cross. His soul was troubled, and it was by prayer that He gained the calm courage needed to endure the cross and so to consummate His work and do the Father's will (12:23-27). Much as in this Gospel His power is emphasized, it is not independent power. The signs He works are those in answer to His prayers to God (e.g., 11:41). Of Himself, He can do nothing; His works are those which the Father gave Him to do (5:19, 36).

236 Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, I, p. 496.

237 It is not really an exception to the observation that only Jesus uses the title Son of Man in the Gospels, since the crowd is simply quoting words of Jesus which they had not understood.

238 Barrett, John, p. 356, says the phrase underlines both the ideas of death on the cross and of ascension. The reference to the glorious exaltation is established by the frequent mention in the context (12:23, 28) of $\delta\omicron\zeta\lambda$.

239 There are actually two contradictions in this verse: lifting up (in crucifixion) is opposed to remaining forever, and Son of Man (apparently) is opposed to $\delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

240 Brown, John, I, 479.

241 $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon$ is taken by Barrett, John, p. 356, in its widest usage to mean the O.T. Scriptures. Barrett thinks that it is the common tradition of the glorious Messiah rather than any particular O.T. passage which the crowd has in mind, since no O.T. passage is mentioned (yet cf. Psa, 110:4; Isa. 9:6).

242 Barrett, John, p. 356.

243 F.-M. Braun, Jean le Théologien, III, p. 175: "La crucifixion et la glorification de Jésus se touchent de si près qu'elles paraissent se confondre."

244 Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 299.

245 Braun, Jean le Théologien, III, p. 175: "Quand bien même elle préfigurerait l'exaltation glorieuse à laquelle les fidèles auront part, le sens littéral présente avant tout Jésus élevé sur la Croix."

- 246 So Barrett, John, p. 356.
- 247 M. Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings in the Gospel Tradition", Z.N.W. 60 (1969), p. 6.
- 248 See especially Black, ibid.; cf. Moule, "The Influence of Circumstances on the Use of Christological Terms", J.T.S., n.s. 10 (1959), 247-63, and idem, "From Defendant to Judge", pp. 40-53; Dodd, Interpretation, pp. 242ff.; Brown, John, pp. 146; Barrett, John, in loc.; A. M. Hunter, John, in loc.
- 249 The United Bible Societies' edition puts this reading in the text but gives it a low rating for certainty {D}.
- 250 The same reading reversed, ἐλάκυσω πάντα, is supported by D, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, et al.
- 251 Bernard, John, II, p. 442.
- 252 Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, § 138; Brown, John, I, p. 468.
- 253 Bernard, John, I, p. 204; Brown, John, I, p. 271; Barrett, John, p. 245.
- 254 Against the contention of some commentators that the LXX mistranslates the MT, Brown (John, I, p. 271) cites A. Feuillet, V.T. 12 (1962), pp. 122-4.
- 255 Barrett, John, p. 245; cf. Brown, John, I, p. 271.
- 256 Quoted by Brown, John, I, p. 271.
- 257 Hugo Oepke, "ἔλακω", T.D.N.T. II, pp. 503-4; also noted by Barrett, John, p. 245.
- 258 I Macc. 10:82, e.g., reads, "At that point [when the enemy cavalry was weary] Simon led out [ἐλάκυσεν] his troops and joined battle with the enemy phalanx, now that the cavalry was exhausted." (NEB).
- 259 Bernard, John, I, p. 204.
- 260 Resp., V, 458d, noted by Oepke, "ἔλακω", p. 503.
- 261 Brown, John, I, p. 277. 262 Ibid., p. 271.
- 263 Barrett, John, p. 356.
- 264 Bernard, John, I, p. 204. Cf. Jn. 4:23 (the Father seeks genuine worshippers); 6:44 (no one can come unless the Father draws him); and 3:27.
- 265 Oepke, "ἔλακω", p. 503.

²⁶⁶Brown's comments (John, I, p. 277) are relevant: "This internal moving of the heart by the Father will enable them to believe in the Son and thus possess eternal life." Cf. Bernard, John, II, p. 442; and Lagrange, Jean, p. 335: "C'est donc bien sa mort, et la pensée de cette mort, qui ne cessera d'exercer une attraction puissante sur les hommes pour les sauver, les conduire où sera le vainqueur."

²⁶⁷Lagrange, Jean, p. 335: "On aurait pu croire que par ὑψοῦν Jésus n'entendait que son exaltation glorieuse; aussi l'évangéliste a-t-il soin de dire que ce terme devait s'entendre de la morte de la croix; cf. xviii.32."

²⁶⁸Ibid.

²⁶⁹Bultmann, Johannesevangelium, p. 269, joins 12:34 to 8:28 (which has no Sei however). J.-G. Gourbillon, "La parabole du serpent d'airain", R.B. 51 (1942), pp. 213-26, suggests 3:13 is the antecedent of 12:34 and even tries to fit 3:14-21 between 12:31 and 12:32, since the light-darkness motif of 12:35, 36 would follow quite well on 3:19-21 and the judgment theme of 3:17-19 would go with 12:31. Then 3:14 would be followed smoothly by 12:32. Cf. Brown, John, I, p.478.

²⁷⁰Brown, John, I, pp. 53, 478.

²⁷¹Brown thinks this expectation, brought out by the crowd in 12:34 using the title "Messiah", reinforces the view that the triumphal entry into Jerusalem should be interpreted as a nationalistic messianic gesture.

²⁷²Bernard, John, II, p. 443.

²⁷³Barrett, John, p. 357, says it cannot be inferred that the Son of Man was obscure to John. Neither does John shed light on contemporary Jewish usage of the title as this was not his intention.

²⁷⁴See, e.g., Sjöberg, Der verborgene Menschensohn in den Evangelien, pp. 1, 40, 46f.

²⁷⁵Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 299.

²⁷⁶See, e.g., R. Schnackenburg, Johannesevangelium, pp. 41ff., and the discussion above of Jn. 3:14.

²⁷⁷Bernard, John, II, p. 442.

²⁷⁸Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 297.

²⁷⁹Ibid., p. 298.

²⁸⁰Brown, John, I, pp. 478-9.

281 The suggestion of J. N. D. Sanders and B. A. Mastin, The Gospel According to St. John (Harper's Commentaries; New York: Harper, 1968), in loc., that in 13:31 glorification refers to the feet washing, cannot be accepted except in the sense that the footwashing rite symbolized Jesus' lowly service which was consummated in his death. John's primary reference must be to Jesus' death.

282 So Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes, p. 402.

283 Bernard, John, II, p. 432, and Bultmann, Johannes, p. 402; contrast v. 33 where Jesus speaks (according to Bultmann) sub specie hominis, ΤΕΚΝΙΩΝ, ἔτι μικρὸν μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶμι.

284 Apparently this is how Barrett takes it; John, p. 375.

285 This is probably indicated by the introduction ὅτε οὐδὲ ἐξῆλθεν.

286 Cf. § 333 of Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, (p. 171), on the gnomic and futuristic aorist: "An act which is valid for all time can be expressed by the aorist, . . . because (originally at least) the author had a specific case in mind in which the act had been realized." The specific act here is the departure of Judas to betray Jesus and bring about his glorification by death. Or the aorist could be taken as an ingressive (inceptive) aorist, § 331, the betrayal by Judas being the act which begins the process of Jesus' glorification.

287 Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 297. 288 Ibid.

289 This further suggests to Smalley a possible early authentic tradition.

290 Caird, "The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel", p. 266.

291 See G. Kittel and G. van Rad, "δόξα", etc., in T.D.N.T. II, pp. 232-53; cf. Caird, "The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel", p. 267.

292 Caird, "The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel", pp. 267-8.

293 Ibid., pp. 268-9.

294 Ibid., p. 269. Caird's discussion of this verse (17:1) is worth noting. The difficulty is why Jesus should ask the Father for glory, when John presents the Logos as always having shared the glory of God (17:5) now revealed in the earthly life of Jesus (Jn. 1:14; 2:11, etc.). Caird concludes that Jesus cannot be praying for glory for himself. "The only possibility is that he prays as the Son of Man, as the inclusive representative one (xvii.21-2)." (p. 270)

²⁹⁵Caird, "The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel," pp. 270-1. Both the true passive, which he renders, "through him God is held in honor" by men, and the causative passive, rendered, "God has won honor for himself in him," would appear to carry the meaning that at the point of Jesus' death men were holding God in high esteem (true passive) or that God has won their acknowledgement of his supreme majesty. Neither of these fit John's teaching, for at the point when they crucified Jesus men were far from esteeming God or acknowledging his glory.

²⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 271-3. The last part of his article (pp. 273-7) is concerned with the presentation of evidence from the LXX that his interpretation of $\sigma\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ in 13:31 is a possible meaning for this verb.

²⁹⁷See Schulz, Untersuchungen.

²⁹⁸Ibid., p. 120. ²⁹⁹Ibid., p. 121.

³⁰⁰Black, "The 'Son of Man' in the Old Biblical Literature", p. 11.

³⁰¹Barrett, John, p. 376.

³⁰²Bernard, John, II, p. 525.

³⁰³Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes, p. 401, n. 4, suggests homoioteleuton.

³⁰⁴Lagrange, Jean, p. 365. ³⁰⁵Ibid., p. 366.

³⁰⁶It could refer either to Jesus' impending passion, to his exaltation after his death, or to a more distant glorification at his parousia.

³⁰⁷Barrett, John, p. 376.

³⁰⁸Barrett's suggestion (ibid.) is that John has slipped out of the setting of his narrative and into his own viewpoint.

³⁰⁹Barrett, John, p. 376; see Lagrange, Jean, p. 366, on arguments for preferring $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ over $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$.

³¹⁰Bernard, John, II, p. 525; Lagrange, Jean, p. 366. The idea is the same as in 17:5; he notes (as does Lagrange, Jean, p. 366) as well Acts 3:13; cf. also Barrett, John, p. 375.

³¹¹Barrett, John, p. 376. ³¹²Bernard, John, II, p. 525.

³¹³Barrett, John, p. 376.

³¹⁴Brown notes (John, I, p. 220) that John's Father-Son terminology is missing from 26-30, except for v. 26; this is one of the differences he notices in the two forms of the discourse

which he finds in this section.

It is true that there is a notable shift from the third person Father-Son statements in 19-23 to the first person of v. 24. But this need not be thought unnatural or contrived. It seems this is the way a speaker might move from the general to the particular, the third person to the first. Nevertheless this shift could be, as Bultmann suggests (Das Evangelium des Johannes, p. 193), the result of the combination of two sources or of John's own exegesis of a traditional saying.

³¹⁵If this is so, it means that the argument of Freed that Son of Man has no independent significance in John's Gospel is in error (cf. E. D. Freed, "The Son of Man in the Fourth Gospel", J.B.L. 86 (1967), pp. 402-9). While it is true that christological titles in John are often interchangeable, they are not identical; each has a distinctive idea attached to it, even if in the main it resembles other titles.

³¹⁶Schulz, Untersuchungen, pp. 111-4.

³¹⁷Ibid., pp. 109-111. ³¹⁸Not noted by Schulz.

³¹⁹Schulz, Untersuchungen, pp. 111f. ³²⁰Ibid., p. 113.

³²¹See Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, II, p. 466, where $\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha = \text{פְּתָּוּת וְדִּוְרָן}$ Dt. 16:18; Targum Onkelos $\text{לְוִיָּוֶת וְדִּוְרָן}$.

³²²Macgregor, John, p. 179. Cf. also Schulz, Untersuchungen, p. 113.

³²³It is interesting that $\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is for John a synonym for condemnation, since only the unjust are resurrected to judgment (v. 29) and those who believe on Jesus will not come to judgment (v. 24).

³²⁴Cf. Barrett, John, p. 219, who says there is no reason for regarding vv. 28f. as an addition to an original Johannine discourse unless one finds it impossible John should have thought of judgment and resurrection as both present and future. These temporal aspects are one of the reasons Brown (John, I, p. 220) divides the discourse into two forms.

³²⁵Ginsberg, "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant", pp. 400-4.

³²⁶Barrett, John, p. 218, suggests John may be returning to the wording of Dan. 7:13; Brown, John, I, p. 220, also feels Dan. 7:13 is reflected here.

³²⁷The mention of Son of Man and judgment should call to the mind of any biblically educated reader Dan. 7. As for the anarthrous construction, this is one of only four times it occurs in the N.T., and significantly all four places have a decidedly O.T. basis. Hebrew 2:6 quotes Psa. 8:5 (which is anarthrous in

the LXX; the MT has בן אדם [1]. Revelation 14:14 is clearly built on Dan. 7:13 and probably Rev. 1:13 is as well.

328 M.-J. Lagrange, Jean, p. 148; cf. Macgregor, John, p. 179, who distinguishes between this anarthrous Son of Man and the articular Son of Man.

329 Lagrange, Jean, p. 148. He rejects the explanation of Cyril that Jesus received power and life because he did not have them, since he was a man.

330 Barrett, John, p. 218; he thinks the title is used here "qualitatively" (see Moulton's Grammar, II, p. 441).

331 Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, §259, especially (3).

332 Ibid.

333 Ibid., §252, pp. 131f. This may nullify the view of Barrett, John, p. 218, following Schlatter, Johannes, p. 152, that the articles were unnecessary because it was clear in the context that this Son of Man is unique. But one might point to other passages where the uniqueness of the Son of Man is equally clear but where the articles are used nonetheless (cf. e.g., Mk. 2:10, 28; the whole group of Parousia sayings in fact).

The noun ὁ γνωστός is used with the article to mean (1) "the known, particular, previously mentioned man" or (2) man as a class. The omission of the article occurs when an unknown individual is introduced (but not in a generic sense). More generally, however, the omission of the article with a noun occurs sometimes as a survival of an earlier anarthrous usage, especially in formulae, set phrases, titles, salutations, in definitions, lists, closely related pairs of substantives, and in generic usage. Further exceptions are Semitisms. Blass-Debrunner, Grammar, §252.

334 With no article ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ occurs in Jn. 10:36; 19:7; Mt. 14:33; 27:43, 54; Lk. 1:35; Mk. 1:1 (?); and Rom. 1:4. ὁ υἱὸς μου (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ) occurs in Mt. 2:15; 3:17; 17:5; Mk. 1:11; 9:7; Lk. 3:22; 9:35; II Pet. 1:17. ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ is found in Rom. 1:3, 9; 5:10; 8:3, 29, 32 (ἰδίου); I Cor. 1:9; Gal. 1:16; 4:6; I Thes. 1:10; I Jn. 1:3, 7; 3:23; 4:9, 10; 5:9, 10, 11, 20. Again ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ is found in Mt. 4:3, 6; 8:29; 27:40; Mk. 5:7; Lk. 4:3, 9; 8:28; Jn. 3:18; 9:35 (mg.); 10:36. The article occurs with both nouns about 27 times. This totals then 9 (possibly 10, Mk. 1:1) anarthrous usages and 66 (67, Jn. 9:35 mg.) with at least one article.

335 Macgregor, John, in loc.; cf. C. H. Dodd, "Some Johannine 'Herrnworte' with Parallels in the Synoptic Gospels", N.T.S. 2 (1955-56), 78-81.

336 Schulz, Untersuchungen, pp. 109-110, following Eugen Ruckstuhl, Die literarische Einheit des Johannesevangelium,

Studia Friburgensia, n.s. 3 (1951), who lists ἔρχεται ὕρα and τὸ τοῦτο as Johannine words, and Bultmann, Johannes, pp. 101-2, 196, 199, on μὴ θαυμάζετε.

337 Georg Bertram, "Θαύμα, Θαυμάζω, Θαυμάσιος, Θαυμαστός", in T.D.N.T. III, pp. 37-40.

338 Ibid., p. 40. 339 Schulz, Untersuchungen, pp. 112f.

340 Schnackenburg, John, I, Excursus V, "The Son of Man in John", pp. 529-42.

341 Bernard, John, I, p. 244.

342 Schulz, Untersuchungen, p. 111.

343 See Lagrange, Jean, p. 169, who shows the difference between John and the Synoptics in what they make of the bread of life discourse.

344 This also may explain why the messianism here is a Moses rather than a David type (cf. Glasson, Moses in the Fourth Gospel, p. 24).

345 Brown, John, I, p. 265; cf. J. B. Lightfoot, Biblical Essays, pp. 24, 151; Glasson, Moses in the Fourth Gospel, pp. 45-46; A. Feuillet, Johannine Studies, pp. 53, 54.

346 Dodd, Interpretation, p. 335; so also Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, in loc., and Schlatter, Johannes, in loc., who shows the closeness of language to Rabbinic Hebrew.

347 Barrett, John, in loc., takes it as a free quotation of Ex. 16:15, whereas Lagrange, Jean, in loc., believes the primary reference is to Psa. 78:24.

348 Barrett, John, p. 240.

349 Glasson, Moses in the Fourth Gospel, pp. 20-6, and Jeremias on "Μωυσης" in T.D.N.T. IV, pp. 852-78, demonstrate the Moses-Christ parallelism, both in Rabbinic sources (where their late date is a problem, but it is thought the late writings reflect much earlier popular expectations) and in Christian sources. So also J. B. Lightfoot, Biblical Essays, p. 151.

350 Glasson, Moses in the Fourth Gospel, p. 24.

351 Barrett, John, p. 240, notes the interesting Jewish reference to the law as bread (cited by Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, II, pp. 483f.), but this is probably not what was in mind here. Dodd, Interpretation, p. 335, says, "We may therefore take it that the Jews are here represented as demanding

that Jesus shall establish His messianic pretensions by the well-recognized token of restoring the gift of manna, the 'bread from heaven', assuming that this is what He meant by $\beta\rho\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\zeta\omega\eta\acute{\nu}$ $\alpha\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\iota\omicron\upsilon$.

352 Barrett, John, p. 240; Bernard, John, I, p. 195; interestingly enough, Dodd (Interpretation, p. 82) says nothing about this seemingly anti-Mosaic polemic, confining his interpretation of 6:32 to the antithesis between the "bread of Moses" and the "real bread".

353 Lagrange, Jean, p. 32.

354 Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, I, p. 314.

355 Brown, John, I, p. 262; cf. Barrett, John, p. 240, who is followed by A. Feuillet, Johannine Studies, p. 53.

356 Though Lagrange, Jean, p. 173, takes the sealing, since it is aorist, to refer to the power of working miracles: "à cause de l'aoriste ($\epsilon\sigma\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\omicron$), on l'entendra surtout du pouvoir accordé de faire les miracles."

357 Cf. A. Feuillet, Johannine Studies, pp. 56-8, who notes Jesus is following a tradition which goes back as far as the O. T. (Deut. 8:2, 3) in making the manna a symbol of a higher gift and of a celestial food. He notes Wisdom 16:26.

358 Brown, John, I, p. 266.

359 Ibid.; Brown takes this as having the same meaning as Jn. 6:35; cf. Corpus Hermeticum, Tract VII, 1a, which speaks of being drunk with ignorance (of God).

360 Ibid. Quotations of Prov. 2:6 and Jer. 15:16 are A. V.

361 Bernard, John, I, p. 191; Brown, John, I, p. 273.

362 Brown, John, I, p. 266. Some recent interpreters have seen in the structure of this narrative the question and answer pattern of the Jewish Passover Haggadah (thus providing another Passover motif). The questions of the Jews to Jesus are supposed to parallel the questions asked by the four children during the course of the Passover ritual (see B. Gärtner, John 6 and the Jewish Passover in Coniectanea Neotestamentica XVII [Lund: Gleerup, 1959]; and the different analysis by D. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 36-51, 158-69, who does not, however, apply this to Jn. 6; cf. also E. J. Kilmartin, "Liturgical Influence on John 6", C.B.Q. 22 (1960), 183-91). Brown notes the shortcomings (artificiality and omission of some questions in Jn. 6 in order to make it fit the liturgy) of this thesis. (Though it may not be possible to accept Gärtner's thesis that the Haggadah has provided the structural basis of Jn.

6, he may well be right in his suggestion that it provides the background to Jn. 6 in the early Christian Passover celebrations (and hence the appropriateness of John's reference to Ex. 16.) Brown suggests rather (John, I, p. 267) that the question-answer pattern is a Johannine technique of misunderstanding by Jesus' hearers (which is paralleled in Jn. 4).

363 Peder Borgen, "Observations on the Midrashic Character of Jn. 6", Z.N.W. 54 (1963), 32-40; cf. p. 39, where he concludes that the $\epsilon\rho\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ in 6:35, 41, 48, 51, is a midrashic formula by which words from the O. T. quotations are identified with Jesus. On the midrashic method, see also Peder Borgen, Bread from Heaven (N. T. Supplements, X; Leiden: Brill, 1965), pp. 59-86.

364 Brown, John, I, p. 267.

365 Ibid., p. 263: "These parallels lead us to suggest that while the Bread of Life Discourse, as it now stands, reflects the organizing genius of the fourth evangelist (much as the Sermon on the Mount reflects the genius of the first evangelist), nevertheless it is composed of elements of traditional material."

See Dodd's comparison (Interpretation, p. 448) of the sequence on a more general basis.

366 Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, I, p. 315, suggests the background is not so different from the Markan and Matthean narratives of the Last Supper. It is John alone (p. 316), however, who draws some significance theologially from the Jewish Passover for understanding Jesus' words about flesh and blood, whereas the Synoptics actually only mention the Passover in the Passion narrative in order to give the historical setting. It is startling to find the conclusion of Fortna, The Gospel of Signs, pp. 69-70, that "it is likely that Jn's tradition goes back to a pre-Markan version of the story." A similar viewpoint is expressed by Gärtner, John 6 and the Jewish Passover, pp. 8-9, 11: "Jn returns most closely to that original grouping of material which can also be traced behind Mark."

367 In Mk. 2:10 he forgives sin and in Mk. 2:28 he is Lord of the Sabbath; in Mt. 13:37 he sows the seed of the word which grows and bears fruit.

368 Brown, John, I, p. 261, and Appendix I (pp. 510-2), discusses $\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, the "favorite Johannine verb", which has the basic meaning in John (as in the O. T. and the rest of the N. T.) of permanence; but it is more complicated by its association with John's theology of immanence (the mutual indwelling of Father, Son, and believer); cf. the Pauline "in Christ" formula.

369 Barrett, John, p. 239; cf. Braun, Jean le Théologien, I, p. 410.

370 Braun, Jean le Théologien, I, p. 402; epexegetic ἵνα (6:28, 30?, 39, 40), πιστεῶ εἰς τινα (6:29), and ἐκ (used in 6:31, 32 of the bread from heaven and 6:33 of him who came down from heaven).

371 Schulz, Untersuchungen, p. 115 (and n.3).

372 Cf. Schulz, Untersuchungen, p. 115, who finds a pre-Johannine tradition in Jn. 6:27.

373 Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", pp. 293-4.

374 Whether this "true bread" really symbolizes the Torah or New Torah is another subject. Cf. Dodd, Interpretation, p. 336, who thinks this symbolism may be behind Jn. 6.

375 Dodd, Interpretation, p. 337: "But for the attentive reader the phrase ὁ καταβαίνων recalls at once ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς of iii.13, and it would be equally possible to construe it after the same manner, substantivally, in the sense 'The bread of God is He who descends from heaven and gives life to the world'--and this, as we know from iii.13, is the Son of Man, the only one who has in his own right passage both ways across the frontiers of τὰ ἄνω and τὰ κάτω. In verse 35 the ambiguity is cleared up. Jesus expressly claims to be καταβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and, therefore, Himself the Bread of Life."

376 The christology of this logion is then the same in essence as that in Jn. 17:21, 22.

377 Brown, John, I, p. 379. It is relevant here to note John's use of ἀποσυγγνωστός which is perhaps a late word. It is not found in the LXX or in secular writers and is in fact exclusive to John (7:13?; 12:42; 16:2) in the N.T. (though cf. Lk. 6:22 for the same idea). It is the sort of word coined for use in the Jewish community (Moulton-Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963 reprint], p. 70). Cf. Arndt-Gingrich, Lexicon, p. 100; Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, IV, pp. 293-333; Brown (John, I, p. 380) finds it almost unbelievable that formal excommunication against a follower of Jesus came about. But is John really using the word strictly in the sense of formal excommunication?

378 Contrast chapter 5 and the healing of the paralytic without the use of water. John 9 shows "the healing power of water" (Brown, John, I, p. 381). The importance of the washing is emphasized, Brown feels, by John's care to interpret Siloam as "sent" and in this way to connect Jesus with the water. Jesus too was sent by the Father (Jn. 3:17, 34; 5:36, 38) and Jesus becomes in Jn. 7:37, 38, the new source of Life-giving water, replacing Siloam as the pool for the Tabernacle ceremony.

379 Brown, John, I, p. 381; cf. Loisy, Le Quatrième Evangile, p. 317.

380 Brown, John, I, pp. 381-2. Note how he associates in Jn. 9 even the Pauline idea of baptism into Jesus' death (Rom. 7:3), p. 382.

381 Ibid., p. 380.

382 Ibid., p. 379. He notes (p. 381) that the tendency later was to dwell on the marvellous aspect of miracles, whereas here this aspect is kept to the barest minimum.

383 There is little need to discuss the variant τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ which some MSS (AKLXAΘΨ etc.) have instead of τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Commentators are unanimous in preferring ἀνθρώπου (see Bernard, John, II, p. 338; Barrett, John, p. 302; Brown, John, I, p. 375; Bultmann, Johannes, p. 257, n. 1; Lagrange, Jean, p. 269; Dodd, Interpretation, p. 241; et al.), and this reading is given the highest degree of certainty by the editors of the United Bible Societies Greek text. As is usually said, it is difficult to see why Θεοῦ would be changed to ἀνθρώπου, but the reverse is understandable (as a higher, more fitting title, so Lagrange; or for confessional purposes, so Brown). Lagrange feels the external witness for Θεοῦ is "too Egyptian". Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 296, likewise accounts for the variant as confessional.

384 Lagrange, Jean, p. 269.

385 Bernard, John, II, p. 338, and I, p. cxxx.

386 Barrett, John, p. 302; but he notes 12:34 as possibly indicating otherwise. See also Loisy, Le Quatrième Evangile, in loc., and Brown, John, I, p. 375, who thinks the meaning is (2) and finds the question strange since the blind man knows Jesus is a prophet (9:17) with unique power (9:32) which comes from God (9:33). Cf. Bultmann, Johannes, p. 257.

387 But perhaps it is possible to understand the man's question as, "what does Son of Man mean?" and Jesus' reply both tells the man (indirectly) who holds the title and defines it in terms of what Jesus had done for the man personally.

388 Though John is rather obviously teaching a christological lesson here, there are indications he is using pre-Johannine traditional material which he has preserved to do so: (1) the ancient first person circumlocution is traditional, and (2) the association with the traditional judgment motif, cf. Dan. 7:13; Mk. 14:62, etc.

389 F. Büchsel, "Κρίνω", etc. in T.D.N.T. III, p. 938.

390 Ibid., p. 939. He shows (n. 69) how both present and future are to be found in John and the future is not just an accommodation to popular conception (taking issue with Bauer

on Jn. 3:18). John's present idea is built on his future. "The early Christian idea of the last judgment and of resurrection on the last day are the basis on which John builds his own distinctive doctrine that the last judgment and the resurrection have occurred already."

391 But contrast Smalley, "Johannine Son of Man", p. 296: ". . . the theme of judgment which follows closely (39) is not really connected." On the other side see Brown, John, I, p. 375, who thinks the appearance of the judgment theme, a frequent setting for Son of Man, is the reason for the title occurring here.

392 See also Jn. 1:4; 8:12; 12:46; and cf. Mt. 5:12.

393 Midrash on Numbers, Translation under Editorship of H. Freedman and Maurice Simon (Numbers translated by Judah J. Slotki; London: Soncino Press, 1939; 2 vols.), Vol. II, p. 645, on Num. 15:5.

394 Cited in The Treasury of Scripture Knowledge (London: Bagster & Sons, n.d.), on Jn. 9:5.

395 Brown, John, I, p. 378.

396 Isa. 60:1 or a similar passage could have been in mind.

397 It is impossible to discuss here the interesting and important themes of Jesus the man (vv. 4, 12, 25, 27, 31, 35, 46) and of Jesus' origin (especially v. 27), taken up by John in chapter 7 (cf. also 9:29; 19:9; see Meeks, "Man from Heaven", p. 60). It is certainly possible John's Son of Man christology has been influential in the shaping of this narrative as well.

398 Brown, John, I, pp. 378-9.

399 Dodd, Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), p. 181, says John's account has no resemblance to anything in the Synoptic tradition, though he shows (p. 182) that it nevertheless follows the fundamental pattern of healing stories in the Synoptics.

400 Brown, John, I, p. 379; Dodd, Historical Tradition, pp. 181-8.

401 Bultmann, Johannes, p. 250. Bultmann credits the Evangelist with vv. 4-5, 22-23, 29f., and 39-41. His redactor has also interposed vv. 16f. and 35-38.

402 Dodd, Historical Tradition, pp. 185-88.

403 Brown, John, I, p. 379. 404 Barrett, John, p. 302.

405 This use of believe with Son of Man is unique in John (see Barrett, John, p. 302). It was a very personal demand made on the blind man, as seen by the emphatic you--do you believe on the Son of Man?

406 There is both a verbal parallel (anarthrous υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου) and the parallel motif of judgment.

407 Cf. Schnackenburg, John, I, p. 534: ". . . apart from the Son of Man logia themselves, there seems to be no ground for assuming that the concept of Son of Man has greatly influenced the Fourth Gospel."

408 Ibid., pp. 535-8.

409 The phrase in Jn. 5:27 is κρίσιν ποιῆν; in Dan. 7:22 it is τὸ κρίμα ἔδωκεν (Θ text) / τὴν κρίσιν ἔδωκε (Dtext) and in 7:26 τὸ κριτήριον ἔκλιθε (Θtext) / ἡ κρίσις καθίσταται (C text).

410 A parallel idea is to be found in Psa. 8:4, 5, another Son of Man testimonium.

411 Schulz, Untersuchungen, pp. 113f.

412 As justification for looking to the O.T. to find the origin of these motifs Jn. 5:39 could be cited: "It is the scriptures which bear witness to me." In this context which elaborates the Son's derived authority, the witness to this whole concept is said to be the O.T. This, taken with Jn. 5:27 pointing clearly to Daniel, should indicate the O.T. as a primary source of John's christological themes.

413 It is possible that 3:13, 14 are traditional material (especially as they contain the Son of Man title), whereas vv. 16-21 are John's elaboration of a possibly dominical word. It would then not be surprising that it is in this latter that "Son" and other christological titles occur.

414 See W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 280; Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 117; E. Best, Temptation and Passion, pp. 163f.; C. F. D. Moule, Theology 69, 174.

415 This may indicate a long standing association of Son of Man with the Servant of the Lord.

416 John 12:27, 28, having the hint of suffering coupled with the reference to glorification may be the bridge to 13:31, where glorification is the main motif. But even in Jn. 13:31 this glorification must be tied to suffering since it follows Judas' departure to betray Jesus and is followed by a reference to Jesus' going away (in death). But even back in Jn.

12:32 there is the strange union of suffering (lifting up) with authority, which may parallel this union of suffering and glorification.

417 Cf. John 8:29.

418 Cf. R. N. Longenecker, Christology of Early Jewish Christianity, pp. 91-3.

CONCLUSION

Having examined the O.T. Son of Man texts and having observed something of the way in which these (and additional O.T. testimonia) have been used in the shaping of the N.T. Son of Man logia, one has been able to draw certain conclusions. The most outstanding conclusion is perhaps the least remarkable--namely that Dan. 7 remains the fundamental Son of Man text, supplying nearly all the important ideas relative to the Son of Man in the N.T. Of course the corporate ideas of Psa. 8 (Son of Man = all mankind) and Psa. 80 (Son of Man = Israel) are still to be found--the Son of Man in Dan. 7 itself is corporate insofar as he is a symbol for Israel--but the potential for individualization of the Son of Man, later fully developed in I Enoch and IV Ezra, suits it to the application to Jesus who as the Son of Man par excellence embodies all the ideals of the O.T. Son of Man.

The other important conclusion from the survey of the O.T. material is that Ezekiel is important, but not in the way in which it has been traditionally thought (by G. S. Duncan, for example). The term of address for the prophet, "son of man", is of minimal importance. Of far more significance is what happens in Ezek. 1-3 and 8-10, where, in the prophet's vision of God as he is being commissioned to his prophetic ministry, he sees God in human form upon a throne. But these visions in Ezekiel are only part of a developing tradition in the O.T.,

which reaches its apex in Dan. 7, where it converges with the Son of Man tradition to picture the apotheosis of Israel, and in I Enoch where the "human form" has become virtually a second deity. The wealth of raw materials this tradition provides for the building of N.T. christology is evident.

A survey of the somewhat rare occurrences of the Son of Man outside the Gospels justified the viewpoint that, although there was certainly a familiarity with the Son of Man christology, there was no creative use of it, suggesting that perhaps more credit for the erection of the large edifice of Son of Man christology in the Gospels should go to Jesus.

In the Synoptic Gospels the close dependence on Daniel 7 of the future Son of Man sayings is notable. The basic thought of the vindication of the Son of Man, whether in terms of resurrection, exaltation, or parousia, goes back to Jesus himself. The present sayings present a different picture. Sayings like Mk. 2:10, Mk. 2:28, Mt. 13:37, Mt. 16:13, and Lk. 19:10 do dwell on the special authority of the Son of Man in his mission on earth, thus retaining an emphasis on the extraordinary (if not supernatural) nature of the Son of Man. But a second important group of present sayings, in the "Q" tradition, expand the meaning of the Son of Man to include another side of his nature: he is the lowly, rejected one--homeless and slandered, recalling the lowly Son of Man of Psa. 8. In this way, these sayings prepare for the suffering sayings--that group where it is most evident that a synthesis of the Son of Man and the Suffering Servant of Isaiah has been made. The basis for this link (clearest in Mk. 10:45) was the

suffering of the Son of Man in Dan. 7. Most of these suffering sayings occur in the Markan tradition and use Isa. 53 (though Psa. 118:22 may be reflected in Mk. 9:12; 8:31). There are arguably old elements in all of these sayings. Even the non-Markan saying Lk. 24:7, though found in a post-resurrection setting, retains traditional language and a non-Septuagintal interpretation of Hosea 6:2 applied to the resurrection, thus pointing to its ancient roots.

It is in the Fourth Gospel that the most novel use is made of the O.T. in application to the Son of Man tradition. Such heretofore unknown testimonia as Gen. 28:12 (Jacob's ladder) and Num. 21 (the brazen serpent) are now applied to the Son of Man in order to demonstrate how he in his life and ministry embodies the great events of Israel's history and is thus to be thought of as the New Israel. Traditional motifs (though not previously applied to the Son of Man) such as ascending/descending and the new manna are now understood to be further confirmation that the Son of Man is the bearer of heavenly knowledge, the bringer of life, the savior. A novel approach to the Son of Man as the Servant is seen in the peculiarly Johannine use of $\delta\psi\chi\sigma\nu$ to refer at once to the crucifixion and the exaltation of the Son of Man--a brilliant piece of realized (or "inaugurated") eschatology, made possible by the use of Isa. 52:13 and the Aramaic ܩܝܡܝܢܐ . Yet in the midst of all this new insight and novel approach to the Son of Man, one is called back to the most fundamental O.T. text of all, Dan. 7, when in Jn. 5:27 it is said that the Son of Man is

"judge". Thus John's highly original treatment of the Son of Man is basically in harmony with the traditional Son of Man and at many points shows his identity with the Son of Man of the Synoptics. So it is that even as the Evangelists are led by the Spirit into all truth, their feet were planted firmly on the original soil of the earliest Son of Man tradition.

EXCURSUS: A DISCUSSION OF GÜNTER REIM'S
STUDIEN ZUM ALTTESTAMENTLICHEN HINTER-
GRUND DES JOHANNESVANGELIUMS

This monograph is a significant contribution to the study of John's use of the O.T. as well as to the larger question of the formation of the Fourth Gospel (see the section 5, pp. 217ff., and especially the Appendix, "Gedanken zur Komposition des Johannesevangeliums auf Grund der Untersuchungen zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums", pp. 233-46). It is important for being the first work to go into the influence of the O.T. in John beyond the actual citations. But a discussion of these broader questions would lead too far afield and cannot be undertaken here. The present concern is only with Reim's treatment of the O.T. influence on John's christology (his section 6, "Die alttestamentliche Grundlage der eigenständigen Christologie des Johannesevangeliums", pp. 247ff.) and in particular the Johannine Son of Man. By and large his work confirms the conclusions of the present study with respect to the importance of the O.T. influence in general and the specific passages (testimonia) in particular.

In his treatment of the Johannine Son of Man Reim begins with a comparison of Dan. 7:10, 13f., in which he sees four elements, only two of which appear in John--judgment in Jn. 5:27 and ascent in Jn. 3:13 (pp. 252-6). Since the other two

elements are missing, these ideas must have come to John through the tradition, not from Dan. 7 directly. From these two traditional Son of Man themes John broadened the concept by the association of the Son of Man with the wider ideas of the manna and the eucharist.

(1) The judgment of the Son of Man in Jn. 5:27-9.

The background of this saying is Dan. 7:10, 13f., and Dan. 12:2. The eschatology of Jn. 5:28f. is strange to the Evangelist, coming from the source, which also supplied the anarthrous Son of Man. Since the Son of Man = Judge tradition is also found in the Synoptics and in Jn. 5:35 there is more Synoptic material, Reim concludes that John has also taken Jn. 5:27 from the Synoptics.

(2) The coming of the Son of Man in John. Suggestions of this traditional Son of Man theme occur in Jn. 3:13, 14; 6:62; 8:28; 12:23, 34; 13:31, where the association of glory, exaltation and crucifixion is seen. Five of these logia (3:14; 8:28; 12:23, 34; 13:31) reflect the Isaianic Servant passages, especially Isa. 52:13, yet it is not the Servant title but Son of Man which is found in these logia, leading Reim to conclude that these sayings are the product of John's theology, not the Son of Man tradition which delivered to John only the two traditional Son of Man ideas of judgment (Jn. 5:27, coming by way of the Synoptic tradition) and ascent (Jn. 3:13a, coming by way of the verbal tradition). To the Evangelist is due the tendency to ascribe to Jesus the Son of Man title as well as the emphasis on the necessity of his being "lifted up". The similarity of this "lifting up" to the glorification-exaltation of the Deutero-

Isaianic Servant means that Jesus was called "Servant" and that now "Son of Man" has replaced the servant title. The ascent of the Son of Man was already developing in the tradition before John, as shown by the verbal tradition he received (Jn. 3:13a). But in the Fourth Gospel the development continues as the traditional view of the Son of Man is broadened by the association with the giving of manna and with the eucharist (Jn. 6). Corollaries of the ascent-descent of the Son of Man are that he must have been in heaven before and that he possesses heavenly wisdom (Jn. 3:12) in which faith must be expressed. Further developments are the identification of the Son of Man with the food he brings (Jn. 6:27, 35) and the life-giving quality of this food (Jn. 6:27, 32). The descent of this bread is seen as the fulfilment of Isa. 54:13. The katabasis of Jn. 3:13-15 is not of gnostic origin (as Schulz says; Reim, p. 255, n. 6) but is related to the wisdom tradition which John knew (cf. Wisdom 9:9f.).

In the Johannine Son of Man logia Reim has observed several possible O.T. allusions which are worth noting. In Jn. 1:51 he sees in the ascending and descending angels an allusion to the thousand thousands of Dan. 7:10. He criticizes Michaelis' contention (T.L. 8 (1960), pp. 561ff.) that Jn. 1:51 is built on the Synoptic tradition and his objection to Gen. 28:12 as the primary O.T. allusion, giving additional grounds for seeing the Jacob story as behind Jn. 1:51 (pp. 102-4). In Jn. 6 he sees the descent of the bread from heaven, the bringing

to men of heavenly wisdom, as a fulfilment of Isa. 54:13: "All your sons shall be taught by the Lord." In Jn. 8:28 there may be an allusion to Ex. 4:12 (pp. 106, 125) in addition to the primary "lifting up" motif from Isa. 52:13 (and possibly Isa. 43:10; 52:6; p. 172). The Son of Man who calls for faith in himself in Jn. 9:35 has opened the eyes of the blind man, as the Servant of the Lord is said to do in Isa. 42:6, 7 (p. 180). Finally Reim shows the importance of Isa. 49:3 (as well as Isa. 52:13) in the formation of Jn. 13:31 (p. 173).

Another important contribution which Reim makes is to draw attention to the influence of the Wisdom tradition. The Wisdom tradition is seen in the background of Jn. 1:51 (p. 100, n. 4) which is based primarily on the rabbinical traditional interpretation of Gen. 28:12. But the Wisdom tradition is more important for the understanding of Jn. 3:14 (cf. p. 153 on the development of this logion). The importance of the serpent account in Num. 21 in the Wisdom tradition is clear from its use in Wisdom 16:5-8, 10-13. Reim discusses (pp. 197ff.) the relation of Jn. 3:14 to Wisdom 16 and shows how John differs from the latter. He concludes (p. 198) that, though it cannot be said that John is dependent on the book of Wisdom in his use of the serpent story, yet the Evangelist by his use of this episode shows his knowledge of the Wisdom tradition. Similarly Jn. 6:30ff. (the "new" manna) shows a knowledge of the Wisdom tradition but is not dependent on the book of Wisdom (pp. 199-200).

There is good reason to be grateful for the valuable contribution Reim makes to the understanding of the make-up of the Fourth Gospel. One can only wish he had given recognition to more of the indications (Semitisms, use of traditional motifs, contacts with Synoptic tradition, etc.) of the primitive origin of various aspects of the Johannine presentation of the Son of Man. He has thus perhaps attributed to the work of the Evangelist material which may in fact be traditional or even authentic.

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