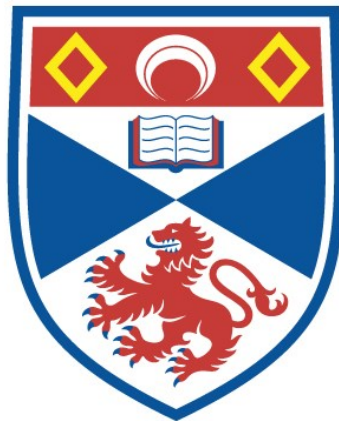


**THE ESCHATOLOGICAL JESUS : EARLY
CHRISTOLOGY AS INTERPRETED BY REGINALD H.
FULLER, MARTIN HENGEL AND P. M. CASEY**

Robert M. Kahl

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
at the
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THE ESCHATOLOGICAL JESUS

**Early Christology as Interpreted by
Reginald H. Fuller, Martin Hengel and P.M. Casey**

by Robert M. Kahl



**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy, The University of St. Andrews.**

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Abstract

What is the correct way to interpret the relationship between the message of Jesus and the kerygma, a hermeneutic of discontinuity and evolution or a hermeneutic of continuity and development? *The Eschatological Jesus* will argue for continuity and development.

In their portraits of a non-eschatological and non-messianic Jesus J.D. Crossan and Marcus Borg raise questions about the relationship between Jesus and the kerygma but do not answer them.

Reginald H. Fuller and Martin Hengel demonstrate that high christology can be traced directly to the eschatological ministry of Jesus, especially his authority. Fuller describes Jesus' authority in terms of an inaugurated eschatology and a distinctive sonship which he extends to others. Martin Hengel describes Jesus' eschatological authority as one who acted in God's place when he called his disciples the way God called his prophets and imposed on them a divine discipline and in Lk. 13:34 which has parallels in Sir. 1:15 and Deut. 32:11. This is a messianic authority since it was the Messiah who stood in God's place at the end of time. This Jesus who is in control of the end gave rise to a belief in his pre-existence and the claims of the Fourth Gospel.

P.M. Casey, on the other hand, rejects such authority as being apparent in Jesus' ministry. Unlike Fuller and Hengel who see the Fourth Gospel as the logical outgrowth of Jesus' use of 'Abba', Casey sees the Fourth Gospel as a betrayal of Jesus and the synoptic tradition. However, Casey overlooks the synoptic gospels' portrait of Jesus' acting in God's place and Matthew's use of προσκυνεῖν and προσέρχεσθαι.

The Eschatological Jesus concludes with the belief that Jesus' ministry was messianic and eschatological and that the authority he exhibits provides the basis for not only his being Christ, but divine Lord and Son of God.

Foreword

In 1984 Reginald H. Fuller, then Mollie Laird Downs Professor of New Testament at Virginia Theological Seminary, a seminary of the Episcopal Church of the United States of America in Alexandria, Virginia, wrote about the relationship between critical and theological exegesis:

In 1980 the present writer wrote of a need for a moratorium on historical-critical discussion as far as the New Testament is concerned. What he had in mind was the ever more minute dissecting of the text that forms the staple of Ph.D. theses today. Instead he called for a shift of emphasis to the theological exegesis of the biblical text, and for a renewed commitment on the part of the biblical scholars to seeing their task as a service to the church. He proposed 'that critical scholars...should impose upon themselves the self-denying ordinance of a moratorium of historical-critical analysis of the Gospels and Pauline homologoumena and concentrate upon their theological exegesis.' That method has yielded indispensable tools for the theological exegesis that is needed. But it does mean that historical criticism supplies us only with the tools and concerns itself only with the prolegomena to our real task which is the theological-critical interpretation of the text.¹

When I read that passage thirteen years ago I was rector of the Episcopal Church of the Advent in Cape May, New Jersey, a position which I held from 1979 until 1994 when I decided to pursue a Ph.D. under the supervision of Professor Richard Bauckham in the University of St. Andrews. Reading these words a seed was planted in my mind to write a theological exposition of certain passages in the New Testament particularly the synoptic gospels and the pre-Pauline hymns in Philippians, Colossians, 1 Peter, 1

¹Reginald H. Fuller, 'Historical Criticism and the Bible', in *Anglicanism and the Bible*, ed. Frederick Houk Borsch, 167f.

Timothy, the Letter to the Hebrews, and the first fourteen verses of the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, and try to trace the development between the message of the historical Jesus and the proclamation about Jesus in those passages which anticipate the ontic christology of the Fourth Gospel and the ontology of the Church Fathers. I first read an exegesis of these hymns contained in the above mentioned documents in Fuller's *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* whilst a graduate student at Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1973. At that time I encountered the christology which took in the years immediately following the resurrection and resurrection appearances down to the Pauline Mission when the three-stage christology of pre-existence, incarnation and exaltation, the foundations of the christology of the New Testament, was in place. In the light of Fuller's conclusions I became interested in connecting this christology to the message of Jesus himself.

This line of investigation seemed to me to be a service to the church, since it was the church which promulgated the Christ of faith in the first century C.E. and is responsible for its ongoing message to its people. This work had the potential of being a service to priests and pastors whose task it is to make the historical Jesus, proclaimed in the kerygma and the creeds as Christ, divine Son of God and Lord, alive as he was to his disciples during his earthly ministry and to the apostles and first Christian missionaries who preached the gospel to the Aramaic and Greek-speaking world. What Fuller taught and what he has continued to teach is that, unlike Bultmann who believed that the message of Jesus has no part to play in the kerygma of the church, the historical Jesus supplies the 'raw materials' for the kerygma. Therefore when the church presents the risen Jesus as Christ, Son of God and Lord is it faithfully representing the fullness of the ministry of the historical Jesus since the kerygma is nothing less than the words of the historical Jesus vindicated by the resurrection and brought to their logical conclusion in the

outpouring of the Spirit which accompanied the resurrection appearances and which has remained in the church in order to lead it into all truth? In other words, when the church is faithful to the three-stage christology of the first twenty years of the post-Easter church when the groundwork was laid for Jesus' full confession of divinity in the Fourth Gospel it is faithfully engaged in the truly biblical work of *zachar* and *anamnesis*, the making visibly present of a decisive intervention of God in history.

The Eschatological Jesus had its precise genesis in 1990 when I helped edit the Fuller Festschrift *Christ and His Communities*. The same year Fuller asked me to edit some of his christological essays into book form. This effort appeared in 1994 under the title *Christ and Christianity: Studies in the Formation of Christology*. Shortly before publication Richard Bauckham invited me to give a guest lecture at St. Mary's College on Fuller's christology. Soon after this event I came to St. Andrews with the intention of producing a critical analysis of Fuller's major christological works, namely *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus* and *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*.

The contribution of other scholars to the debate was soon apparent. These included Martin Hengel's small but weighty monograph *The Son of God*, collections of his essays (*Between Jesus and Paul* and *Studies in Early Christology*) and Maurice Casey's *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*: Hengel, because he takes Fuller's critique of the history of religions school one step further and challenges the 'foundation' of *Foundations*, the Palestinian-Aramaic, Hellenistic Jewish, Hellenistic Gentile paradigm, and Casey because of his challenge to Fuller, Hengel, and the church that the Fourth Gospel represents a perversion of the message of the historical Jesus and the synoptic tradition.

I have chosen the title *The Eschatological Jesus* for this thesis because of the range of meanings inherent in 'eschatology' which include: 1) last in a series; 2) 'chronological futurity, dramatic divine intervention in a public and

objectively unmistakable way resulting in a radically new state of affairs, including the vindication of God's people, whether on a renewed earth or in another world'² and; 3) the climax of history and the fulfilment of the identity of a particular people. It is the term which best summarizes the mission and message of Jesus of Nazareth. He saw his ministry as a visible, dramatic intervention of God that would bring about a radically new state of affairs whereby the faithful remnant of God's people would be vindicated by an outpouring of the Spirit during a time of trial and persecution which would take place between Jesus' exaltation to the right hand of God and his parousia. He also saw himself as the climax of his people's history and the fulfilment, the very embodiment of what it meant to be a son of God. I believe that the sense of finality to Jesus' message, that after him can come only repetitions and modifications of what went before, warrants the high christology of the New Testament, entitles the writers of the New Testament to say about Jesus what had been said of no one else.

I recognize that in using this word I am writing at a time when the portrait of an eschatological Jesus is no longer as widely accepted as it was during the time of Albert Schweitzer, Rudolf Bultmann, C.H. Dodd and the Reginald Fuller of *Mission and Foundations* .

In his essay, 'A Temperate Case for a Non-Eschatological Jesus' Marcus Borg deconstructs a familiar portrait of the historical Jesus. He concludes that Kingdom of God is a tensive as opposed to a steno-symbol 'which evoked Israel's myth (or story) of God's kingship over Israel and the world.'³

I will argue that Borg's portrait of a non-eschatological Jesus is inadequate for the following reasons. 1) One of the things which the tensive symbol Kingdom of God includes is the notion that at some time God's rule will be made absolute. 2) A Jesus who did not in some way see himself as

²M. Borg, 'Jesus and Eschatology: Current Reflections' in idem., *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship* , 73.

³Ibid., 55.

God's vice-regent or plenipotentiary does not make for a Jesus whom Rome would want to crucify. 3) In addition to his claim that he would act as God's plenipotentiary in the establishment of his Kingdom, Jesus did believe that in his ministry the glory, the visible presence, of YHWH was returning to Zion in fulfilment of Isa. 52:8 and Eze. 43: 1-12. He was convinced that all people would 'see' the vindication of his message in the coming destruction of Jerusalem when God would punish those who did not accept Jesus' message of peace and in his return to earth, after a period of trial and testing, to complete the establishment of God's kingdom which he inaugurated during his ministry. 4) Borg's non-eschatological portrait also overlooks a vital component in Jesus' mission and person- his finality, his absolute, utter uniqueness that sets him apart from all his predecessors Moses included, as the following passages show: a) it was said of Moses, 'Never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face. He was unequalled for all the signs and wonders that the Lord sent him to perform in the land of Egypt, against Pharaoh and all his servants and his entire land.' (Deut. 34: 10f.); b) however, having said this, the Deuteronomist leaves us with the impression that Moses' ministry, for all it accomplished, was incomplete, 'The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your own people; you shall heed such a prophet.' (Deut. 18: 15); c) and Jeremiah tells us that for all its comprehensiveness the Law of Moses was also incomplete, 'The days are surely coming says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Jacob. It will not be like the covenant that I made with your ancestors when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt- a covenant that they broke, though I was their husband, says the Lord.' (Jer. 31: 31-32). 5) Describing Jesus as anything less than eschatological, that after him can come no one greater, only succeeds in marginalizing the following: a) that he displays a sovereign freedom with respect to the Law of Moses; b) That he exceeds the office of

prophet in that he stands in the place of God to call others to follow him and enjoins on them the same obedience that God demanded of his prophets; c) Since the Davidic King is the only person in the Old Testament ever named 'son' (cf. Ps. 89: 26), Jesus' exclusive use of 'Father' expresses his consciousness as God's eschatological vice-regent, i.e. Messiah; d) That he transcends even Messiah/Son of God by including others in his exclusive, unparalleled sonship.

In other words, by arguing that an eschatological Jesus is only a steno-symbol for a Jesus who prophesied the end of the world in his generation rather than a tensive symbol generating a plethora of ideas pertaining to 'last things', one fails to take into account what Fuller identified in *Foundations* as the central theme to Jesus' message: the Kingdom of God is present in Jesus and only in Jesus, that all of God's promises to Israel are being fulfilled in him alone. What one is left with then is a Jesus of nineteenth century liberalism, a great and holy man, a wise sage, if not the wisest sage there ever was, and a forceful prophet, a portrait which contradicts Jesus' own awareness of himself as one who stood in the place of God.

In arguing for an eschatological Jesus, a Jesus who saw himself included in a divine theophany, a Jesus who saw himself as the climax of Israel's history, the one who was to fulfil Israel's destiny and identity as a son of God, Fuller and Hengel create a portrait of Jesus which is not only faithful to his own self-understanding but which provides the *raison d'être* of the church's confession of Christ, divine Son of God and Lord.

It is my hope that *The Eschatological Jesus* will help to assure the church that when it confesses Jesus' messiahship, divine lordship and sonship the historical Jesus will be as real to its members as he was to his disciples in the first third of the first century C.E.

Introduction

The period of twentieth century New Testament scholarship which began approximately with the publication in 1919 of Martin Dibelius' *Die Formgeschichte des Evangelium* and in 1921 of Rudolf Bultmann's *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* and which began to come to an end with the advent of a new era signalled by the appearance in 1967 of *Jesus and the Zealots* by S.G.F. Brandon can best be described as historical research for the sake of theological understanding.¹ In other words, scholars in this period were not so much concerned about the history of Jesus of Nazareth, but about the relationship between the words of Jesus and the words about Jesus in the kerygma of the church. At stake in this study were these issues: is the high christology of the New Testament writers true to Jesus himself? Did the actions and teaching of Jesus warrant the claims made about him, say, in Phil. 2: 5-11 and Jn. 1: 1-14? Or did the explicitly christological content of these and other writings represent the imposition of titles and statements on a person who was essentially concerned with reinterpreting the message of Israel's scriptures without any thought that the message be used to proclaim the nature of the messenger? Is the divine christology of the New Testament writers an interpretation of the true significance of Jesus' words and deeds or is it in the final analysis contrary to the intent of the historical Jesus, the result of cultural and religious influences which were alien to first century C.E. Palestine? When all is said and done, is the divine Son of God of the Fourth Gospel an ἄλλος Ἰησοῦς? Has the church's Christ savaged and rendered unrecognizable the historical Jesus? Should the story of early christology be told as fundamentally one of continuity with the historical Jesus or should christology be seen as altogether a new message wholly discontinuous with

¹Robert Morgan, 'Rudolf Bultmann', in *The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology in the Twentieth Century*, 2 vols., edited by David F. Ford, 1: 113.

the intent of an Aramaic-speaking Jew of the first century C.E. whose sole purpose was to reform and reinterpret the Judaism of his day without any reference to his relation to the human race and even the cosmos? And should the kerygma be found to be discontinuous with the history of Jesus of Nazareth, should this be of any great concern to the church? What should be determinative for the church, the message of the historical Jesus or the kerygma? The view of Rudolf Bultmann was that the Christ who was present in the preaching of church, and not the Jesus who could be recovered via the historical-critical method, is the focal point of faith. Any attempt to legitimize the kerygma by means of historical criticism could be regarded as a 'work' resulting in legalism. This was the view which held sway until approximately 1951.

The terms continuity and discontinuity were fine-tuned in 1977 with the introduction by C.F.D. Moule of the words evolution and development into the christological debate. In his major christological work, *The Origin of Christology*, Moule describes a particular hermeneutic which has dominated much of twentieth century New Testament scholarship:

If one were to caricature this assumption...one might say that it starts with a Palestinian Rabbi and ends with the divine Lord of a Hellenistic Saviour cult, and that it explains the transition from one to the other in much the same way as popular science may exhibit...the *evolution* [itals. mine] of *homo sapiens* from lemur or ape in a diagrammatic tree, marking the emergence of each new species and assigning successive periods to them.²

According to an evolutionary hermeneutic, the progress from Jesus to Christ represents 'the genesis of successive new species by evolution and natural selection along the way...'³

²C.F.D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology*, 1f.

³*Ibid.*, 2.

The other model which Moule proposes and defends is development:

By contrast the tendency which I am advocating as closer to the evidence, and which I call 'developmental', is to explain all the various estimates of Jesus reflected in the New Testament as...only attempts to describe what was already there from the beginning. They are not successive additions of something new, but only the drawing out and articulating of what is there. They represent various stages in the development of perception, but they do not represent the accretion of any alien factors that were not inherent from the beginning: they are analogous not so much to the emergence of a new species, as to the unfolding...of flower from bud and the growth of fruit from flower.⁴

In other words, an acorn may not resemble an oak tree, but the oak tree cannot come into existence without the acorn. If you will pardon a rather bad pun, an acorn contains *in nuce* all the beauty and magnificence of the oak tree. An acorn is put to good if it is studied in and of itself, or if it is roasted then eaten; however, it is not being used for its true purpose, to create something to delight the eye, to give rise to something that has the potential of being used for the benefit of the human race. It is the contention of this thesis that the mission and message of Jesus of Nazareth is an acorn, that it contains within itself the DNA of Christ, exalted Lord and divine Son of God. High christology may seem like a tremendous advance upon the message of Jesus of Nazareth, and at first glance the two may appear to be unrelated; however, they are as interrelated and as interconnected as an acorn is to an oak. Just as full justice is not done to an acorn unless it is planted, neither is the message of the historical Jesus accorded its full rights unless it is allowed to live in the larger world of the diaspora and the Hellenistic Gentile.

The contention of this thesis is that the eschatological message of Jesus of Nazareth provides the basis of the christology of the New Testament. The

⁴Ibid., 4.

issues which this thesis will raise are as follows. 1) Did Jesus see himself as eschatological? This was something which was denied by the nineteenth century Liberal Protestants and by Marcus J. Borg and the Jesus Seminar, a faction of the Third Quest of the Historical Jesus. However, since the time of Schweitzer and Bultmann an eschatological Jesus has been the dominant view of twentieth century New Testament scholarship. 2) Did Jesus see himself in messianic terms? This is not exactly the same question since Rudolf Bultmann's Jesus is eschatological, that Jesus' message stood between the *Anbruch* (dawn) and the *Hereinbrechen* (irruption) of the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God is present in Jesus' message inasmuch as he is the 'sign of the time'.⁵ However Jesus was not messianic for two reasons: first, he is not the one actually making the Kingdom present, 'Man cannot hasten the divinely determined course of events...'⁶; secondly, since 'the Anointed' came to mean 'king'⁷ Jesus nowhere appears as king-prophet, rabbi, exorcist, but not king.⁸ 3) Did Jesus conceive of his ministry in more than messianic terms? That is did he see himself as possessing a sonship which not only fulfilled but transcended the sonship of the Davidic king (2 Sa. 7: 14; Ps. 89: 26)? Did he possess an authority which legitimated the transference of YHWH-*kyrios* to him in Phil. 2: 5-11? Finally, 4) To what degree were the cultural-religious contexts of early christology, that is the transposition of the message of Jesus from Palestinian Jewish to Diaspora Judaism and from there to the world view of the Hellenistic Gentile, decisive for the content of New Testament Christology? We remember that, according to Rudolf Bultmann, if we are to search for the origins of New Testament christology it is not to the message of the historical Jesus that we look, for that message 'is a presupposition for the theology of the New Testament rather than a part of

⁵Rudolf Bultmann, *The Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., trans. Kendrick Grobel, 1:9.

⁶*Ibid.*, 1: 7

⁷*Ibid.*, 1:27

⁸*Ibid.*, 1:27

that theology itself.⁹ Rather we find that source in the Gnostic myth of a heavenly redeemer,

...a light person sent by the highest god, indeed the son and 'image' of the most high, come dawn from the light-world bringing *Gnosis*. He 'wakes' the sparks of light who have sunk into sleep...and 'reminds' them of their heavenly home.¹⁰

Bultmann was convinced that the substance of this myth was well-known in the first century C.E. ¹¹, that it had taken 'a concrete form in various baptizing sects in the region of Jordan...' ¹²

Beginning with the publication in 1967 of *Jesus and the Zealots* and continuing with the appearance of works such as *The Aims of Jesus* by Ben F. Meyer (1979), *Jesus and the Constraints of History* by Anthony Harvey (1980), *Conflict, Holiness & Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* by Marcus J. Borg (1984), E.P. Sander's *Jesus and Judaism* (1985), *Jesus, A New Vision* by Marcus J. Borg (1987), *The Historical Jesus* by John Dominic Crossan (1991), *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship* by Marcus J. Borg (1994), and *Jesus and the Victory of God* by N.T. Wright (1996), there has been an attempt in New Testament scholarship once again to do as the nineteenth century liberals once did (to do what Bultmann so lamented) in 'getting behind' the christology of the New Testament, to what Jesus actually said and did. However there is a difference between the work of the nineteenth century scholars and the above-mentioned documents. The former authors saw their work as a critique of the confessed Jesus, a critique fortified with the backing of the German Enlightenment; however, the latter investigators saw their attempts as pure history, an attempt to understand Jesus within the confines of first century

⁹Ibid., 1:3.

¹⁰Ibid., 1: 167.

¹¹James D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 98.

¹²Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 167.

Palestinian Judaism, an attempt bolstered by the discoveries of Qumran, Nag Hammadi, and by additions to the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. The collective effort of these scholars was dubbed the 'Third Quest' by N.T. Wright.¹³ Inasmuch as their work is concerned only with the message of the historical Jesus, that is with one pole of the New Testament christological issue, their work is as yet incomplete as it fails to evaluate the relationship between the words of Jesus and the words about Jesus, the second pole of the christological issue. This, as we can see as early as the kerygmatic sermons in Acts, was, in part, what the early church was doing as it laid the foundations of the New Testament.

You that are Israelites, listen to what I have to say: *Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God with deeds of power, wonders, and signs that God through him among you, as you yourselves know—this man, handed over to you according to the definite plan and foreknowledge of God, you crucified and killed by the hands of those outside the law. But God raised him up...Therefore let the entire house of Israel know with certainty that God has made him both Lord and Messiah.* (itals. mine. Acts 2:22-24, 36)

And now, friends, I know that you acted in ignorance, as did also your rulers. In this way God fulfilled *what he had foretold through all the prophets, that his Messiah would suffer.* Repent therefore, and turn to God so that your sins may be wiped out, so that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, *and that he may send his Messiah appointed for you, that is, Jesus, who must remain in heaven until the time of universal restoration that God announced long ago through his holy prophets.* (itals. mine. Acts 3: 17-21)

You know the message he sent to the people of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ— he is Lord of all. *That message spread throughout Judea, beginning in Galilee after the baptism that John*

¹³Stephen Neill and Tom Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1986*, 379.

announced...how he went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil for God was with him... All the prophets testify about him that everyone who believes in him receives forgiveness of sins through his name. (itals. mine. Acts 10: 36-37)

Therefore, however valuable their studies of the historical Jesus may be, their work remains a torso; what they have contributed poses problems, raises questions, but does not provide answers. They have analyzed the contents of the acorn but they have yet to plant it.

For the answers raised by the study of the historical Jesus, that is the nature of the relationship between the words of Jesus and the words about Jesus, we must turn to scholars who have placed their work within the context of the problem outlined in the kerygmatic sermons of Acts, that is that the person 'who went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil' and the person proclaimed Lord and Christ were one and the same. Borg and Crossan attempt to do this, that is they disclose their ultimate intentions when they argue for a non-messianic, non-eschatological (Borg more so than Crossan) Jesus. But they do not relate this portrait of Jesus to the larger issues of his divine Lordship and Sonship.

What I propose to do in *The Eschatological Jesus* is to study three scholars who have attempted to study the connection between the historical Jesus and the Christ, Lord and Son of God of the church, with the intention that out of the assessment and comparison of these three, some conclusions can be drawn which will be relevant to the larger questions about New Testament Christology which the work of the Third Quest scholars, namely Crossan and Borg, raise but do not answer.

The three scholars I have chosen to compare and contrast are Reginald H. Fuller, Martin Hengel and P.M. Casey.

In October 1953, a pupil of Bultmann, Ernst Käsemann, delivered a paper entitled 'The Problem of the Historical Jesus'. This was an epoch-

making essay in that it challenged an almost unquestioned dictum that had dominated almost four decades of German scholarship: that the quest for the historical Jesus was impossible and even if such an undertaking were indeed feasible, the results would be distracting and irrelevant.¹⁴ After acknowledging his debt to his mentor, Käsemann countered that something must be known about the historical Jesus:

Easter faith was the foundation of the Christian kerygma but was not the first or only source of its content. Rather, it was the Easter faith which took cognizance of the fact that God acted before we became believers...we...cannot do away with the identity between the exalted and earthly Lord without falling into docetism...The preaching of the church may be carried on anonymously; the important thing is not the person but the message. But the Gospel itself cannot be anonymous, otherwise it leads to moralism and mysticism. The Gospel is tied to him, who both before and after Easter, revealed himself to his own as the Lord...¹⁵

This essay is largely credited with establishing the 'Second' or 'New' Quest of the Historical Jesus, a movement which sought to establish the relationship between the message of the historical Jesus and the church, to establish the words of Jesus as constitutive for the words about Jesus in order that the church may not be committed to a wholly mythical saviour:

The Easter aspect in which the primitive church views the history of Jesus must certainly not be forgotten for one moment; but not less the fact that it is precisely the history of Jesus before Good Friday and Easter which is seen in this aspect. Were it otherwise, the church would have been lost in a timeless

¹⁴Reginald H. Fuller, *Christ and Christianity*, ed. Robert Kahl, 5f.

¹⁵Ernst Käsemann, 'The Problem of the Historical Jesus', in idem, *Essays on New Testament Themes*, trans. W.J. Montague, 34, 46.

myth...[T]he Gospels proclaim that faith does not begin with itself but lives from past history.¹⁶

However, two years before Käsemann's seminal paper and five years before the publication of one of the most influential books of the Second Quest, *Jesus von Nazareth*, by Günther Bornkamm (the author of the above quotation), Reginald H. Fuller, then Professor of Theology and Hebrew at St. David's College in Lampeter, Wales, delivered a series of lectures to the School for Junior Clergy of the Church in Wales at St. David's College. These lectures were the first critique of Bultmann's opening sentence to his *Theology of the New Testament* (the English translation had yet to appear when Fuller gave these lectures), that the message of Jesus is a presupposition for the theology of the New Testament rather than a part of that theology.¹⁷ These lectures were published in 1954 as *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus: An Examination of the Presuppositions of New Testament Theology*. Fuller was therefore the first scholar to challenge Bultmann's statement and to make an effort to establish the message of the historical Jesus as constitutive for the kerygma. It is for this reason that I have chosen him for this thesis.

While acknowledging the legitimacy of Bultmann's concern for the *Nichtanweisbarkeit* ('unproveability') of the Christian proclamation, Fuller said that if the church proclaimed that Jesus was the redemptive act of God, but if it could be demonstrated that Jesus himself knew otherwise, then the church would be in a position of knowing more than Jesus. If in fact the church did know better,

...there will be no limit to the 'decisions of faith' which it will be entitled to ask from us. What is to prevent the Church from asking us to accept, e.g. the dogma of the Assumption of the

¹⁶Günther Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, trans. Irene and Fraser McCluskey with James M. Robinson, 22f.

¹⁷Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 3.

Blessed Virgin Mary, or indeed to swallow anything else it may choose to produce from the conjuror's hat.¹⁸

The second scholar I have chosen is Martin Hengel. I have chosen Hengel for the following reasons. 1) While he differs considerably from Fuller's *magnum opus*, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*, in assigning a strong messianic consciousness to Jesus, a consciousness which Fuller defended in *Mission and Achievement* but retreated from in *Foundations*, he agrees with Fuller that the hermeneutic for describing the relationship between the words of Jesus and the words about Jesus is a hermeneutic of continuity. 2) In Hengel's first christological work, *Der Sohn Gottes* (1975), he goes beyond Fuller's efforts in *Foundations* to undermine the claims of the history of religions school which furnished Bultmann with his hermeneutic of evolution. 3) In *Foundations* Fuller outlined the continuity not only between the primitive installation and exaltation kerygmata of the earliest church, but also the continuity between the historical Jesus, these functional kerygmata and what he describes as the as the Three-Step Ontic Christology of Phil. 2: 5-11. The paradigm he used to describe continuity was one developed by Heitmüller based on what was understood as the 'radical' difference between Palestinian Aramaic Judaism and the Hellenistic Judaism of the diaspora. Fuller stretched the development of christology over such a trans-cultural grid: Palestinian Aramaic, Hellenistic Jewish, Hellenistic Gentile. In Hengel's perhaps most influential work, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (2nd. Ed. 1973), he argued that Palestine was hellenized to a greater degree than previous scholars had thought possible. In 'Christologie und neutestamentliche Chronologie' (1972) he argued that Heitmüller's paradigm was no longer adequate to describe the development of christology. He proposed instead a two epoch paradigm to replace Heitmüller's (and Fuller's). The first epoch

¹⁸Reginald H. Fuller, *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus*, 15.

began with the messianic, eschatological ministry of Jesus of Nazareth in 30 C.E. and came to an end with the conversion of Paul, 32/34 C.E. The second epoch commenced after the conversion of Paul and reached its climax with the Jerusalem Council, 48 C.E. According to Hengel the foundations of New Christology were laid almost immediately after the resurrection in Jerusalem when there was a great deal of fluidity between the Aramaic and Greek-speaking communities as well as an overwhelming experience of the Spirit, occasioned by the resurrection, which manifested itself in the singing of hymns to Jesus. 4) In spite of Fuller's differences of opinion regarding the messianic ministry of Jesus, both see the eschatological nature of his message as the basis for continuity with later christology.

The third person whom I have selected is P.M. Casey. Casey is important because he is the first person in the milieu of the Third Quest to discuss in great detail the relationship of the message of the historical Jesus and the christological claims of the church, particularly those made in the Fourth Gospel. His major christological work, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*, represents a major challenge to Fuller's and Hengel's conclusions. Like Bultmann's Jesus, Casey's Jesus is eschatological but not messianic. Casey confines Jesus' eschatological dimension to the most limited meaning of the word-end of the world prophecy. However, unlike Bultmann, who had no problem with discontinuity, who saw the message of Jesus as, in a sense, irrelevant to the kerygma, the very focus of faith, Casey sees the message of Jesus, a Jewish prophet who sought to renew the message of the classical prophets (in this way he was unique among leaders in Second Temple Judaism), as all important to the kerygma. In this sense he is very much like Fuller and Hengel. However, his conclusions are very different from those reached by our first two authors. Whereas Fuller and Hengel agree that Jesus possessed a unique sonship, a sonship which fulfilled the sonship of every Israelite, and that this sonship provided the basis for the divine christology of

the Fourth Gospel, Casey finds no unique sonship in Jesus' message and declares the Fourth Gospel to be a betrayal of history and truth. Casey is also important because he examines the 'horizontal' nature of christological development (evolution?) along the lines of social history, i.e. community identity. Whereas Fuller and Hengel attribute christology to 'numinous' factors such as the delay of the parousia, the experience of the exalted Jesus exercising his lordship in the church, the outpouring of the Spirit, Casey, while never explicitly denying the presence of the numinous, attributes christology to the erosion of Jewish identity factors in the Jesus Movement, Casey's name for the church.

Fuller and Hengel would agree with Moule that the appropriate hermeneutic model is one of development as opposed to evolution, that while the exalted, pre-existent Christ represents a tremendous advance upon the earthly Jesus, it only makes explicit what was implicit in Jesus' ministry. For Fuller the basis of high christology is Jesus' eschatological proclamation of the presence of the Kingdom and the eschatological nature of his sonship, that in the end God has drawn near as *'Abba'*. For Hengel it is also Jesus' eschatological Kingdom message and the fact that he fulfils most of the offices of Israel, he stands at the end as one who dares to act in the place of God. For Casey, the appropriate model would be evolution in that there is nothing in the message of the historical Jesus or in the interpretation of that message by the synoptic evangelists, whom he appears to regard as 'healthy' correctives to the pre-existent, 'implicitly' divine christology of Paul, to warrant the worship of Jesus as demanded in the Gospel according to John.

This thesis will tackle four issues. Firstly, I propose to deal with the relation of Fuller and Hengel, particularly Fuller in *Mission and Achievement*, to the hermeneutic of evolution and discontinuity as outlined by Bultmann. Secondly, I will study in what ways Fuller and Hengel believe Jesus' ministry to be eschatological. Thirdly, I will discuss whether or not the eschatological

Jesus as sketched by Fuller and Hengel adequately accounts for the high christology of the New Testament. Finally, I will attempt to evaluate Casey's major christological work, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*, a work which challenges the claims made by Fuller and Hengel regarding Jesus' messiahship, lordship and sonship, and decide to what degree are Casey's concerns legitimate that the Fourth Gospel represents a betrayal of Jesus and the synoptic tradition.

It is my hope that the conclusions reached in *The Eschatological Jesus* will serve as a guide to members of the Third Quest such as Dominic Crossan and Marcus Borg as they complete the christological process and answer the problems raised by a non-eschatological, non messianic Jesus.

Chapter two

Reginald H. Fuller
From Implicit to Explicit Christology

Part One

Some Inadequate Propositions

This chapter will be devoted to a detailed study of Fuller's major christological works: *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus* and *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*.

Fuller's first christological monograph, *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus: An Examination of the Presuppositions of New Testament Theology*, grew out of three lectures delivered to the School for Junior Clergy of the Church in Wales at St. David's College, Lampeter in September 1951. The occasion of these lectures was the forthcoming publication in Great Britain of the English translation of Rudolf Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament* (1952).¹

The Mission and Achievement of Jesus was conceived in part as a response to the opening sentence of *Theology*, 'The message of Jesus is a presupposition for the theology of the New Testament rather than a part of that theology itself.'² While Fuller is careful to note that Bultmann accepts the redemptive sacrifice of Jesus, he is equally careful to explain that Bultmann attaches no significance of the message of Jesus to his sacrifice, which is to say that his message was in no way a part of the kerygma. In Bultmann's own words,

¹Ibid., 7. However, as the German edition was published in 1951 these lectures represent the first response *by anyone* in Great Britain to Bultmann's *Theology*. The American edition of the English translation of vol. 1 was by Charles Scribner's Sons in 1951. To the best of my knowledge there was no American response at that time.

² Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 3.

...Christian faith did not exist until there was a Christian kerygma; i.e., a kerygma proclaiming Jesus Christ-specifically Jesus Christ the Crucified and Risen One- to be God's eschatological act of salvation. He was first so proclaimed in the kerygma of the earliest Church, not in the message of the historical Jesus.³

Good Lutheran that Bultmann was, for him any faith response based on historically certifiable acts would be considered 'a work'. Fuller is in complete agreement with Bultmann that the theology of the New Testament sprang from the kerygma and not the message of the historical Jesus; however, unlike Bultmann, he is firmly convinced that the kerygma sprang from the message and was far more than an attempt on the part of the earliest church to reverse the scandal of the cross⁴: what Jesus *implied* about himself, about his true relation with the Father, the church makes *explicit* in its proclamation-'For the message of Jesus, and indeed his whole life's mission, form the basis from which the kerygma sprang.'⁵ Fuller has no real quarrel with Bultmann that the message of the historical Jesus is a presupposition of the theology of the New Testament, *provided that the presuppositions themselves are sufficient*. It is Fuller's contention that Bultmann's portrait of the historical Jesus is simply an inadequate launch for the kerygma.⁶

The purpose of *Mission* is three-fold:

1) Fuller attempts to demonstrate that the Kingdom is present in the message of Jesus, albeit in a proleptic sense: the ministry of Jesus is a down payment, a first instalment on the Kingdom that

³Ibid., 3. Some thirty years following the publication of *Mission and Achievement* Fuller noted that Bultmann believed the cross to have played no significant role in Jesus' self-understanding, 'Rudolf Bultmann, as is well known, was sceptical on this score (the place of the cross in the message of Jesus). All we know, he maintained, is that Jesus was crucified as a messianic pretender, as irrational an end as Camus' death on a motorcycle. We know nothing of his intention with respect to the cross.' From 'The Crucified God' in Reginald H. Fuller and Pheme Perkins, *Who is This Christ?*, 109.

⁴Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 45.

⁵Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 7.

⁶Ibid., 7.

allows the people of Israel to enter into a period of intense anticipation, expectation, and decision.

2) Fuller seeks to show that Jesus understood messiahship as the sonship of Israel, a sonship of response and obedience. In order to fulfil the sonship of Israel Jesus identified himself with the response and obedience of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah.

3) Our author concludes that inasmuch as Jesus identified his ministry with that of the fate of the Isaianic Servant, and insofar as the servant's mission could not be completed without the death of the servant, the cross becomes the *sine qua non* of Jesus' message: as the cross represented Jesus' fulfilment of the destiny of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, it stood between the message of Jesus and the establishment of the Kingdom, between the message of Jesus and his return as the glorified Son of man.

Borrowing from *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921, 1931, ET 1963) and *Jesus* (1929, ET 1934) Fuller proceeds to reconstruct Bultmann's 'inadequate' portrait of Jesus.

According to Fuller, Bultmann makes approximately five points about the historical Jesus:

- 1) Jesus appears on the human stage as one who announces the Reign of God;
- 2) The Reign of God was to be a world transforming, miraculous event;
- 3) Bultmann makes a careful distinction between the dawn (*Anbruch*) and the irruption (*Hereinbrechen*) of the Reign: Jesus' ministry falls between the two;

4) The demand Jesus makes of his followers is that they recognize him not as the bringer of the Reign but as the one bearing word of its imminence;

5) It was only after the resurrection that Jesus became the bearer of eschatological salvation. This is attested to in such passages as Acts 2: 36; Rom. 1:4 and Phil. 2:9.⁷

Outside of those passages where Jesus identifies himself as one announcing the dawn of the Kingdom of God, the only other christologically significant passages, says Fuller of Bultmann, which can be traced to the historical Jesus are those sayings where Jesus distinguishes himself from the Son of man.

The second section of *Mission* is entitled 'The Kingdom of God in the Proclamation of Jesus'. Fuller begins this chapter by defining himself against the English tendency towards 'realized eschatology', a tendency very much in vogue when he was an undergraduate at Cambridge. According to C.H. Dodd, the first to use this term ⁸, the eschaton has moved from the future to the present, from the sphere of expectation into that of realized experience.⁹ To illustrate his point Dodd translates ἡγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ as 'The Kingdom of God has come'. But after a brief study of ten occurrences of ἐγγίζω Fuller concludes that the only possible translation is not 'has come' but 'has drawn near':

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that in every...instance the verb ἐγγίζω is used of events which have not yet occurred, but which lie in the proximate future.¹⁰

⁷Ibid., 16f.

⁸Ibid., 20, fn.1.

⁹Ibid., 20.

¹⁰Ibid., 23. Three other texts have been adduced in support of Fuller's thesis: Matt. 12:28 // Luke 11:20; Mark 9:1; Luke 17:21. We will be concerned only with Mark 1:15.

Then in a move typical of the 'pragmatic Englishman' who wishes to avoid the very Germanic *entweder oder* so typical of Bultmann in favour of an Anglican middle way, in this case a synthesis between the 'realized eschatology' of Dodd and Hoskyns and the 'future eschatology' of conservative evangelicals and literalists, Fuller compares the Hebrew *qarav* with its LXX equivalent ἐγγίζω as they appear in Isa. 50:8, 51:5, and 56:1.¹¹ In each case the Hebrew uses the present participle denoting incomplete action and the LXX oscillates between the present and aorist. These three verses refer to the return of the Babylonian exiles- an event which Cyrus' initial victories have already brought so near it can be said to be already operative in spite of the fact that the Edict of Cyrus has yet to take place.¹² So, according to Fuller, when Mark records Jesus' saying ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ he is referring neither to an event which has already happened ('The Kingdom of God has come') nor to something in the still somewhat distant future; instead Jesus is describing something that has not yet come, but is near, so near that it is already operative in advance. This may sound suspiciously like Bultmann's analogy of the dawn and the irruption and Jesus' ministry standing between the two, except that Bultmann identifies Jesus with neither the *Anbruch* nor the *Hereinbrechen*. Fuller's studies of ἐγγίζω would seem to suggest that a 'down payment' on the End had been paid and that the Kingdom was operating in advance of a 'final payment' which would, in effect, 'clinch the deal' that God was making in Jesus' ministry to his people. Reasoning such as this, reason that strives for a 'middle way', will be further developed when Fuller introduces the term 'proleptic eschatology'.

In the second section of his second chapter, a section entitled 'The Signs of the Coming Kingdom', Fuller takes up the subject of the miracles' being

¹¹Ibid., 24.

¹²Ibid., 25.

examples of realized eschatology, as signs that Jesus was in his lifetime functioning as Messiah.

Fuller's reply takes the form of a study of two passages from Q- The Reply to John (Matt. 11:2-6, par.) and The Beelzebub Controversy (Luke 11: 17-22, par.)

In his discussion of Mt. 11:2-6 Fuller introduces a theme that will dominate almost every aspect of *Mission*, that the mission and achievement of Jesus amounted to a completion of the mission of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. Those relevant passages from Isa. not only provided the basis of Jesus' messianic consciousness, which Fuller, *contra* Bultmann, maintains he had, but provided our author with a model of down payment (his ministry)/full payment(the Cross) upon which Fuller constructs his interpretation of the message of the historical Jesus.

The Reply to John is heavily laced with reminiscences of Isa. 35 and 61. Has the Hellenistic Church, as has been sometimes thought, conflated passages from this prophet and then put them in the mouth of Jesus? Fuller thinks not; these verses from Matthew are instead the product of the One who was immersed in Isaianic thought and phraseology and hence can lay great claim to authenticity.¹³

As to whether or not Jesus is proclaiming himself the Messiah, proclaiming, that is, that the Kingdom has already come, Fuller arrives at the same conclusion he did when discussing ἐγγίζω and *qarav*. Those verses describing the return of the exiles and Jesus' reply to John describe salvation as a process.¹⁴ In the relevant verses from Deutero-Isaiah the return from exile has not yet taken place, but the 'down payment', so to speak, has been made; the exiles can now enter into a period of anticipation. God is at work, Cyrus is

¹³Ibid., 36.

¹⁴Ibid., 36.

winning his victories, the release, the Decisive event, is just around the corner.

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The proclamation of Jesus is part of the initial stages of the end; his words and his works are like the victories of Cyrus, they are the 'down payment' for the Kingdom of God: the Kingdom has come, and like the exiles in the years just prior to the Edict of Cyrus, the people of Galilee and Judea can enter into a very brief era of intense expectation.

Nothing has been fulfilled in Jesus' ministry but so great a first instalment has been made that the 'inevitable' is virtually present. Or, to use another model-overture/curtain/first act, the ministry of Jesus marks the final bars of the overture, the people can turn their attention to the great curtain about to open.

In his discussion of the miracles Bultmann returns to his analogy of the dawn. He says,

It can be asked whether these words only express the certainty that the prophetic predictions of salvation (Is. 35:5f; 29:18f.; 61:1) will presently be fulfilled, or whether Jesus means that their fulfilment is already beginning in his own miracles. Probably the latter...*All that does not mean that God's Reign is already here; but it does mean that it is dawning.* ¹⁶

Apparently Bultmann wants us to understand 'dawning' in the same sense as it is used in the Fourth Gospel at 20: 1 and 21:4, 'Early on the first day of the week, while it was still dark' and 'Just after daybreak': the sun is rising but too far off for its effects to be seen and felt.

Fuller seems to be saying the very same thing in his discussion of the Reply to John:

¹⁵Ibid., 36f.

¹⁶Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 7.

The miraculous healings therefore are not so much signs that the Messianic age 'has dawned', as signs that it 'is dawning'. The distinction may seem subtle, and somewhat over-drawn, but nevertheless it is of great importance when applied to the miracles of Jesus...Jesus places the decisive event, the fulfilment of the Messianic salvation, in the future.¹⁷

There is, however, an important difference. As we shall see below Fuller regards the cross as the supreme messianic miracle when the powers of the living God are exercised through the Messiah. For Fuller the cross effects the dawning, it moves Israel from the state of 'is dawning' to that of 'has dawned'. Bultmann, as was stated above, understood the cross to have been a scandal which had to be overcome in the kerygma of the church¹⁸ since nowhere does Bultmann give any indication that the cross was in any way a part of Jesus' own proclamation. While Bultmann was adamant that only God can establish his Kingdom, he never clearly defines what act of God it is that establishes his reign.

As it is the more primitive of the two pericopae, Fuller focuses his attention on the Lucan version of The Beelzebub Controversy (Luke 11:17-22, par.)

The key word here is 'finger of God' (Luke 11:20). It is an allusion to Ex. 8:19 (MT and LXX: verse 15). In the Old Testament the phrase 'finger of God' is used to describe God's action in relation to the plagues of Egypt. Fuller, in keeping with his down payment/final payment model, then says that the plagues were not themselves the decisive act of God, but were events showing that God was already at work in bringing the Exodus, the decisive act, to pass. The miracles then are to be compared with the plagues of Egypt: they are done to demonstrate that the finger of God is pointing towards God's final decisive act of salvation, the cross.

¹⁷Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 36.

¹⁸Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 45.

Exorcisms, the kind of miracle involved in the Beelzebub controversy, are the *preliminary assault on the kingdom of Satan*. In the Markan version of The Beelzebub Controversy (3:27) *πρῶτον* refers to the ministry of Jesus (he casts out demons in order to bind Satan), *τότε* refers to the future salvation: *first* Satan is bound, *then* his house is overthrown.¹⁹

In The Temptation of Jesus by Satan (Q) Jesus refuses to perform any miracle that will point towards himself. Mark 8:11 records this same intent of Jesus. The Pharisees, like Satan, tempt Jesus to give them a sign so that they, the Pharisees, will believe in him. This Jesus adamantly refuses to do. Had he complied with their wishes he would have been disobedient to his own mission, that of effecting the dawn of the Messianic Age²⁰; he would have been vindicating his own ministry prior to its final payment, the Cross. He would be calling people's attention to himself and not to the approaching Kingdom;²¹ and he would indeed be telling people, in the words of Philippians, that messiahship was truly something to be grasped at.²²

The one miracle that Fuller admits can possibly be interpreted in a 'realized eschatological mode' is the story of the Paralytic (Mk. 2:1-12)²³. When Jesus says to the cripple, 'Your sins are forgiven you' he seems to be saying that the eschatological forgiveness of sins, the 'salvation at the time of trial', has already arrived.²⁴

Fuller has no doubt but that the Evangelists connected Jesus, and rightly so, with an epiphany of salvation; that *sub specie aeternitatis* the coming

¹⁹Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 38.

²⁰I realise that this phrase sounds suspiciously like Bultmann's analogy of the dawn except that Bultmann would never admit that Jesus' actions are effecting the dawn: 'Man cannot hasten the divinely determined course of events...[The Kingdom]...is a miracle independent of every human act-as miraculous as the growth and ripening of seed.' (7f) In Bultmann's view, Jesus is only the 'sign of the time'. (9) However Fuller has no doubt but that Jesus is effecting the arrival of the Kingdom. (Fuller, *Mission*, 41.)

²¹Ibid., 41.

²²Ibid., 39.

²³Bultmann discusses this miracle not in his chapter on the historical Jesus, but in the one on the kerygma. See idem, *Theology*, 1:61.

²⁴Ibid., 41.

of Jesus and the coming of eschatological salvation were one and the same; that the Easter event did indeed reveal that during his earthly ministry Jesus had functioned as Messiah. But did Jesus himself see his words and actions as an epiphany or an advent? If The Healing of the Paralytic were the only miracle Jesus had performed, then perhaps yes, perhaps yes Jesus' ministry was indeed the *Hereinbrechen* rather than the *Anbruch*. However, if read under the light of the approaching cross, the answer must be no.²⁵

But if this pericope, where ἄφεσις and σωτηρία are so closely connected, does not describe the 'salvation in the time of trial' as having arrived, if, as Bultmann seems to suggest, ἄφεσις and σωτηρία belong to the kerygma and not to the message²⁶, what then is this miracle's purpose? In the following sentence Fuller introduces a word that might be called the distinguishing feature of *Mission* - proleptic, that is, anticipatory.

..we must interpret ἄφεσις and σωτηρία in the same proleptic sense in which we interpreted ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία at Luke 11:20²⁷. The ἄφεσις and σωτηρία dispensed to individuals in the course of Jesus' ministry are instalments in advance made available as signs of what will later become universally available through the decisive event [the Cross] of the coming of the Kingdom.²⁸

This is to say that the purpose of the miracles is to open up a period of intense anticipation, expectation. They are the 'down payment' on the Kingdom of God, the Cross is the final payment. Or to use another previously mentioned analogy: the mission of Jesus is the final section of a long overture to an opera; the Cross is the event which pulls down the curtain.

The miracles are performed not so the disciples will proclaim Jesus as Messiah but so that they will further anticipate the Kingdom of God. *And they*

²⁵Ibid., 42, '...the supreme Messianic miracle is accomplished on the cross.'

²⁶Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 61.

²⁷On p. 25 of *Mission and Achievement* Fuller argues that ἔφθασεν be translated 'has arrived'.

²⁸Ibid., 42.

will anticipate it because they see its arrival in progress . The Kingdom is on the way, but only on the way. The ἁφεςις and σωτηρία of the healing miracles are not signs that salvation has arrived in the person of the historical Jesus but are 'instalments in advance' that direct Jesus' disciples' attention to the eschatological salvation that he will accomplish on the cross when the mission of the Suffering Servant will be completed; then they will become available to all after the resurrection.

In his third section, 'The Parables of the Coming Kingdom', Fuller continues the theme of realised eschatology, *sic aut non* , with a discussion of The Sower (Mark 4: 3-8, par.), The Seeds Growing Secretly (Mark 4:26-29), The Mustard Seed and the Leaven (Mark 4:30 par.; Matt. 13:33 par.), The Fig Tree (Mark 13: 28-29 par.), The Cloud and the South Wind (Luke 12:54-56; cf. Matt. 16:2-3), Agree with thine Adversary (Luke 12:58-59; cf. Matt. 5:25-26), Parables of Decision, and Parables of Rejection.²⁹ In each instance Fuller finds that the element of 'not-yetness' far outweighs the 'already' of C.H. Dodd and Hoskyns and Davey.

According to Fuller the theme of The Sower is failure, a failure which might very well be located in Jesus' less than successful ministry in Nazareth (Mark 6:1-6) Chorazin and Bethsaida (Matt. 11:21 par.)³⁰: in spite of these initial failures and the ultimate failure represented by the cross (in its own *Sitz im Leben* and not as interpreted by the evangelists in the light of Easter) the Word of God will eventually triumph.³¹

Fuller notes that Dodd asks that the period of secret growth in the parable of The Seed Growing Secretly be identified with the 'long history of God's dealings with his people' and the harvest the ministry of Jesus. It seems far more logical to Fuller to read the period of secret growth as the ministry

²⁹Fuller, *Mission and Achievement* , 44-48.

³⁰Ibid., 44, fn. 2.

³¹Ibid., 44.

and the harvest, the end, as something yet to come.³² To the parable of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven Fuller applies roughly the same interpretation he did to The Sower: obscure beginnings do not rule out eventual success.³³ With regard to the other parables Fuller continues on the same line: the Kingdom has not yet come but is so near as to be in operation ahead of itself; Jesus' ministry is a period of anticipation, expectation, and decision.³⁴

In his conclusion, 'The Importance of Non-Realised Eschatology', Fuller realizes that some readers may see the difference between realized and proleptic eschatology as minimal. Fuller himself points to the organic relationship between Jesus' sayings and the end as seen in the several seed parables and asks, 'Is not this very close to what Dr. Dodd is after all contending for in his *Parables* ?'³⁵ According to Fuller, this is not what Dodd believes at all. In his, Dodd's, translation of ἤγγικεν as 'has come', the author of *Parables* has virtually eliminated any future element at all.³⁶

The problem with realized eschatology, says Fuller, is that in ignoring the tension between the proclamation of the Kingdom and its arrival, between the 'approaching of dawn' and the irruption, between the binding of Satan and his ultimate destruction, this tension that lay at the heart of the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth, it destroys the centrality of the cross as *the* salvific event. It is as though no final payment were needed, or that the curtain had been drawn while the overture was in progress.

Fuller begins chapter three, 'The Kingdom of God and the Death of Jesus', by reminding the reader of Bultmann's portrait of the historical Jesus, a portrait which Fuller accepts though with some important qualifications.³⁷

³²Ibid., 44f.

³³Ibid., 44, 45.

³⁴Ibid., 46ff.

³⁵Ibid., 48.

³⁶Ibid., 48.

³⁷Ibid., 50.

According to Bultmann, Jesus was an eschatological prophet who announced the impending irruption of the Kingdom of God. Where Fuller differs from Bultmann is in his belief that the 'down payment' had been made and that the cross not only belonged to the message of Jesus but was central to it: remove the cross and the mission of the Suffering Servant remains unfilled; remove the cross and there simply is no message worth the eschatological kingdom that Fuller, presumably, sees implied in the destiny of the Isaianic Servant (see Isa. 52:15).

With respect to the kerygma of the cross, the rigours of form criticism will allow Bultmann only to say that the message of the cross can take us back to the kerygma of the post-Easter church, but no further; pericopae where the cross is the focal point such as Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi and the transfiguration are, according to the form critics, displaced resurrection appearances.³⁸

Fuller finds such all-encompassing dogmatism with regard to form critical methods unacceptable, '...like all pioneers [the form critics] who discover a new method, they think their discovery is the clue to all truth.'³⁹ Form criticism yields its best results with pericopae where the teaching of Jesus is central where, with the proper tools, one can discern the hand of prophets, liturgists, and catechists. Fuller can find no such hand in the Baptism (this historicity of which Bultmann recognizes, although he believes that its canonical form and content were modelled after the Hellenistic θεῖος ἄνθρωπος) and the confession of Peter which because of the Isaianic theology can be traced to the historical Jesus; and because Suffering Servant Christology belongs not to the post-resurrection period but to Jesus' earthly life⁴⁰, the transfiguration also belongs to that same stratum. It is Fuller's belief that the

³⁸Ibid., 51.

³⁹Ibid., 51.

⁴⁰Ibid., 53. However, Fuller believes the quotation of Isa. 53 in Acts 8:32ff is a creation of Luke and does not belong to the kerygma of the church. (Ibid., p. 68, fn.2)

passion predictions as well as the baptism of Jesus by John, the confession of Peter and The transfiguration belong to the earliest stratum of the New Testament, and, in all likelihood, can be traced back to the historical Jesus.

In part two of chapter two, 'The Prophecies of the Passion', Fuller takes up two sets of sayings, five from the Gospel according to Mark, 8:31, 9:12, 9:31, 10: 33-34, and 10: 45 and two from the Gospel according to Luke, 12: 49-50 and 13: 32f.

Fuller claims that while it is very difficult to 'get behind the apostolic witness' it is possible to say whether or not there is a high probability a certain passage may be authentic.⁴¹

In evaluating the authenticity of the Markan passages Fuller does not depart from his Isaianic criterion. Fuller admits that the prophecies of the Passion contain two strata, a pre-Hellenistic in which Jesus is represented as foretelling his suffering and death using the language of Isa. 53 and a later, Hellenistic stratum in which the prophecies had been expanded in the light of succeeding events. Having satisfied himself that the earlier stratum depends not on the LXX but on the MT, Fuller asks if this stratum can be pushed back to Jesus. The crucial questions for Fuller are: Did Jesus or did Jesus not interpret his death in light of Isa. 53? Or is there another background to the predictions that can have higher claim than Isa. 53? Even though the MT of Deutero-Isaiah is clearly behind the Markan sayings, Fuller stops just short of pushing them back to the historical Jesus.⁴² Fuller is more certain about the authenticity of Lk. 12:50, which he admits has been described as a *vaticinium ex eventu* and an example of Lucan redaction, and 13:33.

As to 12:50 being a *vaticinium ex eventu* Fuller notes that its Hebrew construction militates against a late origin.⁴³ With respect to Luke's having read Pauline theology into this verse, Fuller has already argued that

⁴¹Ibid., 59.

⁴²Ibid., 55-59, esp. 59.

⁴³Ibid., 59.

Suffering Servant Christology does not belong to Paul.⁴⁴ Therefore this passage reflects Jesus' own interpretation of his baptism: he is completing the mission of the Isaianic servant.⁴⁵

Even though there are no allusions to the Servant in 13:33, Fuller finds a way to defend what he considers to be its indubitable authenticity. This saying is a public prediction of Jesus and Jesus reserved the deeper mysteries of his death for his most intimate followers.⁴⁶ However Fuller manages to observe an implied reference to Deutero-Isaiah in that Jesus sees his death as a fulfilment of a prophetic vocation.⁴⁷

The penultimate section of chapter three deals with The Last Supper. Based on the evidence of παρέλαβον, the technical word for the receiving of tradition, Fuller believes that Paul received his account of the words of administration (1 Cor. 11:23-25) in Damascus as early as 33 C.E. However what we have in 1 Cor. is a tradition which has been somewhat edited by Paul, i.e., the removal of the semitisms and the addition of the phrase, 'This cup is the *new covenant in my blood*.'⁴⁸

With regards as to what lies behind 1 Cor. 11:23-25, Mark or Luke, Fuller opts for Mark.⁴⁹ Here our author takes a position that is no longer accepted by many scholars, that the D version is original to Luke⁵⁰ and represents a suppression of the 'cup word' which Fuller believes Luke's readers would have found offensive.⁵¹ Fuller argues that the longer text is a later scribal interpolation of what we have in D.

⁴⁴Ibid., 57. It might well be argued that passages such as Rom. 1:1, 6:6, 1 Cor. 7:22, 2 Cor. 4:5 and Phil. 2:7 represent 'genuine' servant language, particularly Phil. 2:7. But we stand with Fuller's argument for the following reasons: the word in the above passages is δούλος and not παῖς, the word which the LXX uses for 'ebed', which never appears in Paul.

⁴⁵Ibid., 61.

⁴⁶Ibid., 63.

⁴⁷Ibid., 64..

⁴⁸Ibid., 65f. See 2 Cor. 3:6.

⁴⁹Ibid., 67.

⁵⁰I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* 79ff. See also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, x-xxiv, 1387ff.

⁵¹Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 68.

Fuller says with 'This is my body; this is my blood' Jesus sets the tone for the meal: he will relate its specific elements to his death as a completion of the mission of the Suffering Servant.

Fuller interprets the Last Supper not so much as the institution of a new rite which his disciples were to continue after his death, but as an opportunity for Jesus, within the context of Passover⁵², to instruct his disciples on the meaning of his death.⁵³

In chapter four, 'The Raw Materials of Christology', Fuller takes up the question which Bultmann answered in the negative: Did Jesus claim to be Messiah or did he possess a 'messianic consciousness'? Fuller believes the answer to these questions is both yes and no. No, Jesus did not come to earth proclaiming a ready-made christology. But yes, his message did contain certain presuppositions about his person:

Jesus' presuppositions about his person will express both his present activity during his historical life, and that destiny which will be achieved in the future as the outcome of that history...these presuppositions are not proclaimed from the house-tops. They are hinted only in the interpretation of his mission and destiny which he gave in private discourse with his closest disciples. Jesus provides the *raw materials* [italics mine] for an estimate of his person only for those who will later know what to do with them...⁵⁴

⁵²Fuller believes that the Last Supper was a Passover Meal, but that it was not a *halakic* Passover Meal, that is was celebrated not at Passover but in anticipation of Passover. (Ibid., 70.)

⁵³In Reginald H. Fuller, 'The Double Origin of the Eucharist', *BR*, 8 (1963): 60-72, our author reverses this argument and maintains the Last Supper was a farewell meal of the Qumran type when Jesus solemnly declares the renewal of table-fellowship with his disciples in the consummated Kingdom of God consequent of his death. The 'bread word' and 'cup word', that is the 'backward looking' dimension, originated in the Palestinian Church, A.D. 31-40 and was continued in the Hellenistic communities. (71f.)

⁵⁴Ibid., 79f.

In the course of this chapter Fuller discusses six christological titles, Son of God, Servant, Son of man, Christos, Kyrios, and Son of David.

Fuller is not unique in locating Jesus' presuppositions about his person in these titles. Where he appears to be unique is in seeing the Isaianic Servant behind each of them, save for Christos and Kyrios. In fact Son of God and Servant should be read without pause because Fuller believes that Jesus' messianic and filial consciousness were expressed in his single-minded determination to pattern his message and mission after that of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, whom Fuller apparently considers to be the perfect Old Testament model of Israelite sonship, a sonship of response and obedience, the kind of sonship Jesus saw himself destined for beginning with his baptism.

Did Jesus ever call himself son or Messiah? Inasmuch as Messiah and Son of God could only be proclaimed after the resurrection, Fuller believes not. But in Fuller's eyes this in no way means Jesus did not possess a unique filial and messianic consciousness. Jesus' unparalleled use of 'Abbā expresses an implicit sonship and a messiahship based on that sonship and not on Jewish nationalism, that will be made explicit at the resurrection. Though Jesus did not directly claim the title Son of God for himself, Fuller says it was revealed to him at his baptism and proclaimed to his disciples at the transfiguration. Since Fuller regards the synoptic accounts of these events as having been drawn from Jesus' own reminiscences of an authentic transcendental event, the above sentence could be rewritten as follows: Jesus did not publicly claim the title Son of God, however he revealed it privately to his disciples: first by implication when he extended his unique sonship to his disciples by 'commanding' them to address God as 'Abbā and only 'Abbā⁵⁵; secondly by reporting to them the Heavenly Voice at the baptism and having

⁵⁵Joachim Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, trans. John Bowden, Christopher Burchard, and John Reumann, 97.

them present at the transfiguration. Even though Fuller does not accept the authenticity of the so-called Q 'synoptic thunderbolt' (Mt. 11:27, par.) he rejects its being read against a background of gnosticism and mystery religions⁵⁶ and accepts that it at least represents an early tradition about Jesus, perhaps arising from Jesus' use of 'Abba' and his account of his baptism and the apostles' recollection of the transfiguration.

In claiming the baptism and transfiguration to be examples of Jesus' own self-consciousness Fuller rejects the view that the kind of divine sonship they express is a Hellenistic notion of the divine man. He also denies that Jesus' messianic consciousness preceded his filial consciousness. Jesus is first a son in that he was faithful to the vocation he received at his baptism and which was confirmed at the transfiguration- that vocation, of course, being the completion of the mission of the Isaianic servant. Bultmann believes just the opposite: he became Son of God because he was Messiah- Jesus was proclaimed Messiah at the resurrection and then exalted to Son of God; it was the Aramaic Church which then applied this title to Jesus' earthly life.⁵⁷ Hence , according to Bultmann, not only was Jesus' life unmessianic but that Jesus had no awareness that he was in a special sense Son of God. We may infer that Bultmann believed Jesus' filial consciousness was no more than that of any other Israelite. As Israel was the son of God (Exod. 4:22-23; Hos. 11:1) so were Jesus and all Israelites sons of God.

Fuller accepts that messianic sonship could be attributed to Jesus only after the resurrection, but interprets Jesus' understanding of his sonship as pre-messianic: Because Jesus was faithful to the particular sonship expressed at the baptism he is exalted to both Messiah and Son of God at the resurrection- but he had to be a faithful son first:

⁵⁶Fuller, *Mission and Achievement* , 91.

⁵⁷Ibid., 81.

It is a relationship on the basis of which Jesus will perform the work which will lead men later to confess that God has exalted him as the Messiah...He enters upon the dignity of the Messiah after his Resurrection because during his earthly life he was the Son. The Son-hood is the basis of his Messiahship, not the Messiahship the basis of his Son-hood.⁵⁸

If Jesus' Sonship (or Son-hood) involved an explicit rejection of Jewish Messianism what was his source, what was the model or paradigm lying behind those expressions of pre-messianic sonship? Fuller sees it as modelled first on the sonship of Israel (Exod. 4:22-23; Hos. 11:1) a sonship based on response and obedience. Fuller believes that in Jesus' account to his disciples of his baptism and temptation he is expressing his belief that the sonship of Israel is personified in the person of the Suffering Servant. For Fuller the Heavenly Voice at the baptism not only pre-supposes Jesus' divine sonship but defines it in reference to Isa. 42:1. In fact Fuller appears to rest his entire case for the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah forming the basis of Jesus' sonship as servant on whether or not the words of the heavenly voice are 'authentic' in the sense of having been derived from Jesus' own account of his experience to his disciples:

We conclude then the Jesus taught his disciples that he himself stood in a unique relation of Sonship to God and that this Sonship was to find the essential pattern of its obedience in the fulfilment of the destiny of the Isaianic Servant.⁵⁹

Therefore in the sections Son of God and Servant Fuller treats the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah as central to Jesus' messianic consciousness, a consciousness based in his being the kind of son Israel was supposed to have been- faithful and obedient. By interpreting Jesus' messiahship and divine

⁵⁸Ibid., 85.

⁵⁹Ibid., 88f.

sonship in relation to these passages Fuller has defined a view of messianism unrelated to 1st century Jewish messianism and the Hellenistic divine man.

Fuller's interpretation of Jesus' use of the Son of man also conforms closely to his Isaianic self-consciousness.

Like most scholars of the time when *Mission* was written Fuller takes it for granted that Jesus used this Aramaic idiom as a title; he argues with relative ease that in each set of Son of man sayings, Present, Suffering and Future, Jesus is referring to Dn. 7:13. That the image in Daniel is corporate and not individual does not matter to Fuller since Jesus individualizes the Suffering Servant who is both Israel and a person meant to idealize Israel.

Unlike Bultmann who regards only the Present and Future sayings as authentic Fuller argues for the authenticity of the Suffering sayings, as well as for the generally uncontested Present and Future sayings. Fuller can do this because he believes that all these sayings imply or describe suffering and that suffering is taken for granted between Dn. 7:11, when the beast is put to death, and 7:14, when dominion and glory and kingship are handed over to the 'one like a son of man'.⁶⁰

Granted such an interpretation of the Night Vision allows for the authenticity of the Suffering sayings, on what grounds does Fuller seek to apply these verses from Daniel to the Present and Future sayings? Fuller claims that there is implied suffering in Mt. 8:20, par. The phrase 'hath nowhere to lay his head' ought to be taken as a figurative expression for rejection.⁶¹ As for the Future sayings, Fuller says,

In the ministry of Jesus the Kingdom has not yet come, but is...active in his proclamations and healings. So also Jesus is not

⁶⁰Ibid., 103f.

⁶¹Ibid., 105.

yet the glorified Son of Man...Between Jesus and the fulfilment of Daniel's vision stands...the cross.⁶²

The suffering implied in Dn. 7:11-14 and the implicit and explicit suffering which Fuller sees being described in each of the Son of man sayings lead our author to conclude that Jesus appropriated the Son of man sayings for himself the way he did the Suffering Servant Songs. Neither Son of man nor Servant is a messianic title (Fuller does not think that Son of man was a messianic title in pre-Christian Jewish apocalyptic⁶³), and so in neither case was Jesus claiming messianic status. But in light of our previous discussion of Son and Servant, the Son of man sayings provide the basis for the kind of messiahship to which Jesus was exalted after he had fulfilled the mission and destiny of Isaianic Servant (which was, in a sense, the mission and destiny of Israel) through obedience, suffering and death. Like Messiah, Son and Servant, the title Son of man

...speaks to [Jesus] not of a claim to be asserted, but of a life to be lived, a life of humility and self-oblation, of his ultimate vindication by the Father.⁶⁴

Fuller continues to link Deutero-Isaiah to Jesus' messianic consciousness when he takes up Christos and the Son of David.

Even though Jesus' messianic self-consciousness centred around non-messianic titles, Son, Servant, Son of man, Christos does manage to play some role, albeit a rather minor one, in Jesus' self-understanding.

In his treatment of Christos, Fuller notes a certain ambivalence on Jesus' part regarding this title. In the confession of Peter at Caesarea Philippi Jesus neither accepts it nor rejects it but only goes on to speak of the destiny of

⁶²Ibid., 103.

⁶³Ibid., 98.

⁶⁴Ibid., 108.

the Son of man to suffer. It is only after Jesus has undergone these trials that he can be called Christ.⁶⁵

In Jesus' response to the High Priest (Mk. 14:62), which Fuller regards as authentic because as Jesus was most certainly executed as a messianic pretender there had to be some evidence on which to have based the charge, our author notes that Jesus does not admit that he is the Christ (the *καί*, he says, should be treated as the *waw* adversative), but that he will be the Christ once he has fulfilled the sonship of Israel as personified by the Isaianic Servant and the Son of man.⁶⁶

Fuller is so confident of the ubiquity of Deutero-Isaiah in Jesus' self-understanding that in his discussion of Son of David he feels quite free to attempt to apply it to a title to which it is not patently applicable.

In attempting to evaluate the relationship of Son of David to the historical Jesus it would seem that all that would have been necessary to have said was that though Jesus never denied he was of the House of David-no Jew would have taken him seriously as Messiah if he had not been-he nevertheless distanced himself from the title because of its socio-political connotations and that it would have been an altogether inappropriate title for the exalted Lord: '...the Messiah is no merely earthly figure of history, but the Lord exalted to the right hand of God.'⁶⁷ However Fuller goes on to say that Jesus' knowledge that he was the scion of a royal house would have led him to reflect on his life's mission. He, Fuller, says a study of Isa. 9 and 11 would have led Jesus to the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah.⁶⁸

The only title which Fuller does not connect to the Suffering Servant is Kyrios which he says was an honorific title of the historical Jesus which had been enriched during his own lifetime. Fuller points to Mk. 12:35ff which is

⁶⁵Ibid., 110.

⁶⁶Ibid., 111.

⁶⁷Ibid., 114.

⁶⁸Ibid., 115f.

not, according to him, a piece of *Gemeindetheologie* , but a passage perfectly in keeping with what we know about Jesus:

Jesus is not talking about himself. This is in form an academic discussion about messianic doctrine, conducted in the approved Rabbinic style. Jesus is speaking of the Messiah as a figure detached from himself, exactly as in those passages in which he speaks in public about the coming Son of Man.⁶⁹

In his epilogue, 'The Emergence of the Ecclesia', Fuller obliquely addresses Loisy's rather caustic verdict, 'Jesus of Nazareth foretold the Kingdom , and it was the Church that came'.⁷⁰

Fuller wants the reader to understand three things. First, Fuller makes clear that Jesus and the first Christians may have been mistaken about the length of the interval between the cross and the parousia.⁷¹ Secondly, Jesus had allowed for an interim between the cross and his return: he provided the raw materials out of which his disciples would make their response to what he proclaimed would take place on the cross, so that they would proclaim what God had accomplished in Jesus and his cross⁷²; and he recognized that after his death his disciples would be required to witness for him, that they would be brought before secular authorities and perhaps face martyrdom.⁷³ The third thing Fuller brings to mind is crucial to our understanding of *Mission* and its essential disagreement with Bultmann's understanding of the relation of the message of the historical Jesus to the kerygma of the church. At the end of the epilogue Fuller says that it is possible for the historian to establish the continuity, a 'substantial identity' are his exact words, between

⁶⁹Ibid., 113.

⁷⁰A. Loisy, *The Gospel and the Church* , 166 as cited by C.K. Barrett, *Jesus and the Gospel Tradition* , 68.

⁷¹Fuller, *Mission and Achievement* , 120.

⁷²Ibid., 117.

⁷³Ibid., 118.

the kerygma of Jesus and the subsequent kerygma of the Early Church.⁷⁴ Fuller in no way means that the church simply kept proclaiming Jesus' message of the future Kingdom of God since the cross had made the future a present reality. Fuller's argument is more subtle than that. This continuity, the substantial identity, lies in two adverbs-before and after. As Fuller attempted to demonstrate in *Mission*, the purpose of the message of Jesus, which included his healings, his exorcism and his cross, was to announce that the down-payment, the first instalment on the future Kingdom was being made *before* the decisive event-the cross. *After* the cross the future powers of the Kingdom, the spirit of the risen and exalted Christ, become present and active in the kerygma and sacraments of the church. To put it another way, because the Kingdom was present in Jesus during his ministry, Jesus and his words became present in the church. The words about Jesus are therefore the result of the church's interaction through prayer, worship and reflection with the risen and exalted Christ speaking in, to and through his church.

Conclusion

In *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus* Fuller attempts to demonstrate the inadequacy of Bultmann's portrait of Jesus as an un-messianic eschatological prophet who stood between the dawn and the irruption of the Kingdom but in whose ministry the Kingdom of God was in no way present and whose death was without soteriological significance. Fuller also takes issue with Bultmann's dictum that the kerygma of the church, Jesus the crucified and Risen Son of God, Son of man, Christ and Lord, was discontinuous with the message of Jesus the prophet.

In order to demonstrate the shortcomings of Bultmann's portrait of Jesus, Fuller takes the middle course between Bultmann's 'non-messianic'

⁷⁴Ibid., 120.

eschatological Jesus and Dodd's 'realized' eschatology, a middle course which can be defined as 'proleptic' or 'anticipatory' eschatology. Jesus' mission was a first instalment, a down payment on the Kingdom, during which the people of Galilee and Judea could enter into a very brief era of intense anticipation. The case for Fuller's 'proleptic' eschatology rests primarily on what he perceives to be the correct translation of ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ- 'the Kingdom of God is at hand' rather than 'the Kingdom of God has come'-Dodd's translation, and the correct exegesis of 'finger of God' (Lk. 11:20). Fuller claims that in the Old Testament the phrase 'finger of God' is used to describe God's actions in relation to the plagues of Egypt; these events, says Fuller, were not themselves the decisive act of God, but were events showing that God was already at work in bringing the Exodus, the decisive event, to pass.⁷⁵

The second half of Bultmann's portrait of Jesus, the part which attaches no relation of the cross to the message of the historical Jesus, Fuller counters with Jesus' heavy reliance on the mission and destiny of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. Jesus would, of course, have seen this figure present in Isa. 35 and 61 as well as in chs. 40-55. Even though the servant is never described in the Old Testament as son, Fuller sees the life and death of the servant as fulfilling the sonship of Israel. Just as the death of the servant would bring to completion Israel's destiny as a son of God, so Jesus would establish the Kingdom of God with his cross.

On what basis does Fuller make his case for the centrality of the Isaianic Servant? First, and most important, Fuller believes the baptismal narrative to have been based on Jesus' own account of this transcendental event where he was called to fulfil Israel's sonship by modelling his sonship on the Suffering Servant. Secondly, his reply to John the Baptist (Q Mt. 11:2-6, par.) has been heavily influenced by Isa. 35 and 61 which, as was mentioned

⁷⁵Ibid., 37.

above, Jesus would have seen as referring to the figure in chs. 40-55. Thirdly, that lying behind the Last Supper word 'of the covenant' are not Ex. 24:8, Zech. 9:11 or Jer. 31:31, but Isa. 42:6 and 49:8.⁷⁶ Finally, Fuller claims that Jesus also came to this specific servant consciousness via his knowledge of having been descended from David and so connection the Davidic Messiah of Isa. 11 with the Isaianic Servant.

Fuller can be faulted for having overstated his case for proleptic eschatology in not discussing Jesus' reply concerning the disciples of John the Baptist, 'The wedding guests cannot fast while the bridegroom is with them, can they?' (Mk. 2:19^a, par. ⁷⁷). Inasmuch as the wedding cannot properly begin unless the bridegroom has arrived, Fuller has overlooked a potent argument in moving away from proleptic eschatology towards inaugurated eschatology. This tendency to overstate is also seen in his interpretation of Lk. 11:20 where he draws too subtle a distinction between the plagues and the Exodus that Jesus may not have intended. We may also wonder whether a proleptic interpretation of Jesus' words to the paralytic, 'Son, your sins are forgiven.' (Mk. 2: 5, par.) robs these words of the force Jesus had meant them to have: he was doing more than making a first instalment on the Kingdom, he was putting his very life on the line by claiming to do something that only God alone could do-the forgiveness of sins. In a very real sense he was making all the payments, save one-the cross. We understand that Fuller argues for a proleptic eschatology as opposed to a realized eschatology so that the cross will not lose any of its centrality. However, does a 'realized'. or at least a 'partially realized', i.e., 'inaugurated' eschatology, that is an eschatology which recognizes that the salvation promised in Isaiah 40-55 and Jeremiah 31:31-34 has begun and awaits its final proclamation from the cross

⁷⁶Ibid., 73.

⁷⁷On the probable authenticity of Mk. 2:19^a see Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 208f, Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark*, trans. Donald H. Madvig, 67, Hugh Anderson, *The Gospel of Mark*, 106.

and its universal completion at the parousia, really eliminate the cross from Jesus' message? Does the cross lose its centrality if one were to say that the Kingdom was being realized during Jesus' ministry; men and women were entering it; then in C.E. 30 Jesus went up to Jerusalem to make a final offer before the parousia and universal judgement? We think not.

Fuller in *Mission* has, nonetheless, provided a defensible basis for a critique of Bultmann's portrait of a life that was essentially un-messianic and therefore un-christological. Intimately and inseparably linked with Jesus' prophetic message, 'The Kingdom of God has drawn near', is an awareness of messiahship as sonship, sonship as servanthood, and servanthood as faithfulness unto death.

Part Two

The Foundations of New Testament Christology

Fuller's major christological work, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*, is a major revision and enlargement of *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus*. The primary purpose of *Mission* was to answer Bultmann's charge that Jesus' life was un-messianic and therefore un-christological and to enlarge Bultmann's portrait of an eschatological Jesus who was not the bearer of salvation but merely a sign of its imminence. Fuller's answer to Bultmann was that while Jesus was indeed an eschatological prophet, he was a prophet with a messianic consciousness derived from his conviction that he had been called at his baptism to fulfil Israel's sonship by completing the mission of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. *Foundations*, however, attempts to go behind the canonical New Testament and in true 'second quester' fashion to use the various criteria of authenticity to separate the words of Jesus from the message about Jesus.

What results from Fuller's own quest from the historical Jesus to the kerygmatic Christ is an ontic pre-existent-descending-incarnate-crucified-exalted-enthroned [-parousia]⁷⁸ model that necessitated the ontological formulae of Chalcedonian Christianity.

The other purpose of *Foundations* is to show that historical criticism could be used to undermine the historical scepticism of an earlier generation of scholars who, during the Bultmann era of New Testament scholarship, had found it a useful and formidable weapon to drive a wedge between faith and history by demonstrating the discontinuity between the words of Jesus and the christological kerygma of the post-Easter church. At the same time, however, Fuller does not depart from the 'Bultmann kerygma', that faith is not based on a list of facts but on unconditional trust in God's act in Jesus.

Foundations had its genesis in 1961, seven years following the publication of *Mission*, when Fuller was awarded a fellowship by the American Association of Theological Schools. This took him to Germany for an extended consultation with Günther Bornkamm and his Assistant, Dr. Ferdinand Hahn, who allowed Fuller to read his doctoral dissertation, published in 1963 as *Christologische Hoheitstitel*, and to avail himself of its bibliography. *Foundations* was the result of Fuller's association with Bornkamm and Hahn.⁷⁹ From time to time we will mention significant agreement and disagreement between Hahn and Fuller.

Following a brief introduction where Fuller outlines his methods and explains his criteria for separating the foundations of New Testament Christology from the christology of the individual New Testament authors⁸⁰, Fuller proceeds to a discussion of three cultures which provided the raw

⁷⁸We bracket parousia because, according to Fuller, by the time of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission it had ceased to play a *determinative* role in the formation of the christology of the New Testament. By the time the three-step pattern had come into place emphasis had shifted from the parousia to the exaltation and then to pre-existence.

⁷⁹Fuller, *Foundations*, 11.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 20f.

materials for New Testament christology: Palestinian Judaism, Hellenistic Judaism, and the *Weltanschauung* of the Hellenistic Gentile (chs. 2,3 and 4). These environments provided, for the most part, the vocabulary that enabled the twelve, the missionary apostles, the anonymous authors of liturgical material and pre-credal statements secreted in the writings of the New Testament, and the equally anonymous progenitors and editors of Q, M, and L to respond to, proclaim, reflect upon and interpret the message of the historical Jesus in the light of his cross and resurrection.⁸¹

Following a careful analysis of these environments Fuller proceeds to a thoroughgoing discussion of three christological patterns in the New Testament: Aramaic Christian, Hellenistic Jewish Christian, and Hellenistic Gentile Christian (chs. 6, 7 and 8).⁸²

Each of these communities viewed the mission and message of the historical Jesus, an eschatological prophet who proclaimed the proleptic presence of the Kingdom of God, who probably addressed God only as 'Abba' and taught his disciples to do the same, who, in light of the prevailing notion of the Davidic Messiah as a religious-national hero, rejected the title and role of Messiah as a 'diabolical temptation'⁸³, and who went to Jerusalem knowing full well that his message would be rejected but was fully confident that his

⁸¹Fuller, *Christ and Christianity*, 7.

⁸²Ibid., 7.

⁸³Fuller, *Foundations*, 109, 'Jesus rejects Messiahship as a merely human and even diabolical temptation.' See also ibid., 110 '["You have said so"]...in view of Caesarea Philippi...would have to be a denial.' And see ibid., 159, 'How came it about that the church appropriated for Jesus the very term *Mashiach* which he himself had rejected as a diabolical temptation?' Then see ibid., 159, 'The church could either continue to reject the whole concept as Jesus had done...' This represents something of a reversal of *Mission* where Fuller says of Mk. 8:29-31 that Jesus neither accepts it nor rejects it out of hand (*Mission*, 110) and of the 'I am' in Mk. 14:62, '...an acknowledgement on the part of Jesus of some sort of Messianic claim is demanded by the undeniable historical fact that Jesus was condemned to death as a Messianic pretender.' (Ibid., 110f) Does Fuller mean for the reader of *Foundations* to understand that Jesus had no messianic consciousness whatsoever? We would assume so. However when Fuller defines Jesus' ministry in terms of eschatological prophecy, a ministry to be 'rubber-stamped' by the apocalyptic Son of man (*Foundations*, 130), he appears not to rule it out entirely since the Messiah is, after all, the End Time ruler. Also, in his discussion of Jesus' use of 'Abba' Fuller nowhere contravenes the close relationship between sonship and messiahship which he articulated in *Mission and Achievement*. (*Foundations*, 115)

work as the bearer of eschatological salvation would be 'rubber-stamped' by the Son of man⁸⁴, in the light of the resurrection and in view of their needs occasioned by their 'life situations'. As they did the following christological portraits emerged. In the earliest church, the Aramaic-speaking Palestinian community, the historical Jesus is portrayed as the eschatological prophet of Deut. 18:15 who is raised as Son of God, and who, after a brief period of inactivity in heaven as Messiah-designate, would return at the parousia as Son of man, *Marana(a)* , and *Mashiach* .⁸⁵ The Hellenistic Jewish Christian Community, faced with a delayed parousia and the continued presence of Jesus' lordship in the church, began to christologize Jesus' earthly ministry by retrojecting the titles from the parousia to his years in Galilee and Judea; missionaries to this community(which Fuller said existed in Jerusalem as well as the diaspora⁸⁶) also proclaimed him as having lived on earth as κύριος, υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, παῖς, υἱὸς Δαυίδ, Χριστός, now actively reigning in heaven and in the church as υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, exalted κύριος, Χριστός, and υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.⁸⁷ The Hellenistic Jewish Mission saw a major shift in how Christ was perceived. In the earliest church he is the crucified, risen, ascended bearer of eschatological salvation, worshipped as the one to return shortly as *Maran(a)* , Christ, Son of man. In the diaspora Jesus becomes the exalted, cosmological YHWH-*kyrios* who was Messiah, Son of God and Lord from, perhaps, the moment of conception.⁸⁸ When the gospel is preached by these same missionaries to Hellenistic Gentiles, Jesus becomes the pre-existent One, Wisdom, υἱός, Logos, θεός, who descends to our realm , then reascends and is exalted to κύριος, υἱὸς (τοῦ θεοῦ), σωτήρ, θεός.⁸⁹

⁸⁴Fuller, *Foundations* , 123.

⁸⁵Ibid., 244.

⁸⁶Ibid., 183.

⁸⁷Ibid., 245.

⁸⁸On the location of the Infancy Narratives in the Hellenistic Jewish Mission see *ibid.*, 195f.

⁸⁹Ibid., 247.

Finally, once the church was settled into what Fuller describes as an ontic confession of a three-stage Jesus, Jesus before time, Jesus within time, Jesus ahead of time, it became necessary to move in yet another direction, this time towards ontology, the nature of Jesus' being.⁹⁰

In our conclusions to our discussion of *Foundations* we will trace a detailed trajectory from the implicit christology of the historical Jesus, to the explicit three-step pattern of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission. We trust that we will thus demonstrate what Fuller believes to be the 'direct line of continuity' between what Jesus claimed about himself, his mission and his message, that he was the one through whom the finger of God was pointing, to what the three communities said about Jesus- Messiah, *Maran(a)*, Christ, Son of man, YHWH-*kyrios*, the pre-existent, incarnate, ascended and exalted one.

The importance of chapters two through four lies in showing 'the tools' whereby the three Christian communities made the transition from the eschatological to the cosmological, and finally to the ontic confession of the salvation accomplished in Jesus of Nazareth.

The Tools of Christology

Eight christological titles originated in Palestinian Judaism: Messiah, Son of God, Son of David, Son of man, the Servant of the Lord, the (Eschatological) Prophet, Rabbi and Mari.

⁹⁰Fuller never precisely clarifies the difference between ontic and ontological. For a definition of ontic we turn to the entry in the OED where the reader is directed to MacQuarrie's and Robinson's translation of Heidegger's *Zein und Seit* (*Being and Time*, p. 31): 'Ontological inquiry is concerned primarily with *Being*; ontical inquiry is concerned primarily with *entities* and the facts about them.' Ontic Christology therefore is concerned with facts about Jesus in light of his resurrection and in relation to the needs of respective communities. Ontological Christology is concerned with the nature of Christ's being in light of these statements about him. In other words ontic christology states facts about Jesus' being: that he is the divine Son of God, that humanity and divinity are held in perfect tension in his person; ontological christology attempts to define *how* humanity and divinity are held in perfect tension.

In the Hebrew Bible Messiah meant the one anointed to be king over Israel, never the regent of God's eschatological rule.⁹¹ There is, however, speculation about a future ideal ruler in Isa. 7:14⁹² and Zech. 6:11⁹³, but *Mashiach* never appears. The term first surfaces in an eschatological context in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs in connection with a Levitical Messiah and a king-messiah of the tribe of Judah.⁹⁴

As for the second title, Son of God, it is a description both of Israel and its king; however 4QFlor. 10-14 provides positive evidence that Son of God was a pre-Christian Jewish Messianic title.⁹⁵

Son of David does not appear in a messianic context until Ps. Sol. 17 and did not crystallise as a messianic title until the first century B.C.E. as the Benedictus (Lk. 1:69) suggests.⁹⁶

Of the Son of man of Dn. 7:13, Fuller says that for many scholars this is a corporate title for Israel. Contrary to most British scholars of the era of *Foundations*, our author believes this term to be a designation of an individual agent of eschatological redemption.⁹⁷

The Servant of the Lord of Deutero-Isaiah is an agent of eschatological redemption,⁹⁸ however in the intertestamental period he was probably not seen as a messianic figure or an example of vicarious suffering for many.⁹⁹

The Eschatological Prophet was either a Moses *redivivus* or one similar to Moses.¹⁰⁰

While these first six titles, particularly Messiah (in its intertestamental use), Son of God (4QFlor. 10-14), Son of Man and the Eschatological Prophet,

⁹¹Fuller, *Foundations*, 23.

⁹²Ibid., 24.

⁹³Ibid., 27.

⁹⁴Ibid., 28f.

⁹⁵Ibid., 32.

⁹⁶Ibid., 33f.

⁹⁷Ibid., 36. For a detailed breakdown of English scholarship on the origin of Son of man, see idem., *Mission*, 95f, fn. 2.

⁹⁸Ibid., 44.

⁹⁹Ibid., 46.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 46.

were to yield positive results in the Palestinian church's eschatological interpretation of the person and work of Jesus of Nazareth, the final two, Rabbi and Mari did not as they were purely honorific titles.

Because of relatively stable conditions in the diaspora, Hellenistic Jews were concerned more with adapting to their present age than in preparing for the age to come¹⁰¹; hence Hellenistic Judaism, according to Fuller, contributed nothing to an eschatological christology; their contribution was to lay the groundwork for the shift from the eschatological to the cosmological.

In Hellenistic Jewish and Gentile Christianity Christos will become a title for the exalted or cosmic Christ as well the 'last name' for Ἰησοῦς.

Son of God is not used messianically in Hellenistic Judaism but is a title for θεῖος ἄνθρωπος who in Hellenistic Judaism is not the charismatically endowed divine man of the pagan world but the suffering devout Jew modelled after the Isaianic servant.¹⁰² The same could be said for Son of David, Son of man, the Servant and the Eschatological Prophet as was said for Christos and Son of God: they too lost their eschatological and hence messianic significance in the diaspora.

The real groundwork for Hellenistic Judaism's contribution to New Testament Christology lies first in its using κύριος to translate the Tetragrammaton: this word figures prominently in the Exaltation Christology of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission. Secondly, the diaspora's influence in the Adam/Christ typology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission and the Pre-existence and Incarnational Christology of that same stratum can be traced to its understanding of Wisdom, Logos and the First Man.¹⁰³ As for the concept

¹⁰¹Ibid., 62.

¹⁰²Ibid., 70.

¹⁰³Ibid., 72ff.

of High Priest which lies behind the writings of Philo and the Letter to the Hebrews Fuller points very tentatively to Ecclus. 45: 6-22 and Wis. 18: 24.¹⁰⁴

The titles of Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism that 'survive' to the world of the Hellenistic Gentile are κύριος and υἱὸς θεοῦ. As is to be expected they, along with θεός and σωτήρ, are not associated with either the Hebrew Bible or the LXX but with the imperial cultus and the mystery religions. However, Fuller rules out any significant, positive creative role the imperial cultus and the mystery religions may have played in the Hellenistic Gentile Mission. He does make one exception: the *understanding* of κύριος in relation to the sacramental participation in the fate of the one who is being worshipped may lie behind some passages in the New Testament relating to Baptism and the Eucharist.¹⁰⁵

The last two subjects Fuller takes up are the Gnostic Redeemer Myth and the Divine Man. Of the first Fuller concludes that it is little more than a piece of Germanic scholarly reconstruction, rather like Q but without Q's historical merit.¹⁰⁶ As to the latter, Fuller reminds us of what he said in his discussion of Hellenistic Judaism, that any divine man christology is dependent on Hellenistic Judaism and not on the pagan concept.¹⁰⁷

The importance of chs. 2-4 is that they show the reader that the shift from the eschatological to the cosmological and the ontological that led to the formation of New Testament Christology, reflection on the person of Jesus of Nazareth *sub specie Resurrectionis*, is an overwhelmingly Jewish phenomenon; that is, the significance of the christological titles of the New Testament is rooted not in the cults and their associate myths of the world of the Hellenistic Gentile, as the history of religions school taught several generations to believe, but in the Hebrew Bible and LXX. When pagan terminology, κύριος

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 80.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 92.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 95. As we shall see later on John P. Meier in *A Marginal Jew*, vol. 2, will say the same thing of Fuller's reconstruction of the θεός ἄνθρωπ myth in Mk.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 97f.

and σωτήρ, to name two, enter the picture, it is largely for polemical purposes: what the emperor falsely claimed can now be claimed to be true for Jesus.

The Historical Jesus

Following the discussion of 'The Tools', Fuller takes up the self-understanding of the historical Jesus.

Fuller's first christological work, *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus*, was devoted to correcting Bultmann's assertion that the message of the historical Jesus was one of the presuppositions, one of the things taken for granted, of the theology of the New Testament but was not part of its content. That is to say in no way was the eschatological Kingdom of God present in Jesus' words and deeds: Jesus stood no more than between the dawn and the irruption of the Kingdom. As we noted in our discussion of *Mission* Fuller coined a phrase, 'proleptic', 'anticipatory', or 'down payment' eschatology to describe the relationship between Jesus and the Kingdom. The phrase was intended as a reaction to the realized eschatology of C.H. Dodd which Fuller found to be based largely on a mistranslating of ἐγγίζω.¹⁰⁸ In other words, the ministry of Jesus amounted to a 'down payment' or 'first instalment' on the Kingdom; the cross was the 'final' payment, the messianic miracle *par excellence* after which the power of the living God will be exercised through the Messiah.¹⁰⁹

In *Foundations* Fuller admits that his position in *Mission* was too much a reaction not only against Bultmann's 'minimalist' Jesus but also against Dodd's realized eschatology which Fuller described as a christology without the cross.¹¹⁰ As we will see in our discussion of ch. 5, Fuller revises

¹⁰⁸ Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 21ff.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 42.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 48f.

significantly his estimation of Jesus' messianic life and rather modestly readjusts his position *vis à vis* Dodd.

In his revaluation of the position he took in *Mission* Fuller does not abandon the adjective 'proleptic', preferring instead to say that Jesus 'proclaims the proleptic presence of the future kingdom of God.'¹¹¹ Then he adds,

In Jesus' ministry God is already beginning his eschatological action, and will shortly consummate it. But the future consummation is not of a different quality from the present beginning.¹¹²

This is a significant advance on *Mission* where any actual establishment of the Kingdom is located on the other side of the cross. In *Mission* all signs of the approaching Kingdom are relegated to foretaste; one might say that Fuller describes them as 'the shadow of good things to come'. In *Mission* Jesus' ministry points to the cross as the greatest of the messianic miracles in that by it the Kingdom is established. In Fuller's treatment of the historical Jesus in *Foundations* the ministry points to the cross as Jesus' final offer of miraculous salvation in advance of an imminent parousia: the Kingdom as proclaimed in the ministry of Jesus is indeed the Kingdom, and not just its promise, its anticipation; all that it lacks is being extended throughout the world at the parousia.

To support his shift from *Mission* Fuller takes up Lk. 11:20 par., Mt. 13:16 par. and Lk. 15. With regard to Lk. 11:20 par. he notes that in his exorcisms and healings not only is the future Kingdom of God proleptically present, but there is an implicit christological concentration- the Kingdom of

¹¹¹Fuller, *Foundations*, 104.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 104.

God is *not* present when the Pharisees' disciples cast out demons.¹¹³ Fuller does not allow for such concentration in *Mission* : there Fuller makes a distinction between the plagues which preceded the Exodus and the Exodus itself that does not appear in Jesus' words. When Jesus says 'Blessed are the eyes which see what you see' Fuller now admits that the Kingdom is something more than an event just around the corner, or merely dawning, that it is indeed a visible, tangible reality.¹¹⁴ In Lk 15, the parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin and the Prodigal Son, Jesus is saying that God is already acting eschatologically in and through Jesus in seeking out and forgiving sinners.¹¹⁵

With regard to 'Abba', in *Mission* Fuller understood this form of address to indicate that Jesus enjoyed a relationship with God quite unlike any other Israelite. In *Foundations* Fuller applies this title to his own revised understanding of the presence of the Kingdom in the teaching of Jesus. When Jesus calls God 'Abba' he is not only describing God as someone who is near, someone who removes all cause of anxiety, but as someone who has drawn near in Jesus.¹¹⁶ And those who draw near to Jesus also draw near to the relationship Jesus enjoyed with his Father. Those who draw near to Jesus draw nearer to God than any other Israelite had ever done.

Jesus can call God 'Abba' because he has known him as the one who has drawn nigh in his own word and deed, and he admits

¹¹³Ibid., 105. Cf. idem, *Mission and Achievement*, 26, 27 "The fact that demons are yielding to his exorcisms is for Jesus so overwhelming proof, so vivid a sign, of the *proximity* of the Kingdom, that he speaks of it as though it had arrived already...Hence Matt. 12:28 par...supports our thesis that the Kingdom of God was for Jesus a future event."

¹¹⁴Ibid., 105. Cf. idem, 34, 'So in Matt. 13:16f the disciples (v. 10) are pronounced blessed, because they, unlike the prophets and righteous men of old, who looked forward to the Kingdom from afar, are privileged to see and hear the signs of the coming Kingdom in the ministry of Jesus, and thus to witness, not its arrival, but its dawning.'

¹¹⁵Fuller, *Foundations*, 105.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 106.

to the same privilege those who have responded to his own eschatological message.¹¹⁷

In *Mission* Fuller defined Jesus' death as the inbreaking of the Kingdom of God.¹¹⁸ In *Foundations* he says that Jesus' death, like his words, also carries with it an implicit christology¹¹⁹ in that Jesus understood the cross to be part of his eschatological ministry. It was his final challenge set in Jerusalem, the heart and centre of Judaism.¹²⁰ In his first work Fuller says that the cross establishes the Rule of God; in this present study Fuller appears to be saying that in the cross Jesus confronts Jerusalem with the Kingdom of God. In other words Fuller is saying that Jesus invests his death with christological import as part of the coming of God's salvation.

After having discussed his shift in the direction of an inaugurated as opposed to anticipatory eschatology and having described the cross as part of God's salvation rather than the event which inaugurated that salvation as though there were no permanent salvation being offered by Jesus prior to his death, Fuller studies christological titles and their relationship to Jesus' self-understanding.

Section 3 of chapter 5 represents a significant reworking of pp. 79-117 of *Mission*, 'The Raw Materials of Christology'. In this part of his first christological work Fuller said that Jesus understood his ministry in terms of the Deutero-Isaianic servant and that he would be vindicated as the glorified Son of man, whose functions he was partially fulfilling while on earth. In this chapter Fuller divests Messiah, the Son of David, Son of God, Servant, Kyrios

¹¹⁷Ibid., 106. In fn 20 Fuller notes that Hahn (*Christologische Hoheitstitel*, 327, idem, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, trans. Harold Knight and George Ogg, 312) says that at the beginning of Jesus' ministry everyone could say 'Father', now access to the Father is tied to Jesus. Fuller disagrees with Hahn. He, Fuller, replies that there is no christological contraction in Mt. 11:27; at no time could simply everyone call God 'Father'; only those who had responded positively to Jesus' message could be admitted to this privilege. Matt. 11:27 is 'an explicit expression (of the church?) of the implicit Christology of Jesus' own use of 'Abbā'.

¹¹⁸Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 77.

¹¹⁹Fuller, *Foundations*, 108.

¹²⁰Ibid., 107.

of much of the significance they held for Jesus' self-understanding and instead focuses on Prophet as the title which played the greatest part in Jesus' definition of his ministry. Jesus does not identify his ministry with a particular prophet but with prophecy, eschatological prophecy.

What was it that led Fuller to abandon his belief in the role the Suffering Servant played in the self-understanding of the historical Jesus? He came to the conclusion that the heavenly voice was a creation of the paidological christology of the Palestinian Church. If the baptism was not Jesus' call to fulfil by his death the destiny of the Suffering Servant, how then did Jesus interpret his baptism? Fuller finds the key not in the heavenly voice but in Matt. 11:12, 'From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence, and all the prophets and the law prophesied until John came...' Jesus understood his ministry to be both continuous and discontinuous with John. According to Fuller the ministry of John marked the point where the future Kingdom of God became a present factor. After his baptism Jesus crossed over into 'the proleptic presence of the age to come'.¹²¹ But there the similarity between John and Jesus ends: whereas John's eschatological ministry was a stern and preparatory ministry of repentance, Jesus, the last prophet, proclaimed an era of joyful salvation, for in him this salvation had broken through.¹²² Though he does not precisely say so, Fuller seems to be suggesting that in the ministry of John the Baptist the Kingdom of God is proleptically present; the ministry of John the Baptist marked a period of anticipation; John's preaching was the 'down payment', the 'first instalment' of the Kingdom of God.

Fuller finds references to Jesus' prophetic consciousness throughout the synoptic tradition. He cites Mk. 6:4 and Lk. 13:33 as indications that Jesus

¹²¹Ibid., 117.

¹²²Ibid., 117.

understood his role in prophetic terms, in so far as it involved rejection and martyrdom.¹²³

So central is Prophet to Jesus' self-understanding that it 'crowds out' other christological titles.

Having 'eliminated' the Isaianic Servant from Jesus' self-understanding it is not surprising that Fuller's understanding of Son of man should undergo considerable reworking since it was Jesus' 'Suffering Servant consciousness' that allowed Fuller to argue for the authenticity of all three classes of Son of man sayings.¹²⁴

In *Foundations* Fuller admits that in *Mission* he did not take seriously the inconsistencies among these passages.¹²⁵ He now finds it difficult to believe that in one instance Jesus would identify himself with the Son of man and at another differentiate between himself and that figure.¹²⁶ Fuller admits to some special pleading when he argued in favour of all three categories: he was determined to counter, with the help of the Suffering Servant, Bultmann's claim that Jesus' life was un-messianic.¹²⁷ In *Foundations* Fuller comes to the conclusion that only a 'future' saying where the distinction between Jesus and the Son of man is clearly set forth can lay any real claim to authenticity. But as we shall see below even in a statement where Jesus distinguishes himself from the Son of man there is an implicit messianism, albeit not of the Davidic type, hence an implied christology, or rather a foundation of christology.

Between *Mission* and *Foundations* Fuller came under the influence of H.E. Tödt, in particular the comments he made on Mk. 8:38 and Lk. 12:8 (Q). Of the Q version, the one closer to the original, Fuller quotes Tödt as saying,

¹²³Ibid., 127.

¹²⁴Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 103f.

¹²⁵Ibid., 122.

¹²⁶Ibid., 121.

¹²⁷Ibid., 122.

The mystery of this saying lies in the relation which exists between the fellowship of the disciples with Jesus and their participation in the salvation with the Son of man...[there is] a soteriological continuity...between Jesus and the Son of man.¹²⁸

Fuller takes Tödt's conclusions one step further when he says that the Son of man is not the bringer salvation. This began with Jesus:

The Son of man is brought in simply to reinforce the decisiveness of the present offer. The Son of man merely acts as a...rubber stamp at the End for the salvation which is already being imparted in Jesus. Despite the distinction between Jesus and the Son of man the ultimate import of this saying is therefore implicitly christological.¹²⁹

What Fuller seems to be saying is that if we take as a criterion for messianic self-consciousness the socio-political agenda of the Davidic Messiah, then yes, Jesus' life was definitely un-messianic. However, if one believes that through Jesus God was making his final offer of salvation and that the first stages of this salvation were already in place, then Jesus' life was most assuredly messianic. Of course Jesus does not proclaim himself Messiah, only God can do that. But in a saying such as Lk. 12:8 Jesus reveals himself, according to Fuller, as being supremely confident that God will, in the near future, proclaim him so.

Since Deutero-Isaiah and Son of man were so central to Fuller's portrait of Jesus in *Mission*, it is not surprising that in *Foundations* Messiah and Son of David are also considerably reworked.

In his section on the Messiah Fuller focuses on two passages: Peter's Confession at Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8:27-33), whose authenticity in *Mission*

¹²⁸Ibid., 122f.

¹²⁹Ibid., 123.

he accepted¹³⁰, and the preliminary investigation of Jesus before the Sanhedrin, the historicity of which he defended in *Mission* ¹³¹.

In his study of Peter's confession Fuller eliminates v. 30 as an example of Markan redaction (the Messianic Secret); he concludes that the passion prediction (31-32^a) had been combined with the confession before Mk. but did not originate with the scene and that 32^a was clearly constructed as a link between the passion and the rebuke of Peter. After subtracting these verses Fuller says we are faced with a straight pronouncement story where Jesus asks his disciples who people say he is; Peter says 'You are the Christ', and then Jesus tells Peter, 'Get behind me Satan'. Fuller goes on to say that Jesus rejects messiahship as a diabolical temptation.¹³²

Fuller accepts the authenticity of the preliminary investigation before the Sanhedrin: it is indubitably authentic that Jesus was crucified as a messianic pretender. ¹³³ He also recognizes that the High Priest asked Jesus if he were the Christ. But the words Mark has Jesus say, 'I am', when seen in the light of Caesarea Philippi, were probably not authentic.¹³⁴ Matthew's account, 'You have said so', is more likely to be closer to the original.¹³⁵ Fuller also says that Jesus' identification with the Son of man rules against the authenticity of 14:62^b.¹³⁶

In *Mission* Fuller said that Jesus came to understand his ministry as the fulfilment of the Deutero-Isaianic servant through his consciousness of being of the House of David.¹³⁷ Fuller also argued for the authenticity of Mk. 12:35-

¹³⁰ Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 109f.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 111.

¹³² Fuller, *Foundations*, 109. Cf. *idem*, *Mission and Achievement*, 110, 'He neither accepts it unqualifiedly (as one would expect him to accept it, if the episode were intended to be a post-Resurrection appearance), nor rejects it out of hand.'

¹³³ Fuller, *Foundations*, 110.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 110. Cf. *idem*, *Mission and Achievement*, 111.

¹³⁵ Fuller, *Foundations*, 110. Cf. *idem*, *Mission and Achievement*, 111, n.1

¹³⁶ Fuller, *Foundations*, 110f. Cf. *idem*, *Mission and Achievement*, 111.

¹³⁷ Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 115f.

37¹³⁸ and 10: 47-48.¹³⁹ In *Foundations* Fuller concedes that the former passage is more than likely a reflection of the debates of the early church and is probably of Hellenistic Jewish origin.¹⁴⁰

Fuller also rules against the authenticity of Mk. 10: 47, 48: in Judaism healing was not associated with the Davidic Messiah. Here, says Fuller, is an example of the christological reflection of the early church in which healing is incorporated into Davidic Sonship.¹⁴¹

That Davidic descent was not central to Jesus' self-understanding is found in Fuller's reworking of Mk. 11:10, whose authenticity in *Mission* he appears to accept.¹⁴² The scene, as reconstructed by Fuller, has only 'Hosanna! Hosanna in the highest!' as being authentic; Jesus is simply being greeted as another pilgrim.¹⁴³ To this the Hellenistic Jewish community added Ps. 117(LXX 118): 26 and then inserted the line, 'Blessed be the kingdom of our father David' which Fuller describes as originating in a separate liturgical tradition.¹⁴⁴

The original purpose then of the triumphal entry was not for Jesus to give his 'seal of approval' to Davidic Messiahship but to lay his eschatological challenge at the heart of Judaism.

In *Mission* the Suffering Servant does not figure prominently in Fuller's discussion of Son of God and Kyrios. This figure is not very far away though; for as we recall Isaianic Servanthood was the basis of Jesus' messianic sonship. It is not surprising then that Fuller does not seriously alter much of what he said in *Mission*. There is, however, one notable exception: In *Mission* he regarded the Markan Parable of the Vineyard (Mk. 12:6) as authentic, but doubted that there was any direct connection between Jesus and the *υἱὸς*

¹³⁸Ibid., 114.

¹³⁹Ibid., 115.

¹⁴⁰Fuller, *Foundations*, 111.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 111.

¹⁴²Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 115.

¹⁴³Fuller, *Foundations*, 112f.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 112. Cf. idem, *Mission and Achievement*, 115.

ἀγαπητός, that the phrase is a simile rather than a direct comparison.¹⁴⁵ In *Foundations* he entirely jettisons authenticity : it is, he says, an allegory of the church on the history of salvation.¹⁴⁶ As to Mk. 13:32 Fuller repeats what he said in *Mission*, , that lying behind this passage is probably an original Son of man saying.¹⁴⁷

Nor does Fuller radically alter his conclusions regarding Mt. 11:25-27, that while not an *ipsissimum verbum* is certainly the *ipsissima vox*.¹⁴⁸ In *Foundations* Fuller says that the passage is based directly on Jesus' use of 'Abba' : it is an indirect witness to Jesus' self-understanding.

While he asserted no explicit Messianic claim and displayed no direct Messianic consciousness, he was certainly conscious of a unique Sonship to which he was privileged to admit others through his eschatological ministry...That Father-Son relationship...was one involving 'choice and response, authority and obedience'.¹⁴⁹

As for Kyrios Fuller continues to defend the Palestinian origin and probable authenticity of this title.¹⁵⁰ In his previous work he argued on the basis of Mk. 12:35ff that Jesus gave his *imprimatur* to a heightened sense of this term.¹⁵¹ He reaffirms this conclusion in *Foundations* , but refers the reader to Lk. 6:46 as an example that Jesus approved of an enlarging of the sense of *kyrios* . Fuller concludes that when Jesus was addressed as Lord people were recognizing in him God's final offer of salvation.¹⁵²

Fuller's evaluation in *Foundations* of the message of the historical Jesus represents both continuity and discontinuity with *Mission* . It is continuous in

¹⁴⁵Fuller, *Mission and Achievement* , 83.

¹⁴⁶Fuller, *Foundations* , 114.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 114. Cf. idem, *Mission and Achievement* , 83.

¹⁴⁸Fuller, *Mission and Achievement* , 94.

¹⁴⁹Fuller, *Foundations* , 115. Cf. idem, *Mission and Achievement* , 85.

¹⁵⁰Fuller, *Mission and Achievement* , 111-114.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 113f.

¹⁵²Fuller, *Foundations* , 119.

that in both works Jesus is portrayed as an eschatological prophet with a unique filial consciousness and that in both books the Kingdom is described, in varying degree, as present in his message. It is discontinuous in that in *Mission* Jesus' prophetic and filial consciousness are tied closely to the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah; in *Foundations* Fuller admits that Jesus' Deutero-Isaianic awareness was a creation of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission: Jesus self-identity is not with a particular person but with the task and fate, particularly the fate, of prophets. As to Jesus' unique filial consciousness, both works agree that Jesus addressed God solely as 'Abba'; that it was at this point that Jesus' messianic sonship emerges. In both *Mission* and *Foundations* Fuller describes the Kingdom as being present in Jesus' ministry: however in the former work it is present in a proleptic sense; in latter study Fuller moves from proleptic eschatology, even though he still uses the word, towards a position that can best be described as inaugurated eschatology.

At this point I wonder whether or not it would have been helpful for Fuller to have abandoned the adjective proleptic or at least made a careful redefinition of what he means when he continues to use that word which played such a prominent role in *Mission* where he was as concerned about correcting the 'realized' eschatology of C.H. Dodd as he was in refuting Bultmann's statement about the ministry of the historical Jesus.

In *Mission* Fuller asked of Jesus' words to the paralytic, ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε, 'Did Jesus already in his earthly ministry dispense the eschatological salvation?'¹⁵³ Fuller answers that the ἄφεσις and σωτηρία dispensed in the healing miracles 'are instalments in advance made available as signs of what will later become universally available...[after] the supreme Messianic miracle is accomplished on the cross.'¹⁵⁴ However in *Foundations* Fuller remarks that,

¹⁵³ Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 41.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 42.

John's eschatological ministry was a stern and preparatory ministry of repentance. Jesus' ministry was the joyful and positive ministry of salvation. Here again for Jesus, *his baptism* [itals. mine] marks the point when the eschatological salvation burst through,¹⁵⁵

In our concluding remarks to *Mission* we noted Fuller's having overlooked Mk. 2:17^a. We then wondered if an 'inaugurated' or 'partially realized' eschatology would diminish the centrality and all-importance of the cross. We concluded that while such an eschatology alters the meaning of the cross this new meaning in no way lessens the cross' significance. In proleptic eschatology the cross establishes the kingdom; in inaugurated eschatology the cross is the Kingdom's final offer of salvation to Israel before the whole world is brought under the reign and judgement of God at the eschaton. An inaugurated eschatology does not destroy the centrality of the cross; it changes its meaning, but this meaning in no way affects the cross's cruciality.

In *Foundations* Fuller makes a deliberate move in the direction of a realized eschatology when he says things like (in reference to Jesus' mission to the outcast), 'Here he is the herald of a salvation which is *already breaking through* in his own conduct.'¹⁵⁶ He is virtually refuting the kind of eschatology he described in *Mission*. The Jesus described in *Foundations* is not a saviour who embarked upon a ministry of preparing people for the Kingdom of God which would be established after the cross, such a paradigm or program does not do justice to Mk. 2:17^a or to Lk. 11:20 par., 'But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come to you.' Jesus' ministry was to challenge people to follow him through whom God was already offering his final salvation. Proleptic simply will not do as a description of this kind of ministry. Fuller is describing 'inaugurated

¹⁵⁵Fuller, *Foundations*, 117.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., 128.

eschatology'; he is not describing Jesus' ministry as the kind taking place between the election of an American president and his inauguration where that person shows the public what to anticipate when he assumes office. Nor is he describing Jesus' ministry as the interval between rectors' calls to parishes and their first sermon. Proleptic Eschatology invites such fine distinctions between election/inauguration, call/first sermon/installation, down payment/final payment that the historical Jesus did not intend when he said what is reported of him in Mk. 1:15; 2:5, 17^a; and Lk. 11:20.

Fuller clung tightly to 'instalments in advance eschatology'¹⁵⁷ in *Mission* so that the cross would not lose any of its significance. In my concluding remarks to my discussion of *Mission* that, in the light of Mk. 2:17^a, an ever so slight move in the direction of a 'partially realized eschatology' would not rob the cross of any of its crucial meaning. I stand by this conclusion; but I wish now to draw these words into sharper focus with a reflection on *Mission*.

Jesus did not go up to Jerusalem to make present an event that had not yet happened any more than Isaiah was bringing about the defeat of Egypt and Ethiopia or that Jeremiah was causing Judah to be led into exile. When Isaiah walked naked and barefoot through the streets of Jerusalem to dramatize God's impending victory over Egypt and Ethiopia (Isa. 20:1-6) or when Jeremiah wore a yoke around his neck to symbolize Judah's coming exile in Babylon (Jer. 28: 1-17) they were not disclosing the future but were enacting events that *were already taking place*. In submitting to the forces opposed to God's Kingdom, the cross is Jesus' last prophetic act to demonstrate that this Kingdom was truly being established in and through Jesus. The cross is the first step, so to speak (the resurrection being the second), whereby God proclaims to Israel what Jesus had already established in his ministry. However, the resurrection is not only the vindication but the

¹⁵⁷Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 42.

promise that Christ will return to bring the whole world into the Kingdom of God. The cross confronts Israel with the Kingdom that was being established in Jesus' message; the resurrection confronts Israel with Christ; the parousia confronts the whole world with the Kingdom and its Christ.

The Kerygma of the Earliest Church

In chapter 6, 'The Kerygma of the Earliest Church', Fuller leaves off studying the message of the historical Jesus whose self-understanding lay in his vocation as a *sui generis* charismatically endowed eschatological prophet who inaugurated God's future salvation in the here and now, and begins to discuss the church's proclamation about Jesus. In this chapter which deals with the kerygma of the Aramaic-speaking Palestinian Church, we see how the eschatological message of Jesus - that through him the finger of God has come upon Israel (Lk. 11:20 par.)¹⁵⁸, becomes the eschatological kerygma of the earliest church where the risen Jesus has entered into a period of inactive waiting in heaven and will soon return not only as Lord, but as those offices which he rejected and distanced himself from: Messiah, Son of David, Son of God and Son of man. In *Foundation's* remaining chapters we will see the church not only continuing to offer salvation but proclaiming in such increasing depth and detail who it is who is continually offering salvation that Christians will have to begin to investigate the very nature of Christ's being, will have to move from the dynamic to the static, from the functional to the ontic, and from the ontic to the ontological. I will maintain throughout that this move from the dynamic to the ontic would not have come into being had not Jesus displayed a unique sonship in his use of 'Abba' and proclaimed that eschatological salvation had broken through in him.

¹⁵⁸Fuller, *Foundations*, 105.

It was the resurrection which stimulated the church into transforming the proclaimer into the one who is proclaimed. Jesus of Nazareth said that God was acting eschatologically in him, that in his words, his miracles, and his cross God was making his final offer of salvation, a salvation which would be consummated at the parousia. When Jesus was raised from the dead his disciples quickly understood that it had been revealed¹⁵⁹ to them that

the salvation which was enclosed in the words and deeds of Jesus is not a mere past memory, but is a salvation which continues to be offered always in the here and now.¹⁶⁰

The first Christians understood the resurrection to be a fulfilment of Jesus' eschatological message: God's kingdom had indeed been inaugurated in Jesus' lifetime; not only would Jesus' work be 'rubber-stamped' at the second coming, but Jesus would return as Son of God, Son of David, Son of man, Lord and Christ. To reinforce the earliest Christians' belief that the resurrection was a vindication of prophecy that Jesus would return as the Son of man and Messiah, the Palestinian Church couched Jesus' earthly ministry in the mould of the eschatological prophet of Deut. 18:15 and it created additional Son of man sayings such as Mk. 14:62.¹⁶¹ When the parousia seemed to have been delayed but as the church continued to experience Jesus' presence in the church as Messiah, Lord, and Son of God in the apostles' teaching and in the miracles they performed, it came to realize that he had been Messiah, Lord and Son of God from the beginning. As we continue through the remaining chapters of *Foundations* we will see how Jesus' eschatological claims about God's presence in his words and acts caused to church to make christological claims

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 142.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., 143.

¹⁶¹Ibid., 160.

about God's eschatological presence in Jesus: God brings to completion all his promises to Israel not only in Jesus' words and deeds but in Jesus himself.

Because it saw itself as living under the shadow of an imminent second coming of the prophet Jesus of Nazareth, risen and installed as Messiah-designate, the Palestinian Church interpreted Jesus' ministry as the fulfilment of prophecy. These Christians responded to their situation as that of living in a time of realization and expectation with what Fuller describes as a Two Foci Christology: the earthly Jesus becomes the Mosaic prophet-servant; at his resurrection he is revealed as Son of God and installed in heaven as Messiah-designate where he will remain until he returns to earth as Son of man, Messiah, and Lord.¹⁶⁴

Fuller considers the greatest contribution, though not the first, of the Palestinian Church to the Christology of the NT to have been in describing Jesus' ministry in terms of the eschatological prophet of Deut. 18:15-19.

The hand of the Palestinian Church in this regard is to be found in Peter's second kerygmatic sermon (Acts 3:12-26).¹⁶⁵ Fuller cites v.13, 'The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob' as recalling Moses' vision of the burning bush (Ex. 3:16); in v. 15 ἀρχηγός brings to mind Acts 7:35 where Moses is called ἄρχοντα and λυτρωτήν. Says Fuller of this speech,

...all the emphasis rests on the decisiveness of Jesus' eschatological proclamation, and on the dire consequences of its rejection.¹⁶⁶

Fuller continues to describe the creativity of the Palestinian tradition in his study of Jesus' baptism. While recognising a certain amount of Hellenistic colouring (the descent of the dove¹⁶⁷ and the use of Ps. 2:7) in the passage

¹⁶⁴Ibid., 173, 244.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., 167f.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 168.

¹⁶⁷Prof. Richard Bauckham has pointed out that the dove may belong to the stratum of the historical Jesus since nowhere in scripture is the descent of a dove associated with the descent

Fuller is reasonably certain that this pericope is based on Palestinian 'paidology' and that the 'paidology' is Mosaic rather than Suffering Servant.¹⁶⁸ Fuller also points out that Mark's version of the Temptation recalls Moses' and Elijah's fasting for forty days and forty nights in the wilderness.¹⁶⁹ The application of Isa. 61:1 to Jesus' sermon in the synagogue of Nazareth (Lk. 4:17-19) replicates the christology of the baptism narrative at its earliest form.¹⁷⁰ Jesus' answer to John, the authenticity of which is not often questioned, is prefaced by a question, 'Are you the Coming One?' which Fuller says contains a title for the eschatological prophet, ὁ ἐρχόμενος.¹⁷¹ And in passages similar to Mt. 11:4-6 where Jesus' miracles are being interpreted (Lk. 24:19, Acts 2:22) Fuller discerns a Palestinian prophet-servant typology¹⁷²: such is even the case in Jn. 6:14, 'This is indeed the prophet who is to come into the world.'¹⁷³ The Palestinian tradition is also present in the transfiguration according to Mark (9:2-8). The Heavenly Voice is a combination of Ps. 2:7, Isa. 42:1 and Deut. 18:15; and, as in the baptism, an *avdi* stood behind 'my beloved son'.¹⁷⁴ In fact Luke, in having Moses and Elijah speak to Jesus of his ἐξόδος, goes to some length to preserve the Palestinian character of this story.¹⁷⁵

Another example of the Palestinian church's living in a time of the fulfilment of prophecy is in its emphasis on the parousia as the second focal

of the Spirit. But cf. L.E. Keck in 'The Spirit and the Dove' in *NTS* 17 (1970-71): 41-67, who argues that the original meaning of Mark's ὡς περιστερᾶν was adverbial (as a dove) rather than adjectival (like a dove), metaphorical rather than mythological. (63) However, as Robert A. Guelich (*Mark 1-8:26*) points out, this explanation does not take into account that Jesus 'saw' the Spirit: 'Jesus could hardly have "seen" an invisible spirit descending "as a dove"'. (32)

¹⁶⁸ Fuller, *Foundations*, 172.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 170.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 170.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 171. Cf. Hahn, *Hoheitstitel*, 393 and idem, *Titles* 387f.

¹⁷² Ibid., 171.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 171.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 172.

¹⁷⁵ An interesting example of possible Lukan redaction in this direction is seen in 9:29, τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον. Mk. and Mt. read καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν. Fuller suggests μετεμορφώθη represents 'substantial' thinking (*Foundations*, 172). Lk. softens this 'Hellenism' by substituting ἕτερον.

point of its Two Foci Christology. Fuller considers this christologizing to be earlier than the Mosaic prophet-servant typology.¹⁷⁶ This emphasis is best seen in this community's creation of what Fuller describes as 'The Most Primitive Christology of All.'¹⁷⁷

First, the Palestinian church preserved those sayings (e.g. Mk. 8:38 and Lk. 12:8 (Q)) where Jesus maintained a distinction between himself and the Son of man as a way of (1) identifying Jesus with that figure, as if to say (2) 'What Jesus foresaw has now come to pass'. The earliest church also formed additional 'future' Son of man sayings: it heightened the apocalyptic element of Mk. 8:38¹⁷⁸ and it created Mk. 13:26 and 14:62. In these sayings Jesus is seen as referring not to another person but to himself.¹⁷⁹

Of these three verses 14:62 affords us the best clue as to the second focal point of the earliest christology of the Palestinian church, the parousia.

At one time Fuller agreed with J.A.T. Robinson that this verse does not referring to the parousia but to the ascension.¹⁸⁰ Fuller reasoned that the 'one like a son of man' is 'brought to the Ancient of Days'¹⁸¹; and he found Robinson's suggestion that 'sitting on the right hand' and 'coming on the clouds of heaven' are two ways of saying the same thing to be altogether 'brilliant'.¹⁸² But in *Foundations* Fuller decides that the second half of this verse is indeed a reference to the parousia: following a brief interval the Son of man is first revealed sitting on the right hand of God; he will then be seen coming on the clouds of heaven.¹⁸³ He finds this interpretation to be consistent with the christology of the earliest church which had not yet begun to reflect on the ascended Christ's activity in heaven and which believed that

¹⁷⁶Fuller, *Foundations*, 143-151.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., 143.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., 122.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., 144, 145.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., 146.

¹⁸¹Ibid., 146.

¹⁸²Ibid., 146.

¹⁸³Ibid., 146.

after a very short period of inactive waiting in heaven it would see Jesus sitting on the right hand of power and returning to earth, trailing clouds of glory.¹⁸⁴

Secondly, the Palestinian church created some 'present' Son of man sayings. In these verses the Palestinian church, in identifying the historical Jesus with the coming Son of man, is, in the light of their understanding of the resurrection as the promise of an imminent fulfilment of prophecy, putting its own 'rubber stamp', so to speak, on the authority by which Jesus was claiming to be operating.¹⁸⁵ These sayings, says Fuller, reflect the earliest church's conflict with the authorities and express, together with Mk. 14:62, 'The Most Primitive Christology of All': While on earth Jesus functioned with authority as the proleptic Son of man; after his resurrection he is seated on the right hand of God; after a brief interval he will return in glory as the transcendent Son of man.

In addition to its Parousia Christology the Palestinian church expanded the historical Jesus' interpretation of his death as God's final offer of salvation by creating some 'suffering' Son of man sayings (Mk. 8:31; 9:12; 10:45 and 14:24) to represent their interpretation of the death of Jesus as the fulfilment of scripture, hence the fulfilment of prophecy. According to Fuller the use of Psalm 118:22 in connection with Mk. 8:31 and 9:12 (e.g. ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι—'to be rejected', ἐξουθενεῖσθαι—'to be set at nought') is the first time scripture is used to interpret the cross and therefore represents not only the earliest interpretation of Christ's death as fulfilment of scripture, but the earliest interpretation of Christ's death.¹⁸⁶

While Isa. 53 is behind Mk. 10:45^b and 14:24 and is both early and Palestinian, this soteriological interpretation of the cross is not part of the

¹⁸⁴Ibid., 146f.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., 148.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., 153

earliest stratum.¹⁸⁷ Fuller believes the use of Ps. 118:22 to be earlier than that of Isa. 53 because its theme of rejection is closer to Jesus' own interpretation of the significance of his death: like the prophets before him, Jesus went up to Jerusalem knowing that, in all likelihood, he would be rejected; but he also went up to Jerusalem confident that he would be vindicated. This is the implicit christology lying behind the authentic 'future' Son of man saying Lk. 12:8. Here Jesus expresses confidence that the Son of man will vindicate the prophetic-eschatological salvation his ministry has been offering.¹⁸⁸

The Palestinian church completely reworked the titles *Mashiach*, Lord and Son of David in another effort to give expression to its belief that the significance of the ministry of the historical Jesus lay in the fulfilment of the work of the eschatological prophet of Deut. 18:15: or to put it another way—that God had raised up one like Jesus to bring to fulfilment the history of Israel.

The Palestinian church applied *Mashiach* (which entered the Palestinian church as an equivalent of the future Son of man¹⁸⁹) Lord, and Son of David to Jesus at his installation/parousia and then retrojected *Mashiach* to the passion where it becomes in 1 Cor. 15:3-5, which Fuller strongly believes to be of Palestinian origin, a title for the crucified Jesus¹⁹⁰; Lord and Son of David are then moved from the parousia to the earthly ministry of Jesus.

'My Lord' and 'our Lord' originated, says Fuller, in Palestinian Christianity.¹⁹¹ According to our author they served the same functions as Son of man: to express the *exousia* of Jesus in his earthly ministry and, in the liturgy, to invoke him in his return as Son of man, Son of God and *Mashiach*.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., 153. Fuller is reasonably certain that κατὰ τὰς γράφας in 1 Cor. 15:3 does not refer to Isa. 53 but to Ps. 118:22. This is a view which Hahn defends. See idem, *Hoheitstitel*, 57-59 and idem. *Titles*, 57, n. 25.

¹⁸⁸Fuller, *Foundations*, 123.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., 159.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., 161.

¹⁹¹Ibid., 156.

In *Mission* Fuller said that Jesus came to his Deutero-Isaianic consciousness through his awareness of having been born into a royal house.¹⁹² However in *Foundations* Fuller removes Son of David from Jesus' self-understanding¹⁹³ and ascribes all Son of David passages either to the kerygmata of the Palestinian church and the Hellenistic Jewish Mission. In the former stratum passages such as Mk. 11:10, Lk. 1:32f and Rev. 3:17, 5:5, and 22:16¹⁹⁴ refer to Jesus as the transcendental Davidic Messiah at the parousia.¹⁹⁵

On what grounds did the Palestinian church include Messiah and Son of David in the kerygma? There was an 'iron-clad' excuse for *maran(a)* - the historical Jesus had sanctioned its heightened use¹⁹⁶ But there was no such *raison d'être* for Messiah and Son of David, the former, in fact, Jesus regarded as a 'diabolical temptation.'¹⁹⁷ It is Fuller's belief that the authority lay in the resurrection. It had not only vindicated all of Jesus' claims, it had, at the same time, made these titles obsolete as expressions of the hopes of Jewish nationalism. Also, as the resurrection had 'overturned' Jesus conviction as a Davidic messianic pretender, these titles seemed especially appropriate.¹⁹⁸

We have thus far seen how the resurrection 'entitled' the Palestinian church to apply Lord, Son of man Messiah and Son of David to the eschatological Jesus and then to retroject Messiah to the cross and Lord, Son of man, and Son of David to Jesus' ministry where he appears as 'heir-apparent'. But in what capacity did the earliest church understand the resurrected Jesus?

Fuller believes that the title Son of God was first associated with Jesus at the resurrection. Hahn, however, contends that, based on Lk. 1:32f., Mk.

¹⁹² Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 115f.

¹⁹³ Fuller, *Foundations*, 163.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 162f.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 162.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 119.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 109.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 159

14:61f. and 1 Thess. 1:9f., this title was used first in connection with the parousia.¹⁹⁹ Fuller admits that Lk. 1:32f. refers to the parousia, but 1 Thess. he believes to be a remnant of the parousia concept in Hellenistic Jewish Christianity, and he surmises that Mk. 14:61f. may antedate the Markan version of Jesus' reply. Fuller does, however, accept Hahn's formulation, but only taking place after the term was applied to Jesus at his resurrection.²⁰⁰ In other words Jesus is raised as Son of God then he is installed as Son of God, Lord, Son of David, Son of man and Messiah designate.

Our author arrives at this conclusion after a careful analysis of the pre-Pauline formula lying behind Rom. 1:3-5 which Hahn contends is of Hellenistic Jewish rather than of Palestinian origin.²⁰¹ After eliminating what he considers to be obvious Hellenistic elements from these verses (σάρξ-πνεῦμα, ἐν δυνάμει, κατὰ σάρκα, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης) Fuller reconstructs what he is reasonably certain to have been a Palestinian formula:

γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ
ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ
ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν.²⁰²

Fuller asks if this passage represents an 'adoptionist' christology. Ὀρισθέντος, he says, does not mean appointed to an office exercised 'from this moment on', but 'predetermined' from the time of (ἐξ) the resurrection to be the eschatological Son of God at the parousia. He bases his conclusion on parallels he finds in Acts 3:20, 10:42 and 17:31. He says,

In the Palestinian formula Jesus is not *adopted* at the resurrection to a new status or function, but *pre-determined* to be the eschatological judge at the parousia.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹Cf. Hahn, *Hoheitstitel*, 288ff., and idem, *Titles*, 284ff.

²⁰⁰Fuller, *Foundations*, 164.

²⁰¹Cf. Hahn, *Hoheitstitel*, 251-259, and idem, *Titles*, 246ff.

²⁰²Fuller, *Foundations*, 165.

²⁰³*Ibid.*, 166.

In other words Fuller appears to be saying that Jesus does not become Son of God at the resurrection; rather after the resurrection the church understood that Jesus had been destined to be Son of God at the parousia. Jesus was aware of his divine sonship but this, like Messiah, could not be revealed until his call to an eschatological ministry which he had received at his baptism had been completed²⁰⁴ :

...[Son of God] at the earliest stage...must have been intended to refer to the earthly Messiahship which Jesus rejected, in the words, 'You have said it.'...²⁰⁵

The Palestinian church saw itself as living in a time of fulfilment of prophecy, hence the Two Foci Christology. The historical Jesus, who after his baptism embarked on a mission of eschatological prophecy, becomes for the first Christians the eschatological prophet of Deut. 18:15. At his baptism he is addressed as *'abdi* ; it is only at the later Hellenistic Jewish stage, when Exaltation Christology replaces Eschatological Christology, that the enthronement psalm (2:7) is added to the kerygma. But this church also believed that the historical Jesus in distancing himself from Son of man, Son of God, Messiah, implied²⁰⁶ that God would proclaim him as such. ²⁰⁷This, the first Christians believed, God would do at the parousia, the second focal point of their Two Foci Christology.

In reinterpreting the historical Jesus in terms of the eschatological prophet and in giving soteriological significance to his death, resurrection and second coming by the use of the christological titles from which Jesus

²⁰⁴Ibid., 116.

²⁰⁵Ibid., 164.

²⁰⁶Fuller's exact words are, 'Its [the Palestinian church's] Christology of Jesus as the Mosaic prophetic servant in his earthly life...conveyed in terms of an explicit Christology precisely what Jesus had *implied* about himself throughout his ministry.' (Ibid., 173, *itals*, mine)

²⁰⁷Ibid., 244.

distanced himself, the first Christians, says Fuller, not only began the process of christology, reflection on the work and person of Jesus of Nazareth in light of the resurrection, but laid the groundwork for the Exaltation Christology of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission and the *Katabasis/Anabasis* Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission.

The Hellenistic Jewish Mission

When the Palestinian community transferred to the historical Jesus the role of the eschatological prophet of Deut. 18:15 and identified the ascended One with the Coming Son of Man, Messiah, Lord, it was not only christologizing the earthly Jesus' ministry of eschatological prophecy, it was making possible the deeper theological reflection on the person of Jesus as he was extant in heaven and as he had lived on earth that took place during the Hellenistic Jewish Mission.²⁰⁸

What Fuller calls the Two Foci Christology of the earliest church was created to meet the needs of Christians who were living in an age of fulfilment of prophecy and were hence expecting an imminent parousia. However, when the gospel was preached to Greek-speaking Jews Fuller says the missionaries were faced with a people having different needs. First, the delay of the parousia and the relatively stable political condition in the diaspora occasioned a shift of interest from the eschatological to the cosmological and ethical. Secondly, the ongoing preaching of the apostles and the miracles they performed in Jesus' name suggested that Jesus was not inactively waiting in heaven but was exercising his messiahship and lordship

²⁰⁸It ought to be noted that at no time does Fuller fall back on the now largely discredited notion that the Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians represented 'conservative' Christianity whereas Greek-speaking Jewish Christians were forward thinking liberals. On the 'eclipse' of this dichotomy, see Craig C. Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews*, 1-4. Fuller believes that the Palestinian church did not press forward to ontological issues such as incarnation and pre-existence because questions concerning these issues were not being asked at the time the Two Foci Christology was being formulated (Idem, *Foundations*, 174).

in the church. Thirdly, the gospel was being delivered to potential converts reared on the LXX and not the Hebrew Bible.

According to Fuller these three factors, these needs and special interests, helped to transform the Two Foci Christology of the Palestinian church into the Two Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission, a christology which described Jesus as having been exalted to Lord, Christ, and Son of God, because he had, to some extent, been Lord, Christ and Son of God while on earth. In Fuller's words,

...[the earthly life] became a preliminary stage in his messiahship. The messianic titles are pushed back into the earthly life, though without losing the sense that there was a 'plus' conveyed by the exaltation.²⁰⁹

The resurrection had vindicated Jesus' ministry of eschatological prophecy and had 'entitled' him, as it were, to return under the titles from which he had distanced himself; the delay of the parousia and the experience of Jesus' ongoing presence in the church as Christos and Kyrios gave the Hellenistic Jewish Mission the reason, the time and the means to reflect further on the significance of an eschatological ministry vindicated by an event wholly without precedence, a resurrection from the dead.

The catalyst, Fuller says, was the LXX.

Fuller believes the earliest use of the LXX in interpreting Jesus in the light of the resurrection and the delay of the parousia is to be found in Acts 2:36 where 'my lord' is applied to Jesus.²¹⁰ Fuller believes this would have been impossible in the Aramaic community because *adonai* in the Hebrew Bible is used only of God; Jesus is never addressed as such, only as *maran(a)*.²¹¹ However, it must be noted that *adoni*, which does not refer to

²⁰⁹Ibid., 245.

²¹⁰Ibid., 184ff.

²¹¹Ibid., 185f.

God but to the non-divine Messiah, not *adonai*, is applied to Jesus. Whereas the Palestinian church conceived of Jesus as having been 'assumed' into heaven after the manner of the 'one like a son of man' who is 'brought to the Ancient of Days, the missionaries to the diaspora claimed that Jesus had been exalted to and enthroned as *κυριός μου* and *Christos*. This is the first stage of the exaltation christology of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission; in the second stage YHWH-*kyrios* texts such as Joel 3:5 (Rom. 10:13)²¹² are applied to Jesus. This is not a transference of being but of function. The Hellenistic Jewish community was not beginning to think of the divinity of Jesus; it was proclaiming that through the exalted Jesus God is now performing the functions of deity.²¹³ God is, so to speak, exercising his power 'in the name of Jesus'. However Fuller is equally careful to point out that such a use of scripture could hardly have been overlooked by the missionaries to the Hellenistic Gentiles as they searched for ways to interpret the Exalted One to people more at ease with concepts of being.²¹⁴

After the exaltation Fuller turns his attention to the second stage (which in chronological order is the first stage) of the christology of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission: Jesus' earthly work.

Son of David, a title which Fuller says Jesus rejected and which the Palestinian church applied to Jesus at the parousia²¹⁵, was completely reworked by the Hellenistic Jewish missionaries. They transformed it from an eschatological title to one describing a 'pastoral' and ethical office. Fuller points to the Blind Bartimaeus pericope (Mk. 10:46-52) where Davidic descent represents not so much royal descent but a sort of *noblesse oblige*, the obligation and the authority to heal. Fuller believes the missionaries could 'get away' with a reinterpretation of Davidic Messianism along ethical rather

²¹²Ibid., 186 and 198 n.13.

²¹³Ibid., 186.

²¹⁴Ibid., 197.

²¹⁵Ibid., 162.

than eschatological lines because they were ministering to a people relatively untouched by nationalistic fervour.

Jesus is qualified for the Messianic office which he performs from the time of his resurrection not by mere physical descent, but by his sovereign sympathy and powerful treatment of the sick and suffering.²¹⁶

Son of David, however, was not the only christological title which was extended into Jesus' earthly life. Fuller says that Mk. 1:24; 5:7 and Mt. 11:2 are clear examples of Christos being extended to Jesus' earthly life and covering the work of Jesus as the eschatological prophet.²¹⁷

Are these verses examples of the christologizing of a life that was not previously christological? Without further elaboration Fuller says that it was not.²¹⁸ However from what Fuller had said in his study of the historical Jesus about implicit and explicit christology²¹⁹ what seems to be going on here is the making explicit of what was implicit in the Two Foci Christology of the Palestinian church. This church had stopped short of an 'in depth' christologizing of Jesus' earthly life because it expected his imminent return; however by identifying him with the apocalyptic Son of man, by applying Son of God to the risen Jesus, Christos to Jesus first at the ascension and then

²¹⁶Ibid., 189. For the *Sitz im Leben* of Hellenistic Judaism with regard to the Davidic Messiah see *ibid.*, 65.

²¹⁷Ibid., 191f.

²¹⁸Fuller's exact words are,

For it is expressing in terms intelligible to the Hellenistic Jewish world that the whole history of Jesus is God's saving, eschatological act, 'his presence and his very self'.
(*Ibid.*, 197)

²¹⁹See *Ibid.*, 130f.

The basic datum of NT Christology is not the concept of Jesus as eschatological prophet, but his proclamation and activity which confront men and women with the presence and saving act of God breaking into history and his utter commitment and entire obedience to the will of God which made him the channel of that saving activity. To interpret this datum in terms of explicit Christology was the task of the post-Easter church...

See also *Ibid.*, 143,

In this way the proclaimer became the proclaimed and the implicit Christology of Jesus becomes the explicit Christology of the church.

to the cross, and by the use of *maran(a)* and Son of David to cover Son of man it 'implied' that the Risen and Proclaimed One was from the beginning of his life suited to these titles, but could not be accorded them until he had completed the mission of the eschatological prophet.

At the end of ch. 7 Fuller takes up the contributions of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission which were to have the most far-reaching consequences in the Pre-existence Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission: the addition of υἱὸς ἀγαπητός Mk. 12:6²²⁰ and the Virgin Birth.²²¹

Of the first Fuller says that this is another example of moving back of Son of God into Jesus' earthly existence: the deepening or intensification of the significance of Jesus' earthly ministry. However Fuller is quick to add that the 'sending' motif is not modelled on the gnostic redeemer myth but on the Hellenistic Jewish modified conception of the divine man.²²²

For the first time the Son's pre-existence is broached: God 'had' yet one, a beloved Son...even before he 'sent' him.²²³

One might well ask Fuller why he thinks 'beloved son' of Mk. 12: 6 belongs to the Hellenistic Jewish Mission while similar language appears in the baptismal narrative. Fuller addresses this issue when he states that behind σύ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου of Mk. 1:11 lay παῖς. The transition from the Palestinian παῖς to the Hellenistic Jewish υἱός was facilitated by the fact that παῖς can mean 'child'.²²⁴

Fuller more or less side-steps the issue of whether the Virgin Birth is historical fact or kerygmatic truth by focusing on its origin and christological intent. As to its origin Fuller says that the evidence of LXX Isa. and the fact that the notion of pneumatic conception was well-established in Hellenistic

²²⁰Ibid., 194.

²²¹Ibid., 195ff.

²²²Ibid., 70f.

²²³Ibid., 194.

²²⁴Ibid., 193.

Judaism militates strongly in favour of its origin having been in the Hellenistic Jewish Mission.²²⁵

The Hellenistic Jewish Mission therefore created a two-stage christology based on the Palestinian Two Foci Christology. The earliest church had proclaimed that Jesus, the Mosaic Prophet, would return as Son of man, Son of God, Son of David, Lord and Christ after a brief period of 'non-titular' inactivity in heaven where he had been installed only as Messiah-designate. The delay of the parousia gave the missionaries to diaspora Jews in Palestine and throughout the eastern Mediterranean time to reflect more deeply on the significance of the resurrection for Jesus' earthly life and heavenly status. The result of their reflection was the creation of a Two Step Christology. The earthly life of Jesus becomes the first step or stage of his messiahship; after his resurrection he is enthroned as Kyrios (Acts 2: 34ff.) then as YHWH-kyrios (Joel 3:5/Rom. 10:13) and Son of God (Mk.12:6)

A careful reading of *Foundations* leaves the reader with the impression that in no way was the Hellenistic Jewish Mission suggesting that God appointed Jesus to these offices as though they he had never before held them; in their worship of Jesus in the Spirit it was more than likely revealed to the church that Jesus had been functioning in these various dignities throughout his historical ministry and would continue to do so until he returned at the End Time to bring his work to completion.

This Two Stage Christology was not a *Creatio ex Nihilo*. It all began when Jesus announced that through him, his words and his deeds, the Kingdom of God had broken into time; that 'Abba-God had drawn near to men and women in and through Jesus'.²²⁶ This process continued, according to Fuller, when the first Christians identified the historical Jesus with the eschatological prophet of Deut. 18:15 and so related the Christ-event to God's

²²⁵Ibid., 195ff.

²²⁶Ibid., 106.

saving acts in Israel's history²²⁷; it also proclaimed that at the parousia God would have bestowed on Jesus the titles he had once, in filial obedience, distanced himself from. What the Hellenistic Jewish Mission did was to 'think christologically' about the saving events of Christ's ministry which they were continuing to experience in the church. However, had not the historical Jesus made certain implicit christological claims about himself, i.e., his use of '*Abbā*', his extension of this unique sonship to his followers, his proclamation that the Kingdom of God was present only in him, the retrojection of Messiah, Son of God, etc., would have been an unwarranted christologizing of a life that was indeed unchristological.

The delay of the parousia and the experience of the risen Christ in the power of the Spirit encouraged Greek-speaking Jewish Christians to see beyond the eschatological and soteriological to the cosmological and ethical. That is to say, while the Palestinian church focused on Jesus' return at the parousia and the salvific significance of his death-he is the 'coming' Son of man and the 'suffering' Son of man²²⁸, the Hellenistic Jewish Mission created a Two Stage, *adoni* -YHWH-*kyrios*, Exaltation Christology²²⁹ and at the same time described him as uniquely qualified for the messianic office because of 'his sovereign sympathy and powerful treatment of the sick and suffering'.²³⁰ While the 'concept Prophet' enabled the Palestinian Church to relate the ministry of Jesus to the exodus and Israel's rejection of the prophets²³¹, it proved inadequate to people for whom prophecy remained unfulfilled, but who were experiencing the Prophet's presence in the church's ongoing life. Something had to be articulated about the nature of the relationship between God, the risen Christ and his presence in the continuing church. Hence the Two Stage Christology: the historical ministry of Jesus,

²²⁷Ibid., 174.

²²⁸Ibid., 144, 153.

²²⁹Ibid., 185f.

²³⁰Ibid., 189.

²³¹Ibid., 174.

Christ, Lord, Son of God, Son of David, becomes the first step to his exalted Messiahship and Lordship.

The Hellenistic Gentile Mission

Just as the application of 'concept Prophet' to the historical Jesus made it possible for the revaluation of Jesus' ministry which took place during the Hellenistic Jewish Mission, the retrojection of Son of God from the exaltation to the earthly Jesus and the application of YHWH-*kyrios* to the Exalted Christ laid the necessary foundations for the ontic developments of the gentile mission.²³²

When the Greek-speaking Jewish missionaries began to preach to Gentiles (Fuller is quite clear in stating that the Hellenistic Gentile Mission was a continuation of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission: that it was a mission of Jew to Gentile and not Gentile to Gentile ²³³) they found that their Two-Step Christology had to be taken one step further in order to incorporate the world-view of the Hellenistic Gentile which consisted of a three-storied universe- heaven, earth, and the underworld, a universe under the thrall of 'powers', a world in need of redemption brought about through a revelation which comes from the world above and ascends to it again.²³⁴ In order to deal with this particular *Weltanschauung* the missionaries drew on the sophia myth and Adam/Christ typology which were of little use in their previous mission.

Therefore in order to make the Christ Event truly gospel, 'good news', the Hellenistic Gentile Mission had to draw out the full inference of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission's elaboration of Mark's Parable of the Vineyard (Mk. 12:6) and its application of Ps. 110:1 (LXX) to Jesus' ascension and exaltation.

²³²Ibid., 197.

²³³Ibid., 203.

²³⁴Ibid., 207.

At the beginning of this chapter Fuller turns his attention to six christological hymns which he feels are the best examples of the three-stage christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission: Phil. 2:6-11, Col. 1:15-20, I Tim. 3:16, 1 Pet. 3:18-22 (1:20), Heb. 1:1-4 and Jn. 1:1-14.

With the exception of Jn. 1:1-14, which deals only with pre-existence and incarnation, pre-existence, incarnation, and resurrection-exaltation are spread out relatively evenly throughout the other hymns.

Pre-existence, according to the author of the Philippians hymn means that the Redeemer is ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ, he exists in a state of being equal to God.²³⁵ This application of the sophia myth in reference to pre-existence is found also in Col. 1:15-20. Here ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ is implied. What the author of Colossians is describing is the Pre-existent One's being an agent of creation²³⁶ as well as its sustainer²³⁷, an idea not put forward in Philippians. In 1 Timothy pre-existence is never described but is implied in the line 'Who was manifested in the flesh'.²³⁸

Fuller accepts Bultmann's reconstruction of 1 Pet. 3:18-22²³⁹ and would place 1: 20 at the beginning. This hymn differs from the others in that the sophia myth is deployed to suggest pre-destination in the Christ's pre-existence²⁴⁰ as though the Redeemer pre-existed only in the mind of God:

However προεγνωσμένος should probably be translated 'known beforehand'. God 'knew' the Redeemer in a Johannine sense before the creation.²⁴¹

²³⁵Ibid., 208.

²³⁶Ibid., 214f.

²³⁷Ibid., 215.

²³⁸Ibid., 217.

²³⁹Ibid., 218.

²⁴⁰Ibid., 219.

²⁴¹Ibid., 219.

Of the Hebrews passage Fuller says that pre-existence suggests a more supportive role of the Redeemer: he upholds 'the universe by his word of power' (Heb. 1:3)²⁴²

The most detailed description of the Redeemer's pre-existent state is in Jn. 1:1-14. Among the things that make these verses distinct from the other passages is the fact that, in addition to being *μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός* and sharing the 'godness' of God, a trait barely implied in the other hymns (though *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ* might be a possible exception), the pre-existent Logos is also distinct from God- it was *πρὸς τὸν θεόν*, that is 'turned towards God'.²⁴³ Secondly the Logos is not only the agent of creation as described in Col. 1:15-20 but of revelation as well²⁴⁴- *ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς ἀνθρώπων*.

The second theme these hymns take up is incarnation. In the Philippians material incarnation is described as *kenosis* ²⁴⁵, self-emptying. Of his own free will the Redeemer abandons the status and privileges of deity in order to share the fate common to all humanity-slavery to the powers of this world and death. This portrait of the Incarnate One represents something of a departure from Palestinian and Hellenistic Jewish Christianity which by the use of christological titles stress the uniqueness of Jesus' historical ministry.²⁴⁶ In fact the Colossians hymn mentions the incarnate state not at all. However the incarnate life reappears in 1 Tim. 3:16. The author of this passage, says Fuller, sets the incarnate life within a context which Fuller says would have been meaningful to Gentiles- the Hellenistic divine man.²⁴⁷ In

²⁴²Ibid., 221. It is interesting to note how the author of this letter has used his material. Since the theme of this letter is to lend support and encouragement to potentially 'back-sliding' Christians who are in grave danger of falling into apostasy, the author could have chosen no better words with which to preface his own words of comfort and warning.

²⁴³Fuller, *Foundations*, 225.

²⁴⁴Ibid., 226.

²⁴⁵Ibid., 211.

²⁴⁶Ibid., 209.

²⁴⁷Ibid., 217.

this verse the incarnate life was a manifestation of divine glory-ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί.

Once again we ask of Fuller: Is this the christologizing of a life that was essentially unchristological? Is this a 'refutation' of the servitude and suffering described in Philippians? With regard to the first question Fuller would, we believe, state that 1 Tim. 3:16^a is a logical development of the efforts of previous Christians to describe what our author, on several occasions in *Foundations*, referred to as the *exousia* of the historical Jesus which was vindicated at the resurrection ²⁴⁸ in terms potential converts would understand. The Palestinian church interpreted Jesus' *exousia* as the fulfilment of Deut. 18:15- Jesus' authority rests on his being the culmination of Israel's *Heilsgeschichte*, a culmination which will be made manifest at his coming as Son of man, Son of God, Lord and Christ. The Hellenistic Jewish community interpreted Jesus' *exousia* by retrojecting these titles to Jesus' earthly ministry to replace 'prophet' and by exalting him to YHWH-*kyrios*. The Hellenistic Gentile Mission took Jesus' *exousia* to the next logical step- it is a manifestation of divine glory.

As to the second question our author might want to draw on his implicit/explicit paradigm and reply that on the surface 1 Tim. 3:16^a seems a description of a life devoid of suffering, humiliation and death. Fuller would, in all likelihood, draw our attention to ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, and say that this line takes into account what was made explicit in Phil. 2:6-11: had the incarnate life been an easy progression from glory to glory there would have been nothing to vindicate.

Like 1 Tim. 3:16, 1 Pet. 3:18-22 describes the incarnation not in terms of self-emptying but as a manifestation of divine glory (1:20^b).²⁴⁹ Fuller eliminates the lines 'who suffered once for sins/that he might bring us to

²⁴⁸Ibid., 151,153.

²⁴⁹Ibid., 219.

God' as a Paulinist interpolation and believes that after 1:20 the original hymn picks up with 3:18^d, 'being put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit'.²⁵⁰

The incarnation in Jn. 1:1-14 is described not only as an epiphany of divine glory but as an epiphany of the Father. Fuller is careful to describe the continuity between this part of the prologue (v.14) and the Hellenistic Jewish Mission by noting that μονογενοῦς in 1:14 and 3:16 (μονογενῆ) is the equivalent of ἀγαπητός of Mk. 12:6:

This, as we have seen, is the early Hellenistic Jewish Christology of Jesus in his earthly life as the Son of God, which replaced the Palestinian prophet-servant conception.²⁵¹

The final theme of these hymns is the third stage of the christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission- the exaltation.

The Philippians hymn borrows from the Adam/Christ typology: at his exaltation the Redeemer frees the human race²⁵², reverses the fall of the first man²⁵³, and becomes the head of a redeemed humanity.²⁵⁴ The Redeemer is then exalted and endowed with the name *Kyrios*.

Now this might seem at first glance to be a repetition of what we saw taking place when Ps. 110:1 was applied to the exalted Christ in Acts 2:34. But this is not the case at all. In the latter passage there is no suggestion of God's sharing his nature with Christ: as we stated earlier it is not YHWH-*kyrios* but *adoni* which is applied to Jesus; and in those passages where YHWH-*kyrios* is applied to him, there is a transference only of function, not of being.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰Ibid., 219.

²⁵¹Ibid., 226.

²⁵²Ibid., 209.

²⁵³Ibid., 211.

²⁵⁴Ibid., 212.

²⁵⁵Ibid., 186.

However such is not the case with Phil. 2:9, ' "Name" declares dignity and nature, radiates being and makes it manifest.' ²⁵⁶

The Adam/Christ typology is also found in the Colossians hymn where exaltation is implied. In the third strophe this paradigm appears; only here the Christ's redemptive work is concentrated in the resurrection, and not the incarnate life as it was in Philippians. He is not only the head of a new humanity, 'he is the constitutive instance which determines the resurrection of the redeemed.'²⁵⁷ In the resurrected (and exalted) Christ God concentrated the plenitude of his redemptive activity.²⁵⁸ In Philippians the 'powers' are conquered; here they are reconciled.²⁵⁹

In 1 Pet. 3:18-22 the exaltation marks the triumph of the Redeemer.²⁶⁰ However his redemptive work takes place at the resurrection when, according to Fuller, he 'preaches' to the cosmic powers.²⁶¹ In this way 1 Pet. is similar to Colossians, but unlike Philippians, 1 Timothy and Hebrews where the exaltation is the turning point and John where neither the resurrection nor the *anabasis* is mentioned and where the revelatory and redemptive powers of the Logos are concentrated in the *katabasis* and incarnation.²⁶²

Jn. 1:1-14 is unique among the six hymns in that no mention is made of the resurrection or *anabasis*; instead the *anabasis* is concentrated, as it were, in the incarnate life²⁶³: 'What Colossians 1:19 could only say of the Exalted One (pleroma!) the Prologue can already assert of the Incarnate [One].²⁶⁴

²⁵⁶Ibid., 214.

²⁵⁷Ibid., 215.

²⁵⁸Ibid., 215f.

²⁵⁹Ibid., 216.

²⁶⁰Ibid., 219.

²⁶¹Fuller suggests that v. 20 is Petrine redaction. V. 19 is not, says Fuller, a *descensus ad infernos* but a manifestation of the Resurrected One to the cosmic powers. (Ibid., 219.)

²⁶²Ibid., 227.

²⁶³Ibid., 227.

²⁶⁴Ibid., 227.

The remainder of ch. 8 is devoted to studying the Hellenistic divine man and four christological titles, Son of man, Christos, Kyrios and Son of God.

Fuller admits that most of the evidence for the Hellenistic concept of the divine man put forward by the *Religionsgeschichteschule* is post NT, but believes that evidence of certain pre-Christian Hellenistic documents warrants an open mind on the subject.²⁶⁵

The importance of the divine man was that it assisted the Hellenistic Gentile Mission in expounding its Epiphany Christology.²⁶⁶ Whereas Kenotic Christology enabled the church to express Jesus' humanity, it proved insufficient to the task of expressing Jesus' exousia.²⁶⁷

In our author's study of the christological hymns he noted that, with the exception of Kyrios, which is a title for the Exalted One in the Philippians hymn, and Son of God, which is used to describe the sending of the Pre-Existent One (Gal. 4:4f., Rom. 1:3, 8:3; Jn. 3:16²⁶⁸) the other titles were more or less eclipsed by other phrases associated with the Redeemer's pre-existence, incarnation, and *anabasis*. Christos, for instance, sank to the level of a proper name for Jesus. Fuller notes this phenomenon by never using a phrase such as the exalted Christ; instead he talks of the Redeemer or the Pre-Existent One.

There is, however, one exception- Son of man. Having received only slight embellishment during the Hellenistic Jewish Mission, it underwent a 'revival' of sorts in the Hellenistic Gentile Mission where it is used in connection with the *katabasis/anabasis* Christology which lies behind the Fourth Gospel..²⁶⁹

²⁶⁵Ibid., 98. It does not lie within the scope of this essay to study the divine man in detail or to make a careful assessment of the current scholarship on this matter. Suffice it to say that the contemporary consensus appears to be that the θεῖος ἄνθρωπος is a creation of Germanic scholarship. I refer the reader to Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, 2: 595-601

²⁶⁶Fuller, *Foundations*, 227.

²⁶⁷Ibid., 228f.

²⁶⁸Ibid., 231.

²⁶⁹Ibid., 229.

In his summation Fuller concedes that the Three Stage Christology developed during the Hellenistic Gentile Mission seems a far cry from what he calls the 'adoptionist' Two Stage Christology²⁷⁰ and the earlier Two Foci Christology of the Palestinian church. However, he defends the transition from a functional to an ontic message because at no time did the church lose sight of what Jesus had originally proclaimed: that in him and through him God's final offer of salvation was being made. Fuller draws the reader's attention to this finality in ch. 5 when he says: 1) that the future Kingdom of God broke through at Jesus' baptism and is present and active in him and only in him²⁷¹; 2) that Jesus used *Amen* not as the preface to a prophetic oracle, but to his own words ²⁷², and used *Abbā* as no Jew ever before had therefore bringing God closer to humanity than he had ever before been brought²⁷³; 3) when he emphasises Jesus' identification with eschatological prophecy²⁷⁴; 4) when he notes Jesus' confidence that his mission will be

²⁷⁰Fuller is careful to frame adoption with quotation marks (see *ibid.*, 193) so that the reader will understand that he is not referring to the heresy of some early Greek theologians such as the Ebionites, the Monarchians and Paul of Samosata who regarded Christ as a man gifted with divine powers. When Fuller uses this term in referring to the Two Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission he appears to be suggesting only that there is no well-defined articulation of pre-existence of incarnation, even though their groundwork had been laid in the application of YHWH-*kyrios*, the addition of ἀγαπᾶτός to Mk. 12:6 and the construction of the infancy narratives. He also wants the reader to understand that 'adoption' is being used as a synonym for 'appointed'.

²⁷¹See Fuller's discussion of Lk. 11:20 in *idem*, *Foundations*, 105.

²⁷²*Ibid.*, 132, n. 11. But cf. V. Hasler, *Amen. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Einführungsformel der Herrenwort 'Wahrlich ich sage euch'* (Zürich und Stuttgart: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1969) 173f. Here Hassler indicates that *amen* in a non-responsorial sense did not originate with Jesus but with Hellenistic Christian prophets who wished to indicate that they were proclaiming a word of the risen Lord. J. Strugnell, in a critique not of Hasler's argument that *amen* in a non-responsorial sense did not originate with Jesus but of his thesis that there are no Hebrew parallels for such a use, points to a Hebrew ostrakon of the 7th century B.C.E. where *amen* is used in this manner. Cf. J. Strugnell, "Amen, I say unto you" in the Sayings of Jesus and in Early Christian Literature', *HTR* 67 (1974): 177-190, esp. 178. It does not lie within the scope of this thesis to treat the *amen* question in any detail; however, it would appear that the presence of *amen* in Mk, M and John suggests that Jesus had prefaced his sayings in a way that indicated that he was speaking on his own authority. This coheres well with other aspects of Jesus' ministry which we will observe M. Hengel drawing our attention to: the fact that Jesus called his disciples the same way God called his prophets, and that he enjoined on them the same discipline which God enjoined on his prophets. See Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 167f. fn. 62.

²⁷³*Ibid.*, 106.

²⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 125-129.

'rubber-stamped' by the apocalyptic Son of man²⁷⁵; and, 5) when he says that because of the presence of the eschatological Kingdom in Jesus' words and deeds Jesus can admit some and exclude others from the privilege of addressing God as 'Abbā²⁷⁶. The reader becomes increasingly aware of this finality in ch. 6 when the Palestinian church described Jesus as the eschatological prophet of Deut. 18:15 thereby suggesting that the whole of Israel's *Heilsgeschichte* had come to rest on him.²⁷⁷ But such christologizing would not have been possible without the christology implied in Jesus' identification with eschatological prophecy and in his use of 'Abbā and *Amen*. The finality of Jesus is also apparent in the Two Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission when YHWH-*kyrios* is applied to Jesus' saving work and when the christological titles associated with the eschaton are applied to Jesus' earthly ministry. But such application would not have been possible had not Jesus gone up to Jerusalem nor used *Amen* or 'Abbā in the startling way he did. In the Three Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission finality is given expression in the *katabasis/anabasis* paradigm of the previously discussed christological hymns, but particularly in the Fourth Gospel where the plenitude of the Logos' pre-existence and of its exaltation are concentrated in the Incarnate One. But such concentration would not have been possible had not the historical Jesus presented himself as the last word of God to the human race by his identification with eschatological prophecy and by claiming that the Kingdom of God was present only in him.

In ch. 9, 'Building on the Foundations', Fuller makes his final case for continuity from the Two Foci Christology of the Palestinian church to the Three Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission

²⁷⁵Ibid., 123.

²⁷⁶Ibid., 106, 115.

²⁷⁷Ibid., 168, 174.

During the course of his book Fuller articulated three christological patterns, one which originated in a people expecting an imminent parousia, another in a people who, while waiting for the parousia, were experiencing Jesus' lordship and messiahship in their daily life and worship, and a third in a people for whom the parousia had little or no significance at all, a people for whom redemption meant deliverance from the powers which hold man in thrall, death and fate and not some sort of national restoration.²⁷⁸

If one studies the three diagrams at the conclusion to *Foundations* ²⁷⁹, it will soon become apparent that there is a constant, a common denominator: the earthly life of Jesus and his resurrection from the dead: each of these patterns came into existence because God said 'yes' to Jesus' mission and message by raising him from the dead; what that 'yes' meant was determined by the needs of the various Christian communities.

As was stated previously the earliest church had to deal with people who saw the resurrection as the promise of an imminent parousia, hence the Two Foci Christology: 1) During his earthly ministry Jesus had exercised proleptically the functions of Son of man ; and 2) after a brief period of inactivity in heaven he would return as Messiah and everything this church had come to associate with messiahship, from Son of David, rejected by Jesus but 'rehabilitated' by the resurrection, to those concepts which Jesus himself had reinterpreted-Son of man²⁸⁰, Lord²⁸¹, and Son of God.²⁸²

²⁷⁸Ibid., 245.

²⁷⁹Ibid., 243-246.

²⁸⁰Ibid., 123,

...the Son of man is brought in simply to reinforce the decisiveness of the present offer. The Son of man merely acts as a kind of rubber stamp at the End for the salvation which is already being imparted in Jesus.

See *ibid.*, 42,

To summarize, therefore, there is a body of evidence which...indicates that the figure of the Son of man as the pre-existent divine agent of judgment and salvation was embedded in the pre-Christian Jewish apocalyptic tradition.

²⁸¹Ibid., 119, cf., 50.

²⁸²Ibid., 115, cf., 32

The missionaries to diaspora Judaism had to respond to a different set of needs brought about by the delay of the parousia and their worship of the Resurrected One. They saw the resurrection not as the guarantee of an imminent parousia but as the event which had exalted Jesus of Nazareth, who during his historical ministry had functioned as Lord, Son of God, Son of David and Christ, to YHWH-*kyrios*, Christ, and Son of God. The Two Foci Christology which had served Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians so well had to be adapted to a people with a different *Sitz im Leben*. Hence the Two Stage Christology: 1) The historical ministry becomes the first step towards the Risen One's messiahship; 2) at the resurrection and ascension he is exalted so that he can continue to exercise his messiahship in the church until the parousia.

The needs of Hellenistic Gentiles were quite different from those of previous converts. This third group of Christians had not been raised in the belief that all things come from God and will return to the one who created them; their search for redemption centred on being delivered from cosmic forces. For them the resurrection had to be interpreted in a different manner than the promise of a second coming or as an exaltation to messiahship, a concept which had little meaning to Gentiles. For these people the resurrection became a moment of *anabasis*, of a victorious return to heaven of the One who had existed from before time, had descended and become incarnate.

Throughout *Foundations* Fuller has maintained that such a movement represents continuity and not discontinuity:

...there is a direct line of continuity between Jesus' self-understanding and the church's christological interpretation of him.²⁸³ ;

²⁸³Ibid., 15.

and,

'...these affirmations...only make explicit what the Son of man Christology of the earliest community had already affirmed, namely that Jesus' history was the eschatological saving act of Israel's God.' ²⁸⁴;

then finally,

'The christological pattern of the gentile mission...looks like a tremendous advance on the more primitive Christologies. But really it was implicit all along. For the act of God in Jesus' history and in the kerygma was never viewed in isolation from the previous acts of Israel's God, but always as their culmination...Now God's action is conceived in universal terms.' ²⁸⁵

Fuller would then agree with C.F.D. Moule that the movement from the historical Jesus to the Two Foci Christology of the Palestinian community, from this christological formulation to the Two Stage Christology of Hellenistic Jewish Christianity, and from there to the Three Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission, does not represent evolution, 'the genesis of successive new species by mutations and natural selection...', but development, 'growth, from immaturity to maturity, of a single specimen from within itself.' ²⁸⁶

He would also argue that each christology 'opened the door' for the other. When the historical Jesus says, 'And I tell you, everyone who acknowledges me before others, the Son of man also will acknowledge before the angels of God'(LK. 12:8 Q), which Fuller believes to be an authentic Son of

²⁸⁴Ibid., 254.

²⁸⁵Ibid., 254.

²⁸⁶Moule, *Origin*, 2.

man saying²⁸⁷, he is making it possible for the Palestinian church, in light of the resurrection, to write, ' "Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One?" Jesus said, "I am; and you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of Power and coming with the clouds of heaven." ' (Mk. 14:62). This identification of Jesus with the apocalyptic Son of man gave the Hellenistic Jewish Mission the 'incentive' to christologize further Jesus' earthly existence and to broach incarnation and pre-existence²⁸⁸ when it wrote, 'He had still one other, a beloved son. Finally he sent him...' (Mk. 12:6) and delved into the nature of Jesus' conception.²⁸⁹ The implications of having and sending what was once yours are brought out in the shift from the functional to the ontic which took place in the Three Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission which Fuller admits is somewhat syncretistic and a 'far cry'²⁹⁰ from earlier christologies. Our author, however, maintains that this ontic confession would not have been possible had not Jesus understood his work as the proleptic presence of the coming salvation.²⁹¹ He also affirms that despite the shift from the functional, 'Christ...*was raised* ' (1Cor. 15:4), 'the Son of Man came *eating and drinking* ' (Mt. 11:14, par.), 'the Son of Man *will be delivered* into the hands of men' (Mk. 9:31), to the ontic, 'form', 'equal', 'likeness', the message remains the same, that divine salvation is in Jesus Christ.²⁹²

Fuller puts his finger on what he perceives to be the link between Functional and Ontic Christology, between the words of Jesus and the words about Jesus, when he writes,

It may, of course, be argued that...ontic language is merely the translation into Greek terms...of what the earlier functional

²⁸⁷ Fuller, *Foundations*, 122.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 194.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 196.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 232.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 232.

²⁹² Ibid., 233.

Christologies were affirming. This is true, but it is not the whole truth. For it is not just a quirk of the Greek mind, but a universal human apperception, that action implies prior being...Such ontic reflection about Yahweh is found even in the OT, e.g., 'I AM'.²⁹³

²⁹³Ibid., 248f.

Conclusions

The Christological Trajectory of *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*

The following diagram represents the development from the message of the historical Jesus to the Three Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission. These three stages, pre-existence, incarnation, exaltation, are the foundations of the christology of the four evangelists, St. Paul, and of other New Testament documents. According to Fuller these are the foundations not only of the New Testament theologians and the christological formulations of the fathers, they are also the foundations for christology today.³⁵²

A. The Historical Jesus His Message

Jesus of Nazareth was 1A) an (a) eschatological (b) prophet who in his words and deeds 2A) performs the proleptic functions of the apocalyptic Son of man, 3A) expresses the confidence that he will be 'rubber-stamped' by this figure; and 4A) in his apparently exclusive use of 'Abba' proclaims the proleptic presence of the Kingdom of God in himself and indicates that he was conscious of a unique sonship to which he was privileged to admit others.³⁵³

(1A)

a) Mt. 11:4-6³⁵⁴, Lk. 11:20³⁵⁵

b) Mk. 6:4, Lk. 13:33³⁵⁶

(2A)

³⁵²Ibid., 257.

³⁵³Ibid., 104, 106, 115.

³⁵⁴Ibid., 128f.

³⁵⁵Ibid., 105.

³⁵⁶Ibid., 127.

Mt. 19:28; 24:27, par., 37; 24:44, par.³⁵⁷

Lk. 17:30; 11:30;

(3A)

Lk. 12:8f.³⁵⁸

(4A)

(Mt. 11:25f.)³⁵⁹

Lk. 11:2, par.

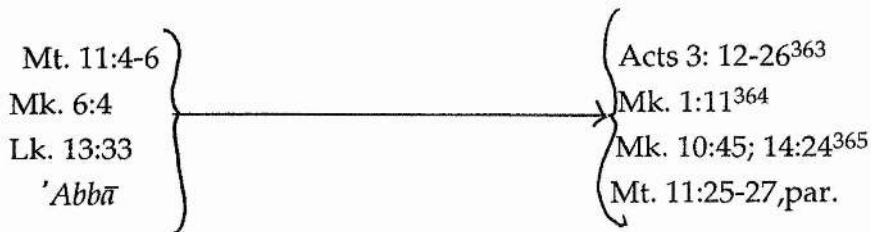
B. The Kerygma of the Earliest Church: The Two Foci Christology

1B) Jesus of Nazareth is the Mosaic prophet-servant³⁶⁰. 2B) After a brief period of inactive waiting in heaven³⁶¹ he will return as Son of man, Son of God and Messiah.³⁶²

(1B)

The Historical Jesus

The Two Foci Christology



(2B)

³⁵⁷Ibid., 123.

³⁵⁸Ibid., 122.

³⁵⁹The parentheses indicate that Fuller does not consider this passage to be authentic but to be based on Jesus' use of 'Abbā'. (Ibid., 115), the authenticity of which Fuller never questions. Hereafter, we will indicate 'Abbā' sayings by simply 'Abbā'.

³⁶⁰Ibid., 173.

³⁶¹Ibid., 243.

³⁶²Ibid., 244.

³⁶³Ibid., 167f.

³⁶⁴Ibid., 169, 172.

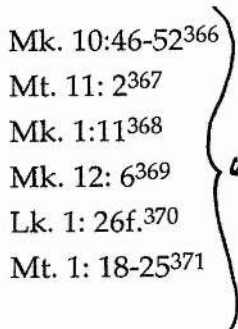
³⁶⁵Ibid., 173.

*The Historical Jesus**The Two Foci Christology*

C. The Hellenistic Jewish Mission: The Two Stage Christology

1C) During his earthly ministry Jesus of Nazareth functioned as Son of David, Son of God, Lord, Christ. 2C) After his resurrection Jesus is exalted to YHWH-*kyrios* (no transference of being; God performs the functions of divinity through the Exalted One), Son of God and Christ so that he can continue to perform these functions in the church.

(1C)

*The Historical Jesus**The Two Foci Christology**The Two Stage Christology*

(2C)

³⁶⁶Ibid., 189.³⁶⁷Ibid., 191f.³⁶⁸Ibid., 193.³⁶⁹Ibid., 194.³⁷⁰Ibid., 195.³⁷¹Ibid., 195.

*The Historical Jesus**The Two Foci Christology*

Mt. 24: 27, 37, 44

Lk. 11:30, 12:8, 17:30

'Abba'

Mk. 14: 62

Acts 3: 19-21

*The Two Stage Christology*Acts 2: 36³⁷²Rom. 10: 13³⁷³

D. The Hellenistic Gentile Mission: The Three Stage Christology

1D) The Pre-Existent One 2D) descends to our realm, becomes incarnate as Jesus of Nazareth. 3D) After his resurrection he is exalted and is given 'the name which is above every name.'

(1D) and (2D)

*The Historical Jesus**The Two Foci Christology*

'Abba'

Mt. 11:25f.

*The Two Stage Christology**The Three Stage Christology*Mk. 12: 6³⁷⁴Phil. 2: 6-8³⁷⁵1 Tim. 3:16³⁷⁶1 Pet. 1:20, 3:18³⁷⁷³⁷²Ibid., 184ff.³⁷³Ibid., 198, n. 13.³⁷⁴Ibid., 194.³⁷⁵Ibid., 208-12. I have chosen only those hymns which do not postulate any activity for the Pre-Existent One as this is the type of pre-existence which is 'broached' in Mk. 12:6.³⁷⁶Ibid., 216ff.³⁷⁷Ibid., 218ff.

John 1: 14³⁷⁸

(3D)

*The Historical Jesus**The Two Foci Christology*

Mt. 24:27, 37, 44

Lk. 11: 30; 12:8; 17:30

'Abba'

Mk. 14: 62

Acts 3: 19-21

*The Two Stage Christology**The Three Stage Christology*

Acts 2:36

Rom. 10:13

Phil. 2: 9-11³⁷⁹Col. 1: 19-20³⁸⁰1 Tim. 3:16³⁸¹1 Pet. 3:18-22³⁸²Heb. 1:4³⁸³

What is the connecting link between Jesus of Nazareth's proclamation of the proleptic presence of the eschatological Kingdom of God and the Three Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission? What aspect of Jesus' ministry, in the light of the resurrection, made it possible for the Hellenistic Gentile Mission to create a christology based on pre-existence, incarnation, exaltation? Fuller notes that a case could be made for a connection between the Pauline Adam/Christ typology and the Palestinian Son of man Christology but believes instead that the pre-existent-incarnation-exaltation pattern is an adaptation of the sophia-anthropos myth.³⁸⁴

³⁷⁸In Ibid., 200f. n. 34 Fuller suggests that there is a connection between υἱὸς ἀγαπητός and μονογενῆ of Jn. 3:16 (and, presumably, with μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός).

³⁷⁹Ibid., 213f.

³⁸⁰Ibid., 215f.

³⁸¹Ibid., 218.

³⁸²Ibid., 219.

³⁸³Ibid., 221.

³⁸⁴Ibid., 234.

If *Katabasis/Anabasis* Christology is not based on Son of man, where in Jesus' historical ministry would Fuller have it located? Through careful, repeated readings of relevant portions of *Foundations*³⁸⁵ the link would appear to be in Mt. 11: 25f., par. where pre-existence is strongly implied.³⁸⁶ Despite the decided 'Johannine ring' to this saying a case could be made that the definite articles are used in a generic sense which would result in a parabolic saying that is in complete conformity with Jesus' teaching style.³⁸⁷ However Fuller does not accept the authenticity of Mt. 11:25f, par.³⁸⁸ He regards it as a link between what he has described as the functional christology of the synoptic Jesus and the ontic, that is pre-existent, Jesus of the Fourth Gospel³⁸⁹. He also appears to believe that this passage is based on what he believes Jesus' authentic use of 'Abbā'.³⁹⁰ It is therefore on 'Abbā' and its link to Mt. 11:25f that Fuller attempts to make a convincing argument for development and not evolution, for continuity as opposed to discontinuity.

When *Foundations* was written Jeremias' *The Central Message of the New Testament* (1965) had apparently not yet been published. Evidently the only study by Jeremias of Jesus' use of 'Abbā' to which Fuller had access³⁹¹ was his article on the Lord's Prayer in *The Expository Times* where the author claimed that when he and his assistants could not find a single instance in the whole later Jewish prayer literature of an individual's addressing God as

³⁸⁵E.g., 133, n.20, 114f, 242, n.80

³⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 242, n. 80.

³⁸⁷ Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 47f. See also Bauckham, 'The Sonship of the Historical Jesus in Christology', *SGOT*, 31 (1978): 251f.

³⁸⁸ Fuller, *Foundations*, 115.

³⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 115.

³⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 132, n. 18.

³⁹¹ Articles by Jeremias on 'Abbā' which appeared prior to *Foundations* and *Central Message* were 'Kennzeichen der ipsissima vox Jesu', in J. Schmidt and A. Vögtle, ed. *Die Synoptische Studien Alfred Wikenhauser zum siebzigsten Geburtstag...dargebracht...*, (Munich: Zink, 1953) 86-93; 'Abba', *TLZ* 79 (1954): 213-214; 'Abba', *ZNW*, 45 (1954): 131-132. As noted in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 'Abba and Jesus' Relation to God', in *À Cause de l'Évangile*, 16. Another pre-1965 study was *Das Vater-Unser im Lichte der neuen Forschung* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1962=1965).

'*Abbā* , 'Father!' or 'my Father'³⁹², Jeremias concluded that '*Abbā* is the expression of Jesus' messianic authority:

This one word *abba* , if it is understood in its full sense [calling upon God in such a homey and intimate way], comprehends the whole message of the gospel.³⁹³

In citing Jeremias' article in *ET*, Fuller appears to be saying that this is a statement with which he is in complete agreement.³⁹⁴

The conclusions Jeremias drew from his many years of studying '*Abbā* are certainly familiar to anyone who has studied the message of the historical Jesus and its relation to the phenomenon of New Testament Christology. However for the sake of argument we will summarize them.³⁹⁵

1) All five strata of the gospels agree that when Jesus spoke of and prayed to God he used but one word, Father.

2) God could be and was addressed as Father of the nation Israel; but there is no evidence that any Israelite ever addressed God as Father of the individual, i.e., 'Father!' or 'my Father'.

3) By the time of Jesus '*Abbā* had taken over all other expressions of Father in Aramaic. '*Abbā* therefore underlies all forms of Father in the four gospels.

4) We do not have a single example in Judaism of God's being addressed as '*Abbā*. The reason for this is that '*Abbā* began as a *Lallwort* , a word imitating a child's babbling noises, and remained an intimate family word even when used by adults. As it was a children's word and used in everyday speech it

³⁹²Joachim Jeremias, 'The Lord's Prayer in Modern Research' , *ET* 71 (1960), 144.

³⁹³*Ibid.*, 144.

³⁹⁴Fuller, *Foundations* , 132, n. 18.

³⁹⁵These conclusions are taken from Jeremias' final work on '*Abbā*, *New Testament Theology* , part 1 , 61-68.

would have seemed disrespectful and unthinkable to address God so familiarly.

The general assumption throughout is that Jesus spoke only Aramaic when speaking to his disciples and in addressing the crowds.

Two years after Jeremias made his final case for the uniqueness and ubiquity of 'Abba' ³⁹⁶ Geza Vermes set about to question Jeremias' second and fourth set of conclusions.³⁹⁷

After a careful reading of Rabbinic literature Vermes came to the conclusion that Jesus was a Hasid and that it was perfectly normal for the Hasidim of his day to call God 'Abba'. He cites as an example the anecdote of the 1st. cent. C.E. Hasid Hanan, whose maternal grandfather was the 1st cent. B.C.E. saint Honi the Circle Drawer.³⁹⁸ When some children demanded that Hanan send them rain he said,

Lord of the world, render a service to those who cannot distinguish between the *Abba* who gives rain and the *Abba* who does not.³⁹⁹

This passage was by no means unknown to Jeremias. However this author draws attention to the fact that Hanan addresses God as 'Lord of the world' and not 'Abba'. While no one can argue this point, the passage which reads 'render a service to those who cannot distinguish between the *Abba* who gives rain and the *Abba* who does not' certainly suggests that it was not unknown for Jews at the time of Jesus to address God as 'Abba'. Jeremias' sweeping conclusion that Hanan's admonition does not provide the missing

³⁹⁶Jeremias' principal study was *Abba*, *Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1966). *Vater-Unser* (q.v.) and portions of *Abba* were reprinted in *The Prayers of Jesus* (q.v.).

³⁹⁷Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*.

³⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 72ff, 69ff.

³⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 211.

Jewish example of 'Abba' used as an address to God seems like special pleading.⁴⁰⁰ On the other hand Hanan's words, the only words, after all, with which Vermes provides us, do not justify Vermes' equally sweeping conclusion that,

...one of the distinguishing features of ancient Hasidic piety is its habit of alluding to God *precisely* [itals. mine] as Father.⁴⁰¹

When we examine other Palestinian and diaspora evidence we will note that 'Father' or 'my Father' is used but that its use is 'toned down' by the presence of more exalted titles. What appears to be happening in this anecdote is a similar toning down of the use of 'Abba' as an address to God.⁴⁰²

Eight years later in his Riddell Memorial Lectures at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne⁴⁰³ Vermes set to work on Jeremias' explanation as to why 'Abba' does not appear in the prayer literature of Second Temple Judaism- that from its origins as a *Lallwort* 'Abba' has always meant something like 'Daddy'. Vermes, while not directly disputing the results of Jeremias' quest for the historical 'Abba', points out that while children indeed addressed their mother and father as *imma* and *abba*, this was not the only context in which these words could be deployed. 'Abba' could be used on solemn occasions when 'Daddy' would have been most inappropriate.

⁴⁰⁰Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, 66. Roughly the same phrase is found in idem, *The Central Message of the New Testament*, 20, and *ibid.*, *Prayers*, 61f.

⁴⁰¹Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 210. For additional support Vermes cites m. Ber. 5:1,

The ancient Hasidim spent an hour (in recollection before praying) in order to direct their hearts towards their Father in heaven.

But cf. Jacob Neusner's translation in idem., *The Mishnah*, 8:

B. The early pious ones used to tarry one hour [before they would pray],

C. so that they could direct their hearts to the Omnipresent (*lammāqōm*)

Concerning the discrepancy J. Fitzmyer notes that Vermes is quoting from another edition of the Talmud which, in his opinion, does not preserve the more primitive text. In idem, 'Abba and Jesus' Relation to God', in *À Cause de l'évangile*, 30.

⁴⁰²Richard J. Bauckham, *The Sonship of the Historical Jesus*, 247.

⁴⁰³Geza Vermes, 'The Gospel of Jesus the Jew'. Reprinted in idem., *Jesus and the World of Judaism*, 1-57.

Vermes cites a fictional altercation between the patriarchs Judah and Joseph to illustrate his point:

I swear by the life of the head of *abba* (= 'my father') as you swear by the life of the head of Pharaoh your master.⁴⁰⁴

Whereas Vermes was concerned with the evidence of Second Temple Judaism and had little quarrel with 1) and 3), James Barr offered a detailed critique of all four of the above conclusions.⁴⁰⁵

Barr finds it inconceivable that '*Abbā*' originated in late Hellenistic times as a *Lallwort*. If one were to take the *Lallwort* hypothesis seriously, says Barr, one would have to go way beyond late Hellenism to several millennia before the time of Jesus.⁴⁰⁶ Jeremias makes the mistake common to biblical philologists of his generation, that the origin of a word tells us something about its present usage.⁴⁰⁷ In other words '*Abbā*' might well have originated as a *Lallwort*⁴⁰⁸, but if it had the chances of its having remained the equivalent of 'Da-da' or 'Daddy' from its beginnings in pre-history to late Hellenism are remote if not non-existent. Jeremias more or less admits to this when he wrote,

At this point it is necessary to issue a warning against two possible misunderstandings. First, ...that '*abbā*' was originally a child's exclamatory word has occasionally led to the mistaken assumption that Jesus adopted the language of a tiny child when he addressed God as 'my Father'; even I myself believed this earlier.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁴Geza Vermes, *The Gospel of Jesus the Jew*, 27.

⁴⁰⁵James Barr, '*Abbā* Isn't Daddy', *JTS*, N.S. 39 (April 1988): 28-47.

⁴⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 34.

⁴⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁰⁸On this see *A Cause de l'évangile*, 17 :

The doubling of the *b* in the form may well bear witness to such an origin, since it is a form of 'ab 'father' (from Protosemitic 'abū) and may have been influenced by its female counterpart 'immā, 'mother', where the doubling of *m* is original.

⁴⁰⁹Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, 67.

However, despite this modest recantation, Jeremias in no way retreats from the centrality of his *Lallwort* hypothesis.

With regards to 1) and 2) Barr says that while these are certainly possible they are difficult to prove. The fact that when *πάτερ* or *πάτερ μου* appear in the text '*Abbā*' does not appear with them makes Jeremias' case seem less persuasive. It is just as likely that expressions other than '*Abbā*' lay behind the phrases Jesus used to address God.⁴¹⁰

Further damage was done to Jeremias' work in 1990 when Eileen Schuller directed our attention to two pre-Christian prayers in which God is addressed in Hebrew as 'my Father', 4Q372 and 4Q460.⁴¹¹ In line 16 of 4Q372 we read, *אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי וְאֱלֹהֵי* - 'My Father and my God'; 4Q460 says, *אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי וְאֱלֹהֵי* - 'My Father and my Lord.' If these readings demonstrate that both Hebrew and Aramaic were 'vulgar' languages at the time of Jesus, further damage is done to Jeremias' arguments that, if Jesus conversed with his disciples in Hebrew as well as in Aramaic, '*Abbā*' lies behind all the 'Father' sayings in the Gospels; finally, Jeremias' argument that there is no evidence in the literature of ancient Palestinian Judaism of 'my Father' being used *by an individual* as a personal address to God is to be deemed somewhat questionable.⁴¹²

However, a fairly reasonable case may be made that Jesus' use of '*Abbā*' (or '*Avi*', if he spoke Hebrew) - 'Father!' or 'my Father' was *distinctive* or *singular* to the point of being exclusive. Even though we can

⁴¹⁰Shortly after '*Abbā*' Barr made more emphatic his objections to the ubiquity of this word when he wrote:

...it cannot be proved that Jesus used 'Abba' only and always in all his addresses to his Father; it is likely that he used other terms which specified 'my' or 'our' Father; and, above all, the nuance of 'Abba' was not at all the nuance of childish prattle, but the nuance of solemn and responsible adult speech. ('Abba, Father' and the Familiarity of Jesus' Speech', *Theology* 91 [1988]: 179)

⁴¹¹Eileen Schuller, O.S.U., '4Q372 1: A Text about Joseph', *RQ* 14 (1990): 349-376, esp. 362f.

⁴¹²*A Cause de l'évangile*, 28. Here Fitzmyer defends Jeremias' conclusions about the uniqueness of 'my father'; however 'Abba and Jesus' Relation to God' was published five years before Schuller's essay.

no longer say categorically that 'Abbā lay behind every 'Father' saying in the four gospels, it was this word which the disciples appear to have associated with Jesus' teachings about God the Father. The evidence of its insertion into the Gethsemane Prayer and its use in the worship of the Pauline churches (Gal. 4:16; Rom. 8:15)⁴¹³ suggests that, at the very least, it was characteristic of Jesus that he called God called 'Abbā ; and when we take into account Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer (11:2ff, par.), assuming the Lord's Prayer was given in Aramaic, we learn that while Jesus may have addressed God as something other than 'Abbā , when he taught his disciples to pray he taught them to call God by no other name. When we compare the Gethsemane Prayer with Jesus' teaching about God ⁴¹⁴ one thing in particular stands out: in both cases, the catechetical sayings and Mk. 14: 36, no title other than Father is used. When the Gethsemane prayer was composed, a prayer expressing willingness to trust and obey a loving and compassionate father, the word which stuck in the memory of the disciples Jesus' teaching was simply 'Abbā , the word which seemed to the church to summarize all Jesus' sayings about God as Father.⁴¹⁵ It stuck in their memory because it was the one word Jesus had taught them to say when they turned their thoughts

⁴¹³It seems unlikely that Paul would have taught or countenanced the use of 'Abbā had it not originated with the historical Jesus. Since Paul considered his apostleship as valid as those who had known Jesus in the flesh, he no doubt considered his commission from the risen Christ the equivalent of having known Jesus in his historical ministry. The Christ who lives in him is the Son who *loved* him and *gave* (both are in the aorist) his life for him. On the continuity between Paul's mystical Christ and Jesus of Nazareth see C.F.D Moule, 'The Gravamen against Jesus' in *Jesus, The Gospels and The Church* , ed. E.P. Sanders, 188. It might be argued that 'Abbā could no more be traced back to the historical Jesus than *maranatha* ; however Fuller argues that during his lifetime Jesus allowed for a heightened, 'confessional', use of the purely honourific *maran(a)*.

⁴¹⁴ E.g., his loving care (Lk. 11:11-13, par. (Q) ; 12:32 (L); Mt. 6:8 (M), 32, par. (Q)); his compassion and forgiveness (Lk. 15: 11-32 (L), Lk. 6:36, par. (Q), Mt. 6: 14-15 (M); the obedience he requires of his children (Mt. 21: 28-31 (M). If we include Mk. 12: 1-11 (On the probable authenticity of this parable see Bauckham, 'The Sonship of the Historical Jesus in Christology', 252, esp. fn.1.) we then have 'Father' sayings on all four levels of the synoptic tradition thereby making it possible to argue for the authenticity of these sayings based on the criterion of multiple attestation.

⁴¹⁵There is, of course, one notable exception. In the Cry of Dereliction (Mk. 15:34, par.) Jesus says 'my God'. But here he is quoting scripture; and the fact that this is spoken out of earshot of the disciples somewhat militates against this verse's authenticity.

to God. It is possible to conduct an 'Abba trajectory', to trace a line of continuity which begins with Jesus' 'Father' sayings (including the Lucan Lord's Prayer) which continues to the worship of the primitive church, and comes to an end, so to speak, in Mk. 14:36.

Jesus' distinctive use of 'Abba' becomes more recognizable when we compare the evidence of the New Testament with Second Temple Judaism.

Granted that in 4Q372 and 4Q460 God is invoked as אבִי - 'my Father'; however, אבִי does not stand by itself; in 4Q372 it appears with אֱלֹהִי - 'my God'; in 4Q460 it is paired with אֲדֹנָי - 'my Lord'.⁴¹⁶ We are inclined to repeat what we said at the beginning of our discussion of 'Abba': Use of this form of address might have existed in Second Temple Judaism; but as it presumed too great an intimacy with the Almighty it was 'toned down' by more exalted titles.

In this post-Hengel era of New Testament scholarship it is no longer safe to assume that there was a rigid distinction between Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism. No more can we concur with Jeremias and dismiss the evidence of Hellenistic Judaism (we really ought not to say 'Hellenistic Judaism' anymore) because it was merely following the pattern of the Greek world. Therefore passages such as III Maccabees 6: 3, 8 (πάτερ in both instances) and Wisdom 14:3 (also πάτερ) suggest that 'my Father' in Diaspora literature was following the pattern of the Common Judaism of Palestine.

However what we said of the Qumran material also applies to III Maccabees: 'Father' does not exist by itself; in v. 2 he is 'King great in power, Most High, Almighty God'; and we repeat what we said at the conclusion of the preceding paragraph. And what is more, these verses are not those of a son addressing a father, but of an Israelite addressing the father of the nation.

⁴¹⁶Fitzmyer notes 1 QH 9: 35-36, 'For you are father to all [the sons of] your truth, and you rejoice over them as one who has conceived over her child.' (*A Cause de l'évangile*, 25). Here is an example of 'father' appearing by itself with no other title. But Fitzmyer points out that this is not an example of an individual's addressing God; God is being acknowledged as father in a corporate sense as the father of the Essene community.

The passage from Wisdom (14:3) is somewhat different in that the address is simply, 'O Father'. However the other times the Almighty is addressed he is, 'O God of my ancestor and Lord of mercy...' (9:1), 'O Lord, you who love the living' (11:26), '...our God' (15:1), and '...O Lord' (19:22). 'Father' by itself is hardly characteristic of this book; nor is it likely, given its Alexandrian *venue*, that Jesus was familiar with it. There is, however, one notable exception: 2:16, 'he [the righteous man] calls the last end of the/ righteous happy,/ and boasts that *God is his father*'. A case could be made that the Father sayings in the gospels are based on this passage, but one verse seems a slender thread from which to hang so much evidence; and the wide attestation for Jesus' use of Father (Q,M,L,Mk) strongly argues for the probable authenticity of these sayings. An intriguing notion was put forward by J.D. Crossan when he located the Wisdom of Solomon between 37 and 41 C.E. during the reign of Caligula.⁴¹⁷ If this is indeed true, then the question opens up as to what degree Wis. 2:16 and 14:3 represent a possible Christian influence.

As for the Palestinian use of Father as a personal address to God, in the light of 4Q372 and 4Q460, we can no longer be as certain as Jeremias was about Sir. 23:1,4 when, based on a later Hebrew paraphrase, אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי - 'God of my father', and the Hebrew text of Sir. 51:1, אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי, he concluded that the missing Hebrew text lying behind Sir. 23:1,4, κύριε πάτερ, κύριε πάτερ, had the force of 'God of my father'.⁴¹⁸ However, like most of the examples from the Diaspora, πάτερ does not appear alone but is paired with κύριε.

Jesus adds an eschatological dimension to his use of 'father', a dimension that is lacking in the above citations. When he teaches his disciples to call God 'Abba', when they pray for his Kingdom to come (Lk. 11:2, par.), he appears to be telling them that at the parousia God will be known as Lord

⁴¹⁷John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 289.

⁴¹⁸Jeremias, *Prayers*, 28f.

and King, judge of the nations, vindicator of the righteous⁴¹⁹ to all but his disciples who will continue to share with Jesus his confident intimacy with God.

Jeremias' claims about Jesus' use of 'Abbā can be modified as follows.

In light of Barr's essays we can no more say that the origin of 'Abbā, either as a *Lallwort* or something else, determined its use during late Second Temple Judaism. It may indeed have originally meant something like 'Daddy' but the chances of its having retained the sense of childish babble over several millennia are remote to the point of non-existent.

As the dichotomy between Palestinian and diaspora Judaism is no longer a criterion for assessing the Judaism of Jesus' era we can no longer dismiss the passages from III Maccabees and Wisdom as having been influenced by the world of Greek thought; they are the product of the Hebrew Bible where God is revealed as the Father of Israel and where Israelites are sons of God.

Based on 4Q372 and 4Q460 (or Wis. 2:16-if this book was indeed pre-Christian) we can no longer say with any degree of confidence that 'Father!' or 'my Father' as an address to God was unknown in Second Temple Judaism; we cannot conclude that 'Abbā had replaced all other forms of Father; nor can we assume that Jesus spoke only Aramaic. For this reason we can no longer agree with Jeremias that Jesus used 'Abbā and only 'Abbā when he spoke to and about God: he may indeed have used the Hebrew forms of 'Father!', 'my Father', or 'our Father'.

While we cannot argue safely for Jesus' *exclusive* use of 'Abbā, we can say with some confidence about what was *distinctive* about the language he used when addressing God: Whether he spoke in Aramaic or Hebrew we

⁴¹⁹Robert Hamerton-Kelly, 'God the Father in the Bible and in the Experience of Jesus: The State of the Question' in *God as Father?* ed. Johannes-Baptist Metz and Edward Schillebeeckx, 99f.

have no examples of his ever addressing God as anything but his personal Father ⁴²⁰. This is totally different from the examples which Vermes provides where God is alluded to as 'Abbā but is addressed as 'Lord of the world'; in the other Jewish examples cited, III Maccabees, Sir. 23:1,4; 51:1, God is Father of the nation Israel; in the Qumran literature God is 'my Father, **my God**' and 'my Father, **my Lord**'. However, with the exception of Mt. 11:25, par. and Mk. 15: 34, par. *no other title for God but Father is used when Jesus is addressing God* .

Finally, while Jesus may have used 'Avi when extending his sonship to his disciples in all likelihood he used 'Abbā, as this was the word which found its way into the worship of the church. The first Christians remembered 'Abbā because this was more than likely the word that Jesus had taught his disciples to say when they addressed God.⁴²¹

On what do we base this confidence:

1) When the disciples taught the church to express its sonship this was the word they told the church to use. (Gal. 4:16; Rom. 8:15)

2) When the church was composing the Gethsemane prayer, a prayer expressing willingness to trust and obey a loving and compassionate father, the word which stood out from Jesus' sayings about God's loving kindness as well as his ultimate authority over his sons and daughters was 'Abbā .

However, when all is said and done, it matters not whether Jesus spoke Hebrew or Aramaic, whether he used 'Abbā or 'Avi; what does matter is that when he addressed God the only title he used was 'Father'; and it was not as 'my God and Father', 'My Father, my Lord', it was as 'Father!' or 'my Father'. The use of 'Abbā in Galatians and Romans is important not

⁴²⁰Cf., Mk. 12:29. But here, as in Mk. 15:34, Jesus is quoting scripture. Cf. also Mt. 11:25, par., *πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς*.

⁴²¹On the likelihood of the Lord's Prayer having been spoken in Aramaic see Fitzmyer's tentative reconstruction in idem, *The Gospel according to Luke x-xxiv* . 901.

only because it reproduces the speech of the historical Jesus, particularly in the Lukan version of the Lord's Prayer⁴²², but also because it is faithful to the sense in which Jesus spoke to God, not simply as the God of Israel (though based on Mk. 12:29 we have no good reason to doubt but that Jesus understood God at least in part in this way) but as his personal Father who had drawn near to humanity in Jesus⁴²³, and who would draw near to his disciples as 'Abba' at the last judgement.⁴²⁴

There is then still good reason to argue with Fuller for continuity between the implicit christology of the message of the historical Jesus and the explicit christologies of the post-Easter Christian communities, a continuity that has its basis in Jesus' unique sonship, a sonship expressed in the fact that when he addressed God he called him only Father and that the word which made the most lasting impression on his disciples was 'Abba'. While it is dangerous to place too great a weight on a single word and say that 'Abba' opens the door for or leads directly to incarnation and pre-existence; we can say with Fuller⁴²⁵ that the distance between Jesus' exclusive use of Father and his more than likely distinctive use of 'Abba' and Mt. 11:25ff, par. is indeed very short, and that the path from this Q logion to the pre-existence described in the christological hymns, particularly Jn. 1:1-14, might best be described as something approaching direct.⁴²⁶

⁴²²On this see Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2: 291ff.

⁴²³Fuller, *Foundations*, 106.

⁴²⁴Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2: 297.

⁴²⁵Ibid., 114f.

⁴²⁶It does not lie within the scope of this essay to discuss all aspects of the 'Abba' debate. However mention ought to be made of at least two essays where the author has grave doubts as to Jesus ever having used Father, let alone 'Abba'. We are referring to Mary Rose D'Angelo, 'Theology in Mark and Q: Abba and "Father"', *HTR* 85:2 (1992): 149-74 and idem, 'Abba and "Father": Imperial Theology and the Jesus Traditions', *JBL* 111/4 (1992): 611-30. These essays are in part a response to Robert Hamerton Kelly's contribution to *God as Father* (q.v.) which reaffirms Jeremias' conclusions and states that feminist theology should come to terms with the fact that the 'Abba' experience of Jesus is the starting point of christology (Ibid., 101) In both articles D'Angelo examines Jeremias on the point where, in light of 4Q372 and 4Q460, he is most vulnerable, that 'Abba' had replaced all forms of Father by the 1st cent B.C.E. In the former essay she comes to the somewhat sweeping conclusion that because Mk. 14:36 is redactional and that the Q logia where Father appears are products of the

wisdom tradition in Jewish prayer life and cannot be traced to the historical Jesus it cannot be shown that 'Abba' or Father was used by Jesus. In 'Abba and "Father"' she concludes that such an address, if used at all by Jesus, was less likely to be familial intimacy than resistance to Rome. While we agree with her reassessment of some of Jeremias' conclusions, we still find that the almost unanimous agreement among the strata that when Jesus speaks to about God it was as Father and Father without any other title, a point which D'Angelo overlooks, argues that Jesus not only addressed God as Father, but did so in a way that was distinct from the Judaism of his day, and that when he taught his disciples to pray he very likely taught them to call God 'Abba'. On the Lord's Prayer having originated with Jesus see Meier's arguments in idem. *A Marginal Jew*, 2 : 291ff. Meier brings up two important points which Angelo fails to mention: the fact that 'kingdom' and 'come' in a prayer petition 'is unknown in the OT, in ancient Judaism before Jesus, and in the rest of the NT outside of the Gospel sayings of Jesus.' The second argument has to do with the fact that both evangelists attribute the prayer to Jesus:

To my own mind, one of the weightiest arguments for the origin of the prayer in the mouth of Jesus is the simple fact that both the Matthean and Lucan traditions, for all their differences, agree on attributing the prayer to Jesus...At first glance, this may not seem strange or unusual, but within the NT it is. The NT swarms with prayers...Yet nowhere else in the NT...is it claimed that the words of a particular prayer or hymn were directly taught to the disciples by Jesus...It was not the custom of the early church to attribute to Jesus of Nazareth the exact words of its prayers or hymns; the Our Father stands out as a sole exception.

Chapter Three

Martin Hengel

Jesus of Nazareth - A Thoroughly Messianic Life

Introduction

A Review of Bultmann and Fuller

When Fuller wrote *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus* and *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* the eschatological/messianic portrait of Jesus of Nazareth which Albert Schweitzer created in *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* had been 'undermined' by Rudolf Bultmann.

According to Schweitzer,

We must always make a fresh effort to realize to ourselves that Jesus and His immediate followers were...in an enthusiastic state of intense eschatological expectation...

and,

[If Jesus' life was unmessianic, if he were merely a teacher]...how did the appearance of the risen Jesus suddenly become for [the disciples] the proof of His Messiahship [since resurrection was not a messianic concept nor are there to be found any messianic claims on the lips of the risen Christ] and the basis of their eschatology?¹

Bultmann, we recall, had no essential quarrel with an eschatological Jesus,

The dominant concept of Jesus' message is the *Reign of God* . Jesus proclaims its immediately impending irruption, now

¹ Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* , 3rd. ed. trans. W. Montgomery, 384, 343.

already making itself felt. Reign of God...means the regime of God which will destroy the present course of the world...²

What he took issue with, beginning with *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, continuing through *Jesus*, and finding its fruition in *The Theology of the New Testament* ³, was the messianic Jesus, or rather the messianic consciousness of Jesus.

According to Bultmann Jesus was the sign of the very nearness of the Kingdom, but in no way was he the one who would usher in the Kingdom since,

Man cannot hasten the divinely determined course of events, either by strict observance of the commandments and [sic] by penance...For 'with the Reign of God it is as if a man should scatter seed upon the ground and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should sprout and grow, he knows not how...' ⁴

If Jesus did not proclaim himself Messiah, could he have then 'spiritualized' the traditional Messiah concept or have given some credence to the notion that he was destined to be the future Messiah? The former cannot be the case as nowhere in the tradition do we find a polemic against the Messiah concept.⁵ While the 'future' Son of man sayings provide some ground for accepting the latter, Bultmann notes that Jesus speaks of this Son of man in the third person without identifying himself with him.⁶ But of greater importance for Bultmann is the sheer irrelevance of the historical Jesus' messianic consciousness,

²Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., trans. Kendrick Grobel, 1: 4.

³Reginald H. Fuller, *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus*, 16.

⁴Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 7.

⁵Ibid., 28.

⁶Ibid., 29.

In discussing this question it is important to bear in mind that if the fact should be established that Jesus was conscious of being the Messiah...that would only establish a historical fact, not prove an article of faith...[T]he acknowledgement of Jesus as the one in whom God's word decisively encounters man...is a pure act of faith independent of the answer to the historical question whether or not Jesus considered himself the Messiah.⁷

Fuller acknowledges the legitimacy of Bultmann's concern not to allow the vagaries and vicissitudes of historical criticism to undermine the *Nichtansweisbarkeit*, the 'unproveability', of the Christian proclamation and so rob it of its essential *scandalon*.⁸ When he says,

Even if...it can be proved that Jesus claimed himself to be the redemptive act of God that cannot prove that he is so.⁹

Fuller is agreeing with Bultmann that facts do not create faith; however the cleavage Bultmann creates between faith and history raises important questions which Bultmann never addresses. If Jesus were only an eschatological prophet, never claimed to be anything but an eschatological prophet, why should not John the Baptist, also an eschatological prophet, be the object of one's faith, the one whom faith decides upon?¹⁰

Fuller's portrait of an eschatological/messianic Jesus is, as was stated earlier, a cautious one. In *Mission* we recall that Fuller created a very Anglican middle way between the 'realized' eschatology of C.H. Dodd and the modified 'future' eschatology of Bultmann when he said that the Kingdom is present in the message of Jesus, albeit in a proleptic sense: the ministry of

⁷Ibid., 26.

⁸Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 14.

⁹Ibid., 14.

¹⁰Ibid., 15.

Jesus is a down payment, a first instalment on the Kingdom that allows the people of Israel to enter into a period of anticipation and decision before the decisive event of the cross. As to Jesus the Messiah Fuller, we remember, described Jesus' messiahship as a sonship based on the Suffering Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah, a sonship of response and obedience. In *Foundations* Fuller enlarged upon the eschatological dimension when he moved in the direction of an inaugurated eschatology and backed off somewhat from the position he had taken in *Mission* regarding Jesus' messianic consciousness. In his first book Fuller admits that while Jesus did not proclaim himself Messiah he did not reject the title when applied to him; however in his later *opus* Fuller had Jesus reject the title as a 'diabolical temptation'.¹¹

Martin Hengel's Contribution to New Testament Christology- Briefly Considered

Martin Hengel, the second person to be considered in this thesis, has devoted himself to the relationship between Hellenism and Second Temple Judaism, work that helped overthrow the three-layered paradigm that dominated the work of Heitmüller, Hahn and Fuller, and most of German scholarship, which allowed for a somewhat radical distinction between Palestinian and diaspora Judaism. In his conclusion to his *magnum opus* he wrote,

'Palestinian' Judaism also shared in the 'religious *koine*' of its Hellenistic oriental environment...Jewish Palestine was no hermetically sealed off island in the sea of Hellenistic oriental syncretism.¹²

¹¹Reginald H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*, 109.

¹²Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2 vols., trans. John Bowden, 1: 312.

Secondly, in his major christological works, *Nachfolge und Charismus* (1967, ET, 1983), *Sohn Gottes* (1975, ET, 1976), *Between Jesus and Paul* (1983) and *Studies in Early Christology* (1995), he demonstrated, *contra* the history of religions school, how exaltation-Kyrios and pre-existence Son of God christology were not only the result of repeated use of Ps. 110:1 in the worship of the post-Easter church and Jewish Wisdom speculation but were also firmly rooted in the sayings of the historical Jesus.

Thirdly, in his description of Jesus as the one 'who dares to act in the place of God'¹³ and as plenipotentiary of divine Wisdom¹⁴, he has shown that it is possible to say that the historical Jesus provides the basis of the crowning achievement of pre-canonical christology, Jesus the pre-existent Son of God.

His work, one might say, straddles two epochs, the 'destruction' of the eschatological but non-messianic Bultmannian Jesus by Fuller and the collapse of the 'Schweitzerian' eschatological/messianic Jesus announced by Marcus Borg.¹⁵

A Non-Eschatological Jesus

Norman Perrin

That the portrait of an eschatological/messianic Jesus might be in danger of fading from prominence was shown in 1967 with a work by Norman Perrin.¹⁶ He challenged the widespread assumption in Germanic scholarship that what appeared to lie behind the authentic, or at least very ancient, Son of man sayings¹⁷ was a carefully defined concept in Early

¹³Martin Hengel, 'Jesus, the Messiah of Israel' in idem., *Studies in Early Christology*, trans. Paul Cathey, et al., 28.

¹⁴Martin Hengel, 'Jesus as Messianic Teacher of Wisdom and the Beginnings of Christology' in *ibid.*, 86.

¹⁵Marcus Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship*, 47-68, esp. 59ff.

¹⁶Norman Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teachings of Jesus*.

¹⁷I.e., Mk. 8:38; 13: 26; 14: 62; Lk. 11:30; 12:8f., par.; 17: 24, par.

Judaism, based on Dn. 7: 13, of a transcendent, pre-existent heavenly being, who would play a prominent role in the eschatological judgement.

However, Perrin does not find a unified, definitive Son of man concept in Early Judaism. For one reason 'Son of man' in 1 En. 37-71 and 4 Ezra 13 is used in a non-titular sense; for another the role of eschatological judge is not given to the Son of man, but to Enoch, the one representing the Son of man figure¹⁸; and, finally, in 4 Ezra, despite the evidence of Dn. 7, the Man from the Sea is not called 'Son of man', but is instead addressed as 'my Son', the Messiah.¹⁹

What Perrin finds instead are two independent exegetical or pesher traditions based on Dn. 7:13: the Enoch saga, which Perrin sees as having developed alongside of but independent of Mk. 14:62²⁰, and the early Christian 'conception' of an apocalyptic Son of man represented in passages such as Mk. 8: 38; 13: 26; 14: 62²¹; Mt. 24: 26f.; Lk. 27: 23f., 26f. These verses did not originate in the teaching of Jesus who, when he used Son of man, such as in Lk. 12:8, was not referring to himself or to some eschatological figure, but was expressing the confidence that at a future time God would unambiguously vindicate his ministry and other peoples' proper response to it²²; rather they originated in the passion and resurrection, and, like the Enoch saga, were dependent upon general and widespread apocalyptic ideas.

¹⁸Perrin, *Rediscovering*, 169.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 170.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 198.

²¹See esp. Norman Perrin, 'Mark 14:62, The End Product of a Christian Pesher Tradition', *NTS* 13 (1965-66): 150-155. Here Perrin argues that Mk. 14: 62 represents the culmination of two originally separate strands in the Christian pesher tradition, the one originating in the resurrection and subsequent reflection on Ps. 110: 1 and Dn. 7: 13, the other having its point of origin in the crucifixion and using Zech. 12: 10f. and Dn. 7: 13. But cf. Reginald H. Fuller, 'The Son of Man: A Reconsideration' in *The Living Text*, ed. Dennis E. Groh and Robert Jewell, 208. While agreeing with the substance of Perrin's thesis Fuller cautions that it not be extended to other 'future' sayings such as Lk. 12:8 where the features of Dn. 7:13 are conspicuously absent.

²²Perrin, *Rediscovering*, 198, 203.

Another sign that the eschatological consensus was capable of being 'cracked' appeared in Perrin's final *oeuvre* ²³ where he argued that Kingdom of God was not the spatial concept of post-Schweitzer scholarship²⁴ but rather a *tensive*, that is a multi-faceted, symbol²⁵ which is in direct contrast to a *steno* symbol, a symbol like the metal yellow octagon-shaped road sign which in America means 'stop'. In other words Kingdom of God was not a *steno* symbol, just another way of expressing the concept that at an appointed time God will consummate his rule over history; rather it was a symbol which stood for God's kingship over Israel and all the things his kingship meant,²⁶ his cosmic activity as well as his attentiveness to the immediate and personal needs of people at prayer. ²⁷ According to Perrin the aspect of Kingdom of God to which Jesus was particularly drawn was its capacity to express the nearness of God. Whereas Bultmann would have interpreted Lk. 11:20 as a sign that the End is at hand²⁸ and Fuller would have seen in the verse a reference to the nearness of the eschatological rule of God²⁹ or as a way of saying that the future Kingdom of God is proleptically present only in Jesus³⁰, Perrin says that Jesus is claiming that his exorcisms were a manifestation of the power of God as king:

Jesus is deliberately evoking the myth of the activity of God on behalf of his people, and claiming that the exorcisms are a manifestation of that activity in the experience of the hearers.³¹

²³Norman Perrin, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom*.

²⁴'[t]his imperious forcing of eschatology into history...' (Schweitzer, *Quest*, 389)... [at which time] 'the judgement of the world [would] be held by [God] or by his representative, the Son of man...' (Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 5). See also Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 118 and idem, *Foundations*, 130.

²⁵Perrin, *Language of the Kingdom*, 31.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 5f., 21.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 43.

²⁸Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 7.

²⁹Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 26.

³⁰Fuller, *Foundations*, 105.

³¹Perrin, *Language of the Kingdom*, 43.

Perrin is certainly correct in likening the phrase Kingdom of God to a fine work of art whose meanings can never be exhausted. However, why not include in its range of meanings the traditional concept of the climax of Israel's history and all the things associated with this climax, the end of suffering, death, and evil? When Perrin eliminates the eschatological dimension of this phrase preferring instead to say that Jesus evoked this symbol in order 'to mediate existential reality'³² he is imposing on first century Jews who were awaiting the return of God to Zion in fulfilment of Ez. 43:1-12³³, the world view of twentieth century existentialism. J.P. Meier is certainly correct when, in arguing that an aspect of God's rule must be the concept that at a certain time God's rule will be made absolute: he says,

A time frame, however vague or mythic, was part of the underlying story of the kingdom evoked by the tensive symbol.³⁴

J.D. Crossan

However, the most systematic 'deconstruction' of the eschatological/messianic Jesus was accomplished in 1991 by the American New Testament scholar J.D. Crossan.³⁵

After paying generous tribute to Albert Schweitzer for his 'splendidly written and superbly argued' defence of the eschatological and apocalyptic Jesus against the portrait of the ethical and moral teacher which had dominated 18th and 19th century scholarship³⁶, Crossan notes that the

³²Ibid., 45.

³³See our discussion below of the concept of the Return of YHWH, 84f.

³⁴John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew* 2 vols., 2: 242.

³⁵John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*.

³⁶Ibid., 227.

conflicts which Schweitzer attempted to resolve were by no means anything new. The dichotomy between sage and prophet can be traced back to the beginning of the New Testament era.³⁷ Crossan provides the reader with two examples: Paul and the Corinthians, where the apostle to the Gentiles wrote defending the future and apocalyptic Jesus to their present and sapiential one³⁸; secondly there is the Gospel of Thomas which describes Jesus' own disciples as representing the apocalyptic or 'wrong' viewpoint.³⁹

How does one arrive at a historically faithful portrait of the historical Jesus? Crossan argues that the biblical historian can find no better model than the one the present-day archaeologist uses to date his findings: stratigraphy, the detailed locating of each item in its own proper chronological layer.⁴⁰

Following after Helmut Koester who argued that 'the number of gospels in circulation must have been much larger, at least a good dozen of which we have some piece'⁴¹, Crossan has taken inventory of all the major sources of texts, both intracanonical and extracanonical, and has located each in its own proper chronological layer.

The layers, or strata, are as follows⁴²: the First Stratum (30-60 C.E.) naturally includes 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1 Corinthians and Romans; we also find the Sayings Gospel Q as well as the Gospel of Thomas; not so naturally we have the Gospel of the Hebrews which exists only in patristic citations; in the Second Stratum (60-80 C.E.) we have the Gospel according to Mark, the Book of Signs, Colossians as well as some extracanonical material, i.e., the Gospel of the Egyptians and the Secret Gospel of Mark; in the Third Stratum (80-120 C.E.) Crossan locates Matthew, Luke, the Apocalypse, the first edition of the Fourth Gospel and a good bit of sub-apostolic material; in

³⁷Ibid., 227.

³⁸Ibid., 228.

³⁹Ibid., 229.

⁴⁰Ibid., xxviii.

⁴¹Ibid., xxxi.

⁴²For a complete listing of the contents of these strata see *ibid.*, 427-34.

the Fourth (and final) Stratum (120-150 C.E.) we find documents such as the second edition of the Fourth Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles, 1&2 Timothy, 2 Peter, as well as several apocryphal gospels.

Once the inventory was completed Crossan grouped this material, these Jesus traditions, into 522 complexes, families of sayings around a particular theme.

A typical 'complex' looks like this⁴³

20 *Kingdom and Children* [1/4]

(1) *Gospel of Thomas* 22:1-2

(2) Mark 10: 13-16=Matt. 19: 13-15=Luke 18: 15-17

(3) Matt. 18: 3

(4) John 3: 1-10

The number (20) to the left of the title of the complex *Kingdom and Children* tells the reader where to find that complex in Part B of Appendix 1, Independent Attestations. The number (4) to the right of the slash mark in the square brackets tells the reader how many *independent* attestations there are within the complex; the number (1) to the left of the slash identifies the earliest stratum where the complex first appears. In the case of *Kingdom and Children* it is (1) the Gospel of Thomas. Obviously, the lower the number to the left of the slash the higher the probability is for that complex to be part of the authentic sayings of Jesus.

For our purposes the most important part of Crossan's portrait of the historical Jesus is his section on the apocalyptic Son of man.⁴⁴

According to Crossan, at the beginning of his ministry Jesus accepted John the Baptist's message that the end of the world would take place in his

⁴³Ibid., xxxiii.

⁴⁴Ibid., 238-255.

and John's generation (John's the Coming One is not Jesus but God, the apocalyptic avenger⁴⁵) hence his baptism in the Jordan by John.⁴⁶ However, at a later date, Jesus changed his mind and focused his message on who would belong to a kingdom of the here and now a present ethical rather than a future apocalyptic realm⁴⁷, a kingdom of undesirables⁴⁸ where the least of the world, children for instance, would be first, a kingdom that would subvert the existing world order.

Crossan does not so much reject an eschatological Jesus as he does an apocalyptic Jesus. He appears to see eschatology as a continuum. At one end is something that might be called apocalyptic eschatology, where the end of the world is a decisive act of God; at the other end is what one might define as sapiential subversive eschatology, that is a negation of the existing world order through mystical, utopian or Wisdom (i.e., the rigorous asceticism of the Gospel of Thomas) modes⁴⁹. Before and at his baptism Jesus stood with John the Baptist at the apocalyptic end; after the baptism Jesus separated from John and placed himself at the sapiential end. Unfortunately for the reader, Crossan does not say what caused this shift to take place; he only provides us with the evidence that such a shift probably took place.

First, he directs the reader's attention to the 85 *Greater than John* complex [1/2] (Gospel of Thomas 46 , Sayings Gospel Q: Luke 7:28=Matthew 11:11). Since the Gospel of Thomas has no interest in John the Baptist one cannot dismiss the saying as that gospel's own creation: 'It is, therefore, as old as anything we can get.'⁵⁰

⁴⁵Ibid., 235.

⁴⁶Ibid., 237.

⁴⁷Ibid., 287.

⁴⁸Ibid., 276.

⁴⁹Ibid., 238.

⁵⁰Ibid., 237.

The second basis for a non-apocalyptic Jesus can be found in the Son of man sayings. Concerning the Apocalyptic, Earthly, and the Suffering and Risen Son of man sayings Crossan arrives at the following conclusions:

- 1) He agrees with Fitzmyer and Vermes that 'Son of man' was a non-titular idiom at the time of Jesus. He agrees with Fitzmyer against Vermes that Son of man was not a circumlocution for 'I'.⁵¹ The titular use of Son of man was a creation of the post-Easter community.
- 2) He accepts Fitzmyer's findings that if Jesus used 'Son of man' his audience would have understood the phrase as generic (everyone) or as indefinite (anyone, someone)⁵², but adds that when Jesus used Son of man he would have included himself. Hence, 'Everyone, me included; anyone, me included.' As 101 *Foxes have Holes*, a Present saying, has Son of man in both (1) Gospel of Thomas 86 and (2) 1Q: Luke 9:58=Matt. 8:19-20⁵³, one may conclude that the Present sayings originated with Jesus.
- 3) However, when we study two Coming Son of man complexes, 2 *Jesus' Apocalyptic Return* [1/6]⁵⁴ and 28 *Before the Angels* [1/4]⁵⁵ we find that this phrase stems from only one source, Mark.⁵⁶
- 4) Crossan concludes that the Apocalyptic sayings, far from originating on the lips of Jesus, had their origins in the Christian community's reflection first on Zech. 12:10ff and then on Dan. 7:13.⁵⁷
- 5) Jesus' use of Son of man in a generic and indefinite sense facilitated the description of Jesus as the apocalyptic Son of man.

⁵¹Ibid., 242.

⁵²Ibid., 242

⁵³Ibid., 440.

⁵⁴Ibid., 434.

⁵⁵Ibid., 436.

⁵⁶Ibid., 247.

⁵⁷Ibid., 247.

If Jesus was not the apocalyptic visionary, one whose eschatology included a dramatic vision of his return to earth to judge and to save, a vision which included the end of time and history, the 'end of the world', that Albert Schweitzer said he was, the eschatological prophet who, according to Rudolf Bultmann, proclaimed the imminence of the Kingdom of God, nor Fuller's prophet who inaugurated the Kingdom of God, was confident that his ministry would be vindicated by the apocalyptic Son of man, but who rejected the title Messiah as a diabolical temptation, who or what was he? We will consider briefly two portraits, one of Crossan, the other of Marcus Borg, each of whom bases his conclusions in part on the inauthenticity of the Coming Son of man sayings.

According to Crossan, in order to arrive at a faithful portrait one must have the correct background: it is necessary to have as accurate an understanding of the Judaism of Jesus' time as possible.

Following Martin Hengel, there was, says our author, only one kind of Judaism at the time of Jesus: Hellenistic Judaism.⁵⁸ Crossan does not mean that the Judaism of Jesus' day was a hybrid faith born out of many years of tranquil cross-fertilization between Palestinian Judaism and Hellenism, but a tug of war, not only between Judaism and Hellenism but within Judaism itself, '...a Judaism seeking to preserve its ancient traditions as conservatively as possible...and a Judaism seeking to adapt its ancestral customs as liberally as possible...'⁵⁹ As far as relations between Jew and Gentile went, at times there was open warfare as witnessed in *De Superstitione* of Seneca the Philosopher or in the *Third Sibylline Oracle* ⁶⁰; other times the picture was that of the harmony, mutual understanding and respect one reads in the fictional *Letter of Aristeas to Philomates* .⁶¹

⁵⁸Ibid., 418.

⁵⁹Ibid., 418.

⁶⁰Ibid., 418f.

⁶¹Ibid., 419.

According to Crossan Jesus stood for the kind of Judaism that would have been willing to compromise on circumcision, commensality and intermarriage if paganism had conceded on divinity and morality.⁶² Jesus represented a peasant Jewish Cynicism rather than the philosophical synthesis of Philo of Alexandria; that is, he stood for a way of life which had contempt for honour and shame, for patronage and clientage. Peasant Jewish Cynics such as Jesus were 'hippies in a world of Augustan yuppies.'⁶³ He proclaimed his message of a brokerless kingdom of undesirables, that is a kingdom in which all, particularly the undesirables, had 'unmediated physical and spiritual contact with God and unmediated physical and spiritual contact with one another'⁶⁴, among the villages of Galilee by means of free healing and common eating, 'a religious and economic egalitarianism that negated alike and at once the hierarchical and patronal normalities of Jewish religion and Roman power.'⁶⁵ He was a Jew who 'stood firmly within Israel's most ancient tradition of covenantal justice'; he was one to whom Kingdom of God meant the embodiment of 'the radical justice of Israel's God' and whose preaching of the Kingdom focused on the fact that 'the standard political normalcies of power and privilege, hierarchy and oppression, debt foreclosure and land appropriation, imperial exploitation and colonial collaboration were in profound conflict with the radical justice of Israel's God.'⁶⁶

Marcus Borg

Like Crossan, Marcus Borg operates on the assumption that there is taking place in New Testament scholarship a gradual collapse of the

⁶²Ibid., 420f.

⁶³Ibid., 421.

⁶⁴Ibid., 422.

⁶⁵Ibid., 422.

⁶⁶Excerpted from an e-mail reply of John Dominic Crossan to Marcus Borg and Luke Timothy Johnson: JESUS2000@ info. harpercollins. com, 36.

eschatological consensus and the erosion of confidence in the authenticity of the Coming Son of man sayings.⁶⁷ He relies heavily on Perrin's description of the Kingdom of God as a tensive as opposed to a steno-symbol⁶⁸ and Houston Smith's description of the *Weltanschauung* of first century Palestine which understood reality as having two levels, 'this world' and a 'world of the spirit, this 'other world' being 'more real' than 'this world', indeed a world not merely believed but 'known'⁶⁹:

[t]he reality of God as king could be known, and the power of the spirit (God acting as king) could flow into this world, a world into which people could enter and be shaped...⁷⁰

Borg arrives at a portrait not only of a 'counter-cultural' Jesus, but also a Jesus who, as mediator of the Spirit, is thoroughly Jewish, unlike Crossan's peasant Jewish Cynic; however, it is a Jesus who could not account for the explosive rise in christology that took place after the resurrection .

In typically 'Third Quester' fashion Borg, like Crossan, creates his portrait of Jesus against the background of Second Temple Judaism. Both scholars use the word 'conflict' to describe Jesus' environment. With Crossan the conflict was within Judaism over and against its relationship with Hellenistic culture; according to Borg the conflict was within Judaism over and against its relationship with Rome: how does an occupied people remain a covenant people? ⁷¹ Allied with the eschatological consensus was an 'apolitical Jesus consensus' which had dominated historical Jesus research for about as long as the former. Borg, however, argues that if we take seriously

⁶⁷ Borg, *Contemporary Scholarship* , 40, n. 53; 47-68, esp. 51-57 and 59ff.

⁶⁸ Perrin, *Language of the Kingdom* , 43.

⁶⁹ Houston Smith, *Forgotten Truth: The Primordial Tradition* , 56.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁷¹ Marcus Borg, *Conflict, Holiness & Politics in the Teaching of Jesus* , 2.

the Christian understanding of 'incarnation', that God in Christ became enmeshed in the circumstances of human life in a particular time and place, then we must not exclude his addressing the turbulent political questions of that time and place.⁷² Borg contends that there is a large amount of material that still links the mission of Jesus to the day-to-day destiny of Israel.⁷³

The politics of this occupied people, argues Borg, involved keeping the covenant people loyal to YHWH⁷⁴; in other words it was a politics of holiness. In the midst of various 'political' renewal movements (Borg uses a loose definition of politics as the practice of being 'concerned with the "shape" of the city and, by extension, of any human community'⁷⁵), Pharisees, a loosely organized resistance movement, the Essenes, another movement emerged-the Jesus Movement, which had come into existence because its founder wished it to. The fact that Jesus called twelve disciples indicated that he wished his movement to incorporate all of Israel in order to create a community worthy of the people of God.⁷⁶ Jesus' politics of holiness was not the separation from society preached by the Essenes nor the separation within society urged by the Pharisees⁷⁷, but involved an alternative vision that was in constant conflict with religiously sanctioned norms.⁷⁸

This political Jesus was a charismatic holy man and like many such men, men such as Honi the Circle-Drawer and Hanina ben Dosa, was a mediator between the material and the even more real spirit-world.⁷⁹

However, this holy man was no quietist. The kingdom he mediated from the Spirit-world⁸⁰, his alternative vision, was a direct challenge to the

⁷²Ibid., 7.

⁷³Ibid., 23.

⁷⁴Ibid., 56.

⁷⁵Marcus Borg, *Jesus, A New Vision*, x, 86.

⁷⁶Borg, *Conflict*, 70.

⁷⁷Ibid., 57.

⁷⁸Ibid., 76f.

⁷⁹Borg, *A New Vision*, 41.

⁸⁰Like Houston Smith, Borg accepts that the phrase Kingdom of God symbolized that other world. See Borg, *Contemporary Scholarship*, 57.

holiness-as-separateness concept urged by the Pharisees and Essenes. Like Crossan Borg sees Jesus' table fellowship as his greatest challenge to the politics of holiness of his day. Here Jesus took 'his stand among the pariahs of this world'⁸¹; this set him on a head to head collision course with pharisaical holiness where the separateness of the table had become a microcosm, a model of Israel's destiny as a nation separate from other nations.⁸² Jesus' table fellowship sought to replace 'Be holy as God is holy' with 'Be compassionate as God is compassionate.'⁸³

In addition to being a charismatically endowed renewal movement founder, Jesus was a sage, a teacher of wisdom, in fact a teacher of world-subversive wisdom⁸⁴; but he was not an eschatological prophet. (Borg apparently accepts Crossan's conclusion that the *Gospel of Thomas* predates Mark.) As Borg rather colloquially puts it, it was highly unlikely that Jesus would have taught a world-subverting wisdom and at the same time say, 'By the way, the last judgement is at hand, you better be ready, so repent.'⁸⁵

As teacher Jesus spoke of two ways, the broad way and, the one to be followed, the narrow way. The broad way was the conventional wisdom of the day which sought security and identity in family, wealth, honour and religion.⁸⁶ The narrow way, on the other hand, was a new heart, an inner transformation of the self at the deepest level, a heart that was wholly centred in God rather than in the things pertaining to conventional wisdom, a heart that died to the world as the centre of security and identity, a heart that has turned itself over to God.⁸⁷

However, says Borg, Jesus was more than a sage:

⁸¹Borg, *Conflict*, 79. See Matt. 11:19=Lk. 7:34; Mark 2:15=Lk. 19:7; 15:1-2.

⁸²Ibid., 80ff.

⁸³Borg, *Contemporary Scholarship*, 26.

⁸⁴Ibid., 26, 83.

⁸⁵Ibid., 83.

⁸⁶Borg, *A New Vision*, 104ff.

⁸⁷Ibid., 108ff.

Unlike the subversive sages of the Old Testament who apparently carried out their criticism within the school of wisdom itself, Jesus carried his criticism of conventional wisdom directly to the public in a mission that was national in scope. He founded a revitalization movement which sought the transformation of the historical path of his people.⁸⁸

And, concludes Borg, Jesus was more than the founder of a revitalization movement: he is a model of discipleship for those who have elected to remain within modern culture, 'a rival lord in our lives.'⁸⁹ He calls people to a 'politics of compassion' exercised in the power of the Spirit, an ethos to be realized within society.⁹⁰

Crossan and Borg

An Evaluation

My evaluation of Crossan will examine briefly three aspects of his work: his portrait of Jesus as a peasant Jewish Cynic, a magician, and his contention that the *Gospel of Thomas* is independent of and prior to the synoptic tradition. I will conclude with an over-all estimation of Crossan's Jesus. Our evaluation of Borg will focus chiefly on his non-eschatological Jesus, that is a Jesus who did not feel that the world was coming to an end in his lifetime.⁹¹

⁸⁸Ibid., 116.

⁸⁹Ibid., 195.

⁹⁰Ibid., 196.

⁹¹I am deliberately by-passing Perrin's work on the Son of man and his study of the implications of Kingdom of God. This is not because we believe his observations are insignificant, nor that they raise questions regarding the relationship between the words of Jesus and the early church's confession about Jesus. It is rather because Crossan's and Borg's

Even though Crossan admits that some aspects of Jesus' and his disciples' dress contradict his Cynic thesis, namely the prohibition of the all-important purse (Q/Luke 10:4; Mk. 6:80) which was symbolic of the Cynic's all-important self-sufficiency⁹², he has no doubt but that the itinerant, egalitarian nature of Jesus' ministry points to a Cynic milieu. Crossan builds his case for a Cynic Jesus not only on the style and content of Jesus' ministry, his 'contempt for honour and shame, for patronage and clientage'⁹³, but also on his, Crossan's, notion that a Greco-Roman city like Sepphoris was near enough to Nazareth for Jesus to have come into contact with wandering Cynics.⁹⁴

Particularly damning to the Jesus-as-Cynic hypothesis is the historical, archaeological, and textual evidence. Regarding the historical data, P.R. Eddy calls attention to the fact that Imperial Cynicism does not appear until after the middle of the first century C.E.⁹⁵ As for the archaeological evidence Eddy directs our attention to E. Meyers, whose work Crossan cites as evidence for contact between a thoroughly Jewish Jesus and a completely Hellenized Sepphoris⁹⁶, who notes that the *Jewish* population of first century Sepphoris was, religiously speaking, profoundly Jewish, a 'Torah-true population' - one not given to persuading a Nazarene Jew to 'convert' to a Cynic mind-set.⁹⁷

non-messianic and non-eschatological Jesus have gained such public notoriety due to the attention given to the Jesus Seminar in the press. I will however, make two brief comments. First, while Mk. 14: 62 may not be the *ipsissimum verbum Jesu* and may well represent the end product of a peshar on Ps. 110:1, Dn. 7: 13 and Zech. 12:10ff, I do believe that we are dealing here with the *ipsissima vox Jesu*: he must have made some reference to himself as world-judge for Caiaphas, whose position depended on the good favour of Caesar, to have cried 'blasphemy' and to have turned him over to Pilate for crucifixion. (See Hengel, *Studies*, 51f., 54, 187. Second, I refer the reader to Meier's observations (q.v.) on Kingdom of God, cited above, p. 126.

⁹²Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 339.

⁹³Ibid., 421.

⁹⁴Ibid., 421.

⁹⁵Paul Rhodes Eddy, 'Jesus as Diogenes? Reflections on the Cynic Jesus Thesis', *JBL* 115/3 (1996): 467.

⁹⁶Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 19.

⁹⁷Eddy, 'Jesus as Diogenes', 466. For a similar view on the Jewishness of Sepphoris see. Thomas R.W. Longstaff, 'Nazareth and Sepphoris: Insights into Christian Origins', in *Christ and His Communities*, ed. Arland J. Hultgren and Barbara Hall, 12f.

Concerning the textual evidence Eddy draws our attention to: 1) 'the deafening' silence about Sepphoris in the early Jesus tradition⁹⁸; 2) that it is unclear whether or not the parallels between Jesus' aphorisms and Cynic sayings were instead parallels to the words of non Cynic Jewish moralists and ascetics⁹⁹; and 3) the facts that not only did Jesus instruct his missionaries to go without the all-important, the all-significant *πήρα*¹⁰⁰, he forbade the use of the Cynic's staff, and he told them not to greet anyone, a directive which clearly contradicts the Cynic habit of *παρηγορία*, outspokenness.

In an essay favourable to Cross, R.A. Ludwig says of Crossan's reconstruction that, ' [t]he humanity of Jesus is fully restored.'¹⁰¹ However the reader is left somewhat confused as to what type of humanity has been restored, a Jewish or a Hellenistic humanity: Crossan's desire is to set Jesus firmly within the context of Second Temple Judaism, but he has chosen a paradigm, the peasant Jewish Cynic, unknown in that milieu. A Cynic, be he Hellenistic or Jewish (and Crossan never tells us what is specifically Jewish about a peasant Jewish Cynic) is a far more Gentile *persona* than Semitic. Crossan's Jesus is therefore more Greek than Jew whereas the Jesus of the Gospels is thoroughly Jewish. Crossan fails to note that Jesus' most familiar way of teaching, the parable, has no Cynic parallel, but is a typically Jewish *Gattung* ¹⁰². Jesus' challenges to the law are based on an essentially Jewish regard for total reliance on God¹⁰³, something which flies in the face of the Cynics' mode of complete self-reliance. In fact this most Jewish of traits, this total reliance on God, is something which Crossan neglects to mention. Also to be noted is the fact that Jesus did not evince an all-pervasive Cynic-like

⁹⁸Eddy, 'Jesus as Diogenes', 465.

⁹⁹Ibid., 459.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 462.

¹⁰¹Robert A. Ludwig, 'Reconstructing Jesus for a Dysfunctional Church', in *Jesus and Faith: A Conversation on the Work of John Dominic Crossan*, ed. Jeffrey Carlson and Robert A. Ludwig, ed., 60.

¹⁰²Eddy, 'Jesus as Diogenes', 461.

¹⁰³Ibid., 463.

contempt for social customs such as religious sacrifices, religious taxes and marriage.

After noting parallels between Jesus and Cynic philosophy, i.e., Jesus' exalting of children in the presence of his disciples, his remarks on the carefree life of birds, his declaration that a good tree cannot bear evil fruit¹⁰⁴, N.T. Wright notes that when the textual evidence is studied closely, 'We find ourselves still in a very Jewish world.'¹⁰⁵ For one thing, Jesus' preaching about the Kingdom of God and his concern for the Jewish nation in the days of fulfilment of prophecy conflict with Cynic emphasis on the individual and his or her future.¹⁰⁶ For another, the eschatological urgency in Jesus' teaching on the very Jewish concept of the Kingdom of God has no parallel in the Stoic pantheism of Cynic tradition.¹⁰⁷ Finally, there is an essential conflict between two very different world-views: Jewish monotheism and Gentile paganism. Cynics accommodated themselves with apparent ease to this latter *Weltanschauung*.¹⁰⁸

Therefore, the world-view of Jesus, his uncompromising monotheism, his insistence on the imminence of the Kingdom and the implications of this imminence of this Kingdom for the nation, his intimacy with and dependence on God, was overwhelmingly Jewish with some Cynic incidentals and not the other way around which is almost what Crossan would want us to believe. Well might Crossan argue that what Jesus represented was not *Imperial* but *Jewish* Cynicism. Unfortunately he provides us with no examples of what may be called Jewish Cynicism. Was there such a distinctive Cynicism or were Jewish Cynics merely aping Imperial Cynicism? Crossan does not tell us.¹⁰⁹ Jesus as Jewish Cynic is in every way 'a paradigm without

¹⁰⁴N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 68.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 72f.

¹⁰⁹See Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 72-88, 421f.

precedent¹¹⁰; that is to say, Crossan provides us with no example of Jewish Cynicism: Jesus is a peasant Jewish Cynic simply because Crossan says he is.

In contrast to the New Quest's almost exclusive attention to the sayings of Jesus at the expense of his acts, especially his miracles¹¹¹, Crossan has little problem regarding the historicity of Jesus' healings and exorcisms. However, owing to his hermeneutic of subversiveness and given his opinion that the miracles were 'a very problematic and controversial phenomenon not only for his enemies but even for his friends¹¹² and that therefore the preferred New Testament terms σημεῖον, δύναμις, ἔργον (in contrast to the more obviously sensational but infrequently used θαῦμα, παράδοξος, ἀρετή¹¹³) were more than likely 'damage control' on the part of the post-Easter church¹¹⁴, the terms which Crossan prefers are magic, magician,

Because of magic's position as subversive, unofficial, unapproved, and often lower class religion, I have deliberately used the word *magic* rather than some euphemism in the preceding and present parts of this book.¹¹⁵

However, as J.P. Meier has pointed out¹¹⁶, what the NT describes as σημεῖον, δύναμις, and ἔργον may be radically different from what the

¹¹⁰I owe this phrase to Mark Bredin, a colleague at St. Mary's College, The University of St. Andrews.

¹¹¹In Günther Bornkamm's *Jesus of Nazareth*, trans. Irene and Fraser McCluskey with James M. Robinson, only passing reference is paid to Mt. 11:5, Jesus' response to the disciples of John the Baptist. (76). Nowhere in his chapter, 'The Dawn of the Kingdom of God' (64-95), are the miracles referred to as signs that the Kingdom of God is at hand. But cf. Reginald H. Fuller, another New or Second Quester, in *Interpreting the Miracles*, 'To sum up, we may say that for Jesus his exorcisms and healings, while not unique in themselves, are unique in their relation to his message of the dawning Reign of God.' (44)

¹¹²Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 311.

¹¹³Fuller, *Interpreting the Miracles*, 17.

¹¹⁴Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2: 546f.

¹¹⁵Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 305.

¹¹⁶Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2: 541-552 and idem, 'Dividing Lines in Jesus Research Today', *Int* 50/4 (1996): 355-72, esp. 361-63.

Hellenistic world knew as μαγεία. While the language of the NT may indeed be 'damage control', the phenomena which these words describe are anything but μαγεία.

There are several important, crucial differences between magic as it was practiced in the Greco-Roman world and the miracles which Jesus performed. Whereas Jesus operated with a fairly stable circle of disciples, magicians did not¹¹⁷; whereas Jesus spoke in his own language and in coherent sentences and phrases, the magician relied on the all-important spell brought about by the repetition of esoteric divine names and nonsense syllables¹¹⁸; and whereas the magical papyri contained formulas for causing sickness or for getting rid of one's enemies, Jesus' miracles did no one any harm.¹¹⁹

However, the most important difference between the Gospel miracles and Hellenistic magic lies in the very Jewishness of the former. In the indubitably authentic Lk. 11:20, Jesus defines his miracles, particularly his exorcisms, as signs that the distinctly Hebraic notion of the Kingdom is arriving in and through Jesus. Jesus performs his miracles not only out of love for individuals, but out of concern for the Jewish nation which stood under the shadow of the Kingdom of God:

The miracles of Jesus...are presented as signs and realizations of the gracious power of the God of Israel, acting in the end time to save not only individuals but Israel as a whole through his agent Jesus.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Meier, 'Dividing Lines', 363.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 363. For an example of these see idem, *A Marginal Jew*, 2: 550.

¹¹⁹'Dividing Lines', 362.

¹²⁰Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2: 545.

Even though there were Jewish magicians (e.g. Acts 13) who probably differed little from Hellenistic magicians, Jesus the miracle worker stands out as a definably Jewish figure.

Crucial to Crossan's Cynic, non-apocalyptic, sapiential Jesus is his belief that the *Gospel of Thomas I* was composed independent of the synoptics 'by the fifties C.E., possibly in Jerusalem under the aegis of James' authority'¹²¹ and may, according to Crossan, represent the view of the Corinthian gnostics who held to a present and sapiential Jesus as opposed to a future and apocalyptic one.¹²² He seems to assume, with Bultmann and contrary to a significant number of scholars¹²³, that gnosticism was a pre-Christian phenomenon rather than something which developed from Christianity.

Two arguments proposed by Crossan in an earlier work¹²⁴ are :1) If *Thomas* knew the synoptics, why did he deliberately break up their order; and 2) *Thomas* never shows any trace of Synoptic redactional material. However, given the secondary nature of the Coptic text, that at least at one point the Coptic translator changed the order of POxy fragment, it is very difficult to ascertain what the original order of *Thomas* may have been.¹²⁵

As far as the second argument goes, a detailed analysis of *Thomas* 5, 16, 55, 20, 9 shows the probability that redactional material may indeed exist in this gospel.¹²⁶ One example will suffice. *Thomas* 16 says that there will be divisions, three against two and two against three. This agrees with Luke 12: 51-53 which is apparently a secondary expansion of Mt. 10:34f. The *Thomas*

¹²¹Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 427.

¹²²*Ibid.*, 228. Crossan never engages in dialogue with scholars who take another position as to the date of the *Gospel of Thomas* (cf. Christopher Tuckett, 'Thomas and the Synoptics', *NT* 30/2 [1988], 132-57), or as to whether or not there were in fact such things as Corinthian gnostics.

¹²³See N.T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 156 fn. 25.

¹²⁴John Dominic Crossan, *Four Other Gospels*, 35, 36f. As noted in Tuckett, 'Thomas and the Synoptics', 139, fn. 25, 140, fn. 30.

¹²⁵Tuckett, 'Thomas and the Synoptics', 139.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, 145-156.

passage also has the LkR διαμερισμός (the διαμεριζ–root appears six times in Luke-Acts as opposed to only once in Matthew and Mark¹²⁷) as well as the Matthean μάχαρα, evidence that *Thomas* 16 is more than likely a conflation of Matthew and Luke.¹²⁸

However, the real problem with Crossan's reliance on *Thomas* is that the Jesus of this gospel is not very Jewish at all. The world view of *Thomas* is not that of a Palestinian Jew steeped, say, in the creation-affirming wisdom of Proverbs 8:22-30,

The Lord created me at the beginning of his work...Ages ago I was set up, at the first, before the beginning of the earth. When there were no depths I was brought forth. When there were no springs abounding with water. Before the mountains had been shaped, before the hills, I was brought forth- when he had not yet made earth and fields, or the world's first bits of soil. (vv. 22-26)

Rather the world-view of *Thomas* is that of second or third century gnostic dualism, the kind of dualism that radically distinguished between matter and spirit, soul and body¹²⁹ as well as between the Creator, the God of Israel, and the God of Jesus. No mention is made in this gospel of God as creator, of God as the Lord of Israel, or of Israel's special place in God's creation.¹³⁰ In fact, of the 114 logia there are only two which can be traced to any OT source: Th. 17=Isa. 64:4; Th. 66=Ps. 118:22. Indeed, when we come upon *Thomas'* truncated version of the Parable of the Owner of the Vineyard no allusion to Isa. 5: 1-5 can be found.

¹²⁷Ibid., 146, fn. 49.

¹²⁸Ibid., 146.

¹²⁹See 'Gospel of Thomas', as found in Robert W. Funk and Roy W. Hoover, *The Five Gospels*, 87, 112.

¹³⁰Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1:134.

The Jesus of Crossan's reconstruction, the Jesus who mingled freely with the outcast, who subverted the brokered kingdom of the Greco-Roman world speaks clearly to our world with its unpardonable gaps between rich and poor, where newly independent nations of Africa attempt to cope with the tragic legacy of the brokered empires of Western Europe, and where often dysfunctional churches, following the pattern of addiction in a family,

[are] involved in denial and cover-up in addiction to controlling power and authority, and the codependency of the faithful allows the focus on maintenance to dominate and overshadow community, mission and authentic spirituality.¹³¹

The portrait of a subversive Jesus is faithful to the ministry of the historical Jesus who, as we will see Martin Hengel point out, enjoined the same loyalty on his followers that God enjoined on his prophets, a loyalty which demanded that one would-be follower disregard one of his basic social obligations-to bury one's parents (Matt. 8:22) and who declared all foods to be clean (Mk. 7:15). We meet this subversive Jesus again who in the Parable of the Good Samaritan interpreted the law in such a way as to read that in certain situations the love commandment overrode the all-pervasive, all-important purity laws.¹³²

Unfortunately Crossan's Jesus is strangely faceless, or rather his face is that of a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant member of the counter-culture of the 1960's. As we stated above, it is a portrait without a paradigm. If Crossan's Jesus were a Hellenistic Cynic with his bag, his sandals and his customary

¹³¹Carlson and Ludwig, eds., *Jesus and Faith*, 57.

¹³²Richard Bauckham, 'The Scrupulous Priest & the Good Samaritan: Jesus' Parabolic Interpretation of the Law of Moses,' forthcoming in *NTS*.

habit of 'greeting' people on the way¹³³, a Jewish sage or holy man, or classical prophet after Amos, Isaiah or Jeremiah, we might be able to envisage this person or else not to see him as a reflection of ourselves. Crossan's Jesus is a Jesus with authority, vision, courage, passion, but as a Jesus who is not very Jewish at all this Jesus is a Jesus strangely lacking in humanity.

On the other hand, Marcus Borg's portrait of Jesus is thoroughly Jewish. Unlike Crossan's peasant Jewish Cynic, Borg's holy man, mystic, prophet and sage is based on recognizable *persona* of Second Temple Judaism and Ancient Israel. Despite the fact that literary examples of mysticism date only as far back as the third century C.E.¹³⁴, Borg states that 'Jewish mysticism clearly had its roots much earlier, as least as early as the first century B.C.E.'¹³⁵, and that the holy men of first century Palestine who knew God, as distinct from knowing about God or simply feeling his presence¹³⁶, are in direct continuity with Moses, Elijah and the prophets of Israel¹³⁷, especially Ezekiel and the *merkabah* mysticism one encounters in the first chapter of the book bearing his name.¹³⁸ As prophet Jesus stood with the classical prophets of Israel who proclaimed that the 'judging activity of God was at work'¹³⁹ and who challenged 'the corporate direction of his people.'¹⁴⁰

Most telling, however, is Borg's understanding of Jesus as sage. Here is Jesus at his most Jewish. In the Hebrew Bible as well as in the rabbinic tradition, the heart is the seat of understanding, behaviour and will.¹⁴¹ Reform the heart and the whole person, his understanding, emotion and will,

¹³³Even this doesn't give us that clear an image of Cynics. As one reviewer of *The Historical Jesus* noted, 'The major problem with Cynics is that we are not too sure what really was the true Cynic. Most of our primary material has been handed down by Stoics, whose idealized portraits scarcely provide the realism necessary for worthwhile comparisons.' (C.A. Evans in *Trinity Journal* 13 (1992), 238.)

¹³⁴Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics*, 231.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, 231f.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, 231.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, 232.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, 254.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, 235.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 234.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, 239.

is reformed. This is the upshot of Jesus' teaching in a passage attested by both Matthew and Luke (Matt. 12: 33-35=Lk. 6: 43-45).¹⁴² As sage, that is as one who went behind the written law to what matters ultimately in human nature, a heart centred on the infinite as opposed to the finite¹⁴³, he recalls Jeremiah 31: 31-34. Borg's Jesus-as-sage is also thoroughly Jewish in that the divine will, 'Be merciful as God is merciful', be embodied not only within individuals but also within society, that is within human history.¹⁴⁴ In a Torah-intensifying prophetic act such as open commensality whereby God's mercy is acted out in plain sight before all, purity of heart is no longer simply a matter between individuals and their God, but is an openness to all sorts and conditions, a state of being which 'destroyed the basis for dividing society into righteous and outcast...[and] provided a ground for overcoming the fragmentation of Jewish society.'¹⁴⁵

Crossan would have no argument with any of these types; his Jesus is one who is passionately concerned with the welfare of society as a whole and not just personal piety. Crossan freely admits that Jesus was a Jew who 'stood firmly within Israel's most ancient tradition of covenantal justice'. But a phrase such as this provides us only with the outline of Jesus' face; however, the defining features, the strokes that give the face identity, character are that of the most un-Jewish, un-Hebraic *Gospel of Thomas*, of magician and peasant Jewish Cynic.

Borg's Jesus is distinctively Jewish in that he embodies that particularly Jewish world view which saw God as intensely political, that is involved with the welfare of the nation as a whole. Our author also shows us what is particularly distinctive in his Jewishness, his concern for *holiness*, holiness of the entire nation, a holiness of inclusivity rather than separateness;

¹⁴²Ibid., 239.

¹⁴³Ibid., 241.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 263.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 247.

Israel's separateness, its distinctiveness, was to be seen in its compassion, in its identification with a God who is compassionate. However, Borg fails to show us what *ultimately* distinguishes Jesus from other holy men and mystics, prophets and sages. I am referring to Borg's portrait of a non-eschatological Jesus, and, as was stated above, by non-eschatological Borg means that Jesus did not believe the end of the world would take place in his generation. Did Jesus in fact believe the world was coming to an end in his generation? I believe that he saw that his vindication in two ways. The usual basis for the parousia is seen in passages such as Mk. 8:38, par., Mk. 13:26, par; and 14: 62, par. which speak of a 'coming' Son of man and were, to one degree or another, derived from Dn. 7:13. However as N.T. Wright has pointed out the 'one like a human being' does not descend to earth from heaven, but is brought, he comes, *to* the Ancient of Days. Therefore when Jesus speaks of his 'coming' we should not think of his return but of his exaltation.¹⁴⁶ Any 'coming' from heaven to earth was of YHWH when he would return to Zion, a return which took place in Jesus' ministry, particularly when he entered Jerusalem for the last time.¹⁴⁷ Is it legitimate, however, to remove any thought of the parousia from Jesus' self-understanding? I don't believe so. P.M. Casey points to two OT passages, Dn. 4:34-37 and Hab. 3:3, which look forward to a time when God will eliminate all forms of evil and provide the basis of the hope and expectation to which Jesus directed his ministry.¹⁴⁸ Space does not permit me to elaborate on Jesus' parousia consciousness in detail, as the purpose of this thesis has been to focus on Jesus' self-understanding as one who acted in the place of God, but suffice it to say (and I hope that what I am about to say will stimulate further discussion and research) that it is against the background of hope in a reign of

¹⁴⁶Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 632.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 632. The return of YHWH to Zion will be discussed in greater depth as we consider the First Christological Epoch.

¹⁴⁸P.M. Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*, 58.

God in which all evil will cease¹⁴⁹ that we should read passages such as Mt. 11: 2-6, par. and Lk. 12: 8-12, par. I believe it is possible to conclude that Jesus spoke of his vindication on two levels. First, his teaching regarding himself as the one standing in the place of God would be vindicated in his resurrection, installation and exaltation; the reality of this event would, according to Wright, be 'seen' in 'this-worldly' events; in an event such as the destruction of the temple¹⁵⁰ people would see that Jesus (and not the temple) had, in his earthly ministry, been the focal point of God's presence on earth. Secondly, the nearness of God's final rule and the role which Jesus played in inaugurating this rule which Jesus proclaimed in his miracles (Mt. 11: 2-6; Lk. 11: 20) and in a saying such as Mt. 11: 20-24, would be completed and Jesus would be openly vindicated following a period of trial and persecution¹⁵¹.

The eschatological Jesus is a Jesus who not only believed in the establishment of God's rule following a period of testing, but also is a Jesus who believed that he was the climax of Israel's history and that God would openly vindicate his ministry in the sight of all.

Borg eliminates, or drastically reduces, the eschatological element, and relies on a very narrow definition of eschatology as something involving 1) 'chronological futurity; 2)[a] dramatic divine intervention in a public and unmistakable way, resulting in 3) a radically new state of affairs...' According to him any definition of eschatology which does not meet these criteria is so broad as to be effectively meaningless.¹⁵² By choosing such a narrow definition of eschatology and therefore eradicating eschatology from his portrait of Jesus, he eliminates any element of finality, the sort of finality we see when Jesus, at the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount makes

¹⁴⁹ As evidence of this hope Casey directs our attention to Mk. 11: 20 and 15: 43 (idem, *From Jewish Prophet*, 59).

¹⁵⁰ Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 638f.

¹⁵¹ Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 118.

¹⁵² Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship*, 73.

obedience to his words the condition for entering the Kingdom of God when he says,

Everyone then who hears these words of mine and acts on them will be like a wise man who built his house on rock. The rain fell, the floods came, and the winds blew and beat on that house, but it did not fall, because it had been founded on rock. (Mt. 7: 24f.)

In other words, our author overlooks what is *ultimately* distinctive in Jesus' ministry, what it is that separates Jesus from all other holy men, mystics, prophets and sages: in Jesus' ministry, his death and resurrection Israel's history had reached its climax. In him, as Fuller said, the rule of God was being finalized in that the Kingdom of God was present in him and only in him¹⁵³; or, to look ahead to Martin Hengel, Jesus is one who as God's plenipotentiary acts in the place of God.

Borg's portrait of a non-eschatological Jesus overlooks a sizeable portion of Israel's story, that the people of Second Temple Judaism were a people with a hope, and with Jesus that hope had reached its climax. Just what is that hope, that climax?

According to 1Ki. 8:10, during the dedication of the Temple of Solomon, when the priests came out of the holy place, 'a cloud filled the house of the Lord.' There is no corresponding passage in the post-Exilic literature.¹⁵⁴ We do have Ezekiel 43: 1-12 where the prophet sees the return of the Shekinah to the temple; however in Ezra 6: 16-18 we read of the rededication of the temple but there is nothing to indicate that what took place in the tenth century B.C.E. took place in the sixth century of that same era. The hope envisaged in Isa. 52:8, 'Listen! Your sentinels lift up their voices. together they sing for joy; for in plain sight they see the return of the Lord to

¹⁵³Fuller, *Foundations*, 105.

¹⁵⁴N.T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 269.

Zion.', remained unfulfilled; the exiles returned to Zion but the Shekinah did not return with them. However, it must be said that while there was no *visible* cloud of glory in the Second Temple, Second Temple Jews certainly believed that God dwelt in the temple.¹⁵⁵

However, in the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth the visible cloud of glory begins its return to Zion in Jesus of Nazareth. When he calls God 'father' and only 'father' he displays a unique sonship which both transcends and fulfils the sonship of Israel. Just as YHWH had made Israel his first-born son and God sent Jesus to embody and fulfil this sonship, Jesus acts in the place of God¹⁵⁶ and confers this same, unique sonship on his disciples when he teaches them to call God 'father' and only 'father'. While we have examples in Second Temple Judaism of God being addressed as 'father' we have no examples of anyone being taught to call God 'father' the same way in which Jesus taught his disciples to pray, that is to call upon God simply as 'father' and not 'my father, my God; my father, my Lord'. And as we shall see in our study of Hengel's treatment of Mt. 8:22, 'Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead', when Jesus demands the same obedience from his disciples which God demanded of his prophets, in Mk. 7:14-15, when Jesus declares all foods to be clean, and in the phrase ἄμην λέγω ὑμῖν, Jesus is again the one who acts in the place of God. In the fourth chapter of this essay when we study Matthew's use of ἀφίειν we shall once more see Jesus acting in God's place when he not only declares God's forgiveness but enacts a forgiveness that goes beyond the scope of the law. Nor can we forget Mk. 4:39 when Jesus does what only God could do and stills the raging of a storm. Finally, in his

¹⁵⁵Cf. G.I. Davies, 'The Presence of God in the Second Temple and Rabbinic Doctrine' in W. Horbury, ed., *Templum Amicitiae*. ed. W. Horbury, 32-36. Davies stretches his argument somewhat too far when he argues for the return of the Shekinah (p. 36). The only evidence he provides that God's visible glory dwells in the temple is in a passage from the Temple Scroll where it is not clear if the writer is referring to the Second Temple or to the eschatological temple (p. 34. Cf. esp. fn. 5)

¹⁵⁶Hengel, *Studies*, 28.

open commensality Jesus is declaring that the exile has at last come to an end in his ministry.¹⁵⁷

That the synoptic evangelists understood Jesus' ministry as the return of the Shekinah to Zion can be seen in Matthew's use of προσέρχεσθαι and προσκυνεῖν¹⁵⁸, verbs which have great cultic significance in the Pentateuch. Here the evangelist is indicating to his readers that he understood Jesus to be the presence of God on earth. Shekinah imagery is also prominent in the Fourth Gospel. First, there is John 1: 14, 'And the Word became flesh and "tabernacled" among us.' In Jn. 2:14 when Jesus says, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up', the evangelist notes in v. 21, 'But he was speaking of the temple of his body.' When Jesus is teaching in the temple at the Festival of Booths he says, 'Let anyone who is thirsty come to me and let the one who believes in me drink' (7:37-38), 'I am the light of the world.' (8:12), and, '...before Abraham was I am.' (8:58), statements that strongly imply that to enter into the presence of Jesus is to dwell in God's tabernacling presence. However, Matthew's use of προσέρχεσθαι and προσκυνεῖν, the synoptic version of the death of Jesus, and the temple imagery in John would be unwarranted developments, would represent evolution as opposed to development, discontinuity as opposed to continuity, had not Jesus displayed his authority to act in the place of God.

When Borg disregards or minimalizes the eschatological dimension, the dimension of finality, he disregards not only the evangelist's portrait of Jesus as the presence, the Shekinah, the glory of God on earth, but he overlooks a vital aspect of Jesus' own self-consciousness, which was to

¹⁵⁷Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 128f,

The simplest solution...is that Jesus himself believed he was the agent of this strange return from exile...His welcome to all and sundry, *that free commensality of which Crossan writes so movingly*, was a sign that resurrection-forgiveness- restoration-*return from exile* - were all happening under the noses of the elder brothers, the self-appointed stay-at-home guardians of the father's house. *The covenant was being renewed, and Jesus' welcome to the outcasts was a vital part of that renewal.* (itals. mine)

¹⁵⁸See my discussion of these verbs in ch. 4.

proclaim that the Kingdom is present in him and to act as though he were standing in the place of God. In our study of Hengel's messianic Haggada we shall see that Jesus' ministry represented the climax of Israel's history, that in Jesus' ministry the roles of prophet and king, but, as Jesus was not of Aaronic descent, not priest, are both merged and transcended in that Jesus acts in God's stead.¹⁵⁹ Without this element of climax, of fulfilment, without this eschatological dimension, for all the Jewishness of Borg's Jesus, he remains little more than a great holy man, an extremely wise sage and an especially forceful prophet. As Jewish as Borg's Jesus is there is little to distinguish him from a Mohammed or a Buddha, both of whom it could be fairly said mediated between two worlds, taught a narrow way as opposed to a broad way, but never claimed to act in the place of God.

Martin Hengel

Jesus of Nazareth- A Thoroughly Messianic Life

As we embark on our study of Martin Hengel's contribution to pre-canonical New Testament Christology, one will perhaps be reminded of the opening paragraphs of N.T. Wright's monograph, *Who Was Jesus?*

Think of a Victorian drawing-room, hung with faded portraits...The frames are heavy, gilt-edged, cracked here and there...Now imagine a man, with wild hair and flashing eyes, bursting into the room. He rushes around, tearing the portraits from the walls as though in a frenzy...Then, when the walls are bare, he takes from inside his coat a single sheet of paper. On it we see, drawn in rough black crayon, a stark outline of a figure,

¹⁵⁹Hengel, *Studies*, 28.

not unlike himself, with a wild visionary face...The man is Albert Schweitzer; the drawing room is the nineteenth-century European religious world; the old portraits are the studies of Jesus that were written...The new picture is Schweitzer's own substitute: Jesus the apocalyptic visionary...becoming by sheer force of personality, the greatest and most haunting human being who ever lived.¹⁶⁰

In the case of our present author the setting is not a Victorian drawing-room but the faculty lounge or common room of a liberal arts university or a large interdenominational seminary with easy and frequent access to a liberal arts university. The time is the present. On the walls are two very different portraits. They are not bound by gold-leaf, rococo frames, faded and cracked, but by spare lines drawn in chrome, brass, or stainless steel. One frame encloses a young man in his late twenties. He is seated on a rock and is surrounded by small children, one of whom is seated on his lap. This young man is bearded, has shoulder-length hair, and is dressed in the uniform of the 1960's counter-culture- sandals, bell-bottom trousers, a long flowing flower-embroidered shirt, and an ample supply of love beads. Despite the beard and long hair, his face has clearly western features, blue eyes and a square-set jaw. Were it not for the hippie attire this portrait clearly resembles the countless posters of a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant Jesus and the Children which adorn the walls of Sunday School classrooms. The second portrait is again of a young adult male. This man, on the other hand, is a twentieth century *hasid* with a black caftan, white shirt, beard and *payos*. His eyes are set deep within a lean, spare face with olive-toned skin stretched taut revealing sharply defined contours. The first portrait is Crossan's peasant Jewish Cynic, a hippie in the world of Augustan yuppies; the second portrait is Borg's holy man, mystic, sage and prophet.

¹⁶⁰N.T. Wright, *Who Was Jesus?*, 1.

In the middle of this imaginary room stands a seventy year old *Schwabe*. He is carrying a large, wooden rectangular item in both hands. This is another portrait of Jesus, only this is a Byzantine icon of *Christus Victor* or *Pantokrator*. The *Schwabe* does not tear the other portraits apart, but hangs his up between them, stands back and says to himself, 'This Jesus seems chillingly out of place here. But I think he fills out the place. These other paintings are satisfactory as far as they go; but I do wonder whether or not they are all too comfortable in these surroundings, as though they were the products of projection and wishful thinking rather than of objective and patient study. My portrait is the portrait of someone you follow with all your heart, soul and mind, or else crucify.'

The name of the *Schwabe* is, of course, Martin Hengel, and the portrait is of the pre-existent and exalted messianic plenipotentiary Jesus of Nazareth. But our *Schwabe* would maintain that it is not that different from the historical Jesus who was declared pre-existent and exalted because in his ministry he expressed a sovereign freedom in respect of the Law of Moses¹⁶¹, who, like YHWH, called his disciples and enjoined on them a divine discipline¹⁶², who contradicted all wisdom, who perhaps even identified himself with pre-existent Wisdom, who practiced in his table fellowship with sinners and charismatic healings what he had proclaimed about God's liberating love for the lost¹⁶³, who practiced what a prophet such as Jeremiah could have only foreseen. This is also the Jesus who was not executed as a *hasid* or a *tsaddiq*, else his resurrection would have been little more than a confirmation of his exemplary holiness, but as one who acted with divine authority when he proclaimed the coming of the Kingdom and the removal of sin to be indissolubly connected.¹⁶⁴ This is Jesus who proleptically

¹⁶¹Martin Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers*, trans. James C.G. Greig, 11.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁶³Martin Hengel, *Christ and Power*, 16.

¹⁶⁴Martin Hengel, *The Atonement: A Study of the Origins of the Doctrine of the New Testament*, 67.

pronounced the eschatological forgiveness of sins.¹⁶⁵ His resurrection proclaimed to his followers, who had themselves experienced their own forgiveness in the resurrection appearances¹⁶⁶, that he had indeed been the perfect atoning sacrifice and was now exalted to the right hand of God. This is a portrait of Jesus, Son of Mary, the Messiah of Israel, the eschatological and protological plenipotentiary.

A New Model for Christological Development

Borg and Crossan are not particularly concerned about the relationship between the words of Jesus and the words about Jesus, though Crossan does admit that he finds no contradiction between the historical Jesus and the defined Christ.¹⁶⁷ However, Borg's portrait of Jesus as a model for discipleship and mediator of the Spirit seems to me decidedly incapable of accounting for the rise of christology in the days after the resurrection.

Hengel, on the other hand, like Fuller, is not only emphatic that the 'move' from Jesus to Christ represents not discontinuity but continuity, but at each doctrinal point (Jesus the Messiah of Israel, Jesus the perfect sin offering, Jesus the Exalted One, Jesus the Pre-Existent One) he is at pains to show that each confession has as its origins the messianic authority¹⁶⁸ of Jesus of Nazareth.

Where Hengel differs most strongly from Hahn and Fuller is the model, the 'grid', upon which he traces the development from Jesus to Christ.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., 67.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 71.

¹⁶⁷Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 424.

¹⁶⁸Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 17.

Despite his rejection of the Palestinian Jewish, Hellenistic Jewish, Hellenistic Gentile paradigm, he has positive comments to make on Hahn's view of Hellenistic Gentile Christianity. Unlike Heitmüller, who attributed great creativity to Hellenistic syncretism which he said existed in synagogues in Damascus (it was in this milieu that, according to Heitmüller, Kyrios was first applied to the exalted Christ in imitation of the violent death and exaltation of pagan gods) and credited this approach with having transformed Paul the Pharisee into a pure Hellenistic Jew¹⁶⁹, Hahn clearly recognized that the real creativity took place in Palestinian and Hellenistic Jewish Christianity:

...the second [Palestinian] and third [Hellenistic Jewish] stages were equally decisive for Christological development; Hellenistic Gentile Christianity...rightly fades into the background.¹⁷⁰

However, such stratigraphy is a little too tidy for Hengel. Rather than one culture following after another, Hengel asserts that the Aramaic and Hellenistic communities stood side by side. He even suggests the possibility that the tradition of the 'later' Hellenists could at times have been taken over

¹⁶⁹Martin Hengel, 'Christology and New Testament Chronology. A Problem in the History of Earliest Christianity' in idem, *Between Jesus and Paul*, trans. John Bowden, 33f.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 35. So also Fuller in *Foundations*, 203,

It is often forgotten that it was predominantly Hellenistic Jewish missionaries who were engaged in [the Hellenistic Gentile Mission], as we see from Paul and his associates...It was not the converts who did the translating of the Jewish-Hellenistic kerygma into their own terms, but the missionaries themselves.

On the creativity of the Palestinian church see also Fuller, *Foundations*, 173,

It is not difficult to admire the christological achievement of the earliest Palestinian church...It enabled the history of Jesus to be interpreted not merely in terms of prophetic proclamation of a future eschatological act, but in terms of the soteriological redemptive event which had already occurred in that history, and which awaited consummation.

by the Aramaic-speaking community.¹⁷¹ And despite the fact that there might have been Gentile Christian involvement along the way, there was no such thing as a christologically productive Gentile Christian community before Paul or even during very much of Paul's career; the sending of the Son and the confession κύριος Ἰησοῦς, things often associated with Gentile Christianity, have their roots in Jewish wisdom speculation and in Ps. 110:1.¹⁷²

In place of a cultural or 'ethnic' model Hengel proposes a scheme of events where the two communities interacted and where the Hellenists 'broke loose' to become the real vehicles for mission up to 70 C.E.¹⁷³ Only after 70 C.E. can we really begin to speak of Hellenistic Gentile Christianity.¹⁷⁴

Hengel agrees with Hahn (and, by implication, Fuller) that the starting point of christology is the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth (30 C.E.), his crucifixion as a messianic pretender, and his resurrection which vindicated his faithful witness before Pilate when he 'consented' to go to his death as such.¹⁷⁵

The second event to affect the development of christology took place when Aramaic and Greek-speaking Jewish Christians began worshipping separately (31/32 C.E.). Presumably it was during this period that the Hellenists began to form what Hengel refers to as their 'law and temple critical' and mission oriented theology. After this event came the murder of Stephen and the break-up of the Greek-speaking part of the Jerusalem church. Second only to the crucifixion and resurrection these two events were,

¹⁷¹*Between*, 37. See also Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Paul between Damascus and Antioch*, trans. John Bowden, 148-9. Here Hengel makes the remarkable suggestion that Paul had an early influence on Peter and other 'Hebrews' in the Jerusalem church.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, 41.

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁷⁴So also Fuller in *Foundations*, 17.

Our New Testament documents, as they have come to us, are not only written in Greek, but are almost without exception the products of the gentile mission, either of the missionaries themselves or of the churches they founded.

¹⁷⁵Martin Hengel, ' "Christos" in Paul', in idem, *Between*, 76. See also idem, *Studies*, 69.

according to Hengel, most seminal in the development and spread of christology.

Then there was the conversion of Paul (32/34 C.E.) followed by the first 'Gentile mission' of the Hellenists which took place among the Samaritans and along the coastal regions of Palestine and Antioch. (33/35 C.E.)¹⁷⁶

These years (30-35 C.E.) form the First Christological Epoch, the only years which can truly be called 'pre-Pauline' since it was during this time that the confession 'Jesus is the Christ' took shape, the doctrine that more than likely was the reason for Paul's persecution of the infant church, the doctrine that became the cornerstone of the distinctive christology of the former Pharisee wherein Christ Jesus takes the place of the law as the sole way of salvation for all people.¹⁷⁷

Not only did Jesus' messiahship become articulated during this period, two other christological doctrines came to be formalized: the atonement and the exaltation. In addition to these, the title Son of God, as Gal. 1:15 suggests, was more or less taken for granted¹⁷⁸, even though pre-existence, sending and incarnation were to be articulated slightly later; and, as Paul's citation of Joel 3:5 in Romans indicates, the Spirit-inspired and driven universalist dimension of the Christian mission was well under way.¹⁷⁹

The Second Christological Epoch begins after the conversion of St. Paul and comes to an end with the Jerusalem Council (48 C.E.). This period, which saw the rise of Son of God Christology, i.e., pre-existence, sending, incarnation, Hengel describes as Pauline because: 1) more than likely these doctrines arose out of 'conversation' between Paul and Hellenistic Jewish missionaries; and 2) it was during this period that Paul's Christ over Law

¹⁷⁶Hengel, *Between*, 42.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 42. See also idem, *Paul between Damascus and Antioch*, 99f.

¹⁷⁸Hengel, *Between*, 42.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 43.

Christology was developed and reached a form never to be altered significantly during the Pauline mission. Hengel also refers to the possible interconnectedness between Pauline Christology and Son of God Christology. Since, according to Paul, Christ has replaced Torah/Hokmah, has 'become' Torah/Hokmah, it is not illogical to suppose that Christ preceded them:

So we should ask whether the transference of features of pre-existent wisdom to the exalted Christ was not a necessary consequence of [Paul's] theological approach, in which Christ has taken the place of Torah/Hokmah understood in ontological terms.¹⁸⁰

The following outline will, we trust, help to clarify what we have been discussing.

A New Model for Christological Development

Preliminary data

- | | |
|----|---|
| 30 | 1. Jesus of Nazareth, his death and resurrection.

a. Exercises a ministry of messianic authority,
i.e., he acts in the place of God.

b. Goes to his death as a messianic
pretender. |
|----|---|

The First Christological Epoch: 30-35 C.E. (Pre- Pauline)

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 31/32 | 1. 'Jesus is the Messiah', 'Jesus died for our
sins, and 'Jesus is enthroned at the right |
|-------|--|

¹⁸⁰Ibid., 43.

hand of God' are first articulated by the Palestinian community to 'apologize' for crucifixion and to explain where the Risen One had been taken. The title Son of God is adopted, but pre-existence is not articulated.

d. There is a great deal of fluidity between the Aramaic and Greek-speaking communities.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 31/32 | 2. The separate worship of Aramaic and Greek-speaking groups in Jerusalem. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Law and temple critical features of the kerygma of the Hellenists are added to the primitive proclamation. |
| 32/33 | 3. The murder of Stephen and the break-up of the Greek-speaking part of the community. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The Hellenist kerygma is 'dislodged' from Jerusalem. |
| 32/34 | 4. The first Gentile mission of the Hellenists. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Among the Samaritans. b. The coastal regions of Palestine and Antioch. |

The Second Christological Epoch: 35-48
(Pauline)

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 35-48 | 1. The Conversion of Paul until the Jerusalem Council. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Son of God Christology articulated perhaps in 'conversation' with Paul's Christ over Law Christology. |

In *Foundations*, Fuller credits two events with having 'propelled' Christological development along Palestinian Jewish Christ, Hellenistic Jewish Christian and Hellenistic Gentile Christian lines. One is the

resurrection and the subsequent resurrection appearances wherein the 'Proclaimer becomes the Proclaimed'¹⁸¹ and God reveals to a chosen few that he has taken Jesus 'out of the past of history and inserted him into his eternal now'.¹⁸² Because of this act of God in Christ the church could do far more than continue the historical Jesus' offer of salvation: it could proclaim that it is Jesus who is now offering salvation in and through the church.¹⁸³ The other 'event' upon which Fuller lays great stress is the church's gradual awareness that the parousia had been indefinitely postponed; this perception effected the transition from the Two-foci Functional Christology of the Palestinian Jewish Christian community, where the Mosaic servant/prophet is seen as having been installed as Messiah designate, to the Two-step Christology of the Hellenistic Jewish Community where Jesus is enthroned as Messiah and at the same time is perceived as functioning as Messiah in his church as evidenced by the hymns, miracles and prophecies, to the three-stage ontic christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission where the exaltation/parousia title Christos loses its titular force, becomes instead a proper name¹⁸⁴, and attention hereinafter is focused on Jesus' pre-existence and descent.

Like Fuller, Hengel sees the starting point of christology to have been the ministry of Jesus. Whereas Fuller, in *Foundations*, hesitates in ascribing an explicitly messianic consciousness to Jesus' earthly ministry, acknowledging that it was not until the resurrection had 'purged' Christos (and Son of David) of its socio-political connotations¹⁸⁵ that this title could be applied to the historical Jesus, Hengel has no such qualms as describing Jesus' earthly ministry as messianic. As was mentioned above Jesus went without protest to his death as a messianic pretender; and throughout his ministry he exercised

¹⁸¹ Fuller, *Foundations*, 143.

¹⁸² Ibid., 142.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 143.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 230.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 159.

an authority which until his time had been God's alone to exercise, an authority which can only be called 'messianic'.¹⁸⁶

However much Hengel and Fuller might disagree on the degree to which Jesus' ministry was messianic (Fuller implicitly so; Hengel explicit), both agree that the resurrection was the fountainhead of christological reflection. Of this event Hengel says: 1) it overturned the conviction of pseudo-messiah; 2) it created an almost immediate outpouring of the Spirit in the earliest community which manifested itself in the singing of psalms and hymns about Christ; 3) that the singing of psalms such as 110 led this community to the conviction that the crucified now risen Messiah was the Son of God and had been exalted to the right hand of God¹⁸⁷; not only that, the community realized that because of the resurrection and the subsequent outpouring of the Spirit it had direct access to the heavenly sanctuary¹⁸⁸; finally 4) the belief that Jesus had been exalted to the right hand of God, that he was in every way the 'unrestricted eschatological plenipotentiary', led to the conviction articulated in the Second Christological Epoch, that he must also be the 'protological plenipotentiary' since what is true at the end must have been so from the beginning:

God's words and actions in the end time and the beginning of time form a unity by virtue of God's truth.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 16f.

¹⁸⁷Martin Hengel, 'Hymns and Christology', in idem, *Between*, 87.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., 87.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., 95. See also *Foundations*, 254:

For the act of God in Jesus' history and in the kerygma was never viewed in isolation from the previous acts of Israel's God, but always as their culmination...All these earlier acts of Israel's God are of a piece with the incarnation, and all are bracketed together in the mythological assertion that the Redeemer was the pre-existent Son or Logos, the agent of creation and of general revelation as well as the specific revelation to Israel.

In this passage Fuller appears to be expressing the same thoughts as Hengel: if Jesus is to be seen as the 'end product' of God's previous acts in Israel it stands to reason that he was with God from the beginning, as what holds true at the end, must hold true from the beginning.

Hengel cannot emphasize strongly enough the role hymn singing played in the formation of exaltation/pre-existence christology. He would disagree with Fuller that the awareness of the delay of the parousia played a significant role in the formation of christology-in fact in these crucial years of the two christological epochs as well as in the genuine Pauline correspondence the parousia never really fades into the background. According to Hengel the activity of the Spirit as manifested in hymn singing preceded later didactic because,

[t]he Spirit sought poetical form for the expressing of hyperbolic things which were not yet ripe for expression in prose...¹⁹⁰

Psalm 110: 1 and the Exaltation

Crucial for Hengel is the role Ps. 110:1 played in the awareness of the degree to which God had overthrown the charge of messianic pretender and had vindicated Jesus. The repeated singing of this messianic psalm in both the Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking communities resulted in the formation of the 'exaltation' kerygma, a kerygma which Hengel believes was formulated in Jerusalem between the resurrection and the conversion of Paul. There are several factors which Hengel believes point to the great age of this kerygma: 1) Ps. 110: 1 is the OT text to which most frequent allusion is made in the NT¹⁹¹ 2) the fact that in the authentic letters of Paul Ps. 110:1 is only twice clearly alluded to (Rom. 8: 34; 1 Cor. 15:25); this indicates to Hengel that by the time Romans was written in the winter of 56/57 C.E., the time of this

¹⁹⁰Hengel, *Between*, 95.

¹⁹¹Martin Hengel, "Sit at My Right Hand!" The Enthronement of Christ at the Right Hand of God and Psalm 110: 1' in idem, *Studies*, 133.

psalm's effectiveness had passed¹⁹²; 3) the application of *adon* to Jesus is continuous and consistent with the formulation *maran ata* which was the way Jesus was called upon by his disciples in the earliest congregation¹⁹³; and 4) the fact that Luke 'localizes' Ps. 110:1 'exclusively' in Jerusalem (Acts 2: 33-35; 5: 31; 7: 55f)¹⁹⁴

More than the use of *maran ata* in calling for an exaltation kerygma was Jesus' own eschatological messianic activity¹⁹⁵ encapsulated in his preaching on the coming Kingdom of God¹⁹⁶ and in his answer to Caiaphas (Mk. 14:62). While Hengel does not think that Mk. 14:62 is an *ipsissimum verbum Jesu*, he is convinced that it was not a creation of Mark and may well represent the *ipsissima vox Jesu*. Why would Jesus have been handed over to Pilate as a messianic pretender and crucified as 'King of the Jews' if he had not in some way spoken of himself as the coming judge?¹⁹⁷

Jesus' claims to authority in his preaching and in his 'good confession' before Caiaphas and Pilate were irrefutably vindicated as soon as possible. A resurrection from the dead simply was not sufficient. Hengel notes that there were from time to time in Judaism and late antiquity reports of raisings from

¹⁹²Ibid., 137.

¹⁹³Ibid., 155.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., 173.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 217.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., 157.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., 217. One of the problems with Crossan's and Borg's portrait of a non-eschatological and non-messianic Jesus is that while it is fairly easy to see why certain Jewish leaders would want to see dead someone who proclaimed the unmediated presence of God and thus threatened the temple establishment, who equated holiness with inclusivity and compassion rather than with separateness and thereby called into question the all-important purity laws, who 'backed up' his teaching with miracles, and who attracted a large following, it is very difficult to see why Rome would want to execute one such as this unless it could be demonstrated that he was setting himself up as a rival power. One who claimed to undermine the authority of the temple or of the purity laws might be considered blasphemous but in no way treasonous. On the other hand Rome might have been indeed suspicious of one who did not reject the titles Messiah and Son of God, neither of which was blasphemous in the eyes of the Jewish authorities (see E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 298.) (What triggered the charge of blasphemy was more than likely that Jesus had included himself in the identity of God by making some reference to Ps. 110: 1 and Dn. 7: 13 [see Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 643f.], and did not protest the accusation 'King of the Jews' (Hengel, *Studies*, 51f.; on σὺ λέγεις as an affirmative response, though not as affirmative as ἐγὼ εἶμι see Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 1: 733.).

the dead.¹⁹⁸ The one who acted as though he stood in God's place¹⁹⁹, who replaced the prophetic formula 'thus saith the Lord' with ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν²⁰⁰, who proclaimed the Kingdom of God to be present in his ministry²⁰¹, who provoked the highest authorities to have him crucified as a messianic pretender, who called God 'Abba'²⁰² and taught his disciples to do likewise, had to be even closer to God than were those Maccabean martyrs who are described in 4 Macc. 17:18 as standing 'beside the throne of God and living in "the blessed age"'.²⁰³ One who lived, acted and spoke in such a manner, a manner which exceeded 'the company of the martyr-prophets and the men of the God of the Old Testament'²⁰⁴ had to be vindicated in such a way as to be seen to participate in God's rule over the cosmos *in the present age and not only in the age to come*.²⁰⁵ In this way the exalted Christ is seen to be greater than

¹⁹⁸Hengel, *Studies*, 134.

¹⁹⁹Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 67, idem, *Studies*, 28.

²⁰⁰Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 69. Hengel notes that both T.W. Manson and J. Jeremias agree that this formula replaces the old prophetic 'thus saith the Lord'.

²⁰¹Hengel, *Studies*, 64.

²⁰²*Ibid.*, 220.

²⁰³*Ibid.*, 205. On 4 Maccabees being written as early as the last century B.C.E., but even more probably roughly contemporaneous with the mission and letters of the Apostle Paul, see ABD, IV, 453.

²⁰⁴*Studies*, 212.

²⁰⁵N.T. Wright in *Jesus and the Victory of God* claims to be able to find several examples of one sharing the throne. The first is Dn. 7:13. (p. 624) However, it must be noted that the 'one like a human being' is only presented before the Ancient of Days. Even though it says 'To him was given dominion/ and glory and kingship' nowhere in this text does it say he is seated at the right hand and sharing God's own throne. Wright then draws our attention to 1 En. 62: 1-5 which concludes with, 'And pain will take hold of them, when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory.' However, it must be noted that even though The Similitudes put the Son of man on the divine throne, they do not say 'at God's right hand.' I Enoch is the closest Second Temple Judaism comes to include a person within the identity of God. However, it must be noted that this vision is of the eschatological age and not the present: the point of the texts which allude to Ps. 110: 1 is that Jesus not only will participate in the identity of God, but participates in the divine identity *in the present age*. In fn.55 on p. 626 Wright mentions 1 En. 71:13-17; 2 En. 24:1, T. Abr. (rec. A) 11:4-12; 12: 4-11; 13: 1-8 and 4Q491 as speaking of a human being sharing the throne. Two comments need to be made: 1 En. 71: 13-17 is not relevant at all; secondly, it is unclear in any of these texts that sharing the throne is meant or that the occupant of the (or a throne) actually shares God's own throne and sits at God's right hand. Wright also cites 1 Chron. 29:23, 'Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord, succeeding his father David as king.' However this appears to be simply the king's throne in Jerusalem and not the heavenly one. With the exception of the passage from Similitudes (and other passages which Hengel mentions on p. 185 of idem, *Studies*), there is no example in pre-Christian literature (if Similitudes is indeed pre-Christian) of one sharing the throne and sitting at God's right hand.

the martyr prophets and the Archangels who had constant access to God. Inasmuch as '[t]he throne is nearer to God than all other creatures (even nearer than the angels)'²⁰⁶ to become God's companion on the throne is to be 'given the most immediate form of communion with God, which was comprehensible to a Jew based upon the texts of the Old Testament.'²⁰⁷ Since God is usually described as counsel or 'combatant' *at a person's right hand* (e.g. Ps. 121:5)²⁰⁸ only God's command, 'Sit at *my* right hand', could demonstrate the unparalleled uniqueness of the historical Jesus' relation to God, could vindicate Jesus' distinctive use of '*Abbā*'. Finally, Ps. 110: 1^b, 'until I make your enemies your footstool' provided for an interval between Jesus' exaltation and his revelation as the enthroned Lord. In other words, this verse helped explain why there must be a passage of time between the resurrection and the exaltation, and parousia: 'God himself must subdue the opposition of the enemies of Jesus, who appeared to triumph at his death.'²⁰⁹

What then is the content of the 'exaltation' kerygma based on Ps. 110:1?

1. Jesus participates in the rule and authority of God.
2. In sitting at God's right hand he participates in the identity of God.
3. Jesus has continuing direct access to God.
4. Jesus' relation to God is unique and without parallel in pre-Christian Jewish literature. To call upon one who sits at the right hand of God is to call upon God himself.²¹⁰
4. God is at work through Jesus on behalf of the church.

²⁰⁶Hengel, *Studies*, 149, fn. 71.

²⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 149.

²⁰⁸For additional references see *ibid.*, 136, fn. 41.

²⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 223.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*, 158.

5. Such a move on the part of the earliest church coheres well with Jesus' preaching of the Kingdom of God, his acting in the place of God, his calling on God as 'father', his extension of this divinely bestowed sonship on his disciples.

6. The exaltation kerygma of the First Christological Epoch provides a basis for the pre-existence christology of the Second Christological Epoch since what is true at the end must have been so from the beginning.

It must never be forgotten that both exaltation and pre-existence had to have their origin in the historical Jesus: 'the post-Easter majesty of Jesus is inseparable from his own eschatological messianic activity.'²¹¹ For both Hengel and Fuller the key word is ἐξουσία. According to Fuller Jesus' ἐξουσία is exercised in his proclaiming that the eschatological Kingdom of God was breaking in his words and deeds²¹², in expressing the confidence that his work would be vindicated by the apocalyptic Son of man²¹³, in his distinctive use of 'Abbā' which demonstrated his awareness that God had drawn near others as 'Abbā' through him²¹⁴, and in his understanding that he possessed a unique, unparalleled sonship which fulfilled the sonship of Israel and into which he had the authority to admit others.

According to Hengel Jesus manifests his authority in demanding from his followers the obedience God once enjoined on individual prophets²¹⁵: Jesus is therefore one who acts in the place of God.

Hengel, as we have seen, rejects the notion that there was a succession of christologies mediated through several milieux; he believes that there was a multiplicity of christological titles applied to the exalted Christ from the very beginning. In other words he would not allocate Mk. 14:62 to the

²¹¹Ibid., 217.

²¹²Fuller, *Foundations*, 104f.

²¹³Ibid., 123.

²¹⁴Ibid., 106.

²¹⁵Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 12.

Palestinian community, and Acts 2:36 and the tradition lying behind Rom. 10:13 to the Greek-speaking Jews in Jerusalem; these traditions grew from the 'melting pot' that existed in Jerusalem until the Greek-speaking Jewish Christians separated from their Aramaic-speaking brothers and sisters. He would be inclined not to describe christology as a systematic process, a careful move from the implicit to the explicit, a clear-cut chronological sequence; rather he would tend to agree with C.F.D. Moule, that post-Easter Christology was 'the drawing out and articulating of what was already there from the beginning'²¹⁶, 'an accumulative glorification of Jesus.'²¹⁷

Hengel and the Hellenists

Anyone who is familiar with Hengel's work knows that it was the Hellenists of Acts 6:1 who were the real heroes in spreading this 'accumulative glorification of Jesus'.²¹⁸ With their 'enthusiastic' singing of hymns, a practice which he says was unknown in 'official' Pharisaic Judaism²¹⁹, their universalistic outlook²²⁰, and their close affinity with the belief that the death of Jesus was an expiation for sin which made the temple and its worship 'superfluous'²²¹, these Greek-speaking Jewish Christians became the ideal vehicles for the gospel of God's eschatological plenipotentiary.

²¹⁶C.F.D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology*, 3.

²¹⁷Hengel, *Between*, 40. See also idem, *The Son of God*, trans. John Bowden, 57.

²¹⁸Fuller is somewhat more subdued about the role the Hellenists of Acts 6:1 played, though he sees them as playing an essential role in the 'crowning stratum of the NT tradition', *Foundations*, 203.

²¹⁹Hengel, *Between*, 90.

²²⁰Martin Hengel, 'The Hellenists and their Expulsion from Jerusalem' in idem, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, trans. John Bowden, 72.

²²¹Martin Hengel, 'The Origins of the Christian Mission', in idem, *Between*, 57.

One of Hengel's chief concerns has been to clarify one aspect of early Christian history: Who were the Hellenists (and Hebrews) and why did they play such a significant role in the history of Christian mission?²²²

From a survey beginning with F.C. Baur, who alleged that Hellenist and Hebrew were ideological terms²²³, and continuing to some scholars who said that Hellenists were antinomian Gentile Christians or antinomian Jewish Galileans, on to O. Cullmann who believed them to have been Jews who split off from official Judaism and followed 'more or less esoteric tendencies with a syncretistic stamp'²²⁴ and A. Spiro who was of the opinion that Stephen was a Samaritan and as such belonged to the Hebrews, Hengel concludes that the obscurity of pre-Pauline history has been turned into a virtual Stygian darkness.²²⁵

In actuality, our author asserts, not one of these hypotheses is an improvement of Chrysostom's dictum that the Hellenists were simply those Jews who spoke Greek (and, by analogy, the Hebrews those Jews who spoke Aramaic).²²⁶ In fact the Gentile/Galilean hypothesis is simply incorrect. The Hellenists could not have been Gentiles because the Roman authorities would in no way have countenanced a Jewish persecution of Gentiles²²⁷; and there is nothing to indicate that the Hellenists were antinomians from Galilee because the Galileans were conservative Jews jealous of their identity.²²⁸ Besides that Hengel notes that the archaeological evidence demonstrates that Galilee was less Hellenized than was Jerusalem.²²⁹ For a correct assessment of the situation by a contemporary scholar one need look no further than C.F.D. Moule's interpretation of Chrysostom which stated that the 'Εβραῖοι at least

²²²Martin Hengel, 'Between Jesus and Paul: The "Hellenists", the "Seven" and Stephen (Acts 6.1-15; 7.54-8.3)' in idem, *Between*, 1-29.

²²³Hengel, *Between*, 1f.

²²⁴Ibid., 5.

²²⁵Ibid., 1.

²²⁶Ibid., 6.

²²⁷Ibid., 7.

²²⁸Ibid., 7.

²²⁹Ibid., 7.

knew some Greek but that the 'Ελληνιστοί would have understood little or no Aramaic.²³⁰

However the fate of the Hellenists and the subsequent role they played in the formation of christology were entirely different from that of the Hebrews. According to Hengel the Hellenists were the first missionaries. He can arrive at this conclusion because he interprets Luke to mean the apostles *and the Hebrews* when he says, '...all except the apostles were scattered...' Acts 8: 1b):

The persecution after the death of Stephen evidently affected only the Hellenists; the Hebrews were hardly touched by it. Like the Twelve, they remained in Jerusalem.²³¹

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the terms 'Hellenist' and 'Hebrew' were evidently philological and not ideological, is there anything to indicate that F.C. Baur might have been correct when he posited the existence of theological differences between the two communities? In other words, in spite of Chrysostom's (and Moule's) conclusions, was there any such thing as a distinctive Hellenist theology?

Hengel believes there was. He is, however, careful to note that the Jews who returned to Jerusalem from the diaspora did so for 'conservative' religious reasons; there is absolutely nothing to indicate that diaspora Jews were any more 'liberal' than their Aramaic-speaking co-religionists. In fact Paul the Pharisee was probably a good example of diaspora thinking.²³²

²³⁰Ibid., 11.

²³¹Ibid., 13.

²³²Ibid., 18. See also Martin Hengel (in collaboration with Roland Deines), *The Pre-Christian Paul*. Here Hengel states that though a diaspora Jew, the pre-Christian Paul, because of his descent from the tribe of Benjamin, which was the only tribe to be born in Eretz Israel, and his Pharisaical education, considered himself first and foremost a Palestinian Jew (p. 26).

But Stephen, as Hengel says Luke makes clear, was different, as he possessed a Spirit-given wisdom that separated him from other Greek-speaking synagogue communities in Jerusalem. As leader of the new Greek-speaking Jewish Christian community it was altogether natural, says Hengel, after Stephen's death and the selective persecution that followed, for the Hellenistic missionaries to believe that through the eschatological inspiration of the Spirit they were the continuation of the special wisdom which had caused such offence by Stephen and his colleagues.²³³

Where do we find this distinctive, offensive theology, this special eschatological wisdom? Hengel is convinced that Stephen's speech is a piece of Lukan redaction that merely accentuates the charges brought against him. To find the theology of the Hellenists we must look at the accusations.²³⁴

The particular verse Hengel is concerned with is 6:11, 'Then they secretly instigated some men to say, "We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and God" ', a verse which he does not attribute to Lukan redaction²³⁵ and which he is convinced is Hellenistic theology *in nuce*, a 'radical' Law and temple critical theology, universalistic, dynamic, mission oriented, a theology which he believes Luke glosses over in Stephen's speech: 'As far as the accusation is concerned, Stephen's speech does not take us much further.'²³⁶ In other words, what Hengel appears to be saying is that even though Luke says the conclusions were false, they were in fact an accurate representation of the views of the Hellenists.

To understand better the nature, the 'contours' of this theology which Hengel believes played such a formative role in Paul's interpretation of the kerygma, our author, in several of his writings, turns our attention to the message of Jesus in particular: 1) his law-critical sayings found in Mk. 7: 15-

²³³Ibid., 19.

²³⁴Ibid., 19.

²³⁵Ibid., 19.

²³⁶Ibid., 22.

20, par. where Jesus declared that it was what proceeded from the heart not the food that went into the body which made a person unclean²³⁷; 2) the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount; 3) his rigorous call to discipleship where those who would follow him are told to disregard the Fourth Commandment²³⁸; 4) his parable of the Good Samaritan where he says that the Love Commandment took precedence over purity laws²³⁹; 5) the altogether missionary character of Jesus' ministry, i.e., a) the sending of the twelve which Hengel believes is authentic because of the pericope's lack of christological content, b) that he, Jesus, called people from their occupations to 'follow' him, c) that he abandoned the *stabilitas loci* of the rabbinic scribe and d) that he had a large degree of openness towards publicans, sinners, Samaritans and Gentiles²⁴⁰; and 6), his proclamation of the eschatological destruction of the temple in Jn. 2: 13-19, which Hengel believes to express the authentic theological intention of the cleansing.²⁴¹

These Hellenists, says Hengel, who would have come from an environment which stressed the prophetic as opposed to a Torah ethos and the Ten Commandments as opposed to a Torah ethos and philanthropy over against the ritual law²⁴² and would have been repelled by the 'intellectual arrogance' of the Jerusalem Pharisees and the 'casuistry' of their interpretation of the Law, would have been irresistibly drawn to the teaching of Jesus as proclaimed by Stephen whom Hengel describes as the 'paradigmatic bearer of

²³⁷Ibid., 57.

²³⁸Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 8. The passage in question concerns an episode where Jesus is interpreting the Law for a specific occasion. Hengel apparently wants us to understand that Jesus is forbidding all duties to parents. There is an inconsistency in Hengel's reading of Jesus' interpretation of this commandment for in Mk. 7:9ff, par. he castigates some of the Pharisees for having created a loophole whereby one may disregard the Fourth Commandment.

²³⁹Hengel, *Between*, 57. On the lack of pre-Christian evidence of the Double Commandment see Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke x-xxiv*, 879.

²⁴⁰Hengel, *Between*, 61ff.

²⁴¹Martin Hengel, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?* Trans. John Reumann, 17f., fn. 56.

²⁴²Hengel, *Between*, 28.

the spirit', the perfect model of the earliest Christian spirit-inspired enthusiasm.²⁴³

According to Hengel these Jerusalem Hellenists, who more than likely possessed a certain degree of ambivalence towards the 'Holy City'²⁴⁴, became the 'needle's eye through which the earliest Christian kerygma and the message of Jesus...found a way into the Greco-Roman world.'²⁴⁵

It is necessary to pause at this point for we have just come across an inconsistency in Hengel's account of diaspora Judaism. On p. 18 of *Between Jesus and Paul* we noted that Hengel said that there was nothing particularly 'radical' about diaspora Jews who returned to Jerusalem; the pre-Christian Paul, in fact, was a good example of diaspora thinking. However on p. 28 of the same we read of a very different kind of diaspora Jew, one who held to 'the universality of Jewish belief in God and the prophetic ethos, stress on the ten commandments and philanthropy in contrast to esteem for the ritual law'²⁴⁶, a Jew with whom the paradigmatically pre-Christian Paul would not have had much in common. Hengel in one stance portrays a monolithically 'conservative' diaspora Judaism and then almost in the next breath describes a diaspora Judaism which would have been very open to a law and temple critical kerygma.

The 'contours' and direction of the Hellenists' kerygma, which were shaped by the message of Jesus and his once-for-all sacrifice, a message which we remember was Torah and temple critical, ethically as opposed to ritually oriented, and was conducted in an itinerant rather than a 'stay-at-home' fashion were as follows: 1) The Exodus and Mt. Sinai are no longer the centrepiece of Israel's *Heilsgeschichte*, for in Jesus we have something greater not only than Jonah and Solomon, but also than Moses²⁴⁷; 2) in the light of

²⁴³Ibid., 22, 23.

²⁴⁴Ibid., 28.

²⁴⁵Ibid., 27.

²⁴⁶Ibid., 28.

²⁴⁷Ibid., 23.

Jesus' expiatory sacrifice the temple becomes a 'house of prayer for all people'²⁴⁸; and 3) as Jesus had praised Gentiles and Samaritans for their faith the Hellenists would have been especially motivated to preach the Gospel among the hated Samaritans and along the predominantly Gentile coastal regions of Palestine.

As one reads Hengel's treatment of Hellenists and Hebrews in his various writings, but especially in chapter one of *Between Jesus and Paul*, one is struck by two things: by the intensity, one might almost say *passion*, of his arguments and his occasional lapses into inconsistencies. His Lutheranism has so convinced him that the history of pre-Jerusalem Council Christianity can be interpreted in a very Lutheran-Pauline, Law-Gospel, *entweder oder* antinomy, that he sees dichotomies everywhere: Jesus versus law and temple, Hellenistic Jews versus law and temple, Stephen *contra* law and temple, and, finally, Hellenists as opposed to Hebrews. This leads him into some unresolved conflicts in his arguments.

First, he begins by refuting Baur's claim that 'Hellenist' and 'Hebrew' were 'party' labels by correctly, I believe, saying that the difference was purely philological; he then proceeds to suggest that they could indeed be interpreted as Baur saw fit because the Hellenists did indeed sit to the left of the aisle while the Hebrews occupied the seats on the right hand side. Secondly he is quite clear that diaspora Jews were no less 'conservative' than Palestinian Jews, then in another place says Hellenistic Jews would have responded to Stephen because they came from an environment which stressed the prophetic as opposed to the Torah²⁴⁹, that they would have been repelled by the 'intellectual arrogance' and 'casuistry' of the Jerusalem Pharisees (Was Paul, the diaspora Jew *par excellence*, exempt from arrogance

²⁴⁸Ibid., 23f.

²⁴⁹Hengel's 'either-or' law and prophetic apposition does not sit well with two facts of OT history, that the discovery of the Deuteronomist scroll in the temple formed the basis of the prophet Jeremiah's campaigns and that more than likely the Deuteronomist editing of Israel's history was a prophetically motivated venture.

and casuistry?) Or conversely, inasmuch as we have no evidence for any 'intellectual arrogance' on the part of the Pharisees, or rather that Hengel provides us no examples of such attitudes, Hengel presents the reader with a highly prejudicial view of Pharisees. Third, his interpretation of Mt. 8: 18ff (in *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers*) calls for a blanket disregard of the Fourth Commandment on Jesus' part, yet, as we have noted above, he overlooks Mk. 7:9ff., par. where Jesus criticizes some of the Pharisees for their disregard of this commandment. Wouldn't it perhaps be better to say that Jesus in Mt. 8:18ff. is saying that in a particular incident the command to follow takes precedent over the Fourth Commandment? It was not uncommon to argue that some times one commandment takes precedence over another. In Mk. 3:4 Jesus says that the command to save life takes precedence over the command not to work on the Sabbath. Even though the Pharisees conspire with the Herodians as to how they might destroy Jesus, their silent response in v. 4 seems to indicate tacit agreement with Jesus' interpretation of the law. Bearing this in mind we are still inclined to agree with Hengel that Mt. 8: 18ff represents a 'sovereign freedom' on the part of Jesus with respect to the Law of Moses in that Jesus is not setting one law against another but is instead setting one law against his own personal command. Finally, his portrait of the Hebrew intransigence in Jerusalem seems to contradict the conclusion he reached in *Judaism and Hellenism* where he noted that the 'faithful' who had formed a bulwark against the Hellenistic reformers had, under the leadership of the 'Teacher of Righteousness', separated from the bulk of the people: 'For this reason the distinction between "Palestinian" Judaism and the "Hellenistic" Judaism of the diaspora...now becomes very questionable.'²⁵⁰ As was stated above we believe that these inconsistencies in Hengel's description weakens his argument that there was any radical cleavage between Palestinian and diaspora Jewish Christians.

²⁵⁰Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* , 1: 311.

Because of some of these inconsistencies and because of his great eagerness to make post-Easter Jerusalem a paradigm of good Lutheran Grace over Law theology, Hengel's portrait of the events that took place in the years following the resurrection is not without its critics.

E.P. Sanders²⁵¹ is particularly critical of Hengel's thesis that only the Greek-speaking Jewish Christian community of Jerusalem, a community which, according to Hengel, had inherited from Stephen (and Jesus) an anti-pharisaical kerygma that was decidedly 'radical', i.e. law and temple critical, a community to which the former Pharisee Paul belonged, was persecuted and expelled from Jerusalem and played a crucial, if not *the* crucial role in the formation of christology during the years 30-48 C.E.

Sanders tests this thesis and finds it wanting on the following counts: 1) As to Paul's having inherited his 'law free' theology from the Hellenists Sanders points to contradictory evidence from Gal. 1 :11-24 which asserts that not only was he not well-known in Jerusalem but that he did not receive his distinctive gospel 'from men';²⁵² 2) as to the anti-Pharisaical, anti-law and temple bias of the Hellenists' 'gospel' Sanders notes that there is little or no evidence that Stephen's opponents were Greek-speaking Pharisees²⁵³, and that Hengel's characterization of the Pharisees as concerned only with the law, the temple and ritual purity is not only one-sided (What about their anti-Sadducean, their anti- arch conservative, 'liberal' belief in the resurrection?) but an 'erroneous cliché' ²⁵⁴; 3) finally that the persecution described in Acts 8:31 was a selective persecution, Sanders believes to be an argument based on silence, no evidence, or, at best, weak evidence.²⁵⁵ In conclusion Sanders writes,

²⁵¹See his review of *Between Jesus and Paul* in *JTS* 37 (1986): 167-72.

²⁵²*Ibid.*, 169.

²⁵³*Ibid.*, 171.

²⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 171.

²⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 171.

At the heart of Hengel's major thesis about the importance of the Hellenists lie...silence, a forced argument, contrary evidence, poorly assessed evidence about Judaism and intrinsic improbability.²⁵⁶

On the other hand, Sanders leaves relatively untouched Hengel's own proposed scheme for the development of christology. While he does doubt Hengel's belief, stated on p. 27 of *Between Jesus and Paul* (Sanders appears rather to follow Bultmann in his interpretation of the relation of the words of Jesus to the words about Jesus and to discount the evidence produced by Second and Third Questers), he does not question Hengel's conviction that lies at the heart of his own understanding of christology (a conviction we will soon examine in depth) that the confession 'Jesus is the Messiah' has as its basis the crucifixion of Jesus as a messianic pretender.²⁵⁷ By not mentioning the chapter 'Chronology and New Testament Chronology: A Problem in the History of Earliest Christianity' he appears to have no quarrel with, nor does he intend to deny, the essence of Hengel's christological 'grid' that the main features of the kerygma, Jesus is the Messiah, Jesus died for our sins, Jesus is the exalted Lord, Jesus is the pre-existent Son of God, were all in place by the beginning of the Pauline mission and that each figure of this kerygma had its origins in the historical Jesus.

²⁵⁶Ibid., 171.

²⁵⁷Hengel, *Between*, 77. This is a view to which Sanders himself subscribes. See E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 333. Regarding Sanders' tendency to downplay Jesus' conflict with the Pharisees (and his overall suspicion regarding the relation of the historical Jesus to the kerygma), see Hengel's and Roland Deines' critique of *Jesus and Judaism* in idem, 'Sanders' Judaism, Jesus and the Pharisees', *JTS* 46 (1995): 7.

Sanders would like to follow Bultmann in regarding the disputes over legal questions as non-historical 'ideal scenes' which transpose later church situation back into the time of Jesus. But do not such 'ideal scenes' rather seem to reproduce Jesus' typical modes of behaviour and reactions...? So far as we know, healing on the Sabbath, and moreover in a synagogue, no longer played any role in the later 'Hellenistic' churches where, according to Bultmann, these scenes are supposed to have originated.

In the most detailed critique of Hengel to date, C.C. Hill argues against our author's Hellenist(radical) /Hebrew(conservative) dichotomy, in particular against Hengel's belief that the Hellenists were persecuted for their 'progressive' views.²⁵⁸

According to Hill, Hengel's (and others') description of a violent, selective persecution of the radical Hellenists which left 'the more compliant, conservative Hebrews' unharmed²⁵⁹ is a description that simply will not hold up in the face of the evidence.

Hill can find nothing to persuade him that the Hellenists were the radicals while the Hebrews the more traditional for the following reasons:

1) He is convinced that things such as precisely defined diaspora and Palestinian perspectives are no longer viable (here he is following Hengel in *Judaism and Hellenism*); instead it would be more realistic to say that radical and conservative views could be found in both the diaspora and Palestinian populations. A good example of a 'progressive' Hebrew who would be Barnabas who pioneered the Gentile mission to Antioch. (Acts 11:22)

2) He believes that there were 'conservative' as well as 'radical' Hellenists; this can be seen in the fact that Stephen, the alleged 'radical', is persecuted by his fellow Hellenists.²⁶⁰

3)(which is in fact a continuation of 2) Luke does not appear to use 'Ελληνιστής as a description of a particular Christian group or party, as the term appears only twice, in Acts 6:1, where, as Hengel correctly noted, it is used in a purely linguistic sense, and in Acts 9:29, '[Paul]

²⁵⁸Craig C. Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews* .

²⁵⁹Ibid., 20.

²⁶⁰Ibid., 23f.

spoke and argued with the Hellenists; but they were attempting to kill him', where the obvious referent is 'conservative' anti-Christian Greek-speaking Jews.²⁶¹

4. Nor can Hill find any evidence for a violent, selective persecution. Acts 8:1, he believes, is an example of Lukan redaction. He is convinced that the purpose of this verse is to provide a smooth transition 'from the first martyrdom to the introduction of the persecutor extraordinary, Paul, and from there to the preaching of the gospel "throughout the countryside of Judea and Samaria."' ²⁶²

5. The argument that the only radicals were the Hellenists breaks down when we remember that Hebrews were also persecuted (see Acts 4) for presumably the same reasons that the Hellenists were. Hill reminds the reader that Paul in 1 Thess. 2:14-16 refers to the persecution of the church in Judea and that the synoptic gospels presuppose an atmosphere of persecution in Israel (see Matt. 5:11-12, 14=Lk. 6: 27; 10:23; 23:34-36 =Lk. 11: 49-51. ²⁶³

6. As far as Hill is concerned all the evidence with which Luke presents us serves only to tell us that there was indeed tension in the Jerusalem church, not between progressive Hellenists and traditionalist Hebrews but between the infant church and the Jewish authorities. This tension

²⁶¹Ibid., 23. Hill agrees with Hengel (see idem, *Between*, 8) that the correct reading of Acts 11:20 is "Ἑλληνας as opposed to 'Ἑλληνιστάς. Because 'Ἑλληνιστοί was used in Acts 6:1 and 9:29, a copyist simply replaced "Ἑλληνας with the more familiar reading. 'At all events the context calls for "Ἑλληνας as a contrast to 'Ιουδαίους (11:19), just as in describing the mission outside Palestine Luke uses only "Ἑλληνας almost always as a contrast to the Jews (14:1; 18:4; 19:10, 17; 20:21).' (ibid., 8)

²⁶²Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews*, 38. 11:19-20 seems to suggest that only the Hellenists were scattered in the persecution following the death of Stephen. However the best way to read these verses is that they refer to the Greek-speaking Jewish Christians who were among these who scattered following the persecution of Stephen.

²⁶³Ibid., 36f.

may indeed have broken out into violence that led to the death of Stephen and Hellenist pilgrims deemed it prudent to leave the city as Acts 8: 4-5 and 11: 19-20 tell us.²⁶⁴

7. What Hill finds most persuasive against the Hellenist/Hebrew dichotomy is that there is simply no evidence for a Hellenist kerygma, not in the accusations nor in Stephen's speech. Is Acts 6: 11-14 dependent on an Antiochene source? Hill thinks not in spite of the presence of two anomalies in v. 11, ὑποβάλλω and Βλάσφημος. Granted that the adjectival form of βλασφημέω is not used again, other forms of that verb appear elsewhere in Luke/Acts.²⁶⁵ For ὑποβάλλω we need look no further than the Old Testament story of Naboth.²⁶⁶ Luke has based the accusations not on any particular source, but on 1 Ki. 21: 1-16: 'If Luke knew that the church's first martyr died by stoning, he could not have picked a more evocative and useful device for the presentation of his story.'²⁶⁷

Hill also rejects the traditional consensus that Stephen's speech is an example of Hellenistic theology which Greek speaking Jewish Christians took with them when they were forced out of Jerusalem. It is, in fact, like 8:1 and 6:11-14 a sample of Lukan redaction of a 'little more than a few pieces of traditional information.'²⁶⁸ The purpose of the speech is the same as that of the persecution. Just as 8:1 prepares the way for Paul and the subsequent mission to the Gentiles, the function of the speech is not to highlight a distinctive kerygma but to focus on a favourite theme of Luke, 'the unbelief of

²⁶⁴Ibid., 39.

²⁶⁵Ibid., 64f.

²⁶⁶Ibid., 65.

²⁶⁷Ibid., 66.

²⁶⁸Ibid., 101.

the Jews and the consequent movement of the gospel to the Gentiles.'²⁶⁹ In other words Stephen's speech is not an example of the theology of Stephen, the theology of the Hellenists, or even the theology of the earliest community. The theology of Stephen's speech is none other than the theology of the author of the Acts of the Apostles.²⁷⁰

I agree with Hill's analysis of the serious difficulties of the liberal/conservative consensus. His mention of the persecution of the Aramaic-speaking Christians, his noting the fact that it was the so-called liberal, cosmopolitan²⁷¹ Greek-speaking Jews who persecuted Stephen and his followers, and his general understanding of the diversity within Palestinian and diaspora Judaism, fairly persuade me that the scenario Luke has created reflects more a tension between the infant church and the Jewish authorities than within the two groups, Hellenists and Hebrews. While there may have been disagreement between Aramaic and Greek-speaking Christians, this was more than likely due to the situation as described by Moule, wherein the Hebrews knew some Greek while the Hellenists knew little, if any, Aramaic.

What does Hill's correct assessment of Hengel's liberal-progressive/conservative dichotomy do to his, Hengel's, overall description of christology as a phenomenon which began with the messianic authority of Jesus of Nazareth (one who dared to act in God's place), was 'convulsed' into action by his crucifixion as a messianic pretender, subsequent resurrection and outpouring of the Spirit which enabled the disciples to see him as the Messiah of Israel, the expected Son of man, the Exalted and Enthroned One and was spurred on by the persecution of the Hellenists? We believe not that much at all. A brief reformulation, however, seems to be appropriate.

²⁶⁹Ibid., 81.

²⁷⁰Ibid., 81

²⁷¹See Hengel's description of diaspora Jews in idem, *Between*, 28.

1. The divisions between Hebrews and Hellenists were linguistic and not ideological.

2. Diaspora Jewish Christians and Palestinian Jewish Christians were both Torah and temple faithful, as Stephen's speech suggests²⁷², but came to accept Paul's Torah free mission to the Gentiles. If there were a 'liberal', 'radical' kerygma it was the belief which most Second Temple Jews held and that was that in the messianic age the temple would be destroyed and rebuilt by God. Both Hellenists and Hebrews believed that they were the true Torah and temple loyal Jews because they believed that Jesus was the Messiah of Israel and had been exalted to the right hand of God, that a new prophet after Moses had risen among them and they were the messianic temple. It was for these reasons that both Hellenists and Hebrews were persecuted.

3. Following the death of Stephen both Hellenists and Hebrews fled Jerusalem taking with them this messianic/exaltation kerygma, first expounded, as Hengel has said, by Palestinian Jewish Christians then adopted by the diaspora Jewish Christians when both communities worshipped together in Jerusalem. Because their mother tongue was Greek and not because they possessed a distinctive Torah and temple critical kerygma the Hellenists were particularly well-equipped to spread this 'common' gospel to other diaspora Jews and Gentiles.

The First Christological Epoch I

²⁷²While Stephen's speech suggests that the law and the temple were provisional (cf. 7: 37 and 7:47-48; on the temporality of the law cf. also Jer. 31: 31-34) there is nothing in the speech that it anti-law or anti-temple. Of the law Stephen says it was ordained by angels (7:53) and concerning the temporality of the temple, this was a belief held by most Second Temple Jews, Hellenists and Hebrews alike.

I will focus my attention on the second of two aspects of the First Christological Epoch, Jesus, the Messiah of Israel; this confession as well as Jesus, the Exalted Lord play such a crucial role in the crowning achievement of pre-canonical christology- Jesus, the Eschatological and Protological Plenipotentiary, Jesus, the pre-existent Son of God (The Second Christological Epoch).

Characteristic of Hengel's work is a rejection of the unmessianic Jesus who he believes has dominated New Testament from the 'messianic secret' of William Wrede to the Jesus of Burton Mack and Dominic Crossan, Jesus the Jewish Socrates or Wise Cynic. This Jesus our author, somewhat dogmatically, dismissed as a piece of 'historical science fiction'.²⁷³

That Jesus understood himself to be the Messiah of Israel can be seen in his crucifixion as a messianic pretender²⁷⁴ and in his lack of meaningful protest in being executed as such.²⁷⁵

Hengel rejects outright Bultmann's dictum that Jesus was executed as a political criminal and that any other information rests on sheer speculation.²⁷⁶ Were we to follow Bultmann's course and strike any messianic element from the Passion Narrative not only would we be left with a mere torso, but there would be no logical way to account for the resulting christology.²⁷⁷ In other words, following after Schweitzer, since resurrection alone could not have accounted for the title 'Jesus the Christ'²⁷⁸, that is to say that his resurrection alone would not have qualified him for messianic office, by what authority could the church have proclaimed Jesus as Messiah had he not at least been

²⁷³Hengel, *Studies*, 67f.

²⁷⁴Hengel, *Between*, 76.

²⁷⁵Hengel, *Studies*, 51. Cf. also Brown, *The Death of the Messiah*, 1: 733.

²⁷⁶Hengel *Studies*, 58.

²⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 58.

²⁷⁸Schweitzer, *Quest*, 343.

executed as such and his resurrection then be seen not so much as his elevation to that post but as God's vindication of Jesus' 'good confession'.

There are five reasons which Hengel believes invalidate Bultmann's claim, five reasons which demonstrate that the 'messiah question' is very early and most likely can be traced to the last days of Jesus' ministry themselves. In his first point Hengel attempts to establish that the 'messiah question' is very early; in points two to five, especially four and five, he attempts to trace this theme to the event itself.

First, Hengel finds the absence of any scriptural citation in Mark for the donkey or the cleansing of the temple to indicate that the messianic interpretation of these events was well established before the second evangelist wrote his account of Jesus' last days.²⁷⁹ Secondly, the titulus 'King of the Jews' is found in all accounts of the crucifixion; and the practice of displaying the criminal with his titulus is well attested in several secondary texts.²⁸⁰ Third, Hengel doubts very seriously that the early church would have made up the *causa poenae*. Here the criterion of multiple attestation is reinforced by the criterion of dissimilarity. Not only is 'King of the Jews' found in all four Passion Narratives, but the phrase also stands out like the proverbial sore thumb: 'King' is avoided as a christological title; and while 'King of the Jews' is known as a title for the Hasmonean rulers²⁸¹ it is virtually unknown in Jewish messianic texts.²⁸² And for the early church to have concocted such a titulus for Jesus would have made it seem as though it were advocating rebellion against Rome.²⁸³ Fourth, as to the claim of some scholars that the σὺ λέγεις of Mk. 15:2 was a secondary interpretation, Hengel finds it incredible that Pilate would have sentenced someone to death on the basis of καὶ κατηγοροῦν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς πολλά. Ruthless as it was, Rome

²⁷⁹Hengel, *Studies*, 56.

²⁸⁰Ibid., 48f.

²⁸¹Brown, *Death*, 1:731.

²⁸²Hengel, *Studies*, 46. But cf. Ps. Sol. 17:42.

²⁸³Hengel, *Studies*, 46.

would not have executed someone unless there was iron-clad proof that person was guilty.²⁸⁴

Finally, and for Hengel perhaps most important, he finds it rather to believe that the 'messiah question' should have been a creation of the church, that it was not in some way based on the disciples' recollection of the events 'of the most convulsive day of their lives.'²⁸⁵ There is, however, a problem here: Just how much were the disciples witness to? Hengel traces the 'messiah question' to the trial before Caiaphas and Pilate and the titulus. However, it is not very likely that Peter could both see and hear what was going on as he was out in the courtyard. None of the twelve witnessed anything after Jesus was taken from the high priest's house to Pilate; nor can one avoid the problem that there were no witnesses to what went on before Pilate. The only people who would have had first-hand knowledge of the titulus would have been Simon of Cyrene and the women. Even though Hengel names the disciples as the ones responsible for the 'messiah question', it was in fact Simon of Cyrene and the women who were *primarily* responsible for the 'messiah question' as they would have been the only ones to have provided first-hand evidence of the titulus. A careful reading of the Markan text shows that the only things the disciples were witnesses to was the arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane, where the 'messiah question' was hardly an issue. The degree to which the disciples were responsible for the 'Messiah question' was more than likely due to their having witnessed the cleansing of the temple where Jesus prophetically acted the messianic rebuilding of the temple.

If the 'Messiah question' so dominates the Passion Narrative, why has an unmessianic Jesus had such prominence for so long? Hengel believes the reason for this is the long held belief that there was in Palestine a 'Messiah

²⁸⁴Ibid., 47. See also Brown, *Death*, 1: 720, 722, 733.

²⁸⁵Hengel, *Studies*, 45.

dogmatic'- presumably that the Messiah would be a political saviour and nothing more.

It is necessary to pause here to ask what, if any, was the relationship between Jesus and the revolutionary movements of his day? Hengel is critical of people such as Hermann Samuel Reimarus, Robert Eisler and S.G.F. Brandon who maintain that Jesus was the kind of Messiah as envisaged by the Zealots, someone who would cast off Rome's yoke²⁸⁶.

It is an inescapable fact that Jesus' crucifixion was the result of a political accusation; his opponents had twisted his eschatological message in such a way that Pilate had no choice but to execute him as a seditionist.²⁸⁷ But facts such as the 'so-called' cleansing of the temple, an act which Hengel refers to as a prophetic demonstration protesting the buying and selling²⁸⁸ and signalling the eschatological end of the temple²⁸⁹, an act which if it were an all-out attack against the temple would have brought about an armed intervention of sorts- which it apparently did not²⁹⁰, the solitary sword thrust in Gethsemane, and that Jesus' disciples fled, escaping capture, signs that no meaningful resistance was offered²⁹¹, militate strongly against Jesus' having been a part of any revolt against Rome and its collaborators.

Not only these acts surrounding Jesus' last days, but also his sayings persuade Hengel that he was not a revolutionist. The passage in Lk. 22: 35-38, '...And the one who has no sword must sell his cloak and buy one', does not refer to the sword of battle but is part of the equipment that Jewish travellers

²⁸⁶In idem, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist* (pp. 6, 11ff.) as well as in his classic treatment of the Jewish freedom movement, Hengel describes the Fourth Philosophy of Judas the Galilean as the Zealots (idem, *The Zealots*, trans. David Smith, pp.89, 404.). A more recent view advocated by Richard A. Horsley and John S. Hanson (*Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus*) is that the Zealots 'originated as a coalition of brigand groups entering Jerusalem from the countryside in late 67.' (p.220). See also Brown, *Death*, 1: 690.

²⁸⁷Hengel, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?*, 15.

²⁸⁸Ibid., 16f.

²⁸⁹Ibid., 18, fn. 56.

²⁹⁰Ibid., 16.

²⁹¹Ibid., 18.

must take along for protection against robbers and wild animals.²⁹² Or it could point to the time of tribulation which Jesus said would occur after his death when his disciples would have to be prepared to defend themselves.²⁹³ However, what distinguished Jesus most from the revolutionaries of his day was his rejection of 'zeal' as a mode of piety and the great stress he laid on the commandment to love one's enemies²⁹⁴; *agape*, according to Hengel, is the authentic revolutionary message of Jesus.²⁹⁵

Does this mean that Jesus was a mere quietist, that we must rule out anything subversive in his message? Not at all, says Hengel. In Mk. 12:17, 'Give to the emperor the things that are the emperor's', Jesus appears to be acting as a collaborator. What he is in fact saying, is that what really matters is total, absolute obedience to God. Rome is of little consequence.²⁹⁶ As for Mt. 6:24 Jesus tells his followers that the rich man has forfeited his part in the Kingdom of God and that only a miracle can save him.²⁹⁷ Hengel also notes that Jesus set himself against the ruling powers, the rich landowners in particular, when he accused them of idolatry of the 'unrighteous mammon'.²⁹⁸ He strikes a common chord with Crossan and Borg when he directs our attention to his 'revolutionary' and 'subversive' table fellowship with tax gatherers and sinners and his charismatic healings.²⁹⁹ Nor was Jesus one simply to accept the status quo. He gave no quarter to the self-assurance implied in the doctrine of election in that he promised the Gentiles participation in the Kingdom of God ahead of the Jews. (Lk. 13:28, par.)³⁰⁰ Jesus' messianism, his sovereign power, found expression not in his eagerness

²⁹²Ibid., 21.

²⁹³Ibid., 22.

²⁹⁴Ibid., 181.

²⁹⁵Hengel, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?* 32

²⁹⁶Hengel, *Christ and Power*, 19.

²⁹⁷Ibid., 17.

²⁹⁸Ibid., 17.

²⁹⁹Ibid., 16.

³⁰⁰Hengel, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?* 33.

to add to the sufferings of others, which a messianic war certainly would have done, but in his willingness to take suffering upon himself.³⁰¹

Hengel believes that the unmessianic Jesus has been so prominent for so long because of a long held belief that there was in Palestine a 'Messiah dogmatic'- presumably that the Messiah would be a political saviour, a 'dogmatic' which, as we have seen above, Jesus rejected.³⁰² Hengel asks those who have upheld and continue to uphold this view, 'How do we know there was only *one* "firmly established Messiah concept?"'³⁰³ Instead of a 'firmly established Messiah concept' we should look for-and find- a multiplicity of Messiahs, a variety of Messiah conceptions, in other words a messianic Haggada.³⁰⁴ In the Old Testament not only the king, but the priest and the prophet are described as anointed³⁰⁵; in the Pss. of Solomon and in the rabbinic tradition the Messiah is described as teacher and interpreter of Torah.³⁰⁶ We read in the Test. Jud. 24 of a non-warlike Messiah from Judah with a pronounced ethical bent.³⁰⁷ And Son of man, should this concept be included in the Haggada? Hengel faults Hahn for separating the Son of man tradition of Dn. 7: 13 from the Messiah tradition. This should not be done, since in the (Ethiopic) Similitudes of Enoch the Son of man is on two occasions described as God's anointed.³⁰⁸ Nor should we forget 4 Ezra 13:1, 12

³⁰¹Ibid., 28.

³⁰²In Martin Hengel, 'The Kingdom of Christ in John', in idem, *Studies*, 333-357, the author appears to raise the question as to what degree Jesus rejected the socio-political Davidic Messiah (or to what degree the church interpreted Jesus as having rejected this role). While the notion of Davidic sonship plays no role whatsoever in John, Hengel notes that in this most apolitical of gospels (p. 335), Jesus' trial before Pilate is at once christological and political. It is political in that it brings to completion Nathaniel's confession (1:49), Jesus' withdrawal in 6: 15 and the Pilgrims' Welcome in 12:15. (p. 346) The kingdom which Jesus describes in his trial before Pilate is not an apolitical kingdom; it is 'other worldly' only in the sense that its power is derived not from either Pilate or from the Jewish leaders, but from God. (p.341)

³⁰³Ibid., 33.

³⁰⁴Ibid., 33.

³⁰⁵Ibid., 38.

³⁰⁶Ibid., 36f.

³⁰⁷Ibid., 37.

³⁰⁸Ibid., 34f.

where the *ipse homo* is identical with the Messiah.³⁰⁹ Despite the fact that some have questioned the appropriateness of the Similitudes and 4 Ezra³¹⁰ as a basis for a Messiah/Son of man concept, Hengel believes it is possible to presuppose an identification between Messiah and the apocalyptic Son of man during the time of Jesus.³¹¹

In the Qumran literature David was not only the prototype of the kingly Messiah, but, next to Isaiah, the most important prophet. Our author calls attention to a David text in the Psalm scroll from Cave 11 which says that David spoke 4050 songs, 'all by the gift of prophecy which was given by the Most High.'³¹² Hengel also attempts to dislodge the prevailing notion that there is no reference to a pre-Christian suffering Messiah by referring to a (disputed) passage from Cave 4 which speaks about an eschatological suffering and atoning 'revelator'.³¹³ Included in this Haggada would also probably be Wisdom teacher and Spirit-bearer.³¹⁴ Therefore, according to Hengel,

If, then, a prophetic figure with the authority of God's Spirit appeared with the outrageous claim that with his proclamation and activity as miraculous healer God's eternal reign became reality, if, furthermore, he applied the apocalyptic cipher '(Son of) Man' to himself, and also to the future heavenly Judge, if, finally, he was reputed to come from a family of the lineage of

³⁰⁹Ibid., 35.

³¹⁰See Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 98. Here Fuller raises the possibility that the Similitudes might represent a Christian interpolation. See also idem, *Foundations*, 37. On the lack of an apocalyptic Son of man tradition in Ancient Judaism see Perrin, *Rediscovering*, 197. For a critique of the apocalyptic Son of man concept in 4 Ezra see ibid., 170f.

³¹¹Hengel, *Studies*, 35.

³¹²Ibid., 39.

³¹³Ibid., 37. The text in question is 4Q285, fr. 7. According to M.G. Albegg, Jr in 'Messianic Hope and 4Q285: A Reassessment' *JBL* 113/1 (1994): 81-91, the Messiah is not the victim, but the one who does the piercing. (p. 89). But cf. Robert H. Eisenman and Michael Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*, who argue for a suffering Messiah. (pp. 24, 29)

³¹⁴Martin Hengel, 'Jesus as Messianic Teacher of Wisdom and the Beginnings of Christology', in idem, *Studies*, 73-117, esp. pp. 95-100, 104-117.

David, then does it not appear completely understandable...that such a figure was invested with the title 'Anointed'...³¹⁵

The Messianic Haggada

A. Descendant of David, Son of Man

Jesus is a descendant of David³¹⁶, a kingly figure in that he not only proclaims the advent of the Kingdom of God, but in Lk. 11:20 clearly means for all to know that this kingdom was present in himself and in his ministry. There is, however, an essential mystery, an elusiveness, to this kingdom: Jesus never says he is Messiah, yet he does not reject the title when applied to him. Hengel finds the trustworthiness of this tradition in the fact that nowhere in the New Testament, not even in the unambiguously christological Fourth Gospel, do we find a clear-cut ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ χριστός.

In my judgement, the messianic secret in the Second Gospel stems *in nuce* from the eschatological- secret of Jesus himself, and his conduct. In other words, the messianic 'mystery' originates in the 'mystery' of Jesus.³¹⁷

Crucial to this aspect of Jesus' messianic consciousness is his use of Son of man. According to Hengel in Jesus' day it was an ordinary, everyday expression not explicitly messianic³¹⁸; at the same time because of its associations with Dn. 7: 13³¹⁹ and the Similitudes of Enoch³²⁰ it could be said to be implicitly messianic. Jesus could therefore have used the expression

³¹⁵Ibid., 41.

³¹⁶Ibid., 41.

³¹⁷Ibid., 59.

³¹⁸Ibid., 60.

³¹⁹Ibid., 60.

³²⁰Ibid., 34f.

with two purposes in mind: on the one hand to veil his messiahship, 'because the revelation of God's Anointed in his majesty could only be accomplished by God himself.'³²¹; on the other hand Jesus veils his messiahship because he is confident that he will be proclaimed as God's Messiah. Jesus is free to veil his messiahship, there is no need for him to say ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ χριστός, ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ because he is confident that his messiahship will be vindicated.

Regarding the authenticity of the so-called Son of man sayings, Hengel takes a view that is similar to the one that Fuller took in *Mission* where he argued for the authenticity of each of the three categories, Present, Suffering, Future. In this respect Hengel says,

That *all* these texts were secondarily inserted by the community, I hold virtually impossible. It would also be wrong to eliminate *a limine* as 'community formulation' any of the three customary groups of sayings.³²²

Hengel also agrees with the position that Fuller took in *Mission* and *Foundations*³²³ that Dn. 7:13 is normative for all the Son of man sayings.³²⁴ The 'present' and 'suffering' passages express Jesus' authority as

³²¹Ibid., 59.

³²²Ibid., 61,

³²³Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 103ff., In idem 'The Son of Man: A Reconsideration', *The Living Text*, ed. Dennis E. Groh and Robert Jewett, Fuller distances himself considerably from the position he took in *Mission* where he argued that Dn. 7:13 lay behind *all* three categories of Son of man sayings. In this essay Fuller holds that Son of man on the lips of Jesus is an indirect, modest self-referent, 'Can't a guy do what he likes?', 'A fellow has nowhere to lay his head', with no reference to Dn. 7:13. (p.210) Here he reverses the position he took in *Foundations* where he argued against the authenticity of the 'present' sayings. Ibid., 121f. He is inclined to agree with Perrin, 'Mark xiv. 62: The End Product of a Christian Peshet Tradition', that Mk. 14:62 (and 13:26) is the product of a peshet tradition, and hence inauthentic. However, he believes that Lk. 12:8f. is authentic since it is most likely not based on Dn. 7:13. (p.208.)

³²⁴Concerning Son of man and Dn. 7: 13, Hengel wrote the following to me, 'Die Rede Jesus vom Menschensohn und dessen Kommen geht natürlich auf eine Interpretation von Dan. 7: 13 zurück und hat seine Entsprechung in den Bilderreden.' See also idem, *Studies*, 'Jesus employs 'Son of Man', an expression characterized both by Dan. 7:13 and ordinary, everyday use, precisely because it is a cipher and not explicitly messianic.' (60)

'eschatological proclaimer of salvation', even as *Messias designatus*.³²⁵ In the 'future' sayings the coming Son of man appears as a mysterious heavenly being who represents Jesus' certainty of perfection.³²⁶ Does Jesus explicitly identify himself with this figure? Hengel's conclusions amount to both Yes and No. In his brief discussion of Lk. 12:8f, which our author unlike some commentators³²⁷ appears to regard as authentic, he says yes, there is something of a connection between Jesus and the coming Son of man, and no, there is not: it would not be fitting for God's Anointed to give concrete form to the promise 'until God's government supplies it'.³²⁸

B. Wisdom Teacher, Spirit-bearer and Prophet

Other aspects of the messianic Haggada we will consider are Wisdom Teacher, Spirit-bearer and Prophet.

That Jesus was a teacher, in particular a teacher of Wisdom, is beyond question. In a Wisdom saying in Q he says he is greater than Solomon, the greatest wise man, and Jonah, to whom Hengel refers as the most successful prophetic preacher (Lk. 11:31ff.).³²⁹ Then there is Mt. 11:25f., par. where Jesus proclaims a revolutionary reversal of values³³⁰: the wise and understanding are excluded for the sake of fools³³¹ who we learn in Lk. 7:29 are the tax

³²⁵Hengel, *Studies*, 61.

³²⁶Ibid., 62. NB fns. 118 and 119. The passages cited in the TDNT are not found on pp. 443 and 442, respectively, but on pp. 441 and 440, respectively.

³²⁷John Nolland in idem, *Luke 9: 21- 18: 34*, notes that the authenticity of this passage has been seriously challenged (p.676). Joseph A. Fitzmyer in idem., *The Gospel according to Luke x-xxiv* believes the 'kernel' of 12:8f to be original but suggests that Son of man is secondary (p.958). I.Howard Marshall, in idem., *The Gospel of Luke*. cautiously defends the authenticity both of the saying and the use of Son of man. (p.515f.). However, Fuller, in idem, *Christ and Christianity* vigorously defends these verses' authenticity. He bases his belief on double attestation (Mk. 8:38). (p.42). For a similar defence see Groh and Jewett, eds., *The Living Text*, 208.

³²⁸Hengel, *Studies*, 62.

³²⁹Ibid., 78.

³³⁰Ibid., 80.

³³¹Ibid., 79f.

collectors and sinners, the true children of Wisdom.³³² A possible basis for the Pre-existence Christology of the Second Christological Epoch can be seen in Lk. 13: 34f where Jesus appears to speak for pre-existent Wisdom (Prov. 8:22f)³³³ who elsewhere appears in a hypostatized form (Lk. 11:49).³³⁴ Hengel doubts that an unknown Jewish Wisdom saying is being cited or that the verse was first introduced by the Q redactor. Instead this saying can be traced to the earliest church, if not to Jesus himself. The absence of any reference to Jesus' death in Jerusalem or of any clear-cut christological statement about his resurrection and exaltation, and the coming Son of man, testify to the antiquity of this saying.³³⁵

While Hengel does not defend the authenticity as such of Mt. 11:28ff, he does believe these verses to be pre-Matthean in that the 'easy yoke' and 'light burdens' are difficult to reconcile with the evangelist's redaction in 5: 33 and 19: 21. The best that can be said for Mt. 11:28ff. is that this saying 'accords...with the basic tenor of Jesus' ministry, and with great probability belongs to the early wisdom-coloured Jesus tradition.'³³⁶

Because of the close connection between Wisdom and the Spirit such as seen in Wis. Sol. 7: 22-29 where Wisdom appears to have taken on all the functions of the Spirit of God ³³⁷ Jesus should also be seen as Spirit-bearer. Except for the baptism and temptation narratives³³⁸ Jesus is surprisingly infrequently portrayed in this capacity. Hengel feels however, that Lk. 21:15, δώσω ὑμῖν στόμα καὶ σοφίαν, while a Lukan paraphrase stems from Jesus' promises to give the Spirit to his disciples. ³³⁹ Only the one who bears the Spirit can give the Spirit.

³³²Ibid., 81f.

³³³Ibid., 86.

³³⁴Ibid., 83.

³³⁵Ibid., 85f.

³³⁶Ibid., 89. Other Wisdom sayings to which Hengel draws our attention are Mt. 8:20, par; 10:16; Mk. 2:17, 27^a.

³³⁷Ibid., 101.

³³⁸On the possible historicity of the vision see my reference to the dove in above, ch. 2, fn.167.

³³⁹Ibid., 94.

How do Wisdom teacher and Spirit-bearer qualify Jesus as Messiah? In both the Old Testament (Isa. 11:1-4) and Pseudepigrapha (e.g. Pss. Sol. 17:29, 35^b, 37, 43; 18:7) the Davidic Messiah is portrayed as Wisdom and Spirit-bearer.³⁴⁰

But even Wisdom Teacher and Spirit-bearer do not do full justice to the historical Jesus. As teacher Jesus transcends the categories of his day. Following Jesus the teacher was totally opposed to the 'peaceful, secure atmosphere of the rabbinical school'³⁴¹; nor was there in the way Jesus taught any trace of the 'pernickety learnedness' typical of the rabbinical way of debating³⁴². There is in Jesus' interpretation of the Torah a 'sovereign attitude...towards the Law of Moses'³⁴³ which attempts to go beyond the written word to discern the 'original will of God'.³⁴⁴ Jesus displays this royal attitude not just to the Law but to scripture in general on at least three occasions. As to the Law, especially the purity laws, we have Mk. 7: 15, 20 where he said it was not what went into a person that made him unclean but what proceeded from him³⁴⁵ and the parable of the Good Samaritan where the love commandment is to be put above other commandments.³⁴⁶ Regarding scripture in general Jesus appears to stand in the place of God in Mt. 6:25ff., where he forbids anxiety, when he unfolds God's limitless care, when the human race is described as of greater significance than the lilies who the field 'who neither toil nor spin'. Here, says Hengel, Jesus is not only contradicting all wisdom, he is lifting the curse of Genesis 3 where human

³⁴⁰Ibid., 95ff.

³⁴¹Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 14.

³⁴²Ibid., 46.

³⁴³Ibid., 70.

³⁴⁴Ibid., 70.

³⁴⁵Hengel, *Between*, 57.

³⁴⁶Ibid., 57.

beings shall eat bread only by the sweat of their face, where anxiety is a constant companion.³⁴⁷

Besides teacher, interpreter of the Law and Spirit-bearer, we have also seen that a prophet could qualify as Messiah. However, as we shall see, Jesus not only identifies with classical prophecy but transcends it as well.

In *Mission* we remember that Fuller argued that Jesus' messianism was derived from the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah. In *Foundations* he said that even though Jesus rejected the title Messiah as a diabolical temptation, he was aware that he had embarked on a ministry of eschatological prophecy which would be 'rubber-stamped' by the apocalyptic Son of man whom he, Fuller, appears to accept as a messianic figure.³⁴⁸ It is very important to repeat what we noted in our previous discussion of Fuller, that while Jesus understood his ministry in prophetic terms he did not identify with any prophetic figure.³⁴⁹ Fuller implies then that Jesus' ministry transcends exact definition. Without mentioning Fuller, Hengel takes Fuller's understanding of Jesus' prophetic consciousness and stretches it to the limits. Where Fuller (in *Foundations*) does not explicitly connect prophetic with messianic consciousness, Hengel leaves no doubt but as to their connectedness:

Moreover, there [in the Qumran texts] the Old Testament prophets are sometimes described as 'anointed', for example, 1QM11:7, 'Your Anointed ones, seers of the testimonies...'³⁵⁰

³⁴⁷Hengel, *Studies*, 68. Even though Hengel does not repeat his provocative description of Jesus as one 'who dares to act in the place of God' (28) it is safe to assume that when one presumes to lift one of God's curses that person is indeed acting in the place of God.

³⁴⁸Fuller, *Foundations*, 36.

³⁴⁹Ibid., 125f.

³⁵⁰Hengel, *Studies*, 39.

Jesus was indeed possessed of a messianic consciousness that can be traced to his prophetic consciousness, but it was a consciousness that transcended any identification with a figure of Ancient Israel:

His dismissive answer concerning the Pharisees and the Baptist's disciples, 'Can the wedding guests fast while the bridegroom is with them? rests on this mission consciousness which exceeds the bounds of the prophetic.³⁵¹

This 'mission consciousness which exceeds the bounds of the prophetic' can be seen in the following ways: 1) He calls people to follow him the same way God called his prophets; there is only one other example of a pupil 'following' after his master and that is in 2Ki. 6:19 where Elisha says to his servant, '[F]ollow me...'³⁵²; he relies on no precedent other than the initiative which God took with his servants the prophets; 2) whereas Jesus' prophetic contemporaries led their followers across the Jordan into the desert, he took his followers to Jerusalem to witness his confronting the entire people with God's eschatological message³⁵³; 3) whereas the prophets of Jesus' day surrounded themselves with a large following, Jesus called but twelve whom he designated as judges in the coming kingdom³⁵⁴; 4) when Jesus says 'leave the dead to bury the dead' he is demanding the same obedience from his

³⁵¹Ibid., 63f.

³⁵²Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 16ff.

³⁵³Ibid., 87.

³⁵⁴Hengel, *Studies*, 69. It is surprising that Hengel does not make more of the number twelve for he would have found at least two items of significance, the second of which will be important in our discussion of Hengel's use of the term 'plenipotentiary', not only as a designation for the exalted Christ but as a 'title' for the historical Jesus as well. These two items are as follows: by 'limiting' himself to an inner circle of twelve he was proclaiming a much wider audience—all of Israel; and by claiming all of Israel for his audience he is, in some way, in his historical ministry, implying universal lordship, inasmuch as Israel's true vocation was to bring God's salvation to the whole world. On Israel's true vocation see an unpublished lecture by Prof. R.J. Bauckham, St. Mary's College, the University of St. Andrews.

disciples which God demanded of Ezekiel when he forbade him to lament the dead and of Jeremiah when he commanded him not to visit a house of mourning³⁵⁵; and 5) when Jesus introduces his sayings he frequently uses ἁμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν which replaces the prophetic formula 'Thus says the Lord'³⁵⁶

Besides Messiah, what do we call the historical Jesus? Do we call him Rabbi, Teacher of Wisdom, Prophet? Hengel would say 'yea' to all of these but so much more. As Rabbi there was none of 'the pernicky learnedness so typical of the rabbinical way of debating.'³⁵⁷ As we have shown, Jesus in Lk. 11: 31f. claims to be greater than Solomon and Jonah. As Wisdom teacher he contradicted all wisdom. As prophet Jesus does what no other prophet did: he called people to follow him (only Elisha did this); he designated them as judges in the eschatological age (even Elisha didn't do this); he enjoined on them a divine discipline; he replaced the prophetic formula with his own unique signature. Is he the Final Herald? The answer here is no. Final Herald, says Hengel, is a better description of John the Baptist; the end is already apparent in Jesus' ministry. If anything this Messiah is Pioneer of the New.³⁵⁸

However, will Pioneer of the New suffice? Probably not. It is not all-encompassing enough; it does not do justice to the office of Messiah as defined by Jesus, an office which we have seen transcends so much of the messianic Haggada- teacher, prophet, Spirit-bearer.

On p. 114 of *Studies in Early Christology*, Hengel describes the exalted Jesus as the protological and eschatological plenipotentiary of God. However, in his discussion of the possibilities in favour of the authenticity of Lk. 13: 34, when the speaker appears to be speaking for divine, pre-existent Wisdom³⁵⁹,

³⁵⁵Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 12

³⁵⁶Cf. above my discussion of *amen*, ch. 2, fn. 271.

³⁵⁷Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 46.

³⁵⁸*Studies*, 94.

³⁵⁹I would be inclined to argue for its authenticity based on the fact that nowhere in the New Testament does one find such a feminine, maternal image of Jesus. I. Howard Marshall in *The Gospel of Luke* refers to the possibility of its authenticity but does not decide either for or against. (p. 574) Fitzmyer in *The Gospel according to Luke x-xxiv* appears to accept the authenticity of this saying (Matthew, he believes, preserves the original order of Q). The

Hengel says that if this saying did originate with Jesus, 'He would speak then as a plenipotentiary of the wisdom of God, as in Luke 7:35.' In other words, if Lk. 13: 34 and 7:35 are authentic (Hengel does not appear to doubt the authenticity of 7:35) then one may retroject the title 'plenipotentiary' from the exaltation to the historical Jesus. What we arrive at then is Jesus, Messiah, Plenipotentiary, one who is invested with full power; one who exercises absolute power and authority; or, to use Hengel's own words one who 'dares to act in the place of God'; who, as we shall see in our study of *ὁφείειν* saw himself to be the presence of God on earth. The people who approached and knew the historical Jesus knew and approached God. The image of Jesus as plenipotentiary is also seen in his calling of the twelve. There are two levels of authority to be observed here: 1) by limiting himself to twelve Jesus is proclaiming that his message is meant for all of Israel; 2) by targeting, as it were, Israel, by aiming to renew Israel he is implying universal sovereignty inasmuch as Israel's vocation in Second Temple Judaism was to bring the message of the one God to the whole world.³⁶⁰

What we have described here is someone who is more than God's agent or representative . The classical prophets were God's agents, his representatives; they spoke not on their own authority but as God gave them cause. What the prophets could not do was to enact what they prophesied. Amos could speak God's word regarding the destruction of Samaria, but he, Amos, could not bring that destruction about. Jeremiah could voice God's word about a new covenant wherein God would forgive his people 'their iniquity, and remember their sin no more' (Jer. 31: 34), but he could not himself forgive them. Jeremiah could say of the exiles, 'There is hope for your

usual argument against authenticity is that while this saying suggests several visits to Jerusalem, the synoptics record only one. Fitzmyer counters this objection by saying, 'Even if Jesus visited Jerusalem only once, he could still have wanted many times over to gather Jerusalem's children to himself.' (p.1034) Nolland in *Luke 9:21-18:34* also appears to accept its authenticity when he says that the view that the verse is an early Christian formulation 'has not really been argued with any cogency.' (p. 739)

³⁶⁰See above, fn. 354.

future...your children shall come back to their own country' (Jer. 31: 17), but Jeremiah would not be the one to bring them back. Deutero-Isaiah told the exiles, 'Listen! Your sentinels lift up their voice, together they sing for joy; for in plain sight they see the return of the Lord to Zion.' (Isa. 52:8); However, the return from exile does not take place in the pages of Deutero-Isaiah. Jesus, on the other hand, not only speaks but acts. He not only speaks of lifting the curse of Genesis 3, in his healings and exorcisms he actually removes the curse of anxiety. In Lk. 11:2, par. he speaks of the eschatological forgiveness of sins; however in Mk. 2:5, par. and in his open commensality we see this forgiveness taking place. And when he stands in God's place and pronounces God's forgiveness to the paralytic he is the Shekinah, the sign of God's presence on earth. The Old Testament people whom Jesus most resembles are Moses, Elijah and Elisha. Moses because he acted for God in the Exodus- he brought about the judgement of Egypt and the deliverance of Israel, Elisha and Elijah because they performed miracles and raised the dead. However, Jesus even transcends these: he transcends Moses in that his, Jesus', teaching is his own teaching; Elijah raises the widow of Zarephath's son by lying upon him (1 Ki. 17: 21), Elisha does the same to revive the Shunammite's son (2 Ki. 4: 34); however, Jesus raises Jairus' daughter by simply taking her by the hand and telling her to get up (Mk. 5: 41, par.) and all he has to do to raise the widow of Nain's son is to say, *νεανίσκε, σοὶ λέγω, ἐγέρθητι.* (Lk. 7: 14) As we will see in our discussion of *ἀφίειν* in ch. 4, the simultaneity of word and act is a characteristic of God alone.

Inasmuch as 'plenipotentiary' appears to be unique to Hengel, it seems altogether fair to say that in addition to a new paradigm for christological development, Hengel's further contribution to New Testament Christology is a portrait of Jesus as God's plenipotentiary. In Jesus, not only has the messianic age begun (Mt. 11:2-9, par.) but the glory, the visible presence of

YHWH, in his prophet Jesus, has returned to Zion: Isaiah 52:8 and Ez. 43: 1-12 are being fulfilled.

By describing the historical Jesus as God's plenipotentiary, we believe that Hengel has provided us with a sound basis for the Pre-existence Christology of the Second Christological Epoch, the Ontic Christology of the Fourth Gospel and the ontology of Nicaea and Chalcedon.

While it is fairly easy to see how an exalted plenipotentiary can become a protological plenipotentiary, since one can be 'in charge of the whole situation' only when that person has the beginning as well as the end within his grasp³⁶¹, the move from the historical Jesus, God's earthly plenipotentiary, to Pre-Existent One is not so clear. What evidence is there in scripture that the move from Jesus' ministry to pre-existence represents continuity rather than discontinuity? Is there anything about Jesus' earthly ministry which warrants pre-existence? Can one indeed say that the Pre-existence Son of God Christology of the Second Christological Epoch is an unfolding of what was there from the beginning? We believe that Jesus' identification with Wisdom and prophecy provides us with the answer.

The argument from Wisdom goes like this: If Lk. 13:34, par. is authentic, and the evidence is reasonably strong that it is the *ipsissimum verbum Jesus*, for one thing such a feminine image of Jesus is totally without parallel in the New Testament and, as Hengel has mentioned, there is an 'absence of any christological reference'³⁶², then Jesus is acting as a spokesperson for, he is practically identifying himself with, divine, *pre-existent* Wisdom who, in Sir. 1:15, builds her nest among the God-fearers.³⁶³

The argument from prophecy is somewhat more complicated. In the OT it is said of Moses, 'Never has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face.' (Deut. 34: 10), and of Jeremiah, 'Before I

³⁶¹Hengel, *The Son of God*, 69.

³⁶²Hengel, *Studies*, 85.

³⁶³*Ibid.*, 84.

formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you...' (Jer. 1: 5). The OT says nothing more of its figures than it says of Moses and Jeremiah. And in the Test. Moses 1: 14 we read, 'But he did design and devise me, who (was) prepared from the beginning of the world, to be the mediator of the covenant.' Even though both Jeremiah and Moses could speak from a perspective of unparalleled intimacy with God, the authority they acted on was God's word acting upon them. Jesus, on the other hand, initiates the events that lead up to Calvary and the New Covenant in his blood; he acts on his own authority; he nowhere says, 'Thus says the Lord.' If it was said of Moses and Jeremiah that they pre-existed in the mind of God, how much more could be said of Jesus who could not only speak for God but act in his place but to say he had *personally* pre-existed with God.

Appendix I

The Return of the Lord to Zion

The notion of the Return of the Lord to Zion is not Hengel's but, as was mentioned earlier, belongs to N.T. Wright.³⁶⁴ In fact, a weakness of Hengel's writing is that he does not place Jesus' messiahship within the broader context of the hope of Israel. On p. 31 of his *Studies in Early Christology* Hengel says, 'In contrast to the Baptist, the final and greatest prophet, Jesus brings the eschatological fulfilment of the promise...' Except for citing Lk. 10: 21, 23 he nowhere mentions precisely what that promise is. That is, he is somewhat unclear as to what specifically Jesus the Messiah would have signified to a first century Jew other than a teacher of Wisdom, Spirit-bearer and prophet.

This Wright attempts to do in his most recent book *Jesus and the Victory of God*. As was stated above there is no verse in the post-exilic literature corresponding to 1Ki. 8:10. Ezekiel could have a vision of the return of the

³⁶⁴Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 612-653.

Shekinah (Ez. 43: 1-12) but when the temple itself is rededicated (Ezra 6: 6-18), the Shekinah is conspicuous by its absence. As Wright says,

But the geographical return from exile, when it came about under Cyrus and his successors, was not accompanied by any manifestations such as those in Exodus 40, Leviticus 4, 1 Kings 8, or even...Isaiah 6...At no point do we hear that YHWH has now gloriously returned to Zion.³⁶⁵

According to Wright this was foreshadowed in Jesus' ministry and actualized in his journey to Jerusalem. Without mentioning Hengel, Wright builds on his portrait of Jesus as God's plenipotentiary, as the one who 'dares to act in God's place'. Whereas Hengel compared Jesus' calling of his disciples to God calling his prophets, Wright likens it to the call of Abraham. Just as YHWH said to Abraham, 'Leave your family and your father's house, and go to the land I will show you' Jesus said, 'Leave your father and the boat, and I will make you fishers of men.'³⁶⁶ When Jesus spoke of himself as the bridegroom he was not only speaking of the future messianic banquet, but in his open commensality ³⁶⁷ was celebrating the great feast that YHWH would enjoy with his people at the end of the exile.³⁶⁸ In fact it could be said that when Jesus identified himself with the bridegroom he was identifying himself with God the husband who was forever trying to woo his people back to him.³⁶⁹ When Jesus used shepherd imagery he was not only recalling David but was evoking the image of God as the true shepherd of Israel.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁵Ibid., 621.

³⁶⁶Ibid., 645.

³⁶⁷Ibid., 128.

³⁶⁸Ibid., 645.

³⁶⁹Cf. Jer. 2:1-3. Hos. 2: 14-23.

³⁷⁰Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 645.

Did the earliest confession 'Jesus is the Messiah' lose its eschatological force by the time Christos had become a proper name in the time of Paul?

In an essay written in 1982³⁷¹ Hengel notes that over half of the 531 times Christos appears in the New Testament are to be found in the genuinely Pauline correspondence.³⁷²

However deciding what Paul means by Christos is a far more complicated matter. The fact that Christos is never used in a titular, i.e., confessional sense- 'Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, only as a cognomen, has led some to conclude that 'Jesus Christ' or 'Christ Jesus' had lost the eschatological force of 'Jesus is the Christ'³⁷³ and that Paul was merely imitating Gentile Christian terminology.

In this essay Hengel maintains that even though Christos had ceased to be a title, the name 'Jesus Christ' still had the force of 'Jesus is the Christ', that is, that the crucified Jesus and no other is the bringer of eschatological salvation.

Hengel points to at least four reasons why he does not think Paul regarded Christos as a mere name. First, our author finds it unthinkable that 'Christ' should have had anything but an eschatological significance for Paul the former Pharisee who had persecuted Christians because they had proclaimed a crucified man to have been the bringer of this salvation and had considered his conversion to have resulted from an appearance of Jesus *as Messiah* :

³⁷¹ Martin Hengel, 'Christos in Paul' in idem, *Between* , 65-77.

³⁷² Ibid., 65.

³⁷³ So Fuller in *Foundations* , 230.

The appearance of the Risen One before Damascus made him certain that the crucified Jesus really was the promised Messiah and that his death was the decisive saving event. The fact that in Gal. 1:15f Paul says that God had revealed his Son to him, indicates that according to early Christian understanding the title Son of God interpreted the title Messiah and made it more precise.³⁷⁴

Secondly, as to 'Jesus Christ' being a purely Hellenistic Gentile formulation, Hengel is convinced that Christos ceased being a title *per se* in the Aramaic community where 'Jesus' and 'Messiah' had been indissolubly linked as *Yeshua Mashiach*.³⁷⁵

Third, that we have no titular use of Christ in Pauline correspondence in no way means that Paul never said anything like 'Jesus is the Messiah'- we simply do not know enough about Paul's missionary preaching to make such a categorical statement.³⁷⁶ Paul was writing to people for whom Jesus' messiahship was more or less taken for granted.

Finally, and especially important in relation to one of Hengel's major contributions to New Testament Christology (a contribution we will examine in more detail in our discussion of Son of God Christology), his radical questioning of the dicta of the history of religions school which have held sway over Bousset, Bultmann and Heitmüller, dicta therefore dominating much of this century's studies of the post-Easter kerygmata³⁷⁷, is his

³⁷⁴Ibid., 71. On the connection between Sonship and Messiahship see Hengel's comments on Pss. 2:7: 89: 4ff; 110:3 in Hengel, *Son of God*, 23. On Pss. 2 and 89 see *ibid.*, 64. See also Fuller, *Foundations*, 31ff.

³⁷⁵Hengel, *Between*, 75.

³⁷⁶Luke in Acts affords us at least four examples of ὁ χριστός-17:3; 18:5, 28; 26:23, cf. 24:24. *Ibid.*, 186, n. 76.

³⁷⁷Fuller, in *Foundations*, is quite specific that the missionaries to Hellenistic Gentiles were Hellenistic Jewish Christians (p.203). However, even though he asserts that the Divine Man of Hellenistic Judaism was modelled after the picture of the devout Alexandrian Jew in the Book of Wisdom and not after the Hellenistic concept of θεῖος ἀνὴρ he will not disallow the influence of Hellenistic religiosity entirely, claiming that it was an influence 'of form rather than content'. (p.72) Also, while stating that the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth have nothing to do with fertility cults, he will not rule out 'the antecedent possibility of

insistence on the very Jewishness of high christology. Here he contends that there was no such thing as 'Gentile Christianity' during the years 30-50 C.E.³⁷⁸, a period which Hengel has elsewhere described as the most creative era of the church's history. As to the unlikelihood of such a phenomenon, Hengel notes the following: 1) The earliest Gentile communities were composed largely of god-fearers who would have learned about Christos from the synagogue³⁷⁹; and 2) these communities were in no way 'self-governing': from their inception they were controlled by their Jewish-Christian spokesmen.³⁸⁰

Therefore the confession 'Jesus is the Christ', which Paul received as 'Jesus Christ', originated in the faith of the Palestinian community which proclaimed that Jesus of Nazareth, who was executed without protest as a messianic pretender, was, in the light of the resurrection, the Messiah of Israel. Even though *Yeshua Meshiach(a)* yielded to *Yeshua Meshiach* which soon gave way to Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, the non-titular never lost the force of the titular.

Jesus, the Messiah of Israel and Exalted Lord

Conclusion

When the early church confessed that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ, what precisely were its members saying?

Christian adaptations, consciously or unconsciously, from the mystery religions' (p.92), and he believes that to some extent the imperial cultus was the direct cause of the Hellenistic Christian use of *soter*. (p.93)

³⁷⁸Hengel, *Between*, 35.

³⁷⁹Ibid., 73.

³⁸⁰Ibid., 72.

1) Jesus of Nazareth, a scion of the House of David, was crucified as a messianic pretender, a charge which he did not deny.

2) After his resurrection there was a sudden outpouring of the Spirit which manifested itself in the singing of hymns about Jesus, based on messianic psalms such as 2, 8, 89 and 110, now proclaimed as Messiah, the bringer of eschatological salvation, and exalted to the right hand of God.

3) Even though during the mission of the Hellenists and throughout both the pre-Pauline (31-35 C.E.) and Pauline (35-48 C.E.) eras Christos had ceased to be a title for Jesus, the name Jesus Christ never lost its titular force.

Since Resurrection was not part of the messianic Haggada what was there about Jesus' ministry that would have caused his disciples to understand his ministry to be messianic?

1) According to Hengel we can eliminate from the start any possibility that Jesus was engaged in any of the sporadic messianic wars that were being fermented during his time. Other than the titulus 'King of the Jews' there was nothing to connect Jesus with the revolutionary movements of his day. The facts that his followers were released without arrest indicates to Hengel that his, Jesus', 'movement' was not regarded as a threat to Rome. Also Jesus' rejection of 'zeal' as a mode of piety and the great stress he laid on the commandment to love one's

enemies created a gulf as deep between him and the Zealots³⁸¹ as there existed between him and the Sadducees and some of the Pharisees.

2) There was not a single 'Messiah concept' or 'Messiah dogmatic', i.e. Messiah=nationalist hero, political saviour. Instead what we learn from Qumran, the Pseudepigrapha and the rabbinic sources, material for the most part unavailable to Wrede³⁸², was that there was a plurality of Messiah concepts, a Messianic Haggada.³⁸³ In Test. Jud. 24 we read of an non-warlike Messiah.³⁸⁴ From the Pss. Sol. and rabbinic tradition we learn that the Messiah is a Spirit-filled teacher and interpreter of Torah³⁸⁵. In the Qumran literature David was not only a prototype of the kingly Messiah, but, next to Isaiah, was the most important prophet³⁸⁶. In the Similitudes of Enoch, which Hengel, unlike Perrin and the 1980's Fuller, regards as pre-Christian, the Son of man is on two occasions described as God's Anointed.³⁸⁷ Nor should we forget the Old Testament where in Isa. 11:1-4, the ideal Davidic leader is described as one filled with Spirit and Wisdom.³⁸⁸

If, then, a prophetic teacher with the authority of God's Spirit appeared with the outrageous claim that with his proclamation and activity as miraculous healer God's eternal reign became reality, if, furthermore, he applied the apocalyptic cipher '(Son of) Man' to himself...if,

³⁸¹Cf. above fn. 286 my discussion of Hengel and the Zealots.

³⁸²Hengel, *Studies*, 34.

³⁸³Ibid., 33.

³⁸⁴Ibid., 37.

³⁸⁵Ibid., 36f.

³⁸⁶Ibid., 39.

³⁸⁷Ibid., 34f.

³⁸⁸Ibid., 95. Even though Wisdom teacher does not appear in Hengel's section on the messianic Haggada (Ibid., 34-41) I include it. I believe I am justified in doing so because of what Hengel says:

God's Spirit and Wisdom are inseparably bound in a prophetic text from the Old Testament that is probably the most important scriptural proof for Jewish messianic expectation. (Ibid., 95.)

finally, he was reputed to come from a family of the lineage of David, then does it not appear completely understandable...that such a figure was invested with the title 'Anointed'...³⁸⁹

a) As teacher Jesus surpasses the role of the teachers of Israel in that he calls people to follow after him and engage with him in an itinerant ministry. As teacher of Torah he displays none of the 'pernickety learnedness' of the rabbis but a sovereign freedom with respect to the Law of Moses, especially when he commands one who would be his follower, ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς, and when he declares all food to be clean.

b) As prophet he exceeds the office of prophet in that he stands in the place of God to call others to follow him and enjoins on them the same obedience that God demanded of his prophets. He acts in the place of God when he prefaces some of his sayings with *amen* instead of 'Thus says the Lord' and in Lk. 11:4, par. dispenses the eschatological forgiveness of Jer. 31: 31-34.

c) He uses the non-messianic cipher Son of man to express his messianic consciousness by veiling it. In veiling his messiahship he is expressing his confidence that God will proclaim him as Messiah.

d) As Wisdom and Spirit giver *par excellence* he:

³⁸⁹Ibid., 41.

i) Proclaims himself to be greater than Solomon and Jonah, the 'greatest' wise man and the 'most successful' prophetic preacher;

ii) Proclaims a reversal of values, the wise and understanding are excluded from revelation for the sake of fools; and

iii) He acts as spokesman for divine Wisdom and appears to be acting as its plenipotentiary. (cf. Lk. 13:34ff; 11:44)

As the church entered its Second Christological Epoch (35-48 C.E.) it had accomplished four things: 1) it had a highly variegated understanding of Jesus' messiahship, an understanding that both embraced and transcended the salient features of the messianic Haggada of Second Temple Judaism; 2) by preserving sayings which came to form part of Mk. and Q (Mk. 2:5; Mt. 6:25ff; 8: 22; Lk. 11:2, par.), sayings where Jesus appears to be acting in the place of God, the church of the First Christological Epoch preserved an aspect of the self-understanding of the historical Jesus as God's earthly plenipotentiary that would form the basis of the Exaltation and Son of God kerygmata; 3) it had articulated a soteriological interpretation of Jesus' death that was continuous with his messianic authority, the authority due God's earthly plenipotentiary, the authority due one who 'dared to act in the place of God' by enacting in Lk. 11:4, par. the eschatological forgiveness of Jer. 31: 31-34; and 4) it had proclaimed that this Messiah and Plenipotentiary, crucified as a messianic pretender, had been vindicated not just by a resurrection from the dead but by having been exalted to the right hand of

God, to the closest possible communion with God; this exaltation kerygma was to be directly responsible for pre-existence christology.

By settling the issue of who Jesus was and where he now existed the Greek-speaking missionaries opened the door for the most radical proclamation that was yet to happen: Jesus the pre-existent Son of God.

The Second Christological Epoch

Jesus the Pre-Existent Son of God

In his monograph, *The Son of God*, Hengel asserts that the title Son of God represents the theology of the New Testament *in nuce* : 1) It expresses God's final self-disclosure of his love for the human race in Jesus of Nazareth; 2) it presupposes the sending of Jesus by God; 3) it presents Jesus as the fulfilment of God's words in the Old Testament; 4) it signifies God's identification with the crucified Jesus and his victory through his Son over guilt and death; and 5) Jesus' sonship is not confined to himself but has been extended to all humanity so that men and women everywhere can belong wholly and utterly to God and experience the 'freedom of the children of God'.³⁹⁰ Jesus, the Messiah of Israel, proclaimed the Kingdom of God to be present in his words and in his miracles; he stood in the place of God as God's plenipotentiary at the climax of Israel's salvation history, hence his messianic authority; as Son of God before and ahead of time he continually draws men and women nearer to God.

The central theme of *Son of God* is to demonstrate that, despite the lament of Harnack that the christological process was no less than the history

³⁹⁰Hengel, *Son of God*, 93.

of the suppression of the historical Christ by the pre-existent Christ³⁹¹ and the contention of H.J. Schoeps that the *υἱὸς θεοῦ* of Pauline thought is based entirely on a 'heathen premise' of gnostic heavenly beings³⁹², there was no 'breach of faith' between the thought of Ancient Judaism, the message of Jesus of Nazareth and the Pre-existent Son of God Christology of Paul and the early church.³⁹³

The purpose of this all-important monograph is to demonstrate where Son of God originated and where it did not. The first (and most substantial) part of *Son of God* (chs. 3-5) consists of a critique of the conclusions of the history of religions school which have dominated so much of twentieth century New Testament scholarship; the second part (chs. 6-8) traces Son of God to what Hengel believes are its true origins: ancient Judaism and the messianic ministry of Jesus of Nazareth.

Was Son of God, as some of the doyens of the history of religions school claim, a creation of Paul based on Hellenistic Gentile notions of gnostic heavenly beings? Hengel thinks not. By his calculations Kyrios appears 184 times in Paul while Son of God can be found only 15 times in the genuine Pauline correspondence.³⁹⁴ Does this mean that this title is not central to the Pauline kerygma? By no means! For in a significant number of passages (Gal. 4:4f; Rom. 1:3,4,9, 15f; 8:3, 29, 32) Son or Son of God appears at the climax of an argument.³⁹⁵ What this phenomenon does seem to suggest is that Son of God was not a Pauline creation, that it had passed far beyond the speculative phase before Paul inherited it, and when he took it over its soteriological significance was well in place.³⁹⁶ Hengel believes that Paul associated Son of God with his call, 32-34 C.E.; this leads Hengel to conclude that Paul took this

³⁹¹Ibid., 3.

³⁹²Ibid., 4f.

³⁹³Ibid., 18f.

³⁹⁴Ibid., 7.

³⁹⁵Ibid., 8.

³⁹⁶Ibid., 8.

title over from a two-fold tradition from that period: the sending of the pre-existent Son into the world and the giving up of the Son to death.³⁹⁷

Chapters 4 and 5 provide a detailed response to Rudolf Bultmann's claim that the portrait of the pre-existent Christ, the essence of Hellenistic Christianity, represents, for all intents and purposes, a new religion in complete contrast to the proclamation of Jesus of Nazareth (which he, Bultmann, describes as 'pure Judaism, pure prophetic teaching'), a new religion created as a result of the early church's contact with eastern religions.³⁹⁸

But just how 'purely' mystery religions and 'impurely' Jewish was this so-called radical Hellenistic Christianity? And precisely just how far was it removed from the message of the Crucified One? It is Hengel's contention that Son of God Christology was 'purely' Jewish, having its origins in Jewish Wisdom Literature and, most, importantly, in the ministry of the Jew, Jesus of Nazareth.

As to the relation between the Son of God and the mystery religions, Hengel demonstrates through the course of *Son of God* that it was not due to any 'outside agitation' that the church proclaimed Jesus to be the pre-existent Son of God; rather there was an inner trend in christological thought which made pre-existence necessary.

³⁹⁷Ibid., 10f. One might detect a conflict of sorts here. In 'Christology and New Testament Chronology', in Hengel, *Between*, 30-47, which was first published a year before Hengel's inaugural lecture at Tübingen in May of 1973, the lecture which became *Son of God*, our author stated that it was during the second half of the 30's, the period we designated as the Second Christological Epoch (35-48 C.E.), that the features of pre-existent Wisdom were transferred to the exalted Christ (*Between*, 43.); again in *Son of God* Hengel said that the 'apotheosis of the crucified Jesus took place in the 40's. (*Son of God*, 2) However we read in *Between* that Son of God was taken for granted before Paul's call (*Between*, 40) and in *Son of God* that there was a tradition of the Son's pre-existence by the time of the Apostle's conversion. (*Son of God*, 10f) There need be no conflict at all. It stands to reason that if Son of God were in place by 32-34 C.E. ideas of Jesus' pre-existence must have been in circulation; but that it was not until Paul's Christ over Torah/Hokmah came into contact with Greek-speaking missionaries that Wisdom traits such as pre-existence were applied to Jesus, that pre-existence was fully articulated. However in idem, *Paul between Damascus and Antioch*, Hengel admits that he is not positive as to when pre-existence was articulated. (p.103)

³⁹⁸Ibid., 17f.

What is one to make of the dogmas of the history of religions school? Fuller, we remember, was heavily critical of its conclusions; however he would not rule out that the mysteries, consciously or unconsciously, played some role in the formation of christology.³⁹⁹

Hengel, on the other hand, finds it inconceivable for several reasons that the mysteries, and not only the mysteries but other staples of the *Religionsgeschichteschule* such as the divine man, the Logos of the Stoa and the gnostic redeemer, could have influenced early Christian thought. First, perhaps the simplest reason for the claims is that the mysteries never spoke of sons of god who died and rose again, nor did the participant become a son or daughter of the god of the mysteries.⁴⁰⁰ Second, Heracles, the one likely candidate for a Christian analogy, never became a god of the mysteries⁴⁰¹. Third, the only detailed accounts we have of the mysteries are from the 2nd and 3rd centuries C.E. following the 'great wave' of the mysteries which took place in the first century C.E.⁴⁰² Fourth, even though Greece knew of the physical descent of great warriors and wise men from gods, their appearance does not conform to the pre-existent sending formulas so typical of Pauline Christology.⁴⁰³

However, Hengel does observe some possible Hellenistic analogies to *katabasis*. In the Stoic Cornutus one reads, 'Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia, which the gods have sent us from heaven', and that Osiris and Isis are sent to bring order out of chaos. In his second ode Horace writes that Octavian appears as the incarnation of Hermes/Mercury to avenge Caesar and return once again to heaven.⁴⁰⁴ However these and other 'avatars' whom Hengel

³⁹⁹Fuller, *Foundations*, 92.

⁴⁰⁰Hengel, *Son of God*, 25.

⁴⁰¹*Ibid.*, 25.

⁴⁰²*Ibid.*, 27.

⁴⁰³*Ibid.*, 31.

⁴⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 35ff.

mentions do not take on human fate: they are born, they experience human pleasures, but they can never die.⁴⁰⁵

Hengel also dismisses the possibility of any connection between the Logos of the Stoics and the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel: the latter is the creative *sophia* of the Jewish Wisdom tradition; the former is abstract, divine 'world reason'.⁴⁰⁶ As to the existence of a pre-Christian gnostic redeemer myth which was accepted without question by the Bultmann school⁴⁰⁷ Hengel denies that there was any such thing at all at the time of the formation of the kerygma. Where we do find it, he says, is in the Manichaean redaction of the 'Song of the Pearl' in the Acts of Thomas; this myth, like all aspects of gnosticism, presupposes the existence of Christianity.⁴⁰⁸ Like the mystery religions, gnosticism is not fully developed until the 2nd century C.E.⁴⁰⁹

In reading Hengel one is given the distinct impression that the Greek-speaking Gentile pagan world influenced the course of christology hardly at all. However, this is not entirely the case. In his monograph *The Atonement* Hengel makes the point that the Jews of the time of Jesus and the apostles were living under the influence of Greek civilization which spoke 'a common, elementary religious *koine*'.⁴¹⁰ An aspect of this *koine* is the notion of dying for others. Except for Isa. 53, which Hengel agrees is an 'erratic block'⁴¹¹, the idea of giving up one's life for others is found only in the Hellenistic stratum of the Old Testament⁴¹², say in the Book of Daniel; and the christological

⁴⁰⁵Ibid., 40.

⁴⁰⁶Ibid., 36.

⁴⁰⁷For examples of Bultmann's 'iron-clad' acceptance of this myth see idem, *Theology*, 1: 166f; 2: 6, 12f, 66f.

⁴⁰⁸Hengel, *Son of God*, 33 fn. 66.

⁴⁰⁹Ibid., 33. But cf. *Foundations*, 92, 97. On p. 92 Fuller says that on chronological grounds one may not rule out the antecedent possibility of Christian adaptations, conscious or unconscious, of the mysteries. While Fuller rejects the existence of a pre-Christian gnostic redeemer myth, he says we can 'speak of a pre-Christian gnostic myth of a fall of man...and of his redemption offered him by a series of emissaries who bring revelation from the world of light.' (p.97) However he is careful to note that 'there is no evidence for a pre-existent redeemer who becomes incarnate.' (p.97)

⁴¹⁰Hengel, *The Atonement*, 2.

⁴¹¹Ibid., 8.

⁴¹²Ibid., 7.

concept of Christ's cross having brought salvation for the whole world, which is, according to Hengel, found only intermittently in the synoptic gospels (where, says Hengel, the Palestinian tradition about Jesus is found), appears most strongly in the missionary literature.⁴¹³ Hengel even ventures to make a comparison between the story of the passion and resurrection of Jesus and the figure of Oedipus⁴¹⁴,

Oedipus, whose peaceful passage over the threshold of death...achieves atonement through his measureless suffering...Oedipus, too, knows that one who is well-meaning can intercede for many and expiate the Eumenides.⁴¹⁵

However, Hengel does make it clear that however receptive the ancient world may have been to certain elements of the story of Jesus' passion, there was a fundamental difference between the crucifixion and the fate of people such as Oedipus. Whereas Oedipus atones for a specific crime (which, after all, he committed), 'Jesus achieved universal atonement for *all* human guilt.'⁴¹⁶

Hengel wants the reader to understand that in no way was the Atonement derived from the Hellenistic world, only that this world would have been sympathetic to such a teaching. The Christian doctrine of the Atonement is derived from the words and actions of Jesus himself.⁴¹⁷

However much a part atonement may have played in the religious *koine* of the first two decades following the resurrection, the pre-existence, descent, death and resurrection of the Son of God played no part at all.

⁴¹³Ibid., 3.

⁴¹⁴Ibid., 28.

⁴¹⁵Ibid., 28.

⁴¹⁶Ibid., 31.

⁴¹⁷Ibid., 33.

If it is not to the Graeco-Roman world that we look for parallels to Son of God Christology, to where do we turn? Hengel has no doubts but that it is to the Old Testament and Ancient Judaism.

Whereas υἱός in the Greek and Hellenistic world simply meant physical descent from a mortal (the phrase υἱὸς θεοῦ is relatively rare in Hellenism), בן (בר), on the other hand, can be taken to mean not only physical descent but can be used to describe a significant relationship, membership in a tribe, a nation, a society, an organization. The prophet Amos, we remember, denied that he was not a son of a prophet, that he did not belong to a guild of prophets. It is also used to describe belonging to God⁴¹⁸; therefore the angels, members of the heavenly court, can be properly designated 'sons of God'.⁴¹⁹ Because Israel was God's nation, chosen above all others, it is a son of God and Israelites are sons of God.⁴²⁰ Probably because they possess gifts that can come only from God the charismatic wonder workers and mystics of Ancient Judaism are singled out as sons of God.⁴²¹ The Wisdom of Solomon also designates the righteous man who suffers for his righteousness as God's son who will be delivered from the hand of his adversaries (Wis. 2:8).⁴²²

Most importantly, though, Son of God can be applied to Israel's historical figures. The Davidic king is described as a son of God in 2 Sam. 7: 12-14; Ps. 89:26; and 1 Chron. 17:13; 22:10; 28:6⁴²³; and in Pss. 2:7 and 110:3 enthronement is characterized as creation and birth by God.⁴²⁴ Small wonder that these two psalms became so important to the church as it 'progressed' from exaltation to pre-existence christology.⁴²⁵

⁴¹⁸Hengel, *Son of God*, 21.

⁴¹⁹Ibid., 21f.

⁴²⁰Ibid., 22.

⁴²¹Ibid., 42.

⁴²²Ibid., 43.

⁴²³Ibid., 22f.

⁴²⁴Ibid., 23.

⁴²⁵Ibid., 23.

In intertestamental Palestinian Judaism son of God means not only the Davidic Messiah, as in 4Q Flor. I, 11f where Nathan's oracle is treated as referring to the Messiah, 'who will appear...in Zion at the end of days.'⁴²⁶ in this period we see another development where son of God can be used to designate wise and righteous men: Sir. 4: 10 is a case in point.⁴²⁷

However, Hengel is careful to point out that nothing here suggests other important aspects of belonging to God such as exaltation, pre-existence, imparting of the divine nature, mediation at creation, sending and incarnation. What Hengel has tried to do so far is to demonstrate that υἱὸς θεοῦ is a thoroughly Hebraic concept.

With regards to exaltation, and exaltation only, we look to the Third (Hebrew) Book of Enoch where the man Enoch, as Metatron, is enthroned with God, appointed above all angels and powers to act as God's representative; he is not, however, described as 'son'.⁴²⁸

And where in Ancient Judaism do we look for pre-existence? In Origen's commentary on the Fourth Gospel Hengel finds a reference to the so-called Prayer of Joseph where the theme of pre-existence, sending and incarnation are stated. Jacob-Israel is described as a pre-existent spiritual being (πνεῦμα ἀρχικόν) who takes on human form to become the ancestor of the nation of Israel.⁴²⁹

However, for a more detailed, expansive treatment of pre-existence we turn to Wisdom speculation where we find not only pre-existence but mediation at creation-Prov. 8:22ff. Beginning with Prov. 8:22ff Hengel traces a trajectory describing the development of mediation from pre-existence which comes to an end with Philo of Alexandria. In the passage from Proverbs pre-existence is explicit, mediation is implied, 'When he marked out the

⁴²⁶Ibid., 44.

⁴²⁷Ibid., 42.

⁴²⁸Ibid., 46.

⁴²⁹Ibid., 48.

foundations of the earth, there I was beside him as his darling.'⁴³⁰ Mediation becomes more specific in Sir. 1:9 where it says that Wisdom, who was created before all things (v.4) was poured out over all God's works.⁴³¹ Ben Sira goes one step further when in 24:23 he identifies divine Wisdom with Torah.⁴³² The theme of mediation of Wisdom/Torah is developed further in the Wisdom of Solomon; here Wisdom is 'a breath of the power of God', 'a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty', a 'cohabitant' and 'companion' to the throne.⁴³³ Particularly relevant to that aspect of christology which describes the Son extending his sonship to his disciples are those passages in Wisdom where the wise and righteous are called sons and children of God.⁴³⁴ In Philo the functions of Wisdom are taken over by the Logos, who is mediator between the eternal Godhead and the world, God's image, the heavenly high priest, and the δεύτερος θεός, the second god.⁴³⁵ The one aspect of Wisdom/Logos which Philo leaves undeveloped is the extension of sonship to believers. Hengel notes that Philo, out of an apparent regard for the transcendence of God, shows considerable restraint in transferring son of God to mortals.⁴³⁶ We also find in Hengel's treatment of Wisdom a critique of the Hahn-Fuller 'multiple christologies' paradigm:

The remarkable number of names applied to Wisdom [Beloved Child, Born before all the Works of Creation, Present at Creation, the one identical with the Law of Moses (Sir. 24:23), Daughter of God, Cohabitant and Companion to his Throne (Wis. 9:40)] and even more the similar variety in the case of Philo's Logos [Eldest and First-Born Son, Mediator between the Eternal Godhead and the Created and Visible World, God's

⁴³⁰Ibid., 49.

⁴³¹Ibid., 49.

⁴³²Ibid., 50.

⁴³³Ibid., 50f.

⁴³⁴Ibid., 51.

⁴³⁵Ibid., 52.

⁴³⁶Ibid., 52, 56.

Image, δεύτερος θεός—neither created nor uncreated⁴³⁷] shows us that it is misleading to unravel the web of christological titles into a number of independent and indeed conflicting 'christologies', with different communities standing behind each.⁴³⁸

To be fair to Fuller (it is curious that in his treatment of Hahn's model Hengel never mentions Fuller's adaptation of it), there is nothing 'contradictory' in the various christologies lying behind his three communities. Jesus' identification with eschatological prophecy and his confidence that this ministry would be vindicated by the apocalyptic Son of man led the Palestinian church to conclude that he had been installed as Messiah and Son of man designate. The ongoing experience of the risen Christ in the church convinced the Hellenistic Jewish Christian community that Jesus' offer of salvation was being continued in the church and that he had been exalted to Son of man, Lord, Christ, and Son of God. And in their use of 'Abba' in worship and in reflecting on the passage lying behind Matt. 11:25ff the Greek-speaking Jewish missionaries to Hellenistic Gentiles saw fit to transfer pre-existence from their Wisdom literature to the exalted Christ. However throughout this process there was a common message, that divine salvation is available only through Jesus of Nazareth.⁴³⁹ What Fuller overlooked was the almost unrestricted and unrestrained charismatic enthusiasm that Hengel says was certainly present in the earliest community, an enthusiasm which we see partially reflected in Revelation.⁴⁴⁰ It is rather hard to believe that there was not some experience of the risen Christ other

⁴³⁷Ibid., 52.

⁴³⁸Ibid., 57.

⁴³⁹Fuller, *Foundations*, 233.

⁴⁴⁰In the letter quoted above (fn. 324) Hengel mentioned that, 'Wir begegnen ihren Spuren aber auch in der Johannesapokalypse.'

than the resurrection appearances.⁴⁴¹ Hengel is more than likely correct when he says that Luke probably 'toned down' the post-Easter enthusiasm.⁴⁴²

Son of God in the First Christological Epoch

and in the Ministry of Jesus:

Rom. 1: 3f, Messiah, Abba, Son of man, Mk. 1:11

Having established that Son of God was a concept strongly rooted in the Old Testament, Jewish mysticism and Wisdom literature, Hengel moves on to discuss when Son of God was applied to Jesus. Both Fuller and Hengel credit the Palestinian community with this achievement.⁴⁴³

Even though Hengel is inclined to put more emphasis on the creativity of the Hellenists of Acts 6 than he is on the insights of the Aramaic-speaking Christians, at the beginning of ch. 6 where he discusses the relation between Wisdom speculation and the unparalleled innovation we call early christology, he agrees with A. Deissmann who said that the origin of christology 'is the secret of the earliest Palestinian community.'⁴⁴⁴

Hengel begins his study of the rise of Son of God Christology by examining the early confession found in Rom. 1:3f which both he and Fuller agree to be an example of the theology of the earliest Palestinian community.⁴⁴⁵

'God raised Jesus' is what Hengel describes as the primal Christian confession running throughout the New Testament. But this confession alone was not sufficient to explain the once-for-all eschatological nature of the

⁴⁴¹Fuller, *Foundations*, 142.

⁴⁴²Hengel, *Studies*, 218f.

⁴⁴³Fuller, *Foundations*, 166; Hengel, *Son of God*, 59.

⁴⁴⁴Hengel, *Son of God*, 59.

⁴⁴⁵Fuller, *Foundations*, 166; Hengel, *Son of God*, 59.

mission of Jesus. As Hengel says, 'The exaltation of a martyr to God was by no means an indication of his unique status.'⁴⁴⁶

Why was not Messiah or son of David sufficient to explain the 'once-for-all' nature of his ministry? In our study of the messianic Haggada we noted that in first century Palestine there was a variety of Messiah concepts. There was the Messiah who was a Davidic deliverer; but Hengel noted that in Test. Jud. 24 we find a non-warlike Messiah 'with a strongly ethical bent'⁴⁴⁷. A priest or prophet could qualify as well as instructor of Torah and Wisdom and Spirit-bearer. While Messiah certainly expressed one who was the fulfilment of Israel's destiny, Hengel says that no title connects Jesus with God as much as Son⁴⁴⁸; no title could better express the finality of God's act in Jesus than to say that what God had accomplished he had accomplished not only through his eschatological plenipotentiary but through his Son. And, we might add, in Pss. 2:7 and 89:26, the church had the 'go-ahead' to add Son to Messiah.

Two things are said about Jesus in the passage from Romans: he was descended from the seed of David according to the flesh; he was designated Son of God in power in his resurrection from the dead.⁴⁴⁹ These two statements Hengel describes as the two-fold root of christology: 1) Jesus of Nazareth is of the seed of David and is therefore Messiah designate; in this capacity he goes to his death; 2) at the resurrection God acknowledged the condemned man on the cross⁴⁵⁰ as his Son; at the resurrection God vindicated Jesus' 'Abba'-theology'. As was mentioned above, both Fuller and Hengel ascribe great creativity to the Palestinian church, but they disagree as to how this community expressed its creativity. As has been previously stated, Fuller believes Exaltation Christology to have been a Hellenistic creation; what he

⁴⁴⁶Hengel, *Son of God*, 62.

⁴⁴⁷Hengel, *Studies*, 37.

⁴⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 63.

⁴⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 60.

⁴⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 62.

attributes to the Palestinian community is Installation Christology. In his treatment of Rom. 1:3f Fuller argues for a Palestinian venue, but states that these verses do not describe exaltation but appointment/predestination. Jesus is 'predetermined from the time of (ἐξ) the resurrection to be the eschatological Son of God at the Parousia.'⁴⁵¹ In other words the historical Jesus is implicitly the Son of God; at the parousia this will be made explicit to all. Hengel credits the same community which produced Rom. 1:3f with exaltation.

Hengel notes that ὁρισθέντος can only mean 'appointed' and not 'exalted to' and believes that the original formula probably read simply ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ⁴⁵²; our author appears to suggest that ἐν δυνάμει was added by Paul to counter any sense that Jesus was adopted Son of God at the resurrection. Jesus *in his earthly ministry* functioned as Messiah and Son of God designate; at his resurrection he is transformed into a heavenly mode of being in contrast to his previous existence κατὰ σάρκα.⁴⁵³ Hengel, in other words, sees an implicit Exaltation Christology lying behind Rom. 1:3f. Fuller would agree that the resurrection was also Jesus' exaltation; what he appears to be arguing in *Foundations* was that the resurrection was not *perceived* as the exaltation until the Hellenistic Jewish Mission.

We here ask Hengel the same question we asked Fuller after he described the christologizing efforts of his three communities: Does the title Son of God represent the further christologizing of a life that was essentially unchristological?

Hengel cites four historical reasons that substantiate his claim that Son of God is rooted in the mission and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. First, Jesus' crucifixion as a messianic pretender necessitated a title that would 'justify' the

⁴⁵¹Fuller, *Foundations*, 166. But cf. idem, *He That Cometh*, 34. Here, in this later work, Fuller argues that the formula 'dates Christ's divine sonship from the moment of his exaltation.'

⁴⁵²Hengel, *Son of God*, 60.

⁴⁵³Ibid., 60.

use of Christos, since crucifixion was most assuredly not part of the messianic Haggada. There had to be a title which conveyed both messiahship and suffering. This title was Son of God. The proof that Messiah was also a son of God was found in the above mentioned messianic psalms and 2 Sa. 7:12ff; the evidence that a son of God could suffer for righteousness' sake was found in the Wisdom tradition of Wis. 2:18 (cf, 2:13, 16).⁴⁵⁴ The use of Son of God in addition to Christos 'fine-tunes' the latter attribute.

However, was there anything in Jesus' ministry besides his crucifixion that would have allowed for him to be called Son of God? The second historical connection between the historical Jesus and the risen Son of God according to Hengel can be found in Jesus' use of 'Abba'. Son of God was a natural outgrowth of the fact that Jesus never called God anything but 'Father!' or 'my Father' and that, in all likelihood, he expressed his relationship with God by using a word which Hengel believes that a Jew of the first century would have found an unusual form of address for God.⁴⁵⁵

It must be said though that however much Fuller and Hengel disagree as to when the church became cognizant of Jesus' having been exalted as Son of God they do agree that lying behind the church's Son of God Christology was Jesus' unique way of addressing God as 'Father!' or 'my Father'.⁴⁵⁶

The third connective link between Jesus and Son of God lay in his use of 'Son of man'. Unlike Fuller who in *Foundations* doubted the authenticity of the Son of man sayings where Jesus identified himself with this figure, Hengel believed that towards the end of Jesus' ministry he could speak of

⁴⁵⁴Ibid., 42f.

⁴⁵⁵Ibid., 63.

⁴⁵⁶Ibid., 63. See also Fuller, *Foundations*, 115. On Matt. 11:25ff., par. Fuller writes, While rejecting a Hellenistic origin for it, I hesitated in pronouncing a decisive verdict in favour of its authenticity, but inclined to think it a church-formation representing a bridge between the synoptic Jesus and the Jesus of the fourth gospel...[I]t is based directly on Jesus' use of Abba, and his admission of others through his eschatological message to the privilege of calling God Abba (itals. mine). (p. 115)

himself, albeit in a veiled form, as the Son of man.⁴⁵⁷ Because the synoptic gospels speak of a suffering Son of man but not of belief in him, the phrase could have no kerygmatic significance. Hengel believes the transition from Son of man to Son of God was logical and consistent on theological grounds: the *bar 'e nāsh(ā)* who had been vindicated by God could be proclaimed *bar 'e lāh(ā)* since he had been exalted over all the heavenly sons of God. The fact that Paul persecuted Christians because they confessed Jesus of Nazareth as both Christ and Son of God indicates to Hengel that the exchange of Son of God for Son of man, even the formula behind Rom. 1:3f., had taken place prior to Paul's conversion.⁴⁵⁸

Finally, unlike Fuller who argued that the *ὁ υἱός μου* of Mk. 1:11 represented an original *'abdī*⁴⁵⁹ and that Ps. 2:7 was added during the Hellenistic Mission⁴⁶⁰, Hengel believes that if there ever was a *παῖς* christology, its lifetime was very brief indeed. He suggests that there was hardly ever any time in the early church but that *παῖς μου* was not understood to mean *υἱὸς θεοῦ*: '...it was possible to translate the Hebrew *'ebed* with *παῖς* and then interpret it as "Son". This explains why "servant of God"...faded right into the background in the New Testament texts.'⁴⁶¹ Whereas Fuller believed that Jesus' baptism to have represented his call to eschatological prophecy along the lines of Isa. 61:1⁴⁶², Hengel appears to believe that *ὁ υἱός μου* can be traced directly to Jesus' unique filial consciousness as expressed by *'Abbā*. In other words the original *'abdī* – *παῖς μου* of Isa. 42:1 quickly faded because of the disciples' memory of Jesus'

⁴⁵⁷Hengel, *Son of God*, 65. On Hengel's view of the possible authenticity of the future sayings see idem, *Studies*, 59f where Hengel says he finds it difficult to believe that the early church created Son of man then suppressed it. He seems to be suggesting that Jesus 'created' some of these sayings and that the early church 'suppressed' the phrase because it was unsuitable for missionary proclamation.

⁴⁵⁸Ibid., 65f. Despite his reconstruction of Rom. 1: 3f, that is, removing what he considers to have been Paulinisms, Fuller arrives at the same conclusions in *Foundations*, 165f.

⁴⁵⁹Fuller, *Foundations*, 170.

⁴⁶⁰Ibid., 169.

⁴⁶¹Hengel, *Son of God*, 66.

⁴⁶²Fuller, *Foundations*, 129.

unique form of address to God. As was also mentioned above in ch. 2 in our original discussion of the Markan baptism there is also the possibility that because the descent of a dove has no previous association with the descent of the Spirit the vision happened exactly as Mark related it and the original words were $\acute{\omicron} \nu\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon$; in other words $\acute{\omicron} \nu\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon$ can be traced directly to Jesus.⁴⁶³ Having established Son of God of Rom. 1:3f as an implicit expression of Jesus' exaltation, an expression which had its roots in his crucifixion as a messianic pretender, an event which necessitated the addition of Son of God to Messiah, his use of 'Abba and Son of man, and his baptism, Hengel then proceeds to give an accounting of how the Exaltation Christology of the First Christological Epoch became the Pre-Existence Son of God Christology of the Second Christological Epoch,

Pre-existence

As we recall from our discussion under 'A New Model for Christological Development' Hengel (as did Fuller⁴⁶⁴) credits the Greek-speaking Jewish Christians who were driven out of Jerusalem following the death of Stephen with having transformed Exaltation Christology into Pre-existence Christology.

How precisely did this transformation come about? According to Hengel there was an inner dynamic within the Exaltation Christology of the First Christological Epoch that necessitated a move in the direction of pre-existence⁴⁶⁵.

The resurrection and exaltation to the right hand of God had effectively robbed the Torah of much of its force. The one who had accomplished this must be seen to have 'all things', i.e., other intermediary

⁴⁶³On the possible authenticity of the dove (and the havenly voice) cf. above, ch. 2, fn. 167.

⁴⁶⁴Fuller, *Foundations*, 203.

⁴⁶⁵Hengel, *Son of God*, 67.

figures such as the supreme angels or Wisdom/Torah in his grasp.⁴⁶⁶

According to Hengel,

The true will of God was no longer embodied in the Torah of Sinai but in the teaching of the Messiah Jesus, and his accursed death on the cross (Deut. 21: 23) could and indeed must put in question the law of Moses as an *ultimate* authority.⁴⁶⁷

How, therefore is Jesus to be seen as having replaced the law of Moses as the ultimate authority? Pre-existence became the way the questions about Jesus' accursed death and his exaltation over other intermediary figures were resolved. In other words how was Jesus to be proclaimed, to be seen as having ultimate authority? Pre-existence became the way the questions raised by the crucifixion, resurrection and exaltation were answered: The one who has control over the end has only half the matter in hand.⁴⁶⁸ Logic and consistency demand that eschatology be supplemented by protology.

The one once described as God's eschatological plenipotentiary must now be seen, like Wisdom, to share in the *opus proprium Dei*, creation.⁴⁶⁹ Just as one could not conceive of God without his Wisdom⁴⁷⁰, how could one conceive of God without his Son? According to Wis. 10:17 it was the divine Wisdom which guided Israel on its journey through the desert; however, in the light of the death, resurrection and exaltation of Jesus, in view of where death, resurrection and exaltation must take us, it is the pre-existent Christ who must be seen to have accompanied Israel on its miraculous journey.⁴⁷¹ In commenting on the pre-Pauline nature of 1 Cor. 10:4, Hengel writes:

⁴⁶⁶Ibid., 69.

⁴⁶⁷Ibid., 68.

⁴⁶⁸Ibid., 69.

⁴⁶⁹Ibid., 72.

⁴⁷⁰Ibid., 70.

⁴⁷¹Ibid., 72.

As the exegesis in 1 Cor. 10: 4 is not typically Pauline, and Paul does not otherwise draw positive connections with the time of Moses...we must assume that this exegesis comes from non-Pauline Greek-speaking Jewish Christianity.⁴⁷²

Even if there had been mysteries, even if there were a pre-Christian gnostic redeemer myth, these Greek-speaking Jewish Christians would not have had to resort to them. For one thing the Gentiles to whom they brought this gospel were either god-fearers or proselytes attached to synagogues⁴⁷³ and had left the pagan world behind them. More than anything else though these missionaries would have had not only Ps. 110:3 and perhaps, and only perhaps, 1 Enoch 48: 6 and 62:7 but much of the Wisdom literature at their disposal.

Inasmuch as Hengel determined that there was sufficient cause in the ministry of the historical Jesus for the application of the title Son of God to the exalted Christ, i.e., his suffering and death, his use of 'Abba' and Son of man, did the church have any authority to apply pre-existent Wisdom to the exalted Jesus? We refer to a previously discussed essay.⁴⁷⁴

According to Hengel when one studies the pre-existent motifs in wisdom literature and then compares them with the role Wisdom played in Jesus' ministry one sees the connection between the popular preacher from Galilee and the Pre-existent One of Phil. 2: 6-11.⁴⁷⁵

In Lk. 11: 31f., par. Jesus makes a claim typical of Jewish apocalyptic where wisdom and prophecy are interchangeable: the wise men become prophets and prophets wise men. Hengel describes this passage as an 'eschatologically motivated' break with the traditional wisdom of Judaism: Jesus is greater than Solomon, the greatest wise man, he surpasses the most

⁴⁷²Ibid., 73.

⁴⁷³Hengel, *Between*, 73.

⁴⁷⁴Hengel, 'Jesus as Messianic Teacher of Wisdom' in idem, *Studies*, 73-117.

⁴⁷⁵Ibid., 108.

successful prophetic preacher-Jonah.⁴⁷⁶ It is also important to recall Matt. 6:25 where Jesus contradicts all wisdom and stands, as it were, in the place of God to act as God's earthly plenipotentiary to remove the curse of Genesis 3.⁴⁷⁷ As one who is greater than all known wisdom, as one who sets aside all wisdom, as one who in his earthly state stands in the place of God, he can take the place of that which was 'set up' with God 'before the beginning of the earth' (Prov. 8:23). The path from the carpenter of Nazareth to the pre-existent Son cannot be understood through Old testament motifs such as Messiah or Son of David. These might lead us to Son or to the Son's exaltation and imply pre-existence, or at least make pre-existence not seem an unwarranted advance on exaltation (such as in the Messiah/son motifs in 2 Sa. 7: 12-14 and Pss. 2: 7 and 89:26), but no further.⁴⁷⁸ Pre-existence becomes comprehensible only

...with recourse to the [pre-existent motifs of] Jewish wisdom which-albeit mostly in the background-continually accompanied christological development from the Galilean popular preacher to the 'protological' and eschatological plenipotentiary of God.⁴⁷⁹

That Jesus spoke as the plenipotentiary of the Wisdom of God in Lk. 13:34f.⁴⁸⁰, and thereby appears to speak for God who in Deut. 32:11 stirs up his nest like an eagle and hovers over his young, enabled the church to apply wisdom concepts to him such as 'God's image' making him thereby identical with Wisdom; Jesus becomes the heavenly, pre-temporal εἰκών of God who shares God's nature and who, like Wisdom, stands on the side of God before

⁴⁷⁶Ibid., 78.

⁴⁷⁷Ibid., 68.

⁴⁷⁸Ibid., 113.

⁴⁷⁹Ibid., 114.

⁴⁸⁰Ibid., 86.

creation.⁴⁸¹ However, we cannot stress strongly enough the continuity between the ministry of the historical Jesus as God's plenipotentiary, the eschatological role of the exalted Christ and his protological role as Pre-existent One. Jesus of Nazareth claimed to act in the place of God when, e.g. he enacted God's forgiveness, when he called people to follow him and imposed on them a discipline which before was only God's to impose, when he replaced the old prophetic formula 'Thus says the Lord' with 'Amen I say to you', when he appropriated Deut. 32:11, and when he removed the curse of Genesis 3. In his death God appeared to reject Jesus' claim. When he was raised the church faced a problem: did resurrection alone vindicate his claim to act in the place of God? Did resurrection establish the closest communion possible with God? The answer was: not entirely. Resurrection certainly validated Jesus' claim that he had stood in God's place. Had Jesus not in fact acted in the place of God he most likely would not have been raised from the dead. Jesus' claim had to be reinforced; Jesus had to be shown to be exercising the same communality with God which he enjoyed while on earth. This is where exaltation and pre-existence come into view: both these concepts portray Jesus as having the closest communality with God possible; exaltation and pre-existence vindicate fully Jesus' claim to act in the place of God.

After ascribing attributes of Wisdom to the Exalted One such as we see in Col. 1: 15-17 and in Phil. 2:6, the final step in describing God's full and final self-disclosure in Christ took place in Phil. 2:9-11 where Kyrios, the Qere for YHWH in the LXX, is transferred to Jesus.⁴⁸² By the time that Paul quotes Joel 3:5 (Rom. 10:13), 'Everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved', he is not referring to God but to Jesus.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸¹ Hengel, *Son of God*, 75f.

⁴⁸² Ibid., 77.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 77.

Even though Fuller never says anything like, 'all this took place within twenty years after the resurrection'⁴⁸⁴, he would have no qualms about agreeing with Hengel that this radical Christianity was in place at the beginning of the Pauline correspondence.

Both Fuller and Hengel connect Kyrios to the use of *mari* and *rabbi* during Jesus' lifetime. However Hengel sees nothing in the use of these terms to warrant the full sense of Kyrios in the Second Christological Epoch⁴⁸⁵ whereas Fuller points out that in Lk. 6:46, 'Why do you call me "Lord, Lord" and not do what I tell you?', Jesus appears to countenance an 'enhanced' use of *mari*.⁴⁸⁶ Hengel, as well as Fuller, refers to Ps. 110:1, where Kyrios is used of both God and the Messiah, as the catalyst 'for the earliest Christian and Pauline doctrine of the heavenly Kyrios...'⁴⁸⁷

Where Fuller and Hengel 'part company', so to speak, is in the role of the mysteries in relation to Kyrios. While Fuller acknowledges that some Gentile converts might have been receptive to Kyrios because of its association with the mysteries⁴⁸⁸ Hengel dismisses any attempt to connect Kyrios with the mysteries as 'a quite senseless undertaking'⁴⁸⁹: Lord as a title for gods is a semitism.⁴⁹⁰ Kyrios, he says, is not typical of the mysteries, and there is no evidence for the mysteries in Syria in the first century B.C.E.⁴⁹¹

Both scholars, however, would agree that the transference to Jesus of YHWH-*kyrios* represents development as opposed to evolution, continuity as opposed to discontinuity. For Fuller Phil. 2:6-11 is an outgrowth of Acts 3:24 and the tradition lying behind Rom. 10: 13 which can be traced to Mk. 14:62 which in turn had its origins in a passage such as Lk. 12:8, par. where

⁴⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 1.

⁴⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 78,80.

⁴⁸⁶Fuller, *Foundations*, 119.

⁴⁸⁷Hengel, *Son of God*, 80 fn. 138. See also Fuller, *Foundations*, 185.

⁴⁸⁸Fuller, *Foundations*, 230.

⁴⁸⁹Hengel, *Son of God*, 77.

⁴⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 77 fn. 135.

⁴⁹¹*Ibid.*, 78.

Jesus, according to Fuller, distinguishes himself from the apocalyptic Son of man and at the same time expects to be vindicated by that figure. This supreme confidence of Jesus lies in his filial consciousness given expression by 'Abba', particularly in his teaching his disciples to call God 'Abba'.⁴⁹²

Hengel sees YHWH-*kyrios* as the logical end of the Exaltation Christology of the Palestinian church which, in turn, had its ties to Jesus' use of 'Abba' and Son of man. Though Fuller would allow the mysteries a greater role in Kyrios Christology than Hengel (Hengel appears to allow no place at all), both scholars begin at the same place: Jesus' unique, unparalleled sonship. Hengel, in fact, has built an impressive case for Kyrios Christology in his description of Jesus as God's earthly plenipotentiary, the one who acts in the place of God. How natural it is for one who surpasses all the figures of the Old Testament in that he not only speaks for God but acts for him as well not only to share the divine throne but the divine name as well.

Not only is Hengel thoroughly satisfied that the church acted consistently with Jesus' ministry in its application of YHWH-*kyrios*, he also believes that the church did not act 'unilaterally' in transferring an Old Testament text about God to a mediator and redeemer figure near God. A fragment from Qumran Cave 11 which refers to Melchizedek, a passage involving Isa. 52: 7, 'who says to Zion, "Your God is king"', has been reconstructed as follows, 'and "your God", that means [Melchizedek, who will deliver] them [from] the hand of Belial'.⁴⁹³ Hengel believes that the haggadic exegesis of Cave 11 represents a preparation for the typological relationship between the Son of God and the priest-king in Hebrews⁴⁹⁴ which in turn is a large scale development of the Philippians hymn where the Son's exaltation, his pre-existence, and his shameful death are held in tension.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹²Fuller, *Foundations*, 115.

⁴⁹³Hengel, *Son of God*, 81.

⁴⁹⁴Ibid., 83.

⁴⁹⁵Ibid., 88.

The goal of earliest Christianity, says Hengel, was to articulate a doctrine which expressed the fact that God's love toward all humanity had been given shape and had been consummated in the sending of Jesus of Nazareth and in his death on a cross.

The First Christological Epoch had accomplished three things: 1) it had articulated who Jesus was-the Messiah of Israel and Son of God; 2) it had stated what he had accomplished in his death on a cross-atonement for all sins; and 3) it had answered the question of where the risen Christ was-exalted to the right hand of God. Three things had made these christological claims possible: 1) the resurrection, which overturned the conviction of messianic pretender; 2) the post-Easter anointing of the Spirit which manifested itself in the singing of and reflection upon the messianic psalms; and 3), the nature of Jesus' messianic ministry where he fulfilled the messianic Haggada, called God 'Abba', used Son of man, and acted in the place of God when he bestowed God's forgiveness, called people to follow him, disciplined them as God would have, and prefaced some of his sayings with, 'Amen, I say to you.'

The catalyst, so to speak, in causing this primitive kerygma to be moved from Jerusalem to the 'uttermost parts of the earth' was the expulsion of the Hellenists following the martyrdom of Stephen. It was they, says Hengel, who took this three-fold Palestinian christology beyond the borders of Palestine, having added to it the universalistic, wisdom-filled, Spirit-anointed, Law and Temple critical gospel according to Stephen. In light of C.C. Hill we now say that there was a gospel that was universalistic, wisdom-filled, Spirit-anointed that was at the same time law and temple faithful that was the property of both Hebrews and Hellenists who were persecuted following the martyrdom of Stephen. Because their mother tongue was Greek, and not because their outlook was any different from their Hebrew co-

religionists, the Hellenists were especially well-equipped to take this gospel to the diaspora and the Greek-speaking parts of the Roman Empire.

There was one problem remaining, and that was for the church to express the completeness, the unprecedented, once-for-all, never to be repeated nature of messiahship, atonement and exaltation. In other words, God's actions in creation, primal time and in the salvation history of Israel must be seen as a preparation for the act of God in Christ; the Christ event, in Hengel's words, must not be seen as 'one episode in salvation history among others'⁴⁹⁶ No doctrine other than Pre-Existent Son of God Christology could have accomplished this.⁴⁹⁷

It is Hengel's belief that this step which was undertaken during the Second Christological Epoch was demanded by the Messiah-Exaltation Christology of the First Epoch. Son of God came into existence because the church needed a title which included suffering as well as messiahship and Son of God was such a title. Son of God would also have been appropriate to one who acted as God's plenipotentiary. Once the church had answered the question of who Jesus was and to where had the risen Jesus been taken, another question appeared: What was the Exalted One's relation to other intermediary figures such as the supreme angels or Wisdom/Torah? As we said earlier, pre-existence resolved this question for all time: not only did it answer the question by what authority Jesus acted as God's plenipotentiary, but it addressed the exalted Jesus' relation to other intermediary beings; by putting Jesus not only above these creatures, but behind and before them as well the dangers of 'syncretistic, mythical speculation' are overcome.⁴⁹⁸ One who stood in the place of God, one who acted as God's plenipotentiary, must in his risen and exalted state be seen to have the whole matter in hand. Exaltation puts Jesus in control of the end only; logic, consistency, and

⁴⁹⁶Ibid., 90.

⁴⁹⁷Ibid., 90f.

⁴⁹⁸Ibid., 91.

faithfulness to the ministry of Jesus demand that eschatology be supplemented by protology.

Not only was Pre-existent Son of God Christology 'embedded' in Messiah and Exalted One, like the christology of the First Epoch, it was completely consistent with the historical ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. Pre-existent Son of God was the natural description for one who addressed God as 'Father!' 'my Father', or rather Pre-existent One does not seem a radical advance over one who called upon God in such a way. It was possible on theological grounds to substitute *bar 'elāh(ā)* for *bar 'e nās(ā)* since he had been exalted far above all the heavenly sons of God. And it seemed logical that the one who had identified himself with pre-existent Wisdom should have pre-existent Wisdom applied to him, since his death, so to speak, had robbed the greatest repository of Wisdom, the Torah of much of its force. The resurrection and exaltation of an accursed criminal made this accursed criminal the ultimate authority. Once Jesus was thought of as having transcended pre-existent Wisdom, a figure described in the Old Testament and Ancient Judaism as possessing divine attributes, he then could be given the name that is above every name.

At the end of the Second Christological Epoch, when the Pauline Mission was ready to take place, the church had a kerygma which it doubtless developed in conversation with Paul's Christ over Torah/Wisdom gospel, a kerygma which proclaimed that Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah of Israel was the pre-existent Son of God and Lord, had taken on human nature and descended to our realm not only to announce that Israel's salvation history had come to fulfilment in him (and, as we have seen through Hengel's eyes, this was plainly evident in his messianic authority which not only fulfilled the messianic Haggada of his day but, in his sovereign freedom towards the Law of Moses, his claim to be the greatest wise man and prophet, transcended it) but also in him God's love towards all humanity had taken bodily form. In

him men and women can experience the joyful 'freedom of the children of God'.⁴⁹⁹

Therefore, as we can see, the title Son of God expresses far more than Jesus' relation to God and our relation to Jesus-Christos, Kyrios, Son of David and Son of man do this quite adequately. Son of God defines once and for all what other christological titles could not do: Son of God makes explicit Jesus' relation to God and our relation to God *through* Jesus. In Jesus the believer sees what it means to belong to God, to enjoy a sonship based, in Fuller's words, on response and obedience. In the exalted, pre-existent Son of God the human race sees its future as it has been prepared since the beginning of time, 'a future which-thank God!-is not dependent on a humanity which regards itself as the "supreme being", but belongs wholly and utterly to God's love'⁵⁰⁰, a love which makes all God's creatures sons and daughters in the likeness of his Son who called God 'Abba'.

Conclusion

Hengel, from *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers* through his essays in *Studies in Early Christology*, portrayed a messianic and eschatological Jesus that we have set against the background of Crossan's non-messianic, non-eschatological and not very Jewish peasant Jewish Cynic and Borg's equally non-messianic, non-eschatological but very Jewish holy man, subversive sage, and revitalization movement founder who mediated between the material world and the more real world of the Spirit. I believe that these different portraits of Jesus certainly help to clarify his relation to first century Judaism and its relation to the Greco-Roman world; but only

⁴⁹⁹Ibid., 93.

⁵⁰⁰Ibid., 93.

Hengel's (and Fuller's) Jesus helps to bridge the gap between the world of Jesus and the Ontic Christology of early Christianity.

Hengel and Crossan are directly concerned with the relationship between Judaism and Hellenism at the time of Jesus; both depict the Judaism of the first century as a Judaism trying to come to terms with Hellenism. Hengel in *Judaism and Hellenism* described the scene as one where the priestly and lay nobility 'took delight in a freer, more expansive style of life' afforded by Hellenism.⁵⁰¹ But Hellenism even 'seeped' down to the level of the Hasidim who despite their 'rigorist fidelity to the law' reveal a ' "syncretistic" influence fed from many sources.' ⁵⁰² Even those pious ones who separated from society in order to symbolize their rejection of everything non-Jewish founded a semi-monastic community which had as its nearest analogy 'an organization in the Greek association'. ⁵⁰³ Into this complex environment of deliberate and, at times, unavoidable syncretism appeared Jesus of Nazareth, a very Jewish figure who in his earthly ministry not only fulfilled the messianic Haggada but displayed an openness to Gentiles and perhaps, but only perhaps, to a Gentile mission.⁵⁰⁴

Crossan's Jesus, we remember, was a person who also tried to straddle two worlds. The Judaism of Jesus' time, was 'a Judaism seeking to adapt its ancient traditions as conservatively as possible...and a Judaism seeking to adapt its ancestral customs as liberally as possible.'⁵⁰⁵ According to Crossan Jesus stood for the kind of Judaism that would have been willing to compromise on circumcision, commensality and intermarriage if paganism had conceded to divinity and morality.⁵⁰⁶ The difference between Hengel's and Crossan's Jesus is that whereas God's earthly plenipotentiary remains

⁵⁰¹Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* , 1:310.

⁵⁰²Ibid., 311.

⁵⁰³Ibid., 311.

⁵⁰⁴Hengel, *Between* , 63f.

⁵⁰⁵Crossan, *The Historical Jesus* , 418.

⁵⁰⁶Ibid., 420f.

thoroughly Jewish, even in his openness to Gentiles, the peasant Jewish Cynic who stood firmly within Israel's most ancient tradition of covenantal Justice, comes off as not very Jewish at all.

Borg, on the other hand, saw the conflict not so much between Judaism and Hellenism but between Judaism and Rome, which in a very broad sense could be read as a conflict between Judaism and Hellenism since the *lingua franca* of the eastern Roman Empire was Hellenistic culture. How does a people conduct itself as an occupied people? According to Borg, it is by remaining as distinct a people as possible; with regard to Jesus' people this meant being as Jewish as possible. To be Jewish meant not to separate oneself apart from society as did the Essenes or to separate oneself from within society as did the Pharisees. Rather, it meant, like Jesus, to take one's stand among the pariahs of this world⁵⁰⁷, and to 'be compassionate as God is compassionate'. However, as Jewish as Borg's Jesus is, he, Borg, fails to place him within the larger context of Israel's story, that is, Israel's hope, its hope for the return of the Lord to Zion. By failing to see Jesus as the fulfilment of Israel's eschatological hope for the return of the visible glory of God to the temple Borg's Jesus remains little more than a great holy man, sage and prophet and ontic christology seems like a manifest exaggeration of Jesus' mission and ministry.

Perhaps the main problem with Crossan's and Borg's Jesus is that there is a tremendous gap between their portrait and the christology of the New Testament. Hengel's and Fuller's eschatological Jesus, of a Jesus who was the *telos* of Israel's salvation history, fills that gap.

Hengel's Lutheranism at times leads him to find a far too critical attitude towards the Law in the primitive kerygma-after all Paul never suggested that the Law was not binding for the Jew. While Hengel (and most of German scholarship) may indeed be faulted for failing to see with Crossan

⁵⁰⁷Borg, *Conflict*, 79.

and others that Son of man on the lips of Jesus was a generic or indefinite self-referent without any reference to Dn. 7:13, it is possible, thanks largely to Hengel's portrait of Jesus, to say that it was a good deal more than Jesus' non-titular use of Son of man which facilitated the church's creation of some of the apocalyptic sayings. The Jesus who called his followers the way God called his prophets, who enjoined on them the same obedience God enjoined on his servants is a Jesus whom the post-Easter church might have seen fit to identify with the 'one like a son of man' to whom 'was given dominion and glory and kingship, that all peoples, nations and languages should serve him.' (Dn. 7: 13, 14) A Jesus such as this, a Jesus who appears to act in God's stead, a Jesus who is the fulfilment of Israel's eschatological hope, could legitimize the church's claim that he was in control from the beginning.

Finally, and perhaps most important for establishing continuity between the historical ministry of Jesus, the First and Second Christological Epochs, are Jesus' distinctive use of '*Abbā*' and the joyful 'freedom of the children of God' which he extends to his disciples by bestowing on them the same intimacy with the Father which he enjoyed. Here Jesus is displaying a sonship that transcends the messianic sonship in Psalms such as 2:7 and 89:26 where the anointed one is called son and can call God Father but in no way can extend this privilege to others. It was the Davidic Messiah's privilege from birth to call God his personal Father. However, this birthright did not apparently include the authority to bestow this sonship on others. When Jesus calls God Father and only Father he is exercising his birthright as the Davidic Messiah. However when Jesus extends this exclusive sonship to others he is evincing an authority which extends beyond birthright. We have in '*Abbā*' a sonship for which the modifier pre-existent seems not wholly inappropriate.

Hengel takes a view regarding Phil. 2:6-11 that was usual up to the time of the publication of *Son of God*. These verses resemble a parabolic curve, at the top left-hand side is the pre-existent Christ, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, who ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, descended to the bottom of the curve, to our level, took μορφὴν δούλου, died a slave's death, then was exalted to the top right hand of the curve and given the divine name.⁵⁰⁸ However, in 1976 J. Murphy-O'Connor wrote that pre-existence was read into these pre-Pauline verses because elsewhere Paul had attributed pre-existence to the Christ, but that the intent of the author of this passage was not to describe Jesus as pre-existent but as sinless: Jesus differed from other men not in his pre-existence but in his sinlessness.⁵⁰⁹ In 1980 J.D.G. Dunn presented a forceful case for an Adamic Christology, and hence non Pre-existence Christology, lying behind Phil. 2:6-11.⁵¹⁰ Dunn notes that the meaning of μορφή and εἰκών is virtually synonymous⁵¹¹ but that μορφή was chosen to illustrate the completeness of Christ's transformation: he did not become like a slave, he was, in every respect a slave.⁵¹² Dunn concluded that what we have in these verses is not the three-step christology mentioned above, but a two-step christology, birth, 'free acceptance of man's lot followed out to death and exaltation to the status of Lord over all...'⁵¹³ Jesus, like Adam, is born ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ. However Adam was not content with reflecting the glory of God, which if we follow Dunn's parallelism with Gen. 1-3 would mean God's immortality; instead he grasped after full equality with God, the knowledge of good and evil, in consequence of which he lost his immortality, the outward glory of God and took μορφὴν δούλου. Jesus was faced with the same choice as Adam: to be

⁵⁰⁸For Hengel's 'classical' view of the Philippians hymn see *idem, Son of God*, 1 and *ibid.*, *Studies*, 289.

⁵⁰⁹Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, 'Christological Anthropology in Phil., II, 6-11', *RB* 83 (1976): 25-50, cf. esp. 31, 41, 50.

⁵¹⁰J.D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 114-121.

⁵¹¹*Ibid.*, 115.

⁵¹²311 n. 70.

⁵¹³*Ibid.*, 115.

content with immortality or else to strive for full equality with God; however he chose not only to resist Adam's temptation but to empty himself of Adam's pre-fall glory 'and to embrace Adam's lot, the fate which Adam had suffered by way of punishment.'⁵¹⁴ He is then exalted to full equality with God, a status which he had never had.

This view has been countered by L.D. Hurst⁵¹⁵ and C.A. Wanamaker.⁵¹⁶ N.T. Wright has taken a somewhat Anglican *Via Media* position and argued that Dunn is correct in his Adam typology but incorrect in his view that these verses do not speak of pre-existence and incarnation.⁵¹⁷ Holding to a view that the NRSV translation of ἀπαγγεῖλον...τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, 'did not regard equality with God as something to be exploited', is a legitimate translation of v. 6b, that is to say τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ was something which Jesus already had but refused to use to his own advantage⁵¹⁸, Wright maintains that Christ descended to our realm and took the form of Adam in order to fulfil Israel's vocation as outlined in Isa. 40-55 which was to reverse the sin of Adam.⁵¹⁹

Wright is correct in countering Dunn's interpretation of a two-step christology behind the Philippians hymn. Dunn's argument that Jesus in his earthly existence freely abandoned the pre-fall status of Adam and willingly underwent the death of a slave and was exalted to a position which he did not previously possess leaves us with an implausible situation: that when Jesus was born he was born, immortal and that somewhere along the line abandoned immortality. This is a teaching unknown in the New Testament. A two-step Adamic christology leaves us with a Jesus who was deficient in his

⁵¹⁴Ibid., 117.

⁵¹⁵L.D. Hurst, 'Re-Enter the Pre-Existent Christ in Phil. 2: 5-11?' *NTS* 32 (1986): 449-457.

⁵¹⁶C.A. Wanamaker, 'Phil. 2. 6-11: Son of God or Adamic Christology?' *NTS* 33 (1987), 179-93.

⁵¹⁷N.T. Wright, 'Jesus Christ is Lord: Philippians 2: 5-11', in idem., *The Climax of the Covenant*, 56-98.

⁵¹⁸Ibid., 82, 78.

⁵¹⁹Ibid., 61.

humanity.⁵²⁰ Dunn is also correct in noting that the author of the hymn chose μορφή in order to illustrate the depth of Jesus' humiliation; but he fails to note that if μορφήν δούλου can mean 'became a slave' rather than 'became like a slave' why can't ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ mean 'actually was divine, not just "like" God'.⁵²¹ It seems that if one reads μορφήν δούλου as Dunn does, one has no choice but to read ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ in the way just described.

To what extent does an Adamic christology lie behind Phil. 2: 6-11? Only in the most general sense possible. Inasmuch as Jesus became human and embraced death, humanity's lot, the fruit of Adam's sin, an Adamic christology can't help but be seen to lie behind these verses. However, is it as specific as Dunn and Wright make it out to be? Neither writer comes to grips with the contrast between ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ and μορφήν δούλου. Dunn is quite correct when he criticizes T.F. Glasson for agreeing with Vincent's 'pedantic' refutation of Adamic typology, ' [I]t is nowhere asserted or hinted in scripture that Adam desired equality with God in the comprehensive sense of that expression'.⁵²² Since the one thing that distinguished Adam from God which Adam could do something about was the fact that God had knowledge of good and evil and Adam did not (but had the means to acquire it), if it was not equality then what precisely was it that Adam was after? However, Dunn (and Wright, who never refers to Glasson's essay) is wrong for overlooking Glasson's second point. He, Glasson, notes that if the author of these verses intended to make a comparison with Adam why did he not use κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ instead of ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ?⁵²³ However, as Dunn demonstrated this objection is not insurmountable. As was stated above Dunn believes the composer chose μορφή because Adam never lost the image of God and that he wanted the reader to understand that Jesus *was* a slave, he did not simply

⁵²⁰Wanamaker, 'Philippians II. 6-11', 183.

⁵²¹Hurst, 'Re-Enter the Pre-Existent Christ...?', 450.

⁵²²As quoted in T.F. Glasson, 'Two Notes on the Philippians Hymn (II. 6-11) NTS 21 (1974-75): 138. For a refutation of Glasson cf. Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 311, n. 73.

⁵²³Glasson, 'Two Notes', 138.

become like a slave.⁵²⁴ What does 'lift [Phil. 2:6-11] right away from the Adam story' is the fact that the transition from ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ to μορφὴν δούλου implies the 'exchange [of] one mode of being for another'.⁵²⁵ Nowhere in Gen. 3 is it ever suggested that Adam receives another form. In other words, if vv. 6-7 were eliminated and the hymn proceeded from Τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ το ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν one could perhaps make a better argument for an Adamic christology as well as for a two-step christology. As was mentioned above when Dunn argues that μορφὴν δούλου be translated 'became a slave' he is also arguing that ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ be interpreted to mean 'was divine'; he is arguing for a three-step christology.

There is another reason why Adamic typology should not be read too strongly into these verses: humanity is given 'dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth'; but it is never suggested that our destiny is to share the divine name, to share with God *cosmic* lordship, to become with God objects of worship.⁵²⁶ Of this fact neither Dunn nor Wright takes notice.

To understand better the Old Testament background to the Philippians hymn it is advisable not to search for an Adamic typology but for a 'descent' typology. Rather than patterning Jesus' descent on reversing Adam's fall, the author of this hymn could well have had in mind passages such as Ex. 3:7-8, 'Then the Lord said, "I have observed the misery of my people who are in Egypt: I have heard their cry on account of their taskmasters...and I have *come down* (ἵκ- καταβαίνω) to deliver them from the Egyptians..."'⁵²⁷ The God of Israel is characterized as one who 'comes down' and 'visits'

⁵²⁴For a refutation of Dunn at this point see L.D. Hurst, 'Re-enter the Pre-Existent Christ', 450.

⁵²⁵Glasson 'Two Notes', 138.

⁵²⁶See Richard J. Bauckham in an unpublished essay, 'The Worship of the Lord', 55.

⁵²⁷On ἵκ-καταβαίνω cf., e.g. Gen. 11:5; Ex. 19:11, 20; Num. 11: 17; Pss. 18:9 (LXX 17:10); 72: 6 (LXX 71:6); Isa. 31:4.

(προ-ἐπισκέπτομαι) his creation.⁵²⁸ The Pre-existent One not only like God came down and visited his people he also surrendered, which God had never done, all the privileges of deity. For this reason he is exalted and given the divine name. Jesus displays his divinity not in holding onto his divine status but in descending to the realm of mortals. He then provides for human beings what they had up until the time of Jesus of Nazareth been lacking, an example of perfect humanity, to show perfectly in his humanity what God is like: God is a god who comes down and visits his creation, who identifies himself with the needs of those whom he has made (see Isa. 57: 15).

Jesus of Nazareth

Pre-Existent One and the Climax of Israel's History

Therefore, despite Dunn's assertion of a two-step christology, we can still say with Hengel that the Greek-speaking Jewish Christian missionaries articulated a theology which spoke of a pre-existent Son of God who emptied himself of the privileges of divinity and became human in every respect to show humans what God is like. It is therefore right and proper to call Jesus of Nazareth the pre-existent Son of God in that, as he stood as the climax of Israel's salvation history he must therefore stand far above all previous mediators, including Torah and pre-existent Wisdom.

On what bases can Hengel (and Fuller) make the claim that Jesus stood as the climax of Israel's salvation history?

- 1) The Kingdom of God is present in him and only in him.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁸Cf. Ex. 3:16; Ps. 8:4 (LXX 8:5).

⁵²⁹Fuller, *Foundations*, 105.

2) He transcends the office of prophet by standing in God's place: he calls people to follow him, not into the desert, but to the heart of Judaism; and he enjoins on his followers the same obedience which God enjoined on his prophets.⁵³⁰

3) He transcends the office of teacher in his sovereign freedom towards the Law of Moses: he declares to sinful mortals the forgiveness of their sins which is the prerogative of God alone⁵³¹; he lifts the curse of Genesis 3⁵³²; and he declares all food to be clean.⁵³³

4) He transcends the office of sage when he declares himself to be greater than the greatest wise man.⁵³⁴

5) He transcends even the office of Messiah/Son of God by including others in his exclusive, unparalleled sonship.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁰Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 12.

⁵³¹Hengel *Studies*, 63.

⁵³²*Ibid.*, 68.

⁵³³Hengel, *Between*, 57.

⁵³⁴Hengel, *Studies*, 78.

⁵³⁵*Foundations*, 115; Son of God, 63, 93.

Chapter Four

P.M. Casey

Johannine Christology: A Stumbling Block for Jews and a Folly to Gentiles?

Despite the fact that Fuller and Hengel use different christological paradigms to demonstrate the transition from the message of the historical Jesus to the functional and ontic confessions of the post-Easter church, they are both in complete agreement that this transition represents development as opposed to evolution, continuity rather than discontinuity. Both would also agree that the high christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission (Fuller) and the Second Christological Epoch (Hengel) has its origins in Jesus having been the fulfilment of Israel's salvation history and in his distinctive sonship which he bestowed on his followers.

There is, however, a certain amount of disagreement as to *why* christology developed as it did. Fuller, we remember, said that it was the awareness of prophecy having been fulfilled, the delay of the parousia, the ongoing experience of the risen Christ exercising his lordship in the church, and the encounter of the Hellenistic Jewish Christian missionaries with the world-view of the Hellenistic Gentile which produced the Installation, Two-Foci Christology of the Palestinian Church, the Exaltation Two-Step Christology of the Hellenistic Jewish Mission, and the Pre-Existent/Incarnational Three Stage Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission.

In the earliest community Jesus is seen as installed as Messiah, Lord, Son of man designate. In the christology of the mission to the diaspora he is described as having been exalted 'next to' YHWH-*kyrios* so that God can exercise his divinity through Jesus. In the Hellenistic Gentile Mission YHWH-Kyrios is transferred to Jesus. Why did all this, particularly the last step, take

place? As we said above, the world-view of the three communities and the experience of Christ as Lord and Son of God in its life and worship both demanded and facilitated it. As far as pre-existence is concerned, the church appeared to reason that if it were experiencing Lordship and Sonship now God must have been exercising his divinity through his Son from the very beginning. We repeat an earlier quotation:

[The christological pattern of the Gentile mission] looks like a tremendous advance on the more primitive christologies. But really it was implicit all along. For the act of God in Jesus' history and in the kerygma was never viewed in isolation from the previous acts of Israel's God, but always as their culmination.¹

Hengel, as we remember, had a somewhat different view as to the why of Pre-Existent Christology. Whereas Fuller said the world-view of the Hellenistic Gentile necessitated it, Hengel suggests that the Hellenistic Gentiles with whom the Jewish Christian missionaries had come into contact after their expulsion from Jerusalem had left the world Fuller described far behind as they were already god-fearers attached to the synagogues.² According to Hengel, Exaltation Christology demanded pre-existence and the Spirit-anointed, eschatologically motivated Hellenists, steeped in Wisdom, who had inherited a Law and temple critical gospel from Stephen which they added to the Exaltation, Atonement kerygma of the earliest community 'aided and abetted' it. If Jesus' death and resurrection had effectively put to death the law, the greatest repository of Wisdom, then he likewise must be seen to have

¹Reginald H.Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*, 254.

²In a letter Hengel writes, 'Als missionar beginnt [Paulus] bereits in Arabien, etwa im Jahr bis ca. 35/36 und auch in Damaskus selbst. Heiden wurden in der Form von Gottesfürchtigen durch die Hellenisten und den frühesten Paulus angesprochen.' (itals. mine). See also idem, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 73. In fairness to Fuller it must be noted that he is very critical of Hahn's reliance at times on the influence of the Hellenistic Gentile world (idem., *Foundations*, 69). However, as we have previously stated, Fuller still allows for some of the world-view of the Hellenistic Gentile to have 'penetrated' what he has described as the altogether Jewish character of the mission to the Gentiles.

taken over the functions of Wisdom, one of which was pre-existence. And all the while the Spirit kept pouring itself out on these endeavours manifesting itself in the singing of hymns based on the messianic psalms.

However much Fuller and Hengel disagree as to the appropriate paradigms and the whys and wherefores of pre-existence they remain in absolute agreement on three matters: 1) The transition from Functional to Ontic Christology represents continuity; 2) a fully Ontic Christology was completely in place by the time of the Pauline mission; and 3) that the font and origin of all christological reflection was the resurrection, since it was the resurrection which 'inspired' exaltation kerygmata, and that exaltation kerygmata in turn necessitated pre-existence and the bestowal of the divine name so that the uniqueness, the once-for-all nature of God's act in Christ might be preserved. Exaltation alone does not entirely preserve Jesus' uniqueness. Pre-existence and bearing the divine name guarantees Jesus' distinction from all the sons of God above whom he has been raised. In the end exaltation, pre-existence, sharing the divine name seem the least inadequate ways of describing one in whom the Kingdom of God was present, one who 'dared to act in the place of God'.

Thus far we have left unexamined the relationship between the historical Jesus, the Jesus of the synoptic tradition, the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel, and any question as to the sociological differences between the Christian community and first century Judaism. In our discussion of Fuller and Hengel we have more or less assumed that christology was wholly the result of certain persons' encounter with the numinous. In other words, were there other factors besides Jesus' resurrection from the dead and the eschatological outpouring of the Spirit which contributed to the full deification of Jesus as represented in the Fourth Gospel?

Any argument for continuity as opposed to discontinuity cannot be complete until this document, where Jesus' pre-existence, incarnation and

deity are unambiguously proclaimed, is studied. I have put this off until now because little space was given to this subject in the writings we have discussed. Fuller and Hengel, though, did make some significant comments on this matter. According to Fuller the *katabasis* Christology of the Prologue is not derived from the Greek philosophical tradition of the Stoics but is the result of Logos speculation within Hellenistic Judaism-it is, in other words, a wholly Jewish phenomenon³; and the whole of the gospel can be seen as an outgrowth of Mt. 11: 25ff.⁴ Then in an essay not studied Hengel reminds us that the Johannine Son Christology is not the result of any syncretistic twisting of the simple message of Jesus by the early church,

It is, rather, the final mature conclusion of a spiritual development that, along with the messianic preaching of the kingdom of God and Jesus' unique relationship to God, introduces a relationship that manifests in Jesus' prayer address, 'Abba', 'dear Father'.⁵

And while Crossan does not attribute any of the Johannine sayings to the historical Jesus⁶ (neither of course do Fuller and Hengel), he does locate the miracles recorded in Jn. 2-9 in his all-important first stratum.⁷

However, when we come to Geza Vermes and P.M. Casey, particularly the latter, another aspect of the Third Quest, one that is severely critical of the Johannine Jesus, emerges. Their comments regarding what they perceive as the discontinuity between the historical Jesus, the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel and the Christ of church and faith which distressed Bultmann not at all⁸ hark

³Fuller, *Foundations*, 224.

⁴Ibid., 115.

⁵Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology*, 369.

⁶Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, xiii-xxvi.

⁷Ibid., 429.

⁸Of the need for continuity between the message of Jesus and the message about Jesus we remember that Bultmann wrote that,

...[I]t is important to bear in mind that if the fact should be established that Jesus was conscious of being the Messiah...that would only establish a historical fact, not prove

back to the spirit, though not entirely the letter, of Harnack's premise that the christological process was no less than the history of the suppression of the historical Jesus by the pre-existent Christ and Schoep's dictum that the $\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ of Pauline thought is based entirely on a 'heathen premise' of gnostic heavenly beings.⁹ To be fair to Casey, even though he regards pre-existence as one step closer to the deity of Jesus, that is one step closer to the complete betrayal of the founder of the Jesus Movement, in his major christological work, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*, which we will study in some depth in this section, he locates this phenomenon squarely within Second Temple Judaism,

...where everyone's souls were believed to exist before they entered bodies, and this belief is probably predicated of all the righteous in the Similitudes of Enoch (see 1 En. 39. 4ff; 70:4). Pre-existence in a stronger sense was attributed to Enoch himself, who was named and hidden before the creation of the world (see 1 En.43. 3,6; 62.7).¹⁰

Of the relation between the synoptic Jesus and the Johannine Jesus Vermes writes,

...according to basic church doctrine Christianity is a historical religion in which knowledge of the divine Christ and the mysteries of heaven springs from the words and deeds of a first century A.D. Galilean Jew...Everything told about him originates...in the earlier Synoptic Gospels...[T]hey are generally less remote than the Jesus of History in time and style of

an article of faith...[T]he acknowledgment of Jesus as the one in whom God's word decisively encounters man...is a pure act of faith independent of the answer to the historical question whether or not Jesus considered himself the Messiah. (idem, *Theology*, 1: 26)

⁹Hengel, *Son of God*, 3ff.

¹⁰P.M. Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*, 80.

presentation than the last of the four, the *spiritual* Gospel of John the Divine (itals. mine).¹¹

Concerning the discontinuity between Son of God Christology and the historical Jesus, Vermes says,

Whether Jesus himself would have reacted [to Son of God or God] with stupefaction, anger or grief, can never be known. One thing, however, is sure. When Christianity later set out to define the meaning of *Son of God* in its Creed...[it] drew its inspiration not from the pure language and teaching of the Galilean Jesus, nor even from Paul the Diaspora Jew, but from a Gentile-Christian interpretation of the Gospel adapted to the mind of the totally alien world of pagan Hellenism.¹²

Even though Vermes admits that the author of the Fourth Gospel shows 'understandable diffidence' in bridging the gulf between the Messiah as Son of God by adoption (which Vermes says is a cherished formula inspired by Galilean religious and political fervour) and the Messiah as God by nature, no attempt such as this is made in the Synoptic Gospels.¹³

When we come to P.M. Casey we find not only a major indictment of Johannine Christology, '[The] Jesus [of the Fourth Gospel] was...a figure so elevated that observant Jews such as Jesus of Nazareth and the first apostles could not believe in him'¹⁴, but more important we have a detailed study of the *sociological* factors which contributed to the transformation of a Jewish Prophet, who, like Borg's teacher of subversive wisdom, was the founder of a revitalization movement, a movement and sect which our author describes as continuing Jesus' uniquely prophetic ministry (unique, that is, for Second

¹¹Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 16.

¹²Ibid., 213.

¹³Ibid., 212.

¹⁴Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 159.

Temple Judaism) of calling Jewish sinners through preaching and exorcisms to return to the Lord¹⁵, into a Gentile God.

Unlike Borg's and Crossan's non-eschatological Jesus, Casey has little doubt but that Jesus believed in the imminence of 'the end of normal human history.'¹⁶ The fact that Jesus was apparently wrong bothers Casey not in the slightest. So were other of Jesus' contemporaries who predicted God's apocalyptic intervention; Jesus' 'incorrect' prediction of the Parousia serves only to strengthen Casey's argument that Jesus was in every way a Second Temple Jew struggling under Roman occupation; his was not the mistake of a madman but of a profoundly religious Jew. That he was wrong only serves to underscore Casey's conviction that the Chalcedonian Fathers were wrong to say he was divine.¹⁷

Casey explains the phenomenon of ontic Christianity in terms of community self-identity. Ever since the crucifixion the Jesus movement felt compelled to raise Jesus' status, to apply to him a range of theological functions which would have been inappropriate to one who was still visibly present.¹⁸ However, because the Jesus Movement saw itself as a movement of Jews for Jews it could not go so far as to proclaim his divinity. Paul the Apostle might encourage Gentiles to be admitted to this fellowship without being circumcised, but as long as he did not deify Jesus or encourage his converts to do so, the essential character of the movement remained undisturbed.

However, according to Casey, when the Johannine community became increasingly Gentile in its ethnicity following the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. and the ascendancy of Pharisaic Judaism with its adherence to the Law and Jewish identity¹⁹ further strained its relations with its Jewish origins,

¹⁵Ibid., 59ff.

¹⁶Ibid., 171.

¹⁷Ibid., 174.

¹⁸Ibid., 74f.

¹⁹Ibid., 35.

it felt less compelled to maintain its Jewishness and so hailed Jesus as God²⁰, thereby effecting total Gentile self-identification. Once the Johannine community had reiterated Jesus' pre-existence (Casey does not regard pre-existence as necessarily contrary to Second Temple Judaism; Phil. 2:6-11 indicates high status but not necessarily full deity.²¹) and expanded it with incarnation and deity it was only a matter of time before the rest of the church did the same.

Even though Casey consistently uses the word development to describe the emergence of Johannine Christology, we do not believe that he would have any qualms in using the word evolution to delineate the phenomenon of ontic and ontological christology. The movement from the historical Jesus to the synoptic Jesus he might liken to the emergence of multicelled marine life from unicellular forms; the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, because of its overwhelmingly Gentile perspective, is to the Jesus Movement what air-breathing mammals are to marine invertebrates.

In his introduction to *From Jewish Prophet* Casey states that the discussions subsequent to the publication in 1977 of *The Myth of God Incarnate* produced no convincing account of the origins and development of New Testament Christology.²² These Cadbury Lectures represent an original and valuable approach to this subject. While *From Jewish Prophet* overlooks two major factors, the power of the Spirit manifesting itself in worship and the singing of hymns based on the messianic psalms, and the uniqueness of Jesus' use of 'Abba', its approach to christology via a social history of community identity is timely and relevant in that it takes into account the human element in christological formulations, an aspect of christology minimized by Fuller and Hengel. *From Jewish Prophet* reminds us of two things: that theology has its horizontal as well as its vertical dimension; and that all theological

²⁰Ibid., 37.

²¹Ibid., 112.

²²Ibid., 9.

statements are inherently flawed, that they barely touch the hem of the garment of the revelation of God in Jesus. When human beings respond to divine revelation they respond as creatures touched by the Holy Spirit and conditioned by their environment. Casey gives us an important glimpse into the environment which produced the unambiguously high christology of the Fourth Gospel. What he ultimately fails to do is to show the continuity of this Gospel with what he would certainly describe as the spirit of Jesus induced christology of the synoptic tradition.

Any New Testament scholar who desires to study as christology from a sociological as well as from an existential, pneumatic, numinous perspective, 'to see ourselves as others see us', 'desireth a good thing.' Casey perhaps overstates the Fourth Gospel's portrait of Jews by failing to note that Jesus is portrayed throughout as thoroughly Jewish²³ and by refusing to admit the possibility that those passages where the enemies of Jesus are not the scribes and Pharisees but apparently the whole Jewish nation (e.g. 6:41, 52) might simply be one of many examples of polemical literature written during a highly polemical time when people other than Christians were being expelled from the synagogue. If we had the writings of other groups which were ethnically more Jewish than Christianity was at the time of the *Birkit-ha-minim* we might find similar harsh language being used against their Jewish persecutors and would be able to assess more accurately the sometimes apparent anti-Jewishness of this gospel. He also oversimplifies the Fourth Gospel's seeming lack of continuity with the Synoptic Gospels, a matter which we will discuss in some detail later on. However, Casey's attempt to see the rise of Christianity from a Jewish perspective will force future scholars once again to study the roots of Christian anti-Semitism. As one reviewer

²³The Jesus of the Fourth Gospel keeps all festivals, he says to the Samaritan woman...ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν. (4:22) Casey has no reference to this passage in his book. Nor does Jesus enter the house of a Gentile military officer (4:50-also overlooked by Casey) but heals his son from a distance.

aptly put it, 'The problems with this book...should not allow one to dismiss too quickly the questions which C. raises, particularly about those anti-Jewish tendencies in a high christology.'²⁴

We also believe that the Fourth Gospel shows prudence in describing Jesus' divinity. This aspect of his nature is carefully balanced with his humanity; it is never described as something he possesses apart from his relationship with his father. As the anarthous θεός (in contrast to τὸν θεόν in 1^b, another fact which Casey overlooks) in 1^c suggests, the Word is not the Father.²⁵ In spite of this and other omissions, Casey challenges the biblical scholar to interpret the Fourth Gospel as the basis of a possible fruitful dialogue with Judaism, particularly about the relationship between Pharisaic Judaism and other kinds of Judaism existing at the close of the first century C.E.

P.M. Casey and the Deification of Jesus

The ten chapters of *From Jewish Prophet* trace the development of a Jewish prophet and revitalization movement founder into a pre-existent heavenly being of near divine status and the evolution of this highly exalted one into a Gentile God. This *oeuvre* is also the story of how this prophet's band of followers who originally saw themselves as a continuation of Jesus' radical Judaism became the earthly embodiment of his deified body.

Here, in part, is Casey's interpretation of the message of the historical Jesus which he, Casey, perceives not as a presupposition of the theology of the New Testament²⁶, nor as something containing the 'raw materials of christology'²⁷, nor yet as something whose explicit eschatological-messianic

²⁴From a review of *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God* by A.D. Jacobson in *CBQ* 55 (1993), 802.

²⁵Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John i-xii*, 24.

²⁶Bultmann, *Theology*, 1: 3.

²⁷Fuller, *Mission and Achievement*, 79.

content necessitated an unparalleled post-Easter majesty²⁸, but as a message which was transformed by the New Testament, particularly by the Fourth Gospel, into a 'final product' bearing little resemblance to what was originally intended and proclaimed.

I have noted that Jesus took the good news to sinners. To reach them, it was necessary to ignore orthodox development of purity legislation, for this made it impossible to make contact with Jesus who did not maintain a state of ritual purity...By Old Testament laws Jesus had done nothing wrong. He might become unclean, if he was not unclean already; but the Pentateuchal Law does not always object to people becoming unclean in such ways; it tells them to be made clean again...All this was perceived to be obedience to the Law of God himself...Sooner or later Jesus was bound to attack orthodox tradition for the separation it enforced...If orthodox Jews sought reassurance in Jesus' ethical teaching they did not find it...It was against this background that Jesus went up to Jerusalem for the last time, knowing full well that he was about to die...[When Jesus] overturned the tables of the money changers...[Such a thing] would be perceived as secular activities being carried on...in the Court of the Gentiles...[in order to restore it] to its proper purpose...it was predictable that Jesus' action would lead to a clash with the Temple authorities and entirely possible that the Romans would have been called in...Jesus' death likewise was to be an expiatory sacrifice which assuaged the wrath of God and enabled him to redeem Israel despite her faults.²⁹

Casey notes that there is nothing specifically unjewish in this message; there is nothing here that the classical prophets from Amos to Jeremiah would have found objectionable or irregular. Jesus does not appear as one opposed to the Law itself, but only to certain areas of *halakah*.

²⁸Hengel, *Studies*, 217.

²⁹Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 62, 63, 64, 65.

I agree with the way in which Casey's interpretation of ritual purity, that uncleanness *per se* is not always evil. At times one could not avoid becoming unclean; what mattered most was becoming clean again. I also find refreshing the lack of any projection of Lutheranism's *entweder oder* onto first century Christianity, a theology supposedly derived from Paul's releasing all Christians from obedience to ritual and purity aspects of Torah, when in fact he meant only to release Gentiles from certain aspects of *halakah* ; there is no indication in his, Paul's, writings that Jewish Christians were free from the written Torah.

In his detailed reply to Casey, J.D. G. Dunn writes,

The problem [with Casey's understanding of Second Temple Judaism] is exacerbated by introduction of the concept of 'orthodoxy'. For the reality of the matter is that different groups within late Second Temple Judaism regarded themselves as in effect the only truly 'orthodox', the only truly loyal to the covenant and to the law. Their faithfulness to a Zadokite priesthood, their observation of (what they regarded) as the (only) correctly calculated feasts, their commitment to their own sectarian *halakah* (interpretation of the law) all carried the corollary in different degrees that the other sects, and probably the larger mass of Jewish people were 'unorthodox'...Such factionalism...can be...seen...in such writings as 1 Enoch, Jubilees, the Psalms of Solomon and the Testament of Moses. By using the term 'orthodox' of the Pharisees (61-64) Casey is viewing the time of Jesus from a post-70 rabbinic perspective...³⁰

Casey seems to think that everyone strict about *halakah* would be against anyone not observant, and this is a plausible observation; but he misses an important point that other groups observing different *halakah* , groups such as the Pharisees and Essenes, might be more hostile to each other

³⁰J.D.G. Dunn, 'The Making of Christology-Evolution or Unfolding' in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ; Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology* , ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner, 441.

than they might be towards non-observant Jews. The conflict in Second Temple Judaism at the time of Jesus was not so much between observant and non-observant Jews as it was between groups each claiming to uphold the correct reading of *halakah*. In other words, it was not that Jesus failed to observe *halakah* that brought him into conflict with the authorities, but that his interpretation of *halakah* was different from theirs.

When discussing the relationship of Jesus to Second Temple Judaism³¹ Casey appears to retreat to an *entweder oder* scenario when he describes Orthodoxy as a single party, or as a wing³², united against Jesus. We simply do not have detailed information about Jesus' relation to other groups which considered themselves to be the right upholders of *halakah*, groups such as the Essenes or the Fourth Philosophy, to make such a statement. Casey also gives the impression that Jesus and his followers did not consider themselves to be upholding the right interpretation of *halakah*, or else to be uninterested in *halakah*. On the contrary, in its very early stages Christianity regarded itself as the one true Judaism, the only Judaism faithful to the Covenant and the Law. See for example the climax of Stephen's speech (Acts 7: 51-53) which could be either an example of Stephen's own theology or an aspect of the post-Easter kerygma.

In chapter 2, 'Modes of Analysis', Casey states his thesis and method. His thesis is not only a new understanding of Jesus but a new method in tracing theological developments. His thesis is in six parts: 1) The relationship between Identity and Theology is one of cause and effect; 2) sociological factors make theological development (or evolution) possible or impossible; 3) it is important to make a distinction between christological developments which were not unjewish, such as messiahship, atonement, exaltation, pre-existence and the one which was unjewish, the full divinity of Jesus; 4) while

³¹Ibid., 62, 63, 64, 65.

³²Ibid., 61.

Jesus of Nazareth did not intend to establish a 'theology of himself', his ministry made messiahship, atonement, exaltation and pre-existence necessary; because these developments did not infringe Jewish monotheism they were acceptable within Second Temple Judaism; 5) the full deity of Jesus was not necessitated by the ministry of Jesus nor by the christology of the synoptic gospels but by the world-view of Gentile converts and the need of the Johannine Community to define itself against post-Yavneh Pharisaic Judaism; and 6) because the divinity of Jesus was not a part of his message nor of the christology of the synoptic tradition this could not take place until the Jesus Movement had lost its Jewish identity. What I intend to show is that Jesus' forgiveness of sins, a forgiveness which went beyond the bounds of the law, almost guaranteed that at some point his divinity would be unambiguously proclaimed. We will attempt to show in this chapter that such proclamation began in the synoptic tradition, in Mk. 4: 41; 6: 48, 50; and Matthew 8: 2 when the Jesus Movement was a recognizably Jewish phenomenon.

Casey's method is to study the rise of christology as the result of the erosion and disappearance of the following eight Jewish identity factors: ethnicity, scripture, monotheism, circumcision, Sabbath observance, dietary laws, purity laws, and major festivals:

Anyone who scores 0/8 is clearly Gentile...It would make no difference...if such a person wrote a *midrash* or contributed to a collection for the poor in Jerusalem. Secondly, anyone who scores 8/8 is clearly Jewish...It would not matter if he healed on the sabbath, or refused to attend the Temple on the grounds that the priesthood was illegitimate and corrupt. Some Jews might disapprove of him...but he would certainly be Jewish in their eyes...³³

³³Ibid., 12f.

In chapter 3, 'God Incarnate-Jesus in the Johannine Community', we are introduced to the factor which made the break between Judaism and Christianity, as well as between history and truth³⁴, complete and irreversible- the deification of Jesus of Nazareth.

Casey rejects outright the recent trend among scholars which seeks to demonstrate that John had access to historical information unavailable to Mark, Matthew and Luke; instead he takes up the cause of the 'traditional' (i.e., nineteenth century) view that the Fourth Gospel is a historical fabrication.³⁵ In his defence of the collective nineteenth century assumption that whereas the synoptics were historically reliable John was not, our author rests his case on: 1) the absence of 'Son' or 'Son of God' sayings in the synoptics³⁶; 2) the lack of any reference to Jesus' pre-existence in the synoptics³⁷; 3) the absence in the synoptics of such post-resurrection functions as answering of prayer and the sending of the Paraclete³⁸; 4) the fact that the Eucharistic discourses in chapter six have no parallel in the early accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper³⁹; and 5) that the 'I am' sayings are wholly without precedent.⁴⁰ According to Casey the Fourth Gospel is not about Jesus of Nazareth, but is the story of how a Christian community consisting of both Jews and Gentile perceived Jesus of Nazareth and thereby lost its Jewish identity. In its final form it is a book written for Gentiles by someone who had Gentile self-identification.⁴¹

³⁴Ibid., 163,

The rewriting of history is most obvious towards the end [of the Chalcedonian definition of Faith]: 'Following therefore the holy Fathers, we confess one and the same Son, and we teach...that he is perfect in deity and humanity...as the prophets of old and Jesus Christ himself instructed us concerning him.' (162f)...He did nothing of the kind. To be fair to the Fathers of the Council, they knew the Gospel of John as an account of Jesus' ministry, and some of them took it literally. Yet we should not bend over backwards in defence of them.

³⁵Ibid., 24.

³⁶He notes, of course, the following exceptions: Mk. 13: 32; Mt. 11:27, par. (Ibid., 25).

³⁷Ibid., 25.

³⁸Ibid., 25.

³⁹Ibid., 25f.

⁴⁰Ibid., 26.

⁴¹Ibid., 27.

Casey perceives the history of the Johannine community to be the clue to the meaning of the Fourth Gospel; that is the Fourth Gospel is not the history of Jesus of Nazareth but the history of the relationship between the Johannine community and the synagogue: the reader learns very little about Jesus of Nazareth but a great deal about the Johannine community. The Fourth Gospel is not the *Historie* of Jesus of Nazareth told as *Geschichte*, as are the synoptics, but the *Geschichte* of that unique community:

This question [whether the presentation of Jesus of Nazareth in the fourth (sic) Gospel is historically inaccurate] is crucial for plotting out the development of New Testament christology. I therefore argue next that the unique aspects of John's christology are the product of the Johannine Community, and that these developments can be located in changes which took place in that community.⁴²

Our author likens the formation of the Fourth Gospel to that of Deutero-Isaiah and the Book of Jubilees. In both instances the author (or authors) repeated, interpreted, reapplied and brought to life the teachings of one who had been considered to have been the fountainhead of the community's traditions; with Deutero-Isaiah it was the prophet Isaiah himself; with respect to Jubilees it was Moses and the Law.⁴³

It was therefore not without precedent for John to follow the same pattern and attribute his sect's beliefs to Jesus himself. Like the prophet of the Exile and the author of Jubilees who tell us far more about the Exile and the milieu of Jubilees than of eighth century Israel and the Exodus, the Fourth Gospel reveals far more about the *Historie* of the Johannine community becoming a sectarian Gentile movement than it does about the *Historie* of Jesus of Nazareth.⁴⁴

⁴²Ibid., 25.

⁴³Ibid., 27.

⁴⁴Ibid., 27.

In the same vein as scholars such as J.L. Martyn, R.E. Brown⁴⁵, and R. Culpepper, some of the 'discoverers' and 'definers' of the community of the Fourth Gospel, Casey appears to concede that this gospel, like Matthew and Luke, is the product of a redactor who used sources available to him. However, Matthew and Luke had sources which had been in general circulation, the Gospel according to Mark and Q; on the other hand John's sources were, in all likelihood, the sole property of his community.

What passages in John are evidence that this gospel is essentially the story of how an ethnically mixed Christian community achieved Gentile self-identification? First, there is the use of the term 'the Jews'. Even though in a majority of passages 'the Jews' refers to the enemies of Jesus⁴⁶, the real sense of the phrase is that it is the description of an outside group (cf. 13:33⁴⁷), distinct in every way from 'the disciples'. The distinction between 'the Jews' and 'the disciples' is reinforced when Jesus, in speaking to 'the Jews' says, 'your Law', and when speaking to 'the disciples' says, 'their Law'.⁴⁸ Other evidence of Gentile self-identification is found in John 10: 16-17, 'And I have other sheep which are not of this fold...' The 'other sheep' are, of course, Gentiles; this passage is a reference to their entering the movement, a process which could not take place while Jesus was alive.⁴⁹ Then there is 11: 51-52, the high priest's declaration that one person should die for the nation and the subsequent interpretation of that declaration, 'He did not say this of his own accord, but since he was high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus would die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but so that he might gather together the scattered children of God into one group.' The 'scattered children of God' could not refer to diaspora Jews, but only to Gentiles, 'since

⁴⁵Unlike some 'community scholars' Raymond E. Brown in *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* is unusual in arguing for the unique role of the Beloved Disciple in the formation of the Gospel. See *ibid.*, 22f., fn. 31; 31ff.

⁴⁶Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 27.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 28.

diaspora Jews belonged to "the nation" or "the people" just as much as Judaeans Jews.⁵⁰ What we are reading in these passages is not the history of Jesus of Nazareth but the history of the increasing Gentile self-identification of the Johannine community.

We can also see the *Roman à Clef* nature of the Fourth Gospel in: 1) 9:22 where the parents of a man healed by Jesus are afraid that if anyone confessed Jesus as Christ that person would be expelled from the synagogue; 2) in 12:42-43 where it says that many of the authorities believed in him, but they were afraid to say so for fear of the Pharisees, and 3) 16:2 where the redactor writes, 'They will put you out of the synagogue. In deed, an hour is coming when those who kill you will think that by doing so they are offering worship to God.' Casey perceived that these verses do not refer to anything that happened in Jesus' earthly ministry nor do they reflect the situation in post-Easter Jerusalem as described in the opening chapters of Acts, but are indicative of the situation that existed in the diaspora in 80-85 C.E. following the *Birkit-ha-minim*, the 'Blessing of the Heretics', which was introduced into the Eighteen Benedictions as the result of a request made in Yavneh to Samuel the Small by Gamaliel II.⁵¹

Casey also questions the historicity of the passages, because at no time during the life of Jesus would confessing anyone to be the Messiah have been

⁵⁰Ibid., 28.

⁵¹Ibid., 31. Casey seems to assume that the *Birkit-ha-minim* was intended for immediate use throughout the diaspora. However, as Professor Richard Bauckham has pointed out, the Benediction against the Heretics was more than likely intended for Jews and Palestinian Jewish Christians who had survived the holocaust of 70 C.E. See idem, 'The Parting of the Ways: What Happened and Why?' *ST* 47 (1993): 135-51,

The rabbis at Yavneh set out to delegitimize all other kinds of Judaism, including Jewish Christianity (this was the purpose of the *Birkit-ha-minim*). They probably did not succeed fully in *Palestine* until the third century, in the Diaspora much more slowly and not fully until the early middle ages. (See P.S. Alexander, 'The Parting of the Ways' from the Perspective of Rabbinic Judaism' in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70 to 135*, ed. James D.G. Dunn, 20-21) The opposition of the rabbis to Jewish Christianity was important for the fate of Jewish Christianity in Palestine, but it is unlikely to have been the major factor in the estrangement of Jews and Christians in the Diaspora. (p. 136)

cause for persecution or death.⁵² Therefore the deity of Jesus did not originate in anything that he said or did, in his death or in his resurrection, but in the Johannine Community's need to identify itself against post-Yavneh Pharisaic Judaism:

This Gentile self-identification was a necessary cause of belief in the deity of Jesus, a belief which could not be held as long as the Christian community was primarily Jewish.⁵³

The Case for the Historical Jesus

Casey begins his study of the historical Jesus in much the same way as Fuller began his in *Mission and Foundations* with an analysis of christological titles. Casey limits himself to three: Messiah, Son of God and Son of man. In each instance he asks to what degree did Jesus appropriate the title for himself.⁵⁴

With the possible exception of Son of God, the title most frequently associated with Jesus in Christian confession is Messiah, Christos. Casey would appear to agree with Fuller's analysis of Mk. 8: 27-33 where, according to Fuller's reconstruction, Jesus emphatically rejects the title.⁵⁵ However he goes considerably beyond Fuller's conclusions which accepted the historicity of the scene as a whole and argued elsewhere that after Jesus' death and resurrection he would assume the title.⁵⁶ As we shall see below, Casey believes that Messiah is unrelated to Jesus' ministry, his death or his resurrection.

According to Casey there are two views regarding Jesus' messianic consciousness, the 'traditional' and the 'radical'. The traditional view holds

⁵²Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 31.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 38.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 41.

⁵⁵Fuller, *Foundations*, 109. See Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 43.

⁵⁶Fuller, *Foundations*, 107.

that Jesus did consider himself to be the Messiah but refrained from using the title lest his followers consider him a David *redivivus*. According to this view only at his humiliation does Jesus accept the title, though modifying it somewhat with Son of man (Mk. 14: 61).⁵⁷

Then there is the 'radical' view which follows closely after Wrede's Markan Messianic Secret and claims that Jesus did not use Messiah for the simple reason that he did not believe he was the Messiah. Casey believes that while this view may indeed be on the right track it does not explain why the title appears so early in the New Testament.

Casey attempts to provide us with an answer as to why Jesus never uses the term (and therefore did not consider himself to be Messiah) and how it came to be used in Mark.

Jesus did not call himself Messiah because, says Casey, the term was unknown in Second Temple Judaism; or rather it was so vague as to be of no use whatsoever to Jesus. There were many anointed ones, i.e., the eschatological prophet and the Old Testament prophets, but no single 'the anointed'. Only after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. does the term narrow down to 'the' Messiah, that is, a Davidic deliverer.⁵⁸ Therefore Markan passages such as 8: 29-30 and 14: 61-62 were the creation of the church.⁵⁹

If Messiah was not part of Jesus' self-understanding by what authority did the post-Easter church apply it to Jesus? Apparently none, believes Casey. The reason had little to do with what Hengel described as a ministry conducted with 'messianic authority' or with what Fuller contended was a ministry through which God was establishing his eschatological kingdom, or with Jesus' resurrection which, according to Hengel, overturned his

⁵⁷Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 42.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 42f.

⁵⁹Casey apparently would not agree with Hengel that the profusion of 'anointed' in Second Temple Judaism, particularly in the Qumran literature, is evidence of a highly variegated Messianic Haggada.

conviction as a messianic pretender (like Bultmann, Casey does not regard the *cause poenae* as in any way messianic⁶⁰) and, according to Fuller, transformed the Proclaimer into the Proclaimed One. The use of 'anointed' in Second Temple Judaism to describe various types of prophets provided a term which the church could adapt for its own purposes as the true embodiment, the legitimate continuation of the prophetic Judaism of Jesus of Nazareth⁶¹; and Jesus the Messiah also provided a way for the church to proclaim his superiority to other figures.⁶²

Casey has little difficulty in locating the origin of Son of God; there is no doubt in his mind that it belongs to the New Testament Church and not in any way to the historical Jesus. The only 'son' saying which our author believes can be attributed to Jesus is what he describes, without any elaboration, as the purely parabolic, non-titular, Mk. 12:6.⁶³

There are two titular Son sayings which are attributed to the historical Jesus: the first is Mk. 13:32, 'But concerning that day or hour no-one knows, neither the angels in heaven nor the Son, but only the Father.', and the second is the so-called 'Johannine thunderbolt', Mt. 11:27, par. (Q), 'All things have been given me by my Father, and no-one knows the Son except the Father, nor does anyone know the Father except the Son and anyone to whom the Son wishes to reveal him.'

The standard defence for the authenticity of the Markan saying has relied on the Criterion of Embarrassment, that the evangelist (or the church) would not have produced a saying displaying a Jesus who was not omniscient. However, Casey believes that if 'the Son' were an authentic

⁶⁰Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 43f.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 44.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 106.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 46. But cf. Richard Bauckham, 'The Sonship of the Historical Jesus in Christology' *SJOT* (31) 1978,

...it is hard to believe that Jesus was unaware of its ['son'] allegorical appropriateness, especially as he elsewhere alludes to the contrast of servant and son (Lk. 15.19) and uses it as an illustration (Jn. 8:35; cf. Mt. 17. 25f). (p. 252)

phrase it would appear more frequently on the lips of Jesus.⁶⁴ Satisfied of the inauthenticity of 'the Son' Casey then explains why the early church would have portrayed a less than all-knowing Jesus. Both the church and parts of Judaism of the time had been expecting the End which had apparently been delayed; the church merely retrojected to Jesus its own situation. Since the Christians of Mark's day had yet to articulate a christology of omniscience, 'The Son's ignorance was much easier to face than the delay of the Parousia.'⁶⁵

In his treatment of Mt. 11:27, par. Casey disregards previous attempts to argue for an authentic parabolic origin of this passage⁶⁶ or to locate its origins in Jesus' use of 'Abbā. .⁶⁷ Far from having its origins in any saying of Jesus, Casey strongly suggests a diaspora location. Following a successful Hellenistic mission, one of the main needs of the church was to legitimize the view that Christians, rather than Jews, had formed a covenant community; it must therefore be Christians, rather than Jews, who knew the Father. Casey concluded that, like Mk. 13:32, the Q *logion* was a product of the early church around the time of the Pauline epistles when 'the Son' had become a significant christological title.⁶⁸

There are a few instances when Son of God can be traced to Jesus' ministry, such a one is Mk. 5:7 where the Gerasene demoniac applies this title to Jesus. Casey believes this passage to have originated during the time of Jesus, but he incorrectly reasons that the demoniac was not using it in any

⁶⁴Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 44. Casey does not believe that there is anything distinctive in Jesus' use of Father and of his teaching his disciples to call God Father (see idem, *From Jewish Prophet*, 60). I have tried to show in ch. 2 that the use of Father without 'modifiers' such as God and Lord does reveal a sonship which goes beyond the sonship which was the natural property of every Israelite. I believe there are two reasons why the synoptic Jesus does not use 'son' more: 1) his distinctive sonship was already given expression in his unparalleled use of Father; and 2) just as it would have been inappropriate for him to call himself Messiah until God had proclaimed him as such so it would not have been suitable for him to have called himself Son of God until God had revealed him so.

⁶⁵Ibid., 45.

⁶⁶Cf. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 45ff. and Bauckham, 'Historical Jesus in Christology', 245-60, esp. 251f.

⁶⁷Fuller, *Foundations*, 115 and Bauckham, *ibid.*, 251.

⁶⁸Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 46.

christological or confessional sense, but only as a form of address appropriate to an exceedingly righteous man.⁶⁹ Based on Mk. 1:34, καὶ οὐκ ἤφινεν λαλεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια, ὅτι ἤδεισαν αὐτόν, Mark must surely mean that the demoniac speaks with the supernatural knowledge of demons.

One of Casey's most illuminating and original sections is his treatment of the Son of man sayings.

This phrase appears 69 times in the synoptic gospels, 14 of which belong exclusively to Mark; and after parallels are discounted there are 38 independent synoptic Son of man sayings. This term, which we shall see Casey regards as a generic self-referent when used by the historical Jesus, somewhat similar to Fuller's 'a guy'⁷⁰, also appears 13 times in the Gospel according to John.⁷¹

In 1977 C.F.D. Moule argued that while Son of man was not a title for Jesus it was his unique way of referring to his vocation as the true Israel described in Dn. 7: 13, an Israel that is obedient, 'through thick and thin', to God's designs.⁷² He also makes a special, almost solitary⁷³, plea for the historical significance of the definite, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Moule says that what lies behind its unique application to 'son of man' is some Aramaic phrase that meant not Son of man, but *The* Son of man and referred directly to Daniel's 'one like a son of man'. He therefore believes that when we read of Jesus' using ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου we are not looking at something which the post-Easter church put into his mouth but a phrase which Jesus himself used to describe his vocation as the martyred and vindicated Israel.

The early church, pondering on the traditions of his sayings, began to see the significance of these for their own role: there

⁶⁹Ibid., 46.

⁷⁰Reginald H. Fuller, 'The Son of Man: A Reconsideration', in *The Living Text*, ed. Dennis E. Groh and Robert Jewett, 210.

⁷¹Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 46.

⁷²C.F. D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology*, 14.

⁷³Ibid., 11, fn. 1.

was development of insight. But I see no sign of the phrase's having been 'evolved from Jesus' ' own usage.⁷⁴

Casey's 1977 Ph.D. dissertation, published in 1979 as *Son of Man :The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* , was an attempt to study and evaluate a familiar theory regarding the gospel use of Son of man: that this term's presence in the gospels is derived ultimately from Dn. 7: 13, and that this heavenly figure should suffer.⁷⁵

The latter theory was advanced by Moule in 1952 when he argued that,

...the saints are symbolised by the Human One - not identified with, but represented by him; and if the saints are partially and temporally eclipsed, only to be subsequently glorified, then exactly the same may be presumed to be appropriately predicated of the Human figure... ' "[T]he son of man" already means the representative people of God's chosen people, destined through suffering to be exalted. ' ⁷⁶

Casey disagrees with Moule for two reasons: the man-like figure is a symbol of triumph; there is nothing in the text to warrant a presumption of suffering; and the phrase *The Son of man* does not occur in Daniel at all, only a figure 'like a Son of Man'.⁷⁷ Rather the 'man-like' figure is a pure symbol of the 'Saints of the Most High', the faithful and victorious people of Israel; he does not, as Moule believes, represent them in the sufferings, but only in their sovereignty over Antiochus Epiphanes and the Macedonians. This dominion, says Casey, will be achieved not through suffering but through divine intervention.⁷⁸

⁷⁴Ibid., 22.

⁷⁵Casey, *Son of Man* , 1.

⁷⁶Moule, *The Phenomenon of the New Testament* , 89. This view was also advanced by Morna Hooker in *The Son of Man in Mark* , 27ff., 190, 192, a view which Moule is in complete agreement (*Origin* , 14 and fn. 10).

⁷⁷Casey, *Son of Man* , 38, 39.

⁷⁸Ibid., 39f.

Therefore the presence of Dn. 7:13 is not to be found when $\acute{o} \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ is used in sayings which allude to Jesus' suffering. In fact *Son of Man* concludes that Dn. 7 can account for only a very small percentage of the Son of man sayings in the gospels⁷⁹, and most, if not all, of these refer not to his suffering and humiliation but to his role at the End.⁸⁰ While Casey has no doubt but that Jesus used the idiom *br/ 'ns* (since it was a common Aramaic idiom he could hardly have avoided it), he used it only with reference to himself as a generic self-referent, 'someone like me' or 'just as "such and such" are true for all people, "such and such" are likewise true for me' (someone, myself included').

Eight years later in his Edward Cadbury Lectures and then five years to the publication of *From Jewish Prophet* Casey still argues for a non-titular use of Son of man.

He continues to question Vermes' description of *br/ 'ns* as a circumlocution for 'I'.⁸¹ In *Son of Man* Casey discussed Vermes' translation of *Gen. R.* 79, 6 $\text{נֶפֶשׁ דְּבָרָא וְשֶׁ 6}$ which can be translated as an implicit reference to the speaker, R. Simeon, 'How much less the soul of a son of man', as well as 'How much less for me'.⁸² Vermes claims that a variant reading, נֶפֶשׁ רַבִּי , justifies the circumlocution, as it suggests that was the sense of the original text. But Casey believes that a single variant is weak evidence for the original text having used Son of man as a circumlocution for 'I' or 'me'. None of Vermes' arguments based on this single alternative reading or parallel material in *Esth. R.* 3, 7⁸³ persuades Casey to alter his view of the idiom: that it was a way for the speaker to make a reference to the human condition, to the fate of humans, and to include himself in that condition, as a part of their

⁷⁹Ibid., 236.

⁸⁰Ibid., 238.

⁸¹Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 176.

⁸²Casey, *Son of Man*, 224.

⁸³Ibid., 225f.

fate: 'Foxes have holes, the birds of the air have trees, but people, including "a regular Joe like me", do not always have a place to lay their heads.' ⁸⁴

In *From Jewish Prophet* Casey offers an updated version of what he proposed in *Son of Man*.⁸⁵ After restating his objections to Vermes' reading of *br/ 'ns* as a conventional substitute for 'I', he proceeds to study what he believes are the authentic Son of man sayings in the synoptics.⁸⁶ In these passages, where Jesus speaks of his right and authority as a prophet to interpret *halakah*, he uses this idiom only as an indirect, generic self-referent.⁸⁷ According to Casey Jesus also uses *br/ 'ns* as a means to avoid unnecessary polemic in already emotionally charged situations such as the Beelzebub controversy (Mk. 3: 28, par.). Instead of saying 'God has given me power to forgive sins', 'Anyone who blasphemes me will be forgiven', he bypasses additional contention with indirect statements such as 'son of man' for 'me', 'everyone' for my opponents' and 'Spirit of holiness' for God.⁸⁸

Following these sayings Casey moves on to a study of four passion predictions, Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:45; 14:21. Whereas in the Beelzebub passages Jesus used Son of man to avoid any hint of arrogance in declaring his exalted status, in the original passion predictions (8:31; 10:45 and 14:21) where he refers to his death as an atoning sacrifice and expresses his confidence that God will vindicate him⁸⁹, the phrase is used in much the same way as in the 'Foxes have holes' saying: 'Just as God vindicates the death of his faithful martyrs so will he vindicate the death of a person like me.'

⁸⁴Ibid., 226.

⁸⁵Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 46-54.

⁸⁶Mk. 2:28; Lk. 12:8/Mt. 10: 32-33, Mk. 8:38//Mt. 8:20/Lk. 9:58//Mt. 8:19/ Lk. 9:57.

⁸⁷Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 49.

⁸⁸Ibid., 49f.

⁸⁹Ibid., 52.

9:31 and 10:33f, which Casey describe as a Christian *midrash* on the authentic sayings⁹⁰, are examples of the post-Easter church's enlarging upon the atoning nature of Jesus' sacrifice.⁹¹

Since the sayings concerning the parousia, Mk. 13:26; 14: 62; Mt. 24:44/Lk. 12:40; Mt. 10:23, use Son of man as a title, these verses are a product of the early church and cannot, according to Casey, have originated with the historical Jesus.⁹²

Casey has carved out a distinct place for himself among current opinion regarding *br/ 'ns* and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. He rejects the authenticity of the future sayings not because they are future, but for the simple reason that the idiom, as he understands it, does not work. He does, however, believe that Lk. 12:8 is authentic. He does not believe that Jesus is in any way speaking of himself as a future judge. Jesus, according to Casey, is using Son of man to say, 'Everyone who confesses me before men, a son of man, that is, individual people, will stand up and testify for or against anyone who is judged.'⁹³ He rejects any future use by Jesus of the idiom and would thus disagree with Fuller in *Foundations* that Jesus saw himself in any way as functioning as the Danielic Son of man; but he would agree with the 'later' Fuller in 'The Son of Man: A Reconsideration' who described *br/ 'ns* as a generic self-referent⁹⁴ and seriously questioned any reference to Dn. 7:13 in Lk. 12:8.⁹⁵ He disagrees with Moule that there was some idiom other than *bar nash* or *bar nasha*, and with anyone, Hengel for instance, who says that Jesus had in his mind Dn. 7: 13 when he used Son of man. He does accept the fact that the church had Dn. 7:13 in mind when it created some of the secondary sayings, but that these do not refer to Jesus' passion, only to his exaltation.

⁹⁰Ibid., 52.

⁹¹Ibid., 52.

⁹²Ibid., 52f.

⁹³Ibid., 50.

⁹⁴Groh and Jewett, *The Living Text*, 210

⁹⁵Ibid., 208.

Neither does he accept Vermes' theory that Son of man is, among other things, a circumlocution for 'I' or 'me'. According to Casey Son of man is a generic self-referent which Jesus uses to avoid arrogance and to include himself in the general fate of human beings.⁹⁶ In other words Jesus uses Son of man in passages where he expresses his conviction that God can authorize anyone whom he chooses to speak on his behalf, and that he has chosen such a one as mortal in every way as himself to preach good news of a forthcoming salvation.⁹⁷

Of Messiah, Son of God, Son of man, only the latter can be said to have played a part in Jesus' self-understanding, and here only as a non-titular, generic self-referent which he used to avoid arrogance in polemic situations such as the Beelzebub controversy, to include himself in the fate of mortals such as in the saying 'Foxes have holes', and, in Lk. 12: 8, to express confidence in his ultimate triumph. The church appropriated Messiah, Son of God and a titular Son of man (after Dn. 7:13, i.e., Mk. 8:38; 13:26; 14:62; Acts 7:56 and Rev. 1:13; 14:14) as changes in the sociological make-up of the Jesus Movement made it easier for its leaders to widen and deepen their perception of Jesus of Nazareth in the light of his death and resurrection, especially his resurrection, which the movement began almost immediately to interpret as God's vindication of Jesus' claims.

In chapter 5 Casey proceeds to discuss the relationship between what Jesus understood his mission to be and the subsequent Ontic Christology which evolved from that mission.

Five sections of this chapter, 'The Kingdom of God', 'The Mission to the Lost Sheep', 'Conflict with the Orthodox', 'Death and Vindication', and

⁹⁶Delbert Burkett, in 'The Nontitular Son of Man: A History and Critique', *NTS* 40 (1994): 504-21, has evaluated Casey's and others' studies of the non-titular use of Son of man and has found them wanting. However, his analysis suffers from the fact that he simply takes it for granted that the New Testament use of Son of man is titular, and because it is all the other theories lack any substantial basis. (p.520)

⁹⁷Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 55.

'Prophet and Teacher', are spent discussing the contents of Jesus' message; three are involved with analyzing the consequences of that message- 'The Jesus Movement', 'The Jewish Identity of the Jesus Movement', and 'Jesus as the Embodiment of Jewish Identity'.

Unlike Borg, but very much like Fuller and Hengel, Casey believes that the preaching of the Kingdom of God was central to Jesus' ministry.⁹⁸ Jesus did not speak of the Kingdom as a 'tensive symbol' representing the world of the Spirit: Jesus, like John the Baptist, believed the end was near; sayings such as Mk. 11:10 and 15:43 Casey believes should be taken quite literally.⁹⁹ Our author ties Jesus' eschatological ministry in with Dn. 4: 34-37 where Nebuchadnezzar, cured because he repented, responded by praising God. However God's kingship was not fully established, and the remaining verses of Dn. 4 look to a final establishment of the rule of God where sin and illness would be vanquished.¹⁰⁰ It was against this background of promise unfulfilled that Jesus came proclaiming, 'The Kingdom of God is at hand', and proclaiming it in such a way as to leave little doubt as to its imminence.¹⁰¹

Like the classical prophets Jesus brought his message to sinners, unfaithful Jews. Casey correctly points to the prophetic, i.e., positive, dimension of the Aramaic word for 'repent'- *tubh* (Hebrew- *shubh*): to return. It means so much more than regretting the wrong one has done; it signifies a complete return to the ways of the Lord.

Following the lead of L. Schottroff and W. Stegemann¹⁰², Casey adds a new dimension to the word 'sinners': there are those who are sinners because they are poor; they are sinners because their financial situation has made it impossible for them to meet Israel's legal demands; then there are the true

⁹⁸Ibid., 58.

⁹⁹Ibid., 59.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 58.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 59.

¹⁰²Ibid., 75, n. 5.

sinner- those whose wealth enables them to meet all the halakhic requirements, but in their contempt for those in need still remain sinners.

There are then two 'folds' of lost sheep to whom Jesus directs his message: those who are potentially wealthy in their poverty if only they could hear and be taught what constitutes true righteousness; and the ones who are poor in their wealth, sinful in their oppression of the poor.¹⁰³

In 'Death and Vindication' Casey argues that it was Jesus' conflict with the legalism of the Pharisees which led to his death, a death which Jesus fully expected when he went up to Jerusalem for the last time.¹⁰⁴ The cleansing of the temple was in every way 'the straw that broke the camel's back'; it gave Jesus' enemies the opportunity to bring to the attention of the Roman authorities someone who, as far as Rome was concerned, was at best an obscure Galilean prophet.¹⁰⁵

Casey sees Jesus' interpretation of his death as standing in the tradition of the Maccabean martyrs who saw their death as an expiatory sacrifice to assuage the wrath of God.¹⁰⁶ It therefore follows that Jesus fully expected God to vindicate him, his faithful witness.

How did Jesus expect himself to be vindicated? Casey points to the ambiguity of the documents of Jesus' period. Some describe resurrection as merely participation in the final judgement; others, like Josephus, speak of the immortality of the soul. Whatever Jesus' own views of his vindication were they were not those of the early church which interpreted the resurrection as the overturning of the charge of messianic pretender (1 Cor. 15:3; Lk. 24: 26), the manifestation of Jesus' divine sonship (Rom. 1:4; Matt. 28: 17, 19; Jn. 20: 28, 30f.), and the inauguration of the mission to the Gentiles (Mk. 16:7¹⁰⁷).

¹⁰³Ibid., 58.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 65.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 65.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 65.

¹⁰⁷Reginald H. Fuller, *The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives*, 62.

According to Casey the little we know about Jesus' views of his resurrection tells us that they differed very little from mere survival after death.

The strength of Jesus' belief in the survival after death is illustrated by the supposed crushing argument against the Sadducees, who did not hold any belief of this kind. He argued from the nature of God himself. God is so clearly the God of the living that his declaration to Moses 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob' is held to demonstrate the survival of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and thereby raising the dead.¹⁰⁸

The sixth section of chapter 5 discusses the Jesus Movement which Casey describes as the link between the historical Jesus and the christology at the close of the first century.

The Jewishness of this movement was beyond dispute. Of the eight identity factors only the Sabbath and purity laws had been breached, the former far less frequently than the latter.¹⁰⁹ But since monotheism was never breached, Second Temple Judaism apparently never seriously questioned the integrity of the post-Easter church; there was no question in its critics' minds but the followers of Jesus were anything but Jewish. They were radical Jews; however, as they had not departed from monotheism they still could be considered Jews. Jesus' message was so much the embodiment of Judaism that the first disciples could not abandon Judaism without seeming to abandon his message.

However the crucifixion required interpretation for future believers. The death of Jesus removed him as a source of criticism for much of the christology that followed.¹¹⁰ No saying about the 'person' or the 'being' of Jesus, such as found in the Fourth Gospel, or about his pre-existence,

¹⁰⁸Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 67.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 70.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 74.

incarnation, and exaltation as found in the pre-Pauline kerygmata and the kerygmatic sermons in Acts could have happened while Jesus was alive.¹¹¹

In 1 Cor. 1:20-25 Paul speaks of the cross as a *skandalon* to Jews and a folly to Greeks. However, the intention of Casey in chapters 6-9 is to demonstrate that it was the folly of Greeks to have elevated the crucified Nazarene prophet to Gentile God which made the cross a stumbling block to the Jews.

In these chapters Casey studies the transformation of the essentially Jewish Jesus Movement into Gentile Christianity. Our study of *From Jewish Prophet* will be guided by the following questions:

1. What changes does Casey note taking place in the post-Easter church's perception of the life and work of Jesus of Nazareth?
2. When and why did these changes take place?
3. To what degree does Casey think these changes are legitimate developments or mutations?
4. By what criterion (or criteria) does the author judge these phenomena to be positive or negative?

1.

Early and 'genuinely Jewish christology', according to Casey, was not as oxymoronic as the phrase suggests in that it paralleled a phenomenon of Second Temple Judaism: the creation and veneration of Messianic and Intermediary figures. Such beings were historical men. Moses and the future Davidic king, for instance, who were elevated far and above mere mortal

¹¹¹Ibid., 75.

status. Others were abstract figures, Wisdom and the Word of God; and to a third group belonged purely supernatural beings, i.e., angels.¹¹²

There were two ways christological developments and Jewish Messianic and Intermediary figures paralleled one another: static and dynamic.¹¹³

Static parallels occurred when Jewish titles such as Lord, Messiah and Son of God were simply transferred to Jesus. Dynamic parallelism took place when the church gradually applied to Jesus the characteristics of a certifiably historical figure, or of one who lay somewhere between history and myth, who had been relegated to messianic and/or intermediary status.¹¹⁴ In other words just as it was possible for the future Davidic King of Jer. 23: 5-8 and Micah 5: 1-3 to be 'pure from sin' (Ps. Sol. 17: 36), pre-existent (4 Ezra 12: 32; 13:26, 52) and to be the one who would rebuild the temple (Tg. Is. 53:5)¹¹⁵, so it would become possible for Jesus to be elevated far above his historical status as the embodiment of Judaism.

As the post-Easter kerygma and the numinous elements of Second Temple Judaism interacted with each other, Ontic, that is Gentile, Christology began to emerge. As Casey pointed out in his conclusion to chapter 5, the catalyst was the crucifixion:

Jesus had already supplied some interpretation of it in terms of an atoning sacrifice, with God's vindication of him by means of

¹¹²Ibid., 78.

¹¹³Dunn (q.v.) in his critique of *From Jewish Prophet* commends Casey for his analysis of the inner workings of Second Temple Judaism (pp.443-47), especially for what he calls Casey's 'helpful distinction between 'static parallels' and 'dynamic parallels' (p. 443). However, Dunn questions Casey's absolute certainty that it was the needs of particular Christian subgroups which prompted the gradual application of such persons as Enoch and Wisdom (two examples of 'dynamic parallels') to Jesus. Dunn concedes that such an argument is plausible, but notes that Casey stops short in providing an example of when the social needs of a particular community required an elevation in the status of Jesus. (p.444) Dunn remains, however, in substantial agreement with Casey's thesis that the application of messianic and intermediary titles and persons to Jesus developed within the confines and constraints of first century Jewish monotheism. (p. 444)

¹¹⁴Casey, *From Jewish Prophet* , 78-85.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 82.

a resurrection, and this gave the disciples a key to interpret his fate. The only feasible alternative interpretation of his death in that culture was that he had been condemned by God as well as by the Sanhedrin, and since he embodied the identity of Judaism itself, that view was not a live option for his disciples. The only live option was therefore further development...Jesus' crucifixion was even more fertile than the fate of the Maccabean martyrs, for he was not only innocent- from his disciples' perspective he was the embodiment of Judaism itself. *This guaranteed more dramatic interpretation of his role than is found in any one of the other cases .*¹¹⁶

The first step in the development of christology was an interpretation of the resurrection that was at once more concrete than Jesus' own understanding and at then same time opened up more possibilities for theological speculation with respect to Jesus' nature, his true identity, so to speak, *vis à vis* the messianic and intermediary figures of Second Temple Judaism. This heightening of christology was made possible by the inclusion of many Gentiles into the Jesus Movement. If Jesus' death had been unique, it stood to reason that his resurrection should be likewise unique. Just as the historical Jesus was understood to be the embodiment of Old Testament Yahwism, the nascent pre-exilic Judaism of Jeremiah, and the post- exilic Judaism of Deutero and Trito-Isaiah and the prophet Ezekiel, and his death, to one degree or another at the hands of Second Temple Judaism, to be the cost of his message, then his resurrection must therefore be interpreted as the embodiment of a radically new expression of Second Temple Judaism, as in some way elevating him the level of and eventually beyond Moses, the future Davidic king, Wisdom, the Word of God and the angels. It is not the primitive pre-Pauline kerygma found in 1 Cor. 15: 3-8 which provides the basis for further christological speculation¹¹⁷; rather 1 Cor. 15: 3-8 is a thoroughly

¹¹⁶Ibid., 74.

¹¹⁷In his treatment of the resurrection (Ibid., 98-105) Casey discusses at length the apparent many discrepancies between 1 Cor. 15: 3-8 and the gospel resurrection narratives. He finds

Jewish document requiring reinterpretation by an empty tomb pericope first to reinforce the belief among Second Temple Jews that Jesus had survived death, had been vindicated and exalted¹¹⁸, and secondly in order that Gentiles may see Christ's resurrection as either the resuscitation of a corpse or as the account of a dying and rising god.

The story of Jesus had the great advantage of being the story of a man who had recently been alive. Gentile converts who had previously known ancient myths would consequently perceive a passage from story to truth, a truth constantly reinforced by their religious experience in the life of the church.¹¹⁹

Between the resurrection and the *Birkat -ha-minim* Casey discerns three stages of christological development.¹²⁰

In the first stage Casey locates such passages as 1 Cor. 15: 3-8, the speeches attributed to the apostles in the early chapters of Acts, and the formula lying behind Rom. 1:3ff. At this period of christological development the resurrection is seen as vindicating Jesus' death and ministry. Also in this period Jesus is seen as having been raised far above the messianic and

the pre-Pauline source to differ very little from Jesus' teaching concerning his vindication, survival after death, participation in the general resurrection and exemption from the eschatological judgement. Because 1 Cor. 15: 3-8 differed so little from Jesus' understanding of his own vindication, this primitive source had to be reinterpreted; something had to be added that would 'facilitate the deification process' and this something was an account of an empty tomb. However we believe that the juxtaposition of ἐτάφη and ἐγήγερται, 'was buried' and 'was raised', imply an empty tomb and justify its inclusion in the gospels. There is also a consistency between the kerygma lying behind 1 Cor. 15: 1-8, Rom. 1:3ff and the gospel resurrection narratives. We learn three things about the resurrection in the Corinthian passage: that it was a manifestation of Jesus as Messiah (15:3); that it was the establishment of the church (15:5f. On this see Fuller, *Formation*, 36) and its mission (15:7. Cf. *ibid.*, 38). From the verses in Romans we learn not only that the resurrection confirmed Jesus' messiahship but his divine sonship as well. These four points are repeated and developed in the gospel resurrection narratives: his messiahship in Lk. 24:26; his divine sonship in Matt. 28:17, 19 and Jn. 20: 28, 30f; and the establishment of the church and its mission in Mk. 16: 7; Jn. 20: 19-23; 21: 15-19. In other words, in spite of the discrepancies within the resurrection narratives, what they proclaim is completely consistent with what the two primitive documents tell us about the significance of the resurrection. The gospel accounts unfold what is implied and stated in 1 Cor. 15: 3-8 and Rom. 1: 3ff.

¹¹⁸Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 105.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, 105.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 97.

intermediary figures which our author described in chapter 6, so much so that the titles Lord, Christ and Son could be applied to him. Because Lord was applied to him in his earthly ministry and was the way angels were addressed it was logical that the Risen One should be so called.¹²¹ Since neither Jesus nor his disciples used Christ this title posed something of a problem. The early community however fixed upon Christ because the risen Jesus had to be seen as far superior to other 'anointed' figures.¹²² Even though his life, death and resurrection were seen as necessary for salvation, he is not yet described as incarnate or divine.¹²³ While Rom. 1:3ff might seem to be a tremendous advance upon 1 Cor. 15: 3-8 and the kerygmatic sermons in Acts, Casey believes it is really not. In this passage when Jesus is addressed as Son of God, Casey does not believe this title at this stage of development to mean any more than Jesus was just an extraordinarily faithful member of the covenant community whose members were called sons of God.¹²⁴

In his study of Phil. 2: 6-11 and Col. 1: 15-20, Casey moves on to Stage Two as both these passages show 'massive christological development' on the previous passages discussed.¹²⁵ With respect to the Philippians hymn he notes that all that is indicated is high status, not deity.¹²⁶ Even though Jesus is described as pre-existent we should not conclude that he is ontologically unique and divine. In this passage Jesus is merely being compared with and contrasted to Adam. Like Adam he was in the form of God; unlike Adam he did *not* count equality a thing to be grasped.¹²⁷ Nor does Casey regard the application of *Adonai* as the transference of deity. This verse shows only that Jesus 'has been highly exalted, quite unlike any other person.'¹²⁸ He is simply

¹²¹Ibid., 105.

¹²²Ibid., 106.

¹²³Ibid., 109.

¹²⁴Ibid., 111.

¹²⁵Ibid., 112.

¹²⁶Ibid., 112.

¹²⁷Ibid., 112.

¹²⁸Ibid., 113.

exalted to a position higher than he held in his pre-existent state¹²⁹, a position say on the level of Jael, the mighty angel of the Apocalypse of Abraham 10 who has the name of God in him.¹³⁰ However, while Casey mentions v. 10, he fails to pay any attention to that part where Jesus is clearly the object of worship, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πάντων γόνυ κάμψῃ.¹³¹ Jesus has been given more than just a status far surpassing other messianic and intermediary figures, he is given so close a communion with God that to glorify God the Father is to kneel before Jesus and confess that he shares the divine name.

Regarding the Colossians piece, Casey believes it to be an advance on the Philippians verses: the Pre-Existent One participated in creation. In both Philippians and Colossians Jesus, says Casey, is on the verge of divinity.¹³² Even though both these passages were written at a time when there was a massive influx of Gentiles into the Jesus Movement, the authors of these two hymns, if they were Gentile, were writing from the very Jewish perspective of Adam and Wisdom speculation, a perspective very far removed from the deification of people in the Greco-Roman world.¹³³

In his discussion of the christology of St. Paul (chapter 8), Casey notes that in the Pauline churches even though most of the Jewish identity markers had been abandoned, monotheism had not.¹³⁴ Our author can say that of the

¹²⁹Ibid., 114.

¹³⁰Ibid., 113. It should be noted, however, that Jael does not occupy the right hand of the throne nor is he worshipped by Abraham. See J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., 1: 693f.

¹³¹In 'The Deification of Jesus', *SBLSP* 1994, 697-714, Casey refers to the worship theme in a brief discussion of Larry Hurtado's *One God One Lord* where he suggests that worship is central to understanding the development of New Testament Christology (Casey, 'Deification', 704). He notes that Hurtado believes the worship of Jesus to have taken place as early as the formulation of 1 Cor. 15: 3-8 and Rom. 1:3ff, Casey's Stage One (p. 704). However Casey believes that Jesus had not been exalted to a state which would have required worship, i.e. divinity. Had Jesus been proclaimed an object worthy of worship at Stage One and Stage Two, where the Philippians hymn is located, this would be listed among the controversies which appear in Paul's letters (p.702) But there is a reverse side which Casey overlooks, and that it is that it was simply taken for granted that Jesus was to be worshipped, that this had ceased to be a matter of any great controversy.

¹³²Ibid., 116.

¹³³Ibid., 117.

¹³⁴Ibid., 122.

eight identity factors Paul's Christians kept about one and a half.¹³⁵ However, because monotheism was not entirely abandoned Casey can locate Paul in Stage Two.

As to the figure of Jesus Casey writes that Paul extensively develops the sacrificial aspect of Christ's death and locates it at the very centre of salvation history:

God had to punish sin in order to be righteous, but in previous times he...passed over the punishment of sin, storing it up for the Day of Wrath. Now Jesus had taken this upon himself...and his people...would be saved from the Wrath.¹³⁶

Paul's Jesus is the pre-existent Christ, Lord and Son, the central figure in salvation history whose death brought salvation to Jew and Gentile alike. However, was he God? Rom. 9: 3-5 appears to say so; but Casey believes that the probable reading, '...Christ according to the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever more', never reappears and must be seen in the light of 11QMelch when Melchizedek has God applied to him and of Philo's *Life of Moses* when Moses is described as 'God and king of the whole nation.'¹³⁷ These are honorific titles and should not in any way be seen as transference of being.

Important also to Casey's study is the crucial role Rom. 6 played in shaping the Gentile character of the Jesus Movement. Since in his death and resurrection Christ effectively replaced the Law, entry into the Jesus Movement need no longer be by circumcision but by baptism. What remained of the Law for Paul, as far as Gentiles were concerned, were those aspects which would not have been socially impossible for Gentiles.¹³⁸

¹³⁵Ibid., 123.

¹³⁶Ibid., 125.

¹³⁷Ibid., 135.

¹³⁸Ibid., 128.

Also to be included in Stage Two are the synoptic gospels. Despite the fact that all three gospels give Jesus an elevated status and a unique revelatory function¹³⁹ (he is quite clearly Son of God, Christ and the apocalyptic Son of man¹⁴⁰) in none of these documents is he portrayed as being divine. Why was this so? According to Casey, Matthew's community was identifiably Jewish, so any breach with monotheism was unthinkable; even though the Markan and Lukan communities were Gentile in their identification there was still a strong Jewish element in both of them: any break with monotheism would have disrupted these communities immeasurably.¹⁴¹

When we come to Stage Three we enter the world of the almost wholly Gentile Johannine Community following the *Birkat-ha-minim*. Here Son and Christ are used in an exclusively confessional sense as Jesus is raised up to full deity.¹⁴² This deification is also seen in Jn. 14: 16 where Jesus is the paraclete who will send 'another paraclete'.¹⁴³ Even though the Johannine literature shares many things in common with other New Testament literature, particularly the Wisdom Christology found in Q and Matthew, the 'push for deity' far exceeds anything these two documents had in mind.

Therefore these are the changes which Casey describes as having taken place between the resurrection and the *Birkat-ha-minim*.

Stage One

At this stage the Jesus Movement is identifiably a sub-group within Second Temple Judaism.

¹³⁹Ibid., 147.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 148.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 156.

¹⁴²Ibid., 157.

¹⁴³Ibid., 157.

Jesus' resurrection is seen as a vindication of his death.

The Kerygmatic Sermons of Acts

Lord and Christ are applied to Jesus because his resurrection is seen as having exalted him far above other messianic and intermediary figures.

Rom. 1: 3ff.

Son of God is transferred to Jesus. However he is to be seen as no more than an extraordinarily faithful member of the covenant community all of whose members are sons of God.

Stage Two

An increasing number of Gentiles are becoming members of the Jesus Movement.

Phil. 2: 6-11 and Col. 1: 15-20

Jesus is pre-existent and participates in creation. Even though he is on the verge of divinity, he is not yet proclaimed as divine.

The Christology of Paul

Jesus is pre-existent Christ, Lord and Son. His death is the central point of salvation history. He may be addressed as divine in Rom. 9: 3ff, but this is more than likely a purely honorific title; and the passage is not repeated in any Pauline work. Christian ethics are grounded in baptism and not in the Law. Christ's death and resurrection are seen to have put to death the Law.

Matthew, Mark and Luke

Jesus is given a unique revelatory function.¹⁴⁴ At this stage the christological titles Son of God, Christ and Son of man become propositional in form.¹⁴⁵ Even though Jesus is portrayed as having the highest status possible, he is not fully divine.¹⁴⁶

Stage Three

Christianity is effectively a Gentile religion

The Johannine Literature

At this stage Jesus is unapologetically deified. Son and Christ are used in an exclusively confessional sense; Jesus is the paraclete who sends 'another paraclete'.

2.

In the above chronology Casey does not distinguish himself from many scholars of the latter half of this century, though his treatment of Phil. 2:6-11 does set him at odds with both Fuller and Hengel who see the transference of *Adonai* as a transference of essence. His contribution to late twentieth century New Testament scholarship lies in specifying *when* and, more specifically, *why* these changes took place.

When and why did the Functional-Intermediary Christology of Stages One and Two become the ontic christology of Stage Three?

We have already mentioned the crucifixion as the primary historical event which made subsequent christology possible in that it removed the most important safeguard of monotheism- Jesus himself. The second event

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 147.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 148.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 156.

was the gradual influx of Gentiles into the Jesus Movement at the second stage and their increasing adherence to Pauline ethics rather than the Law. Even though Casey does not say so, we have every reason to believe that he would not object to our saying that the effect Paul the Apostle had on the Jesus Movement was the theological equivalent of genetic engineering.

In reading *From Jewish Prophet* one has a very distinct feeling of *déjà vu* -only with a slight twist. The reader is in Germany in the last century when the Hegelian dialectic was in full throttle. The early Liberal Protestants perceived the thesis to have been the liberating religion of Paul who in his grace over law theology captured the essence of the greatest of all teachers, Jesus of Nazareth; the antithesis was, of course, the conservative, i.e. 'Jewish' Christianity of James and the synthesis the Petrine compromise described in Acts 15 and the emerging Catholicism of the Pastorals.

Casey, on the other hand, would be inclined to label the thesis the revolutionary, 'radical' (that is radical in its literal sense meaning 'from the roots'- Old Testament prophetic basics) Judaism of Jesus of Nazareth which found its continuation in the Jesus Movement and in the Intermediary christology of Stage One and, to a certain extent, in the pre-Pauline elements of Stage Two. The Epistle of James, far from falling into the category of antithesis, is very much a part of the thesis in that it preserves the Jewishness of Jesus' radical message.¹⁴⁷ The antithesis emerged when Paul in Rom. 6: 1-14 described Jesus in his resurrection as having replaced the Law thereby nullifying (downgrading?) the reform message of Jesus and validating the ethical decisions of the Roman community which consisted largely of people who did not observe the Law. Having therefore laid the groundwork for a purely Gentile religion (though Casey is careful to say that Paul himself did not abandon monotheism) Paul was one of the first, if not *the* first to have made it possible for Jesus to have been elevated to full deity.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 109.

The antithesis evolved from the amphibious to the land mammal stage following the *Birkat -ha-minim* when the redactor of the Fourth Gospel felt no compunction whatsoever in disposing of the eighth of Judaism's identity factors- monotheism.

Although he does not mention the word (he has not mentioned thesis or antithesis either) Casey's synthesis appears to be Early Catholicism in that it produced a canon of scripture containing the synoptics, Paul, the Fourth Gospel, a hierarchical ministry and the rudiments of a liturgy both of which were somewhat reminiscent of synagogue structure and worship.

3 & 4

As to whether or not these changes characterized development or evolution, Casey appears to believe that the relationship between Stage One and Stage Two represents development whereas the move from Stage Two to Stage, where monotheism is abandoned, could best be described as evolution, discontinuity. The criteria he uses to make this assessment are the relation of the message of the historical Jesus to Second Temple Judaism and the relation of the kerygma of the post-Easter church to the historical Jesus. As we have stated above, Jesus of Nazareth was a first century Jew whose mission was to restore Second Temple Judaism to the righteousness and faithfulness of the Old Testament prophets. In proclaiming this message he kept all eight of the identity factors except for ritual purity.

Had Jesus ceded leadership to Peter before his death, Jesus would have had no objections to seeing himself elevated to a position equal to Moses and the future Davidic king; he would have remained a member of the movement of which he had been the founder. Had a Pharisee named Saul of Tarsus joined the movement and spoken of Jesus' pre-existence, he would not have objected strenuously, as pre-existence, according to Casey, means only

exceptionally high status. Even when Gentiles, and their world-view of dying and rising gods, were admitted without being circumcised, Jesus would not have objected only as long as they remained monotheistic. However, had Jesus of Nazareth read the prologue to the Fourth Gospel he would have rent his tunic, covered his head with ashes and cried, 'Blasphemy!'

An Evaluation of Casey

Five years after *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God*, Casey produced a 'sequel', *Is John's Gospel True*. This book is really an expansion of chapters 3 to 10 of its predecessor, taking up as it does in greater detail the author's thesis that the Fourth Gospel is a distortion of history and truth. He enlarges upon the many points he made in his Cadbury Lectures regarding the discontinuity between John and the synoptic tradition¹⁴⁸, the anti-Jewish character of this document¹⁴⁹, and the general inadequacy of attempts to demonstrate the historical accuracy of the Fourth Gospel.¹⁵⁰

In addition to the above Casey has included a fairly detailed section as to why the Fourth Gospel has no Aramaic background.¹⁵¹ The presence of Aramaic words in this document means no more than it was written for an

¹⁴⁸E.g. on 'the Son of God', Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 25 and idem, *Is John's Gospel True?*, 33ff; on the lack of continuity between the Eucharistic discourses of ch. 6 and the synoptic and Pauline traditions, ibid., 25 and ibid., 43. In *From Jewish Prophet* Casey observes that the Johannine Jesus' proclaiming the Eucharist as necessary for salvation goes far beyond 1 Cor. 11: 24-25 and Lk. 22: 19-20 (25f). While 1 Cor. 11: 24-25 contains nothing as explicit as Jn. 6: 53-54, the succeeding verses, 11: 27-29, make it quite clear that one's salvation is in great jeopardy if that person does not partake of the Eucharist in a worthy manner. In Lk. 22: 18 the reader is left with the impression that the Eucharist is a proleptic participation in the Messianic Banquet. It seems reasonably safe to conclude that if one does not participate in the earthly Eucharist one will have no place at the heavenly table. On pre-existence, see ibid., 25 and ibid., 40. On John the Baptist's witness to Jesus, see ibid., 26 and ibid., 65, 67ff. Finally, on the 'I am' sayings, see ibid., 26 and ibid., 41f.

¹⁴⁹E.g., the all-pervasive replacement symbolism: Passover, Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 29 and idem, *Is John's Gospel True?*, 24f; Tabernacles, ibid., 30 and ibid., 71; the Vine, ibid., 30 and ibid., 136. On the Gentile self-identification of the Fourth Gospel and its role in the history of anti-Semitism, ibid., 27ff., 174 and ibid., 44, 116ff, 223ff.

¹⁵⁰Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 24f, idem, *Is John's Gospel True?*, 169ff, 199ff.

¹⁵¹Casey, *Is John's Gospel True?*, 87ff.

audience in which there were some who did not understand Aramaic. With the case of πιστικῆς (*pistāqā*, 12:3) which is transliterated, declined but not interpreted Casey, tells us that the evangelist was simply following Mk. 14:3.¹⁵² With respect to Aramaic stylistic features typical of John such as paretaxis and asyndeton Casey says that these are to be found in Greek literature.¹⁵³ Most convincing of all for Casey's argument for a purely diaspora location of the Fourth Gospel is the fact that 'no feasible Aramaic underlay' for many passages can be constructed.¹⁵⁴ The implication one draws from reading this section is that because no Aramaic background exists to the Fourth Gospel then this gospel was written by Gentiles to Gentiles. But this should not be the case at all since most diaspora Jews could not read Aramaic.

Both books conclude with a challenge to Christian churches: if they wish to uphold true teaching against false they must 'exorcise' the Johannine Jesus from their midst.

If the standard picture of Jesus as incarnate and divine is too much a part of the churches' identity to be shifted, official Christianity will become increasingly a matter of belief in the impossible...If churches as organisations must insist on false belief we can always leave them, and follow from outside their orbit those aspects of the teaching of Jesus which we judge relevant to our lives 2,000 years later.¹⁵⁵

Our major conclusion follows ineluctably. The fourth Gospel is profoundly untrue. It consists to a large extent of inaccurate stories and words wrongly attributed to people...What the churches do about this is a matter for them. On past form, most

¹⁵²Ibid., 88.

¹⁵³Ibid., 88.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., 94ff.

¹⁵⁵Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 178.

of them will do precious little, and false belief will continue to flourish among them.¹⁵⁶

Reading through both these books one has the distinct feeling that if it could be shown that the historical Jesus regarded himself as divine, that he understood himself to be acting in the place of God, carrying out the functions that only God could perform, such as the forgiveness of sin, demanding a loyalty from his followers that only God could demand, Casey would have regarded the Johannine Jesus as the end result of continuous reflection upon this authority. What I have tried to demonstrate in this thesis is that Jesus is the one who stands on the side of God. This posture Jesus manifested in both the above aspects of his ministry as well as in proclaiming that the Kingdom was being established in him and only in him; by calling God by no title other than 'Father'; and, as we saw in the Lord's Prayer, by extending this distinctive sonship to his disciples. Unfortunately Casey pays not the slightest regard to Mk. 2:5 where Jesus forgives the paralytic his sins; he does not pause to consider the significance of Jesus' distinctive use of 'Father' for which no exact parallel exists in Second Temple Judaism and of his teaching his disciples to address God in the same way; nor does he consider, as did Hengel, the unprecedented nature of Jesus' demand in Matt. 8: 22 (Q).¹⁵⁷ However, had Casey made mention of these passages he would have been portraying a Jesus who, in acting in God's place, had, with respect to monotheism, made a break with Jewish self-identity. In other words, had Casey referred the reader to these passages he would have been undermining his own argument that the only Jewish self-identity factors which Jesus 'transgressed' were ritual purity and the sabbath.

The Divinity of Jesus in the Synoptic Tradition

¹⁵⁶Casey, *Is John's Gospel True?*, 229.

¹⁵⁷Martin Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers*, 12.

There are at least eight passages in the synoptic gospels where the historical Jesus' divine authority is strongly suggested. The first four are found in Mk. 2:1-12 (vv. 5, 8, 10, 11), the pericope which begins that section in Mark's gospel where the basis of Jesus' ongoing conflict with his opponents is laid out (2: 1-3:6): 2:1-12, his authority to forgive sins; 15-17, his authority to practice open commensality; 18-20, his eschatological authority over John the Baptist; and 2:23-3:6, his authority to interpret sabbath halakah.

The particular passages under consideration in the conflict section are Mk. 2:5, τέκνον, ἀφίενται σου ἁμαρτίαι; 2:8, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως διαλογίζονται ἐν ἑαυτοῖς; Jesus' oblique reference to his authority in 2:10, ἵνα δὲ εἰδῇτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; and his words to the paralytic in v. 11, σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε ἄρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου.

The fifth, sixth and seventh passages to be examined are the comment of Jesus' disciples after the first stilling of the storm pericope in Mk. 4: 35-41, τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούει αὐτῷ;, the phrase καὶ ἠθέλεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς (6: 48), and Jesus' words to his disciples during the storm on the Sea of Galilee, ἐγώ εἰμι, μὴ φοβεῖσθε (Mk. 6: 50) The eighth and final passage under consideration is Matthew's insertion of προσέρχεσθαι and προσκυνεῖν into the healing of the leper pericope (Matt. 8: 2, cf. Mk. 1: 40 and Lk. 5:12).

Mark 2:5, 8, 10, 11

ἀφίειν

There are 16 verbs which are translated by ἀφίειν in the LXX: 1) לָחַץ, 'cease' (Ju. 9:9, 11, 13 (A)); 2) נָצַח, 'go, or come out' (Gen. 35: 18); 3) כָּפַר, 'pacify,

make propitiation' (Isa. 22: 14); 4) נָחַח, 'rest' (Ju. 2: 23 (A ἀφῆκε); 3:1 (A om.); 16: 26 (B); 2 Kdms. 16: 11; 20: 3; 3 Kdms. 19:3; 4 Kdms. 23:18; 1 Chr. 16: 21; Pss. 16: 14; 104: 14; 124: 3; Eccl. 2:18; 5:11; 10: 4; 11: 6; Ez. 16: 39; 5) נָשָׁח, 'leave, forsake, permit' (1 Kdms. 17:20 (A), 22(A), 28(A); Jer. 12:7); 6) נָשָׂא, 'leave, forsake, permit, forgive' (Gen. 4: 13; 18: 26; 50:17; Ex. 32:32; Pss. 24: 18; 31:1, 5; 84:2; 7) נָתַן, 'give, put, set' (Gen. 20: 6; Nu. 22: 13; Jos. 10: 19 (A add αὐτοῦς); Jd. 1: 34 (A- κε); 3: 28 (A- καν); 15: 1 (A)); 8) סָלַח, 'forgive, pardon' (Lev. 4: 20, 26, 31, 35; 5: 6, 10, 13, 16, 18, 26; 6:6; Num. 14: 14; 15: 25, 26, 28 (A); Neh. 9:7 (S³); Isa. 55: 7); 9) עָזַב, 'leave, forsake, loose' (Ex. 9: 21; Ru. 2: 16 (A); 2 Kdms. 15: 16; 2 Chr. 28: 14; Jb. 39: 14; Isa. 32: 14); 10) פָּתַח, 'open' (Ps. 104: 20); 11) קָלַל, 'be slight, swift, trifling, make light' (2 Chr. 10: 4, 10); 12) רָפָה, 'let drop, let go, refrain' (4 Kdms. 4: 27; Cant. 3: 4); 13) שָׁבַק, 'let go' (2 Es. 6:7; Dn. 4: 12. 23); 14) שָׁלַח, 'send' (Ex. 22: 5; Jb. 39: 5); 15) שָׁמַט, 'let drop' (Deut. 15:2); 16) שָׁעָה, 'gaze' (Isa. 22:4).

Of the 75 times that ἀφίεν appears in the LXX where there is a Hebrew parallel, 27 times the sense is 'to forgive': 1) כָּפַר - Isa. 22: 14; 2) נָשָׂא - Gen. 4: 13; 18: 26; 50: 17; Ex. 32:32; Pss. 24: 18; 31: 1, 5; 84: 2; 3) סָלַח - Lev. 4: 20, 26, 31, 35; 5: 6, 10, 13, 16, 18, 26; 6:6; 19:22; Num. 14: 19; 15: 25, 26, 28 (A); Neh. 9:17 (S³); Isa. 55: 7.

Of these 27 occurrences God is clearly the subject 8 times (Gen. 18: 26; Ex. 32:32; Num. 14: 19; Pss. 24: 18; 31: 5; 84: 2; Neh. 9: 17; Isa. 55: 7); he is the implied subject/agent 18 times (Gen. 4:13; Lev. 4: 20, 26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10, 13, 16, 18, 26; 6:6; 19: 22; Num. 15: 25, 26, 28 (A); Ps. 31: 1; Isa. 22: 14). In Gen. 50:17 Joseph's brothers approach Joseph and beg his forgiveness. Joseph does not say, 'I forgive you'; rather he implies that God has put away their sins, 'Even though you intended to do me harm, God intended it for good.'

What is particularly instructive for the passage under consideration, τέκνον, ἀφίενται σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, is that in the cultic passages from Leviticus and Numbers סָלַח is invariably rendered by ἀφίεν.

Other verbs meaning 'to forgive' are αἵρειν (1 Kdms. 25: 28- ~~שׁוּב~~), ἀνιέναι (Jos. 24: 19- ~~שׁוּב~~; Isa. 2:9- ~~שׁוּב~~), ἀφαιρεῖν (Ex. 34: 7- ~~שׁוּב~~; Num. 14: 18- ~~שׁוּב~~), εὐίλατεύειν (Deut. 29: 20- ~~שׁוּב~~; Ps. 102: 3- ~~שׁוּב~~), εὐίλατος (Ps. 98: 8- ~~שׁוּב~~) and προσδέχεσθαι (Ex. 10: 17- ~~שׁוּב~~). In all but two of these passages (1 Kdms. 25: 28; Ex. 10: 17) God is clearly the agent of forgiveness; and, in all but two of these passages (Deut. 29: 20; Ps. 102: 3), the Hebrew verb translated is ~~שׁוּב~~ rather than the cultic ~~שׁוּב~~. However, when ~~שׁוּב~~ is translated by εὐίλατεύειν, the sense is non-cultic. It is interesting to note that when a human being is asked to forgive ἀφίειν is not the chosen verb. Rather the LXX has αἵρειν (1 Kdms. 25: 28) and προσδέχεσθαι (Ex. 10: 17). In a passage from Deuteronomy describing a law for the expiation of a murder when the slayer is unknown the LXX renders כַּפַּר as ἵλεως γένου. This is the only instance in the Pentateuch when 'to forgive' in a purely cultic sense is not rendered by ἀφίειν. As we can see even though Mark had ἀφίειν as well as αἵρειν, ἀνιέναι, εὐίλατεύειν, and προσδέχεσθαι available to him, the verb he chose was ἀφίειν, the preferred verb for the cultic ~~שׁוּב~~, the verb where God is either the subject or the implied subject.

Of course, the question for the exegete is whether by use of the passive in 2: 5 Mark wants the reader to understand that Jesus is saying no more than 'God has forgiven you your sins', or does the evangelist want the reader to see this passage as a circumlocution for 'I forgive you your sins'. In attempting to argue for the former view, E.P. Sanders, when he says that Jesus was speaking for God, not claiming to be God or acting in God's place¹⁵⁸ actually argues for the latter view since there is no difference between speaking for God and acting in God's place. G. Vermes believes that Jesus is indeed forgiving the man his sins, but that there was nothing particularly unique in

¹⁵⁸E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 273.

Jesus' words¹⁵⁹, that the reason for the scribes' outburst had nothing whatsoever to do with Jesus' actions (to heal was to forgive and to forgive was to heal), but that Jesus' particular turn of phrase must have been different from their own.¹⁶⁰

Vermes bases his conclusion on a particular reading of the Qumran fragment, 'The Prayer of Nabonidus' (4QOrNab) which he translates as, 'I was afflicted with an evil ulcer for seven years...and a *gazer* pardoned my sins'. However, due to the fragmentary nature of this line it is not entirely clear that his translation is reliable. Some scholars, like Vermes, identify the *gazer* or 'exorcist' as the agent of forgiveness¹⁶¹; two translations have no mention of forgiveness¹⁶² and four others have God, not the *gazer*, as the subject.¹⁶³ Because the lacunae in line 3, [] שו א , make it extremely difficult to render the exact sense of line 4, וחטאי שבק לה גזר, Vermes' translation and the following conclusion are at least open to question,

Considered side by side with the Nabonidus story, there is nothing outstandingly novel or unique in the words of Jesus...The words are not disrespectful of God, nor do they imply that the speaker claimed for himself divine status.¹⁶⁴

We believe that there is good reason to believe that Mark is doing something more than picturing Jesus as simply saying 'God has forgiven you

¹⁵⁹ Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 68f.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁶¹ A. Dupont-Sommers, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. Geza Vermes, 322; Joseph A. Fitzmyer and D.J. Harrington, *Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, 3.

¹⁶² J.T. Milik, ' "Prière de Nabonide" et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel', *RB* 63 (1956), 322; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 224.

¹⁶³ R. Meyer, 'Das Qumranfragment, "Gebet des Nabonid" ' *TLZ* 85 (1960): 831-34; B. Jongeling, C.F. Labuschagne, A.S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran with Translations and Annotations* 128f; Frank Moore Cross, 'Fragments of the Prayer of Nabonidus', *Israel Exploration Journal* 34 (1984): 260-64; Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 204f.

¹⁶⁴ Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 68f.

your sins'; in fact we are reasonably convinced that Mark wants the reader to see Jesus acting in his unique divine authority as the Son of God, else why would he want the reader to listen into the thoughts of the scribes and Pharisees, τίς δύναται ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ ὁ θεός; Because there is no clue in the Pentateuch as to what the 'forgiveness formula' was, if there were indeed such a formula, we cannot accept Vermes' statement that Jesus' opponents were offended only by Jesus' phraseology and not by his actions. Mark wants the reader to answer 2: 7 as follows: 'No one. No one that is except Jesus who is acting in God's place.' There is another example in Mark when the participants ask a question and the reader or listener is meant to fill in the blanks with 'No one. No one that is except God alone, or Jesus who is acting in God's place. The passage in question is Mk. 4: 41, τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούει αὐτῷ;

On what do we base the conclusion that Jesus is acting in the place of God, that Mark wants the reader to see Jesus acting as the *divine* Son of God? First we find that the forgiveness which Jesus effects in this pericope goes far beyond that which is described in the cultic passages of the Pentateuch (i.e., Lev. 4: 20, 26, 31, 35; 5:10, 13, 16, 18; 19:22; Num. 15: 25, 26) or in 2 Sa. 12:13, or, for that matter in Isa. 40: 1-2 and Jer. 31: 34; 36: 3. In the verses from Leviticus and Numbers forgiveness takes place only after an appropriate atoning sacrifice has been made. In the passage from 2 Samuel Nathan explicitly identifies the Lord as the source of David's forgiveness¹⁶⁵- there is no doubt but that Nathan is doing no more than assuring David that God has forgiven him; and the author of the Succession Narrative clearly wants the reader to understand that this forgiveness has come with a price, the death of David's son by Bathsheba.¹⁶⁶ And the gracious forgiveness which God

¹⁶⁵Robert H. Gundry, *Mark. , A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* ,112.

¹⁶⁶Morna Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark* , 86.

pronounces through Deutero-Isaiah and promises through Jeremiah comes only after a penalty-the exile-has been paid.

What we have seen described in Mk. 2: 1-12 is an example of free forgiveness. While the paralytic's approach to Jesus in faith in all likelihood indicates an act of penitence¹⁶⁷, he makes no sin offering as further evidence of his penitence. M.D. Hooker correctly notes that free forgiveness of sins,

...was something entirely outside the scope of the Law, where forgiveness was associated with ritual cleaning. Even at Qumran, where we find passages which express confidence that God will forgive sins through his mercy and grace, these are spoken by men who have become members of the community and have atoned for sins by their prayers and by their obedience to the rigorous rules of the community.¹⁶⁸

However, isn't it possible still to say that all Jesus is doing in this passage is pronouncing God's free forgiveness, that even though the forgiveness offered in Mk. 2: 11-12 is radically different from that described in the Pentateuch or in 2 Sa. 12: 13, Jesus is doing no more than what Nathan did, announcing God's forgiveness. We believe that in 2: 10, ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, Mark wants the reader to understand that Jesus has far exceeded Nathan's authority¹⁶⁹, that he is taking the initiative in instituting a new kind of forgiveness, that the Son of man exercises the authority of God already on

¹⁶⁷Christopher D. Marshall, *Faith as a Theme in Mark's Narrative*, 78.

¹⁶⁸Hooker, *St. Mark*, 86. See also Harvie Branscomb, 'Mark 2:5, "Son, thy Sins are Forgiven"' *JBL* 53 (1934): 59.

...the original criticism of Jesus would not have been that he blasphemed, but that he had said nothing about the man's evident sins and the necessity of his securing divine forgiveness before he could expect a cure from God. That one finds exactly this contention expressed in the Talmud, 'No one gets up from his sick-bed until all his sins are forgiven,' shows that the reconstruction of the scribal attitude in the case is not fanciful. Jesus' reply seems to have been that the man's sins were already forgiven...

¹⁶⁹Hooker, *St. Mark*, 86.

earth. Like 2:5, 2:10 in all likelihood can be also attributed to the historical Jesus.¹⁷⁰

Besides 2:10 there are two other occasions in this pericope when Mark wants the reader to see Jesus as acting in God's stead. The first of these is 2: 8 where Jesus 'immediately' reads the minds of his opponents, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως διαλογίζονται ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Clairvoyance is a power reserved for God himself.¹⁷¹ The second is v. 11, σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε ἄρον τὸν κραβαττὸν σου καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου, which is followed by v. 12 where the paralytic stood up and 'immediately' took up his mat. Here Jesus not only demonstrates his authority to forgive by healing (in his day sin and sickness were thought to be inseparable), but he heals (and forgives) not by word and touch but by word only. Like clairvoyance, word as act is a purely divine characteristic (see Gen. 1:3ff).¹⁷²

There is a similar passage in the Fourth Gospel (ch. 5) which tells of Jesus' healing a paralytic and telling him, 'Do not sin any more, so that nothing worse happens to you.' (v. 14) When accused of breaking the sabbath, Jesus says, ὁ πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται καὶ ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι (v. 17). About this passage, and others like it, Casey says, 'All this material is coherent, and

¹⁷⁰On 2:10 as an example of Markan redaction see D.J. Doughty, 'The Authority of the Son of Man (Mk. 2:1-3: 6)', ZNW 74 (1983): 167. On the probable authenticity of 2:10: 1) as a titular phrase reflecting Daniel and Enoch, see Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark*, 92f. and idem, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to Mark*, 87; 2) as a non-titular generic self-referent ('a man in my position') see Barnabas Lindars, *Jesus Son of Man*, 45; 3) as a non-titular indefinite self-referent ('Someone') see Richard Bauckham, 'The Son of Man: "A Man in my Position" or "Someone" ', JSNT 23 (1985): 31. Despite their differences of opinion as to the exact nature of the phrase Son of man, Hooker, Lindars and Bauckham agree that in this passage Jesus is referring to his unique authority to forgive sins. However, cf. Casey's translation into Aramaic of Matt. 8: 20, par. in idem, 'Idiom and Translation: Some Aspects of the Son of Man Problem', NTS 41 (1995): 170. His rendition, 'a/the son of man does not have anywhere to lay his head', when applied to Mk. 2:10 would read, 'a/the son of man has authority to forgive sins upon earth'; that is to say, 'humanity, myself included, has authority to forgive sins on earth'. Even this translation appears to suggest that Jesus is instituting a new forgiveness: God's forgiveness is being given over, through Jesus, into the hands of mortals.

¹⁷¹Gundry, *Mark*, A Commentary, 113.

¹⁷²Hooker, *St. Mark*, 87.

quite unlike anything else in the New Testament.¹⁷³ However, we have tried to show that the groundwork for Jesus' open declaration of divinity in Jn. 5: 17 was laid in Mark's description of Jesus' authority as one who acts in God's place: he institutes a forgiveness which goes far beyond the bonds of the law; he is portrayed as one who sees and knows all things, and as one whose word is act. It is our opinion that the distance between Mk. 2:5, 8, 10, 11 and passages such as Jn. 1: 1 and 5: 17 is not as far as Casey would imagine it.

Mk. 6: 48, 50

An example of Jesus' divine authority in the second storm pericope (Mk. 6: 45- 52) is found in v. 48^b, καὶ ἦλθεν **παρελθεῖν** αὐτούς. This passage is reminiscent of the theophany in Exod. 34: 5-6: 'And the Lord descended (יְיָ: LXX κατέβη) in the cloud and stood (יָצַח: LXX παρέστη) with him, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. The Lord passed before him (עָבַר יְהוָה עֲלֵיפָנָיו): LXX **παρῆλθεν** κύριος πρὸ προσώπον αὐτοῦ). In the Exodus passage there is a threefold pattern: The Lord comes to Moses, he reveals himself to Moses, he passes before Moses. This pattern is repeated, though not precisely in the same order, in the Marcan passage: Jesus comes to his disciples (ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτούς), he passes before them (καὶ ἦλθεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς), he reveals himself to them (ἐγὼ εἰμι, μὴ φοβεῖσθε).¹⁷⁴

Casey is quite adamant that there is no parallel in the synoptics for the 'I am' sayings of the Fourth Gospel.¹⁷⁵ This is a quite remarkable judgement

¹⁷³Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 24.

¹⁷⁴John Paul Heil, *Jesus Walking on the Sea*, 69. See also Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Conflict in Mark*, 99. On the theophanic character of Mk. 6: 45-52 see Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark*, trans. Donald H. Madvig, 'The fact that in Job 9:8 (cf. 38:16) this ability [to walk on water] is ascribed to God is more significant' (p. 141), and Gundry, *Mark. A Commentary*, 336. Gundry notes at least two characteristics of divine speech that are peculiar to Mark: the 'unusualness' of μετ' αὐτῶν with a verb of speaking and the doubling of the finite verbal reference to the speaking.

¹⁷⁵Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*., 26.

considering the close relationship between Mk. 6: 50, par. Mt. 14: 27 and Jn. 6:20, a matter to which our author refers not at all.

In 6: 50 the second evangelist unites two portraits of Jesus which he has sketched in 2: 1-3:6, those crucial verses where Jesus establishes his authority *vis à vis* his critics.

There are five pericopes within this unit which can be grouped into sections of three and two. In each pericope Jesus reveals an aspect of his authority. In the previously discussed first pericope, the healing of the paralytic (2: 1-12) Jesus shows forth his authority to establish a forgiveness which transcends the Law. In the second set of verses, the calling of Levi (2: 13-17), Jesus reveals his authority to call sinners to repentance in a way that subverts and overturns the halakhic teaching of his day regarding table fellowship.¹⁷⁶ The third pericope (2: 18-22) focuses on Jesus' superiority to John the Baptist. He uses the striking and unparalleled image of himself as the bridegroom¹⁷⁷ (itself a symbol of Jesus' divine authority in that he takes the place of God who, in the classical prophets, is described as a husband pursuing a faithless wife, e.g. Jer. 2: 2; 3: 1, 20) to support his authority to teach his disciples to dispense with the customary regulations regarding fasting; as the arrival of the bridegroom signals the moment when the celebration can begin, Jesus is the one in whom and through whom the Kingdom of God is being established.¹⁷⁸ Finally, in the fourth and fifth pericopes (2: 23-28; 3: 1-6) Jesus takes an unprecedented stand for a rabbi of his day and declares himself to be Lord of the Sabbath.¹⁷⁹

In the first subgroup (2: 1-12; 13-17; 18-22) Jesus, in his authority to establish a new forgiveness, to practice open commensality, and to dispense

¹⁷⁶B.F. Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus*, 161; Marcus Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics*, 80ff; John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 263; Borg, *Jesus, A New Vision*, 101f.

¹⁷⁷John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*. 2 vols., 2:441.

¹⁷⁸Günther Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, trans. Irene and Fraser McCluskey with James Robinson, 50.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 97; Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2: 682.

Besides Mk. 2: 5, 8, 10, 11 and 6: 48, 50 another synoptic passage where Jesus' divinity is strongly implied is Matthew 8: 2, where the verbs προσέρχεσθαι, to draw near, approach, and προσκυνεῖν, to bow down or to worship, are used in tandem, καὶ ἰδὸν λεπρὸς προσελθὼν προσεκύνει λέγων, κύριε, ἐὰν θέλῃς, δύνασαί με κάθαρίσαι.¹⁸²

προσέρχεσθαι in the Pentateuch

Προσέρχεσθαι appears 49 times in the Pentateuch.

1) When God, a sacred object, or the performance of a sacred rite is the object: (16 times)

God : Ex. 16:9; 22:8; Lev. 9:5 (the Lord); 21: 17; Deut. 5:27 (the Lord God).

Objects : Lev. 9: 7, 8 (the altar); 21: 23 (the veil); 22:3 (holy things); Num. 18:3 (the holy vessels of the altar), 22 (the tabernacle of witness); Deut. 4:11 (the mountain).

To offer sacrifice ; Lev. 21: 18, 21; Num. 16: 40 (to offer incense); Deut. 21: 5.

2) When a divinely appointed servant such as Moses, Aaron or Eleazar is the object. (14 times)

Moses : Ex. 34: 32; Lev. 10: 45; Num. 10: 4; 18: 4; 31: 48; Deut. 1: 22; 5:23; 32: 44 (Codex A. Moses is the subject).

Moses and Aaron : Num. 9: 6

¹⁸²On προσέρχεσθαι and Matthew, see James R. Edwards, 'The Use of ΠΡΟΣΕΡΧΕΣΘΑΙ in the Gospel of Matthew', *JBL* 106/1 (1987) 65-74. Cf. also William F. Albright and C.S. Mann, *Matthew*, 12 and Richard Bauckham, 'Jesus, the Worship of' *ABD*, 3: 813.

Moses and Eleazar : Num. 27: 1; 32:2, 16; 36:1

3) In non-cultic legal passages: (14 times)

Ex. 12: 48 (two times); 49; 19:15, 33; Lev. 18:6, 19; 20: 16; Num. 9:4; Deut. 20: 10; 22: 14; 25:1, 9, 11.

4) In non-cultic and non-legal situations. (5 times)

Gen. 29: 10; 33:14; 42: 24; 43: 19; Deut. 2: 37.

Of the 44 times that προσκυνεῖν appears in the Pentateuch 16 instances describe the reverence due a superior (Gen. 32: 7, 12, 27; 27:29 (two times); 33: 3, 6; 37: 7, 9, 10; 42: 6; 43: 26, 28; 47: 31; 48: 12; 49: 8; Ex. 18: 7) whereas 28 occasions pertain to the worship of God, gods and idols, that is, to right and wrong worship (Gen. 18: 2; 19: 1; 24: 26, 48, 52; Ex. 11: 8; 12: 27; 20: 5; 23: 24; 24:1; 32: 8; 33: 10; 34: 8, 14; Lev. 26: 1; Num. 22: 31; 26: 2; Deut. 4: 19; 5: 9; 6:13 (Codex A); 8: 19; 10: 20 (Codex A); 11: 16; 17: 3; 26: 10; 29: 25; 30: 17; 32: 43).

προσέρχεσθαι in Matthew

Matthew's use of προσέρχεσθαι roughly parallels its presence in the cultic passages of the Pentateuch.

Of the 52 times that this verb appears in Matthew, Jesus is the object 38 times.¹⁸³ This parallels those 5 times in the LXX when God is the object. Matt. 14: 12, when the disciples of John the Baptist come and take his body for burial (προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἦραν τὸ πτώμα) and 28: 2, when an angel approaches Jesus' grave to roll back the stone (καὶ προσελθὼν ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον) parallel those times when a sacred object is used in connection with προσέρχεσθαι. Finally, just as Moses, Aaron and Eleazar, as

¹⁸³Edwards, 'The Use of ΠΡΟΣΕΡΧΕΣΘΑΙ', 67.

God's representatives, are the object of προσέρχεσθαι, Matthew appears to want the reader to see Peter as holding the same status as these men, especially since Peter's role as guardian of the church is stressed in this gospel (Mt. 16: 16-20; cf. Mk. 8: 27-33 and Lk. 9: 18-22). Even though no particular respect is accorded Peter the three times he is the object of this verb (17:24; 26: 69, 73), Matthew appears to want the reader to hold Peter in the same regard as he would Moses, Aaron and Eleazar, who might justly be described as the pillars upon which the newly formed nation of Israel is based. Note especially that in passages parallel to Matt. 26: 69, 73 (Mk. 14: 66, 67, 69, 70; Lk. 22: 56, 58, 59; Jn. 18: 25, 26) less technical verbs such as ἔρχεται and λέγει are used. Is there anything in the First Gospel to indicate that while Peter is to be seen as the equivalent of these three men, Jesus is to be accorded a far higher status?

Two passages where Jesus' divinity is strongly suggested are Matt. 28: 2 and 5: 1. In the former the angel of the Lord προσελθὼν ἀπελύσεν τὸν λίθον. Matthew wants the reader to understand that the angel is treading upon holy ground; the ground upon which the resurrected Jesus has walked is the equivalent of the holy mountain to which Moses commanded the people of Israel, προσήλθετε καὶ ἔστητε (Deut. 4: 11).¹⁸⁴

Is there anything in the First Gospel to suggest that 28: 2 makes explicit what was already implicit in Jesus' stature, the ground upon which the earthly Jesus walked is to be seen as the equivalent of Sinai and Jesus as the presence of the God of Sinai on earth? We believe that 5: 1 provides such an example.

Without a doubt Moses typology plays some role in Matthew's gospel. This is apparent in his infancy narrative where the infant Jesus, like the infant

¹⁸⁴On 28: 2 as a new Sinai cf. Eduard Schweizer, trans. David E. Green, *The Good News according to Matthew*, 524.

Moses, is rescued from the designs of evil tyrants¹⁸⁵, in the baptism and temptation pericopes where the former is the new exodus and the latter is another journey through the wilderness¹⁸⁶, and in the opening of the Sermon on the Mount where Jesus, like Moses, 'went up on the mountain' and 'sat down' (Deut. 9: 9).¹⁸⁷

There is, however, a certain ambiguity in the Moses typology in the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus is a new Moses; however his status far surpasses that of the original lawgiver.¹⁸⁸ It could even be said that 'Jesus plays the part of YHWH while his disciples fulfil Moses' function.'¹⁸⁹ How can this be so? Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy make it clear that Moses is telling the people of Israel only what he has been commanded by God to tell them (e.g. Ex. 20:1, 22; 21:1; 24:3; Lev. 1:2; 4:2; 6:1; 20: 2; Num. 6:2; 15:2; 19: 2; Deut. 6: 1); whereas Matthew explicitly states that the material contained in 5:1-7:29 is Jesus' own teaching (7: 28, ἐξεπλήσσαντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ). The disciples' role is clarified in the Great Commission when like Moses on Mt. Sinai they are commanded to teach πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην (Matt. 28: 20).¹⁹⁰ The disciples' 'Mosaic' status in 5:1 is further clarified in 17: 7 (the transfiguration) and 28: 18, when Jesus is the subject of προσέρχεσθαι.

¹⁸⁵Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 193; Schweizer, *The Good News according to Matthew*, 42; F.W. Beare, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 82.

¹⁸⁶W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, 3 vols. (The International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988)1: 424; Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 215; Beare, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 109.

¹⁸⁷Davies and Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 1: 423f. Commentators are divided as to the prominence of Moses typology in Mt. 5: 1. Albright and Mann (*Matthew*, 49) remind the reader that the Great Instruction was delivered to the inner circle of disciples and not to the whole people. However, cf. Mt. 7: 28, καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ἐξεπλήσσαντο οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ. Apparently Matthew wants the reader to understand that even though Jesus drew his disciples from the crowd, the crowd could still overhear what Jesus was saying, else how could they have been astounded at his teaching. And cf. also Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew. A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art*. Gundry, like Davies and Allison (*A Critical Commentary*, 424) notes the frequency of ἀνέβη with relation to Moses' going up to Mt. Sinai to receive the law (idem, *Matthew*, 66).

¹⁸⁸David Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 109; Terence L. Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain*, 113.

¹⁸⁹Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain*, 113.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., 119f.

Here, like Moses on Mt. Sinai, the disciples witness a theophany: Jesus comes to them the same way God appeared to Moses. Edwards suggests that what has taken place in these two passages, especially in 28: 18, is a change of relationship between Jesus and his disciples, 'Prior to the resurrection, the disciples approach Jesus to learn from him. Following the resurrection, the exalted Lord approaches the disciples to empower them...'¹⁹¹ We would be inclined to go one step further and say that 17: 7 and 28: 18 bring to full light the relationship between Jesus and his disciples: they are Moses while Jesus is YHWH.

We conclude this study of προσέρχεσθαι in Matthew by saying that when the leper approaches Jesus he is not drawing near to a greater Moses, but to 'God's presence and his very self'.

προσκυνεῖν in the LXX and in Matthew 8:2

In the LXX προσκυνεῖν can mean the worship of God or gods (e.g. Gen. 18:2; 19: 1; 22: 5; 24:26, 48, 52; Ex. 4: 31; 11: 8; 12: 27; 1 Kdms. 1: 3, 19) or simply the reverence given by an inferior to a superior (e.g. Gen. 23: 7, 12; 27: 29 (two times); 33: 3, 6, 7; 37: 7, 9, 10; 42: 6; 43: 26, 28; Ru. 2: 10; 1 Kdms. 2: 36). The question before us is this: when Matthew uses προσκυνεῖν with Jesus as the object, is he using it in the latter or former, 'semi-technical', sense?

The leper not only προσελθὼν, he προσκυνεῖ αὐτῷ. Προσκυνεῖν, like προσέρχεσθαι, is typical of Matthew's gospel. It is interesting to note that even in the more ontically oriented Fourth Gospel, Jesus is the object of προσκυνεῖν only once (9:38), most other times it is used Jesus is proclaiming that correct worship is the worship of the Father (4:21,22, 23 (two times), 24). It is an irony which is lost on Casey that in this so explicitly christological gospel the physical gestures towards Jesus are somewhat restrained when

¹⁹¹Edwards, 'The Use of ΠΡΟΣΕΡΧΕΣΘΑΙ', 73.

compared with the synoptic tradition. Even though the earthly Jesus is the incarnate, divine Word of God, unrestrained worship of him can take place only after he has returned to the Father. Mary Magdalene cannot hold onto him because he has not yet ascended *πρὸς τὸν πατέρα* (20: 17). But later that evening after he had returned to his Father and subsequently appeared to Thomas, Thomas can touch Jesus' hands and put his hands into his side and say, *ὁ κύριός μου καὶ θεός μου* (20: 28) and thus be united to Jesus.

Matthew accounts for 13 of the 59 times *προσκυνεῖν* appears in the NT (2:2, 8, 11; 4:9, 10; 8: 2; 9:18; 14: 33; 15:25; 18:26; 20:20; 28: 9, 17). In ten of these instances Jesus is the object (2: 2, 8, 11; 8: 2; 9: 18; 14: 33; 15: 25; 20:20; 28: 9, 17). Of these five have no synoptic parallel (2: 2, 8, 11; 28: 9, 17). The only other times in the NT when Jesus is the object of this verb are Mk. 5:6; 15:19; Lk. 24:52; Jn 9: 38 and Heb. 1:6. Even though Jesus is never specified as the object of *προσκυνεῖν* in Revelation, it is clear that when God is worshipped on the throne (e.g. 5: 14; 7: 11; 19: 4) the Lamb, who occupies the throne with God (e.g. 5: 13; 22: 1), is to be included in this worship.

Of the five Matthean passages that have a Markan parallel (Mt. 8: 2//Mk. 1: 40; Mt. 9: 18//Mk. 5: 22; Mt. 14: 13//Mk. 6: 51; Mt. 15: 25//Mk. 7: 25; Mt. 20: 20//Mk. 10: 35) the following observations can be made: in the three instances in Mark the supplicants bow down (Mk. 1:40; 5:22; 7: 25) but a verb other than *προσκυνεῖν* is used (1: 40, *παρακαλῶν, γονυπετῶν*; 5: 22, *πίπτει* (v. 23, *παρακαλεῖ*); 7:25, *προσέπεσεν*); and on two occasions Matthew supplies the verb when any attitude representing worship is totally missing in Mark (Mt. 14: 33, cf. Mk. 6: 51; Mt. 20: 20, cf. Mk. 10: 35).

Is there anything about 2: 2, 8, 11; 8: 2; 9: 18; 14:33; 15:25; 20:20 which would indicate that more is taking place than simply the reverence due a

superior?¹⁹² We believe there is. As the presence of Ps. 110:1 at most levels of the NT suggests (e.g. 1 Cor. 15: 25; Rom. 8: 34; Mk. 14: 62; Matt. 22: 44) from the earliest days of the formation of the kerygma Jesus was worshipped as the one given the closest communion possible with God¹⁹³, as the one sharing the divine name (e.g. Rom. 10: 13; Phil. 2: 9), and as God's eschatological plenipotentary, the one who is seen to have entered 'into the exercise of the dominion which he himself earlier proclaimed, "Kingdom of God" '.¹⁹⁴ That the First Evangelist understood and worshipped Jesus as such¹⁹⁵ and wanted the congregations to which he was writing to understand and worship Jesus in this manner is seen in those passages in Matthew which supply προσκυνεῖν when Mark has indicated that something resembling worship is taking place but supplies another verb (see above) and those passages which add προσκυνεῖν when Mark has no reference at all to worship. By deliberately choosing a verb which in the Pentateuch is not only associated with the worship of God (see above) but is also a verb used in passages which distinguish true worship from false (e.g. Ex. 20: 5; 23: 24; 39: 14; Lev. 26: 1; Deut. 5: 9), Matthew wants his readers to understand that when the leper in 8: 2 (as well as the leader of the synagogue in 9: 18, the Canaanite woman in 15: 25, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee in 20: 20) approaches and prostrates himself before the earthly Jesus he is not simply expressing the reverence due a superior but is engaged in true worship, the worship of one who in his mortal, pre-exalted, pre-companion-on-the-throne state was the presence of God on earth, the one who must be approached and knelt before as the God on earth, the one who must be approached and knelt before as the God of Sinai.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹²We will take for granted that in 28: 9, 17 worship of Jesus in his 'majestic deity' is indicated. Cf. Gundry, *Matthew, A Commentary*, 587.

¹⁹³Hengel, *Studies*, 149.

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 157.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁹⁶See Donaldson, *Jesus on the Mountain*, 113.

But perhaps the best clue that Matthew is using προσκυνεῖν in a 'semi-technical' sense can be found in the two times in Mark when this verb appears: 5: 6 and 15:19. Both times (8. 29, 27. 29) Matthew drops προσκυνεῖν because in both instances, 5:6, the worship of demons, 5: 19, the mocking of the soldiers, true worship is not taking place.¹⁹⁷

An Evaluation of Casey- Conclusion

In the passages we have discussed we have tried to show that the divinity of Jesus is not the sole creation of the Fourth Evangelist but was a theme developed in the use of ἀφίειν in Mk. 2: 5, in Mk. 6: 48, where Jesus reënacts the theophany of Ex. 34: 5-6, 6:50 where Jesus replicates YHWH's victory over primeval chaos and Pharaoh's army at the Red Sea, and of προσέρχεσθαι and προκυνεῖν in Matthew.

All this takes place under Jesus' authority as Messiah and Son of God (Mk. 1: 1, 11; Mt. 1: 1; 3: 17). However, this is more implicit than explicit. There are only two times in the synoptics when a teaching of Jesus specifically refers to his relationship with his Father: Mk. 12: 1-12, par., Mk. 13:32, par., and Mt. 11: 25ff, par. What the Fourth Gospel does is to make explicit Jesus' dependency on his Father, that apart from his role as God's agent in creation and redemption he is nothing. God the Father *gave* his son (3: 16) and he *sent* his son (e.g. 3: 17; 4: 34; 5: 36, 38; 6: 29, 38, 44; 7: 16, 28; 8: 17, 26, 29, 42). Even the christologically explicit 5: 17; 8: 58 and 10: 13 are balanced by 5: 19, ἀμὴν ἀμὴν, οὐ δύναται ὁ υἱὸς ποιεῖν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲν ἐὰν μὴ τι βλέπη τὸν πατέρα ποιοῦντα, 8:50, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ ζητῶ τὴν δόξαν μου, and 10: 25, τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς μου...And, as we mentioned above, the unrestrained worship we see in 20: 18 does not take place until Jesus has returned to his Father.

¹⁹⁷Bauckham, 'Jesus, Worship of', *ADB*, III, 813.

Does the relationship between John and the synoptics represent continuity or discontinuity? We believe it represents continuity for two reasons: 1) there is a well-founded synoptic tradition of the divinity of Jesus as seen in our study of ἀφίειν, προσέρχεσθαι, προσκυνεῖν, and Mk. 6: 48 and 50 which Casey has completely overlooked in his treatment of the synoptics; 2) that this divinity as expressed in the above mentioned synoptic passages strongly suggests Agent Christology and that it takes the 'sending' passages and other similar passages of John to make explicit what is strongly suggested in the synoptic tradition.

Theological development is a complicated process. Fuller and Hengel have shown us how the eschatological message of the historical Jesus necessitated an upward movement from eschatology to protology and how the experience of the risen Lord in the worship of the post-Easter church helped this process along. However *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God* shows another side to the why of christology. While Casey may be criticized for not giving worship proper credit in the formation of the kerygma, he has given a vital sketch as to one of the ways that Christianity parted company from Judaism, namely the encroachment of Gentiles into the Jesus Movement and the need of the leaders of that movement to adapt themselves to that phenomenon. And by noting the blatantly anti-Jewish remarks, based mostly on passages from the Fourth Gospel, of St. John Chrysostom and Martin Luther, he has challenged Christian scholarship to repudiate John's gospel as a basis for a rapprochement with Judaism.

Where Casey can be most seriously faulted is in the following points: 1) he fails to see that the historical Jesus can be seen as acting in God's place by not examining Mk. 2: 5, by failing to compare Mt. 8: 22 with Jer. 16: 5 and Eze. 24: 17¹⁹⁸, and by overlooking the unparalleled step Jesus took when he taught his disciples to call God Father, not God and Father or Lord and

¹⁹⁸See Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader*, 12.

Father; 2) in failing to examine Matthew's use of προσέρχεσθαι and προσκυνεῖν he overlooks passages which show that the worship of Jesus and hence the divinity of Jesus were well-established phenomena in the ethnically mixed communities to which the first three evangelists were writing¹⁹⁹; 3) he does not examine the relationship between Mk. 6: 50 and Jn. 6: 20 and so does damage to his statement that there is no synoptic parallel to the 'I am' sayings of the Fourth Gospel²⁰⁰; 4) even though he admits to there being an Agent Christology in the Fourth Gospel²⁰¹ he does not pause to consider how this makes explicit what is not entirely clear in Jesus' teaching in the synoptics- his absolute dependence on his Father; and 5) he does not see how the unrestrained worship of the exalted Jesus by Thomas (20: 28) moderates the worship of Jesus in Matthew where the earthly Jesus is given the same reverence due the risen, exalted Christ.

Is Johannine Christology a stumbling block to Jews and a folly to Gentiles? We will answer the latter half of this question first. Had Jesus never enacted a forgiveness of sins that went beyond the scope of the law, had he not demanded a loyalty from his followers that was God's only to demand, had he addressed God by titles other than simply Father, had he not taught his disciples to call God Father and only Father, had Mark not evoked Ex. 34: 5-6 in Mark 6: 48 and Deutero-Isaiah in Mark 6: 50, had Matthew used less provocative words than προσέρχεσθαι and προσκυνεῖν then yes the Fourth

¹⁹⁹In a private conversation that took place between Casey and me at the BNTS meeting in Aberdeen, 12-14 September 1996, the former said that προσκυνεῖν in those instances probably meant no more than the honour and respect due to a superior. If this were the case, why didn't Mt. simply quote Mk. directly, παρακαλῶν καὶ γονυπετῶν, instead of substituting a verb which had so many cultic connotations. Casey admitted that I might have had a point.

²⁰⁰Admittedly Casey is referring to those statements where there is a predicate nominative (idem, *From Jewish Prophet*, 26). However it seems that those statements with no predicate (8: 24, 28, 58; 13: 19) or where the predicate may be understood even though it is not expressed (6: 20; 18: 5, 6, 8) express Jesus' divinity much more clearly as the ones to which he calls our attention in that they recall the 'I am' statements from Deutero-Isaiah.

²⁰¹Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 157f. He refers to it as 'sending terminology'.

Gospel would have been folly since the proclamations of Jesus' deity would have signalled an abrupt departure from the intents of the historical Jesus.

A stumbling block to Jews? This is a more difficult question since there is so much in this gospel which can be interpreted in an anti-Jewish fashion, i.e.. those passages where Jesus appears to replace aspects of Judaism, those passages where the Jews seem to be treated as an alien group, and 1: 1^c, καὶ θεὸς ἦ ὁ λόγος, which to the untrained eye treats Jesus as a second god.

To answer this question in any detail goes far beyond the scope of this thesis which is to examine how three scholars have answered the question, What in the words of Jesus warrants the words about Jesus? However, the following observations can be made:

1. The Hebrew Scriptures look forward to a day when the externals of religious practice will be fulfilled and pass away (Jer. 31: 31-34).
2. In the Fourth Gospel Jesus is never treated as anything but an observant Jew (Jn. 4: 22).
3. In the trial scene, the phrase 'the Jews' is not applied to the whole nation but only to those who were outside Pilate's headquarters.
4. Until we learn how other groups reacted to having been expelled from the synagogue, it is difficult to say just how 'anti-Jewish' the Fourth Gospel is.
5. In and of itself the anarthous θεός in 1: 1^c does not make it clear that we are not talking about a second god; in fact it could mean the Word was a god. However if we see this passage within the context of those passages of the Fourth Gospel where Jesus makes explicit his absolute dependence on the Father, it is possible to see 1: 1^c as talking about one who has the closest communion possible with God so that to worship the Son is to worship the Father.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine Fuller's, Hengel's and Casey's contributions to the study of the relationship between the words of Jesus and the words about Jesus, whether or not this is a relationship representing continuity or discontinuity, development or evolution. I have discussed their contributions to New Testament christology *vis à vis* the hermeneutic of discontinuity and evolution as seen in Rudolf Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament* and the essentially 'achristological' work of John Dominic Crossan and Marcus J. Borg. That is to say, was there sufficient material in the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth to warrant christological titles such as Messiah, divine Son of God, Lord? Bultmann believed there wasn't but was unconcerned since the church's confession was the result of faith's encounter with what God had accomplished in Christ as a result of the resurrection. All that historical criticism could recover was that Jesus was an eschatological prophet and that he had been executed as a messianic pretender. However, to say that Jesus was not Christ, Lord and divine Son of God because he didn't explicitly say he was would be to drag the church into legalism. Crossan and Borg seemed to imply that there was no tangible connection between the confession of the church of Jesus as Messiah and Jesus' understanding of himself and his mission. Casey believed that there was insufficient material to warrant high christology; however as long as christology remained monotheistic, it could be considered legitimate. Casey's criteria for christology were not so much the recoverable sayings of Jesus but the eight identity factors of Second Temple Judaism and the portrait of Jesus which emerged in the synoptic tradition, a tradition which he appears to regard as a healthy corrective to the pre-existence, ahistorical christology

found in Paul. In other words, had Jesus claimed to be the divine Son of God the church could not base its christology on this claim because such a claim would have been uttered in direct violation of the monotheism of Second Temple Judaism. However, Paul's pre-existent Jesus may have been a stranger to the historical Jesus, but it retained its legitimacy since monotheism was not violated. Only when monotheism was discarded in the Johannine literature could christology have been said to have violated the teaching of Jesus .

However, it was Fuller's and Hengel's contention that the historical Jesus had transcended Second Temple Judaism, that his message had demanded the reinterpretation of Second Temple Judaism. The eschatological message of Jesus, that is that he represented the fulfilment of Israel's sonship, that he could be seen as the climax of Israel's history, that he was the one in whom the Kingdom of God was present, that he acted in the place of God to enact the eschatological forgiveness of Jer. 31: 31-34, vindicated by the resurrection , provided the justification for the post-Easter church's application of Ps. 110:1 to the risen Jesus and further encouraged proclamation as found in such passages as Phil. 2: 5-11 and Col. 1: 15-20 which in turn opened the door to the ontic christology of the Fourth Gospel and the subsequent ontology of the Patristic Era. Fuller's and Hengel's specific contributions to New Testament christology are that they challenge Bultmannian dicta and fill in the gaps left by Crossan's and Borg's portrait of a non-messianic Jesus, Jesus the Cynic, Jesus the holy man and sage . It is my belief that since Fuller's and Hengel's portrait is based on Jesus' authority as seen in his Father and Kingdom language and in a Wisdom saying such as Lk. 13:34. par., their interpretation of the relationship between the words of Jesus and the words about Jesus as representing development and continuity is essentially correct.

Despite the fact that I have taken serious issue with Casey regarding Jesus' divine status in the synoptic gospels, in particular Matthew and Mark, I maintain that *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God* is valuable for New Testament study in that as it is in part a social history of the first century church, which he describes in its earliest stages as having been a thoroughly Jewish phenomenon but which at the end of this century became a wholly Gentile product, it provides an alternative view of the formation of christology, a view left relatively unexplored in the writings of Crossan and Borg and other members of the Third Quest. Hengel touched on the sociological factors, the 'horizontal' dimension of theology, in locating the upward expansion of christology as a result of the expulsion of the Hellenists from Jerusalem following the martyrdom of Stephen, but this study was highly flawed in that it was more than likely that not only the Hellenists but the Hebrews were expelled and carried with them a common gospel that was formed when there was considerable interaction between these two groups in Jerusalem following the resurrection. We noted a certain contradiction in Hengel's work when he contended in *Between Jesus and Paul* that there was a distinctive Hellenist kerygma as opposed to that of the Hebrews; whereas in his magnum opus, *Judaism and Hellenism*, he argued for a hellenized Jerusalem. Casey, on the other hand, cogently argued that the upward thrust of christology was due not only to an act of God, the resurrection, but to the erosion of Jewish identity due to the influx of Gentiles into the church as a result of the Pauline mission. Casey's problem was that in his description of the message of Jesus of Nazareth he overlooked, among other things, the vital evidence of Mk. 2: 5, par. where Jesus appears to be acting in the place of God.

Fuller made four points in his portrait of the historical Jesus: 1) he was an eschatological prophet 2) who performed the proleptic functions of the apocalyptic Son of man; 3) he expressed confidence that he would be 'rubber-stamped' by this figure; and 4) in his exclusive use of 'Abba' proclaimed the proleptic presence of the Kingdom of God in himself and indicated that he was conscious of a unique sonship to which he claimed the right to admit others.

In our study of Fuller I have tried to show how each of these factors was connected to the emerging christology of the post-Easter church. The earliest church took over Jesus' identification with eschatological prophecy which Fuller noted could be seen in passages such as Mt. 11: 4-6, Mk. 6: 4 and Lk. 13:33 and identified Jesus as the Mosaic prophet-servant of Deut. 18: 15. Fuller noted that passages such as Mk. 1: 11; 10: 45; 14: 24 and Acts 3: 12-26, were the work of the Palestinian Church in interpreting Jesus' ministry along the lines of Deut. 18: 15. The Aramaic-speaking Christians also believed that after the resurrection Jesus was installed as Messiah and Son of man designate. Therefore passages such as Mt. 24: 27, 37, 44 and Lk. 11:30; 12:8 and 17: 30 gave way to Mk. 14: 62 and Acts 3: 12-26 where Jesus' ministry appeared to have been unequivocally vindicated by God.

Because of the delay of the parousia and the experience of the presence of the risen Jesus in their midst, the missionaries to Greek-speaking Jews retrojected Son of David (after its political connotations had been 'purged' by the resurrection) Son of God, Lord and Christ to Jesus' earthly ministry. A passage such as Mt. 11: 4-6, which Fuller attributed to the historical Jesus and in which Jesus identified himself as the fulfilment of Isa. 61: 1ff, and which gave way to the 'Messiah-in-waiting' Christology of the Aramaic Church which Fuller described at work in Acts 3: 19-21, is reinterpreted by Mt. 11:2 when Messiah is applied to the earthly Jesus. The Hellenistic Jewish Mission also believed that Jesus had ended his period of inactive waiting in heaven

and had begun to exercise his divine authority, which Fuller interpreted to mean God's performing the functions of divinity through the exalted Christ. Therefore passages traceable to Jesus of Nazareth such as Lk. 11:30; 12:8 and 17:30 which provided the basis for Mk. 14: 62 and Acts 3: 19-21 are seen in the light of the resurrection and the delay of the parousia as Acts 2: 36 where Jesus is acting in heaven as exalted Lord and Messiah.

The final stage of pre-canonical christology, the Three-Stage Christology where the Pre-existent One descended to our realm, became incarnate as Jesus of Nazareth and was given the 'name which is above every name' was perhaps most difficult to locate in the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. However, Fuller provided a clue for us in his interpretation of Mt. 11: 25f., par. which he said provided the basis for the Son Christology of the Fourth Gospel and was based, he said, on Jesus of Nazareth's use of 'Abbā. Since the Three-Stage Christology in a sense opened the way for the fully developed *katabasis/ anabasis* Christology of the Fourth Gospel, it could reasonably be stated that Mt. 11: 25f., par., where Jesus is 'privy' to special revelation, such as a father imparts to a son, and that this particular father-son revelation exalted him far above the level of the relationship between YHWH and his prophets since nowhere in the prophetic literature is a *nabi* ever addressed as 'son', prepared the way for a passage such as Phil. 2: 6-11 where Jesus is exalted above all heavenly mediators and given the name YHWH-*kyrios*. While pre-existence is not stated explicitly in Mt. 11: 25f., par., pre-existence does not seem a tremendous advance upon such a passage which made the son the recipient of a special revelation. Here Jesus is removed not only from the particular revelation that existed between God and his prophets, but he is translated far above the sonship of the ordinary Israelite, even the sonship of the Messiah as seen in Ps. 89: 26 and the sonship of the righteous son of God in Wis. 2: 16. Fuller was quite clear that even though Mt. 11:25f., par. cannot be traced to the ministry of Jesus, this Q logion was based

on Jesus' use of 'Abba', on his utterly unique practice of calling God 'father' and only 'father'. I believe it is therefore possible to see a strong link between Jesus' use of 'Abba' and the Three-Step Christology of the Hellenistic Gentile Mission, Mt. 11: 25f., providing the connecting span. Therefore just as the christology of the Palestinian Church, the Hellenistic Jewish and Hellenistic Gentile Missions provided the foundations for the christology of the New Testament, the eschatological prophet in whom the Kingdom of God was present, the Israelite whose sonship transcended the sonship of every Israelite, provided the 'foundation for the foundations'.

Martin Hengel, reconsidered

There were essentially two differences between Reginald Fuller and Martin Hengel. Hengel abandoned Fuller's cross-cultural paradigm in favour of a paradigm consisting of two christological epochs, the first beginning with the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth in 30 C.E. and coming to an end in c. 32/34 C.E. with the first Gentile mission of the Hellenists; the second epoch, the truly pre-Pauline era, encompassed the years 35-48, beginning with the completion of the mission of the Hellenists among the Samaritans and along the coastal regions of Palestine and Antioch and culminating in the Jerusalem Council. During the First Epoch when there was a good deal of fluidity between the Aramaic and Greek-speaking communities in Jerusalem, Jesus' messiahship, the atonement, and his exaltation and enthronement to the right hand of God were proclaimed. The title Son of God was adopted but pre-existence was not articulated. It was during the Second Christological Epoch that pre-existence was more than likely added to the kerygma. In other words, while Fuller described a gradual heightening of theology over a period of twenty years, a heightening that resulted from the delay of the parousia and the increasing experience of the risen and exalted Jesus

exercising his ministry in the church, Hengel appeared to suggest that all aspects of christology, except perhaps for pre-existence, were realized, if not fully articulated during the period immediately following the resurrection when there was an outpouring of the Spirit which had the effect of spontaneous worship resulting in hymns based on Pss. 2, 89 and 110. It was these hymns which provided the basis for further christological reflection.

The second point of difference between Fuller and Hengel lay in the latter's description of Jesus' messianic ministry, which Hengel described as replete with an authority which can only be called messianic in that he 'dared to act in the place of God', the role which the Messiah was to fulfil when he made God's rule absolute.¹ Whereas in *Foundations* Fuller tied Jesus' lack of messianic consciousness to his refusal to accept the title Messiah, Hengel bypassed the issue of whether or not or to what degree Jesus identified himself with the title Messiah and concentrated instead on the shape of eschatological ministry. Jesus was possessed of a messianic consciousness not because he accepted the title Messiah but delayed the proclamation until his vindication, but rather that throughout his ministry he acted in God's stead.

Hengel pointed out several specific references to Jesus' messianic consciousness: two of these had to do with the lack of any scriptural citation in Mark for the donkey or the Cleansing of the Temple. This absence signified to Hengel that the messianic interpretation of these events was well established before the time of the second evangelist and could very well be traced to the ministry of Jesus. After the donkey and the Cleansing of the Temple came the titulus, 'King of the Jews' which is found in all accounts of the crucifixion and Jesus' acceptance of the *causa poenae* in the σὺ λέγεις of Mk. 15:2 which Hengel does not regard as a secondary interpolation. Ruthless

¹This is seen most forcibly in Ps. Sol. 17:24, 'To shatter all their substance with an iron rod; to destroy the unlawful nations *with the word of his mouth*.' (itals. mine) Here we see the Messiah carrying out the divine prerogative of word=act. See James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2: 667. No OT parallel is cited for the italicized words.

as it was, Rome would not have sentenced someone to death unless there were proof that that person was guilty.

More important for Hengel was the fact that there was not a Messiah dogmatic in Second Temple Judaism but a messianic Haggadah, that is that the term 'Messiah' had a wide range of meanings. Who could qualify as Messiah? Besides being a descendant of David, Hengel listed prophet, priest, wisdom and Torah teacher, and suffering and atoning 'revelator'. The fact that Jesus fulfilled all those roles, except for priest, convinced me of Jesus' eschatological dimension. He was eschatological not only because he inaugurated God's long awaited kingdom, he was eschatological because after him can come no other: by fulfilling so much of the messianic Haggada he represented the climax of Israel's history. N.T. Wright expounded on this when he referred to Jesus as the return of the glory of YHWH to Zion.

However Hengel's Jesus is most messianic in that not only did he fulfil the messianic Haggada but he transcended it. In a Wisdom saying in Q Jesus said that he was greater than Solomon, the greatest wise man, and Jonah, to whom Hengel referred as the most successful prophetic preacher. A possible basis for the Pre-existence Christology of the Second Christological Epoch (as well as for Jesus' divinity in the Fourth Gospel) can be seen in Lk. 13: 34 which has parallels in Sir. 1: 15 and Deut. 32:11, which I interpreted as an authentic saying of Jesus because of the striking feminine imagery which is found nowhere else in the New Testament. As teacher Jesus transcended the categories of his day. In his interpretation of the Torah there is a regal attitude towards the Law of Moses 'which attempts to go beyond the written word to discern the original will of God.'

However, it was in his standing in the place of God where Jesus appeared to be most messianic. There were at least six instances when Jesus appears to act in this capacity: 1) when he enacted the free forgiveness of sins

foretold in Jeremiah (Jer. 31: 31-34); this is seen especially in Mk. 2:5;² 2) in Mt. 6: 25ff. where he forbids anxiety; Hengel noted here that Jesus was not only contradicting all wisdom, he has lifted the curse of Genesis 3; 3) when he described himself as the Bridegroom he has described himself as YHWH who in Jeremiah portrays himself as a long-suffering husband; 4) Jesus called people to follow him the same way God called his prophets-he relied on no precedent other than the initiative which God took with his servants; 5) when Jesus said, 'Leave the dead to bury the dead' he was demanding the same obedience from his disciples which God demanded of Jeremiah when he commanded him not to visit a house of mourning and of Ezekiel when he forbade him to lament the dead; 6) when Jesus introduced his sayings he frequently used ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν thus replacing the prophetic formula 'Thus says the Lord'. In all of this Jesus appears as God's plenipotentiary, that is, his Messiah.

According to Hengel the description of Jesus as one who acts in the place of God so that to know Jesus was to have an encounter with the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob form the foundations for the Pre-existence Christology of the Second Christological Epoch. First, Jesus as described by Hengel, exceeded two people with whom pre-existence was associated, Jeremiah and Moses (Jer. 1:5 and Test. Moses 1: 14). However it is not said that either of these figures *personally* pre-existed with God, only that they were pre-destined to have been what they became. Even though both Jeremiah and Moses could speak from a perspective of unparalleled intimacy with God, the authority they acted on was God's word acting on them. Jesus, on the other hand, initiated the events that led up to Calvary, the new Exodus, God's decisive act in history. If it was said of Moses and Jeremiah that they pre-existed in the mind of God, how much more could be said of

²Points one and three are not found in Hengel but represent my own contribution to Hengel's portrait of Jesus as one who acts in the place of God.

Jesus but to say that he *personally* pre-existed with God? Secondly, by describing one who acts in the place of God, who exceeded the authority of a Moses or a Jeremiah, we have one who is 'eminently qualified' to have been exalted to the right hand of God. According to Hengel there was an inner dynamic between the Exaltation Christology of the First Christological Epoch and the Pre-existence Christology of the Second Christological Epoch. One who sits at the right hand of God has been exalted far above all intermediary figures such as the supreme angels or Wisdom/Torah. The only way to describe Jesus' supremacy over these figures is to say Jesus alone pre-existed with God, that he was God's Wisdom and God's Torah. Logic and consistency demand that eschatology be supplemented by protology. But it must not be forgotten that the Pre-existence Christology of the Second Christological Epoch would have been an unwarranted advance on the ministry of Jesus had not he seen himself as one acting in the place of God.

Casey, reconsidered

Fuller and Hengel saw a connection between the ministry of Jesus and the Ontic Christology of the Fourth Gospel. They both based their conclusions on what they understood to have been Jesus' exclusive use of '*Abbā*'. Casey, on the other hand, described the Fourth Gospel as a distortion of the message of Jesus and the synoptic tradition. According to Casey, Jesus' use of '*Abbā*' was typical of the time.

Casey regarded the two titular 'son' sayings, Mt. 13: 32 and Mt. 11: 27, par., as having been church creations. Jesus, in other words, had no awareness of any distinctive sonship such as would have warranted the 'son' sayings of the Fourth Gospel. In this thesis I have tried to demonstrate that while it was not unknown in Second Temple Judaism to address God as 'Father', it was virtually unknown for someone to call God only 'Father'.

Casey wanted the reader to understand that in Stage One of his scheme of christological development when Lord, Christ and Son were applied the church was doing nothing more than following the pattern of Second Temple Judaism when great status was given to historical and quasi-historical figures. Even in Stage Two when Jesus was described as pre-existent and participating in creation he was only on the verge of divinity. When Jesus is called divine in Rom. 9: 3ff. this was more than likely a purely honourific title. In the synoptic gospels when Jesus was given a unique revelatory role and Son of God, Christ and Son of man became fully confessional in form, he was not fully divine.

However, what I have tried to demonstrate in this thesis is that Jesus' divinity was firmly established in the synoptics, especially in Mk. 2:5; 4:41 and 6:50 and in Matthew's use of προσκυνεῖν in e.g. 8:2 and προσέρχεσθαι in e.g. 28:2,18.

In Mk. 2:5 Jesus acted in God's place to initiate a forgiveness which seemed to put the Law of Moses aside. In Mk. 4: 41 the evangelist wanted the reader to understand that the disciples recognized Jesus' divine authority when they say, 'Who then is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?' Another example of Jesus' divine authority was to be found in Mk. 6: 50 where Jesus echoed Isa. 43: 12 in saying ἐγώ εἰμι μὴ φοβεῖσθε. Mk. 2:5; 4:41 and 6:50 were not mentioned in *From Jewish Prophet*.

In Matt. 8: 2 when the leper knelt before Jesus we were faced with προσκυνεῖν having been used in its cultic sense signifying the reverence due to God alone. The clue that Matthew was using προσκυνεῖν in its numinous sense was found on two occasions when Matthew paralleled Mark: Mk. 5: 6 and 15: 19, par. In the former Matthew replaced Mark's καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ with καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔκραξαν λέγοντες (8: 29); in the latter Matthew read καὶ γονυπετήσαντες ἐμπρόσθεν αὐτοῦ (27: 24) instead of καὶ τιθέντες τὰ

γόνατα προσεκύουν αὐτῷ. In neither case, the worship of demons and the mocking of soldiers, would worship have been appropriate.

The deity of Jesus also seemed apparent in Matthew's use of προσέρχεσθαι, the verb used in the Pentateuch when one approaches God or a sacred object, particularly in 28: 2 when the angel of the Lord προσελθὼν ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον. Matthew apparently intended for the reader to understand that the angel was treading upon holy ground; the ground upon which the resurrected Jesus was about to walk was the equivalent of the holy mountain to which Moses commanded the people of Israel, προσήλθετε καὶ ἔστητε (Deut. 4:11). However, it was my contention that Matthew's use of these two verbs in their technical sense would have been an unwarranted advance on Jesus' ministry had not he, Jesus, acted in the place of God in dispensing the eschatological forgiveness of Jer. 31:31-34, identified himself as the bridegroom and displayed an unparalleled sonship in his distinctive use of 'Abbā , a sonship which he extended to his disciples.

Throughout this thesis I have put considerable stress on Jesus' use of 'Abbā . I was well aware of the objections to Jeremias' arguments and I have noted them. I also presented a modification of Jeremias' work, namely that while it was not unknown in Second Temple Judaism to address God as 'father' and Jesus may have used a word other than 'Abbā , when he addressed God he called him by no other title than 'Father', the one exception being the cry of dereliction in Mk. 15: 34, par. and in this case he is quoting scripture, Ps. 22:1. Not only that, but Jesus used no modifiers such as 'my God' or 'my Lord' such as were used in 4Q372 and 4Q460. There was, of course, one exception to this rule- Mt. 11: 25, 'I thank you Father. Lord of heaven and earth', This exception, however, is explicable in relation to 11: 27- making clear that 'all things' are the Father's sovereignty over heaven and earth. I stand by what I said earlier, that in addressing Israel's God as simply

'father' he was addressing God in a way that was completely unique.³ In bestowing this intimacy on others he is exercising a divine authority which finds its fulfilment in the Fourth Gospel. Not only is his manner of speaking to God completely unique, but his life of perfect obedience to his Father, a life which Fuller described so well in *Mission*, is a fulfilment of Israel's vocation to be a son of God. In other words Jesus' life accomplished only what God himself could do⁴, it provided a perfect example of what it meant to be a son of God. In addressing God as 'Father' and only 'Father' he made a claim to be the true Israel, the incarnation, if you will, the visible presence of all that Israel was supposed to have been; in his death on the cross he made good his claim.

Concluding Remarks

In 1993 L.E. Keck stated that while soteriology makes christology possible, one of the tasks of New Testament christology is to see that christology not be reduced to soteriology, since 'Christ is always more than saviour.'⁵ Indeed if Christ had been saviour and saviour only, if he had been the perfect sin offering and nothing else, the church might have been 'inspired' to think along lines of Christ, Son of God and Lord but it would not have had, in Fuller's words, the 'raw materials', to apply these titles to the resurrected Christ.

³Cf. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 649f. Here Wright notes that Jesus' addressing God as 'father' was very remarkable but not completely unique. To the best of my knowledge the only example of 'father' being used without a 'modifier' is found in Wis. 14: 3. I noted, however, that this form of address is hardly characteristic of this book, and the fact that J.D. Crossan dates this work between 37 and 41 C.E. opens up the possibility that this passage represents a possible Christian influence. I repeat: With the possible exception of Wis. 14: 3, Jesus' consistent use of 'father' without a 'modifier' is completely unique to Second Temple Judaism at the time of Jesus.

⁴Ibid., 651.

⁵L.E. Keck, 'Toward the Renewal of New Testament Christology' in M.C. de Boer, ed., *From Jesus to John. Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 324.

The Eschatological Jesus has attempted to draw a portrait of Jesus who is more than saviour, perfect offering. According to Fuller he is the *telos* of Israel's destiny as a son of God, the one through whom God was establishing his final rule, the one in whom God has drawn near as 'Abbā'. In the writing of Martin Hengel Jesus was described as the one who acts in the place of God when he called people to follow him the way God called his prophets and enjoined upon them a divine discipline, when he acted as the eschatological plenipotentiary of divine Wisdom in lifting the curse of Genesis 3 (Mt. 6: 25ff.) and identifying himself with God in Lk. 13: 34 who, in Deut. 32: 11, is like an eagle 'who stirs up its nest and hovers over its young'. Even P.M. Casey, with whom I have taken serious issue over his treatment of Jesus' divinity in the synoptic gospels, has attempted to describe a Jesus who as the embodiment of Judaism transcends the category of perfect offering and provides the basis for the very Jewish categories of Christ, Son of God, Lord. N.T. Wright, in *Jesus and the Victory of God* brings the work of Fuller and Hengel into sharper focus when he describes Jesus as the return of the glory of YHWH to Zion. I have also offered two examples of my own where Jesus appears to claim to be presence of God on earth, Mk. 2:5 where he dispensed the forgiveness only God can dispense, a forgiveness which bypassed and transcended the Law, and Mk. 2: 18-20 where Jesus the bridegroom identified himself with YHWH the faithful husband.

Fuller and Hengel have correctly interpreted the relationship between the words of Jesus and the words about Jesus as one representing continuity as opposed to discontinuity, development rather than evolution, because the titles Christ, divine Son of God and Lord, Jesus the establisher of the Kingdom of God, Jesus the perfection and embodiment of Israel's destiny, Jesus who acted with divine authority, are the least inadequate ways of describing one who in his earthly ministry was, in the words of John Henry Newman, 'God's presence and his very self'.

I have tried to show in *The Eschatological Jesus* that Fuller and Hengel have shown us that history and christology are inseparable tasks. In describing Jesus of Nazareth as one who acted in the place of God they have shown us a Jesus who not only warrants high christology but demands it.

Abbreviations

ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
Br	<i>Biblical Research</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
ET	<i>Expository Times</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
NT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>

RQ	<i>Revue Qumran</i>
SGOT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
ST	<i>Studia theologica</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
SBLSP	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
BNTS	<i>British New Testament Society</i>

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