

CLARE K. ROTHSCHILD

Baptist Traditions and Q

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament
190*

Mohr Siebeck

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*For my grandfather:
Alexander Bernard Komoroske
1912–2005*

*The dove descending breaks the air
With flame of incandescent terror
Of which the tongues declare
The one discharge from sin and error.
The only hope, or else despair
Lies in the choice of pyre or pyre –
To be redeemed from fire by fire.*

T. S. Eliot, "Little Gidding,"
Four Quartets

Acknowledgments

The foundational idea for this book arose in a three-and-a-half hour conversation on a car ride from Grand Rapids, MI to Chicago, IL in February, 2003. Good friend and colleague, James A. Kelhoffer and I were headed home from the Midwest Society of Biblical Literature meeting. For the meeting Jim had prepared a presentation on John the Baptist's diet of "locusts and wild honey" (Mk 1:6/Mt 3:4). I presented a topic, spinning off of my dissertation research, on two literary themes – charismatic and didactic – in Luke-Acts. These two themes, I argued, represent the author's explanation for the rapid growth of the Jesus movement, one of the dilemmas his second *logos* sets out to resolve. As Arthur Darby Nock argued in the early part of the 20th century, these motifs addressed different audiences for different purposes: the didactic (e.g., speeches) addressed audiences stirred by appeals to the intellect, while the charismatic (e.g., miracles) addressed audiences persuaded by appeals to the sensational (*Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1933] 254–56). They are artificially brought together in Acts (cf. Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*) to portray early Christian missionary work as ubiquitous – affecting everyone. During this long car ride discussion with Jim, I began to think about this division between didactic and charismatic as it was played out elsewhere in the NT – in terms, for example, of John the Baptist, Jim's topic at the conference, and Jesus. Thus I trace the question of literary divisions between traditions associated with these two historical personages to that day.

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Abbreviations and References

The Greek New Testament is cited from the *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Nestle-Aland 27th edition. Abbreviations correspond to The SBL Handbook of Style (1999); the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (31996); Liddell, Scott and Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*; and G. W. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, including the following:

<i>1 En.</i>	<i>1 Enoch</i>
<i>AB</i>	<i>Anchor Bible</i>
<i>ABD</i>	D. N. Freedman (ed.), <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
<i>Apoc. Zeph.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>
<i>Apul., Met.</i>	Apuleius, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>As. Mos.</i>	<i>Assumption of Moses</i>
<i>ASTI</i>	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>AthR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
b.	born
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (32000)
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner and R. W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche

c.	century
ca.	circa
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
<i>CBQMS</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series</i>
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CD	Damascus Document
Cic., <i>Rep.</i>	Cicero, <i>De republica</i>
CJRT	Canadian Journal of Religious Thought
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>Corp. Herm.</i>	<i>Corpus Hermeticum</i>
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
CurTM	Currents in Theology and Mission
DDD	K. van der Toorn et al. (eds.) <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons</i> (21999)
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache</i>
Dion. Hal.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Diss.	Dissertation
<i>DNP</i>	H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), <i>Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i>
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
<i>DUJ</i>	<i>Durham University Journal</i>
Ébib	Études bibliques
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
Epiph.	Epiphanius
<i>EpRev</i>	<i>Epworth Review</i>
EstBib	Estudios bíblicos
ET	English translation
Euseb., <i>Hist. eccl.</i>	Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Historia ecclesiastica (Church History)</i>
Euseb., <i>Praep. evang.</i>	Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Praeparatio evangelica (Preparation for the Gospel)</i>
<i>ETR</i>	<i>Études théologiques et religieuses</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	Expository Times
FC	The Fathers of the Church
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FS	Festschrift
Gk.	Greek
<i>Gos. Eb.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Ebionites</i>
<i>Gos. Naz.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Nazarenes</i>
<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
Heb.	Hebrew

Herod.	Herodotus
HKNT	Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's New Testament Commentaries
Hom., <i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	Harvard Theological Review
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IDB</i>	G. A. Buttrick (ed.), <i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
IQP	International Q Project
<i>ITQ</i>	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>J ECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
Jos., <i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae (Jewish Antiquities)</i>
Jos., <i>B.J.</i>	Josephus, <i>Bellum judaicum (Jewish War)</i>
Jos., <i>Vita</i>	Josephus, <i>Vita (The Life)</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
Justin, <i>Dial.</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>Dialogus cum Tryphone (Dialogue with Trypho)</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
Lat.	Latin
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LE	The "Longer Ending" of the Gospel of Mark (Mk 16:9–20)
LSJ	Liddell, Scott and Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
Luc., <i>Alex.</i>	Lucian of Samosata, <i>Alexander (Pseudomantis)</i> (<i>Alexander the False Prophet</i>)
LXX	Septuagint
<i>Mart. Ascen. Isa.</i>	<i>Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah</i>
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
NA ²⁷	Aland, K., et al rev. and ed. <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . 27 th ed.

<i>NeoT</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NHL</i>	J. M. Robinson (ed.), <i>The Nag Hammadi Library</i> , Revised Edition
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
<i>NTApo</i>	W. Schneemelcher (ed.), <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> , Revised Edition
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OCD</i>	Hornblower and Spawforth (eds.), <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , (3 rd 1996)
<i>OTP</i>	J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>
Ovid, <i>Fast.</i>	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i>
par.	parallel(s)
PG	J. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia graeca</i>
Philo, <i>Abr.</i>	<i>De Abrahamo (On the Life of Abraham)</i>
Philo, <i>Mos.</i>	<i>De vita Mosis (On the Life of Moses)</i>
Philo, <i>Prob.</i>	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit (That Every Good Man Is Free)</i>
Philo, <i>Spec.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus (On the Special Laws)</i>
Philo, <i>Virt.</i>	Philo, <i>De virtutibus (On the Virtues)</i>
PL	J. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
Pl., <i>Apol.</i>	Plato, <i>Apologia</i>
Plut., <i>Num.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Numa</i>
Plut., <i>Rom.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Romulus</i>
Plut., <i>Thes.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Theseus</i>
<i>Ps.-Clem.</i>	<i>Pseudo-Clementines</i>
PTS	Paderborner Theologische Studien
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>RAC</i>	T. Klauser (ed.), <i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	Revue Biblique
RGG ⁴	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 4 th ed.
RHPR	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
<i>SBLSP</i>	SBL Seminar Papers

SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SE	<i>Studia evangelica</i>
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTSU	Studien zum Neuen Testament unter seiner Umwelt
SP	Sacra pagina
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
ST	Studia Theologica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPatr	Studia patristica
StudBT	Studia Biblica et Theologica
<i>StudLit</i>	<i>Studia Liturgica</i>
<i>TCGNT</i>	B. M. Metzger, <i>A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>T. Job</i>	<i>Testament of Job</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TPI	Trinity Press International
TRev	Theologische Revue
<i>TSK</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
Vulg.	Vulgate
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WC	Westminster Commentaries
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Chapter One

New Testament Baptist Traditions

To obtain a valid and vivid picture of the Baptist what we need is not more new evidence but a better understanding of the way to read the available New Testament sources.¹

1.1 Introduction

Most scholarly attention paid to John the Baptist focuses on what can be known of the life of the historical Baptist – his baptizing in the Jordan River and maintaining a wilderness ‘ascetic’ lifestyle.² Significantly less consideration,

¹ C. H. Kraeling, *John the Baptist*, 6.

² Standard works on this topic include E. Bammel, “The Baptist in Early Christian Tradition,” *NTS* 18 (1971–72) 95–128; J. Becker, *Johannes der Täufer und Jesus von Nazareth* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972); Jean Daniélou, *The Work of John the Baptist* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1966); M. Dibelius, *Die urchristliche Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911); J. Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte* (BZNW 53; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989); A. S. Geysler, “The Youth of John the Baptist: A Deduction from the Break in the Parallel Account of the Lucan Infancy Story,” *NovT* 1 (1956) 70–75; M. Goguel, *Au seuil de l'évangile: Jean-Baptiste* (Paris: Payot, 1928); P. W. Hollenbach, “Social Aspects of John the Baptist’s Preaching Mission in the Contexts of Palestinian Judaism,” *ANRW*, II.19.1, 850–75; C. H. Kraeling, *John the Baptist* (New York: Scribner, 1951); H. Lichtenberger, “Reflections on the History of John the Baptist’s Communities,” *FoOr* 25 (1988) 45–9; E. Lohmeyer, *Das Urchristentum 1: Johannes der Täufer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1932); E. Lupieri, *Giovanni Battista fra Storia e Leggenda* (Brescia: Paideia, 1988); J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume Two: Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (New York: Doubleday, 1994) 19–223; idem, “John the Baptist in Matthew’s Gospel,” *JBL* 99/3 (1980) 383–405; J. Murphy-O’Connor, “John the Baptist and Jesus: History and Hypothesis,” *NTS* 36 (1990) 359–74; Heinrich Peter, *Johannes der Täufer in der urchristlichen Überlieferung* (Marburg: H. Bauer, 1911); J. Reumann, “The Quest for the Historical Baptist,” in *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings*, ed. J. Reumann (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1972) 181–99; J. Schütz, *Johannes der Täufer* (Zürich: Zwingli, 1967); C. H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist* (London: SCM, 1964); J. Steinmann, *Saint John the Baptist and the Desert Tradition* (New York: Harper, 1958); W. B. Tatum, *John the Baptist and Jesus: A Report of the Jesus Seminar* (Sonoma, CA Polebridge, 1994); W. Trilling, “Die Täufertradition bei Matthäus,” *BZ* (1959) 271–89; R. L. Webb, *John the Baptist and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); idem, “John the Baptist and his Relationship to Jesus,” in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the Current State of Current Research*, ed. B. D. Chilton and C. A. Evans (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 179–229; idem, “The Activity of John the Baptist’s Expected Figure at the Threshing Floor (Matthew 3.12 – Luke 3.17),” *JSNT* 43 (1991) 103–11; W. Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (Cambridge:

however, has been given to the precise nature of the literary evidence and the relationship of this evidence to the corpus of narrative and teaching materials attributed to Jesus in the NT and related documents. With a few minor exceptions, most studies of Baptist traditions rely on the canonical gospels and Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116–19 uncritically. In particular, the coherence of the Synoptic witnesses is taken for granted, despite frequently ambiguous, implausible, and even, contradictory qualities. Regarding historical John research, Walter Wink once commented that where historical Jesus research has its “messengers of defeat,” research on the historical John has none.³ Today, however, the John quest likewise faces defeat and rightly so. Nevertheless, the traditions in his name represent not just a neglected niche of the study of early Christian literature, but an area with much to offer modern understandings of the NT.⁴ The present examination brings together two traditionally separate specializations of NT studies: the historical Baptist and Q research. Specifically, this work addresses the perplexing relationship of NT Baptist traditions to their most reliable and ancient witness, Q.⁵ To my knowledge, no such monograph-length study scrutinizing the intersection of these two separate divisions of NT studies has, as of yet, been undertaken.

Cambridge University Press, 1968); idem, “Jesus’ Reply to John: Matt. 11:2–6/Luke: 7:18–23,” *Forum* 5 (1989) 121–28; A. Yarbro Collins, “The Origin of Christian Baptism,” *StudLit* 19 (1989) 28–46.

These studies usually also treat Josephus, *Ant.* 18.116–19. They also often exclude apocryphal, gnostic, patristic and Mandaean evidence. For systematic examinations of all of the evidence, see J. Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer*; W. Wink, *Gospel Tradition*; E. Bammel, “The Baptist in Early Christian Tradition”; R. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*; E. Lupieri, *Giovanni Battista*. About the later traditions, specialist E. Bammel writes, “Although these legends are meant to fill gaps, this task is not performed by adding or inventing stories, but mainly by embellishing those traits which are envisaged already in canonical tradition” (“John Did No Miracle,” in *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in Their Philosophy and History* [London: A. R. Mowbray, 1965] 186). J. Massyngberde Ford’s argument that parts of the book of Revelation can be traced to the historical Baptist are dismissed (*Revelation: Introduction, Translation, Commentary*, AB 38 [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975] 28–37). Webb has a useful table of texts referring to John in the first two centuries C.E. (“John the Baptist and his Relationship to Jesus,” 185–86).

³ *John the Baptist*, x.

⁴ The recent “discovery” of “the cave of John the Baptist” provided a small but welcome surge of interest in John the Baptist. It is, however, otherwise unrelated to this literary-critical study of the canonical texts. The present author is not qualified to judge the conclusions of Shimon Gibson in his documentation of the findings: *The Cave of John the Baptist* (New York: Doubleday, 2004).

⁵ This study assumes the Two Document Hypothesis (2DH) with some qualification of Matthean and Lukan so-called “*Sondergut*” materials in the second half of the discussion. For a thorough, recent, persuasive explanation of this position with chart, see John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Fortress: Minneapolis, 2000) 31–33.

Emphasizing its distance from historical John research, the present literary discussion refers to NT traditions about John the Baptist as “Baptist.”⁶ In this valuation no conclusion is drawn as to what extent these traditions reflect the historical teacher. ‘Baptist’ traditions are here defined as what various diverse Christian voices of the four gospels are willing to submit about (descriptions) or attribute to (sayings) John the Baptist. ‘Baptist’ traditions represent what early Christians transmit about John.

That said, NT interpretation overwhelmingly supports classification of these traditions as redaction and, as such, unreliable.⁷ This thesis regards such a classification as a premise in need proof. In contrast, the present thesis views the burden of proof for the origin of these traditions on any wishing to claim derivation other than among the followers of John. Specifically, this study tests the assumption that their origin is among John’s followers, arriving in Christian documents as unmodified forms. The present investigation aims to show that most Baptist traditions, in fact, make more sense when interpreted in this way.

While acknowledging Christian transmission, if the canonical ‘Baptist’ traditions were passed down to the four evangelists as forms then they were probably not originally ‘Christian’ fragments, but ‘Baptist.’ They were not, however, ‘Baptist’ in the sense of the historical Baptist, but in the sense of unknown representatives (comparable to the also unknown NT evangelists) associating themselves with his name or movement.⁸ In this study, NT Baptist traditions

⁶ In line with scholarly convention, the English adjective, “Baptist” is used throughout this work to refer to those traditions, individuals, or groups considering themselves associated in whatever close or distant way with John the Baptist. So-called ‘Baptist’ traditions do not, however, necessarily imply ‘Baptist’ communities before, at the time of, or after the time of Jesus or as the necessary purveyors of these traditions. For the arguments for and against the existence of Baptist communities in the first and early second century, see below n. 8. Although most assume John’s ministry preceded Jesus’, Baptist traditions are not necessarily earlier than Jesus’ or other NT traditions.

⁷ John Reumann makes this point: “What catches the eye particularly is that in example after example key verses ... are labeled ‘redactional’ by recent critics, i.e., editorial additions by the evangelist, *not from any earlier source*” (“The Quest for the Historical Baptist,” 192; emphasis original).

⁸ Outside the four gospels, evidence of disciples of the Baptist persisting in the period of early Christianity includes Acts 18–19, Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 80 and *Ps.-Clem. Rec.* 1.54, 60; *Hom.* 2.23–4. Cf. also references to “Hemerobaptists,” appearing in *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 2.23–4; Hegesippus (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.22.7); and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 17; *Apos. Con.* 6.6.5. Ephraem of Syria too possesses a parallel report to *Ps.-Clem. Rec.* 1.60 possibly based on a common source (J. Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste*, 116 ff.). Because, however, no evidence positively connects John’s followers with this group, J. Thomas denies any link (*Le Mouvement Baptiste*, 36). Also, most scholars deny any real connection between Baptist followers and the rise of Mandaeism. Kurt Rudolph writes: “*Johannes der Täufer und seine Jüngerschaft haben nach dem Befund der uns zugänglichen Quellen keine Beziehung zu den Mandäern gehabt*” (*Die Mandäer* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960] 1.80; emphasis original). Although the twelve disciples in Acts 19 know only the “baptism of John,” they are referred to as “disciples” (v. 1: μαθητάς) and “believers” (v. 2: πιστεύσαντες), designations used exclusively for Jesus’

are compared to other NT traditions about Jesus, in particular those in Q. As an eclectic group, the NT Baptist traditions, nonetheless, generate a roughly uni-

followers in Luke-Acts. The discrepancy may reflect competition between Baptists and Paul (baptism by water [John] or by the spirit [Paul]) – rather than John and Jesus. Spirit baptism is later imputed to Jesus, probably by Paulinists and, no less, via Baptist traditions in which John predicted a coming one baptizing with the spirit (e.g., Q 3:16b, Mk 1:8)! On Acts 19:1–7, without any additional explanation, Helmut Koester asserts: “Acts 19:1–7 does not itself prove the continuing existence of the Baptist sect . . . because it is constructed entirely on the basis of Luke’s theory of the mediation of the holy spirit” (*Introduction to the New Testament*, Vol. 2, “History and Literature of Early Christianity” [New York/Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982] 73). W. Brandt, too, dismissed any evidence of followers of the Baptist in Acts (*Die jüdischen Baptisten*, 122). W. Baldensperger, however, points out that *χριστιανοί* (Acts 11:26) meant simply “messianists” and could have been applied to either group: “Non-Pauline Christianity in the Orient ca. the year 100 of our era must have resembled a Baptist Jewish sect” (*Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums. Sein polemisch-apologetischer Zweck* [Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1898] 106). The most cogent assimilation of the historical evidence on early Baptist communities is presented by E. Käsemann in “The Disciples of John the Baptist in Ephesus,” in *Essays on New Testament Themes* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982) 136–48. Characterizing past scholarship on the topic rather brutally as a “barely conceivable variety of naïveté, defeatism and fertile imagination . . . from the extremely ingenuous on the one hand to the extremely arbitrary on the other,” Käsemann concludes that, despite Luke’s depiction of these twelve Ephesian disciples as “immature Christians . . . it is disciples of the Baptist who are the subject of the passage; *the Gospels themselves presuppose the existence of a Baptist community in competition with the young Church*. These disciples have naturally no contact with the Christian fellowship, know nothing of the Spirit which has been bestowed on Christendom and therefore have to be enlightened about the place of the Baptist as the forerunner of Jesus and be subjected to re-baptism, which incorporates them into the Church and imparts to them the Spirit. This gives us a consistent and historically intelligible situation at which, on any other hypothesis, we cannot arrive” (140–42; emphasis added). In response to the question of why Luke obscured his presentation of John’s disciples, Käsemann replies, “The answer is simple: the existence of a community owing allegiance to the Baptist could not be admitted without endangering gravely the Church’s view of his function. For such a community would be bound to put John in the place which Jesus occupied in Christendom, making him Messiah and Kyrios and thus the rival of Jesus; it would thus run counter, in the most concrete and thoroughgoing fashion, to the Church’s tradition of the forerunner of Jesus. . . . Neither can we overlook the fact that this construction has a polemic intention – the refutation of the claims of the Baptist community. Jesus himself had been baptized by John and had in some sense appealed to his authority; parts of very early Christendom had sprung from the circle around the Baptist . . . Our Gospels, like the tradition underlying them, have escaped from the dilemma by presenting the claims of the Baptist community as a misunderstanding of the Baptist’s message and by depicting John himself as pointing forward to the Christ who should follow him . . . *As his tradition made John into the herald of Jesus, so Luke has gone on to make John’s disciples into an odd species of Christian and thus he has radically eliminated any suggestion of real rivalry*. Such a presentation can certainly only be possible if Luke knew of the existence of a Baptist community by hearsay alone and was not obliged to attach to it any real significance because, for him at least, it belonged to a past already remote” (141–43; emphasis added). The location of this Baptist community in Ephesus may reflect the author’s intention to place them where Apollos was known to have worked (148). Other than Ephesus, there is no evidence for Baptist communities outside of Palestine and Syria. *Ex hypothesi*, the Baptist community was, however, not remote for the author of the Gospel of Mark; see Ch. 4. W. Baldensberger was the first to present the conclusion of a vital Baptist community during and impacting the earliest phase of the Christian movement (*Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums. Sein polemisch-apologetischer*

fied representation of John and his message. The present discussion contrasts elements of this rough unanimity with a variety of other canonical Gospel traditions, pointing, in particular, to Q's affinity with elements of the NT's collective portrayal of the John the Baptist.

The question can be anticipated: Of what value is Josephus' account of John the Baptist (*Ant.* 18.116–19) to this investigation? The answer to this question is, quite simply, its value is limited. Not only is Josephus' presentation of John tainted by his own biases and predilections diminishing its reliability as fact, but even if his account could be verified, the connection between the historical Baptist and NT Baptist traditions is unclear. The *bruta facta* of the historical Baptist are only of value to the study of Baptist traditions if one is attempting to demonstrate continuity between the teacher and his tradition. This study possesses no such aim. Granted themes of NT Baptist traditions occasionally

Zweck. His argument was severely criticized by Wilhelm Brandt in *Die jüdischen Baptismen, oder das religiöse Waschen und Baden im Judentum mit Einschluß des Judenchristentums* (Beihefte zur ZATW 18; Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1910) 81–82, 146. Brandt, rather, argues (with F. Overbeck) that the Ephesian Baptists of Acts 18–19 are a fiction of the author (81). Clayton R. Bowen, however, defends Baldensberger's position in "John the Baptist in the New Testament," 49–76. In addition to the evidence summoned by Baldensberger, Bowen makes some of his own observations such as that, although not previously mentioned or described as a named group in this Gospel, Mk 2:18 uses μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου as a group with which the readers are supposed to be familiar (46). Depicting the followers of the Baptist as the "most dangerous rival of the early Church" (the citation is from O. Cullmann, "Ὁ ὄπισθω μου ἐρχόμενος," in *The Early Church: Studies in Early Christian History and Theology*, ed. A. J. B. Higgins [Philadelphia, Westminster, 1956] 177), see M. Dibelius, *Die urchristliche Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer*. Also acknowledging the unexplored possibilities of the influence of Baptist and his movement on early Christianity is Ernest W. Parsons, "The Significance of John the Baptist for the Beginnings of Christianity," in *Environmental Factors in Christian History*, eds. John Thomas McNeill, Matthew Spinka and Harold R. Willoughby (Chicago: IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1939) and Michael Wolter, "Apollos und die ephesinischen Johannesjünger," *ZNW* (1987) 49–73. Parsons argues the two dominant themes that emerge from the fragmentary and casual evidence on the Baptist in the NT: "the imminence of the kingdom of God and the ethical preparation for participation in it" have a "definite influence" on the message of Jesus (3, 2). Parsons goes so far as to claim: "The early message of Jesus was essentially that of John" (3). Parsons' interpretation even includes NT passages illustrating these two originally Baptist themes (e.g., Acts 2:38; 3:19–20; 8:12; 11:15–18; 1 Thess 1:9–10; Gal 1:4; 1 Cor 1:7–8; Phil 4:5; Heb 10:36–39; 2 Pet 3:1–13). See also Colin Brown, "What Was John the Baptist Doing?" *BBR* (1997) 49 and T. W. Manson, "John the Baptist," *BJRL* (1953–54) 395–412. Some denials of the existence of Baptist communities arise in reaction to frequent assumptions of competition between the two groups. The mistake of this reaction is to "throw out the baby with the bath water," that is, to deny existence of the groups instead of just their rivalry. Rejecting the idea of a Baptist sect is J. A. T. Robinson, "Elijah, John and Jesus: An Essay in Detection," *NTS* (1958) 279 n. 2. Robinson correctly points out, however, that attempts to use Mandaean literature to prove the existence of a first-century Baptist sect are anachronistic. Interestingly, John the Baptist is the only saint whose feast day, like Jesus', is the day of his birth; Paul's celebrates the day of his conversion and all the others celebrate the day of the saint's death. John's feast day (June 24), attested in the sermons of Augustine, was apparently established by the year 400.

coincide with Josephus' account about John and, in the course of the present argument, these coincidences are pointed out. About them, however, little more is said. Furthermore, although this investigation includes a brief discussion of the chronological relationship of John's and Jesus' ministries, no literary arguments are construed on the basis of an imagined tradition-historical trajectory. Christian traditions may predate, in certain cases, Baptist ones. In either case, the point is irrelevant to this synchronic, comparative thesis. The focus of this investigation is the Baptist traditions themselves and what they successfully convey about early Christian literature, its processes and aims.

1.2 John the Baptist in Q

Although Q's pronounced Baptist *Tendenz* is widely recognized, most studies on the Baptist neglect Q as a source in its own right about John's life and work. Even specialists on Baptist traditions frequently overlook Q in their work on the topic.⁹ For example, in the opening to his *ANRW* article, "John the Baptist in NT Traditions and History," Edmondo F. Lupieri comments,

For the historical reconstruction of the figure of John the Baptist we can look to five written sources. Four of them are Christian texts: the Gospel of Mark, the work of Luke (Gospel and Acts), the Gospel of Matthew, and the Fourth Gospel. The fifth text is a relatively short section in the historical production of the greatest Judeo-Hellenistic historian: Flavius Josephus. All these five works were written during the second part of the first century A. D., which means roughly between 30 and 70 years after the death of the Baptist, and have different degrees of significance for the modern historian.¹⁰

Against Lupieri, the present examination argues that Q be regarded as a sixth, separate and important written witness for investigations of Baptist traditions.

Pointing to the significance of John in Q, Christopher Tuckett writes:

⁹ Walter Wink is an exception: *John the Baptist*, 18–26. Wink's view of Q is, however, debatable on a few points. Wink writes: "The validity of analyzing Q as a literary unit is not self-evident. Even if its order and content could be agreed upon, there would still be the question of the legitimacy of a *redaktionsgeschichtliche* approach, since Q is not so much a 'redaction' as a collection, a miscellany of logia without sufficiently clear or extensive editorial data (in most cases) to allow us to speak of its viewpoint with any degree of thoroughness. Nevertheless it is necessary that the Q material be treated, not only as a prolegomenon to the study of John's role in Matthew and Luke, but also as a source for Jesus' own view of John, which serves in turn as a control for assessing the church's subsequent modifications of the John-traditions" (18 n. 1). Josef Ernst is also an important exception: *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte* (BZNW 53; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989) 39–8; and, Michael Tilly dedicates a chapter to "Johannes der Täufer in der Logienquelle Q": *Johannes der Täufer und die Biographie der Propheten: Die synoptische Täuferüberlieferung und das jüdische Prophetenbild zur Zeit des Täufers* (BWANT 7/17; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1994) 69–104.

¹⁰ *ANRW* 2/26/1 (1993) 430.

One of the more surprising features of Q is the amount of space devoted to John the Baptist. John's preaching is set out in detail in Q 3:7–9 and in 3:16 f., and a long section a little later in Q (7:18–35) discusses the position of John in some detail. So too John's ministry is evidently given a significant place in the saying Q 16:16. ... The reasons for devoting so much space to John are not clear. Much of this material probably had a complex pre-history behind it before it ever reached Q. ... Nevertheless, despite possible reservations about the status of John at one level, it seems clear that there is also in Q wholehearted support for John's teaching and a willingness to incorporate the tradition of his teaching into Q itself with no hint that John's message had been superseded, or rendered in any way invalid, by the ministry of Jesus himself.¹¹

¹¹ Christopher Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark; and Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996) 108–9. B. H. Streeter once described Q as a "prophetic book," specifying: "The relatively large amount of space given to John the Baptist ... suggest that Q was composed at a time and place where the prestige of John was very considerable" (*The Four Gospels* [London: Macmillan, 1926] 291–92; emphasis added). On John's prominence in Q, C. Scobie acknowledges, "John figures prominently in Q" (*John the Baptist*, 13). Also, "From all these considerations, it would appear that the Q source is the most reliable: it is the earliest, it contains the greatest proportion of material concerning John, it has the highest estimate of John, and it contains the clearest evidence of Semitisms" (C. Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 17); and, "... Q, which is the earliest and most reliable source for the reconstruction of John's message" (C. Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 70; cf. also 201). On Q 7:18–35, David R. Catchpole writes: "From Q 7:18–35 it is evident that the Q community maintained a lively interest in John the Baptist. ... The natural *Sitz im Leben* of all this editorial activity would arguably be a Christian community which is, at one or more stages in its own development (depending on how many editorial strata are discernible in Q 7:18–35), in direct contact with the continuing Baptist movement" (*The Quest for Q* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993] 61–62; emphasis added). J. P. Meier comments, "The criterion of discontinuity, as well as confirmation at times from Mark, John, or Josephus, makes the core of the Q tradition on the Baptist fairly reliable" (*A Marginal Jew*, 2.28). And, "This is one reason why we started with the Q material to give ourselves a better basic orientation. Now that we have some initial grasp of the historical Baptist, we can search for elements in the Marcan narrative that cohere with or supplement our preliminary sketch" (42–43). John Meier also notes the Q passages on John "demonstrate some of the closest word-for-word correspondence between Matthew and Luke that we find in the Q material (see especially Matt 3:7–10 || Luke 3:7–9)" (*A Marginal Jew*, 28). Meier concludes that the close agreement may indicate that this material was fixed early on. Cf. also E. Bammel, "The comparatively large amount of space in Q given to the Baptist has puzzled scholars a good deal. It is even more surprising that a document that is supposed to consist merely of sayings of Jesus starts with sections dealing with John" ("The Baptist in Early Christian Tradition," 99). Also, John H. Hughes writes, "This material [Q] serves as an important check to the presentation of the ministry of John the Baptist by the Gospel writers. It is not that the information about John in Q must be accepted as an infallible record, but rather that the picture which emerges of him there is often so far removed from what E. W. Parsons describes as 'the traditional and conventional view that John was the conscious forerunner of Jesus' as to demand consideration both of its possible accuracy and of its compatibility with the apparently contradictory judgment on John accepted by the early church" ("John the Baptist: The Forerunner of God Himself," 194–95). Arland D. Jacobson is also in agreement: "The basic difference is that in Q John appears as a prophet in his own right but in Mark he has been subordinated to Jesus. ... But in Q, John is independent, a preacher of repentance before the imminent judgment of Yahweh" ("The Literary Unity of Q," *JBL* 101 [1982] 107). Cf. also J. Taylor, "Both Matthew and Luke may have felt that the Q Baptist block was a little long and too enthusiastic about John. Abbreviations and relocations of material lessened its force without

Building on Tuckett's assessment of John's position in Q, the present investigation argues that *current models of Q suggest that, at some early stage in its undoubtedly complex pre-history, Q existed as a source containing Baptist traditions exclusively.* This argument is constructed, primarily, on the following literary observations: (1) double attribution or the attribution of certain sayings to John in Q, but to Jesus elsewhere;¹² (2) contradictions between Jesus' sayings in and outside of Q,¹³ (e.g., fasting/feasting,¹⁴ afamilial/familial, itinerant/urban,¹⁵

necessarily lessening its tone" (*The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997] 300). J. Taylor also warns that "It is possible that Q linked Jesus and John together as belonging to the era of the kingdom of God, though it is not quite clear" (*The Immerser*, 310). J. P. Meier points out that in the Gospel of Matthew, "the prophetic figure of the Baptist stands in the time of fulfillment alongside of Jesus" ("John the Baptist in Matthew's Gospel," 396). Standard works on Q also consulted include: David R. Catchpole, "The Beginning of Q: A Proposal," *NTS* 38 (1992) 205–21; J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) esp. 317–28; idem, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, and Concordance*. Foundations and Facets: New Testament (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1988); idem, ed. *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994); John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel*; Andreas Lindemann, ed. *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (BETL 158; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2001); James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann and John S. Kloppenborg, ed. *The Critical Edition of Q* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000); Risto Uro, ed. *Symbols and Strata: Essays on the Sayings Gospel Q* (Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran Julkaisuja; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 65; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996). With Tuckett's statement (cited above), J. Taylor also agrees. Taylor writes: "It is impossible, given the evidence we have, to make a definitive distinction between what must have been John's teaching concerning basic righteousness and what must have been exclusively Jesus' own However, thematically, John and Jesus appear to have shared a significant amount of teaching material" (*The Immerser*, 151). Cf. also W. Wink, *Gospel Tradition*, 18–26; E. Bammel, "The Baptist in Early Christian Tradition," 99–101; J. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, 322–25. Here the present author presses the question of the relationship of materials attributed to John and Jesus. Of interest also (see below), the claim that Luke's infancy narrative of John is based on written sources from a Baptist movement has been made. See P. Winter, "The Cultural Background for the Narratives in Luke I–II," *JQR* 45 (1954) 159–67, 230–42, 287; idem, "The Proto-Source of Luke 1," *NovT* 1 (1956) 184–99. Rejecting this claim is S. Ferris, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives: Their Origin, Meaning and Significance* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985) 86–98 and E. Bammel, "The Baptist in Early Christian Tradition," 96. Cf. also W. Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*, 58–81.

¹² Although probably correct to conclude that John and Jesus both taught a need for repentance and righteous living in light of eschatological expectations, C. Scobie cites examples of double attribution as mere points of agreement between Jesus and John (*John the Baptist*, 161). C. Kraeiel describes the relationship between the two in this way: "From their Baptist brethren they received John's Infancy narrative...and above all a goodly number of the words of John. The words of John apparently came to the knowledge of the Christian group at a very early date, for some of the more striking of them, like the word about the 'generation of vipers' and the word about the 'two baptism' were so deeply imbedded in the tradition that they came to be regarded as words of Jesus himself..." (*John the Baptist*, 175)

¹³ According to C. Kraeiel the contradictions are: John fasted, Jesus rejected fasting; John practiced baptism, Jesus did not; John found the final eschatological judgment cause for fear, Jesus did not; John demanded exemplary conduct in adherence to the Law, Jesus waived the letter of the Law; John insisted on a wrathful God prepared to execute imminent judgment;

didactic/charismatic,¹⁶ spiritual-moral/physical, traditional [stressing obedience to the Law, including purification]/iconoclastic [flouting Law on certain points, denying efficacy of purification rites, including dietary (Mk 7:1–23, 7:14)],¹⁷

Jesus emphasized God's mercy and his patience in seeking and saving the lost; John awaited the day of judgment; for Jesus, the kingdom, while in the future was also in a sense already present (*John the Baptist*, 146–47). C. Scobie's list of contradictions adds that "John's ethical teaching was typically Jewish, but Jesus demanded a much more radical ethic" and "John's teaching implies that by the performance of certain acts man can earn the right of entry into the Kingdom; but Jesus taught that whatever men do, they are still 'unprofitable servants' in the sight of God" (*John the Baptist*, 160). Another contradiction proposed by Scobie is the point of rewards. According to Scobie, John offers no reward for righteousness emphasizing, rather, the coming crisis. With eschatological fulfillment, however, Jesus emphasizes rewards (e.g., Mt 5:3–13) (Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 210). J. P. Meier, however, interprets Mt 3:11–12 as (alternately with punishments) John's enunciation of rewards (*A Marginal Jew*, 2.39).

¹⁴ J. Taylor, *The Immerser*, 204–7, 210. Although Jesus rejected fasting it soon became a regular feature of Christian piety (*Did.* 8:1; much earlier in Mk 2:20). The practice may have entered as a result of assimilation of Baptist elements into Christian circles (C. Kraeling, *John the Baptist*, 174). Baptism, too, followed this trend. For example, for John, baptism was necessary for salvation; for Jesus, not so, but later followers accommodated John's followers in this way. C. Scobie notes that Jesus did not fast – a practice that often served as an outward expression of repentance and humility in traditional Judaism (*John the Baptist*, 134).

¹⁵ C. Scobie notes that Jesus went to people, whereas John expected people to come to him (*John the Baptist*, 156).

¹⁶ The Fourth Gospel argues John performed no signs (Jn 10:41). Although it is possible to distinguish between didactic/charismatic for John/Jesus in NT traditions, this polemical assertion in the Fourth Gospel drives a suspicion that John, too, performed miracles (*contra* J. Taylor, *The Immerser*, 218, 319). The Gospels provide accounts that some people were, however, disappointed and left unconvinced by John because he did no sign (Mt 11:7–19; Lk 7:24–35). Perhaps John performed miracles, insisting, however, that they indicate the coming, and not instantiation, of the kingdom. Josephus overlooks them as he overlooks the miraculous deeds of other prophets in his rationalizing version of Jewish origins. Similarly, Josephus eliminates eschatological elements. H. Koester comments: "Josephus suppresses the eschatological component of John's teaching, however, and says that the reason for his execution was Antipas' fear of a popular insurrection" (*Introduction to the New Testament*, Vol. 2, "History and Literature of Early Christianity" [New York/Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982] 71). Moreover, according to Josephus, claims were made by messianic pretenders that signs would accompany them (Theudas promises that the waters of the Jordan will divide [*Ant.* 20.5.1]; and the Egyptian assures that at his command the walls of Jerusalem will fall [*Ant.* 20.8.6/*Bell.* 2.13.5]). Furthermore, that John performed signs is a better explanation for how he attracted great crowds of tax-collectors, prostitutes, and soldiers and why Herod Antipas would have demanded his imprisonment and execution. The idea that Antipas was personally affronted by John's moral teaching about divorce is historically unlikely. Rudolf K. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, ²1968 [²1931]) 24: "That stories of John's miracles were in circulation is in itself quite credible; for the assertion that he performed none (John 10:41) is obviously a piece of polemic. And does not Mark 6:14 imply that reports of the Baptist's miracles were current?" J. Murphy-O'Connor does not acknowledge this reference: "Neither the Gospels nor Josephus depict John as a miracle-worker" ("John the Baptist and Jesus: History and Hypotheses," 372). C. Kraeling, however, observes that the idea that John's disembodied spirit served Jesus as the means by which he performed works of power [Mk 6:14–16] is "no small concession to John's power" (*John the Baptist*, 160).

¹⁷ The discussion over purity between Jesus and John in Jn 3:25 suggests Jesus and his disciples were not strict enough for John (cf. Mk 7:1–23) (Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 155).

and expectant/fulfillment eschatology);¹⁸ and (3) thematic continuities between Q sayings and Baptist traditions.¹⁹

1.3 The Corpus of Baptist Traditions

Close examination of the literary evidence beginning with Q, but ultimately including all NT gospel traditions, suggests more remains of John's teaching than previously recognized. In the past, nearly every study on John the Baptist laments a dearth of evidence. Expressing this disappointment, in the opening to the third chapter of her study, *The Immerser*, Joan Taylor asserts,

We have no independent body of material, or list of John's sayings, collected by any Jewish group ... But the New Testament writings consistently avoid John's teaching.²⁰

Charles Scobie echoes the sentiment:

We saw that although he [John] probably spoke of the coming Kingdom, *he declined to go into details*. There is no hint in John's message of an elaborate blueprint of the future. Not for him the apocalyptic arithmetic of Daniel, or the conducted tours of Enoch, or the

¹⁸ John works within a framework of expectation; Jesus, of fulfillment (J. Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist and Jesus: History and Hypotheses," 372 n. 54). Also, "Many students of the New Testament conclude that Jesus' eschatology was more orientated to the present time of fulfillment than to the future consummation" (A. Y. Collins, "The Origin of Christian Baptism," 36). Cf. also Collins' conclusion: "Christian and rabbinic baptism both have their ultimate roots in the ritual washings of Leviticus. Both came to function as rituals of initiation. The major difference is the relation of this ritual to eschatology. Both expect a fulfillment but the two communities place themselves on different sides of the turning point between the two ages" ("The Origin of Christian Baptism," 42). Enslin views as another contradiction that John, with "the earlier prophets," foresees "the Day of the Lord as an awful curse, a *dies irae*"; whereas Jesus "saw it as good news" (Morton S. Enslin, "John and Jesus" *ZNW* 66 [1975] 16). "Good news," however, seems also to have been an expression John used (e.g., Lk 3:18). Whether he saw the coming judgment, therefore, as "good" relies on normative interpretations of this word.

¹⁹ For example, the proclamation of judgment by John, the future outpouring of the spirit, the demand for repentance, righteous living and social justice are not just themes of Baptist traditions in Q, but themes of Q overall. See also C. Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 208, 210.

²⁰ *The Immerser*, 101–2. Cf. also: "Our information concerning John is extremely abbreviated" (110). At many points throughout her book, in arguments about John, Taylor recommends comparisons with sayings of Jesus to make the point. For example, in her examination of the word צַדִּיק, she writes, "People who so turn around can count themselves among the righteous who will be spared destruction at the end. As Jesus is recorded as saying, 'Enter by the narrow gate...' (108). Cf. also 83–84, 117, 122, 123 ("John hardly demanded less than what Jesus was to ask of 'the rich young man' [Matt. 19:16–30; Mark 10:17–31; Luke 18:18–30]"), 126, 127, 130, 135–36 (comparison of Jesus' teachings and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*) 148, 150 ("There are certainly striking similarities between the teaching of John and Jesus"). At one point, however, Taylor does express my view that "Christians may have quarried recollections of John's teaching and placed profound *logia* on the lips of Jesus" (150) and at another, "It seems likely that much more of John's message has remained than has hitherto been recognized and that it is embedded in the heart of the Christian ethos" (153; cf. also conclusion on 154).

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