

BRIAN C. DENNERT

John the Baptist
and the Jewish Setting
of Matthew

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To Beth

Preface

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations are those of *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines* (2nd ed.; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014) with the following additions:

Ancient Texts

Adv. Iovin. *Adversus Jovinianum (Against Jovinianus)*
Op. imp. Matt. *Opus imperfectum in Matthaemum (Incomplete Commentary on Matthew)*

Secondary Sources

ACT	Ancient Christian Texts
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi</i>
BG	Biblische Gestalten
HBSt	Herders biblische Studien
IBT	Interpreting Biblical Texts
<i>JSHJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
MBI	Methods in Biblical Interpretation
MTS	Marburger Theologische Studien
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NTC	The New Testament in Context
NTMon	New Testament Monographs
PTS	Paderborner Theologische Studien
RLJIH	Reference Library of Jewish Intellectual History
SNTI	Studies in New Testament Interpretation
StBib	Studi Biblici
StBibEC	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
<i>StudLit</i>	<i>Studia Liturgica</i>
<i>TC</i>	<i>TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism</i>
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament

Chapter 1

Introduction

In examining the role of John the Baptist within the Jewish setting of the Gospel of Matthew, this study stands at the intersection of two areas of scholarship (Matthean studies and study of John the Baptist) that can be surprisingly isolated from each other due to scholarly specialization and the glut of works produced within each field.¹ Therefore, rather than tackling a new issue, this study is an attempt to revisit a topic by placing it within a new framework, believing that attention to the Jewish setting of the Gospel of Matthew may prompt fresh observations and explanations for the role of the Matthean Baptist. After examining developments in research on Matthew and on the figure of John the Baptist and revealing how the advances in each area have not yet been applied to the study of the Matthean Baptist, an overview of the project's approach regarding sources, date, intended audience, and methodology will appear, followed by a preview of the overarching argument of the work and the individual chapters.

1. History of Research and *Status Quaestionis*

Since this study integrates two areas of scholarship, it is important to note the developments in each area and to survey the insights of those who have previously stood at this scholarly intersection. Therefore, this examination of the history of research will discuss research on Matthew and Judaism (1.1), research on John the Baptist in general (1.2), and discussions on the Matthean John (1.3), and it will conclude with an overview of the *status quaestionis* and contribution of this project (1.4).

¹ The sharp divide between the work of scholars doing “Jesus research” and commentators noted by Craig S. Keener also applies to studies of John the Baptist (see *The Historical Jesus of the Gospels* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009], xxviii–xxx).

1.1 Matthew and Judaism

Discussion of the audience and setting of Matthew and its relationship to Judaism begins with the earliest writers on Matthew.² Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* includes Irenaeus's statement that Matthew published a written gospel "among the Hebrews" (ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις) (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.8.2 = *Haer.* 3.1.1), Origen's belief that Matthew wrote "to believing people from Judaism" (τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύουσιν) (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.4), and Eusebius's own view that Matthew had preached to the "Hebrews" (Ἑβραίοις) and wrote his gospel for them as he traveled to other peoples (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.24.6). Other early writers also viewed Matthew as having a Jewish audience.³ While the emergence of critical scholarship challenged ideas such as the priority of Matthew, its Hebrew origin, and its apostolic authorship, this scholarship seems to have continued to believe that Matthew was written by a Jew and emphasized a Jewish background to the First Gospel.⁴

George D. Kilpatrick's *The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (1946) serves as a watershed regarding the issue of the Gospel's rela-

² The survey of Matthean research will remain limited to the question of the Jewish audience and setting of the Gospel and thus will not explore issues such as the relationship of the Gospel to the Roman Empire, etc. Of continuing value for the history of Matthean scholarship are Graham N. Stanton, "The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel: Matthean Scholarship from 1945–1980," *ANRW* II.25.3 (1985): 1889–951 (with updates appearing in idem, "Introduction: Matthew's Gospel in Recent Scholarship," in *The Interpretation of Matthew* [ed. Graham N. Stanton; 2d ed.; SNTI; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995], 1–26); Donald Senior, *What Are They Saying about Matthew?* (rev. ed.; New York: Paulist, 1996). For examinations of current trends in Matthean studies, see Daniel M. Gurtner, "The Gospel of Matthew from Stanton to Present: A Survey of Some Recent Developments," in *Jesus, Matthew's Gospel, and Early Christianity* (ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Joel Willitts, and Richard A. Burridge; LNTS 435; London: T&T Clark, 2011), 23–38; Donald Senior, "Matthew at the Crossroads of Early Christianity: An Introductory Assessment," in *Matthew's Gospel: At the Crossroads of Early Christianity* (ed. Donald Senior; BETL 243; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 3–23.

³ Also see Irenaeus, *Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus* 29; Origen, *Comm. Jo.* 1.22–23, 6.162. The view that Matthew wrote for Jews also appears in John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 1.3; Jerome, *Prologue to Matthew*; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina dogmatica* 1.12.6–9 (for Gregory's text, see Margaret Mitchell, "Patristic Counter-Evidence to the Claim that 'The Gospels Were Written for All Christians,'" *NTS* 51 [2005]: 36); *Op. imp. Matt.* 1. Some writers describe Matthew writing in Hebrew without discussing the audience of the work (see Augustine, *Cons.* 1.2.4; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.16; 5.10.3).

⁴ For example, Ernst von Dobschütz posits that the "first evangelist is plainly a Jewish Christian who has undergone a rabbinic schooling" in "Matthew as Rabbi and Catechist," in *The Interpretation of Matthew* (ed. Graham Stanton; IRT 3; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983 [German orig. 1928], 19–29, esp. 24–26 (quotation on 24)).

tionship to Judaism. In this work, Kilpatrick notes that “the opposition between the Christian and the Pharisee is for the evangelist an opposition *within* Judaism.”⁵ A number of scholars would follow Kilpatrick’s lead and also advocate an *intra muros* setting for the Gospel.⁶ This position was not universal, as others argue for an *extra muros* setting, believing that Matthew’s community had separated from Judaism but still dialogued with Jewish groups.⁷

A parallel development during this period was the view that Matthew was written by a gentile, first prominently argued in Kenneth W. Clark’s “The Gentile Bias of Matthew” (1947).⁸ This view sees Matthew’s church as largely gentile and no longer in debate with Jewish groups. While a number of others would espouse this view,⁹ the position remained a minority view, albe-

⁵ George D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (rev. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1950 [orig. 1946]), 122 (emphasis added). Although some scholars place Kilpatrick within the *extra muros* camp (e.g., Gurtner, “The Gospel of Matthew,” 29 n. 35), it seems best to interpret Kilpatrick’s analysis as a precursor to the *intra muros* position (Stanton, “The Origin and Purpose,” 1911–12). The dispute over Kilpatrick’s view may stem from the fact that Kilpatrick was one of the first scholars to explore this issue and might lack some precision in comparison to later writers.

⁶ E.g., Günther Bornkamm, “End-Expectation and Church in Matthew’s Gospel,” in Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth, and Heinz Joachim Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (trans. Percy Scott; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963 [German orig. 1956]), 15–51; William D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); Reinhart Hummel, *Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kirche und Judentum im Matthäusevangelium* (Munich: Kaiser, 1966); Michael D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974).

⁷ See Günther Bornkamm, “The Authority to ‘Bind’ and ‘Loose’ in the Church in Matthew’s Gospel,” in *The Interpretation of Matthew* (ed. Graham Stanton; IRT 3; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983 [German orig. 1970]), 83–97, esp. 95. For other arguments for the *extra muros* position, see e.g., Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (2d ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968 [orig. 1954]), xiii–xiv; Douglas R. A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel of Matthew* (SNTSMS 6; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); David E. Garland, *The Intention of Matthew 23* (NovTSup 23; Leiden: Brill, 1979).

⁸ *JBL* 66 (1947): 165–72. There had been earlier attempts to posit a gentile setting for Matthew; see the discussion of Eduard Reuss in Boris Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories in the Gospel of Matthew: Their Redaction, Form and Relevance for the Relationship between the Matthean Community and Formative Judaism* (FRLANT 189; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 15.

⁹ Poul Nepper-Christensen, *Das Matthäusevangelium, Ein judenchristliches Evangelium?* (ATDan 1; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1958); Wolfgang Trilling, *Das wahre Israel: Studien zur Theologie des Matthäus-Evangeliums* (3d ed.; SANT 10; Munich: Kösel, 1964 [orig. 1959]); Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Mätthaus* (3d ed.; FRLANT 82; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971 [orig. 1962]); Sjef van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 171;

it a “vocal minority” that includes John P. Meier’s article on Matthew in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*.¹⁰

The argument for a gentile orientation to the Gospel of Matthew appears to have waned with the rise of sociological approaches at the end of the twentieth century, as few have argued for a gentile background in recent years and scholarly attention turned towards discussion of the relationship of the Evangelist’s community to other Jewish groups in light of knowledge of sectarian debates.¹¹ Scholars continue to debate whether Matthew’s community would

John P. Meier, *Law and History in Matthew’s Gospel* (AnBib 71; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1976), 14–21; David Flusser, “Two Anti-Jewish Montages in Matthew,” *Imm* 5 (1975): 37–45; Lloyd Gaston, “The Messiah of Israel as Teacher of the Gentiles: The Setting of Matthew’s Christology,” *Int* 21 (1975): 24–40; Michael J. Cook, “Interpreting ‘Pro-Jewish’ Passages in Matthew,” *HUCA* 54 (1983): 135–46. William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* [3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–1997], 1:10–11) also cite Rolf Walker (*Die Heilgeschichte im ersten Evangelium* [FRLANT 91; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967]), Wilhelm Pesch (“Theologische Aussagen der Redaktion von Matthäus 23,” *Orientierung an Jesus: Zur Theologie der Synoptiker. Für Josef Schmid* [ed. Paul Hoffman, Norbert Brox, and Wilhelm Pesch; Freiburg: Herder, 1973], 286–99), Hubert Frankemölle (*Jahwebund und Kirche Christi* [NTAbh 10; Münster: Aschendorff, 1974]), and Schuyler Brown (“The Matthean Community and the Gentile Mission,” *NovT* 22 [1980]: 193–221) as advocates for gentile authorship, although Brown does not explicitly declare Matthew to be a gentile (see *ibid.*, 217–18 n. 18). A hybrid authorship view of an initial Jewish author and a later pro-gentile author appears in F. M. Abel, “Who Wrote Matthew?” *NTS* 17 (1971): 138–52

¹⁰ John P. Meier, “Matthew, Gospel of,” *ABD* 4:625–26 (quotation on 635). On the gentile position always remaining a minority view, see Robert K. McIver, “Twentieth Century Approaches to the Matthean Community,” *AUSS* 37 (1999): 32.

¹¹ McIver, “Twentieth Century Approaches,” 37; Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories*, 28–56 (cf. Gurtner, “The Gospel of Matthew,” 26). Christopher M. Tuckett has recently revisited the question of gentile authorship, noting that Matthew may not have “been ‘Jewish’ very long (if at all)” in light the First Evangelist’s misreading of the *Shema* (“Matthew: The Social and Historical Context – Jewish Christian and/or Gentile?” in *Matthew’s Gospel: At the Crossroads of Early Christianity* [ed. Donald Senior; BETL 243; Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 108–16 [quotation on 116]). Tuckett seeks to refute the explanation for Matthew’s treatment of the *Shema* appearing in Paul Foster, “Why Did Matthew Get the *Shema* Wrong? A Study of Matthew 22:37,” *JBL* 122 (2003): 309–33, a work that defends the position that Matthew was a Jew against the arguments in Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 25–26. Tuckett ultimately notes that the audience was “predominantly Jewish” and “that Matthew certainly stakes a claim to be very ‘Jewish,’ and hence perhaps implicitly not ‘Gentile’” (“Matthew: The Social and Historical Context,” 116, 128). The movement away from discussion of gentile authorship of Matthew might also reflect a move from focusing on an author as an individual to the community.

be “outside” of Judaism (*extra muros*)¹² or still within Judaism (*intra muros*),¹³ with some scholars proposing mediating positions, such as that the community is “on its way out”¹⁴ of Judaism or that “Matthew’s community is “caught in between” being *intra-muros* and *extra muros*.¹⁵

¹² E.g., Graham N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People* (Louisville: John Knox, 1992), 85–107; Richard E. Menninger, *Israel and the Church in the Gospel of Matthew* (AUSTR 162; New York: Lang, 1994); Petri Luomanen, *Entering the Kingdom of Heaven: A Study of the Structure of Matthew’s View of Salvation* (WUNT 2/101; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998); Douglas Hare, “How Jewish is Matthew?” *CBQ* 62 (2000): 264–77; J. R. C. Cousland, *The Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew* (NovTSup 102; Leiden: Brill, 2002); Donald A. Hagner, “Matthew: Apostate, Reformer, Revolutionary?” *NTS* 49 (2003): 193–209; Paul Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew’s Gospel* (WUNT 2/177; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004); Roland Deines, “Not the Law but the Messiah: Law and Righteousness in the Gospel of Matthew: An Ongoing Debate,” in *Built Upon the Rock* (ed. John Nolland and Daniel Gurtner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 53–84; Elian Cuvillier, “Torah Observance and Radicalization in the First Gospel. Matthew and the First Century Judaism: A Contribution to the Debate,” *NTS* 55 (2009): 144–59. Tuckett would also seem to fit within the *extra muros* camp; see “Matthew: The Social and Historical Context,” 99–129, esp. 116–29.

¹³ E.g., J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew’s Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); Anthony J. Saldarini, *Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); David C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999); Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories*; Frederick J. Murphy, “The Jewishness of Matthew: Another Look,” in *When Judaism and Christianity Began: Essays in Memory of Anthony J. Saldarini* (ed. Alan Jeffery Avery-Peck, Daniel Harrington, and Jacob Neusner; 2 vols.; JSJSup 85; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 2:377–403; Jonathan A. Draper, “Do the *Didache* and Matthew Reflect an ‘Irrevocable Parting of the Ways’ with Judaism?” in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (ed. Huub van de Sandt; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 217–41; Warren Carter, “Matthew’s Gospel: Jewish Christianity, Christian Judaism, or Neither?” in *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* (ed. Matt Jackson-McCabe; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 155–79; Anders Runesson, “Rethinking Early Jewish-Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intragroup Conflict,” *JBL* 127 (2008): 95–132; idem, “Judging Gentiles in the Gospel of Matthew: Between ‘Othering’ and Inclusion,” in *Jesus, Matthew’s Gospel, and Early Christianity* (ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Joel Willitts, and Richard A. Burridge; LNTS 435; London: T&T Clark, 2011), 133–51.

¹⁴ Evert Jan Vledder and A. G. van Aarde, “The Social Location of the Matthean Community,” *HvTSt* 51 (1995): 388–408.

¹⁵ Senior, “Matthew at the Crossroads,” 6–15 (quotation on 15). Also see Wim Weren, “The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community,” in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (ed. Huub van de Sandt; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 51–62, which offers a diachronic analysis of Matthew that sees different stages in the life of the community and its relationship to Jewish groups.

A reason for the continuation of the *intra/extra muros* debate may be that the seemingly simplistic question of whether Matthew is “inside” or “outside” Judaism is actually tremendously complicated. Subtleties seem to separate the positions, making it difficult to classify the views of some scholars.¹⁶ Furthermore, point of view can drastically alter one’s conclusions, as the community may be *intra muros* from the vantage point of the First Evangelist but *extra muros* in the eyes of rising Formative Judaism.¹⁷ One can even ask what would constitute a “break” with Judaism, especially in light of recent research that calls into question an early date for the so-called “parting of the ways”¹⁸ and how this could be detected in a document like Matthew.¹⁹

¹⁶ Dispute over the placement of Amy-Jill Levine’s *The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Matthean Salvation History* (StBibEC 14; Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1988) illustrates the difficulty in classifying a scholar within a camp, as this work appears in a list of *intra muros* advocates in Deines, “Not the Law,” 53 n. 2, but is listed among proponents of the *extra muros* position in Runesson, “Rethinking Early Jewish-Christian Relations,” 97 n. 4. Interestingly, Hare refers to comments of Levine appearing in *The Social and Ethnic Dimensions*, 10–11 as standing in agreement with his statements in *The Theme of Jewish Persecution*, a work traditionally placed in the *extra muros* camp, but Hare places her in the “growing consensus” of scholars viewing the Matthean community as a Jewish group (see “How Jewish is Matthew?” 264, 273). In “Between Two Worlds: Gentiles and Jews in Matthew’s Gospel,” *CBQ* 61 (1999): 4, Donald Senior places Levine among those who think the Matthean community would still identify itself as Jewish (*intra muros*), but he does not place her in this category in a later article (“Directions in Matthean Studies,” in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study: Studies in Memory of William G. Thompson, S. J.* [ed. David E. Aune; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 10). Levine’s more recent statement that Matthew “is, finally, a Christian, not a Jewish, text” (“Matthew’s Advice to a Divided Readership,” in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study: Studies in Memory of William G. Thompson, S. J.* [ed. David E. Aune; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 30) confirms her proper placement in the *extra muros* camp.

¹⁷ See Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories*, 343–47. Foster notes this tension in Repschinski’s work and uses it as part of his argument for an *extra muros* position (*Community, Law, and Mission*, 65–77). Cf. Menninger, *Israel and the Church*, 32–33.

¹⁸ On the questioning of the model of the “parting of the ways” between Christianity and Judaism, see Judith Lieu, “‘The Parting of the Ways’: Theological Construct or Historical Reality?” *JSNT* (1994): 101–19; Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (TSAJ 95; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Tobias Nicklas, *Jews and Christians? Second-Century ‘Christian’ Perspectives on the ‘Parting of the Ways’* (*Annual Deichmann Lectures 2013*) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014). Part of the issue with the model of the “parting of the ways” may be that the model was always intended as a simplification of historical realities, as noted in Donald A. Hagner, “Another Look at ‘The Parting of the Ways,’” in *Earliest Christian History: History, Literature and Theology. Essays from the Tyndale Fellowship in Honor of Martin Hengel* (ed. Michael F. Bird and Jason Matson; WUNT 2/320; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 383–84. Similarly,

The ongoing debate concerning whether the community was *intra muros* or *extra muros* may conceal an issue about which there does seem to be a consensus: Matthew belongs in a Jewish milieu. The issue is not whether the group is Jewish but “what *kind*” of Jewish group it is and how it perceives itself vis-à-vis other Jewish groups.²⁰ This current scholarly opinion is in a sense a refinement of the “traditional” position, as the document is once again being read in light of a Jewish social matrix and viewed as an attempt to relate a Jewish group’s beliefs about Jesus to its heritage and current situation.

This perspective on the background and audience of Matthew has opened up new avenues in the study of Matthew. Recent monographs have examined issues such as Christology, eschatology, Torah, and mission in the Gospel in light of its Jewish setting.²¹ An important element not yet examined within this new paradigm is the role of the figure of John the Baptist in the Gospel, a remarkable omission in light of the way recent scholarship on John has sought to study him as a figure within Judaism.

1.2 John the Baptist

Long a figure of interest for Christians,²² study of the Baptist increased with the “quest” for the historical Jesus. Ironically, it was during the so-called “no

the question of whether Matthew’s group was *intra muros* and *extra muros* may utilize a metaphor that is not overly helpful (see Matthias Konradt, *Israel, Kirche, und die Völker im Matthäusevangelium* [WUNT 215; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007], 384–89).

¹⁹ See e.g., Senior, “Directions in Matthean Studies,” 10–11; Donald A. Hagner, “Determining the Date of Matthew,” in *Jesus, Matthew’s Gospel, and Early Christianity* (ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, Joel Willitts, and Richard A. Burridge; LNTS 435; London: T&T Clark, 2011), 88–89; Gurtner, “Matthew from Stanton,” 29–31. Tuckett highlights the problematic nature of the terms “Jew,” “gentile,” and “Jewish Christian” (“Matthew: The Social and Historical Context,” 100–108). On the challenge of reconstructing a social-historical context from a narrative text, see Amy-Jill Levine, “Matthew’s Portrayal of the Synagogue and Its Leaders,” in *Matthew’s Gospel: At the Crossroads of Early Christianity* (ed. Donald Senior; BETL 243; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 192.

²⁰ Gurtner “The Gospel of Matthew,” 26 (emphasis original). Also see McIver, “Twentieth Century Approaches,” 38; Konradt, *Israel, Kirche, 389*; Senior, “Directions in Matthean Studies,” 11.

²¹ See e.g., Joel Willitts, *Matthew’s Messianic Shepherd-King: In Search of the ‘Lost Sheep of the House of Israel’* (BZNW 147; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007); David C. Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew* (SNTSMS 88; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Foster, *Community, Law, and Mission*.

²² In addition to the innumerable popular and devotional works on John the Baptist, see discussions of the Baptist in e.g., J. M. Rife, “The Standing of John the Baptist,” in *Festschrift to Honor F. Wilbur Gingrich* (ed. E. H. Barth and R. E. Cocroft; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 205–8; Edmondo Lupieri, “John the Baptist: The First Monk: A Contribution to the History of the Figure of John the Baptist in the Early Monastic World,” in *Monasticism: A*

quest” period of Jesus research that the first critical monographs about John appeared.²³ The methodology of these studies was largely form critical and influenced by history-of-religion methods.²⁴

The use of form criticism led scholars to detect ways in which the Baptist and his followers influenced the development of the New Testament traditions and the presence of “Baptist sources” in the New Testament. Clayton R. Bowen concludes that the New Testament’s interest in John the Baptist shows that “John the Baptist is still much preached about; he is a live topic, not a

Historical Overview (Word and Spirit 6; Still River, MA: St. Bede, 1984), 11–23; Sergius Bulgakov, *The Friend of the Bridegroom* (trans. Boris Jakim; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003). John also plays a prominent role in Gnostic texts; see Edmondo Lupieri, “John the Gnostic: The Figure of the Baptist in Origen and Heterodox Gnosticism,” *StPatr* 19 (1989): 322–27.

²³ Martin Dibelius, *Die urchristliche Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer* (FRLANT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911); Ernst Lohmeyer, *Das Urchristentum 1: Johannes der Täufer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1932); Maurice Goguel, *Au seuil de l'évangile: Jean-Baptiste* (Paris: Payot, 1928); Carl H. Kraeling, *John the Baptist* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1951). Adolf von Schlatter's 1880 dissertation on John the Baptist was a work of uneven quality that he wrote in the span of a few weeks and would not be published until 1956 (*Johannes der Täufer* [ed. Wilhelm Michaelis; Basel: Verlag Friedrich Reinhardt, 1956]), so the 1911 work of Dibelius marks a new era in the study of John (as maintained in Goesta Lindeskog, “Johannes der Täufer,” *ASTI* 12 [1983]: 56). This period also featured the dubious proposal of a “revolutionary” Baptist based upon the Slavonic text of Josephus in Robert Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist according to Flavius Josephus' Recently Rediscovered 'Capture of Jerusalem' and Other Jewish and Christian Sources* (trans. A. H. Krappe; New York: L. MacVeagh, 1931). This proposal was widely criticized, as the Slavonic Josephus appears to be from the Byzantine period (see Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet* [JSNTSup 62; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991], 43–44). Some scholars of this period also sought to see if the Mandaeen traditions about John the Baptist had any historical connection to the figure and whether the Mandaeans had links to the historical Baptist, questions that have largely been answered in the negative (see Charles H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist* [London: SCM, 1964], 23–31; Edmondo Lupieri, *The Mandaeans: The Last Gnostics* [trans. Charles Hindley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002], 122–26). A skepticism concerning the historical value of the earliest account of John does appear in Joshua Starr, “The Unjewish Character of the Markan Account of John the Baptist,” *JBL* 51 (1932): 227–37, but there have been few who have called into question the whole quest for the “historical John”; see discussion in John 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. John Reumann; Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1972), 181–99.

²⁴ Reumann, “The Quest for the Historical Baptist,” 185. A prime example of the influence of the history-of-religion school is the discussion of John the Baptist in light of the “baptizing movement” in Joseph Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (150 AV. J.-C. – 300 AP. J.-C.)* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1935), 63–139.

dead issue” at the time of the composition of the Gospels.²⁵ The writings of Bowen, Rudolf Bultmann, and others maintain that places such as the opening chapters of Luke, Luke 3:1–20, and the prologue of the Gospel of John all originally come from followers of the Baptist.²⁶ On the whole, the discussions in this period about Baptist communities and sources emphasized tension between the followers of Jesus and John, often finding a “polemic-apologetic” purpose at work in Luke and John.²⁷

The 1950’s saw a significant surge in study of the Baptist, with scholarship essentially divided into two types that one may label as study of the “historical Baptist” and study of the “literary Baptist.” The discovery of the Qumran scrolls stimulated further studies on the “historical Baptist,” as writers sought to determine how the Qumran texts could illuminate John’s life and ministry and if there was a connection between John and the community at Qumran.²⁸

²⁵ “Prolegomena to a New Study of John the Baptist,” in *Studies in the New Testament: Collected Papers of Dr. Clayton R. Bowen* (ed. Robert J. Hutcheon; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936 [orig. 1928]), 30–48 (quotation on 48).

²⁶ See Clayton R. Bowen, “John the Baptist in the New Testament,” *AJT* 16 (1912): 95–103; Rudolf Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. John Marsh; rev. ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1972 [German orig. 1921]), 23–24, 164–66, 246–47, 301–2; idem, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (trans. George Beasley-Murray; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971 [German orig. 1941]), 17–18. Bowen’s views built upon the discussions in D. Völter, “Die Apokalypse des Zacharias im Evangelium des Lucas,” *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 30 (1896): 244–69; J. C. Todd, “Logia of John,” *ExpTim* 21 (1910): 173–75. Gustav Hölscher argued that Luke 16:16–18 was of Baptist origins; see Ernst Bammel, “Is Luke 16,16-18 of Baptist Provenance?” *HTR* 51 (1958): 101–6. Ernest W. Parsons explored how the practices and beliefs of the Baptist movement explain Christian practices and beliefs in “The Significance of John the Baptist for the Beginning of Christianity,” in *Environmental Factors in Christian History* (ed. John Thomas McNeill, Matthew Spinka, and Harold R. Willoughby; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 1–17, esp. 6–17.

²⁷ The opinion of Oscar Cullman that the followers of the Baptist were “the most dangerous rival to the early church” is a good representative of a popular view in the first part of the twentieth century (see “Ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος,” in *The Early Church: Studies in Early Christian History and Theology* [ed. A. J. Higgins; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956], 177–82 [quotation on 177]). Bowen discusses the polemic in Luke in “John the Baptist,” 90–106. On a polemic in John, see Wilhelm Baldensperger, *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums. Sein polemisch-apologetischer Zweck* (Freiburg: Mohr Siebeck), 1898. Bowen briefly discusses whether Matthew may also show a reaction to Baptist sources in its genealogy (“John the Baptist,” 103), but does not find a polemic against a Baptist movement in Matthew.

²⁸ E.g., William Brownlee, “John the Baptist in the New Light of the Ancient Scrolls,” *Int* 9 (1955): 71–90; 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; John A. T. Robinson, “The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community,” in idem, *Twelve New Testament Studies* (London: SCM, 1962 [orig. 1957]), 11–27; Jean Steinmann, *Saint John*

The rise of redaction criticism led to study of the “literary Baptist,”²⁹ with redactional portraits of the Baptist reaching their climax in Walter Wink’s *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*, a work that discusses the unique description of the Baptist in each gospel.³⁰ Scholarship on the Baptist has continued on these two levels, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive.³¹

While some writers would continue to emphasize intense opposition between the Baptist’s followers and the early church,³² other scholars became skeptical of such claims. For example, Wink objects to the presence of a polemic-apologetic against Baptist communities in the New Testament.³³ John A. T. Robinson expresses even stronger doubt, noting that he “cannot find a shred of reliable historical evidence for ... the mere existence of disciples of John after his death who were not in some way Christians, let alone for those who were actively anti-Christian” and that the reality of a compet-

the Baptist and the Desert Tradition (New York: Harper, 1958); John Pryke, “John the Baptist and the Qumran Community,” *ResQ* 4 (1964): 483–96; Scobie, *John the Baptist*; Roland Schütz, *Johannes der Täufer* (ATANT 50; Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1967); Jürgen Becker, *Johannes der Täufer und Jesus von Nazareth* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1972).

²⁹ Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 18–27; Willi Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel* (trans. James Boyce et al; Nashville: Abingdon, 1969), 30–53. A comparable study on the Baptist in Matthew is Wolfgang Trilling, “Die Täufertradition bei Matthäus,” *BZ* 3 (1959): 271–89.

³⁰ (SNTSMS 7; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968). Wink discusses Acts with Luke and also includes a section on Q.

³¹ For works that integrate redactional analysis and discussion of the historical Baptist, see e.g., Ernst Bammel, “The Baptist in Early Christian Tradition,” *NTS* 18 (1971–72): 95–128; Edmondo Lupieri, *Giovanni Battista fra Storia e Leggenda* (Brescia: Paideia, 1988); idem, *Giovanni Battista nelle tradizioni sinottiche* (StBib 82; Brescia: Paideia, 1988); idem, “John the Baptist in New Testament Traditions and History,” *ANRW* 2.26.1 (1992): 430–61; Josef Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte* (BZNW 53; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989). Webb also features redactional analysis in his attempt to study the historical Baptist (*John the Baptizer*, 47–91).

³² E.g., Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 187–202; Morton S. Enslin, “John and Jesus,” *ZNW* 66 (1975): 1–18. A new theory of a “Baptist source” appears in this period in J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation, Commentary* (AB 38; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), 28–56, as Ford argues that the “Baptist school” produced Revelation. This idiosyncratic view was widely criticized (see Adela Yarbro Collins, review of J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation, Commentary*, *CBQ* 38 [1976]: 555–57), and Ford has abandoned significant aspects of it (see David E. Aune, *Revelation 1–5* [WBC 52a; Dallas: Word Books, 1994], cxi). A more plausible discussion of the influence of the Baptist in the Jesus movement from this period appears in John K. Elliott, “Did the Lord’s Prayer Originate with John the Baptist?” *TZ* 29 (1973): 215.

³³ Wink, *John the Baptist*, 11–13, 40–41, 82–86, 98–105, 107–9.

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