

MASANOBU ENDO

Creation and Christology

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

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Mohr Siebeck

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Herausgegeben von
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Masanobu Endo

Creation and Christology

A Study on the Johannine Prologue
in the Light of Early Jewish Creation Accounts

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

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ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.

March 2002

Masanobu Endo, Tokyo

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for Ancient Literature

Ab	Abot
Abr	De Abrahamo
Ant	Antiquities of the Jews
ApAbr	Apocalypse of Abraham
ApLao	Apollinaris of Laodicea
Aristob	Aristobulus
AsMos	Assumption of Moses
b.	Babylonian Talmud
1 Bar	1 Baruch
2 Bar	2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch
CD	Damascus Rule
Conf	De Confusione Linguarum
DeutR	Midrash Rabbah on Deuteronomy
1 En	1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch
2 En	2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch
3 En	3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch
4 Ezra	4 Ezra
Fug	De Fuga et Inventione
GenR	Midrash Rabbah on Genesis
Heres	Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres
JosAsen	Joseph and Aseneth
Jub	Jubilees
Ketub	Ketubot
LAB	Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum
LadJac	Ladder of Jacob
Leg All	Legum Allegoriae
LXX	Septuagint
m.	Mishna
Mak	Makkot
Meg	Megilla
MT	Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible
NumR	Midrash Rabbah on Numbers
Op Mund	De Opificio Mundi
Post	De Posteritate Caini
PrMan	Prayer of Manasseh

IQH ^a	Thanksgiving Hymns from Qumran Cave 1
IQM	War Scroll from Qumran Cave 1
IQS	Community Rule from Qumran Cave 1
4Q176	Tanhumin from Qumran Cave 4
4Q180	Ages of Creation from Qumran Cave 4
4Q216	Jubilees ^a from Qumran Cave 4
4Q381	Non-Canonical Psalms B from Qumran Cave 4
4Q392	Works of God from Qumran Cave 4
4Q400 - 405	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^{a-f} from Qumran Cave 4
4Q422	Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus from Qumran Cave 4
4Q504	Works of the Luminaries ^a from Qumran Cave 4
11QPs ^a	Psalms ^a from Qumran Cave 11
11QPsAp ^a	Apocryphal Psalms from Qumran Cave 11
Quaest Exod	Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodus
Quaest Gen	Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesis
Det	Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat
Quis Rer	Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres
Sacr	De Sacrificiis Abelis et Cain
Sanh	Sanhedrin
SibOr	Sibylline Oracles
SifDeut	Midrash Sifre on Deuteronomy
SifNum	Midrash Sifre on Numbers
Sir	Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)
Somn	De Somniis
Suk	Sukkah
t.	Tosephta
Ta 'an	Ta 'anit
TAb	Testament of Abraham
TargJon	Targum Jonathan
TargNeo	Targum Neofiti 1
Tim	Timaeus
TLev	Testament of Levi
TMos	Testament of Moses
y.	Jerusalem Talmud
Wisd	Wisdom of Solomon

Abbreviations for Serial Publications

AB	The Anchor Bible
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
APOT	Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>

BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT
BETS	<i>Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>Bible Translator</i>
<i>BZAW</i>	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>ET</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>EQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>Ex Auditu</i>	<i>Ex Auditu</i>
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizon in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Supplement
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
NICNT	New International Commentary on New Testament
NTA	New Testament Apocrypha
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
OTP	The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha
PAM	Photo of the DSS MSS in the Palestine Archaeological Museum
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RL</i>	<i>Religion in Life</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>SBLASP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature, Abstracts and Seminar Papers</i>
<i>ScrHie</i>	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana</i>
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
SHR	Photo of the DSS MSS in the Shrine of the Book Photographs
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Wesleyan Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZKT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Miscellaneous

AD	anno Domini
BC	before Christ
bk(s).	Book (s)
ca.	circa, about (with dates)
cf.	confer, compare
ch(s).	chapter(s)
ed.	edition, edited by, editor
e.g.	exempli gratia, for example
esp.	especially
frag(s).	fragment, fragments
i.e.	id est, that is
lit.	literally
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
§	section
tr.	translator, translated by
v(v).	verse(s)
vol(s)	volume(s)
<	root, or original form of the word

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Purpose

This research project attempts to explore the hypothesis that the Johannine Christology in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel is developed on the basis of the biblical and early Jewish exegetical traditions of the Genesis creation account. Several bodies of literature have been read in relation to the Johannine prologue in the 20th century AD: (1) Mandaean literature (Iranian Gnostic tradition; ca. 3rd century AD thereafter [possibly to the 2nd century AD])¹; (2) Hermetic literature (Egyptian Gnostic tradition; ca. 2nd to 3rd centuries AD); (3) Jewish wisdom literature (ca. 2nd century BC thereafter); (4) Philo's works (Hellenistic Judaism; 1st century AD); (5) Rabbinic (ca. 3rd century AD thereafter) and Targumic literature (ca. 2nd century AD thereafter). However, so far only a few attempts have been made to examine the early Jewish documents which are generally dated between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD. Therefore, this study will give a new perspective for understanding the background of the Johannine prologue.

1.2 Previous Discussions on the Background of the Johannine Prologue

1.2.1 *Rudolf Bultmann: Gnostic Tradition*

In the early 20th century, R. Bultmann set forth a hypothesis that the prologue was originally a pre-Christian cultic hymn, an ultimate source from Gnosticism, which is seen in the Odes of Solomon and some of the Mandaean writings. He argues that the λόγος of John 1:1 cannot be understood on the basis of the OT² since the notion of God's word in the OT is different from that of the λόγος in John.³ He argues that the figure of wisdom which is found

¹ The discussion on the date of Mandaean literature has not been settled yet.

² R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, tr. G. R. Beasley-Murray (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971) = *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 21.

³ R. Bultmann (*John*, 20-21) argues that (1) the word of God means God's temporal deed or event in the OT, while in John the λόγος is an eternal being; (2) it is not the essence of a

in Judaism (as well as the OT) is related to the Johannine λόγος.⁴ The suggested similarities are as follows: (1) she is pre-existent, and is God's partner at creation (Prov 8:22-30; Sir 1:1-9; 24:3, 9; Wisd 8:3; 9:4, 9); (2) she seeks a dwelling on earth among men, but is rejected, so that she returns to the heavenly world (Prov. 1:20-32; Job 28; Sir 24:7; 1 Bar 3:10-13, 29-36; 1 En 42:1-3); (3) she reveals herself only to individual religious men, and makes them friends of God and prophets (Wisd 7:14, 27; Sir 1:15); and (4) she is simply designated 'Wisdom' (Prov 8:1; Sir 1:6; 24:1; Wisd 7:22; 1 Bar 3:2). Bultmann maintains that this wisdom myth does not have its origin in the OT nor Judaism at all, but in Gnosticism.⁵ That is to say, Jewish wisdom took over the Hellenistic and Gnostic literature, and she was de-mythologised and transferred to the Torah. If there may be a connection between the Johannine prologue and Jewish wisdom, then both go back to the same tradition for their source, namely Gnosticism.⁶ After an examination of the possibility of the influence from Alexandrian Jewish circles,⁷ he accepted Reitzenstein's assumption, that the prologue was influenced from Iranian Gnosticism with its notion of the redeemed redeemer.⁸

1.2.2 Post Bultmann: from Gnosticism to Wisdom Tradition

Guided by Bultmann's hypothesis, his students, H. Becker⁹ and E. Schweizer,¹⁰ sought to reconstruct a typical archetype of the 'Gnostic Revealer Discourse' from parallels found in Mandaean texts and the Odes of

system of cosmic laws; (3) it has the idea of the relation of the chosen people to the word of God, while in John λόγος has the idea of the relation of the world to the Word; (4) a man cannot be designated as the bearer of revelation without an inspiration, while Jesus is not thought of such a bearer; and (5) the word of God has not become a hypostasis.

⁴ R. Bultmann, *John*, 22.

⁵ R. Bultmann ('Der religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund des Prologs zum Johannes-evangelium,' in H. Schmidt (ed.), *EYXAPIΣTHPION: Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1923], 12-13) states, 'Jedoch dürfte die Auffassung der Weisheit als eines Geschöpfes jüdische Umdeutung einer älteren mythologischen Anschauung sein, nach der die Weisheit eine selbständige göttliche Gestalt ist.'

⁶ R. Bultmann, 'Religionsgeschichtliche,' 16-17. As for the de-mythology, it has been developed as follows: (1) the mythology has been severely pushed into the background; (2) Gnostic cosmology has been repressed and has given way to the belief of Creation; (3) and the concern for the relation of man to the revelation of God has become dominant ('Religionsgeschichtliche,' 30-31).

⁷ R. Bultmann, 'Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums,' *ZTK* 24 (1925), 14-15.

⁸ R. Bultmann, 'Bedeutung,' 19-20.

⁹ H. Becker, *Die Reden des Johannesevangeliums und der Stil der Gnostischen Offenbarungsrede* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956).

¹⁰ E. Schweizer, *Ego Eimi: Die Religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und Theologische Bedeutung der Joh. Bildreden* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939).

Solomon. However, Bultmann's hypothesis has not always been accepted by other scholars. While examining another Bultmannian hypothesis which states that the prologue is a pre-Christian Gnostic hymn which stems from Baptist circles,¹¹ E. Käsemann¹² comments on Bultmann's former hypothesis by writing, 'The pre-Christian character of the hymn is more than problematical, the Aramaic original incredible, the alleged Baptist hymn a pure hypothesis.'¹³ Following Käsemann, E. Haenchen also doubted Bultmann's Mandaean hypothesis¹⁴ and argued that the prologue is, 'ein christlicher Hymnus.'¹⁵ E. Yamauchi refutes Bultmann's hypothesis.¹⁶ He argues that most of the Mandaic texts date between the sixth and the ninth century since there are many explicit references to Islam in these texts.¹⁷ Moreover, the origin of the sect was at least the 3rd century AD and possibly even the 2nd century AD.¹⁸ Rather, he holds that the early Jewish texts can surely provide a more satisfactory background for the Johannine prologue.¹⁹ C. H. Dodd went another way. He examined the parallels between the Johannine prologue and the Poimandres tractate (Hermetic writings),²⁰ focusing on some distinct beings (the divine Revealer [Poimandres], the prophet, the heavenly Anthropos, and the Logos), and the concept of regeneration (new birth; cf. John 1:12-13). Since he could not ignore the date issue, he carefully stated that both the Johannine prologue and the Poimandres tractate do not necessarily borrow from one side or the other, but rather they share a common thought.²¹

Recent scholars who have worked on the Gnostic literature have pointed out the common milieu on which both the prologue and the Gnostic literature are drawing, i.e. the Jewish wisdom tradition.²² The general arguments are as

¹¹ R. Bultmann, *John*, 16-17.

¹² E. Käsemann, 'The Structure and Purpose of the Prologue to John's Gospel,' in idem (ed.), *New Testament Questions of Today* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 138-167.

¹³ E. Käsemann, *Structure*, 150.

¹⁴ E. Haenchen, *John* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 36.

¹⁵ E. Haenchen, 'Probleme des Johanneischen 'Prologs',' *ZTK* 60 (1963), 307, 333.

¹⁶ E. Yamauchi, 'Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins,' *HTS* 24 (1970); idem, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism: A Survey of the Proposed Evidences* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973); idem, 'Jewish Gnosticism? The Prologue of John, Mandaean Parallels, and the Trimorphic Protennoia,' in R. van den Brock and M.J. Vermaseren (eds.), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 467-497.

¹⁷ E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, 4-8.

¹⁸ E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, 9.

¹⁹ E. Yamauchi, 'Jewish Gnosticism,' 485.

²⁰ C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 10-53.

²¹ C. H. Dodd, *Interpretation*, 53.

²² G. W. MacRae, 'The Jewish Background of the Gnostic Sophia Myth,' *NovT* 12 (1970), 86-101; J. H. Charlesworth and R. A. Culpepper, 'The Odes of Solomon and the

follows: (1) the Johannine prologue does not necessarily depend upon Gnostic texts (cf. Odes of Solomon, and the Trimorphic Protennoia) because of the chronological difficulties; (2) there seems to be common ground in the wisdom tradition, upon which both the prologue and the Gnostic literature are drawing; (3) both texts were transformed (de-Christianized [the Johannine prologue], or more developed as Gnostic literature) from there. Many efforts have been made to read the Johannine prologue in accordance with the theological framework of the Jewish wisdom tradition. They give light to an idea that the Jewish wisdom was transformed and adapted into the Johannine Logos.²³ However, we should not ignore the fact that Jewish wisdom is associated with the motif of the word of God, and they each depict different aspects of the unique identity of God (e.g. 2 En 33:3-4; Sir ch. 42; Wisd 9:1-2; 4Q403).²⁴ It is thereby crucial to observe how these attributes function in each of their respective theological contexts.

1.2.3 Philo's Logos

The association of the Johannine Logos with Philo's Logos has long been discussed because of similarities in the personified figure.²⁵ Philo's Logos is

Gospel of John,' *CBQ* 35 (1973), 303, 306; H. Schenke, 'Die Neutestamentliche Christologie und der Gnostische Erlöser,' in K. Tröger (ed.), *Gnosis und Neues Testament: Studien aus Religionwissenschaft und Theologie* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlangsanstalt, 1973), 109-125; Y. Janssens, 'The Trimorphic Protennoia and the Fourth Gospel,' in A. H. B. Logan and A. J. M. Wedderburn (eds.), *The New Testament and Gnosis* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1983), 229-244, esp. 235; J. Ashton, 'The Transformation of Wisdom: A Study of the Prologue of John's Gospel,' *NTS* 32 (2) (1986), 161-186; W. Carter, 'The Prologue and John's Gospel: Function, Symbol and the Definitive Word,' *JSNT* 39 (1990), 35-58; J. T. Sanders, 'Nag Hammadi, Odes of Solomon, and NT Christological Hymns,' in J.E. Goehring (ed.), *Gnosticism and the Early Christian World: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (Sonoma: Polebridge Press, 1990), 51-66; G. Robinson, 'The Trimorphic Protennoia and the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel,' in J. E. Goehring (ed.), *Gnosticism and the Early Christian World* (Sonoma: Polebridge Press, 1990), 37-50.

²³ E.g. H. R. Moeller, 'Wisdom Motifs and John's Gospel,' *BETS* 6 (1963), 92-100; J. S. Ackerman, 'The Rabbinic Interpretation of Psalm 82 and the Gospel of John: Jn 10:34,' *HTR* 59 (1966), 186-191; E. Epp, 'Wisdom, Torah, Word: The Johannine Prologue and the Purpose of the Fourth Gospel,' in G. Hawthorne (ed.), *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 128-146; J. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origin of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: SCM Press, 1980), 163-268; J. Ashton, 'Transformation,' 161-186; Ben Witherington, *John's Wisdom* (Louisville: Westminster, 1995), esp. its Introduction.

²⁴ R. Bauckham (*God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* [Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999], 21) rightly argues that the personifications have been developed precisely out of the ideas of God's own wisdom and word, that is, aspects of God's own identity.

²⁵ Cf. C. Dodd, *Interpretation*, 54-73; P. Borgen, *Philo, John and Paul: New Perspectives on Judaism and Early Christianity* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 77.

described as a divine mediator (as ‘the healer of the soul’ [Leg All 3:177-178], ‘comforter’ [Fug 5-6], ‘mediator’ [Quaest Exod 2:13], and ‘ambassador’ [Heres 205]). The Logos is associated with life (Leg All 2:86; Post 127-129; Somn 2:241-246; Leg All 3:174-178; Det 118; Heres 79, 191) and light motifs (Op Mund 31; Abr 47; Leg All 3:45). It is also linked to the water (Leg All 2:86; Post 127-129; Somn 2:241-246) and manna motifs (Leg All 2:86; Leg All 3:174-178; Det 118; Heres 79, 191), which are prominent in the Johannine Christology (John 4:14; 6:35). In some contexts, the Logos is called ‘a God’ (Somn 1:227-230) or ‘the second God’ (Quaest Gen 2:62).

However, once each context is carefully examined, it becomes clear that these mediator figures were basically vivid ways of speaking of God’s own powers and activities (not as the hypostatic existence of these entities),²⁶ or the way of solving theological and exegetical problems (in particular against the polytheistic views), as will be discussed in the thesis.²⁷ Instead, our thesis will present a distinction between Philo’s Logos and the Johannine Logos.

1.2.4 Jewish Exegetical Traditions of the Genesis Creation Account

Some scholars attempt to read the prologue against the background of the Jewish exegetical traditions of the Genesis creation account. P. Borgen assumes that the prologue of John is an exposition of Genesis 1:1-5, finding a similar exposition of Genesis 1:1-5 in the Midrash Rabbah Genesis (Gen 3:3) and the Targum Neofiti 1 (Gen 3:24)²⁸: in the former, the word (רִבּוֹר) is identified with light which was called good²⁹; the latter exhibits a chiasmic structure which is seen in the prologue.³⁰

The Targumic interpretation (or paraphrase) of the Genesis creation account has been considered as well. In this exposition, ‘the word (מִמְרָא or מִיִּמְרָא) of the Lord’ and ‘the glory (שְׂכִינָה) lit. ‘dwelling’) of the Lord’ function as the main agents of God’s work of creation (TargNeo Gen ch. 1). On the one hand, some scholars have questioned the pre-Christian date of the tradition in Neofiti 1,³¹ whereas on the other hand, M. McNamara maintains that its substance would go back to pre-Christian times, by showing an other

²⁶ Cf. L. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 36-50; P. Davis, ‘Divine Agents, Mediators, and New Testament Christology,’ *JTS* 45 (2) (1994), 491.

²⁷ See Excursus, ‘Philo’s Cosmogonic Account.’

²⁸ P. Borgen, ‘Observations on the Targumic Character of the Prologue of John,’ *NTS* 16 (1970), 288-295.

²⁹ P. Borgen, *Logos was the True Light and other Essays on the Gospel of John* (Trondheim: Tapir Publishers, 1983), 15.

³⁰ P. Borgen, *Logos*, 18.

³¹ P. Wernberg-Møller, ‘An Inquiry into the Validity of the Text-Critical Argument for an Early Dating of the Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum,’ *VT* 12 (1962), 312-330; A. York, ‘The Dating of the Targumic Literature,’ *JSJ* 5 (1974), 49-62.

Palestinian Targumic paraphrase (TargNeo Exod 12:42; Exod 15:18 in the Paris MS 10), in which the word of the Lord is identified with the primordial light in the Genesis creation account.³² Some scholars argue that the word (מִמְרָא) is only a nominal substitute for God's name (אֱהִיָּה in TargNeo Exod 3:12, 14),³³ whereas D. Munoz and M. McNamara hold that the use of מִמְרָא in Neofiti 1 may have a more theological purpose.³⁴ It seems undeniable that the word in the Targum shows a link to the biblical (e.g. Ps 33:6-9; Isa 48:3, 13; 55:11) word tradition:

The word (מִמְרָא) of the Lord is not like the word of the sons of man; nor are the works of the Lord like the work of the sons of man; the sons of man say and do not act; they decree and fulfill not; and they go back and deny their words. God, however, says and does; he decrees and fulfills, and his prophetic words are established forever (TargNeo Gen 23:19).

Moreover, both מִמְרָא and שְׂכִינָה exhibit different aspects of the unique identity of God: i.e. on the one hand, מִמְרָא indicates the appearance of God through his word by which the people could realize his dwelling among them (TargNeo Gen 17:1; 18:1; 20:3, 6, 13; 35:11; TargNeo Exod 3:8; 11:4; 19:9; 20:24; TargNeo Num 11:17; 22:9, 12, 20; 23:4, 5, 12, 16), whereas on the other hand, שְׂכִינָה indicates the appearance of God through a visible sign (such as light, cloud, and pillar of fire), by which the people could realize his dwelling among them (TargNeo Gen 11:5; 22:14; TargNeo Exod 3:1; 19:11, 18, 20; 20:20, 21; 24:13). TargNeo Exod 19:11 illustrates these distinctions:

And the Lord said to Moses: 'Behold, my Memra will be revealed to you in the might of the cloud so that the people may hear when I speak with you' (TargNeo Exod 19:9); the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord will be revealed to the eyes of all the people upon Mount Sinai' (TargNeo Exod 19:11).

In addition, we should note that the מִמְרָא is not depicted as an autonomous existence, but rather as the special way of the historical appearance of God to the world. Therefore, it seems possible to consider the מִמְרָא to be an

³² M. McNamara, *Targum and Testament. Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible. A Light on the New Testament* (Granad Rapids/Shannon: Eerdmans/Irish University Press, 1972), 103; idem, 'Logos of the Fourth Gospel and Memra of the Palestinian Targum (Ex. 12.42),' *ET* 79 (1968), 116.

³³ G. F. Moore, 'Intermediaries in Jewish Theology,' *HTR* 15 (1922), 41-85; P. Vermes, 'Buber's Understanding of the Divine Name related to Bible, Targum and Midrash,' *JJS* 24 (1973), 147-166; R. Hayward, 'The Memra of YHWH and the Development of Its Use in Targum Neofiti 1,' *JJS* 25 (1974), 412-418; idem, 'Memra and Shekhina: A Short Note,' *JJS* 31 (1981), 210-213.

³⁴ D. Munoz, *Gloria de la Shekina en los Targumim del Pentateuco* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto "Francisco Suarez", 1977), 525-527; M. McNamara (ed.), *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis* (The Aramaic Bible; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1992), 37-38.

expanded biblical (prophetic and creational) word motif,³⁵ which may be associated with the Johannine Logos.³⁶

1.3 New Approaches and Plan of Action

After the refutation of Bultmann's hypothesis, scholars' concerns have shifted to the Jewish wisdom tradition and the exegetical (Rabbinic and Targumic and Philonic) traditions of the Genesis creation account. In general, the former focuses on the personified figure of wisdom (originated from Prov 8:22-31) and its exposition tends to ignore the context of the Genesis creation account which is prominent in John 1:1-5. As for the latter investigation, only a few attempts have so far been made on the early Jewish literature which is generally dated between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD. Therefore, our thesis will focus on these sources, with the following new approaches.

First of all, our thesis will deal with *the creation accounts* of these sources and investigate mainly *the theological functions* of the Genesis creation account in each literary and thematic context. Since previous scholarship has searched for figure equivalent to the personified Logos, scholars have easily ignored the context in which the Genesis creation account is the focus. Secondly, the classification of the creation accounts will be made in accordance with the way that they are treated in each work of piece of literature (i.e. narrative and descriptive accounts and brief references to creation). This classification attempts to avoid an artificial division in our Jewish sources (e.g. the division between wisdom and apocalyptic literature, or between the so-called Pseudepigrapha and the Dead Sea Scrolls). Thirdly, our thesis will consider the aspect of how the OT or the biblical traditions were understood by a contemporary Jewish reader or one familiar with Jewish literature.³⁷ Fourthly, several creation motifs (such as light and life), as well as divine attributes (esp. the divine word and wisdom), will be examined in accordance with the theological functions of the Genesis creation account.³⁸ We cannot treat these Jewish texts as sources the NT writers used, but we can see them

³⁵ Cf. 4 Ezra 6:38, 43; 2 Bar 14:17; 21:4, 7; 48:2, 8; 54:1, 3; 56:4.

³⁶ Cf. C. Evans, *Word and Glory: on the Exegetical and Theological Background of John's Prologue* (JSNTSup 89; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 114-121.

³⁷ R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Identity of God* (forth-coming, 2001).

³⁸ I am grateful to Professor R. Bauckham for sharing these points of view at the first stage of my work. In his forth-coming work, *Jesus and the identity of God* (provisional title), he has launched a hypothesis that John 1:1-5 is a retelling or interpretation of the beginning of the Genesis creation narrative (Gen 1:1-4), and that it belongs to a recognizable genre of Jewish retellings of the scriptural account of creation.

as evidence of the way that the Scriptures were read in the first century, with which NT writers were familiar.³⁹

The plan of Part I (chs. 2-5) is to explore the Jewish exposition of the Genesis creation account (ca. 2nd century BC to 1st century AD), and to observe how the Jewish readers in our period understood the Genesis creation account in their theological context. In this part, the narrative accounts of creation (Chapter 2), the descriptive accounts of creation (Chapter 3), and the brief references to creation (Chapter 4) will be investigated. After the summary for Part I (Chapter 5), Philo's cosmogonic account will be considered (as an Excursus to Part I). The analysis takes its point of departure from literary considerations on these points: (1) the context in which the creation account appears and the main concern of the creation accounts; (2) a reconstruction of the text (if it is needed); and (3) the influence of key passages from the OT. Thematic (more theological) considerations will follow. The texts which will be examined in Part I are as follows: (1) *the narrative accounts of creation*: Jub 2:1-16; 2 En chs. 24-33; 4 Ezra 6:38-54; SibOr 1:5-35; 3:8-25; frag. 3; Ant 1:27-36; 1QM 10:8-18; 1QH^a 9:7-20; 4Q381 frag. 1 1-12; (2) *the descriptive accounts of creation*:: 1 En 69:16-25; 2 En chs. 47-48; 65-66; 4 Ezra 3:3-4; 6:1-6; 2 Bar 14:15-19; 21:4-8; 48:2-10; 54:1-3, 13; ApAbr 21:1-22:2; LAB 15:5-6; JosAsen 8:10-11; 12:1-2; Sir 16:24-17:14; 39:12-35; 42:15-43:33; 1QS 3:13-4:1; 4Q392 frags. 1-9; 4Q422 frag. 1 1-13; 4Q504 frag. 8 4-10; 11QPs^a 26:9-15; (3) *brief references to creation*:: Jub 12:4, 26; LAB 60:2-3; ApAbr 7:10-11; 9:3, 9; LadJac 2:10-14, 20; PrMan 1:2-3; Wisd 7:22; 8:5; 9:1-2, 9; 1 Bar 3:32-38; Sir 33:7-15.

Part II (chs. 6-9) attempts to explore the literary and thematic analyses of the Johannine prologue in the light of our research results of early Jewish creation accounts (Part I, chs. 2-5). First of all, Chapter 6 will briefly assess the recent surveys of both source (diachronic) and structural (synchronic) analyses of the prologue, and will propose a new structural understanding which will be the basis for later thematic analysis. Chapter 7 will examine the literary and thematic correspondences between John 1:1-5 and the Genesis creation account, and will argue that the Genesis creation account is alluded to in the first part of the Johannine prologue. While showing that these allusions to the Genesis creation account in John 1:1-5 have relevance to the early Jewish exegetical tradition, this chapter will suggest how the Genesis creation account functions to develop Christology in the Johannine prologue. Chapter 8 will show that several key christological motifs in the Johannine prologue (which are associated with the descriptions of 'the divine identity' and 'the role' of the Son [Logos]) are expanded in the rest of the Fourth Gospel.

³⁹ R. Bauckham, 'The Relevance of Extra-Canonical Jewish Texts to New Testament Study,' in J. Green (ed.), *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 95.

1.4 Limitations of this Investigation

The following investigation is not an attempt to study all the possible sources (from the Mediterranean world), but to focus on the creation accounts in Jewish literature which are generally considered to have been written around the Second Temple period (esp. 2nd century BC to 1st century AD). Some of the so-called OT Pseudepigrapha with which our thesis will deal are of uncertain date, but we will accept a general scholarly consensus that they preserve early Jewish traditions. Moreover, since most of the Pseudepigrapha were discovered outside Palestine, their original languages are uncertain. We thereby notice our limitations in accessing the original meanings, but we will make every effort to understand them in a preserved language. The fuller study of the textual criticism, as well as the date issue, lie outside the scope of this thesis.

As the title of the thesis has suggested, our study has deliberately been restricted to the understanding of the Johannine prologue in the light of the early Jewish exegetical traditions of the Genesis creation accounts. Therefore, our thesis will not include thorough discussions on all questions of the Johannine prologue, or its relation to the biblical traditions (OT and NT). In addition, the exposition of the Johannine prologue will be structured by a thematic analysis in accordance with our main theological concern (i.e. the Johannine Christology in the prologue).

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