

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 72

Edward P. Meadors

Jesus  
the Messianic Herald  
of Salvation



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Herausgegeben von  
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

72

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by

Edward P. Meadors



J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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## Preface

This book is a response to the growing scholarly assumption that the hypothetical Gospel source "Q" was a document composed in multiple stages which reflect the varying theological biases of a developing community. According to this commonly held premise, the transmitters of Q had their own idiosyncratic view of Jesus and his message, which differed to such a significant extent from Mark, that Q is now considered by many to be a composition stemming from a 'second sphere of early Christianity.' In a fresh examination of the evidence, I shall challenge this "critical orthodoxy" and attempt to demonstrate that Q stands in close harmony with Mark and is based on the teaching of the historical Jesus.

In the pages that follow, I hope to clarify that many characteristic themes of Q (wisdom, prophecy, the Son of Man) are present equally and in similar ways in Mark. The primary theme of both Q and Mark, the Kingdom of God, will be examined in detail to determine if, and to what extent, the content of Q is dissimilar to Mark, and thus to what extent Q is deserving, if at all, of the variant heritage dubbed 'second sphere.' Further, I shall argue that the juxtaposition of the categories of wisdom, prophecy, apocalyptic and eschatology in Q has a historical precedent in the Book of Daniel, which contains the same agglomeration of ideas and which almost certainly influenced Jesus. This will open up the way to claiming that these themes in Q have their origin in a combination of ideas taught by Jesus, and that therefore the hypothesis of successive layers of Q redaction is redundant.

I shall contend that Q and Mark, rather than contradict one another, collaborate in revealing important insights into the early church's understanding of the mission of Jesus. Although the 'Messianic Secret' has long been thought to be distinctive of Mark, Q, by not containing the Christ title, conceals the messianic identity of Jesus in a way that is thoroughly consistent with Mark. Both hypothetical sources tie the proclamation of the Gospel—the good news that eschatological salvation has come through Jesus to those desiring the benefits of his ministry—closely to Jesus himself. They present Jesus' teaching and acts in a way that implies his identity as the eschatological herald of salvation (Isa. 61:1f.), the anointed wise Messiah, who came to defeat Satan and gather God's people for salvation in the Kingdom of God.

Thus in the end I hope to verify from what Q and Mark say, rather than from what they do not say, that, so far from being *Gemeindetheologie*, the product of an esoteric community, Q belongs to the mainstream of a tradition rooted in early apostolic memories of what Jesus said and did during his earthly ministry.

It is both a pleasure and an honor for me to acknowledge the outstanding people who have contributed to my development as a student of the New Testament. To Drs. C. Hassell Bullock and J. Julius Scott of Wheaton College and Wheaton College Graduate School, I express thanks for the model of Christian

excellence they each displayed as lecturers during my years of college and M.A. study. As this book is a revision of my Ph. D. thesis written at the University of Aberdeen (1993), I am greatly indebted to the encouragement and scholarly criticism of my doctoral supervisor Prof. I. Howard Marshall. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Max Turner, now of London Bible College, who read and skilfully criticized several papers related to this publication. The editorial corrections and suggestions for revision rendered by Dr. Ruth Edwards of Aberdeen and Dr. Ronald Piper of St. Andrews, my internal and external examiners respectively, have made this book far better than the thesis that preceded it.

It is a great privilege for me to have J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) as my publisher. My thanks extend to Profs. Martin Hengel and Otfried Hofius for accepting my work in the WUNT 2. Reihe. Prof. Hengel's initial interest and subsequent suggestions have been a continuing source of encouragement in the laborious task of revision. I also wish to thank Ilse König of J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) for her patient, cheerful help in the physical production of this book, and to John Yates, Woody Hengel, and Dr. Kathe Gabbe, colleagues who proofread significant portions of the manuscript. Likewise, I am in debt to my students at Beeson Divinity School, who helped compile my indexes, and to my secretary, Mrs. Sandra McDonald, who assisted me in corresponding with Tübingen via the Samford University fax machine.

Most importantly, I am thankful for my family. The kindness, love, and support of my father-in-law and mother-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Roger McDonald, have been a constant source of encouragement and joy. The love and blessing of my parents, Dr. and Mrs. Marvin P. Meadors Jr., have undergirded my life and work with happiness, balance, and strength. My little assistants in this enterprise, Edward Jr. and Davis Weston, have kept my priorities straight and provided a helpful excuse for the disorder of my office. Finally, this book is dedicated to my precious, loving wife, Kathy, who celebrates with me the joy of salvation in Christ.

Edward Paul Meadors

Christmas 1994

## Table of Contents

Preface . . . . .	iii
Table of Contents . . . . .	v
Abbreviations . . . . .	ix
Chapter One: The Study of Mark and Q . . . . .	1
I. The Source Analysis of Mark and Q . . . . .	1
II. The Theological Comparison of Mark and Q . . . . .	3
III. The Rise of Form Criticism . . . . .	5
IV. Theological Disparity between Mark and Q . . . . .	6
V. The Problem . . . . .	14
VI. The Purpose and Scope of this Study . . . . .	14
Chapter Two: The Q Community Hypothesis . . . . .	17
I. Introduction . . . . .	17
II. The Q Community in Recent Discussion . . . . .	18
A. Siegfried Schulz . . . . .	18
B. Dieter Lührmann . . . . .	20
C. Paul Hoffmann . . . . .	21
D. Athanasius Polag . . . . .	23
E. Walter Schmithals . . . . .	25
F. Rudolf Laufen . . . . .	27
G. Risto Uro . . . . .	27
H. Migaku Sato . . . . .	28
I. John Kloppenborg . . . . .	28
J. Myung-Soo Kim . . . . .	29
K. Burton Mack . . . . .	30
Conclusion . . . . .	31
Chapter 3: Wisdom Christology in Q . . . . .	36
I. Introduction . . . . .	36
II. The Q Sayings believed to present Jesus as an Envoy of Wisdom . . . . .	40
A. Lk. 7:30-35//Mt. 11:16-19 . . . . .	40
B. Lk. 10:21, 22//Mt. 11:25-27 . . . . .	44
C. Lk. 11:49-51//Mt. 23:34-36 . . . . .	46
D. Lk. 13:34, 35//Mt. 23:37-39 . . . . .	49
Conclusion . . . . .	50
III. The Wisdom Features of Jesus' Teaching against the Background of the OT and Early Jewish Writings . . . . .	51

A. Joseph, the Spokesman of Godly Wisdom . . . . .	53
B. Israel's Exodus: A Paradigm for the Wise Response to God's Sovereignty . . . . .	54
C. Wisdom in the Book of Daniel . . . . .	55
IV. Wisdom and Kingship . . . . .	57
A. David the Wise King . . . . .	58
B. Solomon . . . . .	58
C. Hezekiah . . . . .	60
V. Wisdom and the Kingdom of God . . . . .	61
VI. Wisdom and Messiahship . . . . .	63
VII. Wisdom and God's Reign through Jesus in Q . . . . .	64
VIII. Wisdom and Power in Mk. 6:2 . . . . .	69
Conclusion . . . . .	71
Chapter 4: Jesus the Prophet in Q . . . . .	72
I. The Role of Early Christian Prophets in the Q Tradition . . . . .	72
A. Richard Edwards . . . . .	73
B. Siegfried Schulz . . . . .	74
C. Eugene Boring . . . . .	82
D. Migaku Sato . . . . .	84
Conclusion . . . . .	87
II. Old Testament Prophets and Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom of God in Q . . . . .	90
Conclusion . . . . .	95
Chapter 5: Daniel and the Conceptual Background of Q . . . . .	97
I. Introduction . . . . .	97
II. Daniel, I Enoch and the Conceptual Background of Q . . . . .	98
A. The Son of Man . . . . .	98
B. Wisdom . . . . .	105
C. Prophecy . . . . .	109
D. Eschatology . . . . .	111
E. Apocalyptic Imagery . . . . .	115
Conclusion . . . . .	120
Chapter 6: The Son of Man and the Q Material . . . . .	124
I. Introduction . . . . .	124
II. The Linguistic Problem . . . . .	124
III. The Son of Man in Mark and Q . . . . .	130
IV. Recent Study of the Son of Man in Q . . . . .	131
A. H.E. Tödt . . . . .	132
B. Siegfried Schulz . . . . .	136
C. Dieter Lührmann . . . . .	138
D. Paul Hoffmann . . . . .	138
E. Athanasius Polag . . . . .	140
Conclusion . . . . .	142
Chapter 7: The Kingdom of God in Q . . . . .	146
I. Introduction . . . . .	146
A. The Grounds for Authenticity . . . . .	150

B. The Meaning of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' Sayings . . . . .	154
II. Lk. 6:20//Mt. 5:3 . . . . .	155
A. The Eschatological Significance of the First Beatitude . . . . .	159
B. The Christological Significance of the First Beatitude . . . . .	160
III. Jesus, the Messianic Herald of Eschatological Salvation . . . . .	162
A. The Study of Q and the Historicity of Lk. 7:22, 23//Mt. 11:4-6 . . . . .	162
B. John's Relation to Jesus and the Kingdom of God . . . . .	168
C. Salvation History in Q? Lk. 7:28//Mt. 11:11 . . . . .	170
IV. Lk. 10:9//Mt. 10:7: The Mission Discourse in Q—Evidence of a Q <i>Sitz im Leben?</i> . . . . .	172
A. Lk. 10:9//Mt. 10:7 and the Soteriology of Q . . . . .	175
B. Jesus, the Sender of Disciples who Preach the Kingdom of God . . . . .	176
V. The Lord's Prayer: Lk. 11:2-4//Mt. 6:9-13 . . . . .	180
A. Jesus the Son, God the Father, and the Kingdom of God in the Lord's Prayer and Lk. 10:21, 22//Mt. 11:25-27 . . . . .	184
B. "Hallowed be thy Name; Thy Kingdom Come" . . . . .	187
Excursus: The Forgiveness of Sins in Q . . . . .	188
VI. Lk. 11:20//Mt. 12:28: Jesus, the Spirit and the Kingdom of God . . . . .	190
A. The Tradition History of the Beelzebul Controversy and the Unity of Lk. 11:19, 20 par. . . . .	190
B. Lk. 11:20//Mt. 12:28 . . . . .	191
C. The Implications of Lk. 11:20//Mt. 12:28 for the Study of Q . . . . .	194
VII. Seek the Kingdom of God! Lk. 12:29-31//Mt. 6:31-33 . . . . .	197
A. Lk. 12:30//Mt. 6:32 . . . . .	198
B. Lk. 12:31//Mt. 6:33 . . . . .	200
VIII. The Parables of the Mustard Seed and Leaven . . . . .	204
A. The Parable of the Mustard Seed . . . . .	204
B. The Parable of the Leaven . . . . .	207
C. The Mustard Seed and Leaven Parables: A Witness to the Situation of the Q Community? . . . . .	208
IX. They Shall Come from North and South: The Eschatological Banquet: Lk. 13:28, 29//Mt. 8:11, 12 . . . . .	212
A. Lk. 13:28//Mt. 8:12 . . . . .	213
B. Lk. 13:29//Mt. 8:11 . . . . .	215
C. The Implications of Lk. 13:28, 29 for the Study of Q . . . . .	218
X. The Kingdom of God Suffers Violence: Lk. 16:16//Mt. 11:12, 13 . . . . .	220
A. The Synoptic Problem . . . . .	221
B. The Meaning of the Kingdom in its Context . . . . .	224
C. Lk. 16:16, A Suffering Kingdom of God Saying . . . . .	225
D. Lk. 16:16//Mt. 11:12, 13 and the Study of Q . . . . .	226
XI. Conclusions . . . . .	228
Chapter 8: The Kingdom of God in Mark Compared with Q . . . . .	234
I. The Problem . . . . .	234
II. Mk. 1:1-13 . . . . .	238
A. John the Baptizer . . . . .	239
B. The Coming One . . . . .	240
C. Jesus' Baptism . . . . .	242
D. Jesus' Temptation . . . . .	243
III. Mk. 1:14, 15 . . . . .	245



A. Mk. 1:15	247
B. The Isaiah Background of Mk. 1:15	250
C. The Significance of Jesus' Miracles in Mark	251
IV. Mk. 4:11, 12	257
V. One Must Enter the Kingdom of God like a Child	261
VI. Mark Chapter 4	263
A. The Parable of the Sower and the Soils: Mk. 4:3-9	264
B. The Explanation of the Sower and the Soils: Mk. 4:13-20	266
C. Mk. 4:21-25	268
D. The Parable of the Seed Growing Secretly: Mk. 4:26-29	270
E. The Parable of the Mustard Seed: Mk. 4:30-32	271
F. Jesus Stills the Storm: Mk. 4:35-41	273
VII. Seek the Kingdom of God	274
A. Mk. 9:47, 48	275
B. Mk. 10:23, 24, 25	276
C. Mk. 12:34	278
VIII. Jesus and the Future	281
A. Mk. 9:1	281
B. The Parousia: Mark 13 and the Q Apocalypse	285
IX. Mk. 14:25: Mark, Q, Jesus' Death and the Kingdom of God	288
Conclusion	290
Chapter 9: Is Q from a 'Second Sphere' of Christianity?	294
I. Introduction	294
II. Q and the Synoptic Gospels	295
III. Q and "Deuteronomistic Theology"	296
A. Lk. 11:47-51//Mt. 23:29-31, 34-36	298
B. Lk. 13:34, 35//Mt. 23:37-39	299
C. Lk. 14:27//Mt. 10:38	301
D. Further Considerations	302
E. Mk. 12:1-11: The Parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants	305
IV. The Resurrection in Q	307
V. Quotations and Allusions to the Old Testament in Q	308
A. Lk. 11:21, 22//Mt. 12:29	310
B. Lk. 7:22, 23//Mt. 11:4-6	312
Final Conclusions	314
Summary and Conclusions	316
Appendix A: Q and Discipleship in Acts	333
Appendix B: Paul and the Q Material	342
Bibliography	348
Index of Biblical and Other Ancient Sources	366
Index of Modern Authors	383

## Abbreviations

ANTJ	Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum.
<i>AsSeign</i>	<i>Assemblées du Seigneur.</i>
<i>Bauer</i>	W. Bauer, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , ET, Ed. W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich; 2nd ed. rev. F.W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker, University of Chicago Press, 1979.
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge.
BDB	E. Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> ; Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
BET	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie.
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium.*
BFTb	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie.
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese.
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie.
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research.</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin.</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift.</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW.
BZNW	Beihefte zur ZNW.
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly.</i>
CBQMS	<i>CBQ</i> Monograph Series.
CGTC	The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary.
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament.
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses.</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times.</i>
<i>ÉThR</i>	<i>Études théologiques et religieuses.</i>
<i>Even-Shoshan</i>	Abraham Even-Shoshan, <i>A New Concordance of the Old Testament</i> , Jerusalem: "Keryat Sefer," 1984.
FB	Forschung zur Bibel.
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments.
FS	Festschrift.
FTS	Frankfurter theologische Studien.
GNS	Good News Studies.
<i>HibJ</i>	<i>Hibbert Journal.</i>
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament.
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review.</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual.</i>
<i>IBS</i>	<i>Irish Biblical Studies.</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary.

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\* All Biblical Quotations are taken from the New American Standard Bible.

JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion.</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature.</i>
JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion.</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review.</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism.</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament.</i>
JSNTSS	JSNT Supplement Series.
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.</i>
JSOTSS	JSOT Supplement Series.
JTC	<i>Journal for Theology and Church.</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies.</i>
KBANT	Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament.
LD	Lectio divina.
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary.
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary.
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary.
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum.</i>
NovTSup	<i>Novum Testamentum Supplements.</i>
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch.
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et orbis Antiquus.
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies.</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique.</i>
RGG	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.</i>
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses.</i>
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament.
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series.
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSPS	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series.
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien.
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology.
SE	<i>Studia Evangelica.</i>
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology.</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Studies.
SNTU	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt.
ST	<i>Studia theologica</i>
StNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament.
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments.
TB	Theologische Bücherei.
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, Eds., <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , 10 vols., ET (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-76).
TDOT	G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, Eds., <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> , 7 vols., ET (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974- ).
TeXH	Theologische Existenz heute.
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament.
TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken.</i>
TTZ	<i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift.</i>
TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen.</i>
TynB	<i>Tyndale Bulletin.</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift.</i>
UBS	United Bible Societies.
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum.</i>
VTS	VT Supplements.

WBC	Word Biblical Commentary.
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament.
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament.
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.</i>



## Chapter 1

### The Study of Mark and Q

#### I. The Source Analysis of Mark and Q

The problem of the relationship between Mark and the hypothetical sayings source Q<sup>1</sup> dates as far back as the origin of the two source theory in the mid-nineteenth century formulations which Karl Lachmann,<sup>2</sup> C.H. Weiße,<sup>3</sup> and Heinrich Holtzmann<sup>4</sup> developed in Germany. When Lachmann, Holtzmann, and other early source analysts<sup>5</sup> reasoned that the puzzling literary relationship between

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<sup>1</sup> The siglum "Q" was apparently first used by Johannes Weiss (1863-1914). See Frans Neiryck, "The Symbol Q (= Quelle)", *ETL* 54 (1978) 119-125. J.G. Eichhorn (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Leipzig [1804] 344-367) is credited as being the first to theorize that Matthew and Luke independently drew from a common literary source (*Vorlage*) which was a Greek translation of a Hebrew or Chaldean-Syriac sayings source. Soon thereafter Friedrich Schleiermacher (*Über die Zeugnisse des Papias von unsern ersten beiden Evangelien*, TSK 8 [1835] 570-590) proposed that Eusebius' quotation of Papias' "Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραϊδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο" (III, 39:16) was not a reference to Matthew's Gospel, but rather to a collection of Jesus' sayings which went back to the apostle Matthew. For exhaustive bibliographies on Q, see: Frans Neiryck and F. Van Segbroeck, "Q Bibliography," *Logia*, Ed. Joël Delobel; Leuven: Leuven UP (1982) 561-586; David M. Scholer, "Q Bibliography: 1981-1989", *SBL Seminar Papers* 28, Ed. David J. Lull; Atlanta: Scholars Press (1989) 23-38. Scholer's bibliography is revised annually in SBL.

<sup>2</sup> Lachmann (1793-1851) proposed a source whose order Mk. best preserved (*Urmarkus*) and a second source (*Quelle*) which accounted for the parallels between Mt. and Lk. (*De ordine narrationum in evangeliiis synopticis*, TSK 8 [1835] 570-590).

<sup>3</sup> *Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet*. Leipzig (1838) Bd. 1, 3-138. Weiße later supported a literary relationship between the two sources in *Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium*, Leipzig (1856) 146.

<sup>4</sup> The importance of Holtzmann's work rests in its conviction that Mk. and Q developed totally independently from one another: "Hauptsache ist und bleibt also, unsere zweite Quelle, als von Matthäus und Lucas benutzt, vollkommen selbständig neben A hinzustellen und jedes Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen diesen Quellen selbst abzuweisen." In *Die synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter*, Leipzig (1863) 140. Holtzmann used A as the symbol for UrMarkus. Quotation taken from Rudolf Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums*, BBB 54; Bonn: Hanstein (1980) 62.

<sup>5</sup> Other early advocates of the two-source theory include: Ch. G. Wilke (*Der Urevangelist oder exegetisch kritische Untersuchung über das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis der drei ersten Evangelien*, Dresden-Leipzig: 1838), and H. Ewalds (*Die drei ersten Evangelien*, Göttingen: 1850). Wilke

Matthew, Mark, and Luke was solved best by the theory that Matthew and Luke used two primary sources the obvious question arose: What is the relationship between the two? How can the similarities and differences in language and content between the two earliest witnesses to the Jesus tradition be explained?

In time five major solutions to this problem were advanced: (1) Mark used Q as a direct literary *Vorlage*; (2) Q drew directly from Mark; (3) Mark quoted Q from memory; (4) Q was a growing document—some early parts were known to Mark while later materials entered the sayings collection after Mark's completion; (5) literary independence—Mark and Q drew from common oral or written traditions independently from one another. Each position has been modified with various corollaries and each has supporters among modern and contemporary adherents to the two-source theory.<sup>6</sup>

Attempts to prove literary dependence either way falter primarily on the difficulty of isolating exactly where Mark or Q take up their counterpart's characteristic vocabulary or style. Where does Mark contain remnants of Q redaction—a phenomenon itself difficult to isolate?<sup>7</sup> And where Q appears to contain elements of Markan style how certain is it that apparent Markan elements in Q do not result from Matthew's or Luke's conflation of Q with Mark? As a result of these difficulties, the predominant opinion at present favors literary independence.<sup>8</sup>

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furthered the theory of Markan priority; Ewalds argued that oral traditions could be traced back to the oral expressions of Jesus.

<sup>6</sup> For exhaustive bibliography supporting each position see R. Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen*, 69-76, 394-400; P. Vassiliadis, "Prolegomena to a Discussion on the Relationship between Mark and the Q-Document", *Deltion Bibliikôn Meletôn* 3 (1975) 31-46; M. Devisch, "La relation entre l'évangile de Marc et le document Q", in *L'Évangile Selon Marc*, BETL 34, Ed. M. Sabbe; Leuven: Leuven U.P. (1976) 59-91.

<sup>7</sup> D. Catchpole ("The Mission Charge in Q", *Semeia* 55 (1992) 150, 51) has recently defended W. Schenk ("Der Einfluss der Logienquelle auf das Markusevangelium", *ZNW* 70 [1979] 141-65) in arguing that Mark may have used Q. According to Catchpole Lk. 10:13-15par. has been taken up by Mark. However, Catchpole's evidence is not persuasive. He claims Mark takes up *δύναμις* from Q (Lk. 10:13-15) in 6:2, 5; 5:30; 6:14, yet *δύναμις* is hardly unique to Q (Mk. 10x; Q 1x). The other correspondences he sees between Mk. and Q 10:13-15 are conceptual (e.g., repentance and the kingdom go together in Mk. 1:14, 15 and in Lk. 10:11,13-15) rather than redactional and thus do not demand literary dependence. Such similarities, in our opinion, are no greater than would be expected of two independent documents drawing on the same tradition.

<sup>8</sup> So M. Devisch, "La relation entre l' évangile de Marc et le document Q", 83, 91; J. Dupont, "La transmission des paroles de Jésus sur la lampe et la mesure dans Marc 4, 21-25 et dans la tradition Q", *Logia*, 201-236 (236); P. Vassiliadis, "Prolegomena to a Discussion on the Relationship between Mark and the Q Document", 45; W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, London: S.C.M. (1975) 70; R. Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* I, Freiburg: Herder (1976) 30. See further the long list of adherents to this position in R. Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen*, 73-76.

## II. The Theological Comparison of Mark and Q

Among early source critics consensus existed in the belief that Mark and Q both provided authentic witnesses to the life and teaching of the historical Jesus. H.J. Holtzmann's conviction of the historical value of Mark and Q is representative of the era:

But the most striking evidence of all for the credibility of both sources lies in the artless congruence of the material content of Jesus' discourses. Finally, attention must be drawn to how perfectly homogeneous are the two sources with respect to the material that in general they offer for a more searching attempt to define the moral character of Jesus. . . . We may perhaps characterize it as the most precious result of our investigations that by them we are enabled to draw a rather definite picture of the historical character of the person of Jesus and of the activity that filled his span of life.<sup>9</sup>

The desire to identify the authentic teaching of Jesus gradually led to christological and theological harmonizations of Mark and Q. Similar status was attributed to the two sources, so that independently of each other Bernhard Weiß<sup>10</sup> and B.W. Bacon<sup>11</sup> defined Q as a primitive Gospel form. F.C. Burkitt<sup>12</sup> and later Emmanuel Hirsch<sup>13</sup> even went so far as to attribute portions of Luke's passion and

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<sup>9</sup> *Die synoptischen Evangelien. Ihr Ursprung und ihr geschichtlicher Charakter.* Quotation from W.G. Kümmel, *The New Testament, The History of the Investigation of its Problems*, Tr. S.M. Gilmour and H.C. Kee; London: SCM (1973) 153. Similarly, A. Jülicher (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Leipzig: J.C.B. Mohr [1894] 222), "Das 2 in der synoptischen Literature benutzte Quellen werk dient dem Zweck, wertvolle Aussprüche des Heilands in authentischer Form den Nachkommen zu überliefern"; F.C. Burkitt (*The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark [1906] 147), "Where Q and Mark appear to report the same saying, we have the nearest approach that we can hope to get to the common tradition of the earliest Christian society about our Lord's words"; B.H. Streeter (*The Four Gospels*, London: Macmillan [1924] 191), ". . . Q was a document of very early date and represents a peculiarly authentic tradition"; A. Harnack (*The Sayings of Jesus*, Tr. J.R. Wilkinson; London: Williams and Norgate [1908] 249), "Our knowledge of the teaching and the history of our Lord, in their main features at least, thus depends upon two authorities independent of one another, yet composed at nearly the same time. Where they agree their testimony is strong, and they agree often and on important points. On the rock of their united testimony the assault of destructive critical views, however necessary these are to easily self-satisfied research, will ever be shattered to pieces"; C.H. Dodd (*The Parables of Jesus*, London: Nisbet [1935] 34), "We are therefore left with Mark and Q . . . criticism has yet provided us with any better *organon* for approximating to the original tradition of the words and works of Jesus than is supplied by a careful study and comparison of these two."

<sup>10</sup> *A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament*, Tr. A.J.K. Davidson. 2 vols, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1887-89.

<sup>11</sup> "The Nature and Design of Q, the Second Synoptic Source", *HibJ* 22 (1923-24) 674-88.

<sup>12</sup> *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, 134-145; *idem*, *The Earliest Sources of the Life of Jesus*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin (1910) 109-110.

<sup>13</sup> "Fragestellung und Verfahren meiner Frühgeschichte des Evangeliums", *ZNW* 41 (1942) 106-24.



resurrection narratives to Q. Hence Q was interpreted against the theological background of Mark.<sup>14</sup>

The first attempts to compare the theological contents of Mark and Q came from Julius Wellhausen<sup>15</sup> and Adolf von Harnack.<sup>16</sup> With opposing results both scholars focused on the source question. Wellhausen argued that Q was dependent upon Mark and hence later. Harnack countered that Q was independent and earlier, the lack of a Passion narrative being directly related to the source's audience: "the compilation in Q was intended solely for the Christian community and was addressed to those who did not require the assurance that their Teacher was also the Son of God."<sup>17</sup> However, the two essentially agreed that both Mark and Q presented the teachings of Jesus in an atmosphere presupposing the Passion and resurrection of Jesus. Both therefore failed to recognize christological antithesis between Mark and Q as each identified Q as a collection of Jesus' sayings which were originally gathered together for catechetical purposes.<sup>18</sup>

In England the relation of Mark and Q was understood in much the same way. B.H. Streeter in his enormously influential book *The Four Gospels* reasoned that both Mark and Q were written at a time when the oral tradition of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection was preached and well known. Mark met the demand of the Church of Rome that a history of the "Founder's life" be recorded following the deaths of Peter and Paul,<sup>19</sup> while Q was written to "supplement, not to supersede, a living oral tradition."<sup>20</sup> Like Wellhausen and Harnack, Streeter did not perceive a christological problem emanating from Q's omission of Passion emphasis:

The Passion and its redemptive significance could readily be taught in oral tradition. But ethical teaching implies detailed instruction which sooner or later necessitates a written document. Such a document is found in the *Didache*, which obviously presupposes a general knowledge of the central facts of the Christian story. Similarly Q was probably written to supplement an oral tradition.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> For a comprehensive history of the study of Q from from a form critical perspective, see John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press (1989) 1-39.

<sup>15</sup> "Markus verglichen mit Q," *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, Berlin: Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer (1905) 73-89.

<sup>16</sup> "A comparison of Q with the Gospel of St. Mark," *The Sayings of Jesus*, 193-246.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 235.

<sup>18</sup> Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 84-85: "Die Sprüche werden da nicht bloß an eine Geschichte angeknüpft, sondern getragen von einem größeren lehrhaften Zusammenhang"; Harnack (*The Sayings of Jesus*, 203): ". . . Q was a compilation of the sayings of our Lord, made with the aim of giving authoritative teaching ( and that principally ethical)."

<sup>19</sup> *The Four Gospels*, 497.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 229.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 292.

The classification of Mark as a Gospel containing the story of Jesus' life and Passion, and the classification of Q as a catechetical sayings-source thus ruled the day both in Germany and in England where T.W. Manson<sup>22</sup> and Vincent Taylor<sup>23</sup> soon followed Streeter's lead. The compatibility of Mark and Q was therefore hardly questioned—Q being a supplement to the Passion kerygma which Mark represented.

### III. The Rise of Form Criticism

The emergence of form criticism, however, brought a new perspective to the comparison as New Testament scholars addressed for the first time the question of how Mark's literary form compared with the literary form of Q. The answer to this question was initially thought self-evident: Mark, displaying all the features characteristic of a Gospel (teachings within the narrative framework of Jesus' ministry, death, and resurrection) was deemed a full-scale Gospel, while Q, being considerably shorter (roughly 230 verses) and composed primarily of sayings, was recognized as a simple collection of Jesus' sayings.

The distinction between narrative and sayings material led to previously unconsidered conclusions regarding the relationship of the traditions behind Mark and Q. Martin Dibelius, for example, believed Mark and Q represented two different traditions of transmission within the development of the Gospels: "the words of Jesus were handed down under other conditions than were the narratives of His acts."<sup>24</sup> Q represented a tradition in which the sayings of Jesus were gathered for a hortatory end, while Mark represented an attempt to "explain the Passion of Jesus beforehand by means of practical remarks and also by carrying through his theory of a Messianic secret."<sup>25</sup> A distinct christological perspective formed the structure of Mark. In contrast Q lacked christological orientation

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<sup>22</sup> "...there is no Passion-story because none is required, Q being a book of instruction for people who are already Christians and know the story of the Cross by heart", *The Sayings of Jesus*, London: SCM Press (1949) 16.

<sup>23</sup> "The simplest and most natural view is that Q began as a sayings-source pure and simple. . . . Q was an innovation prompted by the needs of catechetical instruction. . . . Writing at Rome between 65 and 70 A.D., Mark had unique advantages. . . . The Petrine stories and a knowledge of the progress of events derived from Peter, supplied him with an outline into which he inserted single stories and small collections of primitive material in such a way as to show how Jesus, the Messiah, came to His Passion and His Cross." *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition*, 2nd ed.; London: Macmillan (1949) 182, 186, 187.

<sup>24</sup> *From Tradition to Gospel*, Tr. B.L. Woolf, Cambridge: James Clarke & Co. (1971) 238.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 246, 260.

because it was collected for hortatory purposes.<sup>26</sup> Dibelius therefore still maintained a catechetical orientation behind Q and understood Q to be christologically compatible with Mark.

Similarly, in *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, R. Bultmann described Q as a collection of dominical sayings to which the Church added later Jewish proverbs, laws, prophecies, and sayings from traditional wisdom. Though Bultmann was more sceptical of the authenticity of Jesus' sayings, he too understood Q to be a collection of speech material in contrast to Mark, which combined Palestinian traditions with "new motives in the Hellenistic Church which produced the shaping of the traditional material into a Gospel."<sup>27</sup> With the contrast in forms correlated a contrast in christology: "In Q he (Jesus) is above everything else the eschatological preacher of repentance and salvation, the teacher of wisdom and the law. In Mark he is a θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, indeed more: he is the very Son of God walking on the earth."<sup>28</sup> Yet, the most important "new motive" according to Bultmann, was the death and resurrection kerygma:

The tradition had to be presented as an unity from the point of view that in it he who spoke and was spoken of was he who had lived on earth as the Son of God, had suffered, died, risen and been exalted to heavenly glory. And inevitably the centre of gravity had to be the end of the story, the Passion and Resurrection. Mark was the creator of this sort of Gospel . . .<sup>29</sup>

With those before him, Bultmann identified Mark and Q as two different stages within the formation of the Christian Gospel. Q met the needs of paranesis and catechism while Mark satisfied the need for a narrative uniting the Palestinian sayings tradition with the story of Jesus' death and resurrection.

#### IV. Theological Disparity between Mark and Q

The identification of Q as a mere collection of Jesus' teachings did not satisfy later form critics who championed Q's omission of a passion narrative as evidence that alternative theological factors motivated the formation of Q. Indeed, the lack of a passion narrative soon emerged as material evidence cited to support the hypothesis that Q represented a distinct theological tradition. Q therefore began to be viewed as a document which was collected, composed, and edited around

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<sup>26</sup> On the lack of christology in Q, Dibelius writes, "It is perfectly certain that the sayings were not brought together at first for the sake of their Christological interest." *Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>27</sup> *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 2nd ed., Tr. John Marsh, Oxford: Basil Blackwell (1968) 369; see also 101f.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 371.

specific theological purposes which were distinctly different from Mark which focused on the Passion kerygma. The established classification of Mark as kerygma and Q as didache was challenged.<sup>30</sup> Günther Bornkamm's early appraisal of the composition of Q is indicative of the changing perspective on Mark's relationship to Q:

Indessen läßt sich ein großer Teil seiner Überlieferung und das Motiv der Sammlung in keiner Weise als blosser Paränese verstehen, die das Passionskerygma der Gemeinde ergänzen sollte. Dieses ist in Q überhaupt noch nicht vorausgesetzt. Q ist vielmehr von einer anderen theologischen Konzeption geprägt.<sup>31</sup>

Bornkamm raised the question: If Q presents theological conceptions other than the passion kerygma, what theological conceptions does it emphasize? If Jesus' death and resurrection are insignificant, what emphasis *does* Q place upon Jesus—does Q have a christology, and if so how can it be defined?

The first major attempt to affirm that Q did, indeed, have a christology was carried out by Bornkamm's student H.E. Tödt. In his work on the present, future, and suffering Son of Man sayings, Tödt came to the conclusion that the christology of Q was a Son of Man christology: "There is a second, independent source, then, located in the Q stratum of the productive development of the Son of Man sayings. Christology as it springs up here is a Son of Man Christology."<sup>32</sup> Not finding evidence of Jesus' suffering or humility in Q, Tödt identified the reteaching of Jesus' teaching as the motivating factor behind the collection. Q therefore retransmitted the primary burden of Jesus' proclamation—the eschatological expectation of the Son of Man.

From a different perspective J.M. Robinson and Helmut Koester produced a second attempt to uncover the original thought behind Q in their dual work *Trajectories through Early Christianity*. Pursuing Bultmann's suggestion that many of the sayings in Q represent Logia or wisdom sayings,<sup>33</sup> they considered Wisdom to be the controlling factor in the genre to which Q belongs. Robinson, after an extensive survey of ancient literature, concluded that the Q genre belonged to a trajectory of "sayings of the sages" (λόγοι σοφῶν) which he traced from Jewish wisdom literature through later gnostic writings.<sup>34</sup> In the same volume,

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<sup>30</sup> Here we simply mean by 'kerygma' the early Christian preaching which identified Jesus' death and resurrection as the means of redemption and salvation. By 'didache' we simply mean the instructional or teaching material of the early Church.

<sup>31</sup> "Evangelien, synoptische", RGG Bd. 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (1958) 759.

<sup>32</sup> *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition*, Tr. D.M. Barton, London: SCM (1963) 235.

<sup>33</sup> *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 69-107.

<sup>34</sup> "Logoi Sophon: On the Gattung of Q", in *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, Ed. H. Koester and J.M. Robinson, Philadelphia: Fortress Press (1971) 71-113.

Koester wrote of an early stratum of Q in which Jesus' radicalized eschatology of the kingdom and his revelation of divine wisdom were dominant motifs. Koester surmised that the Gospel of Thomas—which like Q lacks passion emphasis—derived from this early version of Q.<sup>35</sup> In a separate article he further claimed that the pre-Christian Jewish wisdom myth springing from the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, and 2 Enoch was applied to Jesus in Q (in addition to Matthew, Philippians 2, John's prologue, and Hebrews). According to Koester, the sayings tradition gradually expanded to include more and more sayings in which Jesus functioned as Wisdom's envoy.<sup>36</sup> Q then represented a totally different, yet more authentic christology than the christology found in Mark:

... the most original Gattung of the Jesus tradition—the *logoi sophon*—which, in the canonical gospels, became acceptable to the orthodox church only by radical critical alteration, not only of the form but also of the theological intention of this primitive Gattung. Such critical evaluation of the Gattung, *logoi*, was achieved by Matthew and Luke through imposing the Marcan narrative-kerygma frame upon the sayings tradition represented by Q.<sup>37</sup>

In contrast to previous comparisons of Mark and Q, Robinson and Koester proposed that Q's identification of Jesus as a messenger of Wisdom was incongruous with Mark's Passion oriented christology and thus required "radical critical alteration" before being combined with Mark.

Robinson's and Koester's work stands as a watershed in Q studies. Since its publication, the majority of major works on Q have approached the Sayings Source as a document containing not only a different literary tradition, but also a primitive christology unlike the christology of Mark. In the first redactional study of Q, Dieter Lührmann asserted that Q exalted Jesus not for his kerygmatic significance, but for his eschatological position. Where Mark placed importance on Jesus' death and resurrection, Q emphasized the coming judgement: "Jesus is not the pronouncement, but rather the content of pronouncement is the coming judgement in which Jesus will save his community as the Son of Man."<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels", in *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, 186.

<sup>36</sup> "The Structure and Criteria of Early Christian Beliefs", *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, 221. Koester maintains essentially the same perspectives in *Ancient Christian Gospels*, London: SCM (1990) 128-171: "Thus Q can not be seen as a teaching supplement for a community whose theology is represented by the Pauline kerygma. Q's theology and soteriology are fundamentally different" (160).

<sup>37</sup> Helmut Koester, "Gnomai Diaphoroi: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity", *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, 135.

<sup>38</sup> *Die Redaktion der Logienquelle*, WMANT 33; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag (1969) 96, 97.

Similarly, Paul Hoffmann in his study of the theology of Q de-emphasized the significance of the Passion kerygma in Q in favor of the christological pronouncement of Jesus as the exalted Son of Man:

Die Logienquelle enthielt, soweit die Überlieferung erkennen läßt, keine Ostergeschichten; es fehlt in ihr auch ein Beleg für das Auferstehungs-Kerygma, wie es z. B. 1 Kor 15,3ff überliefert wird. Die Funktion, die in der urchristlichen Tradition der Auferstehungs-aussage zukommt (Erweis der Hoheitsstellung Jesu und Legitimation der Sendung der Jünger), übernimmt also in Q die Mt 11,25-27 bezeugte Erfahrung, daß Jesus, der Sohn, den Auserwählten seine Menschensohnwürde offenbarte.<sup>39</sup>

Like Lührmann, Hoffmann found the centre of Q in the christological significance of Jesus' future arrival as the Son of Man.<sup>40</sup> Where Mark emphasized Jesus' death and resurrection in the past, Q emphasized Jesus' return as the Son of Man in the future.

From a similar perspective, Siegfried Schulz, author of the first full commentary on Q, attempted to distinguish different christological traditions behind Mark and Q. Agreeing with Tödt that Q's christological perception was not that of the Passion kerygma,<sup>41</sup> he claimed polemical interaction existed between the traditions behind Mark and the more recent Q material:

Aber im Unterschied zur vormarkinischen Gemeindefradition findet der kerygmatische Rückgriff auf den irdischen Jesus innerhalb der jüngeren Q-Stoffe in Zeichen der göttlichen Sophia statt bei gleichzeitiger polemischer Ablehnung der vormarkinischen Wundermann- und Gottmensch-Christologie!<sup>42</sup>

Schulz explained the conflict as two different early Christian communities' struggle for existence. A Hellenistic Gentile community motivated the writing of Mark's Gospel in contrast to a Hellenistic Jewish community which composed Q. Thus Schulz explained Mark and Q on the basis of an apparent plurality of kerygmatic design within early Christianity.<sup>43</sup> As a result, the goal of Schulz's commentary was to define the kerygma of the Q community.

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<sup>39</sup> *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle*, Münster: Verlag Aschendorff (1972) 140.

<sup>40</sup> "Die Identifikation Jesu mit dem kommenden Menschensohn ist theologieggeschichtlich gesehen von größter Bedeutung: indem Jesus als der "Angelpunkt" der Geschichte erkannt wurde, gewann jener unscheinbare, anscheinend gescheiterte Beginn in Palästina weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung." *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>41</sup> "Richtig ist schließlich auch, daß diese christologische Konzeption nicht dem Passionskerygma untergeordnet werden darf, das durch die vormarkinischen und vor allem vopaulinischen Traditionsstoffe repräsentiert wird, wie es immer wieder geschehen ist." *Q, Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten*, Zürich: Theologischer Verlag (1972) 31.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 483.

<sup>43</sup> "Vom hellenistisch-heidenchristlichen Markus-Evangelium aus beurteilt, ist die heute noch erkennbare, judenchristliche Q-Quelle jedenfalls kein vollständiges, sondern nur ein

In a detailed attempt to contrast Q and pre-Markan tradition, U. Luz in 1975<sup>44</sup> identified eschatology as the major point of distinction between the two. In agreement with Hoffmann, Luz accepted the existence of a Q Group whose explicit christology focused on Jesus as the coming Son of Man/world ruler. The christology of the pre-Markan material centred on the authority evident in the miracles and work of the *earthly* Jesus. Whereas Jesus' miracles in Q are infrequent and draw attention to realized eschatology as signs of the inbreaking of the kingdom of God, Jesus' miracles in Mark never come in combination with the kingdom of God but instead serve a kerygmatic function by constituting the post-Easter community's faith in the saving power of Jesus himself.<sup>45</sup> Where Mark incorporates Q variants, Mark's versions invariably contain less eschatological interest.<sup>46</sup> Further, while Q lacks a biographical framework comparable to Mark's, Mark lacks almost entirely the kind of eschatological paranesis which appears determinative for the future judgement advocated by Q. Theological differences, then, between Mark and Q are commensurate with their formal differences. While narratives, wonder stories, apophthegms, and legends dominate the Markan tradition, Q contains apocalyptically oriented sayings and prophetic words. Luz, in this article, therefore addressed two different early Christian perspectives of Jesus: the Q group focused upon the future return of Jesus as the Son of Man, and the Markan community focused upon the earthly authority of Jesus.<sup>47</sup>

With similar presuppositions, Richard Edward's *Theology of Q* identified Q's theology as a complex combination of wisdom, prophetic, and eschatological

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<<Halbevangeliem>>! Aber solche traditionsgeschichtlichen Urteile verabsolutieren Standpunkte, berücksichtigen aber gerade nicht die Pluralität kerygmatischer Konzeptionen des Urchristentums." *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>44</sup> "Das Jesusbild der vormarkinischen Tradition." In *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie*, FS H. Conzelmann, Ed. G. Strecker, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (1975) 347-374.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 355: "Grundlegend für die hier sehr reich fließende markinische Überlieferung ist, daß hier von den Wundern Jesu in besonderer Weise gesprochen wird: sie sind konstitutive für den Glauben der nachösterlichen Gemeinde und ein integraler Teil der Wirksamkeit des irdischen Jesus, nicht primär des Anbruchs des Reiches Gottes."

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 353: "In der Perikope vom Beelzebul (Mk 3, 22. 24-29 [30]) fehlen die beiden eschatologisch aus gerichteten Logien Lk 11.19, 20. Das Fehlen von V. 20 ist besonders wichtig: eine eschatologische Deutung der Wunder vom Anbruch des Gottesreiches her findet sich in der markinischen Überlieferung nicht."

<sup>47</sup> Edward Schillebeeckx (*Jesus*, New York: Seabury [1979] 423) offers a very similar perception to that of Luz: "The difference between the two communities lies in the fact that the Marcan congregation, which would appear not to acclaim any immediate salvific activity of the risen Christ prior to the Parousia, puts its faith in the ministry of the earthly Jesus in toto, and not just in his eschatological message of judgment and of mercy near at hand, as in the earliest phase of the Q tradition, which is therefore interested only in Jesus' preaching (logia) and hardly at all in his miracles."

## *Index of Biblical and Other Ancient Sources*

### **I. Old Testament**

#### *Genesis*

1:26	198
1:28	244
2:19-20	244
26:18	222
39:2	53
40:8	53
41:16	53
41:32	53
41:38-41	53
41:48	53
45:7	54

#### *Exodus*

7:11	54
8:18	54
8:19	192
9:27	54
12:15-20	207
14:30, 31	54
15:17-19	54
23:20	168, 238
34:25	207

#### *Leviticus*

2:11	207
19:14	93
19:18	93, 279, 286
25:18	93
26:15	93
26:43	93

#### *Numbers*

21:29	93
24:23	93

#### *Deuteronomy*

6:4, 5	278, 279
6:13	25, 278
10:18, 19	93
10:20	25, 278
17:14-20	58
18:20	96
32:3, 4	93
32:11	49
32:28	62

#### *Judges*

5:6	222
9:8-15	55

#### *Ruth*

2:12	49
------	----

#### *1 Samuel*

4:7, 8	93
12:3-4	58
16:18	58
17:37	58

#### *2 Samuel*

8:15	58
14:2	58
14:20	58
21:1	222
23:3-4	58

#### *1 Kings*

3:5	58
-----	----



<i>2 Kings</i>		12:5	158
14:9	55	14:6	158
17:13-20	297	17:8	49
18:5-7	60	18:21	58
19:15	61	22:24	158
		25:9	158
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		25:14	258
17:14	60	33:6	192
28:5	60	34:2	158
28:11-19	192	35:10	158
29:23	60	36:7	49
		37:11	158
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		37:14	158
1:11, 12	59	40:17	158
9:7, 8	59	57:1	49
9:22, 23	59, 66	61:4	49
9:26	66	63:7	49
13:8	60	69:29	158
24:7	224	70:5	158
24:20-22	298, 302	72:1-4	58
29:5-19	60	76:9	158
29:20-36	60	86:1	158
30:7, 8	297	88:15	158
30:13f.	60	91:4	49
32:22-23	60	103:12	206
32:27-29	60	104:7	273
36:15-21	302	104:27	51
<i>Ezra</i>		107:1-9	218, 253
4:15, 19	99	107:3	217, 219
9:7	222	107:23-31	273
<i>Nehemiah</i>		109:22	158
9:26-30	297, 302	118:26	49, 67, 305, 306
<i>Job</i>		126:5, 6	271
13:13	68	132:12	58
14:1	171	147:6	158
15:14	171	147:9f.	198, 203
25:4	171	149:4	158
28:1-27	44, 45, 65	<i>Proverbs</i>	
28:28	58, 62	1:7	58
38:36	62	8:2	47
38:41	51	8:4-36	262
<i>Psalms</i>		8:12	44
8:3	192	8:14-16	58, 61, 62
11:10	58	9:3	49
		9:10	58
		16:5-7, 12	55
		18:12	262
		Chs. 25-29	61
		29:23	262
		<i>Isaiah</i>	
		1:1	222

3:14	93	42:6	43, 111
4:4	241	42:7	43, 166, 167, 312
5:1-7	306	42:18	178, 188, 236, 238, 253, 312, 321, 322
5:8-10	47	42:21	93
5:18-24	47	43:1	111
6:9	257f., 335, 338, 339, 340	43:5	310
8:1	110	43:11-13	62, 81
8:16	110	44:25-26	110
8:23f.	245	45:3, 7	110
9:6	58	45:4	111
10:2	93	45:8	93
11:2-3	58, 63, 95, 196, 241	45:13	93
11:5, 6	111	45:20	62
11:6-9	245	47:9-15	110
13:6, 9	146	47:10	62
16:5	58	48:11	187
18:4	33	49:6	111
19:11	62	49:10-13	218, 253, 310
24:21	146	49:24	311
25:6f.	217, 218	50:8	177
25:8	189	50:10	81
26:19	167, 185, 188, 226, 232, 236, 238, 312, 321, 322	51:2	214
26:21	146	51:5	177
27:1	110	51:9-10	110
27:12	33, 271	52:7	164, 250
29:14	62	53:12	310f.
29:18	43, 167, 178, 185, 188, 192, 226, 232, 236, 238, 253, 312, 321, 322	55:1, 2	253
29:22, 23	214	56:6	177
30:8	110	59:19	310
30:18	156	60:1f.	146, 323
31:5	49	61:1f.	22, 43, 72, 111, 158, 159-161, 164, 166, 167, 177, 188, 196, 226, 232, 235, 236, 238, 241, 242, 245-251, 261, 272, 312, 318, 322
32:14-20	245	62:10-12	323
32:30	156	63:10-64:1	242
33:6	62	65:13	253
35:4	188	65:17	111
35:5	43, 166, 167, 169, 178, 185, 188, 192, 226, 232, 236, 238, 246f., 261, 272, 312	65:25	245
38:9-20	61	66:22f.	111, 275
40:3	238, 253	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
40:5, 9	246	2:30	302
40:24	241	4:9	146
40:26	111	4:11-16	241
41:1-7	110	5:21	335
41:8	214	5:28	93
41:16	241, 253, 264	7:3-7	93
41:17	255	7:21-28	306
41:20	255	8:9	62
41:21-29	110	9:23, 24	62

10:9-10	62	2:2	56
12:7	49	2:12-14	55
21:5	58	2:20-23	56
22:3	93	2:26	112
22:3-4, 15-17	58	2:28, 30	56, 111, 258
22:5	49	2:37	99, 100
23:5	63, 95	2:40-42	100
23:19	241	2:44	100, 111
26:20-24	302	2:47	106
30:2	110	2:48	55
30:23	241	2:49	56, 113
31:7-9	321, 323	3:33	99, 100, 103, 113, 179, 185
31:31	289	4:3	106
36:2	110	4:9	258
49:7	62	4:10-12	206, 272
51:53	33	4:14	100
51:60	110	4:15	100
<i>Lamentations</i>			
1:21	146	4:19	99
2:22	146	4:21	330
3:2	146	4:23	100
<i>Ezekiel</i>			
1:26-28	110	4:26	100
7:2, 3, 6, 24	146	4:27	99, 100
7:12	247	4:28	100
9:1	247	4:29	103
13:17-20	241	4:31	99, 100, 113, 179, 185
17:23	205, 206, 272, 330	4:33	99
20:9	187	5:7	100
20:14	187	5:11-15	55, 100
20:22	187	5:14	106
20:41, 44	173, 187'	5:16	100
22:23-31	224	5:18	99
22:29	93	5:20	99, 100
28:3	62	5:21	100
29:3	110	5:25-28	106
30:3	177	5:26	100
31:5, 6	206	5:28	100
31:8	205	5:29	100
36:22-24	173, 187	6:1-8	100
36:25	241	6:7-9	106
38:16	111	6:16	106
39:17-20	218	6:27	99, 107, 113, 179
39:27, 28	187	6:29	100
43:11	110	7:1-3	110
<i>Daniel</i>			
1:4	55	7:12	99
1:17	55	7:13, 14	65, 98-101, 118, 124f., 126, 131, 145, 166, 179, 185, 285, 286
1:20	55	7:18-27	99, 100, 103, 118-120, 128, 166, 179, 247,
		7:23, 24	100
		7:26	99
		7:27	99, 128, 179
		8:11	110
		8:13, 14	110

8:17	112		
8:24	112		
9:17	110		
9:24	110		
9:26	110		
9:27	247		
10:14	111, 112		
10:16	112		
11:14	247		
11:35	112, 304		
11:40	112		
12:1-4	112		
12:12	156		
<i>Hosea</i>			
3:5	111		
6:11	172		
<i>Joel</i>			
1:15	177		
2:1	177		
3:13	33, 271		
4:1	172		
<i>Amos</i>			
5:18	146		
<i>Obadiah</i>			
15	146, 177		
<i>Jonah</i>			
1:11, 12	274		
		<i>Micah</i>	
		4:6	146
		6:9	62
		<i>Habakkuk</i>	
		1:5	338
		2:2	110
		<i>Zephaniah</i>	
		1:7	146, 177
		<i>Haggai</i>	
		2:3	81
		<i>Zechariah</i>	
		1:1	298
		7:9, 10	93
		8:7	217
		9:2	62
		14:5	188
		<i>Malachi</i>	
		3:1	168, 226, 238
		3:5	93, 146
		3:8f.	224
		3:23	168
		4:5, 6	168, 169

## II. Old Testament Apocrypha

<i>Tobit</i>		9:1-18	44
8:2	191	9:10	45
<i>The Wisdom of Solomon</i>		9:13	45
2:10-15	44, 47, 186	9:17	45
2:17, 18	47, 186	10:3	48
6:16	49	10:10	44, 52
7:15-22	195	14:3	182, 183
7:25	44	<i>Sirach</i>	
7:27	47, 67	1:1-10	65
8:3	44, 65	1:6	44
		1:8	44

3:18	262
10:20, 28	262
11:12	262
15:1	49
23:1, 4	182, 183
24:7-12	49, 67
24:32-34	47
51:1	62
51:10	182, 183

<i>Baruch</i>	
3:15-32	44
3:29-31	45, 65
3:38	47
<i>2 Maccabees</i>	
7:37-38	304
9:8	273

### III. Pseudepigrapha

#### *Apocalypse of Baruch*

10:6	79
48:23	79
54:10	79

#### *1 Enoch*

1:3-9	188
5:13	103
10:4f.	191
37:1, 4	108
38:1	113
38:5	113
39:4f.	114
39:6	110
39:12, 13	114
41:7, 8	114
41:9	103
Ch. 42	67
42:1f.	49
45:1	113
45:3	102
45:6	113
46:1, 3	125
46:2	103
46:4-7	103
48:1, 7	108
48:2	103
48:5	103
48:10	103, 114, 145, 322
49:2, 3	63, 95, 108
50:2, 3	114
50:45	114
51:3	64, 102, 108, 109
52:4	145, 322
52:9	113
53:4	113
54:1, 2	113
54:10	114

55:4	102, 103
58:2	79
58:3	114
60:6, 24, 25	114
60:8	116
61:7, 10, 11	109
61:8	102
62:2, 3, 5	102, 103, 115
62:6, 7, 9	103
62:11	114
62:13f.	103, 114, 218
63:2-4	102, 109
63:7, 8	109, 114
65:1f.	116
66:1	113
67:1	116
67:10	113
69:27, 29	103
70:1	104
70:4	104
71:14-17	22, 103, 104, 114, 138
91:12-17	47, 78, 147
91:18	78
Ch. 93	47, 147
94:1, 3	78
94:6-8	80
95:5	80
96:4-8	80
99:4	226
99:10	79
99:13	78
100:1f.	226
102:9	78
103:5	79
<i>4 Ezra</i>	
7:28	196
13:37, 52	145, 322
13:49	196

<i>Jubilees</i>		17:26	50, 197, 229, 300, 305, 323
1:12	302	17:31	63, 300
1:22-28	188	17:32	229
23:29	191	17:34	200
36:11	78	17:37	229
<i>3 Maccabees</i>		17:38-40	200
6:3, 8	182, 183	17:46	62
<i>4 Maccabees</i>		18:7, 8	63, 95, 200
17:11	304	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>	
<i>Assumption of Moses</i>		1:7	78
10:1-12	188	4:5	78
<i>Testament of Moses</i>		6:5	78
10:1	191	<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
<i>Pseudo-Philo</i>		5:2	188
<i>LAB 63</i>	196	16:4	78
<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>		18:12	191
17:1	62	<i>Testament of Judah</i>	
17:21	229	25:3	191
		<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>	
		9:1	78

#### IV. Qumran Writings

<i>IQH</i>		<i>IQpHab</i>	
1:21	258	5:7	226
5:13, 14	158	12:3	158
13:14	171	<i>4Q185</i>	122
16:11	241	<i>4Q521</i>	165, 166, 167, 178
16:23, 24	171	<i>4Q525</i>	155
18:12, 13	171	<i>4QpHos</i>	
<i>IQM</i>		2:3-6	302
11:9, 13	156	<i>4QpPs</i>	
13:12-14	156	2:9-10	158
14:7	157, 158		
<i>IQS</i>			
4:20, 21	241		
11:21	171		

*11QMelch*

2.4-20 119

*11QPs<sup>a</sup>*

27 122, 196, 323

## V. New Testament

*Matthew*

2:1 222  
 3:1 222  
 3:2 151, 177  
 3:3 238  
 3:7f. 168, 239, 240  
 3:10 38  
 3:11 150, 164, 168, 240  
 3:12 33, 73, 164, 168, 241  
 3:13, 17 342  
 4:1 117, 150  
 4:1-11 133, 236, 275, 322,  
 328, 333  
 4:3 150  
 4:7 117  
 4:9 25, 150  
 4:10 25, 117  
 4:13 160  
 4:14-17 245  
 4:17 151  
 4:24 190  
 5:1, 2 133  
 5:3 15, 45, 79, 80, 92, 149,  
 151, 153, 155-62, 164,  
 166, 184, 195, 232, 235  
 237, 249, 250, 276,  
 320, 344  
 5:4 119  
 5:5 164  
 5:6 157, 164, 343  
 5:8 214  
 5:10 92, 151  
 5:11 93, 119, 125, 150, 282,  
 334, 339, 343  
 5:12 19, 73, 297, 334, 337,  
 339, 343, 346  
 5:13 201  
 5:15 268  
 5:16 166  
 5:18 19, 221  
 5:19 23, 151, 153  
 5:20 151  
 5:24 200  
 5:26 77, 185  
 5:29 214  
 5:32 157, 221

5:39f. 185, 279, 343  
 5:44 185, 343  
 5:48 150, 199, 279  
 6:9 183, 199, 343  
 6:9-13 15, 92, 117, 150, 153,  
 180-189, 232, 281, 284,  
 290  
 6:10 200  
 6:11 149  
 6:13 157  
 6:20, 21 277  
 6:24 267, 275, 277  
 6:25-33 37, 92, 148, 185, 197-  
 204, 266, 267  
 6:26 51, 185  
 6:29 185  
 6:33 15, 107, 121, 149-151,  
 153, 231, 244, 274,  
 281  
 7:1-5 37  
 7:2 18, 268, 279  
 7:7-11 37, 199, 279  
 7:9 81  
 7:11 150  
 7:13 277  
 7:16-20 37  
 7:17 265  
 7:21 151  
 7:22 18  
 7:24-27 107, 256, 265  
 8:5-10 23, 77, 189, 217, 243,  
 328, 333  
 8:6f. 136  
 8:10 117, 185, 216  
 8:11, 12 15, 18, 92, 151, 153,  
 172, 185, 212-220, 229,  
 231, 275, 281, 287,  
 288-290, 307, 310, 319,  
 320, 321, 337  
 8:20 93, 102, 117, 119, 125,  
 128, 130, 131, 134, 135  
 145, 150, 211, 225, 344  
 8:21 121, 185, 321  
 8:22 121, 159  
 8:28-34 190  
 9:32, 33 190  
 9:37f. 22, 33, 38, 174, 197, 229

	232, 266, 271, 319, 334		249, 259, 318
10:1f.	166, 172f.	11:22	18, 93, 185, 214
10:5	88	11:23	276
10:7f.	15, 92, 151, 153, 172- 180, 266	11:24	18
10:7-16	22, 33, 68, 334, 337	11:25-27	9, 21, 23, 48, 65, 68, 89, 94, 116, 117, 133, 142, 150, 179, 183, 184, 186, 199, 232, 242, 259, 261, 274, 280, 303, 306, 320, 321, 322
10:8	166	11:31, 32	213
10:9f.	159, 275, 277, 344	11:40	108
10:10	38, 159	12:2	268
10:11, 12	23	12:18	192
10:14	282, 338	12:22, 23	190
10:15	18, 77, 185	12:22-30	243
10:15	73, 271	12:28	15, 27, 34, 68, 90, 92, 101, 133, 136, 150-152, 153, 176-178, 185, 210, 211, 232, 235, 237, 242, 244, 248, 252, 265, 291, 320, 322
10:19	19	12:29	222, 244, 310-312
10:23	86, 141, 150, 285	12:30	213, 229, 230, 290, 306, 319, 323, 334
10:24, 25	37, 38	12:31	23, 127, 192
10:26	18, 37	12:32	18, 23, 93, 127, 130, 150, 196, 242
10:26	268	12:39f.	286, 287
10:27	185	12:40	93, 125, 150
10:28	185, 214, 276	12:41f.	79, 92, 94, 95, 213, 214, 217, 243, 249, 259, 273, 287, 307
10:32	18, 34, 75, 92, 93, 102, 128, 130, 214, 219, 230, 282, 290, 319, 335, 337	12:42	18, 65, 150, 196
10:34-36	23, 185	13:11	151
10:37f.	172f., 277	13:12	157
10:38	134, 136, 282, 301, 318, 335	13:16	19, 23, 73, 92, 94, 95, 163, 165, 189, 260, 321
10:39	18	13:17	23, 73, 77, 94, 185
10:40	22, 68, 121, 136, 213, 291, 334	13:19	222
11:2f.	15, 41, 90, 101, 133, 150, 177, 179	13:24	151
11:4-6	45, 68, 70, 92, 120, 136, 158, 160, 161, 162-172, 188, 189, 195, 210, 226, 232	13:30	33, 200
11:5	157, 166, 185, 191, 224	13:31, 32	15, 92, 102, 150, 151, 153, 271
11:9	73, 185	13:33	150, 151, 153, 207-212
11:10	23, 165, 168, 227, 238, 239, 243	13:39	33
11:11	15, 23, 73, 77, 151, 153, 162-172, 185, 241	13:44	151
11:12, 13	15, 25, 92, 150, 151, 152, 153, 169, 220-228, 265, 330	13:45	151
11:14	169	13:47	151, 204-212
11:16f.	40-44, 256	13:48	215
11:18, 19	22, 93, 119, 125, 127, 130, 131, 134, 135, 136, 145, 150, 159, 211, 230, 289, 318, 319, 331	13:52	151, 185
11:20f.	18, 22, 73, 94	15:14	37
11:21-24	92, 134, 136, 189,	15:22-28	190
		16:3	247
		16:4	199



16:16	207	24:28	38
16:17	185	24:30	141, 214
16:19	151	24:34	223
17:14-21	190	24:37	222
18:1	151	24:37-41	21, 102, 125, 129, 131, 141, 144, 150, 286
18:3, 4	151	24:39	93, 125, 129, 131, 150
18:7	93, 262	24:43f.	21, 343
18:13	77	24:44	93, 125, 130, 132, 135, 144, 150, 286
18:17	331	24:45-51	21
18:20	88	24:47	77, 93, 185
18:23	151	25:1	151
19:9	157	25:1-12	220
19:12	151	25:10	288
19:14	151	25:14-30	21, 305
19:21	344	25:29	38, 268
19:23	151	25:30	215
19:27-30	344	25:31	102, 217
19:28	102, 117, 150, 166	26:28	216, 295
20:1	151	26:29	288
20:16	262, 344	26:42	183
20:28	295	26:64	214'
21:9	305	26:75	215
21:11	89, 91	28:18	186
21:44	102		
21:46	91		
22:1-10	185, 218, 220, 273, 288, 289, 321	<i>Mark</i>	
22:2	151	1:1	17, 69, 244, 280, 321
22:13	215, 288	1:1-13	238-245
22:32	214	1:2	168
22:43	191	1:10	69
23:4f.	93, 186, 219, 322	1:14, 15	2, 15, 151, 164, 177, 180, 188, 204, 234, 245-257, 260, 266, 271, 275, 284, 288, 291, 320
23:6, 7	93	1:16	331, 344
23:12	18, 344	1:17f.	277
23:13	46, 150, 151, 219, 262, 335	1:22	252
23:23	93, 219	1:23-26	190, 191, 255
23:25f.	133, 219	1:27	252, 255, 291
23:26	200	1:32	190
23:27, 28	93	1:34	253-255
23:30	222	1:38, 39	252, 253
23:33	214	1:42	236
23:34-36	46-49, 66, 67, 73, 77, 150, 185, 283, 287, 298, 335	1:44	255
23:37-39	67, 92, 136, 150, 164, 185, 197, 229, 230, 243 284, 289, 290, 299- 301, 306, 318, 319, 323, 337, 339, 346	2:3f.	253
23:29-36	73, 345, 346	2:5	89, 189
24:26	287	2:6	134, 318
24:27f.	21, 102, 125, 129, 130, 132, 135, 141, 144, 150, 286, 287	2:7	134, 318
		2:8	89
		2:10	130, 133
		2:12	255
		2:14	277
		2:15-17	127, 230, 289, 319, 331

2:18	134, 318	8:23	96
2:21, 22	210	8:27	259
2:23	134, 318	8:28	89
2:24	134, 318	8:34	277, 301, 334, 337
2:28	133, 136	8:38	75, 130, 133, 135, 195, 230, 282, 284
3:1	134, 318	9:1	15, 96, 151, 152, 281- 285
3:2	134, 318	9:2	331, 334
3:11	244, 255	9:9	307
3:16	331	9:13	96
3:22-30	10, 69, 134, 190	9:19	195, 293
3:27	244	9:25	253
3:28, 29	127, 130, 329	9:32	335
3:30	134, 318	9:33-50	343, 344
Ch. 4	263-274	9:37	33
4:3-9	263-265	9:38	191
4:3-32	204	9:41	96
4:7, 19	276	9:45	214
4:11, 12	45, 117, 151, 152, 187, 252, 257-261, 263f., 284, 340	9:47, 48	15, 151, 275, 276, 281
4:13-20	263, 265, 266, 267	10:6-8	243
4:15	222	10:13-16	261-263, 331
4:21-25	2, 263, 268-70, 282	10:14	151, 152
4:26	151	10:15	96, 151, 152
4:26-29	263, 270-71, 320	10:17-31	244
4:29	247	10:21	230, 277, 319, 344
4:30	151	10:23-25	151, 152, 276-278, 281
4:30-32	263, 271-73, 320	10:24	151
4:35-41	264	10:25	151, 152
4:40	267	10:29	96
5:1-5	190, 253	10:31	262
5:7	244	10:32	255
5:8	244	10:33, 34	307
5:20	255	10:39	89
5:30	2	10:45	133, 188, 216, 295
5:42	255	10:46	253, 255
6:2f.	2, 69-71, 255, 277	11:17	243
6:4	303, 318	11:23	96
6:5	2	11:24	96
6:7-11	159, 174, 175, 180, 266 282, 334, 344	11:25	181
6:12, 13	180, 248, 266	11:29-31	204
6:14	2	12:1-12	49, 303, 305-307, 325, 337, 346
6:15	89, 91, 96	12:8	215
6:52	261, 335	12:26	214
6:53	253	12:29-30	243
7:1-5	134	12:31	243
7:10	243	12:34	15, 151, 278-281
7:24	217	12:36	191
7:29	253	12:43	96
7:32f.	250, 253, 255	Ch. 13	285-87
8:1	253	13:2	284
8:11f.	91, 134, 318	13:3	331
8:12	195, 199, 286, 293	13:17	96
8:17-21	255, 256, 261, 335	13:26	130, 195, 223, 283, 293

13:30	96, 195, 223, 283, 293		
13:32	184		162, 164, 166, 189,
14:8	89		192, 195, 232, 235,
14:9	96		237, 249, 250, 276,
14:18	96	6:21	297, 320
14:21	96, 133	6:22, 23	119, 166, 201, 343
14:22-26	300		36, 73, 86, 92, 93, 119,
14:24	189, 295, 319		125, 143, 150, 214,
14:25	15, 96, 151, 152, 172,		282, 297, 334,
	216, 218, 220, 281,	6:24	337,339,343, 346
	288-290	6:27, 38	157
14:30	89, 96	6:28	23, 185, 279, 343
14:36	181, 183, 184, 261, 306	6:29	343
14:37	331	6:35	185, 343
14:38	181	6:36	199
14:58	284	6:36	11
14:61	244	6:36	150, 199
14:62	130, 133, 135	6:37	201
14:65	91, 96	6:37-42	37
15:29	284	6:38	201, 268
15:43	152	6:40	38
16:9	190	6:43-45	37, 265
		6:46f.	256, 265
		6:47-49	107
<i>Luke</i>		7:1-10	23, 189, 217, 243, 328,
1:1f.	17, 326	333	333
1:31	152	7:6f.	136
1:48	158	7:9	77, 117, 185, 216
1:53	158	7:11	217
3:1-22	26	7:16	91
3:4-6	238	7:18-26	23, 26, 41, 68, 189
3:7-9	38,168, 169, 239, 240f.	7:19	133
3:16	150, 164, 168, 169, 240	7:22, 23	45, 50, 70, 90, 101,
	241		120, 136, 157-161, 166,
3:17	73, 168, 241		179, 184, 185, 188,
3:21, 22	242f.		191, 192, 195, 210,
4:1	91, 117, 150		224, 226, 232, 236-239,
4:1-13	26, 33, 117, 133, 236,		242, 245, 250, 256,
	242f., 275, 322, 328,		260, 312, 313, 318,
	333		320-322, 335, 341
4:2	245	7:24	119
4:3	150	7:26	73, 168, 185
4:6	150	7:27	23, 165, 168, 227, 239,
4:7	25		243
4:8	25, 117	7:28	15, 23, 25, 77,150,
4:16-21	245, 249		151, 153, 162-172, 185,
4:18, 19	160, 161, 164, 188, 245		241
4:29	215	7:29	39, 41
4:43	151, 224	7:30-35	40-44, 93, 297
5:8	191	7:31f.	195, 256
6:1	50	7:34	125, 127, 130, 131,
6:8	89		134-136, 145, 150, 211,
6:12	133		225, 230, 265, 289,
6:20	15, 23, 33, 45, 79, 80,	7:35	318, 331
	92, 149, 150-153, 155-	7:39	41, 150, 159
			91

7:48	188, 189		165, 185, 189, 260, 321
8:1	151, 224	11:2	15, 92, 117, 150-154, 183, 199, 201, 232, 284, 343
8:10	151, 152		
8:12	222	11:2-4	180-189, 281, 290
9:1-6	33, 174, 175f., 338, 344	11:3	149
9:2	151	11:4	11, 188, 343
9:11	151	11:5	81
9:22	134	11:9	201
9:23	297, 301	11:9-13	37, 68, 199
9:27	151, 152	11:10	201, 285
9:47	89	11:13	150, 259
9:48	33	11:14-32	190, 243, 297
9:55	191	11:15	77
9:57-62	26, 121	11:17f.	33, 151
9:58	93, 102, 117, 119, 125, 128, 130, 131, 134-136, 145, 150, 211, 265	11:18	151
		11:19-20	10, 15, 27, 34, 68, 69, 90, 92, 101, 150-153, 176, 177, 178, 180, 185, 190-97, 210, 211, 231, 235, 237, 242, 244, 248, 252, 265, 291, 320, 322
9:59	185, 321	11:21, 22	244, 310-312
9:60	151, 159	11:23	36, 213, 229, 230, 290, 319, 323, 334
9:61	150, 153	11:29	195, 199, 201, 286, 287
9:62	151	11:30	93, 125, 132, 143, 144, 150
10:1-16	22, 23, 27, 33, 73, 172f., 197, 209, 266, 297, 323, 334, 338	11:31	65, 94, 95, 150, 196, 213, 214, 259, 322
		11:32	79, 92, 94, 213, 217, 249, 259, 273, 307
10:2	38, 133, 229, 232, 271f., 319	11:33f.	166, 268
10:3	68	11:37-52	282, 319, 322, 345
10:4	159	11:39f.	45, 80, 133, 186, 219, 230
10:4-11	23, 277	11:42	29, 45, 219, 279
10:5	23	11:43	45, 93, 219
10:7	38, 343	11:44	93
10:9	11, 15, 92, 150, 151, 153, 166, 172-180, 236, 248, 275, 282, 337	11:46	33, 45, 93, 219
		11:47-51	26, 39, 46-49, 66, 67, 73, 80, 86, 88, 150, 185, 201, 283, 297, 298, 299, 304, 306, 335, 345, 346
10:11, 13-15	2, 25, 73, 86, 92, 93 134, 136, 151, 172, 189, 213, 249, 276, 307, 318	11:52	33, 45, 46, 150, 219, 226, 262, 335
10:12f.	77, 172, 185, 214, 265 265, 271	12:2	268
10:14	185	12:2-9	37, 68, 201
10:16	36, 68, 121, 108, 136, 213, 291	12:3	185, 201
10:16	68, 108	12:4	185
10:18	89	12:5	276
10:21, 22	21, 23, 26, 31, 36, 39, 44-46, 48, 65, 68, 89, 94, 116-118, 121, 129, 133, 142, 150, 179, 183, 184, 186, 187, 199, 232, 242, 259, 261, 274, 280, 303, 306, 320, 321, 322	12:8, 9	34, 36, 73, 80, 92, 93, 102, 125, 128, 132, 141
10:23, 24	23, 73, 92, 94, 95, 163,		

	143, 144, 150, 214, 219, 275, 282, 290, 306, 323, 334, 335, 337		14:25-27	36, 134, 136, 277, 297, 301, 304, 318, 334, 335, 337
12:5	276		14:28	81
12:10	23, 93, 125, 127, 130, 150, 196, 201, 232, 242, 297, 329		14:33	344
			14:35	215
12:11	86, 207, 285		15:1-32	210
12:22	185, 276		15:4	81
12:22-31	37, 68, 148, 197-204, 266, 267, 274		15:7	77, 185
			16:9-13	37
12:24	185		16:13	267, 275
12:25	81		16:16	15, 25, 92, 150-153, 169, 220-228, 265, 330
12:27	185			
12:31	15, 92, 107, 121, 150- 153, 197, 201, 231, 244, 267, 281		16:17	29, 221
			16:18	221
12:32	153		16:25	158
12:33, 34	276		17:1	93
12:39f.	21, 22, 343		17:1-10	23, 81
12:40	22, 93, 125, 135, 143, 144, 150, 286		17:2	262, 331
			17:10	201
12:42	22		17:20	151, 152
12:42-46	21		17:21	151
12:44	77		17:22	214
12:47, 48	23, 201		17:22-37	116, 308
12:49-53	23		17:23-25	23, 86, 144, 287
12:51	185		17:24	21, 22, 93, 102, 125, 129, 130, 135, 141, 143, 150, 286, 287
12:56	247			
12:59	185		17:25	134
13:18, 19	15, 92, 102, 150-153		17:26	102, 125, 129, 131, 141, 143, 144, 150
13:18-21	204-212		17:26-30	21, 93, 286
13:20	150, 151, 153		17:30	22, 93, 125, 129, 131, 150
13:24	185, 224, 277			
13:28, 29	15, 50, 92, 150, 151, 153, 172, 201, 212-220, 229, 231, 275, 281, 287-290, 307, 310, 320, 321		17:34	21, 201, 286
			17:37	38
13:30	277, 344		18:16	151, 152
13:31	26		18:17	151, 152
13:34, 35	33, 39, 49, 50, 67, 92, 136, 197, 201, 229, 230, 289, 290, 297, 299-301, 304, 306, 318, 319, 323, 337, 346		18:22	344
			18:24	151, 152
13:35	11, 164, 185, 188, 243, 284		18:25	151, 152
			18:28-30	344
14:11	344		18:29	151, 301
14:14	214		18:34	335
14:15	151, 218		19:11	151
14:16-24	220, 273, 288, 289, 297, 321		19:12	22
			19:12-27	21, 305
14:21-23	158		19:26	38, 201, 268
14:23	224		19:38	305
			20:15	215
			20:18	102
			20:37	214
			20:42	191
			21:8	177
			21:27	214

21:31	151
21:32	223
21:36	141
22:16	151
22:18	151, 152
22:19	295
22:27	295
22:28f.	117, 150
22:29	152, 184, 288
22:30	102, 118, 152, 166, 220
22:37	295
22:62	215
22:63f.	91, 96
23:34	183
23:42	152
23:51	151, 152
24:19	91
24:27, 45	335

*John*

4:19	91, 95
4:44	95, 303
5:23	33
6:14	91, 95
7:3	163
7:40	91, 95
7:52	91
9:17	91, 95
11:41	183
12:28	181, 183
12:34	125
12:44, 45	33
13:20	33
17:1-25	183
17:15	181

*Acts*

1:22	169
7:51-53	303, 337
7:56	125, 284, 337, 338
8:12	224
10:34	279
10:38	119
10:43	214
11:27	88
13:1f.	88
13:40, 41	338
13:45-50	338
20:18-27	33, 339
21:9f.	88
28:26-28	340

*Romans*

1:14	284
2:12	75
5:12-21	244
5:16	216
8:15	180, 182, 183
8:36	344
9:31	194
11:3	303
12:14	343
12:17	343
12:21	343
14:10, 11	343
15:30	19

*1 Corinthians*

3:17	75
4:9-14	343, 344
5:3-5	88
5:6	207
6:5	78
7:10f.	88, 343
7:25	88
7:40	88
9:4, 14	175, 343
10:27	175
14:37, 38	75
15:3f.	188, 266
15:22	244
15:27	186
15:32	344
15:51	78

*2 Corinthians*

1:5, 6	344
1:8-10	344
4:9	344
6:5-9	344
11:12, 23-33	344

*Galatians*

1:15f.	19
1:18	175
2:4	19
4:6	180, 182, 183
5:2	78
5:11	344
6:17	344
9:6	75

<i>Philippians</i>		<i>2 Timothy</i>	
1:7, 13-17	344	4:18	181
3:16	194	<i>Philemon</i>	
4:12	344	vs. 9	344
<i>Colossians</i>		<i>Hebrews</i>	
1:24	344	11:32-38	303
3:13	343	<i>James</i>	
4:3, 18	344	5:10-11	303
<i>1 Thessalonians</i>		<i>Revelation</i>	
2:14, 15	33, 345f.	11:6, 7	303
2:16	193, 345f.	16:16	303
4:8	175	18:24	303
4:15	78, 194	22:18	75
5:2	343	22:20	181
5:15	343		
10:14	194		
<i>1 Timothy</i>			
5:18	176		

## VI. Rabbinic Writings

<i>Mishna Berakhoth</i>		<i>Targum Isaiah</i>	
5:1	182, 183	28:1	303
<i>Babylonian Ta'anit</i>		53:8	322
23b	182	53:10, 11	64
<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>		60:20	251
23:20	168, 238	60:22	251
		<i>Targum Zechariah</i>	
		2:14, 15	188

## VII. Hellenistic-Jewish Writings

<i>Josephus</i>		<i>Philo</i>	
<i>Antiquities</i>		<i>De Abrahamo</i>	
8:2	196	261	62
8:45-49	191	<i>De Migratione Abrahami</i>	
10:38	303	197	61
<i>Jewish Wars</i>		<i>De Somniis</i>	
4:334-344	298	2:244b	62

**VIII. Early Christian and Gnostic Writings**

<i>Didache</i>		§9	333
		§29	333
8:2	187	§50	333
13:1, 2	176	§57	333
<i>Eusebius</i>			
<i>H.E.</i>			
III. 39:16	1, 326, 327		
<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>			
§6	333		
		<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>	
		I. 2.2	47
		II. 4.1	47
		III. 1.6	47



## *Index of Modern Authors*

- Aland, Kurt and Barbara. 102  
Allison, D. 146, 176, 296, 342, 343  
Amaru, B.H. 303  
Ambrozic, A.M. 211, 248, 251, 257,  
259, 261, 262, 269, 270, 276, 283,  
288  
Attridge, H. W. 324  
Aune, D. 75, 76, 80, 81, 83, 86, 87,  
127, 203, 269  
Bacon, B.W. 3  
Balz, H. R. 13, 174  
Bammel, E. 152  
Barr, J. 183, 247  
Barrett, C.K. 135, 295  
Baumeister, T. 304  
Bauckham, R. 135, 183  
Bayer, H. F. 134  
Beale, G.K. 104  
Beardslee, W.A. 39, 150  
Behm, J. 283  
Beasley-Murray, G.R. 32, 43, 66, 116,  
117, 125, 135, 155, 159, 161, 181,  
187, 193, 212, 213, 217, 222, 223,  
232, 240, 248, 250, 257, 259, 264,  
283, 286  
Bergant, D. 52  
Berger, K. 67, 79, 81, 196, 262, 280  
Best, E. 245  
Betz, H.D. 344  
Betz, O. 195, 322  
Beyer, K. 276, 287  
Black, M. 104, 105, 108, 111, 113, 114,  
135, 206, 214, 215, 220, 248, 261,  
276, 327, 328  
Blackburn, B. 236, 250  
Blank, J. 305, 306  
Blank, S.H. 54, 57  
Bock, D. L. 165  
Bonnard, P. 135  
Borg, M. J. 149  
Boring, M. E. 13, 72, 82-84, 89, 127,  
234, 282  
Bornkamm, G. 7, 15, 34, 258, 259,  
279, 281  
Borsch, F.H. 104  
Boston, J. R. 55  
Bovon, F. 44  
Brawley, R. L. 336  
Brettler, M. Z. 53  
Brower, K. 283, 284  
Brown, R.E. 77, 257  
Brown, S. 257  
Bruce, F.F. 120, 312  
Bryce, G. 57  
Büchsel, M. 171  
Bultmann, R. 6, 7, 20, 34, 36, 43, 46,  
47, 49, 51, 80, 131, 135, 138, 163,  
165, 170, 193, 194, 197, 251, 257,  
261, 268  
Burkitt, F.C. 3  
Butts, J. 149  
Cameron, P.S. 222-225  
Campbell, J.Y. 193  
Caragounis, C. C. 101-104, 120, 126,  
128, 130, 145, 192, 193, 212, 295  
Carlston, C. E. 40, 269, 291, 296  
Carmignac, J. 267  
Casey, M. 104, 126-130, 135, 147, 230,  
286, 334  
Catchpole, D. 2, 148, 168, 173, 174,  
185, 199, 221, 223, 239, 321  
Charles, R.H. 101, 102, 104, 110, 111,  
112, 114  
Charlesworth, J.H. 103, 117, 149, 156,  
306  
Chilton, B. 64, 154, 213-216, 218, 220,  
223, 226, 247-251, 254  
Christ, F. 39, 44  
Clark, K. W. 193  
Collins, A. Y. 144  
Collins, J. J. 62, 102, 104, 107, 116,  
124, 145, 323  
Colpe, C. 131, 135, 140  
Conzelmann, H. 176, 177, 193, 223  
Coxon, P.W. 55  
Cranfield, C.E. B. 248, 259, 261, 269,  
276, 326  
Creed, J.M. 46, 310  
Crenshaw, J. L. 51, 52  
Crossan, J.D. 269, 271

- Cullmann, O. 39, 171, 247  
 Dalman, G. 220  
 Danker, F. W. 46  
 Dautzenberg, G. 177, 252, 272  
 Davies, P.R. 107  
 Davies, W.D. and D. Allison. 33, 34, 41, 44, 77, 89, 117, 125, 126, 128, 130, 147, 157, 158, 161, 164, 174, 186, 187, 190, 192, 193, 200, 201, 203, 204, 207, 213-215, 217, 220, 222, 223, 225, 228, 230, 241, 243, 244, 248, 258, 259, 264, 268, 298, 330  
 Davies, W.D. 65, 121, 327, 345  
 Davies, S. L. 334  
 De Villiers, P.G.R. 108  
 de Jonge, M. 134  
 de Jonge, M. and A. van der Woude. 312  
 Delling, G. 247  
 Deutsch, C. 37, 45, 62  
 Devisch, M. 2  
 Di Lella, A. A. 51  
 Dibelius, M. 5, 6, 88, 137, 165, 170, 171  
 Dillon, R. J. 336  
 Dodd, C.H. 3, 167, 171, 208  
 Duling, D. C. 196  
 Dungan, D.L. 176  
 Dunn, J.D.G. 6, 40, 41, 44, 48, 49, 87-89, 126-129, 152, 160, 163, 181, 183-186, 191, 195, 241  
 Dupont, J. 2, 161, 172, 200, 202, 207, 261-263  
 Edwards, R. A. 10, 11, 73-74, 82, 296  
 Egger, W. 251  
 Eichhorn, J. G. 1  
 Eichrodt, W. 91  
 Eisenman, R. and M. Wise. 165, 166  
 Ellis, E. E. 198, 312  
 Evans, C.F. 291  
 Ewalds, H. 1  
 Farmer, W. R. 14  
 Ferch, A.J. 101  
 Fichtner, J. 52  
 Fiorenza, E. S. 88  
 Fischel, H.A. 303  
 Fitzer, G. 193  
 Fitzmyer, J. 118, 119, 128, 155, 157, 167, 169, 174, 183, 184, 186, 193, 204, 205, 214, 216, 223, 228, 242, 243, 257, 268, 300, 301, 302, 330  
 Fleddermann, H. 204, 205, 207-209  
 Fohrer, G. 51, 52, 95  
 Fohrer, G. and U. Wilckens. 91  
 France, R.T. 49, 152, 154, 164, 165, 167, 198, 210, 223, 225, 271, 284, 285, 291, 295, 311, 312  
 Friedlander, G. 119  
 Frost, S.B. 110  
 Fuchs, A. 195  
 Fuchs, A. and F. Weissengruber. 333  
 Fuchs, E. 210  
 Fuller, R.H. 192, 193  
 Furnish, V. P. 343  
 Gammie, J.G. 55  
 Garland, D. E. 46, 50, 346  
 Geldenhuys, N. 46  
 Georgi, D. 177  
 Gerhardson, B. 296  
 Gese, H. 41  
 Giesen, H. 284  
 Gnilka, J. 132, 174, 194, 244, 248, 250, 257, 259, 261, 269, 271, 278, 279, 280, 317  
 Goldingay, J. E. 55, 56, 101, 105, 110, 112, 125  
 Goppelt, L. 230, 320  
 Gräßer, E. 176, 177, 193, 281, 344  
 Greeven, H. 81, 202  
 Grimm, W. 216, 217  
 Grundmann, W. 46, 65, 259, 310  
 Guelich, R.A. 69, 156-159, 164, 200, 201, 204, 239, 240-244, 248, 251, 264, 268, 269, 273  
 Guenther, H.O. 149  
 Gundry, R.H. 199, 200  
 Haenchen, E. 298  
 Hahn, F. 33, 138, 141, 170, 174, 213, 217, 219, 220, 305  
 Hamerton-Kelly, R.G. 191, 192  
 Hanson, P.D. 110  
 Hare, D. R.A. 126, 134-136  
 Harnack, Adolf von. 3, 4, 17, 191, 242, 315  
 Hartman L.F. and A.A. Di Lella. 101  
 Harvey, A. E. 167  
 Hasler, V. 79, 81, 219  
 Hauck F. and E. Bammel. 157, 158  
 Havener, I. 130  
 Heaton, E.W. 52, 106, 107  
 Hengel, M. 41, 42, 47, 53, 64, 69, 76, 86, 87, 120, 134, 174, 185, 304, 321, 326, 329, 330, 344  
 Higgins, A. J. B. 34, 136  
 Hill, D. 76, 86, 87, 89, 304, 312, 327  
 Hirsch, E. 3  
 Hoffmann, P. 9, 10, 21-23, 27, 32, 38, 65, 68, 72, 116, 121, 138-140, 141, 143, 146, 162, 164, 165, 170, 171, 172, 177, 178, 201, 212, 214, 216, 221, 222, 226, 227, 242, 296, 298

- Holladay, C. H. 236  
 Holtz, T. 345  
 Holtzmann, H. 1, 3, 17  
 Hooker, M. 125, 250, 295, 312, 330  
 Horbury, W. 145, 323  
 Horsley, R. A. 147  
 Hultgren, A.J. 136, 305  
 Hunter, A.M. 134, 311  
 Hunzinger, C.-H. 206  
 Jacobson, A. D. 40, 117, 241, 296, 297  
 Jeremias, J. 77, 89, 91, 97, 117, 119,  
 149, 151, 161, 167, 182-184, 202,  
 203, 207, 209, 210, 212, 215-217,  
 228, 244, 257, 264, 286, 288, 289,  
 311, 313  
 Jewett, R. 345  
 Johnson, M. D. 47, 50, 178  
 Jülicher, A. 3, 17  
 Jüngel, E. 193  
 Kalugila, L. 55, 57, 64, 65  
 Käsemann, E. 13, 18, 34, 72, 74-78, 80,  
 174, 228, 268, 313  
 Kasting, H. 174  
 Keck, L. E. 157, 251  
 Kelber, W. 12, 234, 248, 271  
 Kertelge, K. 250  
 Kim, Myung-Soo. 29-30  
 Kim, Seyoon. 120  
 Kingsbury, J. D. 244, 294, 297, 302  
 Kloppenborg, J. 4, 12, 28-29, 36, 37,  
 41, 65, 68, 69, 83, 92, 117, 120,  
 125, 149, 162, 163, 165, 178, 180,  
 185, 197, 202, 203, 223, 241-243,  
 273, 296, 307, 308, 310, 314, 321,  
 327, 328, 333, 343  
 Koch, D.A. 250  
 Koch, K. 110  
 Koester, H. 7, 8, 12, 36, 148, 345  
 Kogler, F. 204, 205  
 Kosch, D. 221, 223, 227, 228  
 Kuhn, H.W. 194  
 Kümmel, W.G. 2, 3, 46, 135, 167, 193,  
 202, 208, 214, 225, 228, 248, 313,  
 326  
 Kunzi, M. 283  
 Lachmann, K. 1  
 Lacocque, A. 110  
 Ladd, G.E. 115, 152, 167, 172, 230,  
 248, 320  
 Lambrecht, J. 157, 161, 239, 243  
 Lang, B. 50  
 Laufen, R. 1, 2, 27, 33, 34, 173, 177,  
 208, 226, 239, 240, 241, 269, 311,  
 316  
 Lindblom, J. 52  
 Lindars, B. 104, 126, 127, 129, 130,  
 310  
 Lohfink, G. 187, 229  
 Lohmeyer, E. 180, 187, 189, 280  
 Lohse, E. 300, 304  
 Longenecker, R. N. 198  
 Lövestam, E. 196  
 Lührmann, D. 8, 15, 20, 21, 22, 32, 39,  
 72, 138, 139, 140, 143, 146, 170,  
 195, 212, 237, 243, 293, 297, 298  
 Luz, U. 10, 34, 146, 147, 157, 181,  
 201, 242  
 Mack, B. L. 13, 15, 16, 30-31, 32, 34,  
 250, 294, 305, 307, 323  
 Manson, T.W. 5, 46, 48, 171, 174, 176,  
 194, 257, 313, 326, 328  
 Manson, W. 120, 310  
 Marcus, J. 269  
 Marshall, C.D. 292  
 Marshall, I.H. 33, 41, 43, 46, 65, 76,  
 77, 96, 119, 126-129, 133, 136, 145,  
 151, 152, 157, 161, 167, 168, 172,  
 174, 181, 186, 187, 193, 197, 199,  
 203, 213, 214, 217, 223, 232, 233,  
 243, 248, 264, 285, 298, 301, 311,  
 345  
 Martitz, W. von. 236  
 Marxsen, W. 238, 248, 251, 257  
 McArthur, J. K. 209  
 McKane, W. 52  
 Mearns, Chris. 146  
 Merklein, H. 150, 152, 169, 171, 201,  
 203, 220, 222, 223, 249, 288, 292  
 Metzger, B. 102, 200, 248  
 Meyer, P.D. 215, 216, 218  
 Miller, M.P. 119  
 Miller, R.J. 88  
 Michel, O. 303  
 Morgan, D. F. 52  
 Moule, C.F. D. 115, 295, 327  
 Moessner, D. P. 336  
 Muilenburg, J. 108  
 Murphy, R.E. 51  
 Mussner, F. 251  
 Neiryneck, F. 1, 77, 343  
 Neugebauer, F. 87  
 Nock, A.D. 296  
 Okeke, G.E. 345  
 Osten-Sacken, P. von der. 110  
 O'Toole, R. F. 336  
 Pamment, M. 156  
 Parker, K.I. 58  
 Pearson, B. A. 345, 346  
 Percy, E. 171, 172

- Perrin, N. 104, 152, 264  
 Pesch, R. 2, 15, 69, 70, 204, 96, 127,  
 204, 209, 212, 242, 247-249, 251,  
 252, 257, 259, 263, 268, 269, 271,  
 273, 274, 276, 279, 290, 326  
 Piper, R. 37, 38  
 Plummer, A. 310  
 Pokorny, P. 243  
 Polag, A. 23-25, 43, 50, 116, 140-142,  
 150, 155, 159, 161, 162, 165, 167,  
 177, 181, 199, 201, 213, 217, 220,  
 226, 242, 285, 290, 291, 308, 343  
 Puech, É. 165, 166  
 Rad, G. von. 51, 57, 105  
 Räsänen, H. 234-237, 261, 292  
 Rawlinson, A.E. J. 242, 249  
 Reike, B. 65, 94  
 Rengstorf, K. 213  
 Reploh, K.G. 269  
 Riesner, R. 67, 322  
 Ringshausen, G. 262, 281  
 Robinson, J.A.T. 167  
 Robinsion, J.M. 7, 10, 12, 36, 62, 296,  
 345  
 Rodd, C.S. 191  
 Rosenthal, L.A. 56  
 Rowland, J. 115  
 Russell, D.S. 106, 115  
 Sanders, E.P. 167, 195  
 Sanders, J. A. 119, 312  
 Sato, M. 28, 84-87, 90, 310  
 Schelkle, K.H. 257  
 Schenk, W. 2, 77, 143, 152, 174, 311,  
 343  
 Schenke, L. 250  
 Schillebeeckx, E. 10, 147  
 Schippers, R. 345, 346  
 Schleiermacher, F. D. E. 1, 327  
 Schlosser, J. 150, 171, 172, 183, 186,  
 187, 199, 213-216, 219, 220, 222,  
 223, 226, 249, 262, 276  
 Schmidt, D. 83, 345  
 Schmidt, K.L. 62  
 Schmithals, W. 25, 26, 27, 32, 34, 234,  
 235, 236, 238, 242, 261, 292  
 Schnackenburg, R. 147, 152, 154, 155,  
 172, 228, 230, 249, 251, 259, 261,  
 285, 288, 289, 300, 320  
 Schneider, G. 181, 269  
 Schnider, F. 95, 96  
 Scholer, D. M. 1  
 Schönle, V. 170, 227  
 Schulz, S. 9, 12, 18-20, 22, 32, 34, 38,  
 39, 46, 65, 72, 74-82, 116, 119, 121,  
 136, 137, 140, 143, 146, 157, 160-  
 165, 170, 176, 177, 180, 195, 200,  
 202, 207-216, 218, 219, 222, 223,  
 226, 227, 243, 287, 296, 298, 343  
 Schuppan, C. 167, 231, 256, 323  
 Schürmann, H. 42, 97, 119, 125, 143,  
 144, 150, 152-154, 160, 161, 169-  
 171, 177, 180, 181, 194, 202, 203,  
 209, 210, 219, 221, 226, 228, 230,  
 257, 259, 285, 302  
 Schweizer, E. 134, 161, 171, 311  
 Scott, R.B.Y. 52, 57, 59, 60, 61  
 Seebass, H. 112  
 Seeley, D. 301  
 Seitz, O.J. 133, 134, 136  
 Selman, M. 60  
 Sint, J.A. 172  
 Snodgrass, K. 306  
 Stanton, G. M. 39, 324  
 Staufer, E. 299  
 Steck, O. H. 13, 46, 68, 174, 178, 185,  
 299, 305, 313, 321, 345  
 Steinhauser, M.G. 199  
 Stendahl, K. 165  
 Strecker, G. 158, 202, 218  
 Streeter, B.H. 3, 4  
 Stuhlmacher, P. 249, 343  
 Sugirtharajah, R.S. 36  
 Suggs, M. J. 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47,  
 171  
 Tannehill, R. C. 336  
 Taylor, V. 5, 243, 249, 257, 261, 302,  
 318  
 Theison, J. 102  
 Thompson, M. 343  
 Thübing, W. 178, 180  
 Tiede, D. L. 236  
 Tödt, H.E. 7, 9, 15, 34  
 Toy, C.H. 61  
 Trilling, W. 218  
 Tuckett, C.M. 133, 144, 148, 149, 160,  
 161, 176, 204, 243, 334, 343  
 Uro, R. 27-28, 173, 174, 175, 177  
 Vaage, L. E. 143, 144  
 Vassiliadis, P. 2, 243, 311  
 Vermes, G. 105, 126, 127, 130, 135,  
 182, 183, 286  
 Vielhauer, P. 145, 313  
 Vögtle, A. 83, 142, 283  
 Wallace, R.S. 55  
 Walter, N. 343  
 Wanamaker, C.A. 345  
 Watts, J. D. 158, 253  
 Weatherly, J. A. 345  
 Wegner, U. 34  
 Weiß, B. 3

- Weiß, J. 1  
Weiße, C.H. 1  
Wellhausen, J. 4, 21  
Wengst, K. 304  
Westermann, C. 93  
Whybray, R.N. 51, 52  
Wilke, Ch. G. 1  
Wilckens, U. 13, 46, 108, 314  
Wink, W. 163, 170
- Winston, D. 45  
Witherington III, Ben. 35, 149, 183,  
187, 306  
Wolf, C. 344  
Wood, J. 69  
Wrege, H. -T. 199  
Zeller, D. 11, 163, 164, 187, 189, 195,  
197, 202, 218, 297, 311,  
Ziener, G. 67



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## *Alphabetical Index of the first and second series*

- Appold, Mark L.*: The Oneness Motif in the Fourth Gospel. 1976. *Volume III/1.*
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- Schwemer, A. M.: see Hengel.
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