

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Master of Sacred Theology Thesis

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

6-1-1962

The Theological Background of the Marcan Account of the Baptism and Temptation of Jesus

George Nickelsburg

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/stm>



Part of the [Biblical Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Nickelsburg, George, "The Theological Background of the Marcan Account of the Baptism and Temptation of Jesus" (1962). *Master of Sacred Theology Thesis*. 274.

<https://scholar.csl.edu/stm/274>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Sacred Theology Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

THE THEOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTHERN METHODIST CHURCH

Short Title

JESUS' BAPTISM AND TEMPTATION

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Dogmatical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by

Walter W. Richardsburg, Jr.

June, 1912

1912

Walter W. Richardsburg, Jr.
June 11, 1912

EV
4070
049
173
1962
No. 2
2-2

18475

THE THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE MARCAN ACCOUNT
OF THE BAPTISM AND TEMPTATION OF JESUS

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Exegetical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by

George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr.

June, 1962

18475

Approved by

William H. Schramm
Advisor

Edgar M. Krentz
Reader

BV
4070
C69
M3
1962
no. 8
C.2

18475

	Page
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	111
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. TYPING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND HEBREW-ARABIC LITERATURE	3
The First Example in the Old Testament	3
A New Example	10
A New Example	11
By the Letter and the New Parallel	21
Evidence in the Interbiblical Literature	26
III. HOW TO READ AND THE NEW SCRIPTS	33
The Writing of Mark One and the Coming of the New Script	33
The Background Background for Mark's Writing	38
The New Script and the New Israel	45
The New Script and the Gospel	47
The New Script	59
IV. THE WRITING OF MARK AND THE NEW SCRIPTS	61
The New Script	61
By the Letter and the New Script	69
The New Script	78
V. THE WRITING OF MARK	86
Introduction	86
The New Script	87
The New Script in the Old Testament and Interbiblical Literature	92
The New Script	103
The New Script	110
The New Script	123
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	135
APPENDIX	143
BIBLIOGRAPHY	144

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	iii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. TYPOLOGY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND INTERTESTAMENTAL LITERATURE	5
The First Exodus in the Old Testament.	5
A New Exodus	10
A New Covenant	17
The New Exodus and the New Paradise	21
Typology in the Intertestamental Literature	26
III. JOHN'S BAPTISM AND THE NEW EXODUS	33
The Setting of Mark One and the Coming of the New Exodus	33
The Old Testament Background for John's Baptism	38
John the Baptist and the New Israel	45
Proselyte Baptism and the Exodus	47
Summary	59
IV. THE BAPTISM OF JESUS AND THE NEW EXODUS.	61
Servant and Messiah	61
The New Exodus Motif	69
The Form of a Dove	78
V. THE TEMPTATION OF JESUS	86
Introduction	86
The Exodus Motif	87
The Beasts in the Old Testament and Intertestamental Literature	92
The Righteous Man	103
The Paradise Motif	110
Synthesis	128
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	135
APPENDIX	143
BIBLIOGRAPHY	144

C. General Literature

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

1. Apocrypha

Bar.	Baruch
4 Esd.	Fourth Esdras
Jdth.	Judith
2 Macc.	Second Maccabees
Sirach	Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach
Tob.	Tobit
Wisd.	The Wisdom of Solomon

2. Pseudepigrapha

<u>Apoc. Moses</u>	<u>Apocalypse of Moses</u>
<u>2 Bar.</u>	<u>Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch</u>
<u>Enoch</u>	<u>Ethiopic Enoch</u>
<u>Jub.</u>	<u>Book of Jubilees</u>
<u>Or. Sib.</u>	<u>Sibylline Oracles</u>
<u>Ps. Sol.</u>	<u>Psalms of Solomon</u>
<u>Test. Benj.</u>	<u>Testament of Benjamin</u>
<u>Test. Iss.</u>	<u>Testament of Issachar</u>
<u>Test. Jud.</u>	<u>Testament of Judah</u>
<u>Test. Levi</u>	<u>Testament of Levi</u>
<u>Test. Naphth.</u>	<u>Testament of Naphthali</u>

B. Rabbinic Literature

1. Midrashim

<u>Ex. R.</u>	<u>Exodus Rabba</u>
<u>Gen. R.</u>	<u>Genesis Rabba</u>
<u>Mek. Ex.</u>	<u>Mekilta on Exodus</u>
<u>Pes.</u>	<u>Pesikta</u>
<u>S. Lev.</u>	<u>Siphra on Leviticus</u>

2. Tractates of the Talmud

<u>A.Z.</u>	<u>Abodah Zarah</u>
<u>Bek.</u>	<u>Bekoroth</u>
<u>Ber.</u>	<u>Berakoth</u>
<u>Ger.</u>	<u>Gerim</u>
<u>Hag.</u>	<u>Hagiga</u>
<u>Ker.</u>	<u>Kerithoth</u>
<u>San.</u>	<u>Sanhedrin</u>
<u>Sot.</u>	<u>Sotah</u>

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the Old Testament and intertestamental background of the words and concepts appearing in Mark 1:1-13. Our study will show that almost every word and phrase in these verses is charged with a complex of theological associations stemming from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. We will attempt to show what these associations are, the different nuances given to them by the writers of the Old Testament and the intertestamental literature, and the varying ways in which they were combined in these writings.

One must always approach Scripture from the viewpoint of the writer and the persons for whom it was originally written. We will try to re-create a part of the religious thought-world of these early Christians and to discover and document what the words and concepts of Mark 1:1-13 may have meant for this Gospel's first readers. It is our premise that this evangelist was thoroughly at home in the Old Testament Scriptures and well acquainted with the thought-world that created the intertestamental literature and that he assumed a considerable knowledge of these ideas on the part of his readers. We do not claim that the author of this Gospel was consciously aware of the many passages

that we will collate here or that he deliberately and specifically related his work to all the various complexes of ideas that we have spelled out.

Hebrew and Jewish eschatology was not consistent in structure and outlook. Different writers combined various complexes of ideas in diverse ways. It has often been said that our Lord was the first person to combine in His thinking the figures of the Messiah, the Suffering Servant, and the Son of Man. Be this as it may, it is probably more correct to assert that the Jews did not divide their eschatological thinking into neat, clean-cut categories. We can demonstrate this from the Old Testament Scriptures themselves, as well as from the written sources of the intertestamental era. There is no way of knowing exactly what complex of ideas may have been conjured in the mind of a well-read Jew who heard such terms as Servant, Messiah, Son of Man, new exodus, and covenant. We will try to show what some of these patterns may possibly have been and will suggest that any number or combination of them may have been in the mind of our author as he penned his Gospel.

Although this evangelist and his readers may not have had a first-hand acquaintance with the written forms of some of the intertestamental literature which we will cite, we will assume that where an idea appeared relatively frequently in this literature it was very likely part of the thought-world of first century Judaism and Christianity. Wherever

possible we will give dates for the rabbis we cite. In almost every case these rabbis lived after the time of this Gospel's composition, and their sayings were put into writing still later. However, we feel that with due caution one may assume that a frequently expressed idea had its roots at a much earlier time.

We will not concern ourselves with a strictly critical approach to the authorship of Old Testament books. Modern scholars may discuss Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah and the date and integrity of the Pentateuch. However, the Jews and Christians of the first century read these documents as literary unities and in this study we are primarily interested in the approach of these people.

We will begin our paper with a study of the central importance of the Exodus in the life and religion of Israel. We will then show how this Exodus and the Sinaitic covenant molded the hopes of Israel. The Jews thought of their future salvation in terms of a new exodus and a new covenant. The figures of the Messiah, the Servant of Yahweh, and the Son of Man were variously associated with these hopes. These ideas were carried over into the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the writings of Qumran, and the rabbinic traditions. Certain features were built up and others were played down.

Into this milieu of hopes and expectations stepped the figure of John the Baptist and the person of our Lord Himself.

What did their actions and speech mean to the Jews they confronted, and what connotations and associations were connected with the evangelist's witness to them? These are the questions that we shall attempt to answer in the following pages.

The first passage in the Old Testament which the writer of I Kings uses to describe the building of the Solomon's temple (1Kings 8:10-11) is the Hebrew, the Hebrew and the English of events that surrounded it were God's mighty act of significance and the central and crucial point in all history. Hundreds of passages, spread out in almost all the Old Testament books, remind us of the dynamic importance of these events for the life and thought of ancient Israel. Israel's history begins at the moment when this people received her charter as a nation, not, more specifically, as the people of Yahweh. All that follows is prologue.

In the land of Egypt, God had revealed Himself to the fathers in the desert (Ex. 6:3; 7:5). With signs and wonders, with a waving hand and an outstretched arm (Jer. 32:21), He had led His people from the house of bondage (Mic. 6:4) and the land of affliction (Jer. 11:4). At this

The English translations of Scripture passages are taken from the Revised Standard Version. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations follow the RSV numbering.

CHAPTER II

TYOLOGY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

AND INTERTESTAMENTAL LITERATURE

The First Exodus in the Old Testament

"In the four hundred and eightieth year after the people of Israel came out of the land of Egypt . . ."¹ Thus the writer of 1 Kings dates the building of the Solomonic temple (6:1). For the Hebrew, the Exodus and the cluster of events that surrounded it were God's mighty act par excellence and the central and crucial point in all history. Hundreds of passages, spread out in almost all the Old Testament books, remind one of the decisive importance of these events for the life and thought of ancient Israel. Israelite history began at the Exodus when this people received her charter as a nation and, more specifically, as the people of Yahweh. All that precedes is prologue.

To both Hebrew and Egyptian, God had revealed Himself in the Exodus as Yahweh (Ex. 6:7; 7:5). With signs and wonders, with a strong hand and an outstretched arm (Jer. 32:21), He had led His people from the house of bondage (Mic. 6:4) and the iron furnace of affliction (Jer. 11:4). At this

¹The English translations of Scripture passages are taken from the Revised Standard Version. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations follow the RSV numbering.

time He chose Israel from among all the nations of the earth (Deut. 7:6-8; Ezek. 20:5), small though she was, and made of her something of value and worth. While Israel was still in Egypt, Yahweh had become her God (Hos. 12:9; 13:4). He had dried the Red Sea (Is. 43:16-17) and destroyed the forces of Pharaoh. Then He led Israel into the wilderness. On Sinai He made a covenant with her. Israel would be His people, and He would be her God (Jer. 11:4). Despite her many rebellions, her wilderness years were good times. Israel's devotion to her God was the love of a bride who followed Yahweh her husband (Jer. 2:2; Hos. 2:15), and in all of this Yahweh was showing His love for His people. "When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son" (Hos. 11:1).

Moreover, it was Israel's responsibility to remember the great events of the Exodus. This mighty act of God was no mere past event without consequences for the present people of God. The prophets constantly called to mind the happenings of the Exodus. "Remember the former things of old" (Is. 46:9). The Hebrew liturgies recalled these events, often reciting them in great detail (Ps. 78: 105; 106). Centuries later Jeroboam could tell his people, "Behold your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (1 Kings 12:28). When an Israelite brought the first fruits of his land to the temple, he said,

And the Egyptians treated us harshly, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. Then we cried to the Lord the God of our Fathers, and the Lord heard our voice, and saw our affliction, our toil, and our oppression; and the Lord brought us up out of Egypt . . . (Deut. 26:6ff.).

The Passover haggadah emphasized this same point:

In every generation each one of us should regard himself as though he himself had gone forth from Egypt, as it is said (Exod. 13:8); ". . . This is done because of that which the Lord did unto ME when I came forth out of Egypt." Not our ancestors alone did God redeem then, but he did US redeem with them. . . .²

Thus, for Jews of every generation, the Exodus was a crucial event. It was the time when each and every Jew was redeemed from the land of Egypt and the house of bondage.

If Yahweh had thus acted in the past, it was reasonable to assume that He would continue to look after His people, as He Himself had promised to do according to the terms of the covenant (Ex. 19:5f.).³ Therefore, in his prayer at the dedication of the temple, Solomon pleaded, ". . . forgive thy people . . . for they are thy people . . . which thou didst bring out of Egypt . . ." (1 Kings 8:50-53). When Israel was in trouble, the pious Hebrews wondered what had happened to the great God of the Exodus and covenant (Judg. 6:7ff.). In their prayers they called upon Yahweh to

²W. D. Davies--Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (2nd edition; London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 103--quotes this and other haggadoth.

³He promised to send His angel before the people to clear the land of its inhabitants, and He offered many other blessings to His covenant people (Ex. 23:20ff.).

⁴See Ex. 14:11ff.; 15:23f.; 17:3-7; 23:1-34; Num. 14:10.

remember His former redemptive deeds (e.g., Ps. 74). Because Yahweh had acted in the Exodus, the Hebrews were certain that He would return to vindicate His people (Ps. 135:8-14). "O that thou wouldst rend the heavens and come down" (Is. 64:1). This was the anguished cry of the prophet who had just recited the great events of the Exodus and now saw that Yahweh's people were again in need of His help. When Israel was in trouble, she called on Him who was her God by virtue of the Exodus and the covenant. *herself.* Yahweh had called His son out. But as time passed, the people came to think that, no matter what they did or how they acted, they would remain the people of God's favor, and He would vindicate them. God's answer to this attitude was a warning that the Day of Yahweh would be a day of darkness and terror for those who were His people in name only (Amos 5:18-20).⁴ The covenant called for responsibility on the part of God's people.⁵ ". . . if you hearken attentively to his voice . . ." (Ex. 23:22). The blessings of God presuppose the obedience of His people (Deut. 28:1-14). God's תִּוְנָה is intended to call forth the תִּוְנָה of man for his fellow man (Hos. 6:6). But Israel was faithless to the responsibilities of the covenant. As far back as the wilderness wanderings she had rebelled.⁶ In

⁴John Bright, The Kingdom of God (New York: Abingdon Press, 1953), pp. 66f.

⁵Ibid., pp. 64f.

⁶See Ex. 14:11ff.; 15:23f.; 17:3-7; 32:1-34; Num. 11; 14; 16.

fact, Ezekiel traced this apostasy and rebellion all the way back to Egypt (20:8). Through the centuries Israel continued her faithless ways in spite of Yahweh's covenant love (Amos 3:2). Ezekiel's parable of Oholah and Oholibah demonstrated how God's betrothed had gone astray and become a faithless wife (chap. 23; cf. also chap. 16). Israel had gone whoring after other gods. According to Hosea 1 and 2, the bride with whom Yahweh had trusted in the wilderness during the days of her youth had prostituted herself. Yahweh had called His son out of Egypt (Hos. 11:1), but now He had to deal with rebellious and disobedient sons (Is. 1:2). Israel had given up her covenant with Yahweh in order to make a covenant with Sheol and death (Is. 28:15).

Because of this disobedience, much of the prophetic message was a threat of God's punishment. A vulture was hovering over the house of Israel (Hos. 8:1). The Day of Yahweh with all its blackness and horror was about to break upon the people (Amos, passim). When Israel continued her disobedience, God carried out His threat. The covenant between God and people was broken off by Yahweh Himself. Hosea was to name his own two children " **לֹא רִחַמְתִּי** " and " **לֹא אֲחַמֵּם** ," signifying that Israel was no longer His people, for He would no longer bestow His covenant mercy upon them (1:6,9). Zechariah broke the staff of grace to symbolize this fact (Zech. 11:10). Moreover, God was about to destroy His beloved Judah and turn her over to her lovers (Ezek.

16:35-43; 23:22-35). Yahweh divorced her who had been His bride by covenant (Is. 50:1; Jer. 3:8). As a token of this fact, Ezekiel saw the glory of Yahweh leave the temple and Jerusalem, the city of His dwelling (11:23). Because Israel had forgotten the God who had brought her from Egypt, she would be punished. This punishment consisted in a return to captivity. God's people would return (אֶרֶץ) to Egypt (Hos. 8:13; 9:3; 11:5). Again the people of God were in the house of bondage.⁷

A New Exodus

We have already pointed out that the Exodus was a promise. God had sworn to be faithful to His covenant people, and they, in turn, believed this oath. They looked back upon the Exodus, and even during their darkest hours they found in God's acts and covenant renewed hope for the future. Yahweh was still the God of the covenant and the God of the Exodus, whose יְהוָה would never depart (Is. 54:10). Yahweh had to act in behalf of His people. It was His very nature to do so.

⁷The use of אֶרֶץ seems to indicate that the prophet had in mind Israel's former bondage in Egypt. Some commentators think that Egypt here should be understood not typologically but literally, as parallel to Assyria, since either place presented a possibility of captivity. For this opinion see William R. Harper, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea, in The International Critical Commentary of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, edited by Charles A. Briggs, Samuel R. Driver, and Alfred Plummer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp. 330, 366-67.

If there had been a first Exodus from captivity, there would also be a second exodus. If there had been a covenant, there would be a new covenant. God's new acts of deliverance were described in language calculated to call to mind His former acts of deliverance. In fact, it was precisely in this language and terminology that the people of God recognized these imminent acts for what they actually were.⁸ When Second Isaiah talks about a way through the wilderness and about God drying up the sea, he wishes to show clearly and unmistakably that the God who is about to act is the same God who once before led His people out of the house of bondage with a strong hand and an outstretched arm. This does not mean that we are dealing with two different meanings of the scriptural text or with a higher or deeper sense of the text. "Prepare a way in the wilderness" means exactly what it says. But these words have a theological connotation. The last time that Israel had made her way through a desert was during the days of the Exodus. The mention of a new trek through the wilderness reminded Israel of God's former act of redemption; the details of this previous act of God helped to mold the way in which the prophets spoke

⁸The imminence of these acts is seen, e.g., in Is. 43:19: "Behold, I am doing a new thing; now it springs forth, do you not perceive it?" For a brief discussion of how the prophets projected their interpretation on history by the language that they used to describe it, see Gerhard von Rad, "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament," translated by John Bright, Interpretation, XV (April, 1961), 187-88.

of God's future act. Typology uses a text that is intended to be understood quite literally and draws from it theological overtones that can be understood only by analogy with God's former acts in history.⁹

But God's new redemptive acts are not simply a repetition of His former acts, nor are they a return to former things. Scripture does not nourish a nostalgia for the past nor a cyclical view of history.¹⁰ The new exodus is described in terms reminiscent of the first Exodus, so that there may be no doubt that this "new thing" is again the redemptive act of Yahweh. Nonetheless, God's acts move toward a climax. Goppelt's word is Steigerung.¹¹ The new exodus will be greater than the first Exodus. The new covenant will outshine the old one.

The prophets seem to have been thinking specifically of the Return from the Exile when they talked about a new exodus and a new covenant. Each writer had his own emphasis, and almost every element that comprised the first Exodus was

⁹"The typical sense is not actually another or higher sense, but a different and higher use of the same [literal] sense," Robert C. Dentan, "Typology--Its Use and Abuse," Anglican Theological Review, XXXIV (October, 1952), 212.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 213f.

¹¹Ibid., p. 214. The climax toward which God's acts move is the Christ-deed and the creation of the Church, which usher in the eschaton. These eschatological acts are mirrored in His former acts, which are "vorbildlich für das Gemeinde der Endzeit," Leonhard Goppelt, Typos: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1939), p. 5.

attributed to the new exodus.¹² In order to show the important part that the hope of a new exodus must have played in the faith of Israel, even during the time of our Lord, we must spell out in some detail the manner in which the prophets described God's new act in history.

Hosea is the first of the literary prophets to speak at length of a new exodus. The terrible truth is that Israel has been faithless to her God, and that now God is casting off His people. He is divorcing His wife. Israel must return to Egypt and to captivity. And yet, even as Hosea's love will not allow him to forget or forever cast off his own faithless wife, so also Yahweh will renew His covenant with His ancient people.¹³

Therefore, behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak tenderly to her . . . And there she shall answer as in the days of her youth, as at the time when she came out of the land of Egypt" (2:14f.).

There will be a new exodus and a new wilderness experience. Israel will again become God's people.¹⁴ Yahweh cannot forever cast off him whom He has called son (11:1,8).

Micah briefly alludes to a new Exodus-like event when he says, "As in the days when you came out of the land of

¹²See appendix for a listing of these elements.

¹³Bright, op. cit., pp. 75f.

¹⁴The reference in Hos. 12:9 to Israel living in tents again could refer to a new exodus or could be a threat of punishment. For the latter idea see Harper, op. cit., p. 386.

Egypt I will show them marvelous things" (7:15). Jeremiah foretells that Judah will go into captivity. But here again there is hope for a new and greater exodus.

Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when it shall no longer be said, "As the Lord lives who brought up the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt," but "As the Lord lives who brought up the people of Israel out of the north country and out of all the countries where he had driven them." For I will bring them back to their own land which I gave to their fathers (Jer. 16:14f.; cf. 23:7f.).

Ezekiel speaks of a new exodus. In twenty-six short verses he describes the history of Israel, beginning with the first Exodus. Then he adds,

I will bring you out from the peoples and gather you out of the countries where you are scattered, with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm . . . and I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples, and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face. As I entered into judgment with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt . . . I will make you pass under the rod, and I will let you go in by number" (20:34-38).

The wilderness experience will be a period of chastisement. But Yahweh will reconstitute His people. He will bring them back into the land that He gave to their fathers. There on the mountain heights of Palestine all Israel will serve Him (20:40ff.). As the first Exodus, this also will be a revelation of the covenant God and a demonstration of His grace (20:44).

The greatest herald of the new exodus was the unknown prophet of the Exile, often called Deutero-Isaiah. The promises of a new exodus appear already in the first part of the Book of Isaiah. When the remnant has returned to

Israel, "Behold, the former things have come to pass, and now

Then the Lord will create over the whole site of Mount Zion and over her assemblies a cloud by day, and smoke and the shining of a flaming fire by night; for over all the glory there will be a canopy and a pavillion . . ." (4:5).

The language is reminiscent of the pillars of cloud and fire that preceded and followed Israel in the wilderness wanderings of the first Exodus. The prophet continues,

. . . be not afraid of the Assyrians when they smite with the rod and lift up their staff against you as the Egyptians did . . . the Lord of hosts will wield against them a scourge, as when he smote Midian at the rock of Oreb; and his rod will be over the sea, and he will lift it as he did in Egypt" (10:24-26).

A more specific reference to a new exodus is found in chapter 11, where we read concerning the Return,

And the Lord will utterly destroy the tongue of the sea of Egypt; and he will wave his hand over the River with his scorching wind, and smite it into seven channels that men may cross dryshod. And there will be a highway from Assyria for the remnant which is left of his people, as there was for Israel when they came up from the land of Egypt" (11:15f.).

Central to the message of the latter part of the Book of Isaiah is the description of the Return from the Babylonian Exile as a second exodus. God's acts in the past are the guarantee of His saving acts in the future. ". . . le rappel des grandes oeuvres de Dieu dans le passe est ordonné à fonder l'esperance dans l'avenir."¹⁵ Therefore, the prophet

¹⁵Jean Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri: Etudes sur les origenes de la typologie biblique (Paris: Beauchesne, 1950), p. 132.

states, "Behold, the former things have come to pass, and new things I now declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them" (42:9). Yahweh is the God of the Exodus,

. . . who makes a way in the sea, a path in the mighty waters . . . Remember not the former things, nor consider the things of old. Behold, I am doing a new thing; now it springs forth, do you not perceive it? I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert . . . to give drink to my chosen people" (43:16-21).

God is about to lead a new exodus of dimensions so great that the former things will be forgotten. Thus the prophet proclaims, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God" (40:3). As He brought water from the rock during the first Exodus, so now Yahweh will open rivers on the bare heights and fountains in the midst of the valleys. He will make the wilderness a pool of water and the dry land springs of water (41:18), and He will guide His people by springs of water (49:10). He will pour out water on the thirsty land and streams on the dry ground, and He will pour out His Spirit on the descendants of His people (44:3).

Yahweh fought Israel's battles in days of old. Here again He is pictured as her champion and warrior (42:13; 59:17). He will be her Redeemer (43:14; 48:20-22) as He was when He brought His people from Egypt. The glory of Yahweh is about to be revealed (40:5), as it was in the past.

Then shall your light break forth like the dawn, and your healing shall spring up speedily; your righteousness shall go before you, and the glory of the Lord shall be your rear guard" (58:8).

This glory will follow Israel as the pillar did in the wilderness. Now Israel's light has come, and that light is the Lord Himself (Is. 60:1ff., 19f.). The glory of the Lord will be revealed to all men. This universalism portrays this exodus as greater than the first. During the first Exodus Israel was forced to leave Egypt in haste. The new exodus will be different. "For you shall not go out in haste, and you shall not go out in flight, for the Lord will go before you, and the God of Israel will be your rear guard" (52:12).

Thus Israel, in exile in Babylon, looked back to God's mighty acts of redemption in the Exodus; in the light of these she saw her future salvation--a return from captivity to her homeland, a new exodus whose dimensions and blessings would far outshine those of the first Exodus.

A New Covenant

If there was to be a new exodus, there would also be a new covenant, especially since Yahweh had annulled His first covenant with Israel. The new covenant would be greater than the former. The first prophet to talk about the new covenant is Hosea, the first prophet of the new exodus. On the day on which God will bring Israel again into the wilderness, He will renew His covenant with her.

. . . you will call me, "my husband" . . . And I will make for you a covenant on that day with the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the creeping things

of the ground; and I will abolish the bow, the sword, and war from the land . . . And I will betroth you to me forever . . . in righteousness and in justice, in steadfast love, and in mercy . . . And I will have pity on Not pitied, and I will say to Not my people, "You are my people;" and he shall say, "Thou art my God" (2:16-23).

Once more God will take His people to Himself. His new covenant will be an everlasting covenant and one that promises a return to the conditions of paradise. On that day "in the place where it was said to them, 'You are not my people,' it shall be said to them, 'Sons of the living God'" (1:10).

God's presence among His people, often a part of the covenant promise, is promised in Joel 2:27, significantly placed immediately before the Day of Yahweh passage quoted by St. Peter in his Pentecost Day sermon. God's covenant will be accompanied by the pouring out of His Spirit. The promise of a renewed covenant is also in both parts of Zechariah, where Yahweh assures His people that He will dwell in their midst (2:10). Following the words, "Strike the shepherd, that the sheep may be scattered," God promises that He will say, "They are my people," and the Remnant will say, "Yahweh is my God" (13:9).

The two prophets most closely connected with the new covenant theme are Ezekiel and Jeremiah. Ezekiel talks about a new exodus or at least a new wilderness experience, but his main emphasis is upon the renewed covenant. In spite of Israel's disobedience, Yahweh will gather His people from their dispersion. He will give them a new heart and put

a new spirit within them, and they will walk in His statutes and ordinances, and "they shall be my people, and I will be their God" (11:16-20). God will sprinkle them with clean water and put His spirit within them and cleanse them from all their iniquities and convert the desolation of their land into the glory of Eden (36:25-27,33-36). It will be a covenant of forgiveness and undeserved grace (36:22) as the first had been. It will be a covenant of peace (34:25) and an everlasting covenant (16:60; 37:26; 43:7). God will again dwell with His people (34:30; 37:26f.). As a sign of this, Ezekiel sees the glory of the Lord once more entering the temple, this time the eschatological temple (43:1ff.). Now Israel will again be God's people (36:28; 37:13,23,27). She will be His flock, over which He will set His good shepherd, David (chap. 34). He will take back His fallen wife (16:60-63). Israel will know that He is Yahweh, the covenant God (39:22,28). The formation of a new covenant means the reconstitution of the nation--the gathering of the dispersed tribes (36:24, the resurrection of the old Israel--pictured as a valley of dry bones (chap. 37). However, it should be noted that in all of this there is a strongly nationalistic tone. The new covenant is for the people of Israel--for one ethnic group. Foreigners will not be allowed to enter the temple of God (44:7-9). God will dwell with His people, but He will do so in the land of Israel, on its mountain tops (20:40ff.). The promised land of Canaan plays an important

part in this covenant (34:13ff.; 36:8-15; 37:12,22,25), and the prophet gives directions for the reapportionment of the land among the various tribes (chaps. 47-48).

Perhaps the most familiar of the new covenant passages are in the prophecies of Jeremiah.

Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not like the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant which they broke, though I was their husband, says the Lord. But . . . I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God and they shall be my people. And no longer shall each man teach his neighbor and each his brother, saying "Know the Lord," for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says the Lord, for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more (31:31-34).

And they shall be my people, and I will be their God. I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me for ever . . . I will make with them an everlasting covenant, that I will not turn away from doing good to them; and I will put the fear of me in their hearts, that they may not turn from me (32:38-40).

God's covenant will be a new one, greater than the former, a covenant of love (31:3) and forgiveness. Again Israel will be God's people, and He will be her God. Thus Yahweh can say, "I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born" (31:9). Ephraim is God's "ὁὶὸς ἀγαπητός" (38:20--LXX).

Although Jeremiah and Ezekiel are generally cited as the great prophets of the new covenant, we feel that the new covenant promises reach their height and glory in the words of Second Isaiah. God's covenant will be everlasting (55:3; 61:8). It will be a covenant of peace, characterized by

Yahweh's TOVI (54:9f.) and marked by the presence of His Spirit (59:21). Because God has renewed His covenant, He can tell His prophets, "Comfort, comfort my people" (40:1) and "say to the cities of Judah, 'Behold your God'" (40:9).¹⁶ Israel is God's chosen people, whom He formed for Himself (43:20f.), His sons and daughters with an everlasting name (43:6; 56:5), the flock of God (40:11). Yahweh has torn up His bill of divorce (50:1), and Israel is again His wife (54:1-8; 62:4f.). The whole import of God's return to Zion is that the covenant has been renewed and Yahweh has come once more to dwell in the midst of His people (40:9f.; 52:8). This is to be a greater covenant, not limited to the ethnic Israel. All flesh will see the glory of Yahweh and will worship Him (66:23). His salvation will reach to the ends of the earth (45:18-25), and those formerly excluded from the covenant will now be recipients of Yahweh's grace (56:3ff.). At this point God's covenant promises reach their peak.

The New Exodus and the New Paradise

For the Hebrews there were two golden ages in the past. The one was the time of Paradise, the other, the days of

¹⁶Although the word "covenant" is not specifically used in this and the following passages, the language and terminology commonly used to describe the covenant relationship is present.

Die Psychologie der jüdischen Gemeinde in antiken und mittelalterlichen Zeitaltern (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1934), p. 239.

the Exodus.¹⁷ In some cases, when the prophets spoke of a new exodus, they described it and the conditions that would accompany it as a return to the bliss of a Paradise lost. Often it is difficult to establish the time relationship between the new exodus and the new Paradise. At times separate oracles containing one or the other of these ideas have been joined in close proximity. It is not our purpose to discuss the isagogical and form-critical problems involved in determining the relationships between these two ideas and between the various oracles involved. It should suffice to point out that the Jews at the time of the captivity thought of their Return as a new exodus, which was to be followed by a return to the conditions of Paradise. In the centuries that followed, the Jews may have considered the Return to be such a new exodus, disappointing though it must have been. Nonetheless, they must have still waited for the fulfillment of God's promises of a new Paradise in the messianic age.

When one studies the Genesis accounts of the creation and the fall, one discovers a number of situations and conditions that were changed by man's sin.

1. Murder and hatred replace a former peace (Gen. 4:5ff.).
2. Man tilled the ground in Eden and cared for the vegetation there (Gen. 2:5). Now the ground is cursed. Thorns and thistles will spring up, the

¹⁷Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1934), p. 359.

earth will not yield its increase, and man will eat his bread in the sweat of his face (Gen. 3:17-19; 4:12).

3. Man must return to the ground from which he came; he must die. He is cut off from the tree of life (2:17; 3:19,22).
4. Where there was joy in the presence of God, there will now be sorrow and pain (3:15ff.).
5. In pain woman will bring forth her children (3:16).
6. Whereas man lived peacefully in the company of the animals (2:18ff.), and man's food was restricted to the vegetation of the earth (1:29), now there is friction between the human and animal world (9:2f.) and among the animals themselves.

Specifically with respect to these matters, the Hebrew people and the Jews of later times awaited a restoration of the paradisiacal situation.

God's promises of a return to Paradise are already connected with the first Exodus. Canaan is described as a land flowing with milk and honey (e.g., Ex. 3:8; Lev. 20:24; Num. 13:27; Deut. 6:3; Josh. 5:6). More detailed descriptions reinforce this. As Israel lives in the covenant relationship, she will be blessed with agricultural fecundity--an abundance of grain and wine and oil, fruitful flocks and herds, brooks and fountains of water, rain and great harvests (Ex. 23:25; Deut. 7:13; 8:7-10; 11:13-15; 28:4f.). As a token of this, the spies return from Canaan with a huge cluster of grapes (Num. 13:23ff.). In addition, God will remove sterility and the fruitless womb (Ex. 23:26; Deut. 7:13-15; 28:4). He will give His people long life and remove all sickness from their

midst (Ex. 23:25; Deut. 7:15). They will live in peace, and their enemies will be destroyed (Ex. 23:22f.; Lev. 26:7f.; Num. 24:17-19; Deut. 7:16). Thus Canaan is described, at least to some extent, as a return to the conditions that God had originally intended for man. That Israel never experienced these blessings was due to her continual refusal to abide by the covenant.

When the prophets begin to speak of a new exodus, the same promises are made, but in an intensified form. In the day that Yahweh will again lead His people into the wilderness, He will make for them a covenant with the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the creeping things of the earth. War will be abolished, and the earth will bring forth its increase (Hos. 2:18-23). In the days of the Messianic king, there will again be peace between man and beasts and among the animals themselves (Is. 11:1ff.). This oracle is immediately followed by one that promises a return of the Remnant, who will pass dryshod across the channels of the sea.

Second Isaiah, the great prophet of the second exodus, thinks of this great act of God in terms of a renewal of creation, in which God will level the mountains and raise the valleys before His people (Is. 40:4; 45:2). In those days the wilderness of Zion will become like Eden (51:3). Other descriptions of water and great growth and fecundity in the wilderness point in the same direction (35; 41:17-20; 55:13; 65:10). Yahweh will create a new heaven and a new

earth, and "no more shall be heard in it the sound of weeping and the cry of distress." People will live to a ripe old age, and the animal world will live in peace on God's holy mountain (65:17-25).

Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped; then shall the lame man leap like a hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing for joy. For waters shall break forth in the wilderness and streams in the desert. . . (35:5-7).¹⁸

Man's ills and sorrows, incurred because of the trespass in Eden, will be cured.

The fecundity of the earth is foreseen also by Amos (9:13) and Joel (3:18). According to Ezekiel this will come to pass in the days of the good shepherd (34:25ff.) and the new covenant, when the desolate land will become like the garden of Eden (36:35). He describes the new Jerusalem and its temple as a new Paradise, with the rivers going out from its midst, bringing great fecundity to the land and healing for man's diseases (47:1-12). Peace will again reign on earth (Is. 2:4; Mic. 4:3; Zech. 9:10), an idea connected with the promise of the messianic king (e.g., Is. 9:6).

The foregoing should be sufficient to show the diversity of Old Testament ideas concerning the new exodus and the return to Paradise. To harmonize all these statements is quite impossible, both because of isagogical problems and because each prophet has used his own approach to describe the future

¹⁸This passage, together with a number of others in Is. 1-39, is considered to be Deutero-Isaianic in origin by Aage Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament (3rd edition; Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad Publisher, 1957), II, 107.

events. However, from this maze of statements, a few general observations are possible. The people of God thought of the Return from the Exile in terms of a new exodus, another redemptive act of Yahweh, greater than the former. God would reconstitute His nation in the wilderness. Exactly what would happen after the Return and how and when these events would happen--on this the prophets differed. The Remnant, that is, the true Israel, would return, perhaps to live in the wilderness (Hos. 2:15), but more likely to the promised land. God would form a new covenant with them and dwell in their midst forever. In those days His Messiah and His Servant would appear, and God would pour out His spirit upon His people. To what extent certain of these ideas were truly eschatological and to what extent a messianic period before the eschaton was envisioned is not our problem here.

Typology in the Intertestamental Literature

If it is difficult to dissect the "eschatology" of the pre-exilic and exilic Hebrews, the task becomes even more complex as one moves into the intertestamental period, as the classic works of Volz and Mowinckel, among others, have illustrated.¹⁹ In the thought and literature of this era of Jewish history, certain of the above-mentioned ideas were dropped or de-emphasized, while others were underscored. The

¹⁹Volz, op. cit. Sigmund Mowinckel, He That Cometh, translated by G. W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, ca. 1955).

designation of which ideas were emphasized and which de-emphasized will depend on which literature one reads and which particular sect of Judaism one is discussing.

Before beginning our discussion of intertestamental literature, we must state one presupposition. It is difficult, if not impossible, to date much of this literature. Not all parts of a given book necessarily date from the same time. Some of the literature is probably post-Christian in its present literary form. The experts often differ in given cases. However, we will assume that any literature put into writing within a century after Christ reflects a milieu of thought which was "in the air" before the beginning of the Christian era. In the case of the rabbinic writings, we have assumed a longer period of oral tradition, although one must keep in mind the relatively late date at which these were put into writing.

The Exodus was highly regarded during this period, as the Passover haggadoth indicate.²⁰ Various books of the Apocrypha rehearse the history of the Exodus as God's mighty act of deliverance for His people (4 Esd. 1:7,13-23; Jdth. 5:13f.; Wisd. 10-19, passim). Israel was certain that God would keep the promise He had originally made to His people (2 Macc. 7:6). The Jews prayed to Him on the basis of His redemptive act and covenant (Sirach 36:12). They looked

²⁰Supra, p. 7.

upon the days of the Exodus as the time when Yahweh dwelt in the midst of His people (2 Macc. 2:8).²¹ The rabbis even talked about the Sinai experience as a time when God's people had again experienced the conditions of Paradise.²²

However, the hope of a new exodus did not play as prominent a role in the intertestamental literature as it had in the Old Testament prophetic writings. Perhaps the Jews regarded the Return as that new exodus, although the Return never matched the prophetic predictions of the new exodus. In any event, the hope of a return to the conditions that prevailed in the Exodus is found in some of the intertestamental literature and the rabbinic writings. The glory of Yahweh and the cloud would appear as they had in the wilderness years (2 Macc. 2:8). Mount Sinai would some day become the scene of a great judgment, even as it had played a prominent role in the Exodus events (Enoch 1:4). A repeating of the miracle of manna was expected by some (2 Bar. 29:8; Or. Sib. III.746).²³ The glory of the Lord would again be seen

²¹The Mekilta on Exodus, passim.

²²Mekilta on Ex. 20:18, Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael, edited and translated by Jacob Z. Lauterbach (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933-1935), II, 267. Citations from the Mekilta will be taken from the Lauterbach edition.

²³Mek. Ex. 16:25, Lauterbach, op. cit., II, 119; Midrash on Ps. 72:16, quoted in Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922-1928), I, 86. Hereafter Strack-Billerbeck is referred to as S-B.

(Bar. 4:37; 5:7,9; Ps. Sol. 11:6). During the late inter-testamental period and the early Christian era, the return from the diaspora was described as another exodus.²⁴ The language of Second Isaiah was taken over to describe this return (Bar. 4:36-5:9; Tob. 13; Ps. Sol. 11 and 17). Some rabbis thought that the eschatological deliverance would take place on the same night on which God had originally delivered His people from Egypt.²⁵ Like Moses, the Messiah would appear and bring plagues on Israel's oppressors.²⁶

The one Jewish sect that demonstrably awaited a new exodus were the covenanters of Qumran. Applying to themselves and their own historical situation the Old Testament passages concerning the new exodus and the new covenant, they considered themselves to be the true Israel, the righteous Remnant.²⁷ In the War Scroll they describe their camp in terms of the Israelite camp described in Numbers.²⁸ The

²⁴Volz, op. cit., pp. 346f.; Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-1938), III, 446-48.

²⁵Volz, op. cit., p. 370; Ginzberg, op. cit., II, 372f.

²⁶Pes. 67b, quoted in S-B, I, 86.

²⁷J. T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, translated by John Strugnell, in Studies in Biblical Theology (London: SCM Press, 1959), XXVI, 113.

²⁸Frank M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1958), pp. 56f., n. 36a.

victory in this war calls to mind Yahweh's victory over Egypt during the first Exodus.²⁹ The sectarians came out into the wilderness to await the new exodus and to prepare the way of the Lord (Is. 40:3).³⁰ Their ideas about such a wilderness existence must also have been colored by the words of Ezekiel 20 and Hosea 2. They thought of themselves as the community of the new covenant proclaimed by Jeremiah and Ezekiel,³¹ and they went out into the wilderness to relive the forty years Israel had spent there, with the hope that they would overcome the temptations to which the ancient nation had fallen.³² Their leader, the Teacher of Righteousness, was thought of, at least after his death, as a new Moses.³³ In fact, during the intertestamental period there was considerable talk of a return of Moses or the appearance of a prophet like Moses.³⁴ To what extent this implied a new exodus is another question.

²⁹Ibid., n. 36a.

³⁰Ibid., p. 56.

³¹Milik, loc. cit. See CD vi.19; viii.21; 1 Qp Hab ii.3 for the occurrence of the phrase, "new covenant."

³²Milik, op. cit., p. 115.

³³Howard M. Teeple, The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet in Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1957), X, 51f.

³⁴Teeple's book is devoted to a discussion of this subject. See also Joachim Jeremias, "Μωϋσῆς," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933-), IV, 862-66.

In the Old Testament the idea of a new exodus predominated over that of a return to Paradise. The reverse seems to have been true in the intertestamental period, if one can judge properly from the literature of that time. There are a number of extended passages in the Pseudepigrapha which describe in great detail the paradisiacal conditions that will prevail in the coming messianic age.³⁵

The end-time would entail a return to the state of primordial creation (2 Bar. 3:7; 4 Esd. 7:29-32). God would renew His creation (Enoch 72:1; 91:16; 2 Bar. 32:6; 57:2). These would be times of great fertility and fecundity, when the plant world would yield its strength in fantastic proportions (4 Esd. 7:123; 2 Bar. 29:5ff.; Or. Sib. III.619-23, 744).³⁶ Peace would reign again in the world (2 Bar. 73:4; Enoch 52:8; Jub. 25:20).³⁷ There would be peace between man and beast (2 Bar. 73:6; Or. Sib. III.788-95; Jub. 37:21), an idea that the rabbis also discussed.³⁸ Women would no longer bring forth their children in pain (2 Bar. 73:7). There would be an end to sorrow, grief, disappointment, sickness and death (2 Bar. 73:1ff.; 4 Esd. 8:52ff.). The Tree of Life

³⁵4 Esd. 7:123; 8:52-54; 2 Bar. 29:5-8; 73:1-7; Or. Sib. III.619-23, 744ff.

³⁶Volz, op. cit., pp. 387f.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 381-83.

³⁸S-B, IV, 892, 964f.

would again be available for man (Test. Levi 18:11; Enoch 24:4ff.; Apoc. Moses 28:4). Men would recline at the messianic banquet (Enoch 62:14; 2 Bar. 29:4).³⁹ They would again live in fellowship with God as man had formerly done in Eden (Apoc. Moses 13:4).⁴⁰

By the time our Lord began His ministry, the Jewish world was alive with hope. The Jews looked for a Messiah of the kind described in the Psalms of Solomon 17 and 18. They awaited the pouring out of God's Spirit. Some expected the reappearance of Moses and Elijah. Others awaited a new exodus, a re-formation of the Israelite nation in the wilderness. A return to the conditions of Paradise played an important role in the thought of this time into which our Lord appears, heralded by John the Baptist.

³⁹S-B, IV, 1146ff., 1154-65.

⁴⁰Ibid.

CHAPTER III

JOHN'S BAPTISM AND THE NEW EXODUS

The Setting of Mark One and the Coming of the New Exodus

In the previous chapter we have shown the importance of the Exodus in the thought of the Old Testament and the inter-testamental literature. Israel understood the Exodus as Yahweh's great redemptive act by which He made her His nation. During the Exile the Jews looked forward to the Return as a new exodus. Later these hopes were applied to the return from the diaspora, when Yahweh would reconstitute His people. With this as background we turn to the prologue of the Second Gospel to see what role this hope of a new exodus played in the thought of the evangelist and ultimately of John and Jesus themselves.

Mark tells his readers that God has acted. He has performed His mighty act. The new exodus has been initiated and accomplished--in the Person of Jesus Christ. He announces this in the first line of his Gospel: "Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." The word εὐαγγελίζομαι is used in the Septuagint, particularly in 1-4 Kings, 1 Chronicles, Jeremiah, and IV Macabees, to denote "good news" in a general sense. However, in the Prophets and the Psalms it occurs in a specifically soteriological context. Twice σωτήριον is the

object of the verb (Is. 60:6; Ps. 95:2),¹ and once σωΐς is in the context (Joel 3:5). In Psalm 67:12 the word is set in an Exodus context. The herald of Isaiah 40:9 is exhorted to proclaim "good news." According to the context of the chapter, this good news is the fact that Yahweh has returned to His people and will lead them to their homeland in a new exodus. The herald of Isaiah 52:7 is to proclaim that God reigns (cf. Ps. 95:10ff.) and that the new exodus has come (vv. 11f.; cf. 58:8). In Isaiah 61:1ff. the good news is God's eschatological salvation. Moreover, the "planting" of verse 3 may be an Exodus allusion (cf. Ex. 15:17). The return from the dispersion is announced as good news in the Psalms of Solomon 11:1. Thus the word εὐαγγελίζομαι is specifically associated with the arrival of the new age, the coming of salvation, the victory of Yahweh, and the fact that Yahweh reigns,² all of which Second Isaiah connects with the new exodus.

Mark's allusion to the second exodus is stated more clearly in verse 3 by his verbatim quotation of Isaiah 40:3, which in its original context describes the Return from the

¹All O.T. passages in this first subdivision of Chapter III are cited by the numbering of Septuaginta, Alfred Rahlfs, editor (5th edition; Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1952). In the rest of the chapter the numbering of the RSV is followed.

²Gerhard Friedrich, "εὐαγγελίζομαι," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933-), II, 706. This work is hereafter abbreviated as TWNT.

Exile as a new exodus. The prophet had proclaimed that the new exodus would begin with the appearance of a voice that cried, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord." Now the Baptist appears as a voice crying in the wilderness, "Prepare the way of the Lord."³

Mark prefaces this citation of Isaiah 40:3 with a conflated quotation from Exodus 23:20 and Malachi 3:1. The three passages read as follows:

Ex. 23:20: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου
ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

Mk. 1:3: ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου
ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου.

Mal. 3:1: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξαποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου
καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται ὁδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου

The connection with Malachi 3:1 is immediately apparent.

John is the messenger of the covenant, who in Malachi 3:22 is called Elijah. Mark describes the Baptist as "ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου καὶ ζώην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν

αὐτοῦ" (1:6), a description strikingly similar to that of Elijah in 4 Kings 1:8, "Ἄνθρωπος δάσυσ καὶ ζώην δερματίνην περιζωσμένος τὴν ὀσφύν αὐτοῦ." Moreover, the identification of John as the Elijah redivivus is made explicit in

³John's understanding of Is. 40:3 follows the LXX reading of these words, "A voice crying in the wilderness," and does not follow the original Hebrew parallelism, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord; make straight in the desert a highway for our God." The voice cries in the wilderness, but the way of God is not prepared in the wilderness, and God's act does not take place there as II Isaiah seems to be saying.

Mark 9:11-13. John is regarded as Elijah, who has come to prepare the way of the Lord and usher in the Day of Yahweh. In this sense Mark 1:2 points to him as the fulfillment of Malachi 3:1,22f.

Mark sees a connection between the Malachi passage and Isaiah 40:3, where a voice cries, "Prepare the way of the Lord." In Second Isaiah this voice is the harbinger of the new exodus, for it is in a new exodus that Yahweh will come finally for the salvation of His people. At this point Mark moves from the language of Malachi 3:1 to that of Exodus 23:20 and thus makes his point more explicit, for this latter passage speaks of an αγγελος whom God will send to lead the first Exodus.⁴ It could be argued that Mark is simply making a verbal allusion to Exodus 23:20 without specifically thinking of the Exodus context. However, in Malachi 3 the coming of the messenger and of God is thought of primarily, although not exclusively, in terms of judgment rather than salvation. Mark, on the other hand, links the coming of the messenger with the good news of the new exodus and the reign of God.⁵

The evangelist goes a step farther in constructing a new exodus setting for his Gospel when he describes the

⁴God's promise to send His angel before His people to lead them in the way of the Exodus appears also in Ex. 32:34 and 33:2. The angel of the Exodus is also mentioned in Ex. 14:19 and Num. 20:16.

⁵T. W. Manson--The Sayings of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1949), p. 69--has suggested that Mark's combination of these passages "makes nonsense." This judgment seems arbitrary.

actual events in the ministry of John. He tells us that John the Baptist appeared in the wilderness (v. 4). This calls to mind several of the new exodus passages with which we dealt in the last chapter. Hosea foretold a new exodus, which would have as its starting point a sojourn in the wilderness (2:14f.). There God would again tryst with His bride, Israel, as He had done in the days of her youth. Ezekiel, on the other hand, described the wilderness wanderings as a time of punishment for Israel, and for him the new exodus would begin with another such experience in the wilderness (20:35-38). The Second Isaiah proclaimed that the new exodus would involve not only a new wilderness existence (35:6; 41:18-20; 43:19f.; 49:10), but also a repetition of the wonders of the first Exodus.⁶ Although Mark does not describe a transformation of the wilderness, as the prophet had foretold, the wilderness motif recalls the new exodus connotations of these passages and points to the events of the Baptist's ministry as a fulfillment of the prophetic words.⁷

⁶Werner Schmauch, "In der Wüste: Beobachtungen zur Raumbeziehung des Glaubens im Neuen Testament," In Memoriam Ernst Lohmeyer, edited by Werner Schmauch (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1951), pp. 211f.

⁷A. Feuillet, "Le baptême de Jésus d'après L'évangile selon Saint Marc (1,9-11)," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXI (October, 1959), 474. For this change in the interpretation of ἐρημος, see Schmauch, loc. cit. The wilderness also had messianic connotations. The Messiah was expected by some to appear in the wilderness. See Gerhard Kittel--"ἐρημος," TWNT, II, 656--and Joachim Jeremias--"Μωυσις," TWNT, IV, 865f. --for the pertinent data. Such a messianic expectation may have developed from the O.T. descriptions of the new exodus and may partially explain why the people came out to see John.

The Old Testament Background to John's Baptism

Having seen how the desert setting of John's ministry points to Old Testament prophecies of a new exodus, we must now turn to John's baptism itself to see whether there are any lines of connection between it and the Old Testament hope of such a new exodus. John baptized with water. In this respect his baptism seems to be similar at least in form to the levitical lustrations required of the Jews. But this connection is merely formal. The levitical rites were ritually purificatory and never signified an ethical purification in anticipation of a coming judgment, which was the essence of John's baptism.⁸ There seems to have been a similarity between John's baptism and the Qumran ablutions at least insofar as both required that an inner moral change accompany the baptism.⁹ Probably more closely connected

⁸Geoffrey W. H. Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit: A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and Fathers (London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1951), p. 23.

⁹I QS ii.27ff., Theodor Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1956), p. 42. Otto Betz--"Die Proselytentaufe der Qumransekte und die Taufe im Neuen Testament," Revue de Qumran, I (October, 1958), 216-20--thinks that the Qumran covenanters took an initiatory bath which was roughly equivalent to John's baptism. But this is based on circumstantial evidence. W. H. Brownlee--"John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," The Scrolls and the New Testament, edited by Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), pp. 38f.--also thinks that there was such an initiatory bath.

with John's baptism are a series of prophetic passages which speak about forgiveness and repentance in connection with washing with water.¹⁰

Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow (Ps. 51:7).

Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean; remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes . . . though your sins are like scarlet, they shall be white as snow; though they are red like crimson, they shall become like wool. (Is. 1:16-18)

O Jerusalem, wash your heart from wickedness, that you may be saved (Jer. 4:14).

On that day there shall be a fountain opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to cleanse them from sin and uncleanness (Zech. 13:1).

Two passages from Ezekiel are of importance.

For I will take you from the nations, and gather you from the countries, and bring you into your own land. I will sprinkle clear water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from your idols I will cleanse you. A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances (36:24-27).

When God gathers the dispersion (which in chap. 20 is spoken of in terms of a new exodus and in chap. 34 is connected with the new covenant) He will sprinkle His people with clean water, put his spirit upon them, and enable them to walk in accordance with the precepts of His covenant. Ezekiel 47:1ff.

¹⁰This evidence is cited by Lampe, *op. cit.*, p. 26. In the remainder of this chapter, unless otherwise indicated, passages are cited by RSV numbering.

describes the eschatological temple to be built in Jerusalem in the days of the new covenant. From beneath it will issue healing, life-giving waters (ὕδωρ ἀφείσεως, 47:3--LXX). Such eschatological passages concerning water and washing may well have been in the minds of the people when John appeared in the desert, preaching and baptizing. They probably occurred to John and helped to mold his thought.

John appeared in the wilderness "κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν" (1:4). Here one should remember Ezekiel's prophecy (20:33ff.) that God will initiate a new exodus. He will lead His people out into the wilderness, where He will enter into judgment with them. The themes of judgment and of the selection of the righteous and the refusal of the disobedient at least suggest repentance. In Hosea 12:9 Yahweh says, "I will again make you dwell in tents, as in the days of the appointed feast." Here the reference is very likely to a punishment that God has in store for His people. They will be forced into a wilderness existence similar to that of the first Exodus. Again repentance seems to be in the background.¹¹ Jeremiah 4:14 calls upon Israel to wash her heart from wickedness. The whole context of chapter 4 deals with repentance, and the

¹¹William R. Harper, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea, in The International Critical Commentary of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, edited by Charles A. Briggs, Samuel R. Driver, and Alfred Plummer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), p. 386.

word טָבַח appears in verse 1. A similar connotation is found in Isaiah 1:16-20. Thus we have an association between repentance and water. According to Jeremiah 31:31-34, the forgiveness of sins will be the essence of the covenant. In Ezekiel 36:24-27 forgiveness is associated with the covenant and the sprinkling of water, as well as with the return from the dispersion (which in chap. 20 is described as a new exodus).

John's mission and message were preparatory. He preached, "After me comes he who is mightier than I, the thong of whose sandals I am not worthy to stoop down and untie. I have baptized you with water; but he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit (Mk. 1:7f.)."

These verses have caused considerable debate among the scholars. According to the synoptic parallels (Matt. 3:11f.; Lk. 3:16f.) the one who is to come will baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire. In Acts 1:5 the risen Lord states, "For John baptized with water, but before many days you shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit." This refers to the event of Pentecost, recorded in the following chapter, when the descent of the Spirit is accompanied by the appearance of "tongues as of fire" (2:3). T. W. Manson assembles these data and concludes that the primitive church interpreted the baptism with the Holy Spirit and the baptism with fire as one event.¹² However, both Matthew and Luke indicate that the

¹²Op. cit., pp. 40f.

fire of which John spoke was to be a fire of judgment which would consume the unrepentant (cf. Matt. 3:12; Lk. 3:17). In addition, Acts 19:1-6 states that John's disciples in Ephesus had not even heard that there was a Holy Spirit. From these data Manson concludes that John preached only a baptism with fire. His baptism was "the last chance of escaping something very much worse, namely, the coming judgment." The baptism with the Holy Spirit was a later accretion added by the primitive Church.¹³ W. Flemington concurs with this argument and suggests that the symbol--fire--was originally in Q, while the interpretation--the Spirit--was in Mark. The combination of Mark and Q in Matthew and Luke results in the symbol plus the interpretation--a baptism with the Holy Spirit and with fire--while the interpretation alone is now found in Mark.¹⁴

At first blush the arguments of Manson and Flemington are quite convincing, for the juxtaposition of judgment and fire is not uncommon in the Old Testament.¹⁵ The Qumran literature also knows such an association.¹⁶ The fire of judgment is unquestionably to be understood in the other synoptics (Matt. 3:10; Lk. 3:9). However, at this point the

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴W. F. Flemington, The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism (London: S.P.C.K., 1953), p. 19.

¹⁵E.g., Is. 4:4; 66:15f; Ezek. 38:22; 39:6; Mal. 3:1; 4:1. See Friedrich Lang, "Πῦρ," TWNT, VI, 935f.

¹⁶I QH iii.28ff.

Qumran Manual of Discipline sheds new light on the discussion.

Then, too, God will purge [בָּרַךְ] all the acts of man in the crucible of His truth, and refine [פָּקַד] for Himself all the fabric of man, destroying every spirit of perversity from within his flesh and cleansing [קָדַשׁ] him by the holy spirit from all the effects of wickedness. Like waters of purification He will sprinkle [זָבַח] upon him the spirit of truth . . ." (I QS iv.20f.).¹⁷

The vocabulary of this passage is important. The verb בָּרַךְ appears in Ezekiel 20:38, a new exodus passage which we have suggested as part of the background of John's baptism of repentance. Moreover, פָּקַד and קָדַשׁ are used once and twice respectively in Malachi 3:3, a passage closely associated with John's ministry. In Ezekiel 36:25,33, the new covenant passage which we have suggested as background for John's baptism, we find זָבַח and קָדַשׁ used one and four times respectively. Thus in one short passage in the Dead Sea Scrolls there are combined the themes of judgment, cleansing by water, and the Spirit--themes expressed in language closely associated with new exodus and new covenant passages to which John seems to have related his ministry. If it can be assumed that there is some connection between the Baptist and the Qumran community--¹⁸and even aside from this possible association--there seems to be good evidence for taking the scriptural accounts at face value and positing that John preached that the Coming One would baptize "with the Holy

¹⁷This translation from Gaster, op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁸Such an association is proposed by Brownlee, op. cit., p. 35.

Spirit and with fire." There were two thrusts in his typically prophetic message: the baptism of the Spirit for those who repented and underwent his baptism and a baptism of judgmental fire for those who refused or hypocritically underwent his rite.¹⁹ The ignorance of John's disciples concerning the Holy Spirit can be explained in this way, that in contrast to those who had been baptized into Christ, those who had been baptized by John had not received the Holy Spirit and did not know that He had already been manifested.²⁰

If it can be demonstrated that John preached about the future outpouring of the Holy Spirit, we have another association with the new exodus theme. In Isaiah 63:10ff. we are told three times that God's Spirit was present with Israel during the Exodus, a theme repeated by the rabbis.²¹ The Second Isaiah sets the Spirit in a new exodus (44:3) and a covenant context (59:21). Ezekiel associates the Spirit with the formation of the new covenant (36:25-27; 37:14) and with the return from the dispersion (39:27-29).

¹⁹Ibid., p. 43. C. K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition (London: S.P.C.K., 1947), p. 28.

²⁰Betz, op. cit., p. 224. Little is known of these disciples of John, perhaps too little to enable us to judge why they did not know that there was a Spirit.

²¹Mek. Ex. 12:36; 14:13; 14:31; 15:1; 15:9, Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933-1935), I, 105, 210, 252, II, 7, 57.

John the Baptist and the New Israel

Thus far we have dealt with those elements in Mark's record of John's message and ministry which point to new exodus and new covenant associations in the Old Testament. This exodus typology is underscored by the evangelist's description of John as the Elijah who was to come. John 1: 19-23 has led many scholars to question whether the Baptist ever thought of himself as this Elijah redivivus.²² But the identification of John with Elijah seems unquestionably established in this Gospel.²³ The Jewish speculations and expectations concerning Elijah are too many and too detailed to be discussed here.²⁴ However, one point is of importance to us. According to Malachi 4:5f. it will be Elijah's task to "turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers." Ben Sira elaborates on this theme.

You [Elijah] who are ready at the appointed time, it is written, to calm the wrath of God before it breaks out

²²Brownlee, *op. cit.*, pp. 46ff.; Joachim Jeremias, "Ἡλιεὶς," *TWNT*, II, 939.

²³*Supra*, pp. 35f.

²⁴For a detailed cataloging of these ideas, see Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922-1928), IV, 779-98, and Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-1938), IV, 193-236. Hereafter Strack-Billerbeck is referred to as S-B.

in fury, to turn the heart of the father to the son,
and to restore the tribes of Jacob (Sirach 48:10).²⁵

Thus, in the thought of some Jews at least, the coming Elijah would reconstitute the nation of Israel in preparation for the coming of Yahweh.

The parallel synoptic accounts (Matt. 3:7-10; Lk. 3:7-9) indicate that John understood his work to be of this nature. "God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham." Jewish descent no longer guaranteed one a place in the people of God. The true Israel was to be found among those who truly repented and sought God's forgiveness. The ethnic Israel was not to be equated with the covenant people of Yahweh. John's demand for baptism showed that the Jew needed to be purified no less than the gentile.

John's appeal was a solemn reminder that the people of God themselves through sin had become "alien." They could be brought back and incorporated into the new Israel only by an act analogous to that by which a Gentile convert was incorporated into the people of God.²⁶

There was possibly even some typological significance in John's baptism.

²⁵The last part of this verse is reflected in Lk. 1:17, "To make ready for the Lord a people prepared."

²⁶Flemington, *op. cit.*, p. 16. C. K. Barrett--*op. cit.*, p. 32--translates Josephus' words "βαπτισμῶν συνιέναι" (*Ant.* xviii.18.2) concerning John as "to unite by baptism" and suggests that this may mean that by his baptism people were being bound together in a new Israel. However, for other interpretations of these words cf. Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1952), pp. 157f.

John baptized on "the further side of the Jordan" (John 1:28; 3:26; 10:40) in order to compel those who wished to receive his baptism to put themselves outside the holy land and so assimilate themselves to those who had not yet entered on the promises which were to be theirs on receiving baptism and recrossing the Jordan.²⁷

Proselyte Baptism and the Exodus

Thus far we have seen a number of Exodus themes in Mark's account of John's mission and work. Before leaving this discussion we must consider the possible connection between John's rite and Jewish proselyte baptism. Certain scholars have suggested that there were very definite Exodus overtones in Jewish proselyte baptism.²⁸ If this is so, and if there is any connection between John's rite and proselyte baptism, we may have further evidence for an Exodus typology in the Baptist's work. First of all, could proselyte baptism be a possible source of John's baptism?

²⁷F. J. Badcock, "The Significance of the Baptism of Christ," The Interpreter, XIII (1917), pp. 155-60, as quoted in H. G. Marsh, The Origin and Significance of the New Testament Baptism (Manchester: University Press, 1941), p. 38, n. 1. Naaman's "baptism" in the Jordan (4 Kings 5:14--LXX) may shed some light on the "sacred" nature of the Jordan, but it seems to have little connection with John's rite.

²⁸That such typology was implicit in proselyte baptism is assumed without documentation by Harald Sahlin, "The New Exodus of Salvation According to St. Paul," The Root of the Vine: Essays in Biblical Theology, edited by Anton Friedrichson (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953), p. 89, and Wilfred L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles (Cambridge: The University Press, 1939), p. 97. The latter is cited by W. D. Davies--Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (2nd edition; London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 107--again without impressive supporting evidence.

Although Jewish literature of the pre-Christian era is quite silent concerning this rite, the vast majority of modern scholars favor a pre-Christian origin for proselyte baptism.²⁹ Their arguments seem to have established the fact beyond any reasonable doubt. At first, a comparison of John's baptism and the proselyte ritual shows some significant differences: (1) The proselyte baptized himself, whereas John seems to have administered his baptism; (2) Proselyte baptism was for Gentiles only, but John called on Jews to submit to his rite; (3) The moral appeal at the forefront of John's baptism was not so important in proselyte baptism, which was understood primarily as a ceremonial purification; (4) The eschatological element in John's baptism apparently had no part in the proselyte ritual.³⁰ In spite of these differences, which may or may not be very significant, there are several similarities: (1) Both rites apparently took place by immersion, (2) in flowing water, (3) and in some sense marked the beginning of a new life and incorporation into a new community.³¹ This latter point we shall discuss in the following paragraphs.

²⁹Convincing arguments in favor of a pre-Christian date are set forth in Flemington, op. cit., pp. 4-6, Marsh, op. cit., pp. 9-12. Barrett--op. cit., p. 31--and Oepke--"βαπτω, βαπτίζω," TWNT, I, 533--concur in the opinion.

³⁰Lampe, op. cit., pp. 24f.; Flemington, op. cit., pp. 16f.

³¹Flemington, op. cit., p. 15.

The majority of modern scholars feel that proselyte baptism originated and continued to be administered as a purificatory rite.³² The talmudic evidence, although it is attributed to rabbis of a relatively late period,³³ seems to bear this out. Gentile women, for example, were considered to be constantly unclean in a manner analogous to that of a menstruating woman.³⁴ The rabbinic legend³⁵ about the daughter of Pharaoh, who went down to the river to "cleanse herself from her father's idols,"³⁶ seems to teach a doctrine

³²Thus Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 31, Flemington, *op. cit.*, p. 9, Oepke, *op. cit.*, p. 533, J. Bonsirven, Le Judaïsme Palestinien au Temps de Jésus-Christ (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1934), I, 30, and Emil Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, translated by Sophia Taylor and Peter Christie (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885), II, ii, 322, n. 304.

³³Perhaps the earliest rabbis to be cited in the baptism discussions in this literature are Joshua ben Hananiah and Eliezer ben Jacob the elder, who are dated in the late first century and middle second century respectively. For the identification of these rabbis, see David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 108f. For their dating see Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, English translation of the author's revised copy of the 5th edition (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 110f.

³⁴A.Z. 36b, The Babylonian Talmud, translated into English under the editorship of I. Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1935-52), XXIX, 176, San. 82a, Epstein, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 544f.; cf. F. Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments (London: S.P.C.K., 1928), p. 29.

³⁵Sot. 12b, Epstein, *op. cit.*, XX, 62.

³⁶Gavin--*op. cit.*, p. 31--translates this phrase: "to wash off the defilement of her heathen descent."

of gentile uncleanness and was possibly included in the Talmud as precedent for the practice of proselyte baptism.³⁷

Other scholars feel that proselyte baptism was not a purificatory rite. G. F. Moore claims that there was nothing in the whole ritual to suggest that it involved a real or symbolic purification. It differed from the Old Testament baths of purification also in that it required the presence of witnesses.³⁸ No less an authority than Daube takes essentially the same position, stating that pagans were not susceptible to levitical uncleanness, and hence there was no room for purification.³⁹ Moreover, among all the commandments that were to be read during the ritual not one dealing with levitical purity was singled out for mention.⁴⁰ Regarding this latter point, however, it should be pointed out that the words "all that we have said unto thee," which are found in the baptismal ritual in Gerim 1:5,⁴¹ may postulate a more lengthy detailed instruction than is specifically described in Gerim 1 and Yebamoth 46-47.⁴² Such instruction

³⁷Epstein, op. cit., XX, 62, n. 7.

³⁸George F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), I, 332-34.

³⁹Op. cit., pp. 107f.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 121.

⁴¹This extra-canonical talmudic treatise is quoted in part in Gavin, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴²Epstein, op. cit., XV, 298-314.

may have included something about uncleanness and purification.⁴³

Gavin has taken cognizance of both sides of the question of gentile cleanness or uncleanness and has summarized the evidence as follows: Originally there was a tradition that gentiles were not susceptible to uncleanness.⁴⁴ In time, however, Judaism began to realize the dangers involved in close gentile-Jewish relations. By stigmatizing the gentile women as unclean, the Jews gave sanction to the use of a purificatory bath. Its usage grew, and eventually the uncleanness of gentiles was commonly accepted as a fact.⁴⁵

To say that proselyte baptism was a purificatory rite, is, however, to state only half the truth. This ritual was essentially an initiatory rite.⁴⁶ Moreover, it was a rite required of a gentile who wished to become a bona fide Jew.⁴⁷ Daube cites the debate in Yebamoth 46ab, where it is held that the Hillelites, in order to facilitate conversion, claimed that baptism was sufficient to make a

⁴³Gavin, op. cit., p. 38.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 55.

⁴⁶Moore, op. cit., I, 334.

⁴⁷Marsh, op. cit., p. 12; Daube, op. cit., p. 106; Flemington, op. cit., p. 6. Proselyte baptism must have assumed an increasing importance after the destruction of the temple, when sacrifices could no longer be offered. For the woman convert, who did not undergo circumcision, it was the only initiatory rite by which she could become a Jew.

male a Jew.⁴⁸ But, although casuistry may have provided instances in which males were considered to be Jews after baptism and before circumcision, it is more likely that a male was thought to be a Jew only after he had submitted to both rites and had offered the proper sacrifice.⁴⁹ All these ceremonies were considered essential according to the consensus of rabbinic opinion,⁵⁰ and the rabbis did not speculate as to which rite was the one that made a man a Jew.⁵¹ Nevertheless, at the moment when a man emerged from the bath, he was considered to be a Jew. The rabbis stated, "When he comes up after his ablution he is deemed to be an Israelite in all respects."⁵² A similar idea is found in Gerim 1:5, which states that when the convert has immersed himself and has come up from the bath, he is addressed as an Israelite.⁵³

⁴⁸Op. cit., p. 109. A quotation apparently not taken into consideration by most authors is found in Yeb. 46b: ". . . all agree that ritual ablution without circumcision is effective," Epstein, op. cit., pp. 303f. Note 11, p. 303, adds that this "all" includes R. Eliezer, who claimed that circumcision alone was necessary to make a man a Jew.

⁴⁹Moore, op. cit., III, 110, n. 103; Bonsirven, op. cit., I, 30. The general practice was for a man to be circumcized first and then to undergo baptism, Moore, op. cit., I, 331-33.

⁵⁰Yeb. 46ab, Ber. 47b, Ker. 9a; Epstein, op. cit., XV, 301f., 304f., XXXI, 288, VI, 66.

⁵¹Gavin, op. cit., p. 53.

⁵²Yeb. 47b, Epstein, op. cit., XV, 311.

⁵³Quoted in Gavin, op. cit., p. 35. Gavin feels this treatise reflects the usage of the early second century A.D., op. cit., p. 32.

Flemington's words are appropriate: ". . . proselyte baptism is essentially a rite of initiation into the new religion. By it a man signified that he abandoned the old life and entered a new one."⁵⁴ During the baptism the candidate listened to a reading of the law and was made conscious of the legal obligations about to be imposed upon him as an Israelite.⁵⁵

This baptism made such a difference in the convert's life, that he was referred to as a "new born babe."⁵⁶ Rabbi Judah Hanasi (ca. A.D. 180) said the convert was "like a babe one day old."⁵⁷ So completely did baptism change one's life that because of this new birth theoretically, at least, one could marry his own relative.⁵⁸

⁵⁴Op. cit., p. 7.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Yeb. 22a, 48b, 62a, 97b, Bek. 47a, Epstein, op. cit., XV, 131, 320, 414, XVI, 668, V, 322.

⁵⁷Ger. 2:6, quoted in Gavin, op. cit., p. 51. For this rabbi's date see Strack, op. cit., p. 118.

⁵⁸Daube, op. cit., p. 113. It may be objected that the idea of a new birth was Christian in origin, since Nicodemus is apparently unfamiliar with such an idea (Jn. 3:4). Moreover, the earliest rabbinic evidence for such an idea comes from the middle of the second century A.D., Gavin, op. cit., p. 51. Nevertheless, the large bulk of rabbinic quotations that operate with the idea of the new-born babe, as well as those that speak of a new creation and a new creature, raise some question as to whether this was taken over from Christianity; see S-B, II, 421-23. Perhaps Nicodemus' comment was inserted to make a point to an audience that was not familiar with this milieu of thought. C. K. Barrett--The Gospel According to St. John (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 172--feels that the rabbinic parallels are not of importance in John 3, because the rebirth in proselyte baptism was a legal concept

In the preceding paragraphs we have shown that there was a similarity between proselyte baptism and John's baptism, in that both were initiatory rites into a new community and a new way of life. We must now consider the suggestion of a number of scholars, that proselyte baptism was an act by which the initiate symbolically participated in the events of the Exodus, particularly the passing through the sea. If there is evidence for such an understanding of proselyte baptism, it is possible that this typology may have stood behind John's rite. H. Sahlin writes,

As regards proselyte baptism, its background was Exodus typology. It was not enough that the non-Jew had received circumcision; he also had to be associated symbolically and sacramentally with the historical acts through which the election of the Jewish people took place. Like Israel he had to depart from Egypt and march through the Red Sea to be received into the covenant of God in the desert. Proselyte baptism is held to represent the passage through the Red Sea before the covenant at Sinai.⁵⁹

This categorical statement has been made without documentation. We must consider the evidence to see if this statement is well founded.

Some scholars have made much of one particular point in the talmudic description of proselyte baptism. The convert was deemed a Jew at the moment in which he emerged, that is,

and did not refer to an ethical, spiritual conversion. However, this does not explain why Nicodemus should not have been familiar with the idea of a rebirth.

⁵⁹Op. cit., p. 89.

came up out of the bath.⁶⁰ Daube claims that the use of the verb stby at this point is crucial, for it appears four times in the description of Israel's passing through the Jordan River into the promised land (Josh. 4:15-19). The coming up out of the bath had its significance for the convert, and one of the reasons why John chose to baptize in the Jordan was that "he saw in the 'coming up' a new entry into the promised land."⁶¹

J. Jeremias has attempted to assemble the rabbinic evidence that may point to an Exodus typology in proselyte baptism.⁶² He begins with St. Paul's statement in 1 Cor. 10: 1f.: "I want you to know, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea." Jeremias postulates that St. Paul was working with a late Jewish midrash on the Red Sea experience and that he assumed that his readers were familiar with the idea of a baptism in the cloud and in the sea.⁶³ Jeremias feels that a midrash of this sort is to be found in the Mekilta on Exodus. There it is stated that the rabbis taught variously that there were two, four, seven, or thirteen clouds that literally surrounded and

⁶⁰Yeb. 47b and Ger. 1:5, supra, p. 52.

⁶¹Daube, op. cit., pp. 111f.

⁶²Joachim Jeremias, "Der Ursprung der Johannestaufe," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXVIII (1929), 312-20. This article is hereafter abbreviated as "Ursprung."

⁶³Ibid., p. 314.

enveloped Israel during her trek through the wilderness.⁶⁴ Jeremias suggests that this may have been the background for St. Paul's statement about baptism in the cloud.⁶⁵ Although Jeremias dates the three rabbis quoted here in the middle of the second century of the Christian era,⁶⁶ the tradition attributed to them could have antedated them by quite some time.

The Mekilta continues by describing how the waters stood upright like a skin bottle, and sweet water came forth from the salt water.⁶⁷ Jeremias suggests this as background for St. Paul's statement about baptism in the sea.⁶⁸ God performed another miracle at the sea, according to the rabbis. He made a vault (כִּיפָה, קוּפָה)⁶⁹ through the waters.⁷⁰ Surrounded thus by water, Israel was "baptized" in the sea, Jeremias suggests.⁷¹ He points out that the Jewish halakah originated from two sources: (1) The Scriptures were expounded

⁶⁴Mek. Ex. 13:21, Lauterbach, op. cit., I, 183.

⁶⁵Jeremias, "Ursprung," p. 315.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 315, n. 2.

⁶⁷Mek. Ex. 15:8, Lauterbach, op. cit., II, 51f.

⁶⁸Jeremias, "Ursprung," p. 316.

⁶⁹For this meaning of כִּיפָה and קוּפָה see Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature (New York: Title Publishing Co., 1943 reprint), I, 635, II, 1338.

⁷⁰Mek. Ex. 14:16; 15:8, Lauterbach, op. cit., I, 223, II, 52.

⁷¹Jeremias, "Ursprung," p. 315.

in accordance with certain hermeneutical principals; (2) The customs, usages, and traditions that arose subsequent to the writing of Scripture helped to mold rabbinic exegesis. The practice of proselyte baptism needed Old Testament sanction. The midrashim that we have just cited were developed to demonstrate an early Israelitic use of this rite.⁷²

Two quotations from the Talmud link proselyte baptism with the Exodus. Rabbi Judah Hanasi (ca. A.D. 180) said,

As your forefathers entered into the Covenant only by circumcision, immersion and the sprinkling of blood, so shall they [proselytes] enter the Covenant only by circumcision, immersion and the sprinkling of blood.⁷³

In this case, however, the immersion is not connected with the sea but is inferred from Exodus 24:8, which states that Moses sprinkled the people, for, the rabbis held, there can be no sprinkling without immersion.⁷⁴ Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah (ca. A.D. 120) held that the people performed a ritual ablution before the giving of the law. However, once again, this is not associated with the passing through the sea but is inferred from Exodus 19:10: "Go to the people and consecrate them today and tomorrow, and let them wash their garments." The rabbis argued that if a ritual ablution was necessary where a washing of the garments was not required,

⁷²Ibid., p. 316.

⁷³Ker. 9a, Epstein, op. cit., VI, 66.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 67.

certainly it was necessary where the washing of garments was required.⁷⁵

Does this evidence allow us to suppose an Exodus typology in proselyte baptism? The Passover haggadah quoted in the previous chapter shows that the Jews did think of themselves as participating in the Exodus experience.⁷⁶ Such an interpretation of proselyte baptism is also quite possible. St. Paul's exegesis in 1 Corinthians 10 bears certain similarities to the midrashim of the Mekilta and may indicate that he was familiar with a rabbinic typological interpretation of proselyte baptism. But one must be careful not to read too much into his words.⁷⁷ The post-Christian date of the rabbis cited does not a priori disqualify the evidence, since these men could have been voicing a long-standing oral tradition. A typological understanding of σβύ in the talmudic discussion of baptism is certainly a possibility, but this is a conjecture. The other talmudic references show a definite attempt by the rabbis to justify the threefold rite of circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice on the grounds that

⁷⁵Yeb. 46b, Epstein, op. cit., XV, 304.

⁷⁶Supra, p. 7.

⁷⁷Jeremias, "Ursprung," p. 314--suggests that St. Paul's readers may have been familiar with these midrashim. The apostle's words "οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν" may indicate just the opposite. When he uses this expression elsewhere, he seems to imply that his readers are not familiar with what he is about to say; cf. Rom. 11:25; 1 Cor. 12:1; 2 Cor. 1:8; 1 Thess. 4:13.

the Exodus generation had undergone the same, but these references do not point to a definite Red Sea typology in the rite. All in all, we must admit to a definite dearth of clear evidence that substantiates a typological interpretation of proselyte baptism. It may be purely accidental that only a few such references survive,⁷⁸ or this may indicate that such a typological understanding of the rite was to be found in only a limited circle of rabbis. The evidence seems to warrant the conclusion that the origin and background of the rite was purificatory rather than typological. Care should be taken in attributing the latter interpretation to the baptism. Therefore, even if we see a relationship between proselyte baptism and John's rite, we must not immediately assume that John took over a typological interpretation from proselyte baptism.

Summary

Our investigation in this chapter has shown that Mark is portraying John the Baptist as the herald of the new exodus, God's great redemptive act in history foretold in the Old Testament, by which He would reconstitute His people and bind them together into a new Israel under a new covenant. Mark begins his Gospel with a series of Old Testament passages with strong Exodus and new exodus overtones. John's work is

⁷⁸This is suggested by Jeremias, "Ursprung," p. 318.

placed in the wilderness, where the Old Testament said the new exodus would begin. His baptism with water is reminiscent of Old Testament prophecies that are set in new exodus and new covenant contexts. The repentance and forgiveness, essential to John's baptism, are also associated in the Old Testament with the new covenant and new exodus. The eschatological outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which John announced as imminent, is also linked by the prophets to the new exodus and the new covenant. John was the new Elijah, the messenger of the covenant, who, according to some Jewish thought, would reconstitute God's people. The parallels from the other synoptics show that John understood this to be his work. Finally, we must not forget the possible Exodus associations that may have been attached to proselyte baptism, a rite that shows some similarities to John's baptism.

have suggested that the
phenomenon of the
this baptism
an echo of the
as the prophets

A. Paul
Belton
XXI (October)
further
Mark in
University

CHAPTER IV

THE BAPTISM OF JESUS AND THE NEW EXODUS

Servant and Messiah

We now move to a consideration of Mark's narrative of the baptism of Jesus in order to see what elements in it can be identified with the new exodus motif. We can begin at no better place than God's own comment on the event. When Jesus came up out of the water, there was a voice from heaven which said, "σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα" (1:11). Old Testament parallels to this voice from heaven are few and scattered. One may think of God's voice to Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 4:31) or, perhaps more appropriately, His voice at Sinai (Ex. 19:19).¹ A number of commentators have suggested that in the baptismal narrative we have the phenomenon known in rabbinic literature as the Bath-Qol.² This בַּת-קוֹל or "daughter of the voice" was thought to be an echo of the divine voice, originating in heaven. As long as the prophets lived, the Word was given to them directly

¹A. Feuillet, "Le baptême de Jésus d'après L'évangile selon Saint Marc (1,9-11)," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXI (October, 1959), 479 & n. 33. See Deut. 4:33,36 for further reference to the Sinai incident.

²E.g., C. E. B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to Saint Mark, in Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary (Cambridge: University Press, 1959), p. 54.

by the Holy Spirit. When these spokesmen of God disappeared from the scene, the Bath-Qol appeared as an inferior substitute for the prophetic word.³ This last point leads us to doubt whether Mark was thinking here specifically of the Bath-Qol. He is not describing an inferior substitute for the prophetic word. On the contrary, the baptism of Jesus marks the beginning of the messianic era. The opening of the heavens shows that God has broken His long silence and entered into a direct communication with man, and this is contrary to the type of "revelation" implied in the Bath-Qol.⁴ We have the actual voice of God, coupled with the descent of His Spirit, and "Jesus is thus brought at once out of the category of the Rabbis and into that of the prophets."⁵

It is almost universally agreed among scholars that the voice from heaven proclaims Jesus as the Servant of

³Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922-1928), I, 125-26. This work is hereafter abbreviated as S-B. For examples of the Bath-Qol, see S-B, I, 127-34.

⁴Feuillet, op. cit., p. 478. In Ezek. 1:1 the heavens open to allow the prophet to see visions of God. In Pss. 18:9 and 144:5 and Is. 64:1 the opening of the heavens is connected with God's direct intervention in the affairs of man.

⁵C. K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition (London: S.P.C.K., 1947), p. 40.

Yahweh apostrophized in Second Isaiah.⁶ A comparison of Mark 1:11 and the Servant poem in Isaiah 42:1 makes this point quite clear:⁷

Mark 1:11

Isaiah 42:1

οὐ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου

... ὁ παῖς μου ἀντιλήφωμα αὐτοῦ

ὁ ἀγαπητός

... ὁ ἐκλεκτός [ἀγαπητός] μου

ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα

προσεδέξατο [εὐδόκησεν] αὐτὸν ἢ

(1:10) τὸ πνεῦμα

ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμα [ψυχὴ μου

καταβαῖνον εἰς αὐτόν

μου ἐπὶ αὐτόν

Jeremias lays considerable stress on the descent of the Spirit as a fulfillment of the Servant passage.⁸ He adds that ἀμνός τοῦ θεοῦ (Jn. 1:29,36) as a description of the coming Savior is unknown in late Judaism and is an unparalleled genitive combination. The Aramaic word behind ἀμνός, he says, is אֲמִנּוּ, which can be translated as "lamb" or as

⁶Among those cited by Feuillet--op. cit., pp. 481f.--are O. Cullmann, R. Fuller, A. Hunter, A. Nygren, and C. Spicq.

⁷Matt. 12:18 and some MSS. of Lk. 9:35 read "ἀγαπητός" for the Hebrew "בְּחֵן." Matt. 12:18 and Symmachus and Theodotion read "εὐδόκησεν" for the Hebrew "יִדְּבָר." These variants show the freedom with which this verse was translated into Greek. The allusion in Mark seems unmistakable. See Barrett, op. cit., p. 41, and Joachim Jeremias, "παῖς," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933-), V, 699. This work is hereafter abbreviated as TWNT.

⁸Jeremias, loc. cit.

"boy" or "servant." He suggests that in these cases in John, as well as in the book of Revelation, the Aramaic behind "lamb of God" was originally "Servant of God."⁹ Add to this the importance of the Servant concept in the thought of Jesus and the primitive Church, and there can be little doubt that the voice from heaven is proclaiming that Jesus is the Servant of Yahweh.¹⁰ Jesus allows Himself to be baptized as an act of self-dedication to the role of the Servant of Yahweh and of self-identification with sinful Israel.¹¹ Yet the role of Servant is fulfilled, not at the Jordan, but at Calvary. This baptism with water only foreshadows the baptism of

⁹Ibid., p. 700. The servant reference is unmistakable in Jn. 1:34, if one accepts the reading "ἐκλεκτός τοῦ Θεοῦ," Feuillet, *op. cit.*, p. 479, Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 699. Jesus' words (Matt. 3:15) "πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πάντα δικαιούνην" can also be understood in the Servant context of Is. 53:11 according to Geoffrey W. H. Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit: A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and Fathers (London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1951), p. 37. However, for a different interpretation of Matt. 3:15, see Edward P. Blair, Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), pp. 119ff.

¹⁰Feuillet, *op. cit.*, p. 480. Even if one accepts the western reading of Lk. 3:22, which is a clear quotation of Ps. 2:7 with no reference to Is. 42:1, the Servant motif appears clearly in his use of "ἐκτελεσθέντος" in the account of the similar episode at the transfiguration, Lampe, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹¹Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan & Co., 1952), p. 618; Oscar Cullmann, Baptism in the New Testament, in Studies in Biblical Theology, translated by J. K. S. Reid (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1950), I, 17f.

death which He must experience (Mk. 10:38).¹² It "points forward to the end, to the climax of His life, the Cross, in which alone all baptism will find its fulfillment."¹³ The objection that an allusion to the suffering would be premature at this time is hardly valid. Certainly an insinuation of this fact would not be out of place, particularly since the voice was addressed to Jesus.¹⁴

It has long been assumed by many scholars that the first words spoken by the voice, "ὁ ἐγὼ εἰς υἱὸς μου," are a reference to Psalm 2:7, which reads, ". . . υἱὸς μου ἐγὼ εἰς." According to this interpretation, Jesus is proclaimed not only as Servant, but also as Messiah. Recently a number of scholars have strenuously objected to any messianic interpretation of this baptism passage. They claim that we have here a slightly altered version of Isaiah 42:1.¹⁵ Cranfield admits that originally there must have been some reference here to sonship, since this is taken for granted in Satan's address to Jesus (Matt. 4:3; Lk. 4:3), "εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ

¹²Lampe, op. cit., pp. 38f.

¹³Cullmann, op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁴Feuillet--op. cit., p. 482--meets this objection of A. Descamps.

¹⁵This opinion is held by Jeremias, op. cit., pp. 699f., Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 16f., and C. E. B. Cranfield, "The Baptism of Our Lord--A Study of St. Mark 1.9-11," Scottish Journal of Theology, VIII (1955), 61. This article is hereafter abbreviated as "Baptism."

200.16 However, he strongly questions the possibility of a messianic reference to Psalm 2:7.¹⁷ In this way he rids the passage of any enthronement or adoptionist connotations--¹⁸a noble aim, but hardly grounds for denying a messianic understanding of the passage. Furthermore, Cranfield posits that if Mark had been thinking of Psalm 2:7, he would have followed the Septuagint word order, which, in fact, is reversed in Mark 1:11.¹⁹ It is true that elsewhere in the New Testament, Psalm 2:7 is quoted in accordance with the Septuagint word order. On the other hand, Mark 1:11 is not a word for word quotation of Isaiah 42:1, as the previous comparison has shown. Therefore, there is no reason for us to demand a verbatim quotation of the Psalm passage.

Jeremias claims that the quotation of Isaiah 42:1 is intended to explain the impartation of the Spirit, since

¹⁶Cranfield, "Baptism," p. 61. Burnett H. Streeter--The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins (Revised edition; London: Macmillan & Co., 1930), pp. 143, 188--argues for the originality of the Western reading of Ps. 2:7 in Lk. 3:22, saying that it was probably original in Q. Otherwise, he says, one would have to explain a Western interpolation which contradicts the other Gospels and which also leaves room for the heretical adoptionist understanding of the baptism. On the other hand, anti-adoptionist interests could well account for its expurgation in the other MSS. Barrett--op. cit., p. 40, n. 4--disagrees with this judgment and quotes M. Dibelius (Formgeschichte) to the same effect.

¹⁷Cranfield, "Baptism," p. 61.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 61.

the Servant song says that God will set His Spirit upon the Servant.²⁰ However, the descent of the Spirit does not preclude the possibility of a messianic reference here. On the contrary, it may even point to Jesus' messianic office. In Isaiah 11:1ff., a passage to which we shall refer later, it is the Davidic Messiah who will be endowed with the gifts of the Spirit.²¹ Numerous passages in the intertestamental literature speak of just such a messianic endowment with the Spirit.²² Of particular importance is the messianic hymn in The Testament of Levi 18. The striking similarity between these verses and the Marcan account of the baptism of Jesus makes it necessary for us to consider the possibility that this hymn may have helped to mold the baptism narrative into its present form.²³ Barrett comments quite plausibly that the king of Isaiah 11, the Servant of Isaiah 42, and the prophet of Isaiah 61:1, all of whom were to be endowed with the Spirit, may well have been regarded by later readers as the same person, since Jews of the biblical and early post-biblical era did not concern themselves with questions of

²⁰Op. cit., p. 699.

²¹Cf. Is. 11:2 with Matt. 3:16, and Lk. 3:22 for the description of the Spirit resting "ἐπ' αὐτοῦ."

²²E.g., Enoch 49:3; Ps. Sol. 17:37; Test. Jud. 24:2.

²³Barrett--op. cit., pp. 43f.--suggests this possibility. See infra, pp. 123-26 for a quotation of this passage and a discussion of its possible Christian origin.

triple authorship.²⁴ He suggests that the word χριστός may even have had connotations of "anointed with the Spirit,"²⁵ a view also held by Lampe.²⁶

We must take several other points into consideration. The fact that Psalm 2:7 is used elsewhere in the New Testament to refer to Christ's exaltation (Acts 13:33) does not preclude its being used messianically here. Mark identifies John the Baptist as the Elijah redivivus, as we saw in the previous chapter, where we suggested that Mark is portraying John as Elijah who was to be the herald of God's advent.²⁷ However, in certain rabbinic circles Elijah was thought to be the precursor of the Messiah.²⁸ Perhaps the expression "one mightier" (1:7) set in the context of Jesus' baptism is a description of Jesus as Messiah, who is being preceded by Elijah the herald of the Messiah.

In spite of the objections of Jeremias, Cullmann, and others, the evidence seems to be of too general a nature to

²⁴Op. cit., p. 41.

²⁵Ibid., p. 42.

²⁶Op. cit., pp. 29f.

²⁷Supra, pp. 45f.

²⁸See S-B--IV, 784-89--for examples. The idea is also reflected in the "Dialogue of Justin, Philosopher and Martyr, with Trypho, A Jew," viii.49, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885-1887), I, 199.

allow the categorical statement that there is no messianic allusion here. On the contrary, it seems very possible that we have here a synthesis of the Servant and Messiah motifs.²⁹ The voice proclaims Jesus as Messiah, a Messiah who will fulfill His mission by following the path of the Servant.³⁰

The New Exodus Motif

Having shown that our Lord is here designated as Messiah and Servant of Yahweh, we must ask whether there are any new exodus and new covenant associations in the Old Testament use of these terms. Any study of the Servant songs is fraught with difficulty. In Second Isaiah the term Servant is sometimes applied to an individual and sometimes to the nation Israel. The Septuagint interpolations of "Jacob" and "Israel" into the text of Isaiah 42:1 show that later Judaism came to understand this Servant song in terms of the nation.³¹ However,

²⁹Reuillet, op. cit., p. 482.

³⁰It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss the suggestion that at His baptism Jesus was installed or enthroned as Messiah and thus adopted as Son of God. This idea is at least strongly suggested by Barrett, op. cit., pp. 41, 44. Ernst Lohmeyer--Das Evangelium des Markus, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, begründet von Heinrich A. W. Meyer (14th edition; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), II, 23--denies any adoptionist connotations here. According to V. Taylor--op. cit., p. 160--we have here a visible manifestation of the fact that, as Messiah, Jesus is equipped with the Spirit of God. This is the heavenly assurance and confirmation rather than the discovery or revelation of the fact of Jesus' messianic office and sonship, ibid., p. 162.

³¹Walther Zimmerli, "מָשִׁיחַ," TWNT, V, 675.

as C. R. North has pointed out in his classic work on the subject, one is not necessarily justified in assuming that all of later Judaism considered the Servant of Yahweh to be the nation of Israel. Early rabbinic discussion points to a "messianic" interpretation of the Servant, which would hardly have originated after the Christians had applied this term to Jesus Christ.³²

With this in mind we turn to the Servant passages of Second Isaiah. We discover, first of all, that these passages are set in the midst of a book filled with hopes and prophecies of the new exodus. Regardless of when and where the various components of Isaiah 40ff. originated, we must remember that later Jews read these chapters as a unified whole. God's redemptive act would take place in the near future in the form of a new exodus. It is doubtful whether the Jewish faith necessarily made a temporal distinction between the time of the new exodus and that of the Servant. God's Servant would play a role in the events of the future. In 44:1ff. the prophet addresses Israel as Yahweh's Servant. He promises that Yahweh will intervene in behalf of His people. There will be a new exodus when

I will pour water on the thirsty land, and streams on the dry ground. I will pour my Spirit upon your descendants, and my blessing on your offspring (v. 3).

³²Christopher R. North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah (2nd edition; Oxford: University Press, 1956), p. 11.

In the song of the Servant in chapter 49, the prophet speaks not simply of a gathering of the dispersion but also of the gentiles. At that time Yahweh will lead them by springs of water (v. 10). The immediate association of the Servant with the (new) covenant is more apparent. The Servant is given as a covenant to the nations (42:6; 49:8).³³ This new covenant will exceed the ancient covenant and its identification with ethnic Israel.

Our study of the Old Testament brings to light at least one passage in which the coming Messiah is associated with the new exodus. Isaiah 11 begins with a description of the shoot from the stump of Jesse. It describes how the Spirit of the Lord will rest upon him and how in his day the world will return to paradisiacal peace. It concludes with this oracle:

And the Lord will utterly destroy the tongue of the sea of Egypt; and will wave his hand over the River with his scorching wind, and smite it into seven channels that men may cross dryshod. And there will be a highway from Assyria for the remnant which is left of his people, as there was for Israel when they came up from the land of Egypt (vv. 15f.).

The days of the Messiah will not only bring peace but will also be marked by another miracle similar to, and as great as, that performed by Yahweh at the Red Sea. In Hosea 2: 14-23 the promise of a new exodus is followed immediately

³³North--op. cit., pp. 128-35--feels that these verses are secondary additions to the original Servant songs. However, at least in later times they were read as an integral whole.

by a prediction of a return to primeval peace. This peace, associated in Isaiah 9:6 and 11:1ff. with the messianic king, may possibly have some such overtones here also, for "David their king" is mentioned at the beginning of chapter 3. The messianic king is also mentioned in connection with the coming of the new covenant. In the days of David, His shepherd and servant, God will make a covenant of peace with His people (Ezek. 34:23ff.). This will follow the time when God has gathered His dispersed people in a new exodus (34:11ff.; cf. 20:33ff.). The great new covenant chapter of Ezekiel (37) also promises that "David his servant" will rule over Israel (vv 24f.). Thus both the Servant of Yahweh and the Messiah are connected in the Old Testament with the themes of the new exodus and the new covenant.

We move now from the Old Testament to the actual narrative of Jesus' baptism. Cranfield suggests that the words "καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἦλθεν," rarely used by the evangelist, have a distinctively Old Testament flavor.³⁴ The mention of the Jordan River calls to mind Joshua, the first Ἰησοῦς, who led his people through that river.³⁵

The most remarkable connection between the Exodus theme

³⁴Cranfield, "Baptism," p. 53. He cites Ex. 2:11 as an example of the O.T. use of "in those days."

³⁵According to Feuillet-op. cit., p. 473—this event is presented in Joshua as a replica of the crossing of the Sea.

and the Marcan baptism narrative has been worked out by A. Feuillet in a detailed comparison of Isaiah 63-64 and Mark 1:9-11.³⁶ In Isaiah 63:7 the prophet states that he will recount the steadfast love of Yahweh. Verses 8-14 describe the events of the Exodus. Yahweh is the One who brought up (στῆλυ--ἀναβιβάζων) out of the sea the shepherd(s) of the flock (v. 11).³⁷ His Spirit descended (κατέβη) and led His people (v. 14--LXX).³⁸ Moreover, Yahweh is Israel's πατήρ, her Father and Redeemer from of old (v. 16; cf. 64:8, LXX--v. 7). But although Israel was Yahweh's people from the Exodus, it now seems that Yahweh has left Israel (vv. 17-19). And so the prophet calls upon God to appear to His people as He had done at the Exodus.

O that thou wouldst rend the heavens and come down,³⁹
 that the mountains might quake at thy presence . . .
 to make thy name known to thy adversaries . . .
 When thou didst terrible things which we looked not
 for, thou camest down,⁴⁰ the mountains quaked at thy
 presence (64:1-3).⁴¹

³⁶Op. cit., pp. 468-90.

³⁷The M.T. and B* read "ἀναβιβάζων"; other LXX codices, "ἄγρ." M.T. reads shepherds, the LXX, shepherd.

³⁸See v. 10 for another mention of the Spirit. In v. 14 the M.T. reads, "Like cattle that go down into the valley, the Spirit of the Lord gave them rest" (RSV).

³⁹The LXX reads "ἀνοίγῃ" for the M.T.'s "קָרַע". The LXX deletes the coming down.

⁴⁰The coming down is again deleted by the LXX.

⁴¹LXX--63:19-64:2.

Combining the Hebrew and Septuagint versions of this text, we find the following elements: In the Exodus, God, the Father of Israel, led His people up out of the sea and caused His Spirit to descend upon them. Now in the hour of distress the people of God call upon Him to rend the heavens and descend, even as He had descended upon Sinai during the first Exodus. The baptism narrative shows a striking similarity. Jesus comes up out of the water, the heavens are split, the Spirit descends upon Him, and the voice of the Father is heard announcing that this Jesus is His Son.⁴² Moreover, the connection with Isaiah 63-64 is made closer by the fact that Isaiah 63:14 is perhaps the only place in the Old Testament where the Spirit is described as descending, and the Exodus typology is confirmed by the fact that the majority of Old Testament passages that speak of God's descent refer to Sinai.⁴³ Such similarities are hardly coincidental.⁴⁴ What we have in the baptism narrative is the perfect response to the prayer of God's people.⁴⁵ God does, indeed, open the heavens, and His Spirit descends upon Jesus, the beloved Son, the Representative of the people of God, who are referred to in Jeremiah 38:20 (LXX) as "υἱὸς ἀγαπητός." The messianic

⁴²Feuillet, op. cit., p. 472.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 471f.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 473.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 485f.

era has begun. The new exodus has been initiated. God is acting redemptively even as He had done in the first Exodus.

Several rabbinic passages show an interesting similarity to our text. In five places the Mekilta states that the Spirit of God was present at the Exodus.⁴⁶ Twice the rabbis tell us that when Israel had come up out of the Sea, the Holy Spirit rested (שריף) upon them.⁴⁷ The Mekilta on Exodus 14:13 should be mentioned because of its similarity to Mark 1:9-11. First we are told that the Holy Spirit rested upon the people. Then they are pictured as fleeing from the Egyptians as a dove does from a hawk. Finally it is stated that the Lord thundered in the heavens and gave forth His voice.⁴⁸ It is impossible to date this passage, and it is tenuous to argue that our evangelist was familiar with an oral form of this midrash or a similar one. Nonetheless, the similarity suggests a possible common milieu of thought.

We have seen that the baptism of Jesus is described in terms reminiscent of the Exodus and of Old Testament passages concerning the new exodus. We must now discuss the relationship between Jesus and the people of God, for it was Israel

⁴⁶See p. 44, n. 21.

⁴⁷Mek. Ex. 14:31; 15:1, Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael, edited by Jacob Z. Lauterbach (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933-1935), I, 252, II, 7.

⁴⁸Ibid., I, 210-212.

who experienced the Exodus and for whom the second exodus was promised. Jesus was proclaimed as Servant. We have already seen that the Septuagint interprets the Servant song of Isaiah 42:1ff. in a collective sense.⁴⁹ The application of the Servant passages to Israel as a nation was quite common in Judaism⁵⁰ and is still a prevalent interpretation. The communal understanding of the Servant concept is not entirely lacking even in the original poems. The Servant bears the griefs and sorrows of the nation, he is wounded for their transgressions and bruised for their iniquities, and he causes the many to be accounted righteous when he makes himself an offering for sin and pours out his soul to death (53:4ff.). Thus the Servant is understood to be the representative of the people of God. Israel's destiny and punishment has become his.

This is our Lord's understanding of His work. He comes as the Servant who will give His life as a ransom for the many (Mk. 10:45). He is baptized in view of His death, which will effect this forgiveness for all people. Through His baptism He unites Himself in solidarity with His whole people and identifies Himself with the righteous remnant of Israel.⁵¹

⁴⁹Supra, p. 69, n. 31. For a brief discussion of the collective aspects of the Servant figure, see Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, translated by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959), pp. 54.

⁵⁰North, op. cit., pp. 17-20.

⁵¹Cullmann, op. cit., p. 18; Lampe, op. cit., p. 38.

Jesus represents and carries within Himself the perfect community. For this reason the Father can say of Him, "ἐν σοὶ εὐδοκῆσα."⁵² The verb εὐδοκέω, used here of the Savior, is often used in the Old Testament to express the pleasure that God has in His own people, the object of His choice.⁵³ In His baptism Jesus appears as the true Israel, the υἱὸς ἀγαπητός of Yahweh.⁵⁴ This idea is suggested again in Mark 12:10, where our Lord applies to Himself Psalm 118:22f., a passage that originally referred to the nation Israel.⁵⁵ Thus, in His baptism Jesus represents the people of God, recapitulates their past redemptive experience, and proleptically anticipates the redemption that is in the process of coming, which the prophets referred to as a new exodus. Jesus comes up out of the water as the fathers had come up out of the Red Sea and the Jordan River. The Spirit descends upon Him, as He had upon Israel in the days of the Exodus, and Jesus is addressed as God's beloved Son, analogous to the son who had been called out of Egypt (Hos. 11:1).⁵⁶

⁵²Peuillet, op. cit., p. 484.

⁵³Ibid.; e.g., Pss. 43:4; 146:11; 149:4; Deut. 33:11a (LXX citations).

⁵⁴Other passages that refer to Israel as Yahweh's son include Hos. 11:1; Ex. 4:22; Ps. Sol. 18:4.

⁵⁵A. F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms, in The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), p. 698.

⁵⁶Interesting is the parallel from Ger. 1:5, which states

The Form of a Dove

The descent of the Spirit "as a dove" has brought a rash of explanations from the commentators. Before drawing our own conclusions as to the significance of this phenomenon, we must first mention these various explanations and comment briefly on them. Hardly tenable is the suggestion that "ὡς περιστερῶν" refers to the act of descending rather than to the Spirit.⁵⁷ Members of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule have suggested that the explanation of this image is to be found in Semitic mythology. This proposal seems unnecessary since other explanations from Jewish literature are near at hand.⁵⁸ Nor is it probable that we have here an allusion to Philo, who allegorized the dove as Wisdom and Logos.⁵⁹ It has been suggested that the dove is here intended as a reminiscence of the Deluge.⁶⁰ However, there is nothing in the

that when the proselyte came up from his bath, he was told, among other things, that only the Jews were known as God's sons; quoted in R. Gavin, The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments (London: S.P.C.K., 1928), p. 35.

⁵⁷Heinrich Greeven, "περιστερῶν," TWNT, VI, 68, n. 59.

⁵⁸Lohmeyer, op. cit., p. 22.

⁵⁹Barrett, op. cit., p. 38.

⁶⁰Barrett--ibid., p. 39, n. 3--cites Eisler (The Quest) who feels that the Messiah was thought of as a second Noah who was to inaugurate the new era by punishment and who was to effect a purification by a second flood.

text to suggest Noah.⁶¹ A few scattered rabbinic descriptions of the Bath-Qol chirping or moaning like a dove have caused some scholars to suggest that this may have influenced the imagery in the baptism narrative.⁶² However, as we have already noticed, there is no indication that we have here a definite reference to the Bath-Qol. Moreover, such descriptions of the Bath-Qol are rare.⁶³ Greeven suggests that the dove appears so often in proverbs, sayings, cultic usages, and customs and is so weighted with symbolic meaning that it is natural for it to be associated here with the Spirit.⁶⁴ This statement is of too general a nature and is too poorly documented to be of any value for our study. In the Psalms a favorite figure for the security of the religious man is that he finds refuge under the wings of God.⁶⁵ The rabbis apply the same image to conversion. The gentile comes under

⁶¹A. Peuillet, "Le symbolisme de la colombe dans le récits évangéliques du baptême," Recherches de Science Religieuse, XLVI (October-December, 1958), 533 (hereafter abbreviated as "Colombe"); Greeven, op. cit., p. 68. The explanation given in note 60 seems too far-fetched to be convincing.

⁶²Greeven--op. cit., p. 68--and Barrett--op. cit., p. 40--have suggested this.

⁶³See S-B, I, 124ff.

⁶⁴Op. cit., p. 68.

⁶⁵Pss. 17:8; 36:7; 57:1; 61:4; 91:4.

the wings of the Shekinah.⁶⁶ This explanation of our text, suggested by Hoskyns and Davey,⁶⁷ seems somewhat tenuous.

More important is the suggestion that the dove was used in rabbinic Judaism as a symbol for the Holy Spirit. This imagery, it is supposed, finds its basis in Genesis 1:2, where it is said that the Spirit of God brooded over the waters. Barrett quotes two passages in this connection.

And the Spirit of God was brooding on the face of the waters like a dove which broods over her young but does not touch them.⁶⁸

The Spirit of God was moving: the Throne of glory was standing in the air and moving on the face of the waters by the Spirit of the mouth of the Holy One, blessed be he, and by his Word like a dove that broods on the nest. . . .⁶⁹

Billerbeck has argued, "Jedenfalls gibt es in der älteren Literatur keine Stelle, in der die Taube klar u. deutlich ein Symbol des heiligen Geistes wäre."⁷⁰ Barrett feels

⁶⁶George F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), I, 330. S. Krauss in an article on "Baptism" in The Jewish Encyclopedia, edited by Isador Singer (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1902), II, 499, quotes a reference from the Genesis Rabba which says that the Spirit of God (hovering like a bird with outstretched wings) will be manifested in the Spirit of the Messiah. A comparison is tempting. However, the date of this midrash is very late, and the idea seems unique.

⁶⁷Edwyn Hoskyns and Noel Davey, The Riddle of the New Testament (3rd edition; London: Faber & Faber, 1947), pp. 67f.

⁶⁸Hag. 15a, translated by Barrett, op. cit., p. 38.

⁶⁹Rashi on Gen. 1:2, Barrett, loc. cit.

⁷⁰S-B, I, 125.

that Billerbeck has overstated the case. He quotes Rashi, late as this Rabbi was, as one "who usually represents 'orthodox' Rabbinic opinion."⁷¹ The parallels are interesting. From them Barrett concludes that the descent of the dove in Mark 1:10 is related to Genesis 1:2 and points to the creative activity of the Spirit. "a new thing was being wrought in the waters of baptism comparable with the creation of heaven and earth out of primeval chaos."⁷² The new creation of the messianic days has been inaugurated. The difficulty with sustaining this view is the fact that the rabbinic references which compare the Spirit to a dove are rare and unclear. The quote from Rashi is very late. One would have to demonstrate that such imagery was used in the early Christian era.⁷³

What then is the primary significance of the image of the dove in our text? A study of pertinent Old Testament references reveals the following usages of the dove image: (1) The simile of the people fleeing like doves;⁷⁴ (2) A comparison with the moaning of the dove;⁷⁵ (3) The dove

⁷¹Loc. cit.

⁷²Ibid., p. 39.

⁷³Feuillet, "Colombe," p. 534.

⁷⁴Ps. 55:6f.; Jer. 48:28; Hos. 7:11; Hos. 11:11(?).

⁷⁵Is. 38:14; 59:11; Ezek. 7:16; Nah. 2:7.

dispatched from the ark;⁷⁶ (4) A symbol of the people of God and of the individual believer;⁷⁷ (5) The beloved of the king in the Song of Solomon.⁷⁸ In 4 Esdras 5:26 we find this important passage: "and from all the birds that have been created thou hast named for thyself one dove. . . ." The context makes it clear that Israel is this dove. The majority of rabbinic passages quoted by Billerbeck use the dove as a symbol for Israel.⁷⁹ This is quite understandable, for, regardless of its origin, when the Song of Solomon came to be interpreted quite universally as an allegory of the love of Yahweh for His people, the image of the dove, which in this book is the beloved of the king, was transferred to the people of God, the bride of Yahweh.⁸⁰

We feel that this communal interpretation is primary in the Marcan baptism narrative,⁸¹ for the language of the Exodus and the people of God is predominant in this narrative and its context. According to this interpretation the Spirit

⁷⁶Gen. 8:8,12.

⁷⁷Ps. 74:19; possibly Hos. 11:11; and Is. 60:8.

⁷⁸Cant. 2:14; 5:2; 6:9; cf. 1:15; 4:1; (1:10--LXX).

⁷⁹S-B, I, 123-24.

⁸⁰Greeven, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁸¹This has been suggested by Alfred Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah (New American edition; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1950), I, 287. It is also the conclusion of Feuillet, "Colombe."

descends not to endow Jesus with some supernatural gifts. Rather He comes in the form of a dove, which is the symbol of Israel, to prefigure the great manifestation of the Spirit, which, beginning at Pentecost, will result in the creation of the new Israel, the Christian Church. He appears at the baptism of Jesus as a manifestation of the goal and outcome of the work of the Savior, who in a short time will submit Himself to the baptism of death. We quote Feuillet at length.

Semblablement la colombe du baptême de Jésus . . . préfigurerait le fruit principal de l'irruption de l'Esprit, la constitution de l'Israël nouveau, de la communauté parfaite de l'ère de grâce. Le choix de ce symbole pourrait même être destiné à suggérer que la manifestation de l'Esprit n'a pour but que la fondation de l'Eglise, et nullement la transformation intérieure de Jésus. L'Esprit se montrerait à lui sous cette forme pour lui induire à l'avance quel doit être le résultat de leur action commune, et aussi peut-être . . . que cette oeuvre, le peuple messianique, doit prendre son point de départ dans sa personne même de Messie, Roi et Serviteur de Yahve (telle est en effet la portée de la déclaration céleste.⁸²

This exegesis does not exclude Barrett's comparison to Genesis 1:2; it points to it. In Deuteronomy 32:11 God's creation of the nation Israel is compared to the activity of an eagle brooding over its nest. In Genesis 1:2 the activity of the Spirit is compared to that of a bird. Now

⁸²"Colombe," p. 538. Furthermore, he suggests that there is a possible allusion to the Song of Solomon 2:8, 10, 14 in Jn. 3:29, where the Baptist speaks of the friend of the bridegroom and the bridegroom's voice, *ibid.*, pp. 539f. However, in John the bridegroom is the Messiah rather than Yahweh.

the result of the renewed activity of the Spirit is the "dove," the beloved of God, the messianic people, here represented in the person of Jesus Christ,⁸³ the υἱὸς ἀγαπῆτος. The baptism of Jesus is set forth here as the point of continuity between John's work of calling the people of God and Christian baptism.⁸⁴ The descent of the Spirit in the form of a dove prefigures the time when the Spirit will come to dwell among the people of God, and this through the Christian sacrament of Holy Baptism.⁸⁵ John spoke of one greater than he, who would baptize with the Holy Spirit. Now the Spirit descends upon that greater one, who is at the same time, the embodiment of the messianic people. This is a foreshadowing of the time when that greater one will baptize with His Spirit, thus creating the community of the "dove."

Thus the new exodus typology continues through the narrative of Jesus' baptism. The Baptist had announced the imminent approach of the new exodus and the new covenant. Jesus appears as Servant and Messiah, the bringer of the new exodus and the mediator of the new covenant. As Servant He is also the representative of the people of God, the true Israel, God's beloved Son. As such He relives the Exodus

⁸³ Feuillet, op. cit., p. 541.

⁸⁴ D. M. Stanley, "The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism: an Essay in Biblical Theology," Theological Studies, XVIII (February, 1957), 197.

⁸⁵ Cranfield, "Baptism," p. 55; V. Taylor, op. cit., p. 618.

experience. He sees the Spirit descending in the form of a dove, which is a promise of the new Israel that He Himself will create when the new exodus shall have been consummated through the events of His life, suffering, death, and resurrection and the giving of the Spirit at Pentecost.

CHAPTER V

THE TEMPTATION OF JESUS

Introduction

Having seen the vast Old Testament background that stands behind the Marcan account of Jesus' baptism, we now turn to an investigation of the temptation narrative in the Second Gospel to see if we can find any similar Old Testament motifs there. Because of its short, schematic nature, the Marcan account has been particularly susceptible to a wide diversity of interpretations, often varying according to the exegesis of the enigmatic clause in 1:13, "καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν ἄγριων." account of the temptation also to be

Modern scholars favor three interpretations of this narrative. Briefly summarized, they are as follows:

1. As the true Israel, Jesus was driven out into the wilderness to be tempted for forty days (as ancient Israel had been tempted for forty years). Where ancient Israel had been disobedient and fallen to the temptations, Jesus, the perfect Israel, remained faithful to the commandments of God.
2. As the personification of the "righteous man" of the Psalms, Jesus was obedient to God's commandments and thus enjoyed protection from the wild beasts and was ministered to by the angels, as God had promised in Psalm 91:11-13.
3. As Satan had tempted and defeated man in the Garden of Eden, Christ, the Second Adam, was tempted, but He withstood the assaults of Satan and thus was given to dwell in a paradisiacal relationship with the wild beasts.

We will delineate each of these hypotheses, examine whether they are appropriate to the context, and reach our own interpretation of the narrative.

The Exodus Motif

J. Dupont has shown beyond any reasonable doubt that the temptation narratives in Matthew and Luke have been patterned after the account of Israel's wanderings in the wilderness, particularly as these are summarized in Deuteronomy 6; 8:12-16; and Isaiah 63:8ff.¹ He has also shown that very likely in the Matthaean and Lucan accounts there are allusions to Moses' stay on Mount Sinai and his last day on Mount Nebo.² It is tempting to argue by analogy that the Marcan narrative is simply a schematic account of the temptation also to be understood in the light of the Exodus. However, the argument by analogy is not necessarily valid. One must find evidence for an Exodus interpretation within the Marcan account itself and, if possible, also within its context.

A comparison of the Marcan temptation narrative with Deuteronomy 8:2,15f. and Isaiah 63:8ff. shows that our account bears a striking resemblance to the wanderings

¹J. Dupont, "L'arrière-fond biblique du récit des tentations de Jésus," New Testament Studies, III (July, 1957), 288-92.

²Ibid., pp. 295-98; see Ex. 34:28 and Deut. 34:1-4.

of Israel in the wilderness.³

The Spirit immediately drove him out into the wilderness. And he was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered to him (Mark 1:12f.).

And as cattle through a field, the Spirit descended from the Lord and led them on their way (Is. 63:14--LXX).

And you shall remember all the way which the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you to know whether you would keep his commandments, or not . . . who led you through the great and terrible wilderness, with its fiery serpents and scorpions and thirsty ground . . . who fed you in the wilderness with manna. . . (Deut. 8:2,15,16).

The first point of contact between these passages is the mention of the Spirit. In Isaiah 63:14 it is the Spirit of God who leads Israel. Mark 1:12 states that the Spirit drove Jesus out into the wilderness. Secondly, we note the use of the number forty. Israel spent forty years in the wilderness. Jesus was in the wilderness forty days. G. Kittel argues that forty years are not forty days and that a comparison at this point is unjustified.⁴ Feuillet remarks that it is a futile objection to pit forty days against forty years. True typology is founded on the analogy of

³A. Feuillet, "L'episode de la tentation d'apres l'evangile selon Saint Marc (1,12-13)," Estudios Biblicos, XIX (1960), 55.

⁴Gerhard Kittel, "ἔρημος," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933-), II, 655. This work is hereafter abbreviated as TWNT.

situations rather than on purely material resemblances.⁵ G. E. Wright states, "typology . . . is more of an attitude than a precise methodology."⁶ A person steeped in Old Testament thought, moving from the Exodus milieu of Mark 1:1-11, would more than likely continue to think in the same Exodus terms as he read, "and he was in the wilderness forty. . . ." This brings up the third point of contact, the wilderness. In both the Exodus narrative and Mark 1:12f. the wilderness is central. It is the setting in which a temptation takes place.

This tempting is the next point of contact. Twice in Deuteronomy 8 ΠΕΙΡΑΣΕΙΝ or a cognate is used to describe the nature of this wilderness sojourn. In at least three other places in the Old Testament, the wilderness wanderings and the events connected with them are spoken of as "testings."⁷ In Scripture temptation has a double character.⁸ It may be a purificatory testing, in which case the agent is generally God, or it may be a dangerous seduction

⁵Op. cit., p. 58.

⁶G. Ernest Wright, God Who Acts: Biblical Theology as Recital, in Studies in Biblical Theology (London: SCM Press, 1952), VIII, 64.

⁷Ex. 16:4; 20:20; Deut. 29:2 (LXX numbering).

⁸Feuillet, op. cit., p. 61. For a discussion of this twofold nature of ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ, see Karl Georg Kuhn, "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament," The Scrolls and the New Testament, edited by Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper & Bros. Publishers, 1957), pp. 94-113.

initiated by Satan. This latter point may lead one to suggest a fundamental difference between God's testing of Israel in the wilderness and Satan's temptation of Jesus. It should be noted, however, that in 2 Samuel 24:1 David's numbering of Israel is prompted by God, while the Chronicler, apparently squeamish about attributing such temptation to God, claims that it was Satan who tempted David (1 Chr. 21:1f.).⁹ Moreover, in our narrative the fundamental theme of πειρασμοί stands, regardless of who the agent is. Typology does not necessarily involve an exact, point-for-point analogy.

Next we see a comparison between the beasts mentioned in Mark 1:13 and the fiery serpents and scorpions of Deuteronomy 8:15. Genesis 3:1 includes the serpent in the category of ἰσχυρία. The Wisdom of Solomon devotes considerable space to Israel's wilderness years. In 16:5ff. Israel is described as being in the midst of ἰσχυρίων and serpents. Verse 20 of this chapter also mentions that God gave His people the food of angels, namely, manna. Here is the final point of contact between Deuteronomy 8 and the Marcan temptation narrative. Mark states that the angels ministered to Jesus. Deuteronomy 8:3,16 mentions the feeding with manna, which also in Psalm 78:23-25 is called the bread of angels. Moreover the angels were thought of as being present with Israel throughout her wilderness years. God had promised to send His angel to be

⁹Feuillet, op. cit., p. 59.

with His people.¹⁰ Later Jewish thought attributed to the angels a part in the Sinaitic legislation.¹¹

From our investigation we see that every main point in the Marcan temptation account, with the exception of Satan, has its counterpart in an Old Testament description of the wilderness wanderings of Israel. A study of the context of the Marcan account makes such an interpretation all the more plausible. John the Baptist has announced the inauguration of a new exodus. Jesus of Nazareth is baptized as the Servant of Yahweh, the true Israel. Now coming up out of the water, He is driven by the Spirit out into the wilderness to recapitulate the desert experience of the first Israel. Here He is tempted. But where the first Israel disobeyed God's commandment, Jesus, the perfect Israel, the perfect Son of God, is obedient to His heavenly Father.¹²

¹⁰Ex. 23:20; 32:34; 33:2; cf. 14:19.

¹¹This is reflected in Acts 7:53; Gal. 3:19; Heb. 2:2.

¹²Feuillet--op. cit., pp. 69f.--sees a connection between Is. 7:14f. and Deut. 8:3. In the latter passage Moses says that God fed Israel with manna in order that she might know that man does not live by bread alone. Feuillet translates the " לְדַעְתָּן מֵאִים בָּרֶב וּבְחֹזֶר בְּטוֹב " of Is. 7:15 as "afin qu'il sache." "He will eat milk and honey so that he may know how to refuse the evil and choose the good." J. Skinner --The Book of the Prophet Isaiah: Chapters I-XXXIX, in The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Revised edition; Cambridge: The University Press, 1915), p. 60--feels that the translation "that he may know" is grammatically easier than "when he knoweth" but cannot make good sense out of the former translation. Feuillet feels that the idea of the Messiah in some way recapitulating Israel's desert experience is already inherent in Is. 7. One wonders whether Feuillet shows more imagination or insight.

The Beasts in the Old Testament
and Intertestamental Literature

The previous exposition of the temptation narrative has taken into consideration the context and all the main features of the Marcan account. The two other leading interpretations of the temptation story in Mark are dependent largely upon a particular understanding of the words, "And he was with the wild beasts." Before one can judge the validity of these hypotheses, one must carefully evaluate the significance of the beasts in the Old Testament and the intertestamental literature.

The wild beasts were the natural inhabitants of the wilderness.¹³ Isaiah, in particular, described the uninhabited and wilderness places as the home of a variety of these wild beasts.¹⁴ Such passages have led a number of commentators to conclude that the mention of the wild beasts in Mark 1:13 is simply a realistic detail added to make the

¹³For a description of these beasts see Urban Holzmeister, "Jesus lebte mit den wilden Tieren," Vom Wort des Lebens: Festschrift für Max Meinertz, edited by Nikolaus Adler (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1951), pp. 39f.

¹⁴Ps. 102:6f.; Is. 13:21f.; 30:6; 2 Macc. 5:27. The LXX and the translation of Theodotion translate the Aramaic of Dan. 4:22, 29 alternately as "εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἐργασίον" and "μετὰ ἑργασίον" (vv. 23, 25--Greek numbering). Arie Dondorp--De Verzoeking van Jezus in de Woestijn (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1951), p. 176--cites Job 30:29 in this connection, but this verse does not mention the wilderness.

description of the wilderness more graphic.¹⁵ According to them, to interpret this detail in the light of the paradise motif is to stretch the text,¹⁶ and a reference to the righteous man of Psalm 91:11-13 is "far-fetched."¹⁷ Two points should be made in answer to these suggestions: (1) Jesus is said to have been "with the wild beasts." Most of the passages in footnote 14 describe the wild beasts as being in places where there are no human beings. (2) One must keep in mind the unpleasant prospect of being with the beasts.¹⁸ When we have finished our study, it will be apparent how rarely one could make the statement, "and he was with the wild beasts."

It is not an exaggeration to say that one can trace a pattern of Heilsgeschichte through the Old Testament and intertestamental passages which deal with the relationship

¹⁵Werner Foerster, "ἄγριον," TWNT, III, 134; Dondorp, op. cit., pp. 171, 176.

¹⁶Foerster, loc. cit.: "Die Versuche . . . Andeutung der Rückkehr der Paradieseszeit zu finden, dürften dem Text eine Last auftragen, die er nicht tragen kann." Dondorp, op. cit., p. 176: "Deze exegese belast een simpel gegeven van Mc. al te zwaar." By their very nature these negative statements are backed by a lack of evidence and, in fact, fail completely to present the large amount of O.T. and intertestamental evidence that favors the paradise interpretation.

¹⁷Raymond E. Brown, "Incidents that are Units in the Synoptic Gospels but Dispersed in St. John," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIII (April, 1961), 152, n. 28.

¹⁸Job 30:29; Daniel 6.

between man and the wild beasts. This is precisely what we propose to do here.

Mark says that our Lord was with the beasts. This is in itself a surprising statement, for man and beast are enemies. The lions and the wolves and the wild bulls were feared by men, and these beasts, in turn, feared men. However, this was not always the case. According to Genesis 2:18ff., God created all the beasts (ἰρῖά) of the field and all the birds of the heaven, and He brought them to Adam, who gave each of them its name. These animals were created to be helpers and companions for this man (v. 18). We may surmise that there was peace between man and beast. Although man was to have dominion over the animals (1:28), this was not the kind of lordship that instilled fear or built up a friction between man and beast. Both were to eat the same food (1:29f.), for man was not permitted to kill the animals (9:2f.).

All of this ended when man sinned. The serpent was cursed, and there was enmity between him and the woman (3:14f.). The fear and dread of man was upon all the animal creation (9:1-3). They became the hunter and the hunted. Companionship and authority were turned into fear and enmity. Strife developed between man and the animal kingdom. The intertestamental authors agreed with this conclusion,

spelling it out in greater detail.¹⁹ Rabbi Jochanan (d. A.D. 279) said that the ox and the furrow had been obedient to the plowman. When Adam sinned, they rebelled against him.²⁰ Related to this idea are those passages in the Old Testament²¹ and intertestamental literature²² which associate the wild beasts with demons and the "spirit of Beliar." Thus the wild beasts have become the enemies of man. Their fierceness is a byword.²³ A few metaphorical passages from the Psalms are illustrative.

Many bulls encompass me, strong bulls of Bashan surround me; They open wide their mouths at me, like a ravening and roaring lion. . . . Yea, dogs are round about me; a company of evildoers encircle me. . . . Deliver my soul from the sword, my life from the power

¹⁹Jub. 3:28; Apoc. Moses 10-11; Life of Adam and Eve 37-38. The same thought is often expressed in patristic and scholastic literature, Holzmeister, op. cit., p. 87.

²⁰However, he added that when Noah came, man and beast were again at peace, Gen. R. 25 (16b), quoted in Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922-1928), IV, 964. This work is hereafter referred to as S-B.

²¹Is. 13:21f.; 34:11ff. See Ludwig Koehler, Hebrew Man translated by Peter R. Ackroyd (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), pp. 115f. Victor Reichert--Job, in Soncino Books of the Bible, edited by A. Cohen (Minhead, Surrey: Soncino Press, 1946), pp. 21f.--suggests that this may be the thought of Job 5:22f. if one reads "צִדְוֹן" for "צִדְוֹן."

²²Test. Iss. 7:7; Test. Naphth. 8:4; Test. Benj. 5:2; see infra, pp. 97f. for the text of these verses. The great chaos monsters mentioned in the O.T. (Ps. 74:13f.; Is. 27:1; 51:9) and the Pseudepigrapha (2 Bar. 29:4) may be related to this idea.

²³Is. 5:29f.; Nahum 2:12.

of the dog! Save me from the mouth of the lion, my afflicted soul from the horns of the wild oxen! (Ps. 22:12f., 16, 20f.).

Do not deliver the soul of thy dove to the wild beasts (*ἄγριος*) (Ps. 73:19--LXX).

In the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, God frequently threatens to turn the disobedient people (or their bodies) over to the beasts.²⁴ Where God has destroyed a kingdom or a city, there the beasts will dwell.²⁵ From these passages one can easily see the fear and friction that existed between man and the animal kingdom; and the statement, "and he was with the wild beasts," becomes all the more surprising.

Scripture offers several solutions to the problem of man and beast. This state of fear and enmity will not continue forever. According to some writers, the wild beasts will be banished from the land.²⁶ Isaiah states that when the new exodus takes place with all its miracles, the wilderness will become fertile, and the animals will be driven away (35:7ff.). Ezekiel 34:25-28 promises a banishment of the beasts in the days of the good shepherd, the great Davidic ruler of the future. The Rabbis looked forward

²⁴ Jer. 5:6; 7:33; 15:3; 16:4; 19:7; 34:20; Ezek. 5:17; 14:15; 32:4; 33:27; 39:17.

²⁵ Babylon: Is. 13:21f.; 14:23; Jer. 50:39; Ethiopia: Is. 18:6; Edom: Is. 34:11; Assyria: Zeph. 2:14f.; Jerusalem: Is. 32:14.

²⁶ This was promised in the first Exodus (Lev. 26:6).

to a similar act of God.²⁷

According to a second solution, the wild beasts will become subject to man. In a certain sense man already has dominion over the beasts. This is the emphasis of Psalm 8:6-8, which probably points back to Genesis 1:28.²⁸ Genesis 9:2 claims for man a dominion of fear. The passages that see a future dominion of man over the beasts as a solution to the present predicament emphasize the fact that the animals still wreak havoc. In the future man will exercise an absolute dominion. He will no longer fear the beasts. The righteous man will experience this.

Because you have made the Lord your refuge, the Most High your habitation . . . you will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot (Ps. 91:9,13).²⁹

We find a similar motif in the Pseudepigrapha.

do these things my children, and every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you, and no deed of wicked men shall rule over you; and every wild beast shall ye subdue [καταδουλώσετε] (Test. Iss. 7:7).

²⁷S. Lev. 26:6 (449a) cited in S-B, IV, 964. Cf. 2 Bar. 29:4 and the destruction of Behemoth and Leviathan, which will be food for the messianic banquet.

²⁸Jer. 27:6 states that the beasts will serve Nebuchadnezzar. Whether the Jews ever qualified Ps. 8:6-8 as the writer to the Hebrews did (2:8) is questionable; cf. *infra*, pp. 120f.

²⁹One wonders whether the Psalmist or his readers thought of this verse as a fulfillment of the promise of Gen. 3:15 and whether there may have been any "new Paradise" connotations in the thought of the righteous man trampling on the serpent. However, the extant rabbinic evidence indicates no such interpretation.

If ye work what is good, men and angels shall bless you, God shall be glorified through you, the devil shall flee from you, and the wild beasts shall fear you, and the Lord shall love you, [and the angels shall cleave unto you] (Test. Naphth. 8:4).³⁰

If ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you; and the beasts will dread you (Test. Benj. 5:2).

The Wisdom of Solomon describes Israel as the righteous people of God (10:15ff.) and later describes (16:5ff.) how these people were protected from the ravages of the wild beasts.

Second Baruch foretells the coming of the Messiah (chap. 72).

In those days

And wild beasts shall come from the forest and minister unto men, and asps and dragons shall come forth from their holes and submit themselves to a little child (73:6).

This verse is found in an extended passage that describes the messianic era in terms of a new paradise: disease will withdraw; there shall no longer be anxiety, anguish, and lamentation; people shall live to an old age; wars, hatred, and murder will cease; women shall no longer bring forth their children in pain.

The new exodus context of Isaiah 43:18-20 offers us one final passage regarding the future subjection of the beasts.

Remember not the former things, nor consider the things of old. Behold, I am doing a new thing; now it springs forth, do you not perceive it? I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert. The wild beasts will honor me, and the jackals and ostriches. . . .

In this case it is God whom the beasts will honor. To read

³⁰Charles considers the bracketed words to be a (non-Christian?) interpolation.

this passage into the new exodus context of Mark 1 does not seem appropriate, since it is Jesus the man who is being tempted.³¹

The third and final solution to the problem of man and beast promises that God will eventually make peace between man and the animal kingdom. Conditions will be similar to those in the Garden of Eden. Job 5:22f. attributes this situation to the man whom God reproves.

At destruction and famine you shall laugh, and shall not fear the beasts [θηρίων] of the earth. For you shall be in league with the stones of the field, and the beasts [θηρες] of the field shall be at peace with you.

Two other places in the Old Testament present a righteous man at peace with the wild beasts. The first is Noah in the ark (Gen. 6). The second is Daniel in the lions den (Dan. 6). Isaiah 11 foresees a return to paradisiacal peace taking place in the days of the "shoot from the stump of Jesse," that is, the messianic king, the one on whom the Spirit of God will rest. Verses 6 and 7 read:

The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. The cow and the bear shall feed; their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. The sucking child shall play over the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's den. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy

³¹The temptation of Jesus presupposes His humanity. However, one should not forget the reading "σου θεου" found in some MSS. of Mark 1:1.

mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.³²

Furthermore, this passage is followed by a section that foretells a second exodus in which God will again cleave the waters (vv. 15f.). Part of verses 6-9 are repeated in Isaiah 65:25 in a context that has definite overtones of a new Paradise (vv. 13ff.) and even speaks of new heavens and a new earth (v. 17). Hosea 2:14ff. describes a new exodus and a new wilderness experience for the people of God. The prophet continues in verses 18ff.:

And I will make for you a covenant on that day with the beasts [μετὰ τῶν θηρίων] of the field, the birds of the air, the creeping things of the ground; and I will abolish the bow, the sword, and war from the land. . . . In that day, says the Lord, I will answer the heavens and they shall answer the earth; and the earth shall answer the grain, the wine, and the oil. . . .

After man had sinned, the fear and dread of man fell upon the beasts of the earth, the birds of the air, and the creeping things of the earth (Gen. 9:2). But when God would act for the deliverance of His people in the days of the new exodus and the new covenant, the primeval peace between man and beast, peace among men, and agricultural fecundity--lost through the fall--would be re-established. The Sibylline Oracles (III.788ff.) rework Isaiah's description as they speak of the coming days of the Messiah.

Even Philo is not exempt from this kind of speculation.

³²For a close parallel to the idea expressed in this passage, see Virgil's Eclogues, IV, 21ff., V, 56ff.

He describes the enmity between man and the beasts, pointing out that some animals fear man as their master, while others attack him. Then he adds,

Would that . . . we might be able to see that day when savage creatures become tame and gentle. But a very necessary preliminary to this is that the wild beasts within the soul shall be tamed. . . . We need not to give up hope that when the wild beasts within us are fully tamed, the animals too will become tame and gentle. . . . [They will fear man] as their natural lord and master . . . scorpions and serpents . . . will have no use for their venom.³³

The rabbis also felt that the animals would somehow be changed in the messianic age. Rabbi Meir (ca. 150 A.D.) said that the wolf and dog would outwardly change so that their pelts would be like the finest sheep wool.³⁴ Rabbi Shimon (ca. 150 A.D.) said that God would bring the animals to rest.³⁵ Elsewhere it was said that the beasts would be saved.³⁶

Before summarizing our conclusions, we must note two other categories of "beast passages" in the Old Testament and the intertestamental literature. In Daniel 7 we encounter the apocalyptic beasts, which represent various kingdoms of the world and are defeated by the son of man. To

³³Philo, VIII, "De Praemis et Poenis," XV (85-90), translation by F. H. Colson, in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 365-67.

³⁴Ex. R. 15 (77d) quoted in S-B, IV, 892.

³⁵S. Lev. 26:6 (449a), quoted in S-B, IV, 964.

³⁶Gen. R. 95 (60a) quoted in S-B, III, 254. See Rom. 8:19-21 for a possible parallel.

draw any connection between this and the Son of Man and the beasts in Mark 1:13 seems to be totally unwarranted. In Daniel the beasts are apocalyptic figures used to represent kingdoms. In Mark 1 they are inhabitants of the wilderness.

H.-J. Schoeps³⁷ has called attention to a passage in the Qumran Habakkuk midrash³⁸ which interprets the beasts in Habakkuk 2:17 as "the simple-minded Jews who carry out the Law."³⁹ He suggests that Mark 1:13 may be saying that Jesus withdrew to the Essene community. However, the extant Qumran literature gives no indication that "beasts" was a popular name for the sectarians. Rather, "simple-minded Jews" seems to be an ad hoc interpretation given to "beasts" at this particular point. It seems highly unlikely that this far-fetched sectarian interpretation of "beasts" would have been familiar to the average reader of the Second Gospel.

We may summarize the material in the previous pages as follows:

1. The wild beasts are the inhabitants of the wilderness and other places uninhabited by men.
2. Originally God created the beasts as companions for man.

³⁷H.-J. Schoeps, "Beobachtungen zum Verständnis des Habakkukkommentars von Qumran," Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, XI (January, 1959), 70f.

³⁸1 Qp Hab xii.4f.

³⁹Translation by Theodor H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1956), p. 255.

3. Man's sin destroyed this friendly relationship, and consequently man and beast are enemies.
4. This friction between man and the animal world will be removed in one of three ways:
 - a. The beasts will be removed from the land.
 - b. Man will subdue the beasts and be protected from them.
 - c. Man and beast will live at peace with one another.
5. This immunity from the wild beasts will be granted to the "righteous man." Former examples of this are Noah and Daniel, as well as Israel in the wilderness.
6. This immunity will take place in the days of:
 - a. the Messiah;
 - b. the new exodus;
 - c. the new covenant.
7. The picture of man's existence with the beasts is limited to a few instances:
 - a. Possibly man in the wilderness;
 - b. Adam in paradise;
 - c. The righteous man exemplified by Noah and Daniel;
 - d. Man in a world again blessed by the conditions of Paradise regained in the days of the Messiah, the new exodus, the new covenant.

The Righteous Man

In the second section of this chapter we showed how an interpretation based on the new exodus theme fits the context and all the main points of the Marcan temptation narrative. In the next section we demonstrated that there are some

definite theological associations attached to the "beasts" in the literature of the Old Testament and the intertestamental era. One must seriously consider the possibility that some of these theological associations may have been in the mind of the writer of the Second Gospel as he penned the words "μετὰ τῶν θηρίων" and that these associations would have arisen quite naturally in the minds of any readers who were steeped at least in the Old Testament and perhaps in the thought-world of the intertestamental literature. It is just such a possibility that has led scholars to propose two other explanations of the Marcan temptation narrative. The first of these interpretations understands the narrative as a reference to the righteous man of the Psalms, particularly Psalm 91:11-13. Hoskyns and Davey write,

Could there be any better summary of these lines than the few words of Mark? But if Mark's words are a summary, are they not also an allusion to the theme of the Psalm, evoked because the theme of the Psalm is precisely that of the evangelist? For the Psalm treats of one who has confident trust in God, and of the afflictions, physical and spiritual, which he shall overcome if God be his refuge and strength. . . . Moreover it is perhaps possible that the careful linking of the temptation to the story of the descent of the Spirit as a dove upon Jesus echoes the confident assurance of the same psalmist, who prefaces the trials of the righteous with the words: "He shall cover thee with his pinions, and under his wings shalt thou take refuge."⁴⁰

This interpretation is all the more attractive because of the

⁴⁰Edwyn Hoskyns and Noel Davey, The Riddle of the New Testament (3rd edition; London: Faber & Faber, 1947), pp. 67f.

analogy of the Matthaean and Lucan accounts, both of which actually quote Psalm 91:11f. J. Dupont has suggested that Mark kept certain elements of a more developed narrative which may have quoted Psalm 91:11-13.⁴¹ Furthermore, we have already seen that in Job 5:22f. the man of God is pictured as being at peace with the beasts. Three times in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs the righteous man is described as driving off the evil spirits and triumphing over the wild beasts.⁴² Noah and Daniel, the righteous men, are with the beasts, and the latter enjoys the protection of an angel. All of this makes it very tempting to interpret the Marcan temptation narrative in the light of Psalm 91 and other similar passages.

Another factor adds support to this interpretation. The picture of the righteous man, temporarily suffering, but eventually vindicated and placed under God's protection, is a popular image in the Psalms. It is found, for example, in Psalms 22, 41, 42, 43, 69, and 109. The elements of obedience to God and of God's protection are also found in Psalm 91. Scholars have yet to explore fully the influence that this group of Psalms played in the molding of the Gospel tradition. E. Schweizer has recently suggested that the Son of

⁴¹Op. cit., p. 294.

⁴²In one of these passages, if the text is not interpolated, triumph over the beasts is combined with the ministry of the angels, cf. supra, p. 98, n. 30.

Man concept in the Gospels was molded not so much by the Servant of Yahweh image as by that of the suffering righteous man of Psalm 22 and the Wisdom of Solomon 2-5.⁴³ Although one cannot exclude the Servant image from the Gospels, the suffering righteous man is present in the Gospel pictures of Jesus to an even greater extent than Schweizer has demonstrated in his article. Psalms 41:9, 22:8 and 69:9 are directly quoted in the other Gospels. Various echoes of Psalm 69:7,8,12,18,20,29 are found in the Marcan passion account.⁴⁴ In addition to this, the following Psalm passages are directly quoted or clearly alluded to in the Second Gospel:

<u>Mark</u>	<u>Psalm</u>
14:34	42:6,11; 43:5
15:24	22:18
15:29	22:6f.; 109:25
15:34	22:1
15:36	22:15; 69:3,21

⁴³Edward Schweizer, "The Son of Man," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIX (June, 1960), 119-29.

⁴⁴The fact that in their titles Psalms 22, 69, and 109 are ascribed to David may have been a contributing factor to their use in interpreting the life of David's greater Son. Possibly the later rabbinic ascription of Ps. 91 to David had its roots in early Christian times and influenced its use in the temptation narratives; for this rabbinic ascription, see A. Cohen, The Psalms, in Soncino Books of the Bible, edited by A. Cohen (London: Soncino Press, 1950), I, 301. T. W. Manson--The Sayings of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1949), p. 44 --and Dupont--op. cit., p. 293--think that this Psalm is used messianically in the temptation narratives. However, there is no such usage of this Psalm in the extant rabbinic writings.

Ernst Lohmeyer, "Die Versuchung Jesu," Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie, 41V (1937), 821f.

Since Mark thinks of our Lord as the righteous man par excellence, it is not unreasonable to assume that when the evangelist wrote "and he was with the wild beasts," he may have thought of the righteous man protected from, or at peace with, the wild beasts as this idea appears variously in the Old Testament and intertestamental literature. Whether this involved the use of Psalm 91 is a question we must now consider.

One may attempt to answer this question through a study of the synoptic relationship of the temptation narratives in Mark and Matthew-Luke. According to Feuillet, it is the general opinion of scholars that the narratives in Matthew and Luke result from a fusion of the Marcan and "Q" accounts.⁴⁵ B. H. Streeter⁴⁶ and E. Lohmeyer⁴⁷ have concluded that the differences in content, style, and language in the accounts of Mark and Matthew-Luke point to separate temptation narratives in Mark and in "Q." If they are correct, we should probably modify Feuillet's statement by saying that Mark represents one tradition and Matthew and Luke depend almost entirely on "Q."

V. Taylor feels that Mark did not condense a longer account. This evangelist was not afraid to include details,

⁴⁵Op. cit., p. 71.

⁴⁶Burnett H. Streeter, The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins (Revised edition; London: Macmillan & Co., 1930), pp. 187f.

⁴⁷Ernst Lohmeyer, "Die Versuchung Jesu," Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie, XIV (1937), 621f.

and he certainly would not have omitted a narrative that would have enabled him to describe the victory of the Son of God over his adversary, Satan--a theme that interests him greatly.⁴⁸ According to Dupont, however, Mark would not necessarily have been interested in reproducing a rabbinic discussion between Jesus and Satan.⁴⁹ Feuillet adds that Mark may have willingly abridged a more developed narrative like that in Matthew and Luke because he did not wish to disorient his readers and weaken the proclamation of the transcendence of Christ.⁵⁰ All three scholars are arguing on the basis of very little evidence. On the one hand, the brevity of the Marcan account and the lack of similarity between it and the accounts of Matthew and Luke make it difficult for us to assume that Mark knew and compressed a longer tradition that was similar to that of "Q" and included a quotation of Psalm 91:11-13. On the other hand, we have no way of knowing whether Mark would have wanted to include or omit details and scriptural quotations such as appear in the accounts of Matthew and Luke. For this reason it seems impossible to decide on the basis of the synoptic analogy whether or not Mark is making reference to the angels and beasts in Psalm 91.

⁴⁸Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan & Co., 1952), p. 163.

⁴⁹Op. cit., p. 299, n. 1.

⁵⁰Op. cit., p. 73.

Feuillet offers four reasons for doubting that Mark refers to Psalm 91:⁵¹ (1) The Psalmist does not think of a life in the company of the beasts. He simply promises that the righteous man will be able to confront them without fear when he meets them in his path. (2) If Mark were thinking of Psalm 91, would he not have included the Psalmist's comment about dashing one's foot against a stone? (3) In Matthew the purpose of the angels' intervention is to provide for Jesus' material necessities, in conformity with the usual meaning of διδάσκω. (4) One can hardly translate διδάσκω as "protect."

In answer to Feuillet we would make the following points: (1) It is true that the Psalmist does not think of a life in the company of the beasts. However, our Lord is pictured as spending a very short time in their company. Moreover, the Psalmist's original thought does not necessarily govern Mark's use of the passage. (2) One need not assume that Mark would have included reference to one's dashing his foot against a stone. (3) Matthew's description of the angels' ministry does not necessarily apply to Mark's Gospel. (4) It must be granted that the primary meaning of διδάσκω, at least in the synoptics, is to wait on tables and to care for other material needs.⁵² Feuillet is correct that διδάσκω is

⁵¹Op. cit., pp. 66f.

⁵²Hermann W. Beyer, "διδάσκω," TWNT, II, 83ff.

certainly a strange word for "protect," for nowhere else in the New Testament or pagan literature does it appear to have this meaning. The possibility remains that protection could be included in the angels' service to Jesus, but we must admit that linguistically speaking the words of verse 13 are a strange summary of Psalm 91:11-13. Perhaps Mark was thinking of our Lord as the righteous man par excellence obeying the commandments of God and being immune from any danger from the wild beasts. Certain Old Testament passages dealing with the relationship between the righteous man and the wild beasts may well have entered his mind as he wrote "ἰηριών." However, it seems best to place in a secondary position any specific reference to Psalm 91.

The Paradise Motif

The third interpretation of the Marcan temptation narrative which we will consider has been set forth most completely by J. Jeremias as follows:⁵³

1. As Adam was tempted by Satan, now Jesus is tempted by him.
2. As the new man, Jesus overcomes the temptation to which the first man succumbed.
3. As Adam, according to the midrash,⁵⁴ was once honored in Paradise by the animals, so, after

⁵³Joachim Jeremias, "Ἰηριών," TWNT, I, 141.

⁵⁴Apoc. Moses 16:3.

overcoming the temptation, Christ is with the wild beasts. A paradisiacal situation is introduced, in which peace reigns between man and beast.

4. As, according to the midrash,⁵⁵ Adam was fed in Paradise with angels' food, so the angels bring heavenly food to the second Adam.
5. Jesus opens anew the Paradise from which the first man had excluded himself.

J. Schniewind adds that whereas Adam had been driven from Paradise by the angel, now the angels minister to the second Adam.⁵⁶ The Adam-Christ interpretation of the Marcan temptation narrative has a long history. It was expounded by Irenaeus,⁵⁷ whose Adam-Christ typology is well known.⁵⁸ J. Bengel points to the Adam-Christ contrast without specifically

⁵⁵Rabbi Judah b. Tema (ca. 190 A.D.) said that Adam reclined while ministering angels roasted flesh and strained wine for him, San. 59b, The Babylonian Talmud, edited by I. Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1935-52), XXVII, 405. According to the Life of Adam and Eve 12-16, the angels were to worship Adam as God's image, and Satan was expelled for his refusal to do so.

⁵⁶Julius Schniewind, Das Evangelium nach Markus, in Das Neue Testament Deutsch, edited by Paul Althaus and Johannes Behm (5th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), I, 48.

⁵⁷Gustav Wingren, Man and the Incarnation: A Study in the Biblical Theology of Irenaeus, translated by Ross Mackenzie (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1959), pp. 118-21.

⁵⁸For a brief summary of this typology, see K. J. Woolcombe, "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology," Essays on Typology, in Studies in Biblical Theology (London: SCM Press, 1957), XXII, 43. See Wingren--op. cit., passim--for a more extensive treatment.

spelling out a typological interpretation of the passage.⁵⁹ In modern times an interpretation similar to that of Jeremias, although in somewhat less detail, has been adopted by G. Wohlenberg,⁶⁰ E. Klostermann,⁶¹ U. Holzmeister,⁶² R. Schnackenburg,⁶³ and R. Bultmann.⁶⁴ L. Goppelt reproduces Jeremias' exposition with approval.⁶⁵ V. Taylor admits the

⁵⁹Johann Albrecht Bengel, Gnomon Novi Testamenti, edited by Paul Steudel (8th edition; Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1915), p. 174. This particular comment is bracketed by the editor, indicating that it is not in Bengel's edition of the Gnomon but was added from another of his works.

⁶⁰Gustav Wohlenberg, Das Evangelium des Markus, in Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, edited by Theodor Zahn (2nd edition; Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1910), p. 48.

⁶¹Erich Klostermann, Das Markusevangelium, in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Günther Bornkamm (4th edition; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), III, 11.

⁶²Op. cit., pp. 88f.

⁶³Rudolf Schnackenburg, "Der Sinn der Versuchung Jesu bei den Synoptikern," Theologische Quartalschrift, CXXXII (1952), 308f.

⁶⁴Rudolf Bultmann, Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition (3rd edition; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), p. 271, where he writes, "Ja, man könnte versucht sein, die Worte παρασόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σατανᾶ als Zusatz (des Mk in seine Quelle?) zu erklären." This suggestion has no foundation in the text.

⁶⁵Leonhard Goppelt, Typus: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1939), pp. 117f. Dietrich Bonhoeffer uses this Adam-Christ contrast as the basis of his Temptation, translated by Kathleen Downham (London: SCM Press, 1955).

possibility of such an interpretation,⁶⁶ while H. Swete⁶⁷ and C. Cranfield⁶⁸ feel that it is hardly in place in Mark. W. Foerster⁶⁹ and A. Dondorp⁷⁰ state categorically that the Marcan text cannot bear the weight of such an interpretation.

In order to ascertain the possibility of the second Adam interpretation in the Marcan temptation narrative, we must answer a number of questions:

1. How prevalent was a doctrine of the return of Paradise and of Jesus as the second Adam, and could Mark have known such a typology?
2. Are there any hints of a second Adam Christology in the Second Gospel?
3. Would such an interpretation fit the details of this narrative and its context?

P. Volz has written a detailed summary of intertestamental hopes and speculations concerning a return of Paradise.⁷¹

J. Jeremias summarizes this material in his footnotes and

⁶⁶Op. cit., p. 164.

⁶⁷Henry B. Swete, The Gospel According to St. Mark (Reprint of 3rd edition of 1913; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1951), p. 12.

⁶⁸C. E. B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to Saint Mark, in Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary (Cambridge: University Press, 1959), p. 60.

⁶⁹Op. cit., p. 134.

⁷⁰Op. cit., p. 176.

⁷¹Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1934), pp. 381-407.

proceeds with a detailed exposition of New Testament thought concerning "der Wiederkehr des Paradieses."⁷² The findings of these men, in addition to the pertinent Old Testament passages which we have cited previously,⁷³ demonstrate beyond a doubt that the Jews of the intertestamental period, as well as the early Christians, operated with an Urzeit-Endzeit typology that described salvation in terms of a return to the conditions of the primeval Paradise.

However, was this Paradise thought to be present during the life of our Lord, or was it expected at the consummation of all things? If it was a phenomenon expected solely in the future, then a paradisiacal interpretation would hardly fit the temptation narrative. According to Jeremias, the New Testament speaks of Paradise in three ways.⁷⁴ There was the primeval Paradise from which man was expelled. Presently there is a hidden (verborgenes) Paradise, which receives the souls of the righteous dead, and a vision of which Paul experienced. Finally, there is the eschatological Paradise, described chiefly in the New Testament Apocalypse. The present (zwischenzeitliche) Paradise, which Saint Paul described as being in the third heaven,⁷⁵ and entrance to which our

⁷² Joachim Jeremias, "παράδεισος," TWNT, IV, 763-71.

⁷³ Supra, pp. 21-26.

⁷⁴ "παράδεισος," pp. 766-68.

⁷⁵ 2 Cor. 12:1-4.

Lord promised the dying thief,⁷⁶ is not a this-worldly phenomenon and therefore does not support a paradisiacal interpretation of the temptation narrative. Yet there are a number of New Testament passages which describe Jesus as "der Wiederbringer des Paradieses,"⁷⁷ the One who brings about conditions that the Old Testament, the intertestamental literature, and the New Testament attribute to the first and the eschatological Paradises. The Fourth Gospel describes Jesus as the source of living bread⁷⁸ and living water.⁷⁹ As we have seen, Isaiah 35:5ff. described the new exodus as being accompanied by the healing of the blind, the deaf, the dumb, and the lame. Such a description of the new era was not uncommon among the writers who described the messianic age in terms of a Paradise regained.⁸⁰ It is

⁷⁶Lk. 23:43.

⁷⁷Jeremias, "παράδεισος," pp. 770f.

⁷⁸Jn. 6:32ff. calls Jesus "ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς" (v. 35) and "ὁ ἄρτος ὁ καταβάς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ" (v. 41); cf. Orac. Sib. Fr. 3.49, where the "ἄρτον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ" is one of the benefits of paradise. Volz--op. cit., p. 404--apparently considers this passage to be Jewish and names the return of the miracle of manna as one of the characteristics of the return of Paradise. Cf. also "οὐ μὴ πεινάσῃ" (Jn. 6:35) and "οὐ πεινάσουσιν" (Rev. 7:16).

⁷⁹Jn. 4:10-14: "ὕδωρ ζωῆς" (v. 10), "ὅς δ' ἂν πότη ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος . . . οὐ μὴ διψήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα" (v. 14); cf. Rev. 7:16: "οὐδέ διψοῦσιν ἔτι"; Jn. 7:37: "ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥευστοῦσιν ὕδατος ζωῆς"; cf. Rev. 22:1: "ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς."

⁸⁰2 Bar. 73:2; 4 Esd. 7:123; Rev. 21:4; 22:2.

altogether likely that Jesus' healing miracles (which in the Second Gospel begin already in chapter one) were understood in just these terms. When John the Baptist wished to know whether Jesus was "he who is to come," our Lord's answer was a reference to the prophecies of Isaiah 35 and 61.⁸¹ From these passages it seems evident that the evangelists see in the person and work of our Lord a foretaste of the conditions of a new Paradise which they expected in the end-time. The new era had broken into the present order. Eschatology had thrust itself, so to speak, into the present sinful world. The evidence we have presented is not overwhelming. Some of it is post-Markan. Nonetheless, it allows the possibility that our evangelist may have thought of Jesus as experiencing proleptically some of the benefits of the Paradise of the future.

If it is true that the Jews and the early Christians looked for a return to the conditions of Paradise, can it also be said that there was any amount of speculation about a second Adam? A study of the Pauline corpus leads to an

⁸¹Matt. 11:3ff.; Lk. 7:20ff. A reference to Is. 35 is also found in Mk. 7:37, prefaced by the words, "He has done all things well." Jeremias--"Παράδεισος," p. 770--connects these last words with Gen. 1:31, "And God saw everything he had made, and behold, it was very good," and sees therein the new Paradise motif. Furthermore, he feels that Jesus' reference to Gen. 2:24 in Mk. 10:2-12 brings in the Paradise theme. This exegesis seems to belabor the text, although one cannot completely exclude such a possibility.

affirmative answer. W. D. Davies,⁸² M. Black,⁸³ and O. Cullmann⁸⁴ have written comprehensive treatments of the Pauline doctrine of Jesus Christ, the second Adam. The key passages are Romans 5:12-21; 1 Corinthians 15:45ff.; Philippians 2:5-11. In brief, Saint Paul contrasts Adam and Christ as follows:

1. The first Adam, created in the image of God, strove for equality with God and thus fell into sin. The second Adam, although He was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped. His humility and service are the counterpart of Adam's self-assertion.
2. By his sin the first Adam brought death into the world. By His obedience, the second Adam brings life.

There can be no doubt that Mark, who wrote his Gospel after Saint Paul had penned his epistles,⁸⁵ could have been familiar

⁸²W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (2nd edition; London: S.P.C.K., 1955), pp. 36-57.

⁸³Matthew Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Man," Scottish Journal of Theology, VII (1954), 170-79.

⁸⁴Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, translated by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959), pp. 166-81.

⁸⁵It has long been assumed that the writer of the Second Gospel was John Mark, the travelling companion of St. Paul. If this is so, we have all the more reason for believing that our writer was familiar with the second Adam typology. Recently, however, Pierson Parker has suggested that John Mark was in reality the author of the Fourth Gospel, "John and John Mark," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIX (June, 1960), 97-110.

with this doctrine of the Second Adam. But is there any concrete evidence of such a Christology in the Second Gospel?

Cullmann answers, "Yes." The titles "Son of Man" and "Second Adam," used respectively by the Gospels and Saint Paul, have approximately the same meaning, according to him.⁸⁶ In this thesis we can do little more than briefly summarize a few points about the biblical doctrine of the Son of Man. The technical term, Son of Man, appears first in the Book of Daniel, where it is used as a synonym for the kingdom of the saints of the Most High (chap. 7). The Son of Man is a representation or a representative of the nation of saints.⁸⁷ Psalm 80:14-17 contains a similar usage of the term. T. W. Manson believes that our Lord's understanding of the designation, Son of Man, was informed only by the Danielic conception of this figure.⁸⁸ Other scholars have gone to the Ethiopic Enoch for a further understanding of the Son of Man title. Here the Son of Man is not a symbol of the community⁸⁹ but a "messianic" eschatological figure who will appear at the end of time.⁹⁰ He has existed since

⁸⁶Op. cit., pp. 166f.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 140f.

⁸⁸T. W. Manson, The Servant-Messiah: A Study of the Public Ministry of Jesus (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), p. 72.

⁸⁹Sigmund Mowinckel, He That Cometh, translated by G. W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, ca. 1955), p. 355.

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 358ff.

before the creation of the world but will remain hidden until the eschaton (48:6; 62:7). He seems to be pictured as a king reigning over Paradise (61:8ff.). This pre-existence and rule of the Son of Man has led many scholars to see a connection between this eschatological figure and the oriental cosmological, eschatological myth of Anthropos, the Urmensch.⁹¹ Jewish writings of the late intertestamental period and the early Christian era contain much speculation about Adam, often with points of contact with the oriental Anthropos myth.⁹² The Philonic doctrine of the earthly man and the heavenly man bears definite resemblances to the Enochian Son of Man, as well as to Saint Paul's second Adam doctrine.⁹³ All of this has led Cullmann to conclude that the Son of Man in late Jewish thought was "the ideal Heavenly Man who is identified with the first man at the beginning of time."⁹⁴ It is difficult and perhaps impossible to systematize these many sources so as to determine what is cause and what result, and what ideas might simply be parallels. However, for the most part, Cullmann's conclusion seems to be justified. If this is so, then it is also quite possible

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 425ff.; Black, op. cit., pp. 177-79; Edward P. Blair, Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), p. 71.

⁹²See Davies--op. cit., pp. 44ff.--for a summary of these legends and myths; see also Mowinckel, op. cit., p. 424.

⁹³Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 148-51.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 150.

that the Son of Man concept as it was understood by the evangelists may also have had definite second Adam connotations.⁹⁵ If this is the case, then the Adam-Christ typology may very possibly be implicit in the Marcan temptation narrative.

We may state one final hypothesis with regard to the Son of Man and the Second Adam. The term, son of man, is used in Psalm 8:6 as a synonym for man. Here man is described in terms of Genesis 1:27f. He has been made a little less than God and given dominion over all the works of the Creator's hand. For the writer to the Hebrews the term υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου struck a familiar chord, and he applied this passage to Christ, the Son of Man, who rules over all the works of God's creation, although man in general does not yet (and any longer) exercise completely the authority over creation

⁹⁵Lk. 3:23-38 designates Jesus as the son of Adam. The Hebrew for this is בְּרֵךְ אָדָם and its Aramaic equivalent may be ܒܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܕܡ, which equals υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. From this Goppelt--op. cit., pp. 116f.--tries to draw a connection between the Son of Man and the Adam typology. Luke adds (3:38) that Adam was the son of God. Goppelt suggests that we have here an Adam-Christ typology immediately followed by the temptation story in chapter 4, thus perhaps indicating such a typology in the Marcan temptation story. This reasoning seems far-fetched for a number of reasons. Ἀδάμ can reflect the Aramaic ܐܕܡ as well as ܐܕܡܐ. Secondly, an Adam-Christ typology in the Lucan account would not necessitate such a typology in the Marcan account. In the third place, there seem to be no references to Adam in the Lucan account, except perhaps the fact that Jesus was tempted by Satan.

which God had originally given to him.⁹⁶ A similar messianic understanding of Psalm 8:6 is found in 1 Corinthians 15:22-27, which speaks of Christ as the second Adam and then proceeds to apply to Him the words of this Psalm verse. Now, if Jesus, the second Adam, is thought of in terms of the son of man of Psalm 8:6, who has dominion over all of creation, the animals included, it is altogether possible that Mark 1:13 may be a reference to this Son of Man, the second Adam, exercising his authority over the wild beasts.⁹⁷ This conclusion cannot be pressed since we have little information on the late Jewish and early Christian understanding of Psalm 8,⁹⁸ but it must be allowed as a possibility.

J. Daniélou has attempted to show that the Messiah in the Old Testament is thought of as a second Adam.⁹⁹ However, the evidence he presents is hardly convincing. A. Bentzen has presented the same idea in a more thorough fashion,¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶Cullmann feels that Auc. Heb. "apparently had quite precise information about the Son of Man doctrine," op. cit., p. 188.

⁹⁷It must be admitted, however, that the text contains no explicit reference to Jesus' authority.

⁹⁸It is unsure to what extent Ps. 8 was used messianically among the Jews, Conrad Louis, The Theology of Psalm VIII (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1946), pp. 111, 118.

⁹⁹Jean Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri: Etudes sur les origines de la typologie biblique (Paris: Beauchesne, 1950), p. 6.

¹⁰⁰Aage Bentzen, King and Messiah (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955), pp. 39-47.

although at times his exegesis is tenuous. However, at least one passage in the Old Testament links the Messiah with the new Paradise (Is. 11:1-9). The Messiah may or may not be thought of here as a king of Paradise, but it is certainly clear that the new Paradise will be ushered in during the years of this Davidic monarch. According to Bentzen, the ideas of Paradise in this passage are too organically connected with the context to allow one to assume a secondary association.¹⁰¹ Be that as it may, later readers would have read this passage as an integral whole and thus would have associated the Davidic king with the new Paradise. The king mentioned in Isaiah 9:2ff. will usher in an era of peace and justice, both of which are later described as characteristics of the paradisiacal age.¹⁰² Now if, according to Mark, the Spirit has just proclaimed Jesus to be Messiah (and certainly this is in the thought of the Second Gospel, even if it is not explicit in 1:11), then it is not at all surprising for these messianic characteristics (paradisiacal peace and harmony) to be alluded to in the narrative that follows the baptism account.

¹⁰¹ibid., p. 40.

¹⁰²Is. 11:3-5; Feuillet, op. cit., p. 69. He also suggests that the milk and honey of Is. 7:15 is paradisiacal food (ibid., p. 70), although he also compares it with the pedagogical function of the manna as it is described in Deut. 8:3, cf. supra, p. 91, n. 12.

We must mention one final and very important connection between the new Paradise idea and the context of the Marcan temptation narrative. In a number of places in the Old Testament, the new exodus is described as bringing about the return of the conditions of the first Paradise. Hosea 2:14ff. explicitly states that when the new exodus has taken place, God will again make a covenant between men and the beasts. He will establish peace in the world, and the earth will again yield its increase. In Isaiah 11 the days of the Messiah and the new Paradise are associated with God's great new act of the second exodus. According to Isaiah 35, the days of the new exodus will see healing miracles that will remove sickness from God's people. We have already listed other passages, particularly in Isaiah, where the two ideas are joined.¹⁰³ In the light of these passages it should not be at all surprising to find Mark's announcement of the new exodus followed by a description of our Lord enjoying the blessings of a Paradise regained.

Before closing our discussion of the new Paradise motif, we must discuss one piece of extra-biblical evidence that possibly bears a relationship to our problem here. It is a passage from the messianic hymn in The Testament of Levi 18:

6. The heavens shall be opened,
And from the temple of glory shall come upon him
sanctification,
With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.

¹⁰³Supra, pp. 24-25.

7. And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,
And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water].
10. . . . And he shall open the gates of paradise,
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
11. And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be upon them.
12. And Beliar shall be bound by him,
And he shall give power to His children to tread upon evil spirits.¹⁰⁴

First we should note some striking points of comparison between this passage and the baptism and temptation narratives of Mark. In both the baptism narrative and this passage we have the following elements: the open heaven, the voice of the Father, the πνεῦμα resting upon the Messiah. Furthermore it is stated that the Messiah will bind Beliar. In three other passages in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs we find the defeat of Beliar (or evil spirits) combined with the subjection of the Ἰγρία. If that association can be read into this passage, then we have a point of contact with the Marcan temptation narrative, which speaks of temptation by Satan and of Christ being with the beasts. The words, "in the water," present a problem. Charles has bracketed them and explained them as a Christian interpolation intended to change "a description of the glorification of John Hyrcanus

¹⁰⁴Translation by R. H. Charles in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), II, 314f. This work is hereafter abbreviated as Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

into a description of the baptism of Christ."¹⁰⁵ W. Brownlee¹⁰⁶ asserts, together with A. Dupont-Sommer, that these brackets may be out of place and that the passage may be associating the gift of the Spirit with water, after the fashion of Ezekiel 36:25f. In either event, we have a striking parallel to the baptism of Jesus and one which is associated closely with the Messiah's¹⁰⁷ opening of Paradise for the children of God. If, as Charles assumes,¹⁰⁸ this passage is pre-Christian, it is difficult to escape Barrett's conclusion that this passage (or a tradition similar to it) may have helped to mold the present form of these verses in Mark.¹⁰⁹

Recently M. de Jonge has suggested that The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as we have them are essentially the work of a Christian author,¹¹⁰ and therefore this entire

¹⁰⁵The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Edited from nine MSS together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and Some Hebrew Fragments, edited by Robert Henry Charles (Reprint of 1908 edition; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960), p. xlix.

¹⁰⁶W. H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," The Scrolls and the New Testament, edited by Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper & Bros., Publishers, 1957), pp. 43 and 253, n. 14.

¹⁰⁷In Test. Levi it is the Levitic Messiah.

¹⁰⁸Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II, 289f.

¹⁰⁹C. K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition (London: S.P.C.K., 1947), p. 44.

¹¹⁰M. de Jonge, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Assen: van Gorcum, 1953).

passage must be considered to be a post-Marcian description of Jesus' baptism.¹¹¹ De Jonge's hypothesis is not entirely convincing, since it fails to explain why a Christian author, working de novo, would have included so many of the strictly Jewish elements that appear in the book.¹¹² But even if de Jonge's assertion is correct, we have an early interpretation of the Marcan temptation narrative which contains the new Paradise idea.¹¹³

Before presenting our conclusions regarding the three main interpretations of the Marcan temptation narrative, we must mention in passing several other interpretations of the account. The members of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule have attempted to see the temptation of Jesus as typical of

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 90.

¹¹²It has been suggested in answer to de Jonge that The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are an integral whole, originating from Qumran and that most of what Charles dubbed Christian interpolations can be applied to the Teacher of Righteousness, Marc Philonenko, Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les Manuscrits de Qoumrân. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960).

¹¹³An interesting parallel to the Test. Levi 18 is found in the Life of Adam and Eve 42 in a patently Christian interpolation that describes the Son of God being baptized in the Jordan and then leading Adam into Paradise to the tree of mercy. L. S. A. Wells--Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II, 144--suggests that this has been interpolated from the Gospel of Nicodemus 19. Unfortunately the earliest manuscripts of these documents date far after the beginning of the Christian era. Wells, op. cit., p. 128, The Apocryphal New Testament: Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses with Other Narratives and Fragments, translated by Montague Rhodes James (Corrected edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 94, 115.

the kind of temptations which inevitably confront great religious leaders, particularly at the beginning of their careers.¹¹⁴ These scholars suggest, for example, that the temptation of Buddha was analogous to this. However, as we have already seen, there is much Hebrew and Jewish background for this narrative, and it hardly seems necessary or appropriate to resort to this kind of an explanation.¹¹⁵

The mention of Satan in this narrative has caused some scholars to suggest that there is an analogy with Job, whom Satan also put to the test to see whether he would remain obedient to God's commandments. But the analogy goes no further.¹¹⁶ The forty days in the wilderness is reminiscent of Moses' stay of forty days and forty nights on Mount Sinai.¹¹⁷ However, such an association is more incidental than central to an understanding of the Marcan narrative, since Moses' stay on the mount was not considered to be a

¹¹⁴Rudolf Bultmann--op. cit., p. 271--suggests this as a possibility.

¹¹⁵Martin Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, edited by Günther Bornkamm (3rd edition; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959), pp. 274f.

¹¹⁶Ernst Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, begründet von Heinrich A. W. Meyer (14th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), p. 27. This work is hereafter abbreviated as Markus.

¹¹⁷Frederick C. Grant, "The Gospel According to St. Mark," The Interpreter's Bible, edited by George A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1951-57), VII, 655. J. Dupont--op. cit., pp. 295f.--has shown that Moses' stay on the mount may be reflected in Matthew's and Luke's temptation stories.

temptation. We may also note a similarity between this narrative and the angels feeding Elijah, (1 Kings 19:5-8) an incident that is also associated with the number, forty days and forty nights. But again this association seems incidental.

Synthesis

Three major interpretations of the Marcan temptation narrative have presented themselves for our consideration. We will now attempt to synthesize these and arrive at a final interpretation of the narrative. In the first eight verses of Mark 1, the evangelist proclaims that the new exodus has been initiated. He then presents Jesus, the true Israel, God's Son, the Servant-Messiah, who as the representative and embodiment of the new people of God proleptically and vicariously experiences this new exodus. As the first Israel was led by God out into the wilderness to undergo a forty year period of testing, now Jesus, the true Israel, is led out by the Spirit to experience the same phenomenon--here dramatically recapitulated in a period of forty days.¹¹⁸ With the exception of Satan, all the details of the Marcan temptation narrative can be found in Old Testament descriptions of Israel's desert experience.

¹¹⁸Lohmeyer--Markus, p. 28--feels that the baptism and temptation stories were not originally connected because there is a difference in their description of the Spirit. However, according to Schnackenburg--op. cit., p. 306--one cannot separate the two narratives. It is the same Spirit.

Yet there is one striking omission in the Marcan account. Depending upon the author one reads, the Old Testament describes the wilderness either as the place where Israel was tempted¹¹⁹ or the place where the people of Yahweh experienced her God's special protection and favor.¹²⁰ When the wilderness is described as the place of Israel's temptation, it is made clear that this people was not able to withstand her testing. She failed to keep God's commandments. Now, in our narrative Jesus is described as the true Israel out in the wilderness to be tempted. The accounts of Matthew and Luke show explicitly that where Israel had failed, Jesus obeyed God's commandments. He withstood the testing and was triumphant over Satan. Yet we find no such statement in the Marcan account. In comparing Jesus' wilderness sojourn with that of Ancient Israel, the evangelist does not seem explicitly to state the difference, namely, that the true Israel was the perfect Israel, obeying the commandments of God and thus defeating the evil one.

Perhaps Mark accidentally omitted mention of the outcome of the temptation, although this would be strange in a Gospel that makes so much of the Son of God's victory over Satan. More likely, he implied this victory in the words, "and he was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered to him."

¹¹⁹Ps. 78; Ezek. 20.

¹²⁰Jer. 2; Hos. 2.

As we have seen, man's being with the beasts is a situation rarely described in the Old Testament and the intertestamental writings. The person familiar with this literature is reminded of the righteous men, Noah and Daniel, of the promise of immunity against the ravages of the beasts made to such a righteous person (Ps. 91:11ff.), and of the passages from The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs which combine the defeat of the evil spirits with a promise of protection against the beasts.¹²¹ Having remained faithful to God's commandments and having withstood Satan's temptations, Jesus now enjoys the protection described in these passages.¹²²

¹²¹This combination of the fleeing of evil spirits and of protection against the beasts has led Feuillet--op. cit., pp. 72f.--to suggest that Mark's statement, "and he was with the wild beasts," is equivalent to the comment of Matthew-Luke that the devil left Him. This assumes that Mark felt that his readers would be familiar with these particular verses in The Testaments of the XII or at least the specific idea suggested in them. An idea similar to Ps. 91:11ff. and passages in the Testaments is found in Lk. 10:18f., where Satan's fall is followed by the power to tread on serpents, and in Mk. 16:17f., which combines a promise of power over demons with that of immunity to deadly serpents.

¹²²This assumes that the company of the beasts and the ministering angels follows the temptation. One might suggest that the imperfect "διηκούουν" places the angels' ministry throughout the course of the temptation. In that case, the company of the beasts would also be contemporaneous with the temptation rather than following it. However, in the N.T. the imperfect is the regular past tense of this verb (9 times). διηκούει appears in the aorist indicative only twice. Moreover, the participle and infinitive appear 10 times in the present tense and 8 times in the aorist. In all moods, διηκούει appears in the present and imperfect 25 times and only 9 times in the aorist. This would seem to indicate that in this verse one should not place a great deal of stress on the "continuous" connotations of the imperfect tense.

Elsewhere in Hebrew and Jewish literature immunity against the wild beasts is specified as accompanying a return to the conditions of Paradise. Man and beast again live in peace with one another. It may be argued that there is an essential difference between man's domination over the beasts--or his protection from them--and a peaceful relationship between man and beast, such as is described in Job 5, Isaiah 11, and Hosea 2. However, we feel that these are alternate ways of saying the same thing, for in either case the beasts have ceased to be dangerous.¹²³ For this reason Mark or his readers may have thought of either or both groups of passages. The context of this narrative, however, leads us to believe that Mark was thinking primarily in terms of a paradisiacal peace. The key passages in Hosea 2 and Isaiah 11 are set in a new exodus and new covenant context, which is certainly the milieu of thought in Mark 1. Moreover, Isaiah 11 mentions the messianic king, allusion to whom is also made in Mark 1.

According to this interpretation, we see Jesus, the true Israel, having experienced a new exodus and now, victorious over his temptations in the wilderness, enjoying for a moment, as the representative of the people of God, the peace of Paradise regained which Yahweh promised to give to His people in the days of the Messiah and of the new exodus and the new covenant.

¹²³ Barrett, op. cit., p. 50.

The one surprising element in the temptation narrative is the figure of Satan. However, Mark mentioned Satan possibly to set up a contrast between Adam, the first man, who fell to Satan and sinned, and Christ, the Son of Man, who triumphs over the evil one. Jesus is the true Israel, driven out into the wilderness to be tempted, but He is also the righteous man par excellence, the Son of Man, the second Adam, the representative, not only of Israel, but of the entire human race, of which the disobedient Adam was the father.

The mention of Satan and the Son of Man emphasizes the eschatological and cosmological dimensions of the temptation.¹²⁴ The New Testament pictures the life of our Lord as the decisive battle in a war between the kingdom of God and the powers of Satan and hell. Jesus appears as One stronger, who does battle with the evil one (Mk. 3:22ff.). His exorcisms and other miracles are part of this eschatological warfare with Satan.¹²⁵ He casts out demons, not for His own sake, but for the sake of others. Previous to this healing ministry, he does battle with Satan in the wilderness, again not for His own sake, but as the representative of the people of God and, in fact, of the entire human race. He has come to destroy Satan and his power over men, and the battle begins

¹²⁴Kuhn, op. cit., pp. 111ff.

¹²⁵James M. Robinson, The Problem of History in Mark, in Studies in Biblical Theology (London: SCM Press, 1957), XXI, 26ff.

here.¹²⁶ Scholars have long debated the location of the wilderness in which Jesus dwelt for forty days. In reality it makes little difference where that wilderness was. It was the haunt of Satan,¹²⁷ and Christ was driven out there by the Spirit of God, Satan's counterpart,¹²⁸ to do battle with the prince of demons. The important thing is what happens there between heaven and hell.¹²⁹ If we can find in the baptism of Jesus a new creation,¹³⁰ then it is normal that Satan should appear here again in an attempt to disrupt the divine work, as he had done at the first creation.¹³¹

Some scholars have felt that where a variety of typological explanations have been set forth for the same passage (e.g., a new exodus and a second Adam interpretation for the temptation narrative), "some simpler interpretation is in order."¹³² But it is fallacious to argue that because

¹²⁶Lohmeyer, Markus, p. 28.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 27; Gerhard Kittel, "ἔρημος," TWNT, II, 655.

¹²⁸Lohmeyer, Markus, p. 28.

¹²⁹Werner Schmauch, "In der Wüste: Beobachtungen zur Raumbziehung des Glaubens im Neuen Testament," In Memoriam Ernst Lohmeyer, edited by Werner Schmauch (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1951), p. 214.

¹³⁰Supra, pp. 83f.

¹³¹Feuillet, op. cit., p. 64.

¹³²Robert C. Dentan, "Typology--Its Use and Abuse," Anglican Theological Review, XXXIV (October, 1952), 216, n. 12.

scholars disagree, none of them is correct. Moreover, this ignores the fact that Scripture itself is not consistent in its eschatological descriptions. Various authors use different imagery and combine different sets of images. If such combinations of motifs are explicit in the Old Testament, it is not unreasonable to expect them in the New Testament.

Ultimately it is impossible to demonstrate beyond a question of a doubt that the typological exegesis we have proposed was in the mind of the writer. It is open to question whether the evangelist thought of all the particulars that Jeremias, for example, has delineated in his exposition of the temptation narrative. However, it should be remembered that the evangelist was writing a theological treatise. The details of his description of John and his mission pointed to the meaning of the event and were not simply a description of the outward form of the story. Should this not also be true of the temptation narrative?¹³³ Moreover, the evangelist knew his Old Testament and lived amid the thought-world that produced the intertestamental writings. His readers, we may presume, heard the Gospel narrative through ears that had been steeped in the ideas and hopes of these times.¹³⁴ It seems reasonable to assume that the evangelist wrote his Gospel with this background in mind and that God had acted to make Himself understood in these terms.

¹³³Goppelt, op. cit., pp. 117f.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 118.

136

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This investigation began with a discussion of the importance of the Exodus for the faith of Israel. We noted that the Old Testament views this complex of events as Yahweh's mighty act of redemption by which He made Israel His chosen people. In the centuries that followed the Exodus, Israel looked back upon this cluster of events as a pledge of Yahweh's continued benediction and aid. But Israel's repeated disobedience led to Yahweh's temporary rejection of His people and to the Exile in Babylon, which was viewed as a second period of slavery. However, God promised deliverance from this captivity. There would be a new exodus and a new covenant--both of them greater than the former. Connected with these hopes for a new exodus were the promises of a return to the conditions that prevailed in the primeval Paradise, before man's fall brought disharmony, grief, and pain into the world.

During the intertestamental period the covenanters of Qumran went out into the wilderness to recapitulate Israel's desert experience and to await the new exodus. They considered themselves to be men of the new covenant, and they organized their camp and army like those of ancient Israel. Elsewhere in the intertestamental literature we find a few

references to the new exodus, where the language of Second Isaiah is used to describe the return from the dispersion. Apparently the disappointing proportions of the Return from Exile led these writers to await the new exodus in the future. In the intertestamental period the hope for a new Paradise assumed greater importance than it had in the Old Testament and even overshadowed the promise of a new exodus. Peace between man and beast was to be one of the chief characteristics of this return to the conditions of Paradise.

On the basis of these conclusions we began a study of the text of Mark 1:1-13. In verses 1-8 Mark portrays John as the herald of the new exodus. In verse 2 the evangelist quotes two Old Testament passages taken directly from Exodus and new exodus contexts. Moreover, he places the Baptist's ministry in the wilderness, the scene of the first Exodus and the promised scene of the new exodus.

John appeared preaching a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. Ezekiel had associated a cleansing with water with the coming of the new covenant and the return from the dispersion, which he also describes as a new exodus. This prophet also seems to have associated repentance with the new exodus. According to Jeremiah, the forgiveness of sins was the essence of the new covenant.

The Baptist pointed to one who would come after him and baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire. According to the

Old Testament and rabbinic literature, the Spirit was present during the first Exodus. Ezekiel associated the Spirit with the new covenant and the return from the dispersion. According to some intertestamental sources, Elijah was to return at the end-time to reassemble the people of God. Mark describes John as this Elijah redivivus, proclaiming the new exodus and gathering the new Israel, even as during the first Exodus ancient Israel had been named as God's people.

Our investigation then proceeded to show a number of important similarities between Jewish proselyte baptism and John's rite. Proselyte baptism was both a purificatory ceremony and an initiatory rite by which a convert became a full-fledged Israelite. A study of the talmudic and midrashic sources revealed that the rabbis traced the origin of proselyte baptism back to Exodus days. However, it is not at all clearly demonstrable that there was any widespread Red Sea typology in the proselyte ablution, and it seems tenuous to suggest this rite as a source of such a typology in John's baptism.

Our fourth chapter discussed the Exodus and new exodus motifs in Mark's narrative of Jesus' baptism. The voice from heaven proclaims Jesus to be the Servant of Yahweh and the Messiah. The Old Testament connects both the Servant and the Messiah with the new covenant and the new exodus. A striking similarity to Mark 1:9-11 is found in Isaiah 63-64, which describes Yahweh's redemptive act in the Exodus and invokes

His help in the present predicament. John announced the imminent arrival of the new exodus. Now Jesus appears as the true Israel, the perfect Son of God, the representative and embodiment of the new people of God. In this capacity He experiences the beginning of the new exodus in His baptism.

Exegetes have given many explanations for the appearance of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. It seems best to understand the dove as a symbol of Israel. Jesus is not here endowed with the Spirit; rather the Spirit's descent as a dove is a promise of the new covenant community that will be formed through the events of the new exodus and the creative activity of this Spirit.

Our study concluded with a discussion of the temptation of our Lord. We set forth three important interpretations of this narrative. The first of these continues the Exodus typology of the previous verses. As the true Israel Jesus is led out into the wilderness for forty days to relive ancient Israel's period of testing. In contrast to ancient Israel, which had rebelled against God's commandments, Jesus withstands the temptations of Satan.

Since the other two important interpretations of the temptation narrative center about Jesus being "with the wild beasts," we proceeded to an investigation of the theological significance of the beasts in the Old Testament and the inter-testamental literature. We discovered that peace between man and beast was a characteristic of Paradise, lost because

of the fall. However, God promised to remove the danger which the beasts presented to men. He would do this in one of three ways: (1) He would banish the beasts from the land. (2) Man would subdue the beasts and thus be protected from them. (3) The conditions of Paradise would return, and man and beast would again live in peace with one another. This immunity against the beasts would be granted to the righteous man. Peace between man and beast would be established in the days of the Messiah, the new exodus, and the new covenant.

The first interpretation of the temptation narrative based on a theological understanding of Jesus' presence among the beasts describes our Lord as the righteous man par excellence, who obeys God's commandments and is thus protected from the wild beasts and attended by angels. There is no doubt that Mark describes Jesus in terms of the righteous man of the Psalms. Moreover, it is possible that certain Old Testament and intertestamental passages which describe the relationship between the righteous man and the beasts may have been in the mind of the evangelist as he wrote 1:13. However, it seems quite tenuous to consider Psalm 91:11ff. as the immediate background to the Marcan temptation narrative.

The final interpretation which we discussed describes Jesus as the second Adam, who has resisted Satan's temptations and now enjoys the blessings of a Paradise regained--among them a peaceful relationship with the wild beasts. We showed that a doctrine of the return of Paradise was prevalent

in the Old Testament and the intertestamental literature and that there are certain hints of it elsewhere in the Gospels. Saint Paul, we pointed out, described Jesus as the second Adam, and this idea is probably also implicit in the synoptic designation, Son of Man.

In at least one Old Testament passage, the Messiah is mentioned in connection with the return of Paradise. However, the most important reason for reading Mark 1:13 in the light of the new Paradise motif is found in two Old Testament passages which associate the new exodus and the new covenant with a return to Paradise.

At the close of our last chapter we attempted to synthesize these three interpretations of the temptation narrative. Jesus, as the true Israel, is led out into the wilderness to recapitulate the ancient nation's period of testing. He is victorious over his tempter. However, He is not only the representative of Israel, He is the righteous man par excellence, the Son of Man, the second Adam, who, in the place of the whole human race, triumphs over Satan and for a brief time lives in paradisiacal peace with the wild beasts--a blessing that man had forfeited in the fall of Adam.

In brief retrospect: John proclaims the imminence of the new exodus and begins to gather the new Israel. Jesus appears as the representative of this people, and in this capacity experiences the new exodus. Having come up out of the water, as Israel had, He is driven out into the wilderness

to be tempted. As the representative of the new Israel and as the second Adam, the embodiment of the entire human race, he withstands the temptations, defeats Satan, and experiences the blessings that God had originally intended for mankind.

Every scholarly investigation aims at finality in some aspects of its work. Our chief purpose in this study has been to demonstrate in some measure the nature of the New Testament's great dependence upon the Old Testament and the thought-world of the intertestamental era. We feel that we have accomplished this to some degree of success in the case of Mark 1:1-13. To our knowledge, a thorough discussion of the theological implications of man's relationship to the beasts is original in this paper. An important by-product of our study has been the conclusion, based on evidence from Qumran, that, contrary to the opinion of some scholars, John did preach a baptism both with the Holy Spirit and with fire.

Typical of studies of this sort, we have also defined more clearly some old questions and raised some new ones. Schweizer's discussion of Jesus as the suffering righteous man must be carried on in greater detail. We have attempted a thorough discussion of the possible Exodus typology in proselyte baptism and have come to a somewhat negative conclusion. But perhaps the last word has not been said on this subject. Further investigations of the Qumran materials may shed new light on both proselyte baptism and John's rite.

We would be interested to know why the new exodus motif

seems to be submerged during the intertestamental period. Did the Jews feel that this new exodus had taken place in the Return from the Exile, or did they still await it? To what extent was the Son of Man thought of as a second Adam, either in Judaism or in primitive Christianity? Did Psalm 8 play any part in the description of the Son of Man as the second Adam? How prevalent is the Paradise motif in the New Testament? Can further evidence be given to demonstrate or disprove a messianic reference in our Lord's baptism? The symbol of the dove still raises questions. Finally, the field remains open for continued discussion of the authorship of The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the relationship of The Testament of Levi 18 to Mark 1:9-13.

APPENDIX

A Comparison of the Prophetic Descriptions of the Exodus and New Exodus, the Covenant and New Covenant

	Exodus	New Exodus	Covenant	New Covenant
<u>THE EVENT</u>				
Oppression	✓	✓		
God's Call	✓			
Plagues	✓			
Red Sea	✓	✓		
Wilderness	✓	✓		✓
Water	✓	✓		✓
Sinai	✓			
Rebellion	✓		✓	✓
Canaan	✓	✓	✓	✓
<u>CHARACTERISTICS</u>				
God's Presence	✓	✓	✓	✓
Angel	✓			
Glory	✓	✓		✓
Spirit	✓	✓		✓
Revelation	✓	✓		✓
Love, grace	✓	✓		✓
Sonship			✓	✓
Betrothal			✓	✓
Shepherd			✓	✓
God-people			✓	✓
Forgiveness			✓	✓
<u>OTHER CONCEPTS</u>				
Messiah		✓	✓	✓
Remnant		✓		✓
New Paradise		✓		✓
Servant		✓		✓
Universalism		✓		✓

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary and Early Sources

- The Apocrypha of the Old Testament. Revised Standard Version. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957.
- The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English. 2 vols. Edited by R. H. Charles. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- The Apocryphal New Testament: Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses with other Narratives and Fragments. Corrected edition. Translated by Montague Rhodes James. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.
- The Babylonian Talmud. 35 vols. Translated into English under the editorship of I. Epstein. London: Soncino Press, 1935-1952.
- Bible, Holy. Revised Standard Version. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1953.
- Biblia Hebraica. 9th edition. Edited by Rudolph Kittel. Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1954.
- The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation. Translated by Theodor H. Gaster. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1956.
- The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Edited from nine MSS together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and Some Hebrew Fragments. Edited by Robert Henry Charles. Reprint of 1908 edition. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960.
- Justin Martyr. "Dialogue of Justin, Philosopher and Martyr with Trypho, a Jew," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. I. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885. Pp. 194-270.
- Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael. 3 vols. Edited and translated by Jacob Z. Lauterbach. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1933-1935.

The Midrash on Psalms. 2 vols. Translated by William G. Braude. Vol. XIII in Yale Judaica Series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.

Novum Testamentum Graece. 23rd edition. Edited by Erwin Nestle and Kurt Aland. Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1957.

Die Oracula Sibyllina. Bearbeitet von Joh. Geffcken. Vol. VIII in Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902.

Philo Judaeus. VIII. "De Praemiis et Poenis," English translation by F. H. Colson, Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. 309-424.

Septuaginta. 2 vols. 5th edition. Edited by Alfred Rahlfs. Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1952.

Synopsis of the First Three Gospels. Compiled by Albert Huck. 9th edition revised by Hans Lietzmann and translated into English by Frank L. Cross. New York: American Bible Society, 1954.

Virgil. I. "Eclogues," New and revised edition, Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935. Pp. 1-79.

B. Modern Sources

1. Commentaries on Mark

Cranfield, C. E. B. The Gospel According to Saint Mark. Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary. Edited by C. F. D. Moule. Cambridge: University Press, 1959.

Farrer, Austin. St. Matthew and St. Mark. Westminster: Dacre Press, 1954.

----- A Study in St. Mark. London: Dacre Press, 1951.

Gould, Ezra P. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary of the Gospel according to St. Mark. The International Critical Commentary. Edited by Charles A. Briggs, Samuel R. Driver, and Alfred Plummer. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.

- Grant, Frederick C. "The Gospel According to St. Mark," The Interpreter's Bible. VII. Edited by George A. Buttrick. New York: Abingdon Press, 1951. Pp. 647-917.
- Klostermann, Erich. Das Markusevangelium. 4th edition. Vol. III in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Edited by Günther Bornkamm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950.
- Lohmeyer, Ernst. Das Evangelium des Markus. 14th edition. Vol. II in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Begründet von Heinrich A. W. Meyer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957.
- Meyer, Heinrich A. W. Critical and Exegetical Handbook of the Gospels of Mark and Luke. Translated from the 5th German edition by Robert E. Wallis. Translation revised and edited by William Dickson. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1884.
- Robinson, James M. The Problem of History in Mark. Vol. XXI in Studies in Biblical Theology. London: SCM Press, 1957.
- Schniewind, Julius. Das Evangelium nach Markus. 5th edition. Vol. I in Das Neue Testament Deutsch. Edited by Paul Althaus and Johannes Behm. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949.
- Swete, Henry B. The Gospel According to St. Mark. Reprint of 3rd edition of 1913. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1951.
- Taylor, Vincent. The Gospel According to St. Mark. London: Macmillan & Co., 1952.
- Wohlenberg, Gustav. Das Evangelium des Markus. 2nd edition. Vol. II in Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Edited by Theodor Zahn. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1910.

2. Other Sources

- Argyle, A. W. "The Accounts of the Temptation of Jesus in Relation to the Q Hypothesis," Expository Times, LXIV (September, 1952), 382.
- "Scriptural Quotations in Q Material," Expository Times, LXV (June, 1954), 285f.

- Badcock, F. J. "The Significance of the Baptism of Christ," The Interpreter, XIII (1917), 155-60.
- Barrett, C. K. The Gospel According to St. John. London: S.P.C.K., 1958.
- The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition. London: S.P.C.K., 1947.
- Bengel, Johann Albrecht. Gnomon Novi Testamenti. 8th edition. Edited by Paul Steudel. Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1915.
- Bentzen, Aage. Introduction to the Old Testament. 3rd edition. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad Publisher, 1957.
- King and Messiah. London: Lutterworth Press, 1955.
- Betz, Otto. "Die Proselytentaufe der Qumransekte und die Taufe im Neuen Testament," Revue de Qumran, I (October, 1958), 213-34.
- Beyer, Hermann W. "διδασκῆύ," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. II. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935. Pp. 81-86.
- Black, Matthew. "The Messiah in the Testament of Levi XVIII," Expository Times, LX (August, 1949), 321f.
- "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Man," Scottish Journal of Theology, VII (1954), 170-79.
- Blair, Edward P. Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew. New York: Abingdon Press, 1960.
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich. Temptation. Translated by Kathleen Downham. London: SCM Press, 1955.
- Bonsirven, J. Le Judaïsme Palestinien au Temps de Jésus-Christ. 2 vols. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1934.
- Bright, John. The Kingdom of God. New York: Abingdon Press, 1953.
- Brown, Raymond E. "Incidents that are Units in the Synoptic Gospels but Dispersed in St. John," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIII (April, 1961), 143-60.
- The Sensus Plenior of Sacred Scripture. Baltimore: St. Mary's University, 1955.

- Brownlee, W. H. "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," The Scrolls and the New Testament. Edited by Krister Stendahl. New York: Harper & Bros. Publishers, 1957. Pp. 33-53.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition. 3rd edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957.
- ". "Ursprung und Sinn der Typologie als hermeneutischer Methode," Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXV (April-May, 1950), 205-11.
- Cohen, A. The Psalms. Vol. I in Soncino Books of the Bible. Edited by A. Cohen. London: Soncino Press, 1950.
- Cranfield, C. E. B. "The Baptism of Our Lord--A Study of St. Mark 1.9-11," Scottish Journal of Theology, VIII (1955), 53-63.
- Cross, Frank M., Jr. The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1958.
- Cullmann, Oscar. Baptism in the New Testament. Translated by J. K. S. Reid. Vol I in Studies in Biblical Theology. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1950.
- ". The Christology of the New Testament. Translated by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959.
- Danielou, Jean. The Bible and the Liturgy. Translated from the French. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956.
- ". Sacramentum Futuri: Etudes sur les origines de la typologie biblique. Paris: Beauchesne, 1950.
- Daube, David. The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism. London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1956.
- Davies, W. D. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. 2nd edition. London: S.P.C.K., 1955.
- de Jonge, M. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Assen: van Gorcum, 1953.
- Dentan, Robert C. "Typology--Its Use and Abuse," Anglican Theological Review, XXXIV (October, 1952), 211-17.

- Dibelius, Martin. Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums. 3rd edition. Edited by Günther Bornkamm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959.
- Dondorp, Arie. De Verzoeking van Jezus Christus in de Woestijn. Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1951.
- Dupont, J. "L'arrière-fond biblique du récit des tentations de Jésus," New Testament Studies, III (July, 1957), 287-304.
- Edersheim, Alfred. The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. 2 vols. New American Edition. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1950.
- Ellis, E. Earle. Paul's Use of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957.
- Ellison, H. L. "Typology," Evangelical Quarterly, XXV (July, 1953), 158-66.
- Feuillet, A. "Le baptême de Jésus d'après l'évangile selon Saint Marc (1,9-11)," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXI (October, 1959), 468-90.
- "L'épisode de la tentation d'après l'évangile selon Saint Marc (1,12-13)," Estudios Bíblicos, XIX (1960), 49-73.
- "Le symbolisme de la colombe dans les récits évangéliques du baptême," Recherches de Science Religieuse, XLVI (October-December, 1958), 524-44.
- Flemington, W. F. The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism. London: S.P.C.K., 1953.
- Foerster, Werner. "Ἰησοῦς," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. III. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938. Pp. 133-36.
- Foerster, Werner, and Gerhard von Rad. "διδάσκαλος," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. II. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935. Pp. 70-80.
- Friedrich, Gerhard. "εὐαγγελιστοὶ," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. II. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935. Pp. 705-18.
- Funk, Robert W. "The Wilderness," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXVIII (September, 1959), 205-14.

- Gavin, F. The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments. London: S.P.C.K., 1928.
- Ginzberg, Louis. The Legends of the Jews. III and IV. Translated by Paul Radin. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1911-1913.
- Goppelt, Leonhard. Typos: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1939.
- Greeven, Heinrich. "Περιστέρα," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. VI. Edited by Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1959. Pp. 63-72.
- Harper, William R. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea. The International Critical Commentary of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Edited by Charles A. Briggs, Samuel R. Driver, and Alfred Plummer. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.
- Holzmeister, Urban. "Jesus lebte mit den wilden Tieren," Vom Wort des Lebens: Festschrift für Max Meinertz. Edited by Nikolaus Adler. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1951. Pp. 85-92.
- Hoskyns, Edwyn, and Noel Davey. The Riddle of the New Testament. 3rd edition. London: Faber & Faber, 1947.
- Jeremias, Joachim. "Ἰσραήλ," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. I. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933. Pp. 141-43.
- "Ἡλιός," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. II. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935. Pp. 930-43.
- Jesus als Weltvollender. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1930.
- "Μωυσῆς," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. IV. Edited by Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1942. Pp. 852-78.
- "Παράδεισος," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. V. Edited by Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1954. Pp. 763-71.
- "Der Ursprung der Johannestaufe," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXVIII (1929), 312-20.

- Kirkpatrick, A. F. The Book of Psalms. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: University Press, 1902.
- Kittel, Gerhard. "ἔρημος, ἔρημόω, ἐρήμωσις," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. II. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935. Pp. 654-57.
- Knox, Wilfred L. St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles. Cambridge: University Press, 1939.
- Köhler, Ludwig. Hebrew Man. Translated by Peter R. Ackroyd. New York: Abingdon Press, 1956.
- Krauss, S. "Baptism," The Jewish Encyclopedia. II. Edited by Isadore Singer. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1902. Pp. 499f.
- Kuhn, Karl Georg. "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament," The Scrolls and the New Testament. Edited by Krister Stendahl. New York: Harper & Bros. Publishers, 1957. Pp. 94-113.
- Lampe, Geoffrey W. H. "The Reasonableness of Typology," Essays on Typology. Vol. XXII in Studies in Biblical Theology. London: SCM Press, 1957. Pp. 9-38.
- . The Seal of the Spirit: A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and Fathers. London: Longman's, Green & Co., 1951.
- Lang, Friedrich. "πῦρ," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. VI. Edited by Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1959. Pp. 927-48.
- Lohmeyer, Ernst. "Die Versuchung Jesu," Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie, XIV (1937), 619-50.
- Louis, Conrad. The Theology of Psalm VIII. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1946.
- McCasland, S. Vernon. "The Unity of the Scriptures," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIII (January, 1954), 1-10.
- Manson, T. W. The Sayings of Jesus. London: SCM Press, 1949.
- . The Servant Messiah: A Study of the Public Ministry of Jesus. Cambridge: University Press, 1953.

- Marsh, H. G. The Origin and Significance of the New Testament Baptism. Manchester: University Press, 1941.
- Marsh, John. The Fulness of Time. New York: Harper & Bros. Publishers, 1952.
- Metzger, Bruce M. "Scriptural Quotations in Q Material," Expository Times, LXXV (January, 1954), 125.
- Milik, J. T. Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea. Translated by J. Strugnell. Vol. XXVI in Studies in Biblical Theology. London: SCM Press, 1959.
- Moore, George F. Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- Mowinckel, Sigmund. He That Cometh. Translated by G. W. Anderson. New York: Abingdon Press, ca. 1955.
- North, Christopher R. The Old Testament Interpretation of History. London: Epworth Press, 1946.
- The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah. 2nd edition. Oxford: University Press, 1956.
- Oepke, Albrecht. "בארתו, בארת'ו," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. I. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933. Pp. 527-43.
- Parker, Pierson. "John and John Mark," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIX (June, 1960), 97-110.
- Philonenko, Mar. Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumran. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960.
- Piper, Otto A. "Unchanging Promises: Exodus in the New Testament," Interpretation, XI (January, 1957), 3-22.
- Reichert, Victor E. Job. Vol. IV in Soncino Books of the Bible. Edited by A. Cohen. Winhead, Surrey: Soncino Press, 1946.
- Robinson, H. Wheeler. "The Higher Exegesis," Journal of Theological Studies, XLIV (1943), 143-47.
- Rowley, H. H. The Unity of the Bible. Reprint of 1953 edition. New York: Meridian Books, 1957.

- Sahlin, Harald. "The New Exodus of Salvation According to St. Paul," The Root of the Vine: Essays in Biblical Theology. Edited by Anton Friedrichson. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. 81-95.
- Schmauch, Werner. "In der Wüste; Beobachtungen zur Raumbeziehung des Glaubens im Neuen Testament," In Memoriam Ernst Lohmeyer. Edited by Werner Schmauch. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1951. Pp. 202-23.
- Schnackenburg, Rudolf. "Der Sinn der Versuchung Jesu bei den Synoptikern," Theologische Quartalschrift, CXXXII (1952), 297-326.
- Schoeps, H.-J. "Beobachtungen zum Verständnis des Habakukkommentars von Qumran," Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, XI (January, 1959), 69-72.
- Schrenk, Gottlob. "ἑβδοκέω," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. II. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935. Pp. 736-40.
- Schlürer, Emil. A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. 2 vols. Translated by Sophia Taylor and Peter Christie. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885.
- Schulze, Wilhelm A. "Der Heilige und die wilden Tiere: zur Exegese von Mark 1,13b," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XLVI (1955), 280-83.
- Schweizer, Eduard. "πνεύμα," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. VI. Edited by Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1959. Pp. 397f.
- "The Son of Man," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIX (June, 1960), 119-29.
- Seesemann, Heinrich. "πειράζω," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. VI. Edited by Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1959. Pp. 33-37.
- Skinner, J. The Book of the Prophet Isaiah: Chapters I-XXXIX. Revised edition. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: University Press, 1915.
- Spitta, Friedrich. "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Synoptiker: Die Tiere in die Versuchungsgeschichte," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, V (1904), 323-26.

- Stanley, D. M. "The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism: an Essay in Biblical Theology," Theological Studies, XVIII (June, 1957), 169-215.
- Stauffer, Ethelbert. "ἀγαπῶ, ἀγάπη, ἀγαπητός," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. I. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933. Pp. 21-55.
- Strack, Hermann L. Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash. Translated from the author's revised copy of the 5th German edition of 1931. New York: Meridian Books, 1959.
- Strack, Hermann L., and Paul Billerbeck. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. 5 vols. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922-28.
- Streeter, Burnett H. The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins. Revised edition. London: Macmillan & Co., 1930.
- Taylor, Archibald B., Jr. "Decision in the Desert: The Temptation of Jesus, in the Light of Deuteronomy," Interpretation, XIV (July, 1960), 300-09.
- Teeple, Howard M. The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet. Vol. X in the Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series. Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1957.
- Torrance, T. P. "The Origins of Baptism," Scottish Journal of Theology, XI (February, 1958), 158-71.
- Volz, Paul. Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1934.
- von Rad, Gerhard. "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament," translated by John Bright, Interpretation, XV (April, 1961), 174-92.
- Wingren, Gustaf. Man and the Incarnation: A Study in the Biblical Theology of Irenaeus. Translated by Ross Mackenzie. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1959.
- Woolcombe, K. J. "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology," Essays on Typology. Vol. XXII in Studies in Biblical Theology. London: SCM Press, 1957. Pp. 39-75.
- Wright, G. Ernest. God Who Acts. Vol. VIII in Studies in Biblical Theology. London: SCM Press, 1952.

Zimmerli, Walther, and Joachim Jeremias. "παῖς θεοῦ," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. V. Edited by Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1954. Pp. 653-713.

3. Concordances and Lexica

Arndt, William F., and F. Wilbur Gingrich. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.

Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A. Redpath. A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal Books). 3 vols. Graz: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1897.

Jastrow, Marcus. A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. New York: Title Publishing Co., 1943 reprint.

Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, editors. Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. 6 vols. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933-.

Liddell, Henry G., and Robert Scott. A Greek-English Lexicon. 9th edition by Henry S. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.

Moulton, W. F., and A. S. Geden. A Concordance to the Greek Testament According to the Texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and the English Revisers. 3rd edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1926.

Strong, James. The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1894.

Young, Robert. Analytical Concordance to the Bible. 22nd American edition revised by William B. Stevenson. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1955.