The Concept of the Return of Elijah in Matthew 11:2-24 and its Christological implications

Aaron William Geddis

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Theology

at the University of Otago,

Dunedin, New Zealand

2020

Abstract

Over the last few decades, research into first century Jewish beliefs regarding the return of Elijah has been divided between the views that Elijah would return before YHWH and Elijah would return before the messiah. While some have argued that in pre-Christian Jewish belief, Elijah returns before YHWH, Gospel scholarship has continued to favour the suggestion that Elijah was to return before the messiah. Some Matthean commentators have been bold enough to argue that in Matthew, Elijah returns before someone greater than the messiah and they point to that individual's divine identity. Others simply note that scholars dispute whether Elijah was believed to return before the messiah or before YHWH. In either case, among those who suspect that it was believed that Elijah was to return before YHWH and that this happens in Matthew's Gospel, the logic of that theme is not consistently traced through the narrative of Matthew's Gospel.

In my thesis, I enter this debate and review all the arguments and evidence in pre-Christian Judaism for belief in Elijah's return. I include the evidence of 4Q76's version of Malachi 3:1 which up to this point has not been considered as evidence in this debate. I argue that in all the pre-Christian Jewish evidence we possess, Elijah always prepares the way for YHWH's return. I bring this insight first to Mark's Gospel on my way to Matthew's Gospel in order to see if this insight is consistent with the claims of Matthew's key source – Mark.

I then build off the arguments and insights gleaned and argue that the historical and literary consideration that Elijah was believed to return before YHWH has both narrative and Christological implications for Matthew. I argue for the insight of some Matthean commentators that in Matthew, Elijah returns before YHWH and that this Christological thread is picked up within Matthew's narrative and has implications for Jesus' vocation and his identity.

In Matthew I focus on Matthew 11:2–24 where I seek to demonstrate that Matthew is picking up this Malachian theme of Elijah returning before YHWH and using it as the structuring device for this pericope in his Gospel. I argue that in Matthew Elijah returns before YHWH, as Malachi 3:23-24 contends, but Elijah fails to turn the hearts of the children to the fathers and vice versa because of Israel's hardness of heart. Israel's leaders, along with many in Israel reject Elijah and this has implications for YHWH's task when he comes after Elijah. YHWH, according to Malachi 3:24, now comes to strike the land of Israel with a curse. I argue that we see this exact narrative play out in micro form within Matthew 11:2-24.

I conclude by suggesting that this is a fruitful place for future research. It has Christological implications beyond Matthew 11 in the transfiguration pericope where the Elijah forerunner concept is used along with the title the Son of Man. It also has vocational

implications and I suggest that this thematic thread could significantly impact the Matthean theme of judgment and Jesus' action in the temple and that it is a tradition in Matthew that parallels the apocalyptic Son of Man.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank my supervisor Paul Trebilco for his many insightful comments and guidance throughout the process.

I want to thank the Librarians of the University of Otago Library who went in search of many obscure books for me and who always promptly posted them to me.

I want to thank Mark Keown for his insightful comments at the beginning that helped me narrow down my thesis topic, James Harding who critically engaged with some of my early writing in a constructive manner and Philip Church who meticulously edited a near finished thesis.

Finally I want to thank my amazing wife CoCo who has endured my busyness and given me permission and space to get this thesis finished.

Contents

Abbreviations

The abbreviations in this thesis follow Billie Jean Collins, *The SBL Handbook of Style for Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, 2nd edition (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014).

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Matthew is the only Gospel that has Jesus explicitly identifying John the Baptist as Elijah (Matt 11:14). In all four Gospels John the Baptist is portrayed as a herald who is announcing the coming of the one coming after him.[1] Likewise, in all four Gospels Jesus is the one coming after John.[2] The question I am interested in is, if in Matthew John is Elijah, who did Matthew's John expect to come after him? On this issue there is no consensus among Matthean commentators. Numerous possibilities have been put forward but only two are now common positions among Matthean commentators.[3] The two popular positions are either that Elijah was to prepare the way for the messiah or for YHWH. Some scholars take the position, in all the relevant passages in Matthew, that Matthew's Elijah was to prepare the way for the messiah. Some take the position that some of the relevant passages in Matthew suggest that Matthew's Elijah was to prepare the way for the messiah and others that he was to prepare the way for YHWH. Then others suggest that Jesus' messiahship is not the focus of the passages in Matthew that speak of Elijah's coming. They suggest that Matthew's Elijah was to prepare the way for God. No doubt, Jews of Matthew's time thought something about the identity of the individual whom the eschatological Elijah was to prepare the way for. Matthew's use of the Elijah forerunner concept implies that Matthew believed that his audience had a view about the identity of the individual to follow Elijah. In what follows, I have three aims. First, to investigate the identity of the individual Matthew assumed his readers would have expected to come after Elijah. Secondly, to identify what Second Temple Jews believed regarding Elijah's task and how exactly he was going to prepare the way. Finally, I want to investigate the impact that the identity of the one coming after Elijah and the successfulness of Matthew's Elijah in completing his task have on Jesus' task in Matthew 11:2–24.

In pursuing the first question I will need to unravel Jesus' identity in Matthew's Gospel. Matthew clearly believed that Jesus was the messiah (Matt 1:1) and that Jesus also had a divine identity (Matt 1:23). Throughout his Gospel, Matthew makes use of different strands of tradition to make both points. However, one of my methodological starting positions is that any given tradition can only be used to infer either Jesus' divine identity or his human messiahship.[4] This is

[1] Matt 3:1–12; 11:2–14; Mark 1:2–8; Luke 1:76; 3:2–18; 7:20–28 John 1:19–28.

[2] Matt 3:14–17; 11:2–14; Mark 1:2–11; Luke 3: 2–22; 7:20–28; John 1:29–34.

[3] For a good summary of the different proposals see W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Matthew* (Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1991)1: 313–14.

[4] I use the language of "human messiahship" because Collins has recently made the case that the Similitudes of 1 Enoch speak of a "supernatural" messiah. Collins dates the Similitudes of 1 Enoch to the first half of the first century of the Common Era. John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 3rd edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 220–21. He argues first, that the "son of man" figure in 1 Enoch is a divine being who is the righteous community's divine counterpart. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 228–32. Secondly, he argues that 1 Enoch's "son of man" is also 1 Enoch's messiah (1 En. 48:10; 52:4). Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 227. Finally,

the case, because we have no precedent prior to Christianity that any Jews believed in a divine and yet human messiah. As such, there is no precedent for a single Jewish tradition that could infer both Jesus' human messiahship and his divine identity. Thus, some textual traditions would point to the hope of the coming of the messiah and others to the hope of the return of YHWH to his temple. This being the case, I will need to unravel the Elijah forerunner tradition from the other traditions, to ascertain whether Matthew was using the Elijah forerunner tradition to infer Jesus' human messiahship or his divine identity.

Hays argues that Matthew uses multiple threads of scriptural tradition throughout his narrative to characterise the Jesus of his tapestry.[5] One of those threads is the Elijah forerunner concept. I will argue that this has generally either been misunderstood to imply Jesus' messiahship or scholars, having recognised the debate, have either not drawn out the logic of this tradition within Matthew's narrative, or have been inconsistent. This inconsistency is evident when scholars sometimes suggest that the Elijah forerunner concept infers Jesus' messiahship, and, at other times, that it infers Jesus' divine identity.[6] But this inconsistency with the Elijah forerunner tradition 'Christianises' a Jewish tradition and thereby fails to hear what that Jewish tradition suggests. It is to fail to allow Matthew to use the Jewish tradition of the Elijah forerunner concept in a Jewish way to consistently say something about Jesus' identity and vocation that, as it turns out, is very Christian. It is to short circuit Matthew's presentation of the Elijah forerunner concept, assuming we know the "Christian" conclusion he will reach, and thereby miss what amounts to a Jewish innovation of a Jewish tradition that reaches a Christian conclusion.

I will argue in this thesis that all the pre-Christian Jewish evidence suggests that Elijah was to return before YHWH rather than the messiah. This, I shall argue, is what the Jewish tradition of the Elijah forerunner concept was all about. The fact that Matthew (and the other

---

he argues that the divine "son of man" is not the same being as the human Enoch who is seeing the vision of the "son of man." Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 232–36. As such, Collins' suggestion is that 1 Enoch's messiah is divine and not human. In Wright's survey of the key messianic texts in *The New Testament and the People of God* he notes that the messiah/s spoken of is/are human and not divine. N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God,* COQG 1 (London: SPCK, 1992), 320. As such, there are traditions that speak of a divine messiah and other traditions that speak of a human messiah. But there are no traditions that speak of a human and divine messiah as the orthodox heirs of the New Testament claim is true of Jesus.

[5] Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016), Kindle edition, section 8, "Jesus and Emmanuel."

[6] Keener and France are two examples of scholars who have not been consistent with the way they have understood the one coming after Elijah in Matthew's Gospel. Keener argues that in Matt 3:1-11 ὁ ἐρχόμενος is a reference for God and yet in Matt 11:3 he assumes that it is a reference to the messiah. See C. S. Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew; A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 130–31, 335. Similarly France, argues that in Matt 3:1-11 ὁ ἐρχόμενος is best taken as a reference to Jesus' divine identity and that in the following pericope, the phrase ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός described Jesus as the human messiah. However, he later allows these different traditions that speak of different aspects of Jesus' identity and function (as God and human messiah), to collapse into each other. This has had the unfortunate consequence that in Matt 11:3, France speaks of ὁ ἐρχόμενος on the lips of John as referring to the messiah rather than the divine judge of Matt 3:1-11. See R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2007), 114–15, 421–22.

evangelists) also use other traditions as threads in their tapestries of Jesus to characterise Jesus as the human messiah has been a bedrock of studies in the Synoptic Gospels.[7] In fact, many have suggested that the Synoptic Gospels give us a view of Jesus from earth that portrays him as the earthly human messiah while John, on the other hand, gives us a view of Jesus from heaven as the Word incarnate.[8] This assumption has framed much scholarship in the Synoptics and led to a general suggestion that, in the case of Matthew, he has a whisper of high Christology at the start (Matt 1:23), the end (Matt 28:18-20) and perhaps once or twice in the middle (Matt 11:27; 18:20). But otherwise, Matthew's Christology is an earthly one portraying an earthly human messiah.[9] It is this portrait of Jesus in Matthew's Gospel that my thesis seeks to challenge and help overturn.

---

[7] Scot McKnight's article in the first edition of the *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* where he summarises Matthew's Christology is a good example and reads as follows: "We may summarize Matthew's christology as follows: Jesus is God's Messiah who fulfills OT promise, reveals God's will and inaugurates the kingdom of heaven through his public ministry, passion and resurrection, and consequently, reigns over the new people of God." See Scot McKnight, "Gospel of Matthew," pages 526–41 in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. J. B. Green and S. McKnight (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1992), 533. All of the above is true of Matthew's Gospel but fails to give a complete picture of Matthew's Christology. McKnight has grasped all the human messiah threads within Matthew's Gospel in his summary, as everything in his summary is true of the human messiah in Matthew. However, he has not grasped the threads that are weaved throughout Matthew's narrative that characterise Jesus as divine, which is an essential part of Matthew's Christology. As such his summary of Matthew's Christology is incomplete.

[8] Köstenberger does this at the start of his commentary on John's Gospel where he says "John's Gospel, together with the Book of Romans, may well be considered the enduring 'twin towers' of NT theology (Köstenberger 2000), soaring—to change metaphors—as an eagle over more pedestrian depictions of the life of Christ." See Andreas J. Köstenberger, *John:* BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004), 1. Köstenberger in this metaphorical opening to his commentary on John describes John (and Romans) as soaring above Jesus, giving us the view of Jesus from above as compared to the "pedestrian depictions of Jesus' life" – a reference to the Synoptic Gospels.

[9] An example of this view of Matthew's Christology can be found in DeSilva's *An Introduction to the New Testament*. DeSilva states "Jesus is Joseph's son by adoption – he is thus legally the 'son of David' and 'son of Abraham,' but his actual parentage is divine. This concept is brought to the foreground again late in the story when Jesus asks in light of Psalm 110:1 'If David thus calls him Lord, how can he be his son?' (see Mt 22:45 NRSV)." David A. DeSilva, *An Introduction to the New Testament: Contexts, Methods and Ministry Formation* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2004), 249. Here, for DeSilva, Matthew starts off in Matt 1:23 with a high Christology but then this theme goes silent right up until Jesus question in Matt 22:45. It is the assumption that Matthew has nothing to say regarding Jesus' divine identity (high Christology) between the beginning and end of Matthew's Gospel that my thesis seeks to challenge by highlighting the meaning and function of the Elijah forerunner concept in Matthew's Gospel. There is now also a growing number of scholars who reject this view of the Synoptics and see Jesus' divine identity being expressed throughout the synoptic narratives as I argue in my thesis. I think particularly of N. T. Wright who in a section on the Jewish belief of the return of YHWH to Zion, describes Jesus as seeing himself embodying in his vocation the sense that YHWH was indeed returning to Zion in and through Jesus. N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God,* COQG 2 (London: SPCK, 1996), 615–53. I shall argue below that the return of Elijah forerunner concept was one of the ways that Jews expressed their hope for the return of YHWH to Zion. My thesis is about how the Matthean Jesus used the Elijah forerunner concept to express the Jewish hope that YHWH would return to Zion and that the Matthean Jesus believed himself to be the fulfilment of that hope. Other significant scholars who are pushing in a similar Christological direction in the Synoptics include Richard Bauckham, Larry Hurtado and Simon Gathercole. Bauckham has contributed the expression "divine identity," which I use throughout my thesis and argues that Jesus' divine identity has its roots in the early Christian exegesis of Ps 110:1. See Richard J. Bauckham, "The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus," pages 43–69 in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus,* eds. C. C. Newman, J. Davila, G. Lewis (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 43-69. Hurtado argues for Christ-devotion historically prior to 70 C.E. and throughout the narrative of Matthew. He argues that the opposition to Jesus and his followers throughout the

It shall be my argument that the Elijah forerunner concept in Matthew's Gospel is one of the Jewish threads in Matthew's Gospel that is used to portray Jesus' divine identity. As a skilful narrator Matthew uses this Jewish thread and combines it with other threads that speak of Jesus' divine identity and threads that speak of Jesus' human messiahship and weaves them together around his Jesus and into a tapestry that is uniquely Christian, portraying Jesus as both divine and human. The threads of Jewish tradition on their own are thoroughly Jewish. But when they are weaved together in such a way as Matthew has done they create a tapestry of Jesus that is uniquely Christian. In this thesis I focus on just one thread – that of the Elijah forerunner concept and seek to understand it as a Jewish tradition so that I may appreciate its proper place in Matthew's Christian tapestry.

1.2 The commentators' differences on Elijah, John and Jesus in Matthew 11

At the messiah end of the spectrum on the issue of the identity of the one coming after Elijah in Matthew are Davies and Allison, Nolland, Witherington, Hauerwas and Hagner. Davies and Allison state that, in Matthew's citation of Isaiah 40:3 in Matthew 3:3, the way is being prepared not before Yahweh but before Jesus and that it is not the exile that is in view but the time of the messiah. They claim that Matthew disregards the original context in his interpretation.[10] This leads Davies and Allison to make the claim in Matthew 3:11 that the most likely possibility is that "the coming one is the messiah."[11] This naturally impacts their interpretation of Matthew 11 where they again make plain their messianic interpretation of the one for whom Matthew's Elijah prepares the way.[12] Nolland also argues along a similar line that the one coming after John is a "Spirit-dispensing messiah,"[13] and later identifies Jesus as the agent through whom God's eschatological action was taking place.[14] In Matthew 3, Witherington states that John's successor was clearly going to be a human rather than God, for otherwise the statements about being unworthy to remove his successor's sandals and his successor being stronger than him would not make sense (Matt 3:11-12).[15] This way of interpreting Matthew's Elijah and the identity of the one to come after Elijah continues for Witherington into Matthew 11. There Witherington focusses on how Elijah was to usher in a new era and states that

---

narrative of Matthew's Gospel reflects the pre 70 C.E. reality that Jesus was regarded as sharing the divine identity prior to 70 C.E. See Larry W. Hurtado, "Pre-70 CE Jewish Opposition to Christ-Devotion," *JTS* 50 (1999): 38–42. Gathercole argues that the "I have come" sayings in the Synoptics (including from Matthew, Matt 5:17; 8:29; 9:13; 10:34, 35; 20:28) are evidence of a pre-existence Christology. See Simon J. Gathercole*, The Preexistent Son: Recovering the Christologies of Matthew, Mark and Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2006), 84. If the Elijah forerunner concept points to Jesus' divine identity as I argue then it also presupposes Jesus' preexistence.

[10] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:293.

[11] Ibid, 314.

[12] W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Matthew*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, T. & T, Clark Limited, 1991), 241.

[13] J. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: a commentary on the Greek text* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2005), 147.

[14] Ibid, 450.

[15] Ben Witherington III, *Matthew:* SHBC (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys, 2006), 80.

Matthew's Elijah prepares the way before the messiah.[16] Similarly, Hauerwas makes his view clear when he says "John is Elijah because Jesus is the messiah."[17] Finally, although Hagner acknowledges that it is YHWH's way for whom John prepares the way in Matthew 3:3's citation of Isaiah 40:3,[18] Hagner ultimately argues that the one who comes after Matthew's Elijah is the messiah in Matthew 3:11; 11:10 and 14.[19]

Scholars who argue that the identity of the one coming after Elijah in Matthew is both the messiah and God, include Osborne, Morris, Turner, Chamblin, Evans, Brown and Roberts, Bruner, and Mitch and Sri. Osborne refers to John's identity following Matthew's citation of Isaiah 40:3 as the "messianic forerunner."[20] However, in Matthew 11:10 he states that Jesus is at least the divine agent of YHWH if not actually equated with YHWH.[21] Then, with reference to Matthew 11:14, Osborne claims once again that Matthew's Elijah is the messianic forerunner.[22] As such, Osborne claims that Matthew's Elijah is the messianic forerunner and that Elijah also prepares the way for God. This implies that Osborne believes that the Elijah forerunner concept could have been understood as Elijah preparing the way for both the messiah and God, rather than one or the other. I will argue that this is clearly a Christian interpretation that has not sufficiently untangled the traditions surrounding Jesus from each other, when seeking to understand how Matthew is using the Elijah forerunner concept.

Morris suggests that the one coming after John was the messiah.[23] However, Morris also suggests that Matthew's citation of Isaiah 40:3 in Matthew 3:3 demonstrates Matthew's belief in the divine identity of the messiah.[24] Morris continues this line of argument in Matthew 11:10 where he suggests that the one who Elijah was to precede in Malachi 3:1 was the messiah but that the way Malachi 3:1 is cited in Matthew 11:10 makes Jesus "the manifestation of YHWH."[25]

Turner remarks that "the deity of Christ is implied" with Matthew's citation of Isaiah 40:3 in Matthew 3:3.[26] Thus, Turner seems to suggest that the one coming after John would be both God and the messiah. However, in Matthew 11, where the Elijah forerunner concept comes to the forefront, Turner indicates his belief that Elijah was to come before the messiah.[27]

---

[16] Ibid, 232, 234.

[17] Stanley Hauerwas, *Matthew*: Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos, 2006), 115.

[18] Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13,* WBC 33A (Dallas, TX: Word, 1993), 48.

[19] Ibid, 51, 305, 308.

[20] G. R. Osborne, *Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2010), 111–12.

[21] Ibid, 420.

[22] Ibid, 422.

[23] L. Morris *The Gospel according to Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 1992), 61.

[24] Ibid, 54.

[25] Ibid, 279-280.

[26] D. L. Turner, *Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 108–9.

[27] Ibid, 291.

Chamblin states clearly that the one coming after Elijah is the messiah.[28] However, he also notes that in both Matthew 3:3 and 11:10 Jesus is also depicted as having a divine identity by the Scriptures cited about him. He argues that the messiah is presented as YHWH incarnate.[29] Likewise, Evans states numerous times that Elijah was to prepare the way before the messiah.[30] But he also states with reference to Matthew 11:10 that "Jesus stands in place of the Lord."[31] Thus, Evans acknowledges that Matthew 11:10 also highlights Jesus' divine identity in a passage central to the Elijah forerunner concept in Matthew.

Brown and Roberts seem to be aware of the debate around who Elijah was supposed to prepare the way for but do not argue for either position. Instead, they reference their position that Elijah was supposed to prepare the way before YHWH five times and then call John the forerunner of the messiah.[32] Brown and Roberts' assertion is that Elijah prepares the way for the return of YHWH in the messiah Jesus.[33]

Bruner argues that Jesus is presented as the God man in Matthew 1:20–23 and in his comments on Matthew 3:4–6 claims at one point that John was to prepare the way for "God's Messiah" and then on the following page that he was to prepare the way for "God's coming."[34] However, by Matthew 11 he claims that Matthew's Elijah, John the Baptist, expected the messiah to come after him as the "coming one."[35]

Mitch and Sri argue that in Matthew 3:1–11, John the Baptist is preparing the way for God's eschatological reign on earth (the Kingdom of Heaven). They argue that John the Baptist identified himself as Elijah and that Elijah was supposed to prepare the way before God.[36] But in Matthew 11 they go on to argue that "the coming one" was a messianic title in the late Second Temple period (Matt 21:9; 23:39) and that it has its basis in Psalm 118:26. As such in Matthew 11 they argue that John the Baptist was preparing the way for the Messiah.[37]

A scholar who attempts to pave a way of understanding the identity of the one coming after Elijah as both the messiah and God, and still use the language of Second Temple Judaism is Ulrich Luz. Luz takes a position that can be placed somewhere in the middle of the spectrum. He claims that the more powerful one for whom Matthew's Elijah is preparing the way is

---

[28] Knox Chamblin, *Matthew: A Mentor Commentary* (Ross-Shire: Mentor, 2010), 255, 610.
[29] Ibid, 255, 610.
[30] Craig A. Evans, *Matthew*: NCBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 73, 234, 238.
[31] Ibid, 238.
[32] Jeannine K. Brown and Kyle Roberts, *Matthew*: The Two Horizons New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2018), 40, 112–13.
[33] Ibid, 40.
[34] Frederick Dale Bruner, *Matthew 1–12: The Christbook* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 30, 88–89.
[35] Bruner, *Matthew 1–12*, 501.
[36] Curtis Mitch and Edward Sri, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010), 62–63.
[37] Mitch and Sri, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 151.

Matthew's Son of Man.[38] He also argues that the Son of Man phrase in Matthew is not a "meaningless expression with which Jesus referred to himself."[39] Nor was it an idea simply transported from Daniel 7's Son of Man. According to Luz, the phrase Son of Man had a meaning for his audience that was primarily associated with the Jesus' Son of Man saying traditions that existed within Matthew's community. That is, the first time Matthew's readers heard the phrase Son of Man they would think of the Son of Man's suffering, death, resurrection, session at the right hand of God and return as judge of the world.[40] As such, Luz's Son of Man or the "one to come" in Matthew looks already suspiciously Christian as it refers to one who is at the very least the messiah and at the very most God himself. Luz seems to take Jewish traditions and language (Son of Man), empty them of their Jewish contents and fill them with the hypothetical Christian content of Matthew's community. Thus, Luz's interpretation fits in the middle of this spectrum.

At the other end of the spectrum on the issue of the identity in Matthew of the one coming after Elijah are Keener, Harrington, France and Carson. Keener states with reference to Matthew 3 that "the One whose way John prepares is none other than the 'Lord" himself.'[41] Keener notes later in his commentary that Jewish tradition usually expected Elijah to prepare the way for YHWH not the messiah.[42] Thus, in Matthew 11 Keener acknowledges Matthew's belief in Jesus' messiahship but suggests that the Elijah forerunner concept is used to infer Jesus' divine identity.

Harrington is the most cautious of the commentators in drawing out the implications of Jesus' identity from the fact that John the Baptist is identified as Elijah. Instead, he points his readers to the debate around whom Elijah was supposed to prepare the way for in Jewish tradition. He highlights that many assume that Elijah was supposed to prepare the way for the messiah despite there being, in his view, no evidence for that assumption.[43]

Similarly, France acknowledges that Matthew's Christian readers know that it is Jesus the messiah who is John's coming one. However, he also suggests that John the Baptist's original listeners may have been surprised that John's coming one had a human referent. He concludes with a statement close to Keener's position when he states "in some remarkable sense when Jesus comes, God comes."[44] Later in Matthew 11:10, France asserts that John is identified in this

---

[38] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7:* Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 138.

[39] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8–20:* Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 390.

[40] Ibid, 390.

[41] Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew,* 131. Similarly see Craig S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 130–31.

[42] Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 337–38. Similarly see Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 338.

[43] Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew:* SP (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 157, 161.

[44] France, *The Gospel of Matthew,* 115.

pericope as Elijah who was to come before God's eschatological coming and that God's eschatological coming was, according to Matthew, happening in Jesus' coming.[45]

Carson highlights the function of Isaiah 40:3 in Matthew 3:3 where John the Baptist, as the voice in the wilderness, prepares the way for YHWH.[46] Carson argues that it is doubtful that the phrase "the coming one" in Matthew 3:11 is a messianic title because "the coming one" is also the "more powerful one," a phrase most often used for God in the Old Testament (LXX Jer 32:18; Dan 9:4; Isa 40:10).[47] However, Carson also makes it clear that he thinks some part (though it is not clear which part) of the pericope in Matthew 3:1-12 refers to the messiah's coming.[48] Finally, Carson argues in connection with Matthew 11:10, that if John the Baptist is the prophesied Elijah, then Jesus is the manifestation of YHWH.[49]

The above commentators' opinions about the identity of the one who was to come after Elijah in Matthew seem to be formed largely from two sources. First, they take their cue from evidence regarding who Second Temple Jews believed was to come after Elijah. Then secondly, they allow Matthew's beliefs about Jesus to inform their view of the identity of the one coming after Elijah. For instance, a key component of Matthew's Christology is Jesus' messiahship. This theme permeates the book and often forms part of the broader context of the pericopes that discuss Elijah and the one who is to come after him.[50] A key part of allowing Matthew's voice about Jesus to be heard is to allow each of the biblical traditions that Matthew uses to be heard independently before being heard together. This ensures that all the voices are properly heard and that the sound of popular biblical traditions is prevented from drowning out other biblical traditions. It is only after we have heard them independently that we can put them all together and hear them all collectively explain who Matthew believes Jesus is and what his significance was. This being the case, we will proceed with a brief survey of the scholarly discussion of the evidence regarding the one before whom Second Temple Jews believed Elijah was preparing the way. This will begin to explore what the Elijah forerunner concept says.

---

[45] Ibid, 428.

[46] D. A. Carson, "Matthew," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2010), Kindle edition, ch. "II. The Gospel of the Kingdom (3:1-7:29)."

[47] Ibid, ch. "II. The Gospel of the Kingdom (3:1-7:29)."

[48] See Carson's opening comment in Matthew 3:12. Ibid, ch. "II. The Gospel of the Kingdom (3:1-7:29)."

[49]Ibid, ch. "IV. Teaching and Preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom: Rising Opposition (11:2-13:53)."

[50] For instance John's ministry in Matthew 3 is preceded by a pericope that describes Jesus as a "new Moses" and "God's son," both of whom, some Jews expected as messianic type figures (Deut 18:15–18; Ps 2:7). It is then directly followed by Jesus' baptism (Matt 3:13–17), which is a scene where Jesus is once again described by the messianic title "my son" where God is the speaker (Ps 2:7).

1.3 Andrew Ferguson and the Elijah Forerunner concept

In a recent article, Andrew Ferguson has argued that the concept of Elijah as forerunner of the messiah was an authentic Jewish expectation prior to the rise of Christianity.[51] Ferguson's article is the latest voice in a discussion in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* that began with Faierstein challenging the traditional view of Elijah as the forerunner of the messiah in pre-Christian Judaism.[52] Faierstein's arguments were criticised, chiefly by Allison, for asserting, among other things, that first, the Elijah forerunner concept may have originated among Christians. Then, secondly, Allison claims that the notion of Elijah preparing the way for the messiah is attributed to the scribes in Mark 9:11, a text that Faierstein did not discuss.[53] Allison's claims were then challenged by Fitzmyer, who, among other things, challenges Allison's claim that Mark 9:11 can be read as asserting that the scribes believed that Elijah would come before the messiah. Fitzmyer rightly points out that it is the resurrection of the Son of Man that Elijah is said to come before in Mark 9:11.[54]

Ferguson critiques both sides of the debate thus far before making his argument for the traditional view that Elijah was to be the forerunner of the messiah.[55] He does so by suggesting that there is circumstantial evidence that favours the Elijah as forerunner of the messiah interpretation prior to the rise of Christianity. By circumstantial evidence he means "evidence that indirectly supports the main thesis that Jews before the rise of Christianity expected Elijah to precede the messiah. The evidence is indirect because the conclusion does not necessarily follow but depends on further evidence or inferences."[56] The apparent fountainhead for the disagreement between these scholars is the lack of careful definition regarding what is meant by the Elijah forerunner concept. The evidence Ferguson cites to support his claim (see below) can only be pressed to assert that Elijah and the messiah will appear on the eschatological stage together and that in one of these scenarios Elijah precedes the messiah. The implication of this is that Ferguson thinks that Elijah and the messiah appearing together (with Elijah being the first to appear) is what is meant by the Elijah forerunner concept. Faierstein states what he means by the Elijah forerunner concept only once in his discussion, where he denies that the concept existed in a liturgical text, cited by Ginzberg, which mentions both Elijah and the messiah.[57] Faierstein states, "the coming of one is not dependent on the other" which implies that

---

[51] Anthony Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept as an Authentic Jewish Expectation," *JBL* 137 (2018): 127-45.

[52] Morris M. Faierstein, "Why do the Scribes say that Elijah must come first?" *JBL* 100 (1981): 75-86.

[53] Dale C. Allison Jr., "Elijah must come first," *JBL* 103 (1984): 256–58.

[54] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "More about Elijah coming first," *JBL* 104 (1985): 295–96.

[55] Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 127.

[56] Ibid, 127, note 3.

[57] The liturgical text is in one of the Berakhoth and is used after the reading of the prophets. It states "Make us rejoice, oh Lord our God, in the prophet Elijah, Thy servant, and in the kingdom of the house of David, Thine anointed. Soon may he come and gladden our hearts. Suffer not a stranger to sit upon his throne, nor let others any longer inherit his glory." See Louis Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1970), 251, and Faierstein, "Why do the Scribes say that Elijah must come first?," 84–85.

Faierstein understands the Elijah forerunner concept to be causal in nature. That is, the coming of Elijah causes or allows the coming of the messiah.[58] Thus, the disagreement between Ferguson and Faierstein stems from different definitions of the Elijah forerunner concept. The implication from Ferguson's argument is that he thinks that Elijah's coming before the messiah amounts to the Elijah forerunner concept. By contrast, Faierstein has a more nuanced requirement for the relationship between Elijah and the messiah, requiring Elijah's coming to cause the other's coming.

If one uses Malachi 3:23–24 as the key source for defining the Elijah forerunner concept, then Faierstein's definition is preferable to that of Ferguson's.[59] For in Malachi 3:23–24 it is Elijah's coming and the completion of his task that prepares the way for the day of YHWH. There is a clear causal relationship between the coming of Elijah and the day of YHWH. Consequently, Faierstein's definition of the Elijah' forerunner concept is more appropriate for the purposes of my thesis. However, Ferguson's article is a good way into the most recent discussion on the Elijah' forerunner debate in Second Temple' literature. Therefore, I interact here with his argument before disagreeing with him and highlighting the need for a fresh evaluation of the evidence.

Ferguson begins by discussing what he rightly calls the uncertain evidence of 1 Maccabees 4:46 and 14:41 along with Sibylline Oracles 2:187.[60] In 1 Maccabees 4:46 and 14:41 there is a reference to an ambiguous future prophet/s who would know what to do with the defiled old altar stones in the temple and who would bring the Hasmonean rule and priesthood to an end. These references to a future prophet may, or may not, be references to the same future prophet. It could be a reference to Elijah, Moses, Jeremiah, or another known or unknown prophet. Thus, Fergusson has rightly deemed the 1 Maccabees 4:46 and 14:41 references to a future prophet as uncertain evidence, since it is far from clear that they refer to Elijah, and therefore should not be used as evidence for the Elijah forerunner concept.[61]

Ferguson then argues that the Elijah forerunner concept is present in Sibylline Oracles 2:187 but that it cannot be used as evidence because it betrays Christian influence.[62] An important note here is that while the Sibylline Oracles may demonstrate Ferguson's

---

[58] Ibid, 85.

[59] Most recognise that Mal 3:23–24 is the key source for the Elijah forerunner concept (Christine E. Joynes, "The returned Elijah? John the Baptist's Angelic Identity in the Gospel of Mark," *SJT* 58 (2005): 455; David Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the reception history of Malachi 3:1," *NTS* 53 (2007): 1).

[60] Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 130–32.

[61] Fergusson interacts with Klausner who argued that the prophet in 1 Macc 4:46 and 14:41 referred to Elijah. Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel: From Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, trans. W. F. Stinespring (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 260.

[62] Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 131. Similarly see John J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Yale University Press, 1983), 1:331–32.

understanding of the Elijah forerunner concept, they do not portray Faierstein's understanding of the Elijah forerunner concept. In Sibylline Oracles 2:187–251, Elijah precedes the messiah in his appearance on the eschatological stage but there is no causal relationship between their tasks. Elijah could equally be the forerunner of the angels leading souls to God (Sib. Or. 2:214–220), the resurrection (Sib. Or. 2:221–237) or God sitting on the throne (Sib. Or. 2:38–240) as he could the appearance of the messiah (Sib. Or. 2:241–251).

Ferguson then reviews some uncertain evidence from Qumran.[63] He begins by noting how the scrolls refer to a prophet, a messiah of Aaron and a messiah of Israel (Rule of the Community, 1QS IX 9b–11). He notes how the scrolls do not further identify the prophet before suggesting that the other possibilities for Elijah's identity at Qumran could be the Interpreter of the Law (4QFlorilegium, 4Q174 1–2, 21 I, 11) or the messiah of Aaron (Damascus Document, CD XII, 23). He points out that the identification of Elijah with the messiah of Aaron or the Interpreter of the Law depends upon Elijah's priestly status (LAB 48:1; Lives Of the Prophets 21).[64] Fergusson then notes the arguments of two scholars who have tried to identify Elijah as either the Interpreter of the Law or the messiah of Aaron,[65] before concluding that the evidence for identifying Elijah as either the messiah of Aaron or the Interpreter of the Law is not strong enough. Ferguson's reasoning throughout this section is good although he fails to mention other manuscripts that mention either Elijah or the Malachi prophecy about Elijah (Messianic Apocalypse, 4Q521 and pap paraKings et al., 4Q382).

Ferguson then moves into pre-Christian evidence that he calls "circumstantial evidence" that he believes demonstrates the Elijah forerunner concept. Essential for his argument here is his assertion that the Elijah forerunner concept can be broken into two beliefs. First, the belief that Elijah will precede the day of the Lord. Then second, that the messiah was believed to come on the day of the Lord.[66] If he is able to demonstrate these two points he is able to successfully

---

[63] Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 132–33.

[64] See Satran's argument that "the Lives of the Prophets" comes from later Byzantine Christianity rather than being a late Second Temple Jewish document. Satran rightly criticises the rule of thumb that has been used with much pseudepigraphal literature where if a document does not have any obvious Christian aspects (Christological) then it must be Jewish. Satran then makes a strong case for dating "the Lives of the Prophets" in the Byzantine period. See David Satran, *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine Reassessing the Lives of the Prophets,* SVTP 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 1–120. Satran's work has had several reviews including one by John Collins, who states "Satran has effectively demolished the theory that *The Lives of the Prophets* is a Jewish work from the Second Temple Period." See John J. Collins, review of *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine: Reassessing the Lives of the Prophets,* by David Satran, *JNES* 57 (1998): 65-67. Consequently, I will not use "Lives of the Prophets" as a Second Temple source in my thesis.

[65] Ferguson notes how Ginzberg noted parallels between the Interpreter of the Law and Elijah because Elijah has the role of interpreting the law in later Rabbinic Judaism (b. Pesaḥ. 34a, b. Ber. 35b). Ginzberg would then argue for the Messiah of Aaron's identity being Elijah. See Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 209–56. Ferguson also notes Poirier's recent argument for identifying Elijah as the Interpreter of the Law based upon similarities between CD VII, 18–19 and 1 Kings 19:15. See John C. Poirer, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," *DSD* 10 (2003): 236. Ferguson does not find their arguments convincing.

[66]Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 133.

argue that Elijah will precede the coming of the messiah. Thus, he would have demonstrated his understanding of the Elijah forerunner concept. However, he would not have demonstrated Faierstein's notion of the Elijah forerunner concept.

Ferguson begins with Malachi 3:23-24 in the MT to argue his first point that Elijah will precede the day of the Lord. The text of Malachi 3:23-24 clearly demonstrates this first point. Therefore, Ferguson argues, when this text is read alongside other texts that demonstrate his second point, that the messiah was to come on the day of the Lord, we have evidence of the Elijah forerunner concept. For Ferguson's second point he turns to the text of pIsa[a] (4Q161 8-10 III, 22). This text interprets Isaiah 11 as referring to an eschatological shoot of David who arises in the "last days." Ferguson then moves to Sefer ha-Milhamah (4Q285 5, 2-4) and suggests that it speaks of the imagery of the branch of David coming in the context of an eschatological war where he judges and puts Belial to death. The final text that Ferguson refers to is the Psalms of Solomon 17 that speaks of the messiah and his eschatological coming and reign in the "last days" (Pss. Sol. 17:44; 18:6).

However, the relationship between "the last days" when the messiah would come and the "day of YHWH" mentioned in Malachi 3:23 is complicated. It is not clear that the writers of messianic texts, or their pre-Christian readers, always understood the "last days" to be a synonymous phrase with "the day of YHWH." This is a possibility but not a necessity. Consequently, a discussion of the "day of YHWH" and "the last days" is needed. But first, it is important to highlight that even if a group understood "the day of YHWH" and the "last days" as synonymous phrases, Ferguson's argument still suffers from its weakness of definition. That is, all that Ferguson would have demonstrated is that Elijah precedes the messiah, along with many other eschatological events. No causal relationship has been demonstrated between Elijah's coming and that of the messiah, as is required for Faierstein's definition of the Elijah forerunner concept.

I begin with a brief discussion of the "day of YHWH." Methodologically, some scholars, such as Hoffmann, have argued that we ought to consider the "day of YHWH" as a technical term and look for its meaning only in the passages that explicitly use the phrase יום יהוה.[67] However, one only has to look at the day of YHWH's antecedents in the book of Malachi to know that other phrases express the same idea as the "day of YHWH" there. In fact, it is the other phrases (Mal 3:17, 19) in Malachi that give the "day of YHWH" (Mal 3:23) its meaning and content. On its own, יום יהוה tells us nothing about the day other than it will be a day that is related somehow to YHWH.[68] In Malachi 3:17 and 19 we learn that the "day of YHWH" will be

[67] Yair Hoffmann, "The day of the Lord as a concept and a term in the Prophetic Literature," *ZAW* 93 (1981): 37–50.

[68] Similarly see Daniella Ishai-Rosenboim, "Is יום ה׳ (the Day of the Lord) a Term in Biblical Language?" *Biblica* 87 (2006): 397.

a day when YHWH takes those who revere him as his own special possession and judges evil doers. As such, contextually within Malachi the "day of YHWH" refers to a day when YHWH acts in salvation for the righteous and judgment on the wicked. Thus, within Malachi, **ליום אשר אני עשה** from Malachi 3:17 and **היום** from Malachi 3:19 are synonymous phrases with **יום יהוה** in Malachi 3:23. Thus, they and their context must be considered when determining the meaning of the "day of YHWH" in Malachi. This highlights the difficulty of Hoffman's approach where he aims to not dilute the power of the motif of the "day of YHWH," but ends up dismissing phrases in the passage that are essential to the day of YHWH's meaning in Malachi 3:23.[69] This does not mean that similar phrases like **ליום אשר אני עשה** or **היום** are always synonymous with the "day of YHWH." It does mean that phrases similar to the "day of YHWH" should not be set aside from the outset when determining the meaning of the "day of YHWH" as Hoffman suggests. Similar phrases are needed to help determine the precise meaning of the "day of YHWH" in a given context.

This being the case, the fifteen occurrences of the "day of YHWH" along with other passages that contain similar phrases and other references like "the day" that occur within the context of the above passages, all need to be considered when determining the meaning of the "day of YHWH."[70] Barker discusses the above passages and notes the following about the "day of YHWH." First, YHWH is often portrayed as a warrior come down to bring judgment on either foreign nations or his own people.[71] Secondly, the "day of YHWH" involves the appearance and action of YHWH in either judgement or salvation.[72] Finally, Barker also notes Everson's insight that the "Day of YHWH" is used by prophetic writers to speak of a future event, an imminent event and a past event.[73]

---

[69] Similarly see J. D. Barker, "Day of the Lord," in *Dictionary of the Old Testament Prophets*, ed. M. J. Boda and G. J. McConville (Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Academic, 2012), 133.

[70] The phrase "day of YHWH" occurs in Isa 13:6, 9; Ezek 13:5; Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11, 31 (3:4 MT); 3:14 (4:14 MT); Amos 5:18, 20; Obad 15; Zeph 1:7, 14 (2x); Mal 4:5 (3:23 MT). Phrases similar to the "day of YHWH" occur in Isa 2:12; 34:8; 61:2; Jer 46:10; Ezek 7:19; 30:3; Zeph 1:18; 2:2, 3; Zech 14:1.

[71] Von Rad suggested that the context of YHWH's involvement in holy war was the origin of the "day of the Lord" concept. See G. Von Rad, "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of the Lord," *JSS* 4 (1959): 97–108. This is undoubtedly a key idea within the "day of the Lord" concept but cannot be said to be the origin of the idea due to two key "day of the Lord" texts (Isa 2:12 and Amos 5:18-20) not being related to holy war. Further, Weiss states that there are also passages that are not "day of the Lord" texts that are about holy war. See Meir Weiss, "The Origin of the Day of the Lord – Reconsidered," *HUCA* 37 (1966): 31. I assume Weiss is thinking of passages such as Isaiah 21. Similarly see Barker, "Day of the Lord," 136.

[72]Barker, "Day of the Lord," 135. Similarly Weiss, "The Origin of the Day of the Lord," 47. Hoffmann also argues that "theophany" is essential to the "Day of the Lord" concept but defines theophany as a clear action of God where the visibility of God is not essential. He suggests that Elijah's victory over the prophets of Baal in 1 Kings 18 where God's acted when Elijah prayed is an example of this type of theophany even though God was not seen. See Hoffmann, "The day of the Lord as a concept," 44.

[73] Everson takes eighteen texts as being the key for the "day of the Lord" tradition and notes that seven of them speak of a future event (Amos 5:18-20; Isa 2:12-17; 34:1-17; 61:1-3; 63:1-6; Mal 3:13-24; and Zech 14:1-21), six speak of the nearness of the "day of the Lord" (Zeph 1:1-9; Ezek 7:1-27; 30:1-9; Obad 1-21; Isa 13:1-22; and Joel 1-4) and five speak of the "day of the Lord" as a past event (Lamentations 1 and 2; Ezek 13:1-9; Jer 46:2-12 and Isa

The phrase **באחרית הימים** ("the last days" or "in the future") appears thirteen times in the Old Testament.[74] Of these, only the occurrence in Isaiah 2:2 is within the same context as a "day of YHWH" phrase (Isa 2:12). Within Isaiah 2:2–4, "the last days" describes a future time characterised by the establishment of the Lord's house as the highest place of honour in the world with God dwelling in it,[75] the nations coming to the Lord's house to learn about God, war ceasing and the judgment of God beginning.[76] While the "day of YHWH of hosts" in Isaiah 2:11–12 describes a day of YHWH's revenge against the wicked and proud of his people.[77] As such, the "day of YHWH" in Isaiah 2:12 is described in different terms from "the last days" of Isaiah 2:2 and it is probable that Isaiah 2:12 describes a time that is not synonymous with "the last days" of Isaiah 2:2 and that actually precedes it.[78] This creates a problem for Ferguson's assertion that the messiah's appearance in "the last days" would have been understood to mean that the messiah comes on the "day of YHWH."

Further, Annette Steudel demonstrates that the Qumranites believed themselves to already be living in "the last days."[79] Consequently, if Fergusson's assertion that "the last days"

22:1-12). See A. Joseph Everson, "The days of Yahweh," *JBL* 93 (1974): 330–31. Barker, "Day of the Lord," 136–37.

[74] Gen 49:1; Num 24:14; Deut 4:30; 31:19; Isa 2:2; Jer 23:20; 30:24; 48:47; 49:39; Ezek 38:16; Mi 4:4; Hos 3:5; Dan 10:14. See Von Rad's argument that the phrase **באחרית הימים** is eschatological in the Old Testament and synonymous with "the day of the Lord." Gerhard Von Rad, "ἡμέρα: Day in the OT," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel, G. W. Bromiley & G. Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 2: 946. For a more detailed argument see Buchanan who demonstrates that the eschatological meaning is not inherent to the phrase **באחרית הימים** but can be inferred from the context. See George Wesley Buchanan, "Eschatology and the 'End of Days,'" *JNES* 20 (1961): 188–93.

[75] See Buchanan for the argument that **באחרית הימים** should be understood as a future time. Buchanan, "Eschatology and the "End of Days,'" 188–91. Similarly see Gary V. Smith, *Isaiah 1-39,* NAC (Nashville, TN: B & H 2007), 129. Patricia K. Tull, *Isaiah 1-39,* Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2010), 82.

[76] Smith, *Isaiah 1-39,* 129. Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12;* CC (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 88-94; John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–-33,* WBC 24 (Waco, Texas: Word, 1985), 28-29; Tull, *Isaiah 1-39,* 84-85.

[77] Ibid, 89–90. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33,* 35-36; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 112–13.

[78] Similarly see Watts who argues that Isa 2:2-4 is a separate section that describes the controlling vision of the book of Isaiah as the time of the end. See Watts, *Isaiah 1–33,* 29. On the other hand, Watts says of Isaiah 2:12 that "YHWH of hosts" reflects the day of Holy War in Israel. See Watts, *Isaiah 1–33,* 35. A day of holy war can have nothing to do with a day where war has ceased. Wildberger argues that the phrase **באחרית הימים** from Isaiah 2:2 refers to an altered eschatological future resulting from God's action in history. See Wilberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 88. On the other hand, Isa 2:12 depicts Isaiah's version of the "day of YHWH," which is about the humbling of the proud and the demonstration of the majesty of YHWH. See Wilberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 112–15. Smith argues that Isa 2:2–4 describes the ideal kingdom and the goal that God had for Jerusalem in the eschaton. Smith, *Isaiah 1–39*, 129. While Isaiah 2:12 describes YHWH's attack on his own people to humble the proud. Smith, *Isaiah 1–39*, 140. Tull states that Isaiah 2 contains two alternative "verbal pictures that could hardly differ more in sound, content and emotion." Tull, *Isaiah 1–39*, 79.

[79] Steudel states "Summarizing the evidences of **תירחא ימימה** in the Qumran texts we have to conclude: **תירחא ימימה** does not mean the time of salvation, it also does not mean a "punctual end" of history, nor does it mean "future". Rather, what is meant by the term **תירחא ימימה** is a limited period of time, that is the last of a series of divinely pre-planned periods into which history is divided. This last period of time directly before the time of salvation covers aspects of the past (A), as well as aspects of the present time (B) and of the future (C)." See A. Steudel, "**תירחא ימימה** in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 231. Similarly see Collins who equates the day of judgement with the "day of YHWH." He cautiously agrees with Steudel that "the last days" were believed to have already begun by the Qumranites and suggests that it stretches into the future when the messiahs would come

and the "day of YHWH" were understood as synonymous phrases at Qumran is correct, then Elijah must have already come. This would be the case because, according to Ferguson, Elijah was to prepare the way for the "day of YHWH" or "the last days" that, according to Steudel, was believed at Qumran to have already begun. We have ample evidence that the Qumranites did not believe Elijah had already come (pap Vision[b] ar, 4Q558 1 II and 4Q521 2 III, 2). This means that either Fergusson is wrong and "the last days" was not understood as being synonymous with the "day of YHWH" at Qumran, or, Steudel is wrong and the Qumranites did not think of themselves as already living in "the last days." Steudel cites texts that demonstrate the Qumranites did believe that they were living within "the last days" (papMMT[e], 4Q398 11-13, 4; 4Q174 1 I, 15-17; pNah, 4Q169 3-4 II, 2 and pHab, 1QpHab 9, 6).[80] Given the evidence for Steudel's position, and the lack thereof for Ferguson's, I suggest that "the last days" was not understood as being synonymous with the "day of YHWH" at Qumran. Therefore, the relationship between Elijah preparing the way before the "day of YHWH" and the messiah's coming in "the last days" (4Q161 8-10 III, 22; 4Q285 5, 2-4) remains unspecified.

The Animal Apocalypse suggests that while the phrases "the last days" and the "day of YHWH" are related, they do not have the same meaning. The Animal Apocalypse contains events and times that coincide with the above observations of the "day of YHWH" and the eschatological interpretation of "the last days" from Isaiah 2. First 1 Enoch 90:15, 18 says,

> (15) And I kept seeing till the Lord of the sheep came upon them in wrath, and all who saw him fled and fell all into darkness, from before his face… (18) I kept seeing till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in his hand the rod of his wrath and smote the earth; and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell down from the midst of those sheep and were swallowed up in the earth, and it was covered upon them.[81]

---

and beyond. John J. Collins, "The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, SDSS, ed. Craig Evans and Peter Flint (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 1997), 74–90. Collins suggests that the day of judgement is the day when YHWH steps into history at the climax of the 40 year eschatological war and judges the wicked and brings salvation to the righteous (1QS IV, 18-20; 1Q33 I, 14-15). Collins, "The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 75, 90. Thus, Collins argues that the "day of YHWH" and "the last days" were related but distinct ideas at Qumran. I follow Collins' argument that there were multiple communities or settlements within the Qumranite sect. Collins argues first that the multiple copies of the Damascus Document state that there were multiple settlements called "camps" where members of the sect live, married and had children (CD VII:6–7; CD XII:22–XIII:4). Secondly, the Community Rule also envisions multiple settlements (1QS VI:3–4). Thirdly, there have been multiple copies of the Community Rule found and they have some differences between them, which can be explained by them belonging to different settlements and having been brought to Qumran for hiding during a time of crisis. Fourth, there is no clear reference for a settlement at Qumran within the Scrolls. Then finally, there is ongoing debate around the site at Qumran. While it is clear that the sect occupied the site in the first century CE, it is unclear if it was so in the Hasmonean period. See John J. Collins, "Sectarian Communities in the Dead Sea Scrolls" in *The Oxford Handbook on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. John J. Collins and Timothy H. Lim (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 151–72. Consequently, while I recognise the weight of Collins' argument, I have chosen to retain the use of the singular "Qumran" at times for convenience sake.

[80] A. Steudel, "**אחרית הימים** in the Texts from Qumran," 228–30.

[81] E. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Yale University Press, 1983), 1: 70.

This description of the Lord of the sheep coming in great wrath and in a militaristic fashion fits the above meaning of the "day of YHWH" concept. After this, a "last days" event occurs in 1 Enoch 90:28–39 that parallels many of the themes from Isaiah 2:2–4. The Lord's house is established (1 Enoch 90:28–29), all nations come to the Lord's house (1 Enoch 90:30, 33) and war ceases (1 Enoch 90:34).[82] Further, in "the last days" scene a white bull is born who many scholars take to be a reference to the messiah.[83] If they are right, then in the Animal Apocalypse the messiah comes in "the last days" after the "day of YHWH." Thus, in the Animal Apocalypse the "day of YHWH" likely either precedes "the last days" or marks the beginning of "the last days." As such, Ferguson's assumption that the "day of YHWH" was understood as being synonymous with "the last days" is likely incorrect.

Ferguson then cites pap Vision[b] ar (4Q558) as circumstantial evidence for his understanding of the Elijah forerunner concept.[84] Ferguson rightly argues, contrary to Fitzmyer, that the most plausible referent for the "elect one" in 4Q558 1 II, 3 is a messianic figure.[85] Ferguson argues that the "elect one" was a messianic title prior to the rise of Christianity as evidenced by Noah[a] ar (4Q534 I, 10) and the Enochic Book of Parables (1 En. 37–71).[86] On the other hand, Fitzmyer argued that there was a lack of pre-Christian evidence for the notion that

---

[82] A similar comparison is made by Laato. See Antti Laato, "Rewriting Israel's History in the Apocalyptic Context: Animal Apocalypse in First Enoch," *SEÁ* 82 (2017): 40.

[83] Lydia Gore-Jones, "Animals, Humans, Angels and God: Animal Symbolism in the Historiography of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch," *JSP* 24 (2015): 271. Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-cultural Perspective* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2007), 210. If we allow for a broader definition of messiah that includes other eschatological figures then Tiller identifies the messianic white bull as a third Adam. See Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse,* EJL 4 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 20. Similarly see Olson who identifies the white bull as a new Jacob or true Israel. This white bull figure for Olson could be said to be messianic only in the sense that he is a significant figure of the last days. But there is no hint of him being an anointed priest or king. See Daniel C. Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch,* SVTP 24 (Leiden, Brill: 2013), 22–31. Regev argues that the sheep with the great horn in 1 Enoch 90:9b is not a reference to Judas Maccabaeus but rather to a non-violent religious leader. See Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran,* 207–9. Eyal Regev, "The Ram and Qumran: The Eschatological Character of the Ram in the Animal Apocalypse (1 EN. 90:10-13)," in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism: Engaging with John Collins' The Apocalyptic Imagination*, JSJSup 182, eds. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 181–93. Regev makes a good case that the Ram from 1 Enoch 90:9b and following is eschatological but fails to convince me that the Ram is simply a religious leader. Passages like 1 En. 90:12–13 give the Ram a militaristic function alongside its religious function. However, if Regev is right, then we may have a reference to an eschatological religious leader who, during his struggle with the shepherds, eagles, vultures, kites (1 En.ch 90:13), cried out for help. As a result of his cry for help, an event that can be described as a "day of the Lord" occurred (1 En. 90:14–18). This looks very similar to what I will argue was expected concerning the causal nature between the eschatological Elijah and the "day of the Lord." However, most scholars still identify the ram with the large horn from 1 En. 90:9b and following with Judas Maccabaeus. See Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse,* 355. Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch,* 211–13; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 88; Laato, "The Chronology in the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch 85–90," 17. If this is the case, then the Animal Apocalypse claims that there was a causal link between Judas' cry for help and a "day of the Lord."

[84]Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 134–39.

[85] Similarly see Jean Starcky, "Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumran," *RB* 70 (1963): 498–99. Knibb also favours the Davidic identification of the "elected one." See Michael A. Knibb, "Apocalypticism and Messianism," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 424.

[86] Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 135.

the "elect one" was a messianic title prior to the rise of Christianity. Fitzmyer argued initially that the Enochic Book of Parables is a post-Christian document and cautioned against conflating the title "the elect of God" in 4Q534 I, 10 with the title "elect one" in 4Q558 1 II, 3.[87] Fitzmyer proposed that the "elect of God" from 4Q534 I, 10 could plausibly be a reference to Noah.[88]

Ferguson points out that Fitzmyer was later convinced of the majority position that the Enochic Book of Parables was a pre-Christian document that likely dates from around the turn of the era.[89] Thus, in the Enochic Book of Parables there is pre-Christian precedent for taking the title "elect one" as a messianic title. This being the case, it would seem likely that in 4Q558 Fergusson has rightly suggested that a messianic figure is associated with the return of Elijah. Once again, however, Ferguson has assumed that because Elijah and the messiah are associated eschatologically that this is circumstantial evidence that Elijah is the forerunner of the messiah. But this is only one possibility among many and depends on how one defines the Elijah forerunner concept. Some other plausible possibilities for the relationship between the "elect one" and Elijah in 4Q558 are first, that Elijah is the "elect one." Second, that Elijah is a prophet who appears on the eschatological stage with the messiah but does not prepare the way for him. Or, Ben Ezra's suggestion that תמיניא ל from 4Q558 1 II, 3 could be translated as "the eighth to."[90] This, according to Ben Ezra, would give the possible reading that the "elect one" is followed by seven subsequent generations before another figure comes. Ben Ezra then links this notion up to Testament of Levi 17 that speaks of seven jubilees of priesthoods before the eighth eschatological priest (T. Levi 18). In Ben Ezra's scenario Elijah could be the eschatological priest like that of the Testament of Levi and he may precede a theophany (4Q558 1 II, 5).[91] Or finally, that Elijah is the messianic priest and the "elect one" is the messiah of Israel. If this option is

[87] Joseph Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic "Elect of God" Text from Qumran cave IV," *CBQ* 27 (1965): 354–55. I think Fitzmyer's caution against conflating the titles "elect of God" and "elect one" is sensible as they may have been distinguishable.

[88] Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic "Elect of God" Text from Qumran cave IV," 371–72. Fitzmyer's suggestion that the "elect of God" in 4Q534 I 10 is a reference to Noah remains plausible. I think, however, Ferguson's position that the title "elect of God" is more likely a reference to a messianic figure is more likely (Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 136). I think this first, because the language about the wisdom of the elect of God in 4Q534 I 8 recalls Solomon in 1 Kings 5:13; 10 and Isaiah 11. Secondly, because of the great opposition against the elect of God that amounts to nothing in 4Q534 I 9 recalls the opposition against the messiah and God's son (a messianic title) in Psalm 2. Thirdly, because the begetting language of 4Q534 I 10b recalls the begetting of God's son in Ps 2:7. Finally, because the title "elect one" is a messianic title and while it may be distinguishable from "elect of God" it is closely related.

[89] Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 137, note 43. Among Ferguson's reasons for dating the Enochic book of parables at the turn of the era are first, the reference to the unsuccessful invasion of Palestine by the Parthians and the Medes in 1 En. 56:5-8. This reference would be unlikely if the writer was writing after Jerusalem was destroyed. Secondly, a possible reference to Herod the Great's death in 1 En. 67:8–13. Finally, the insistence in the book of parables that landowners will be cursed (1 En. 38:4; 48:8; 62:3–6, 9: 63:1) reflects the reality of heavy taxation and land seizures under Herod the Great where many Jews lost their land. Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 138.

[90] Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, "Messianic Figures in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, STDJ 94, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 522.

[91] Ibid, 522–23.

correct, then 4Q558 would give us another example of the pairing up of the messiah of Aaron and the messiah of Israel.[92] The reality is that 4Q558 is too fragmentary to lead us in the direction of any of the above possibilities.[93] Any position taken on the relationship between Elijah and the "elect one" in 4Q558 is an inference made from reading 4Q558 within its Dead Sea Scroll context and remains speculative in nature.

Ferguson then argues that the notion of Elijah as the forerunner of the messiah is implied in Matthew 17:9–13. His argument is that first, the disciples' question is related to the resurrection of the messiah.[94] Then secondly, the scribes had taught them that Elijah must come first. Therefore, Ferguson suggests, it is implied that the scribes believed that Elijah must come before the messiah.[95] However, his conclusion does not follow. The antecedent for the disciples' question is actually the Son of Man's resurrection not the messiah's resurrection.[96] Further, Greek is a language where the information flow in a normal clause runs in the sequence of verb-subject-object. When a Greek writer wants to highlight a new idea or give a clause's important element more attention, they can disrupt the normal sequence of the constituents within a clause.[97] In the case of the final clause of Matthew 17:9, the flow of constituents is subject,-object-verb. This particular disruption to the normal flow of information serves to mark the object of the clause ἐκ νεκρῶν as especially significant by the placement of the verb ἐγείρω.[98] Thus, the disciples' question focusses more on the resurrection from the dead, than the resurrection of the Son of Man. This makes good sense within the narrative of Matthew as this is the first time Jesus has explicitly mentioned his own resurrection whereas he has often referred to himself as the Son of Man.[99] As such, it is the new idea of Jesus' "resurrection" that is being

---

[92] 1QS IX, 11; CD XII, 23-XIII, 1; XIV, 19; XIX, 10-11; XX, 1 likely also 1Qsa or 1Q28a II, 19-20; 4Q174 1 II, 7.

[93] Similarly see John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (New York, Doubleday, 1995), 116. Puech thinks that a Davidic messiah is in view. Émile Puech, pages 179–258 in *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXVII – Textes Araméens Deuxième Partie,* DJD XXXVII (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 217.

[94] He correctly emphasises that it is the chronology of Elijah's coming and the resurrection that the disciples have difficulty with understanding. Similarly see Markus Öhler, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God," *JBL* 118 (1999): 464–65. Unless one is willing to argue that Matthew is using the title "son of man" in a messianic way, Ferguson imports the idea of messiah into the text.

[95] Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 139-140.

[96] The language used here is important. Yes, Matthew's Jesus is the messiah. But the text of Matt 17:9 has the expression "Son of Man" and not "messiah." As such, it is the Son of Man's resurrection, and not the messiah's resurrection, that is the antecedent of the disciples' question. The language of "Son of Man" rather than "messiah" ensure that it is the Son of Man's resurrection that provoked the disciples' question and not the coming of the messiah.

[97] Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical introduction for teaching and exegesis* (Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2010), 185–210; Steven E. Runge, *The Lexham Discourse Greek New Testament: Introduction* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2008), electronic edition, ch. 3.1 "Main Clause Emphasis"; Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek* (Dallas, TX: SIL International, 2000), 29–30.

[98] Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 38–39.

[99] Jesus does talk about the sign of Jonah in Matt 12:38–40 but this is a rather veiled and cryptic reference. The narrator also mentions in Matt 16:21 that it was from after Peter's confession "Jesus is the messiah" that Jesus started to openly speak about his pending suffering, death and resurrection. This discounts the sign of Jonah reference in Matt 12:38–40 from being an open reference within Matthew to Jesus' pending death and resurrection.

brought into focus and that is commented on through the disciples' question. This indicates that the disciples' question was to do with their assumption that Elijah's coming was expected to happen before the resurrection. The disciples were thinking, "how could Jesus rise from the dead if Elijah has not yet come?" As I shall argue below, we have pre-Christian evidence in the Greek of Sirach 48:11 and possibly 4Q521 that Elijah was to come before the resurrection and that his coming was associated with the resurrection.

Further, if the implication was that the scribes taught that Elijah must come before the messiah, then surely the disciples would have asked their question τί οὖν οἱ γραμματεῖς λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἠλίαν δεῖ ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον; ("Why then do the scribes say that Elijah must come first?") from Matthew 17:10 after Peter's declaration in Matthew 16:16. The fact that the disciples did not ask their question when Jesus was revealed to be the messiah indicates that it was not Jesus' messiahship which provoked the question about Elijah coming first. Rather, it was the notion of the resurrection that provoked the question. Therefore, Matthew 17:9–13 does not support Ferguson's definition of the Elijah forerunner concept.

Ferguson then turns to Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* for support for his argument.[100] Even if we grant Ferguson that the relevant parts of Justin's *Dialogue* reliably reflect Jewish belief,[101] his point is still not clear. The text does not claim that Elijah is coming to prepare the way for the messiah. It claims that Elijah and the messiah are expected to come together, and that Elijah will anoint the messiah as part of his task. Some may interpret this as Elijah preparing the way. But this is significantly different from the known ways of interpreting Elijah's task in Malachi 3:23–24.[102] I submit that the interpretation of Elijah anointing the messiah as Elijah's task of preparing the way for the messiah remains speculative and difficult to mesh with the evidence.

Following Matt 16:21, Matt 17:9 is the first example of Jesus openly speaking about his resurrection (see also Matt 17:22–23; 20:18–19) and as such, it is the first occurrence of an important theme that Matthew will reiterate again and again in his Gospel..

[100] The text Ferguson cites is Justin, *Dial.* 49:1–12 "And Trypho said, 'Those who affirm him to have been a man, and to have been anointed by election, and then to have become Christ, appear to me to speak more plausibly than you who hold those opinions which you express. For we all expect that Christ will be a man [born] of men, and that Elijah when he comes will anoint him. But if this man appear to be Christ, he must certainly be known as man [born] of men; but from the circumstance that Elijah has not yet come, I infer that this man is not He [the Christ]'." See Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 141–42.

[101] Ferguson cites Horner who seeks to place Trypho within the context of second century Asian Judaism. Horner proceeds to argue that Trypho fits what we might expect of a second century Asian Jew from the data that we possess. Horner seeks to separate what he calls the "Trypho Text" from Justin's dialogue and speculates that it once existed as an original document that was expanded upon later by Justin in the work "dialogue with Trypho." Timothy J. Horner, *Listening to Trypho* (Paris: Peeters, 2001), 33–63, 169–96.

[102] Some have suggested that Elijah will pacify the family quarrels that resulted from the mixed marriages in Mal 2:10–16. Others suggest that Elijah's task will be to cause Israel to return to covenantal faithfulness. See Richard A. Taylor and E. Ray Clendenen, *Haggai and Malachi*, NAC (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 2004), 462; Anthony R. Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi,* ApOTC (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2015), 386; Caryn A. Reeder, "Malachi 3:24 and the Eschatological Restoration of the Family," *CBQ* 69 (2007): 703.

Further, Justin's *Dialogue* is late (mid second century). So, if Justin is reliably reflecting Jewish thought on the Elijah forerunner concept, it cannot be taken as representative of Jewish belief prior to the rise of Christianity and the Jewish revolts. Indeed, the notion of Elijah anointing the messiah could possibly be a safeguard, put in place by the Rabbis, to help Jews not to miss-identify the messiah again and suffer the consequences. Further, if the Elijah forerunner concept was used by the early Christians, as I shall argue it is used in Matthew, to speak of Jesus' divine identity, then one way the Rabbis might counter this 'blasphemous' Christian claim is to argue that Elijah was to prepare the way for the messiah not God.[103] As such, the notion of Elijah preparing the way for the messiah could be a genius development of the Rabbis that both guards against pseudo-messiahs and counters the Christian use of the Elijah forerunner concept.

Finally, Ferguson argues that because the forerunner concept occurs in Rabbinic literature in b. ʿErub 43a-b (third century) that it must be of Jewish origin and pre-Christian.[104] He rightly argues that the Rabbis are unlikely to take up the Christian idea that Elijah prepared the way for the messiah if it was indeed originally a Christian idea.[105] Thus, Ferguson rightly concludes that it must be of Jewish origin. Then, because he believes he has sufficiently demonstrated that Elijah preparing the way for the messiah can also be found in the Gospels (Matt 17:9–13), he concludes that it must be pre-Christian. However, his argument assumes that the Christian claim that Elijah prepared the way before Jesus was understood as the fulfilment of a scriptural claim that Elijah prepares the way before the messiah. But this assumption is

---

[103] Higgins states that there was a tendency in post-Christian Judaism "to tone down messianic dogma and emphasise the human nature of the messiah." See A. J. B. Higgins, "Jewish Messianic Belief in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho," *NovT* 9 (1967): 299. This is likely to counter the Christian claim of a divine' messiah. Another obvious way the Rabbis could accomplish this goal is with the claim that Elijah was to prepare the way for the messiah. Horner also notes that a key issue that Trypho has with Justin's view of the messiah is Justin's claim that the messiah was also God. It is to refute this claim that Trypho makes the statement that Elijah is to prepare the way for a human messiah (*Dial.* 49:1). See Horner, *Listening to Trypho*, 159-60. As such, Trypho potentially made this argument to counter an argument he was aware of where Elijah was to prepare the way for God.

[104] "Come and hear: [If a man said,] 'Let me be a nazirite on the day on which the son of David comes,' he may drink wine on Sabbaths and festival days, [43b] but is forbidden to drink wine on any of the weekends. Now, if it is granted that the law of Sabbath limits is applicable, it is quite intelligible why the man is permitted [to drink wine] on Sabbaths and festival days; but if it be contended that the law of Sabbath limits is inapplicable why [it may be asked] is it permitted [for the man to drink wine] on Sabbaths and festival days?—There the case is different since Scripture said, behold I will send you Elijah the prophet etc. and Elijah, surely, did not come on the previous day. If so, even in the case of weekdays, [the drinking of wine] should be permitted on any day since Elijah did not come on the previous day? But the fact is that we assume that he appeared before the high court, then why should we not here also assume that he appeared before the high court?—Israel has long ago been assured that Elijah would not come either on Sabbath eves or on festival eves owing to the people's pre-occupation. Assuming that as Elijah would not come the Messiah also would not, why should not [the drinking of wine] be permitted on a Sabbath eve?—Elijah would not, but the Messiah might come because the moment the Messiah comes all will be anxious to serve Israel." Isidore Epstein, *English–Hebrew Edition of the Babylonian Talmud*, vol. 4 (London: Soncino, 1965) 85-86. Chilton argues that only a small part of the Talmudic literature can be appropriately used as background to the New Testament. See B. Chilton, "Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament," in *The World of the New Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts*, ed. J. B. Green & L. M. McDonald (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic), 415. Allison dates b. ʿErub 43a-b to the early third century see Dale C. Allison Jr., "Elijah must come first," *JBL* 103 (1984): 256.

[105] Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 144.

unfounded because, as I will demonstrate, no pre-Christian texts or canonical Christian' texts claim that Elijah prepares the way for the messiah. I will argue, in Matthew, in light of the Elijah background material given below, the Christian claim that Elijah prepared the way before Jesus was not taken as evidence of Jesus' messiahship but of Jesus' divine identity. The early Christians used other scriptural traditions to argue for Jesus' messiahship. But the return of Elijah traditions were not used in this messianic way.

Evans has a discussion on anachronism in his article on messianism in the *Dictionary of New Testament Background*. In it he lists numerous ways in which both Jews and Christians have anachronistically read later messianic ideas back before 70 C. E.[106] My initial survey above would suggest that the notion of Elijah preparing the way for the messiah should be added to Evans' list. This is the case because the earliest clear indications of this version of the Elijah forerunner concept are, I shall continue to argue, in a single Rabbinic text from much later and maybe the above portion of the dialogue with Trypho.[107] Consequently, it should not be assumed that any group of second Temple Jews believed that Elijah would prepare the way for the messiah without sufficient argument from pre-70 C.E. sources. Or, alternatively, with sufficient argument that can explain why post-130 C.E. sources can be used to explain the pre-70 C.E. situation. This is the case because, as I will show, the pre-70 C.E. sources unanimously claim that Elijah prepares the way for YHWH while, some have argued, that a few Jewish sources after the Bar-Kochba revolt (approx. 130 C.E.) claim that Elijah prepares the way for the messiah.[108]

This discussion of Ferguson's work highlights the need for a fresh evaluation of the evidence surrounding the Elijah forerunner concept. Ferguson has left out crucial pieces of early evidence from his discussion, including a detailed discussion of the three different versions of Malachi we possess in the MT, the LXX and 4Q Minor Prophets[a] (4Q76). A discussion of these different versions of Malachi will highlight different ways that the Elijah forerunner concept was interpreted by Second Temple Jews. Further, a discussion of how Sirach and Sirach's grandson interpret the Elijah forerunner concept is also essential to any investigation into how Second Temple Jews were interpreting the Elijah forerunner concept.[109] Finally, Ferguson has omitted to

---

[106] C. A. Evans, "Messianism," in *Dictionary of New Testament Background: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship*, ed. C. A. Evans and S. Porter (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2000), 700.

[107] Evans argues elsewhere that one of the requirements that is necessary in order to draw upon Rabbinic literature for insights into the pre 70 C.E. situation is that any "alleged rabbinic parallel is supported by antecedent documentation." See Craig A. Evans, "Early Rabbinic Sources and Jesus Research," pages 27-58 in *Jesus in Context: Temple, Purity, & Restoration*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 30.

[108] See b. ʿErub 43a-b; Pesiq. Rab. 4:2; 33:8; 35:4; Pirqe R. El. 43; Tg. Ps.-J. on Deut 30:4; Midr. Ps. 3:7; Midr Ps. 42/43:5; b. Sukkah 52b; m. ʿEd 8:7; Deut. Rab. 4:11 and Midr. Prov. 19). Watts comes up with this impressive list of Rabbinic references that relate Elijah to the messianic age. R. E. Watts, "Mark," pages 111-249 in *Commentary on the New Testament use of the Old Testament,* eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 118–19. However, upon inspection none of the passages explicitly has Elijah preparing the way for the messiah according to Faierstein's definition except for b. ʿErub 43a-b. The other Rabbinic texts from Watts' list can be broken into three groups which I have collected in Appendix one.

[109] Ferguson only mentions Sirach in passing (Ferguson, "The Elijah Forerunner Concept," 128).

consider some key texts and characters from the Dead Sea Scrolls that shed light on how some Second Temple Jews were understanding the Elijah forerunner concept (4Q521; 4Q385). As such, a fresh, thorough discussion of this evidence is required in order to reach some helpful conclusions on how the Elijah forerunner concept was understood in Second Temple Judaism.

Once this task is completed, I will be in a position to understand how a Second Temple Jew could have understood Jesus' claim that John the Baptist is Elijah (Matt 11:14). Further, I will be able to listen to this biblical tradition on its own within Matthew's Gospel and hear what Matthew is saying about Jesus' identity and task through his use of this tradition. As such, in chapter 2 I will discuss separately the three versions of Malachi that we possess (MT, LXX and 4Q76). In chapter 3 I will discuss the Hebrew and Greek of Sirach, 4Q521, 4Q385 and LAB. In chapter 4 I will discuss Mark and some interpretative issues that Mark and Matthew have in common. Then in chapter 5 I will discuss the Elijah forerunner concept in Matthew 11:2-24.

1.4 Objection: YHWH's return and agency

Some might feel that the debate between Ferguson, Allison, Faierstein and Fitzmyer discussed above is irrelevant because although YHWH promises to do many things in the prophetic literature, this does not necessarily mean that humans will not be involved.[110] After all, could not the "day of YHWH" in Malachi 3:24, when YHWH comes in judgement and vengeance upon the wicked, be carried out by a human agent but still be understood as the "day of YHWH?" As noted above, while the Day of the Lord includes a theophany of YHWH, Hoffman has argued for a broader definition of theophany that could include a miraculous event like Elijah's contest with the prophets of Baal when YHWH sent fire from heaven.[111]

I have three reasons for rejecting this possibility. First, because the evidence for the belief in YHWH's return and saving action is more widespread in the literature from the Second

[110] Bird gives an example of this citing Ezek 34:7–16 that speaks of YHWH shepherding his people but notes that just a few verses later, we read that he is going to shepherd them through the agency of "my servant David" (Ezek 34:22–24). Bird argues that this means that David will be to Israel what YHWH had promised that He would be – a shepherd. Michael F. Bird, "Did Jesus Think He Was God?," pages 45–70 in *How God Became Jesus: The Real Origins of Belief in Jesus' Divine Nature – A Response to Bart Ehrman*, ed. Michael F. Bird (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2014), 55–56. Sanders has an intriguing discussion on the *War Scroll* from Qumran pointing out that a Davidic messiah does not appear there; rather, God steps in at the last moment to secure victory, and the author proclaims "truly the battle is yours!" (1QM XI 1). Sanders makes this observation among several other texts that depict YHWH as a warrior (Isa 49:26; T. Mos. 10:7; Sib. Or. 3:708–9) within his argument that belief in a Davidic messiah is surprisingly scarce in Second Temple literature. See E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63BCE-66CE* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), 482–85. As I argued above, the belief that YHWH is a warrior is a key aspect of the hope for the "Day of YHWH," when YHWH will appear and defeat his enemies. Sanders suggests that if YHWH joins the fight the need for a messianic warrior is reduced. See Sanders, *Judaism*, 484.

[111] For the Day of the Lord including a theophany of YHWH see Barker, "Day of the Lord," 135; Weiss, "The Origin of the Day of the Lord," 47; For Hoffman's argument see Hoffmann, "The day of the Lord as a concept," 44.

Temple period than the expectation of the coming of a messiah.[112] Wright argues that when we find the belief in the coming of a messiah this is not to the exclusion of the coming of YHWH, but was seen as an expression, outworking or accompaniment of YHWH's coming.[113] Wright continues by arguing that although the messiah was expected, in some quarters, to be God's agent, fight God's battles and restore/cleanse God's temple, he would do so in order that YHWH would once again come and dwell in his temple.[114] Wright concludes his argument by discussing how Jesus combined the two different Jewish traditions of the coming of the human messiah and the return of YHWH. He concludes that Jesus intentionally enacted the promised return of YHWH to Zion and that he adopted a role of "a strange quasi-messianic figure."[115] This move is uniquely Christian and fits my argument below that the return of YHWH in Malachi could not be accomplished by a human messiah. The expectation was for YHWH's return and thus could only be fulfilled by YHWH, and thus, if it was to be "a strange quasi-messianic figure" who fulfilled this role, then that figure would have to, in some sense, be YHWH as well.

Second, because the specific passage that refers to the return of Elijah in Malachi 3:1-5 and 23-24 come as a response to the question in Malachi 2:17 "where is the God of justice?"[116] To answer this question with "the messenger/Elijah is going to prepare the way for a human messiah" is to justify the question of Malachi 2:17. As such, the Malachi context of the Elijah forerunner concept in Malachi 2:17 demands that it is the actual return of YHWH, rather than another agent of YHWH, that is in view in Malachi 3:1–5, 23–24. An agent of YHWH could be involved in hopes regarding the building of the temple or defeating YHWH's enemies but not involved in the hope for YHWH's presence – only YHWH's presence could satisfy that hope.

---

[112] Wright, in his discussion on the return of YHWH, notes the breadth of prophetic passages that refer to the return of YHWH, the link with new Exodus language and return from exile language and that YHWH is to come in judgment. Many of these passages explicitly exclude the possibility of an agent fulfilling this hope in YHWH's place. Included in Wright's list are Isa 4:2–6; 24:23; 25:9–10; 35:3–6, 10; 40:3–5, 9-11; 52:7–10; 59:15–17, 19–21; 60:1–3; 62:10–11; 63:1, 3, 5, 9; 64:1; 66:12, 14–16, 18–19; Ezek 43:1-7; Hag 2:7, 9; Zech 2:4–5, 10–12; 8:2-3; 14:1–5, 9, 16; Mal 3:1–4; Ps 50:3–4; 96:12–13; 98:8-9. See Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 616–21. Later (p. 622) he also notes that the expectation endured beyond the initial return from Babylon in later Jewish texts (1 En. 1:3–4, 9; 25:3–5; 90:15; 91:7; T. Mos. 10:1, 3, 7; 12:13; Jub. 1:26–28; 11QTemple[a] (11Q19) 29 3–9). Wright argues that these later texts reflect the belief among some Second Temple Jews that YHWH's return had not yet happened as they had expected. He argues that what was expected was a manifestation of YHWH in his temple comparable to the Exodus theophanies or to the cloud that filled Solomon's Temple at its dedication. Wright states "But the geographical return from exile, when it came about under Cyrus and his successors, was not accompanied by any manifestations such as those in Exodus 40, Leviticus 9, 1 Kings 8." See Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 621–23. Wright follows the work of Robert Webb at this point. Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 222–27.

[113] Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 623.

[114] Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 631.

[115] Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 648.

[116] R. L. Smith, *Micah–Malachi,* WBC 32 (Dallas, TX: Word, 1998), 327; E. H. Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Exegetical Commentary* (Richardson, TX: Biblical Studies Press, 2003), 370–71; P. A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi,* ECBC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 287.

Finally, because in the Synoptics, the Elijah forerunner concept it always accompanied by another tradition that confirms that Elijah was to prepare the way for the divine rather than the messiah. Mark and Matthew accomplish this by combining their first mention of the return of Elijah concept with Isaiah 40:3 (Mark 1:2–3; Matt 3:3) which, for the Synoptic' authors, describes John the Baptist as the voice in the wilderness preparing the way for YHWH.[117] Luke makes the same point in his first reference to the Elijah forerunner concept in a different and rather more explicit way in Luke 1:16–17. There Luke narrates the scene of the angel bringing the miraculous news to Zechariah that he is going to have a son and that he is to name him John. In Luke 1:17 the angel says "that he will go before him," which is a reference back to "the Lord their God" from Luke 1:16 and then makes specific reference to the Elijah forerunner concept.[118] Thus, Luke is explicit in his first mention of the Elijah forerunner concept that Elijah is coming before God.

It is for these three reasons that the suggestion that an agent could stand in for YHWH and come after Elijah ought to be rejected. First, because the hope for YHWH's return was widespread and those who hoped for a messiah did not believe that the messiah would come instead of YHWH. Second, because the hope for YHWH's return in Malachi is in response to a question regarding YHWH's absence. Finally, because the Synoptic Gospels use the Elijah forerunner concept in conjunction with another tradition that infers Jesus' divine identity, making the connection with the divine coming after Elijah explicit. It is, accordingly, unlikely that an agent of YHWH could be expected to stand in place of YHWH in the Elijah forerunner concept in the Synoptic Gospels.

---

[117] France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 105; Turner, *Matthew*, 108-109. R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark,* NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 64, note 31; J. R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*. PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 28–29.

[118] John Nolland, *Luke 1:1–9:20,* WBC 35A (Dallas, TX: Word, 1989), 31. Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50,* BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1994), 88.

Chapter 2 Elijah's Return in the Malachi Traditions

The appropriate place to begin an investigation into the beliefs about the return of Elijah in the Second Temple period is with the biblical textual traditions, which speak of this event. Following this, I will discuss the other relevant texts from the Second Temple period that speak of the return of Elijah such as Sirach, texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls and Mark's Gospel. I will follow this chronological order so that I am able to trace the development of the return of Elijah tradition up to the time Matthew wrote his Gospel.

There are at least four important contextual questions that need to be answered from the Biblical textual traditions of the MT, the LXX and 4Q76. The tentative answers from each text for these four questions help identify the number and identity of the characters in Malachi 3:1. Further, there is some cross-pollination between the answers to each question that will assist in working out the most probable ways the text could have been read by first century Jews. My goal here is not to argue dogmatically for one interpretation. Rather, I aim to determine what the best possible interpretations of Malachi 3:1 are in the various biblical traditions in order to find a starting place for how Second Temple Jews may have been reading the oracular prose of Malachi 3:1–5, 23–24.[1] This may provide clues as to which textual tradition and interpretation later Jews of the Second Temple period were using. My questions are

1) How are **מלאכי**, **האדון** and **מלאך הברית** related in Malachi 3:1?
2) Who is the subject of the clauses of Malachi 3:2–4?
3) How does Malachi 3:1-5 relate to Malachi 3:23–24?
4) What does Malachi 3:23–24 tell us about Elijah?

2.1 Malachi 3:1 in the Masoretic Text

It is important to clarify what I mean by the following terms in the table below. By the term "messenger" I mean a human messenger. By the term "God" I mean YHWH himself and not a representative of YHWH or the figure known as the angel of YHWH. By the term "divine messenger" I mean a being like the one often spoken of with the phrase "angel of YHWH" in places like Judges 6. Sommer has helped to bring some clarity to this discussion by highlighting the existence of the belief in the fluidity of God in ancient Israel. According to Sommer, many ancient Israelites believed that the one God could be present in multiple bodies in different places at the same time. The Angel of YHWH is an example of such a character as the Angel of

[1] Hill notes that Malachi has sufficient prose makers (**אשר**, **את**, etc) to identify its genre as Prose. Statistically, a piece of literature needs at least fifteen percent of its words to be prose markers for that literature to be considered prose. Of Malachi's words, sixteen percent are prose markers, which is above the number of prose markers in Hebrew poetry (around five percent). Consequently, Hill claims that the genre of Malachi is oracular prose. Andrew E. Hill, *Malachi,* AYB 25D(New York: Doubleday, 1998), 23-26. Similarly, Petterson claims that Malachi is broken up into speeches and is therefore prose. See Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, 309–10.

YHWH is a character whose identity, at times, overlaps with YHWH.[2] The various main identities that scholars have given to **מלאכי**, **האדון** and **מלאך הברית** are represented in the following table.[3]

[2] Sommer identifies the belief in the fluidity of God particularly with the E and J material in the Pentateuch and the northern kingdom of Israel. See Benjamin Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 38–79. Similarly see Davis who favourably refers to the position of Hadley on ancient monotheism in Israel, which is similar to that of Sommer. Davis suggests that Asherah may have been understood as a hypostasis of YHWH. See Graham Davis, "Comparative Aspects of Israelite History," *ZAW* 125 (2013): 193. Similarly see Kugel who cites a number of texts (Gen 18:1–14; 32:24–30; Ex 3:1–7; Num 22:22–31; Josh 5:13-15; Jdg 6:11–23; 13:2–24) where he argues that the angel fades into God. His suggestion is that the biblical character viewing the theophany is often unaware that he/she is conversing with God but often believes he/she is conversing with a man, an angel or a burning bush. However, as the narrative progresses the biblical characters becomes aware that they are or were actually conversing with God. Kugel says concerning these theophany experiences that "God in human form" has a certain built-in ambiguity, since such a being is, but is also is not, God (that is, he is also this "human form," however illusory or fleeting that form may be). See James L. Kugel, *The God of Old: Inside the Lost World of the Bible* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 34, 5–36. Walton would challenge Sommer's view, at least regarding the angel of YHWH, by arguing that in the ancient world a King's messenger would go in place of the king, speak only what the king has told him to say and be treated as if he has the king's authority. Walton goes on "When the angel is identified with the Lord by the narrator or himself, it is nothing more than an indication of the source and authority behind the message. When the characters identify the angel as the Lord, it is nothing more than either confusion on their part or recognition of the authority the messenger represents." See John Walton, *Genesis,* NIVAC (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2001), 465. Walton argues there is no reason for arguing that YHWH's messenger's identity overlaps with YHWH himself, as YHWH's messenger would be expected to do what only YHWH can do on YHWH's behalf. See Walton, *Genesis*, 455–66. However, Sommer's argument from extra-biblical evidence that ancient Israel's neighbours as well as some Israelites did have a fluid view of God is still compelling. See, Sommer *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel*, 12–57. It provides crucial context for interpreting the passages Sommer discusses (including the angel of YHWH passages that Walton discusses) and Malachi 3:1–5. Mach traces the development of the concept of the **מלאך** through scripture. He points out that **מלאך** describes a function not a nature and so a phrase like "messenger of YHWH" describes the function of a being. He then argues that the once distinct concepts of the "heavenly court," with its polytheistic pagan background, and the messenger were eventually fused together (he cites Hosea 12:4's interpretation of Gen 32; Gen 48:15–16a; Zech 12:8, he also cites Exod 14:19; Jdg 6 as evidence where it is not possible to distinguish between **מלאך** and the sender – God). Mach, who writes before Sommer, would seem to be open to Sommer's suggestion regarding the fluidity of God and that the ancient Israelites intentionally did not clearly distinguish between God and **מלאך** at some points because sometimes God and the **מלאך** share the same identity. Mach states "Aus modernem Verständnis ergibt sich die Notwendigkeit der Unterscheidung, die hier zur Debatte steht. Galt diese aber auch zu biblischer Zeit?" See Michael Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 43, 25–64.

[3] Two other possibilities that are not taken up by the major commentators include first, **מלאכי** as messenger, **האדון** as another messenger and **מלאך הברית** as another messenger. This option's weakness is that it does not identify **האדון** with the divine, which is likely given that **האדון** is mainly a title used for the divine and has the definite article. Finally, that **מלאכי**, **האדון** and **מלאך הברית** are all references to the same divine messenger. This is unlikely at least in Malachi's final form as the **מלאכי** of Mal 3:1 is identified as Elijah in Mal 3:23. Even in its earliest written form the **מלאכי** of Mal 3:1 was likely human given that in the other occurrences in Malachi, **מלאך** is a reference to a human (see Mal 1:1 and 2:7).

What	מלאכי	האדון	מלאך הברית
Two messengers and God[4]	messenger	God	another human messenger
messenger and God[5]	messenger	God	God
messenger and God[6]	messenger	God	messenger
messenger and two divine characters[7]	messenger	God	divine messenger
YHWH, a messenger and a divine messenger	messenger	divine messenger	divine messenger
YHWH, messenger, divine messenger	messenger	divine messenger	messenger
YHWH and one or two divine messengers[8]	divine messenger	God	divine messenger
all references to the same human messenger[9]	messenger	messenger	messenger

[4] Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi,* 371; Steven M. Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration,* SNTSMS 117 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 91.

[5] Taylor and Clendenen, *Haggai and Malachi*, 384–86; Beth Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987), 130-136.

[6] Steven Tuell, *Reading Nahum–Malachi* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2016), 247–49; David L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 209-212; Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, 361–63; Andrew E. Hill, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi,* TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012), 332–35. Stacy Davis, *Haggai–Malachi,* Wisdom Commentary 39 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), 74-75. Eddinger is possibly in this group. He identifies **האדון** with God and **מלאכי** with **מלאך הברית** and argues that the connection between "my messenger" in Mal 3:1 and Elijah in Mal 3:23 is tenuous. He does not specify whether he thinks the identity of **מלאכי** is divine or human. See Terry W. Eddinger, *Malachi: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text,* BHHB (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), 76–77, 118.

[7] Smith, *Micah–Malachi,* 327–329, 342. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi,* 288–89. Snyman argues that the parallelism in Mal 3:1 come close to identifying **מלאך הברית** and **האדון** as the same being. However, Snyman argues that **מלאך הברית** is similar to the angel of the Lord, in that he is identified with YHWH and also distinguished from YHWH. See S. D. (Fanie) Snyman, *Malachi, HCOT* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 134.

[8] Hill, *Malachi*. AYB 25C, 288–89. Eddinger could also possibly be in this group. See Eddinger, *Malachi*, 76-77, 118.

[9] R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament* (Vancouver, BC: Regent College Publishing, 1998), 91, note 31.

I begin by eliminating the four weakest options. I suggest that option 1 (**מלאכי** is a messenger, **האדון** is God and **מלאך הברית** is another messenger) and option 4 (**מלאכי** is a messenger, **האדון** is God and **מלאך הברית** is a divine messenger) are the weakest options. This is because either the use of **מלאך** twice, within the same context, demands that both **מלאכים** are references to the same being, or, the parallelism between the clauses **האדון אשר־ מלאך הברית אשר־אתם חפצים** and **אתם מבקשים** demands that **האדון** and **הברית** are references to the same being. Option 8 (**מלאכי** is a messenger, **האדון** is a messenger and **מלאך הברית** is a messenger) is weak because it does not identify **האדון** with the divine which is preferable given that **האדון** is coming to "his temple."[10] Option 7 (**מלאכי** is a divine messenger, **האדון** is God and **מלאך הברית** is a divine messenger) is not often discussed by commentators because the later appendix of Malachi in 3:23–24 identifies the **מלאכי** of Malachi 3:1 as Elijah.[11] The many similarities between Malachi 3:1a and Malachi 3:23 make it very likely that the final version of Malachi would have been read so that **מלאכי** of Malachi 3:1 is indeed **אליה** of Malachi 3:23.[12] Thus, option 7 is also a weak option when considering how the final version of Malachi was likely understood because Elijah was not likely conceived to be a being like the Angel of YHWH (see section 4). Thus, at this point, there are four likely options for interpreting Malachi 3:1 in the MT (options 2, 3, 5 and 6).

We need to consider one issue that will help narrow down the options. Malachi 3:1–5 contains the answer to the question asked in Malachi 2:17 "where is the God of justice?" Malachi 3:1–5's answer is framed by the use of the *waw* consecutive with perfect verbs. As is normally the case with the use of the consecutive perfect, the first verb in the sequence is the imperfect verb which signals the future tense narration of what is about to follow.[13] The imperfect verb in this

---

[10] This is contrary to France who argues that **האדון** is never used on its own as a title for YHWH but always in conjunction with **יהוה** and usually other titles. Thus, because **האדון** can also be used to refer to a superior human (Mal 1:6), France argues that the context of Mal 3:1 must be allowed to determine the meaning of **האדון**. The context of Mal 3:1, France argues, identifies **מלאכי** as a human and **מלאכי**, **האדון** and **מלאך הברית** as the same individual. See France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 91, note 31. It is not possible to take "his temple" as a reference to "Solomon's Temple," "the son of David's Temple" or "the Messiah's Temple" because in Scripture the Temple is God's Temple. The phrases "Solomon's Temple," "Herod's Temple" and the like are phrases historians use to speak of different stages of the temple but they were not used by ancient Jews. Nor is it best to read **היכל** as a reference to a "palace" and **האדון** as a reference to the Messiah. This is because the agent of purification purifies the sons of Levi (Mal 3:3) who work at the temple and not the king's palace and **האדון** is most often a reference to the divine.

[11] Smith is a good example of this, as he initially says we do not know whether **מלאכי** of Mal 3:1 is a human or an angel but then in his comments on Mal 3:23 says that **מלאכי** of Mal 3:1 is Elijah of Mal 3:23. His comment refers to the fact that while the identity of **מלאכי** in the original prophecy of Mal 3:1 may be unclear, the identity of **מלאכי** of Mal 3:1 in the final form of Mal is Elijah. It is with the identity of **מלאכי** in the final form of Malachi that is of interest to my thesis. See Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 327–29, 342.

[12] **הנני שלח מלאכי ופנה־דרך לפני ופתאם יבוא אל־היכלו האדון** (Behold I send my angel and he will prepare a way before me and the lord whom you seek shall suddenly come to his temple) compared to **הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני בוא יום יהוה הגדול והנורא** (I shall send to you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of YHWH comes).

[13] Gary D. Pratico and Miles V. Van Pelt, *Basics of Biblical Hebrew,* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007), 202.

sequence is יבוא in Malachi 3:1. It is then followed by a series of consecutive perfect verbs starting in Malachi 3:3 with וישב, then וערבה in Malachi 3:4 and finally וקרבתי in Malachi 3:5. This use of the consecutive perfect marks the narrative as being sequential and in the future.[14] As such, Hill's assertion that the waw prefixed to the verb קרב at the start of Malachi 3:5 is a regular conjunction waw that then allows Hill to claim that Malachi 3:5 is an emphatic restatement of the judgment of Malachi 3:2–3 is unconvincing.[15] The narrative flowing from the verb יבוא in Malachi 3:1 is sequential and in the future as a result of the use of the consecutive perfect.[16] This means that Malachi 3:5 happens after the events of Malachi 3:1b–4 and is not an emphatic restatement of them. It also means that the subject of Malachi 3:2–4 is not YHWH as

---

[14] Pratico and Van Pelt, *Basics of Biblical Hebrew*. Waltke and O'Connor highlight that the *waw*-relative (*waw*-consecutive) is distinguished from the *waw*-copulative (conjunctive *waw*) by accentuation, though only in the first person singular and second person masculine singular. They argue that when it is the *waw*-relative the accent will be thrown forward to the last syllable as much as possible. Of the *waw*-relative conjugations in Mal 3:1-5 only וקרבתי is in the first person singular or second person masculine and is therefore identifiable by Waltke and O'Connor's method of accentuation. Significantly, in the MT, the accent is on the last syllable of וְקָרַבְתִּי which would identify it as a *waw*-relative rather than a *waw*-copulative. There are of course some exceptions to this means of identification, but none are applicable in this case. However, the Hebrew text I am discussing is a proto Masoretic Text and so would have no accents, which makes this means of identification redundant. See B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 519–21. Pratico and Van Pelt mention this as an extra aid in identifying the *waw* consecutive see Pratico and Van Pelt, *Basics of Biblical Hebrew*, 201.

[15] Hill takes the *waw* at the beginning of Mal 3:5 as a conjunctive *waw* used to introduce a statement of exclamation and certitude. He cites Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §39.2.1b, 648–49 where Waltke and O'Connor give an example (Amos 4:10) of the emphatic use of the conjunctive *waw*. However, the example cited by Waltke and O'Connor does not parallel the *waw*-relative construction in Mal 3:5. As such, Hill's assertion that the judgment in Mal 3:5 is an emphatic repeating of the judgment mentioned in Mal 3:2-3 is unconvincing. However, Hill also notes that the "*waw*-relative + suffixing conjugation assume the non-perfective value of the preceding *waw*-relative + suffixing verb form" which means it continues the non-perfective sequence of the preceding verse. It is rather strange of Hill to suggest that the same *waw* could function in these two contradictory ways. See Hill, *Malachi,* 278–80. Also see Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the reception history of Malachi 3:1," 5, note 18 who highlights this point. Pratico and Van Pelt discuss how to distinguish the use of the consecutive perfect from a conjunctive *waw*. They state that if a *waw* is prefixed to a perfect verb, in a series of perfect verbs and the first verb in the series is a regular perfect verb, then the conjunctive *waw* is being used. However, if the first verb in the series is an imperfect verb and is then followed by perfect verbs with a *waw* prefixed to them, then the consecutive perfect is being used. See Pratico and Van Pelt, *Basics of Biblical Hebrew*, 202-204.

[16] Similarly Miller states "The waw-relative suffix conjugation construction at the beginning of 3.5 implies a continuation of the temporal sequence of verbs begun in 3.3: 'he will sit as a refiner' (3.3); 'the offering of Judah and Jerusalem will be pleasing' (3.4); 'I will draw near' (3.5)." See Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the Reception History of Malachi 3:1," 5, note 18. Similarly see Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi,* 375; Taylor and Clendenen, *Haggai and Malachi,* 391, note 306; Eddinger, *Malachi*, 84. The only evidence we have as to whether Mal 3:1-5 was being read as a complete unit in late Second Temple Judaism is 4Q76. In 4Q76 Mal 3:1–4 runs to the bottom margin with no *vacat* at the end of v. 4. Verse 5 starts at the top of the next column, but the start of it is missing so we do not know whether there was a *vacat* at the start of verse 5. However, if a *vacat* was at the start of v. 5 to ensure that v. 5 was not read immediately after v. 4, then the obvious place to have it would be at the end of v. 4. Given that there is no *vacat* at the end of verse 4, it is reasonable to conclude that v. 4 most likely continued straight into verse 5 with no pause to break up the unit. See The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scroll Digital Library. "Minor Prophets 4Q76-4QXIIa," https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q76-1, B-295752, B-368344 and B-288426. Fuller does not note any *vacat* at the bottom of column II where Mal 3:4 finishes but he does note that the first two lines of column III are missing and that they contain the start of Mal 3:5. See Russell E. Fuller, "The Twelve: 76. 4QII[a] (pls. XL-XLII)" in *Qumran Cave 4 ·X: The Prophets,* ed. Eugene Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, Russell E. Fuller, Judith E. Sanderson, Patrick W. Skehan and Emanuel Tov, DJD XV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 222–27.

his "drawing near" does not occur in the sequence until Malachi 3:5. This use of the consecutive perfect will help us eliminate options below in the various readings of the narrative.

There are two potential antecedents who could be the subject in Malachi 3:2–4. Either the subject is **האדון**, and **האדון** is distinguishable from YHWH because YHWH speaks about "his coming" (third person) at the end of Malachi 3:1 (options 5 and 6).[17] Or the subject is **מלאך הברית** (of course both **מלאך הברית** and **האדון** can be interpreted as being the same person as in options 3 and 5). **האדון** has an advantage in that the subject in Malachi 3:2-4 is said to purify the Levites who are associated with the temple cult and it is **האדון** who is said to be going to his temple. But **מלאך הברית** has the advantage of being slightly closer and is, therefore, the more obvious antecedent. This eliminates option 2 (**מלאכי** is a messenger, **האדון** is God and **מלאך הברית** is God), because option 2 requires both **האדון** and **מלאך הברית** to be YHWH and the subject of Malachi 3:2-4. But the use of the consecutive perfect with the verbs leading into Malachi 3:5 does not allow for YHWH to be the subject of Malachi 3:2–4. This leaves us with three possible ways of reading Malachi 3:1–5.

In the first reading the subject of Malachi 3:2–4 is **מלאך הברית** who does what we expect the **האדון** to do because they are the same person (option 5 where **מלאכי** is a messenger, **האדון** is a divine messenger and **מלאך הברית** is a divine messenger). Thus, this reading would suggest that God, the speaker, sends the messenger before himself to prepare the way. The messenger is followed by a divine character called **מלאך הברית/האדון**, who comes to the temple and purifies the sons of Levi. Then, after this, in Malachi 3:5 YHWH comes in judgment.[18] This reading has the disadvantage of the first clause of Malachi 3:1 not saying

---

[17] Petterson lists a few other places where he claims that YHWH speaks of himself in the third person (Isa 22:19; Hos 1:9; Amos 4:11; Zech 1:17; 2:9; 3:2; 14:2–3) see Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi,* 363. However, it is debatable as to how reasonable it is to use these as similar examples of YHWH speaking of himself in the third person. In many of them it could be the prophet who is speaking about YHWH (Hos 1:9; Zech 1:17; 2:9; 14:2-3). In Zech 3:2, YHWH rebukes Satan in the name of YHWH because there is no higher name that YHWH could have used to rebuke Satan. Because YHWH is using a human rebuke phrase ("rebuke you in the name of YHWH") it is not comparable to Mal 3:1 where such a phrase is not being used. In Amos 4:11, YHWH speaks of Elohim in the third person regarding the Sodom and Gomorrah story where the number of divine beings in the story is more than one . Thus, YHWH might not be speaking of himself in the third person. Then finally, in Isa 22:19, YHWH may be referring to the human agent Eliakim rather than to himself with the third person. Thus, there are problems with all the examples Petterson cites.

[18] See Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the Reception History of Malachi 3:1," 5 note 18. Miller goes on to suggest that we do not necessarily have to interpret Mal 3:5 as an event which comes after the purification in Mal 3:2–4 because Mal 3:17 and 19 also speak of "the day" as a day of judgement. Thus, he suggests that the day of purification in Mal 3:2–4 could be the same day as the day of judgment in Mal 3:5, 17 and 19. See Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the Reception History of Malachi 3:1," 5–6. However, in my view this suggestion is weak because of the use of the consecutive perfect in the verbs leading into Mal 3:5. This use of the consecutive perfect differentiates sequentially and probably chronologically between the day of refining (Mal 3:2–4) and the day of Judgement (Mal 3:5, 17 and19). The "day" mentioned in Mal 3:17 and 19 is a day of judgement which is identified in both cases as "a day" when YHWH acts (just like Mal 3:5) in salvation and judgment. As such, the judgement of Mal 3:5 comes after the day of purification in Mal 3:2-4 and the days of Mal 3:17, 19 and probably 23 are to be identified with the day of Mal 3:5.

anything about the second divine character who seems to come and prepare the way for YHWH by purifying the sons of Levi.

In the second reading, the subject of Malachi 3:2–4 is האדון who is distinguishable from מלאך הברית (option 6 where מלאכי is a messenger, האדון is a divine messenger and מלאך הברית is a messenger). Thus, in this reading, God the speaker sends the messenger before himself to prepare the way. The messenger is followed or accompanied by a divine character called האדון who comes to the temple and purifies the sons of Levi. Then, after this, YHWH comes in judgment in Malachi 3:5. In this reading, we are not told about the manner in which מלאכי prepares the way before God's coming until Malachi 3:23 when we are told more information about מלאכי – namely that he will be אליה. In this reading, the task and ministry of מלאכי are focused on Israel more broadly in Malachi 3:23 while in Malachi 2:3–4 that task of האדון is focused on the Levites and the temple. Option 3 (מלאכי is a messenger, האדון is God and מלאך הברית is a messenger) is less likely to work for this reading because, first, it would require God the speaker to speak of himself in the third person. Then secondly, it would equate the purification of Malachi 3:2–4 with the judgment of Malachi 3:5 which the sequence in the use of the consecutive perfect does not allow.

In the third reading, מלאך הברית is the subject of Malachi 3:2–4.האדון and מלאך הברית are not the same person and מלאך הברית is the מלאך who goes before YHWH to prepare the way (options 3 and 6). In option 3 (מלאכי is a messenger, האדון is God and מלאך הברית is a messenger), מלאך הברית comes to the temple to purify the Levites in preparation for YHWH/ האדון coming in judgment to the Temple which is mentioned in Malachi 3:1 and 5. This scenario's weakness is that according to the first clause of Malachi 3:1 and the use of the consecutive perfect in the verbs leading into Malachi 3:5, האדון/YHWH was supposed to come after מלאך הברית/מלאך the agent of purification. Yet האדון and מלאך הברית come suddenly together in Malachi 3:1. In option 6 (מלאכי is a messenger, האדון is a divine messenger and מלאך הברית is a messenger), מלאך הברית comes to purify the Levites in preparation for האדון coming in Malachi 3:1 and YHWH's coming in Malachi 3:5. Option 6 seems to suffer from the disadvantage of a surprising extra divine character about whom we are told nothing and who does not feature in Malachi 3:1 or thereafter. The strengths and weaknesses of the final three options are represented in the following table.

	Weakness	Strength
Option 3: **מלאכי** = messenger, **האדון** = God, **מלאך הברית** = messenger	It requires God to be the subject in Malachi 3:2-4 which the use of the consecutive perfect in Malachi 3:1-5 does not allow.	
Option 5: **מלאכי** = messenger, **האדון** = divine messenger, **מלאך הברית** = divine messenger	Only works with the first reading which has the disadvantage of the first clause of Malachi 3:1 not saying anything about the second divine character who seems to come and prepare the way for YHWH by purifying the sons of Levi.	Both the verbs **יבוא** and **בא** would refer to the same being.
Option 6: **מלאכי** = messenger, **האדון** = divine messenger,[19] **מלאך הברית** = messenger		Works well with the second reading.

[19] In Gen 18, Abraham has a theophany experience of YHWH who appears as either one of three or as all three men (Gen 18:1–2). Abraham addresses his visitors with the standard respectful greeting of **אדני**. However, as the narrative progresses Abraham becomes aware that he is in fact talking to YHWH as is evidenced by some of the other phrases Abraham uses to address his guest like "the Judge of all the earth" (Gen 18:25) and YHWH's comments about having chosen Abraham and restating the promises YHWH has made to Abraham (Gen 18:17–21). Sommer argues that at least the main man in this theophany experience is "Yhwh, but not all of Yhwh or the only manifestation of Yhwh; rather, He is an avatar, a 'descent' of the heavenly God who does not encompass all of that God's substance. Either a localized and perhaps temporary manifestation of the deity (that is, the result of fragmentation of the divine self) speaks with Abraham, or the deity partially overlaps with several of the messengers." Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel*, 40–41. What is interesting for my purposes here is that even after Abraham knows that he is speaking with the divine, he addresses this particular "hypostasis of YHWH" as **אדני** in Genesis 18:27, 30, 31 and 32. This is an example of what I have called a "divine being" above being called **אדני**. Hamilton notes the shift between singular and plural throughout Genesis 18 and into chapter 19 and identifies a "fluidity between God and angels." He cites other examples like Gen 21:17–18 and Judges 6 where he suggests an angelic being is distinct from YHWH and is also identified with YHWH. He also notes that in the Old Testament "God may assume human form and allow himself to be seen in such form by human beings." Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis 18-50,* NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 6–8. Wenham contends that one of Abraham's three guests is YHWH and that the other two are angelic companions. He suggests that Abraham speaks truer than he realises even in his initial greeting of his main guest as **אדני** that is vocalised in the MT in a way appropriate for addressing God. He points to its use in Gen 15:2, 8 and to the other occurrence in Genesis of someone "finding favour," that is, Noah (Gen 6:8) "who found favour in the eyes of YHWH." This is significant given all the other similarities between the flood story and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. See Gordon Wenham, *Genesis 16-50,* WBC 2 (Dallas TX, Word, 1994), 46, 51. Galambush argues that YHWH is one of the three men and that the other two are divine assistants. However, Galambush also notes that the divine assistants may be YHWH when they are hurrying Lot out of Sodom. See Julie Galambush, *Reading Genesis: A Literary and Theological Commentary* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2018), 69–75.

Thus, it is my suggestion that options 3, 5 and 6 are all possible ways of interpreting Malachi 3:1 in the MT but that of the three possible interpretations option 6 is the strongest.

In options 3, 5 and 6, מלאך of Malachi 3:1 is best taken as Elijah from Malachi 3:23 due to the similarities in language between Malachi 3:1 and 23. Thus, it would seem that in option 3, Elijah would prepare the way for YHWH by turning "the hearts of parents to their children" and vice versa. Then YHWH/האדון would come to the temple and purify the Levites before the judgement of the wicked spoken of in Malachi 3:5.

In option 5, מלאך comes as Elijah to turn the hearts of parents to their children and vice versa along with a divine messenger (האדון and מלאך הברית) who goes to the temple to purify the Levites. After, both figures have completed their tasks, YHWH comes in judgment (Malachi 3:5, 23).

In option 6, מלאך comes as Elijah to turn the hearts of parents to their children and vice versa. Elijah is accompanied by a divine messenger (האדון) who purifies the Levites at the Temple. After these two characters have completed their tasks YHWH comes in judgment in Malachi 3:5, 23.

If Second Temple Jews had a version of Malachi 3:1–5 and 23–24 similar to the MT, then they likely would have understood it to say that Elijah comes to prepare the way before YHWH comes in judgement. Malachi 3:24's final clause is marked by the conjunction פן that makes the final phrase אבוא והכיתי את־הארץ חרם (I come and strike the land with a curse of destruction) as a possibility but not a certainty.[20] Taylor and Clendenen note the two ways of

[20] Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi,* 343; Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 342. Tuell notes the contingency of this final phrase with his comment "should there be no reconciliation, God will come and strike the land with a curse." See Tuell, *Reading Nahum–Malachi*, 255. Hill states that "here with the prefixing (nonperfective) the construction expresses contingency." See Hill, *Malachi*, 381. Eddinger states that the final clause is a "dependent clause expressing result, if the conditions of the previous clause are not met… The conjunction פן expresses the mood of contingency… The yiqtol verb has a model sense, that the future action is uncertain but may happen." See Eddinger, *Malachi*, 119. Snyman notes the contingency of this final clause with her statement "should the fathers and children fail to reconcile, the threat of v. 24 will come into effect." See Snyman, *Malachi*, 192. Davis notes the contingency with her comment "the book… ends with the planned restoration of the people, lest God curse them." See Davis, *Haggai-Malachi*, 105. Petterson notes the contingency of the final clause with his statement "Against the background of Deuteronomy, Malachi's logic is clear – if there is no reconciliation between fathers and sons in covenant faithfulness, the land will be cleansed again by 'complete destruction' of its unfaithful inhabitants." See Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi,* 386. Smith notes the contingency of the final clause in his comment "unless the Lord sends his messenger to change the hearts of his people, he will come to destroy them." In this comment, it seems that Smith is doubtful as to whether Elijah would actually come. See Smith, *Micah–Malachi,* 342. Petersen argues that Malachi is optimistic that Elijah will be able to bring reconciliation. He describes the final clause as a "contrary-to-fact clause which describes what might happen if Yahweh were not to send Elijah." See Petersen, *Zechariah 9-14 and Malachi*, 230-232. As such, Petersen takes the final clause as a negative purpose clause because, in his view, YHWH was definitely going to send Elijah. On the other hand, Glazier-McDonald takes this contingent clause as expressing the hope that Israel will heed the eschatological Elijah as they heeded the historic Elijah. For her, the contingency of the clause does not relate to God sending Elijah. Rather, the contingency of the clause expresses doubt as to whether Israel will heed Elijah when he comes. See Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger*, 267–68.

taking the contingency of this phrase. Either it could be read as a negative purpose clause where the point is that the "curse of destruction" would come if YHWH did not send Elijah to prepare the way before he came. Or, it could be understood as expressing what will happen to the land if the future Elijah is not heeded.[21] It will be my contention below, that the early Christians reread this passage in light of the martyrdom of John the Baptist, whom they believed to be the eschatological Elijah, and understood the contingency of this phrase in the latter sense of the future Elijah not being heeded.

A final important comment to note is what task Elijah is supposed to fulfil according to the phrase והשיב לב־אבות על־בנים ולב בנים על־אבותם (and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the sons and the hearts of the sons to the fathers) in Malachi 3:24? Some suggest that it refers to restoration between families as a result of mixed marriage (Mal 2:10–16).[22] However, it would seem best to take it as referring to the restoration of Israel to covenantal faithfulness,[23] where the faithful ancestors are the fathers and the present unfaithful generation are the sons.[24] This is the best way to understand the phrase first, because throughout Malachi the prophet has looked back to an idealised time in the past when the "fathers" lived in covenantal faithfulness with YHWH. In Malachi 2:4–9 Malachi looks back to the ideal priest of the past and contrasts him with the present generation's priests. Then in Malachi 3:4 the prophet says that after the restoration of Malachi 3:2–4, "the offering of Judah and Jerusalem will be pleasing to the LORD as in the days of old and as in former years."[25] Clearly the prophet looks back to the time of the ancestors as a golden age and wants his generation to return to the ways of their fathers.[26] Finally, Reeder notes that this interpretation fits a metaphorical use of "fathers"

---

[21] Taylor and Clendenen, *Haggai and Malachi*, 464.

[22] A. Jeremias, C. L. Beaumont, and C. H. W. Johns, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East: Manual of Biblical Archaeology*, 2 vols. TTL 28-29 (London: Williams & Norgate, 1911), 2: 312.

[23] There are different ways of understanding this restoration of Israel to covenantal faithfulness. Assis argues that "children" refers to Israel and "fathers" refers to YHWH. As such, it is the restoration of Israel to YHWH that is Elijah's task. See Elie Assis, "Moses, Elijah, and the Messianic Hope: A New Reading of Malachi 3:22-24," *ZAW* 123 (2011): 212–13. Merrill argues that the restoration of fathers to sons is an example of reconciliation among the networks of society that will be Elijah's task. See Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 390. Glazier-McDonald argues that it is the reconciliation between a younger generation, that has been influenced by the thinking of the Persians, to their fathers, who were still Jewish in their thinking, that is being referred to. See Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger*, 254–55.

[24] Taylor and Clendenen, *Haggai and Malachi,* 462; Reeder, "Malachi 3:24 and the Eschatological Restoration of the Family," 703; Hill, *Malachi*, 388. Petterson argues for a slightly modified position of this proposal where a future generation of fathers and sons is in view. He argues that the third person plural suffix attached to the final **אב** in Malachi 3:24 implies that a future generation of sons will be reconciled with "their" fathers. He suggests that if the statement referred to the present generation then it surely would have had the second person plural suffix. This interpretation fits the eschatological context well and is a possible alternative to the position I adopt. See Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, 386.

[25] Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, 341–43; Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi,* 390.

[26] The idealised ancestors are likely the faithful among those who left Egypt with Moses and entered Canaan or even those alive at the time of David's reign. If it is the idealised ancestors who are being referred to then I suspect the likes of Moses, Aaron and Phineas are possibilities based upon Malachi 2:7's view of an idealised priest. The weakness of this view is that there never really was a time when Israel's ancestors kept the covenant perfectly. However, the strengths of this view that I have enumerated seem to outweigh this weakness.

and "sons" throughout Malachi and the minor prophets (Hos 1-2; Zech 1:2-6).[27] Thus, in the MT, Elijah's task was to bring about a return to the ways of the idealised fathers, and thus to YHWH, immediately before YHWH's return.

2.2 Malachi 3:1 in the LXX

In the LXX there are the ἄγγελός, κύριος and ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης. The various options for their identities are as follows.

	What	ἄγγελός	κύριος	ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης
	Two messengers and God	Messenger	God	Another messenger
	Messenger and God	Messenger	God	Messenger
	Messenger, God and a divine messenger	Messenger	God	Divine messenger

The LXX has far fewer options to begin with than the MT. This is largely because the LXX translators translate both האדון and יהוה with κύριος, which makes it unlikely that a Greek reader would distinguish between האדון and יהוה. In Malachi κύριος occurs fifty-one times, five of which are translations of האדון and forty-six of which are translations of יהוה. Only one of those fifty-one occurrences of κύριος is clearly not a reference to God (Mal 1:6). As a result, the MT's options that suggest האדון could be somebody other than God do not work in the LXX. Further, the final phrase of Malachi 3:1 (ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, behold, he is coming, says the Lord Almighty) has κύριος speaking about someone other than himself who is also coming. The only possible candidate in the LXX is ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης. Therefore, any option that equates ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης with God does not work in the LXX.[28] As such, the strongest option is option 2 because it is the only option that suggests both the references to ἄγγελος are references to the same person. This makes the most sense contextually for the reader.

[27] Reeder, "Malachi 3:24 and the Eschatological Restoration of the Family," 703.

[28] Miller suggests "The 'Lord whom you seek' (κύριος, ὃν ὑμεῖς ζητεῖτε) and the 'messenger of the covenant whom you desire' (ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης, ὃν ὑμεῖς θέλετε) could be taken as the joint subject of ἥξει. If this is the case, the intervening καί functions epexegetically, and the 'messenger of the covenant' explains the identity of the κύριος who comes." See Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the Reception History of Malachi 3:1," 11, note 40. However, as I have argued, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης is best taken as someone other than the κύριος and as the subject of Mal 3:2–4.

There are two options for the subject of Malachi 3:2-4. Either the subject is κύριος or ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης. Miller argues that the subject of Malachi 3:2–4 is κύριος. He does so because of the εἰς language used of the entrance of the κύριος into the temple in Malachi 3:1, followed by its double use regarding the entrance of the subject of Malachi 3:2 in the words εἴσοδος and εἰσπορεύω.[29] However, I suggest that ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης has the stronger claim for being the subject in Malachi 3:2–4 for the following reasons. First, the final phrase of Malachi 3:1, where κύριος speaks in the third person of the subject of Malachi 3:2–4's coming, makes it highly unlikely that he is referring to himself. Secondly, the temporal sequence of the prose of Malachi 3:2–5 suggests that the κύριος comes for judgment after the cleansing of Malachi 3:2–4.[30] Thirdly, because in Malachi 3:1, the ἄγγελος will prepare the way for the κύριος in the future tense. All the verbs in Malachi 3:2–4 that speak about the agent of purification are also in the future tense, which is a definite link between the agent of purification and the ἄγγελος. Finally, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης is the nearest antecedent for the κύριος statement ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ. Thus, the subject of Malachi 3:2–4 is not the κύριος but ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης.

This means that, in the LXX, there are two characters spoken of in the text. There is the ἄγγελος who oversees the way before the κύριος (Malachi 3:1), purifies the Levites (Malachi 3:2–4) and as Elijah prepares Israel for the coming of the κύριος (Malachi 3:22).[31] Then there is the κύριος who comes to his temple and brings judgment against the wicked (Malachi 3:5).

The final phrase of Malachi 3:23 in the LXX corresponds to the final phrase of Malachi 3:24 in the MT. In the LXX, the verb ἔρχομαι is in the subjunctive and its usage, Muraoka claims, likely fits the category of a negatively worded subordinate purpose clause.[32] This use of the subjunctive provides a contingent negative result as a reason for a particular action (Gen 3:3; Ex 30:21; Isa 6:10; 38:17). In these examples, the negative action expressed in the subjunctive will only occur if the prior action expressed in the indicative does not happen. As a result, the

---

[29] Similarly see Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the Reception History of Malachi 3:1," 11.

[30] In narrative, when καί is not an adverb, it connects material of equal status so that they can be associated together by the reader. When καί connects nouns it associates material together so that it can be processed together. When καί connects verbs it marks what follows as a continuation of the narrative. In Malachi 3:5 καί connects the verb προσάγω to what has gone before and thus marks what follows in Malachi 3:5 as a continuation of the preceding narrative and implies a sequence. See Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament,* 23–26.

[31] Perhaps it is this interpretation that is the source of the later notion of Elijah being a priest. In the other temple purification stories (2 Kings 23:4; 1 Macc 4:42–43) it is the priest who goes into the temple and purifies it. This means that if Elijah is the one to go to the temple for purification in Mal 3:2–4 and a connection was made between the ἄγγελος of Mal 3:1 and the priestly ἄγγελος of Mal 2:7 then perhaps interpreters of Mal 3:1-5 in the LXX version would naturally assume Elijah was a priest.

[32] See T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 316. This is similar to Wallace's category of "a subjunctive with verbs of fearing" in places like Luke 21:8; 1 Cor 8:9; Heb 4:1; Acts 13:40: 23:10; 27:17, 29 See D. B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 477.

action expressed with the indicative verb has the purpose of avoiding the result of the subjunctive verb. The necessary action needed to avert the contingent negative result in Mal 3:23 could be either the certain action of God in sending Elijah or Elijah successfully turning the hearts of Israel. If one reads the subjunctive in Malachi 3:23 in the first sense, then this is a negative purpose clause stating the negative reason that will prompt God to send Elijah. If one reads it in the latter sense, then the negative result will only occur if the eschatological Elijah is not heeded. As stated above, it will be my contention that the early Christians believed Elijah was unsuccessful in his eschatological mission. As such, if they reread a text of Malachi 3 like that of the LXX, they would see disaster pending.

Finally, the LXX version of Elijah's task is clearer than Elijah's task in the MT's version of Malachi 3:24. The LXX translates Malachi 3:24 (LXX 3:23) as ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ (who will restore the heart of the father to the son and the heart of a person to his neighbour). The LXX has a singular "father" and "son" rather than the MT's plural "fathers" and "sons." Further, instead of repeating the phrase again in the reverse, the LXX has in "heart of a person to his neighbour." The difference from the MT's plural to the singular means that interpretation of the MT where this generation returns to the idealised time of the ancestors does not work in the LXX. The question is, to whom could the singular "father" and "son" refer?

Throughout the LXX God is spoken of as a singular "Father" (Deut 32:6; Ps 102:13) and Israel is sometimes God's singular "son" (Exod 4:22, 23; Deut 1:31; 8:5; Jer 38:20). In Malachi 1:6 in the LXX, God makes the complaint that a son honours his father yet, even though God is a father, he does not get any honour. Then in Malachi 2:10 God is once again referred to as the father and Israel, it is inferred, is his son. This inference is clear from Malachi 2:10 where in the first part, God is spoken of as their one creator. This could have universal implications, but the second part of the verse's covenantal language makes it clear that the text refers to Israel and not all of humanity. In the LXX of Malachi 3:17, God says that he will choose those who fear the Lord as an ἄνθρωπος (father because of αὐτοῦ) chooses his (αὐτοῦ) υἱός who is subject to him. Thus, in the immediate context of Malachi 3:23 in the LXX God is likened to a singular father and the people of God to a singular son. It is clear that this same group of people who will be like a son, chosen by his father, are being spoken of as the people of God through to the end of Malachi as they are referred to as τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά μου in Malachi 3:20. Thus, in the LXX of Malachi it makes good sense that God is the Father, and the people of God are the son, spoken of in Malachi 3:23.[33] Therefore, the LXX is saying the same thing as the MT in a different way. Elijah's task was to cause Israel to return to God before YHWH's return.

[33] Within second Isaiah in the LXX, there is also precedent for understanding God as father and Israel as God's son. In Isa 45:9–11 God is compared to both a Father and a mother and Israel his creation or offspring. In Isaiah 43:6 Israel is spoken of as being God's sons and daughters. Assis attempts to make a similar argument in the

This also makes good sense of the other difference where the LXX has "heart of a person to his neighbour" rather than the MT's "hearts of children to parents." This phrase echoes the command of Leviticus 19:18 and if, in the LXX, Elijah's task will be to cause Israel to return to the command of Leviticus 19:18, then in effect he is causing Israel to return to covenantal faithfulness.

2.3 Malachi 3:1 in 4Q Minor Prophets[a]

Fortunately, much of the text of Malachi 3:1–4 is still readable in this manuscript from Qumran. Below is the text of Malachi 3:1-4 from 4Q76 and a table with the various options for interpreting the text.

4Q76 Malachi 3:1-4	4Q76 Translation of Malachi 3:1-4
3:1 הנפו יכא[ל֯מ֯ חלו֯ש֯] יננ[ה֯ ו֯כ֯ל֯ ינפל דרד̄] ופ̄תא֯ם יבאו אל הי֯[כלו חאד]ו֯ן אשר אתם מבקשים ומלאך הב̄[רית אשר א]תם חפצים הנו ב֯א אמר יהוה צב֯[אות 2 ו]מ֯י מכלכל אותם באו̄ ו̄מי העומד̄[ב]ה֯ראותו כי הוא כאש מצרף֯ וכברית מכבס̄ים 3 וישב מצרף ומט֯[ה]ר̄ כסף וטהר את בני לוי וזקק אותם כזהב וככסף ו[היו] ליהוה מגישי מנחה בצדקה 4 וערבה ליהוה מנח[ת] יהודה וירושלם כימי עולם וכשנים̄ קדמ֯[נ]יו̄ת[34]	3* [1] *Therefore*, b[ehold, I] send [my] mes[senger, and he shall prepare] the way before me: and *they* will suddenly come to [his] te[mple, the Lor]d, whom you seek and the messenger of the co[venant, whom y]ou desire; behold, he *himself* comes, says the LORD of ho[sts. [2] But] who can *endure them; they come*? And who shall stand [when] he appears? For he is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap; [3] and he will sit as a refiner and p[urif]ier of silver, and he will purify the sons of Levi, and refine them as gold and silver; and [they shall] offer to the LORD offerings in righteousness. [4] Then shall the offer[ing of] Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant to the LORD, as in the days of old, and as in fo[rm]er years.[35]

MT but there "fathers" is plural. See Assis, "Moses, Elijah, and the Messianic Hope: A New Reading of Malachi 3:22–24," 212–14.

[34] Fuller, "The Twelve: 76. 4QXII[a] (pls. XL-XLII)," 225.

[35] M. Abegg, Jr., P. Flint & E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* (New York: HarperOne, 1999), 477-478.

What	מלאך	האדון	מלאך הברית
two messengers and God	messenger	God	another human messenger
messenger and God	messenger	God	messenger
messenger and two divine characters	messenger	God	divine messenger
God the speaker, messenger, divine messenger	messenger	divine messenger	messenger
God the speaker, messenger, another messenger	messenger	another Messenger	messenger

The most striking feature of this version of Malachi 3:1–4 is the third person plural form of the verb **בוא** in Malachi 3:1 and 2. This eliminates all the options that equate **מלאך הברית** with **האדון**. With the parallelism eliminated as an interpretive tool, it would seem most natural to take **מלאך** and **מלאך הברית** as references to the same being due to the repetition of **מלאך**.[36] Thus, options 2, 4 and 5 seem more likely.

Another striking feature of this text is the third person singular suffix attached to **הנה** which gives the reading **הנו בא אמר יהוה צב[אות**. This reading has YHWH identifying either himself or **האדון** or **מלאך הברית** as being an individual of particular significance who is coming. This individual is the agent of purification in Malachi 3:2–4.

If we assume the phrase **הנו בא אמר יהוה** is YHWH speaking of himself with the third person we get the following reading. YHWH sends a **מלאך** before himself to prepare the way. Then both **האדון**, who is also YHWH, and the **מלאך** come to the temple together (option 2). YHWH takes note of his own coming at the end of Malachi 3:1 and is also the agent of purification throughout Malachi 3:2–4. This reading is less likely because according to the first clause of Malachi 3:1 and in the use of the consecutive perfect with the verbs leading into Malachi 3:5, **מלאך** or the agent of purification are to come before YHWH, not at the same

[36] The **מלאך** is best interpreted as a reference to **אליהו** from Malachi 3:23 due to the similarity in language between Malachi 3:1 and Malachi 3:23. As such, **מלאך הברית** is best taken as a reference to a human and not to YHWH.

time. Thus, YHWH is unlikely to be referring to himself (האדון) in the third person with the phrase הנו בא אמר יהוה.

If we assume the phrase הנו בא אמר יהוה is YHWH speaking of the מלאך הברית and that YHWH is האדון we get the following reading: YHWH sends a מלאך before himself to prepare the way. Then both האדון (YHWH) and the מלאך come to the temple together (option 2). YHWH takes note of the task of the מלאך at the end of Malachi 3:1 who then is spoken of throughout Malachi 3:2–4 as the agent of purification before YHWH's coming in Malachi 3:5. This reading is less likely because, first, according to the first clause of Malachi 3:1 and the use of the consecutive perfect with the verbs leading into Malachi 3:5, the מלאך or the agent of purification is to come prior to YHWH, not at the same time. Secondly, it seems odd for YHWH to take particular note of the human מלאך הברית coming rather than his own as האדון. Thus, האדון is best taken as someone distinguishable from YHWH and that eliminates option 2 and leaves options 4 or 5.

Out of options 4 and 5, the most likely option is option 4 (מלאך is a messenger, האדון is a divine messenger, מלאך הברית is a messenger) because option 4 interprets האדון as a divine messenger who was potentially understood as a *hypostasis* of YHWH.[37] The divine is best associated with האדון for the following three reasons. First, in all the best options in both the LXX and the MT האדון has been divine. Secondly, האדון is a reference for God three out of the other four times it is used within Malachi (one of the two occurrences in Mal 1:6, then Mal 1:12, 14). Then finally, while the last part of the noun היכל is missing we could speculate that it would agree with both the MT and the LXX, in which case, it would be best to take האדון as a divine messenger as he would come to "his" Temple. Therefore, option 4 is the most plausible way of identifying the characters in Malachi 3:1 in 4Q76.

There are two ways of reading Malachi 3:1–5 in 4Q76. In the first reading, YHWH takes note of the coming of the מלאך who is then the agent of Malachi 3:2-4 and Elijah of Malachi 3:23. This way of reading the sequence of Malachi 3:1–5 suffers from the weakness of no task being given to האדון who is only mentioned in Malachi 3:1. It would seem odd for YHWH to mark the coming of a human messenger as being more significant than the coming of a divine messenger. The other way of reading the sequence of Malachi 3:1-5 has YHWH taking note of the coming of האדון who is then the subject of Malachi 3:2–4. In this way of reading the text,

[37] Sommer, a Jewish scholar, uses the language of hypostasis in his phrase "hypostatized manifestation of God" to describe the small-scale manifestations of YHWH that occur in the Old Testament texts he discusses. See Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel*, 42. Sommer uses the language of avatar in other places to describe this fragmentation of the divine self. I understand Sommer to be borrowing the language of avatar (Hinduism) and hypostasis (Christianity) to describe what he sees the author getting at in his Hebrew bible. I have used the language of hypostasis in a similar fashion to describe the fragmentation of the divine self even though it remains controversial to do so in discussion around Second Temple beliefs about God. See James D. G. Dunn, "God and the Christology of the New Testament," pages 72-85 in *Essays in Honor of N. T. Wright: One God, One People, One Future* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2018), 80–81.

we are told about the task of האדון in Malachi 3:2–4 and the task of the מלאך in Malachi 3:23. Both of these beings prepare the way for YHWH's coming in Malachi 3:5 or the day of YHWH in Malachi 3:23.

Malachi 3:23–24 is extremely fragmentary in 4Q76. The extant text agrees with the MT, although with a variant spelling of Elijah's name. Thus, it is safe to assume that Malachi 3:23 will resemble the start of Malachi 3:1 in 4Q76 as it does in both the MT and the LXX. This being the case, Elijah is to be identified with מלאך and מלאך הברית from Malachi 3:1. Elijah comes with האדון and his task is to prepare the way for YHWH by restoring the hearts of the children to the father and vice versa before the coming of YHWH, while האדון purifies the Levites.

2.4 Conclusion on the textual traditions of Malachi

In summary, there are three acceptable ways of interpreting Malachi 3:1–5 in the MT, one in the LXX and one in 4Q76. The best ways to interpret Malachi 3:1–5 in both the LXX and 4Q76 are among the three possible options for the MT.[38] Further, the best way to interpret Malachi 3:1-5 in the MT and 4Q76 are the same with מלאך and מלאך הברית being references to the same human being, later identified as Elijah (Mal 3:23) who prepares the way for YHWH. האדון is identified as a divine messenger who is distinguishable from YHWH and who comes and purifies the Levites before the day of YHWH. The LXX, largely because it translates both האדון and יהוה with κύριος ends up with only two characters – κύριος and the ἄγγελος. In the LXX, the ἄγγελος is identified with Elijah, ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης and the agent of purification. In all the above textual traditions, Elijah is to be identified with the מלאך and prepares the way for YHWH by restoring Israel to covenantal faithfulness. Also, in the MT (Mal 3:24) and the LXX (Mal 3:23) (4Q76 is too fragmentary at this point), it is possible

[38] This is interesting because if my interpretations are deemed reasonable, then the text behind the MT, the LXX and 4Q76 may have been similar to the MT. This is the case, because the interpretations I have argued are the best ways of reading Malachi as preserved in the LXX and 4Q76, are both plausible readings of the MT. On the other hand, it is not possible to reach my suggested interpretation of 4Q76 from the LXX text of Malachi 3 or vice versa. Thus, both 4Q76 and the LXX would seem to be one-step removed from the MT and at least two steps removed from each other. It is possible that both the LXX version and 4Q76's version of Malachi 3:1–5 were attempts to make a more ambiguous text of Mala 3:1–5 (like that of the MT) easier to interpret for their readers, in ways that fitted their different theological assumptions. If this is the case, then perhaps the LXX version of Malachi 3:1–5 fits the theology of the group that Sommer has identified as being behind the priestly material of the Pentateuch. This group, according to Sommer, regarded divine embodiment as fixed and rejected the divine fluidity model. See, Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel,* 58. As such, they would have been inclined to interpret an ambiguous text like that which is preserved in the MT of Mal 3:1–5 in a way that fitted their theology and thus in a way like that preserved in the LXX version of Malachi 3:1–5. On the other hand, perhaps the group behind the copying and interpretation of the text that we find in 4Q76 had theological assumptions similar to the group that Sommer has identified as being behind the Yahwist and Elohim material in the Pentateuch. See Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel,* 38-44. This group would be more likely to interpret an ambiguous text like that preserved in the MT's version of Mal 3:1–5 in ways that fitted their theological assumptions regarding the fluidity of the one God's identity, and his ability to be present in multiple bodies, in different places, at the same time. These theological assumptions could have crept into the copying of an ambiguous text like Malachi 3:1–5 in the MT to make interpreting it easier for its readers in ways that suited the copyist's theology.

for a community that believed Elijah had returned and died a martyr, to reread Malachi 3:23–24 and predict that YHWH will come and strike the land with a curse.[39]

[39] Unfortunately Mal 3:24 in 4Q76 is too fragmentary to be useful at this point.

Chapter 3 Other texts not dealt with sufficiently by Fergusson

3.1 Hebrew of Sirach 48

The stories of Elijah and Elisha in Sirach 48 are couched between two statements of Israel's sin (Sirach 47:23–25 and 48:15) that resulted in the northern kingdom of Israel being led into exile.[1] The return of Elijah in Sirach 48:10 claims to be the future event that will result in Israel's return from exile. The Hebrew of Sirach 48 comes entirely from manuscript B.

There are two potential places in the Hebrew version of Sirach 48 that may link to the text of Malachi 3. First, in Sirach 48:1 there is the phrase כתנור בוער that appears in reverse in Malachi 3:19 בער כתנור.[2] Most scholars suggest this could be a reference to Malachi 3:19 because the phrase is rare and the occurrences in both Sirach 48:1 and Malachi 3:19 occur in the context of Elijah returning.[3] However, for two reasons I am not convinced this is a clear intertextual link. First, because the same phrase also appears in Hosea 7:4 which does not have the transposition of word order and has other contextual links with Sirach 48:1-2.[4] Secondly, because Malachi 3:19 and Sirach 48:1 have different subjects. Malachi 3:19 is speaking about the day of YHWH while the subject in Sirach is the words of the historic Elijah. Sirach may have had Malachi 3:19 in the back of his mind but I do not think the link is strong enough to begin interpreting Sirach 48:1 through the lens of Malachi 3:19.

The second reference in Sirach to Elijah's return is in Sirach 48:10 where Sirach specifically states his expectation that Elijah would come before the day of YHWH, as in Malachi 3:23 (MT).[5] Sirach introduces this comment with "it is written" so the reader knows he is making

---

[1] See Benjamin G. Wright III, "Wisdom of Ben Sira," in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, eds. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 3: 2340.

[2] Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira In Hebrew* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 85; Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* AYB 39 (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1987), 533.

[3] Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the Reception History of Malachi 3:1," 7-8; John G. Snaith, "Biblical Quotations in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus," *JTS* 18 (1967): 8; Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 533.

[4] Hosea 7:4 has two contextual links with Sir 48:1–2. First, both Sirach 48:1 and Hos 7:4 are couched in discussions regarding Israel's sin. Second, in Hos 7:4 Israel is said to be like a fire that does not need stirring when baking bread, while in Sir 48:2 Elijah is said to shatter Israel's "staff of bread." Hosea's bread baking/oven metaphor compares Israel's sin to the fire of a bread oven that has been stoked enough and will retain its heat for the duration of the bread baking process. V. H. Matthews, M. W. Chavalas & J. H. Walton, *The IVP Bible background commentary: Old Testament* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 756. Similarly, see J. A. Dearman, *The Book of Hosea* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 203; D. Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah,* WBC 31 (Dallas: Word, , 1987), 119. Sirach 48:1–2 claims that Elijah's words are like the oven's fire and that he caused the bread, that Israel relied upon, to cease. If Sir 48:1–2 is related to Hos 7:4, then Sirach may be suggesting that Israel's sin never produced its promise of bread and that it was Israel's sin that caused God through Elijah to make bread cease in Israel.

[5] [...]הכתוב נכון לעת[...] להשבית אף לפנ[י--]
להשיב לב אבות על בנים[...] ולהכין שׁ[.....]ל
[...]יה [...] ומ[...] אשר ראך

reference to Scripture and then quotes part of Malachi 3:24להשיב לב אבות על בנים. Sirach appears to be rather optimistic about Elijah completing his mission as Sirach states that he will "put an end to wrath before …"[6] The assumption is that YHWH will send Elijah and that Israel will heed Elijah. This would be the natural way to read Malachi 3:24 unless you believed that Elijah had already been rejected and killed. Elijah's task from Malachi 3:24 is vague in the Hebrew of Sirach 48:10. It is possible that Sirach took the statement "to cause wrath to cease befo[re]… to turn back the hearts of the parents to the children" to mean that Elijah will cause Israel to return to covenantal faithfulness. However, it is not clear how Sirach was reading Malachi 3:24 and what he meant by the above. What is clear is that Sirach interprets Elijah's task as including the restoration of the tribes of Israel with his reference to Isaiah 49:6.[7] In Isaiah 49:6, it is YHWH's servant who raises up the tribes of Jacob (or in 1QIsaiah[a] "Israel"). If Sirach is making a link between Elijah's return and Isaiah's servant then he appears to be interpreting them as the same character.[8] Elijah's ministry was to the northern tribes of Israel and they had not existed as a people in the land for over 500 years by the time Sirach was writing.[9] Here Sirach's hope appears to be that they too would return from exile when Elijah comes.

3.2 Greek of Sirach 48

The link to Malachi in the LXX of Sirach 48:10 is Sirach's reference to Malachi 3 with the phrase ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν.[10] The final four words of that quote

---

You are destined, it is written for a time {…} to cause wrath to cease befo[re…]
To turn back the hearts of the fathers to the sons […] and to impart strength [… Israe]l.
Who sees you and di[es]
[…] [li]ve
Hebrew Manuscript B of Sirach 48:10–11

[6] The Hebrew manuscript is unreadable after לפנ. The Syriac finishes the sentence with "the day of the Lord" while the Greek finishes it with "anger." Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 531. Similarly see Morla who prefers the Greek ending "to cause wrath to cease before it explodes". See Víctor Morla, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira: Traducción y notas* (Estella, España: NovaPrinter, 2012), 324. The available space left in the manuscript is around 3.1cm-4.1cm. The seven Hebrew characters in the phrase יום יהוה with this scribe's handwriting, would take up around 4.1cm–5cm. The three characters in the phrase חמה with this scribe's handwriting would take up around 2.4cm. See https://fgp.genizah.org/FgpFrames.aspx?mainSiteType=false&lang=eng&UIT=ce17b3aa-8a22-4532-a863-89909f5d0840. However, if חמה had the definite article it would take up around 3.5cm in this scribe's handwriting which puts it within the correct measurement range for the amount of space that is left on the line in the manuscript. Thus, the missing Hebrew in the manuscript could have read either "to cause wrath to cease before the anger" or "to cause wrath to cease before the day of the Lord."

[7] The Hebrew manuscript B has Israel while the Syriac version and Greek has "tribes of Jacob" see Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 531–34; Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the Reception History of Malachi 3:1," 7; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age,* OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 104.

[8] Similarly see Steven R. Notley "The Kingdom of Heaven Forcefully Advances" in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity*, JSP 33, ed. Craig A. Evans (Sheffield,: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 290; Öhler, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God," 462.

[9] Sirach was likely originally written in the first quarter of the second century BCE. See Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 9.

[10] Verses 10–11 read: ὁ καταγραφεὶς ἐν ἐλεγμοῖς εἰς καιροὺς κοπάσαι ὀργὴν πρὸ θυμοῦ, ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καταστῆσαι φυλὰς Ιακωβ. μακάριοι οἱ ἰδόντες σε καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀγαπήσει κεκοιμημένοι, καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ζωῇ ζησόμεθα. "He who was recorded ready for the times, to calm

come from the LXX of Malachi 3:23, which has a singular father and son unlike the Hebrew of Sirach 48 or the MT of Malachi 3:24, which has the plural of father and sons.[11] Did Sirach's grandson have a specific father and son in mind when completing his translation? Or, was his awareness of a version of Malachi 3:24 (LXX 3:23) like the LXX version influencing his translation of his grandfather's work? Maybe the answer is to be found in Sirach's next phrase and the Isaiah text it refers to.

The phrase καταστῆσαι φυλὰς ᾽Ιακώβ in Sirach 48:10 resembles Isaiah 49:6 στῆσαι τὰς φυλὰς ᾽Ιακώβ. Further, Sirach's grandson uses the verb ἐπιστρέφω to speak of the returning of the father's heart and Isaiah uses the same verb to speak of the returning of the diaspora of Israel. Thus, there is a strong connection between the Greek of Sirach 48:10 and Isaiah 49:6 in the LXX. It would seem that Sirach is interpreting Malachi's Elijah as the servant of the second of the so-called "servant songs" in second Isaiah.[12] Despite the fact that Isaiah 49:3 identifies the servant as Israel, Sirach seems to see the servant as Malachi's Elijah. He finds permission to do so in Isaiah 49:5-6 where the servant is to bring "Jacob back to him" and "gather Israel to him." In these verses, the servant is an individual who would restore Israel rather than being Israel itself. Perhaps Sirach saw Elijah as the perfect character to do so as his ministry was to the northern tribes of Israel and Sirach emphasises how Israel did not heed Elijah the first time (Sirach 47:23–25 and 48:15). Perhaps Israel would heed Elijah upon his return and thereby be able to return to the land themselves. We can draw two conclusions regarding Sirach's grandson's view of the returning Elijah with some confidence. First, that he equated Elijah with the servant from Isaiah's second servant song. Then secondly, that part of Elijah's task would be to help restore the tribes of Jacob.[13] This "restoring the tribes of Jacob"

---

anger before wrath, to turn the heart of a father to a son, and to restore the tribes of Jacob. Happy are those who saw you and those fallen asleep in loving, for we too shall live by life."

[11] Similarly see W. O. E. Oesterley, *Ecclesiasticus* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 327.

[12] The scholarly trend today when reading the "servant songs" is to read them in the context of Isaiah 40-55. See J. Goldingay, "Servant of Yahweh" in *Dictionary of the Old Testament Prophets* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012), 706; Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher, *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans , 2004), 16–17. Some also see the servant as an ideal role that both individual Israelites and corporate Israel are called to fill. Thus, at times, it is appropriate to suggest that Jesus (Matt 8:17; 12:18–21; Luke 22:37; John 12:38; 1 Pet 2:22, 24–25) could be a fulfilment of the servant role. Then at other times, it could be appropriate to suggest that the ideal Israel (Isa 41:8–9) or Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:47) are a fulfilment of the servant role. Goldingay, "Servant of Yahweh," 706. Janowski and Stuhlmacher, *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources,* 16–17. Reventlow describes multiple Old Testament characters and developmental possibilities who could have filled the role of the various servants in Isaiah 40–55. Henning Graf Reventlow, "Basic Issues in the Interpretation of Isaiah 53" in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant,* eds. William H. Bellinger Jr. and William R. Farmer (Harrisburg, PN: Trinity Press International, 1998), 23–38. Watts identifies three different types of servant in second Isaiah. The first type is Israel scattered throughout the diaspora. The second type is the Persian kings. The final type is the faithful servants of YHWH who delight in YHWH's plan to rebuild Jerusalem. See Watts, "Isaiah 34-66," 117. Shalom Paul interprets the servant as a representative of the Israelite nation see Paul, *Isaiah 40–66,* 18.

[13] Similarly see Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 239. It matters little whether one takes the view of those like N. T. Wright in suggesting that second Temple Jews believed, in all the important senses, that they were still in exile, See N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (London: SPCK, 1996), 268–74. Or the view of Casey, where Israel had already returned from exile and were (presumably) awaiting the completion of promises associated with the return from exile, which had not yet happened (No more Gentile overlords, etc) see Maurice Casey, "Where Wright is

part of Elijah's role in Sirach 48:10 is related to "turning the hearts of the father to the son" in Sirach's grandson's translation with καί and appears to build upon it.

Sirach is using υἱός and πατήρ differently in Sirach 48:10 from how he uses them elsewhere in the book.[14] The best place to go to deduce Sirach's meaning of υἱός and πατήρ in Sirach 48:10 is in the Scripture he quotes (Mal 3:23, LXX). Only Sirach 48:10 (Greek) and the LXX of Malachi 3:23 have a singular υἱός and πατήρ. Thus, the LXX of Malachi is a good place to start to look for a potential way Sirach's grandson might be using υἱός and πατήρ. As argued above (chapter 2), in the LXX of Malachi the singular πατήρ often refers to God and the singular υἱός to Israel. Therefore, it also seems that this is how Sirach's grandson is using υἱός and πατήρ.

When we put together the three conclusions of Sirach's grandson's beliefs about the return of Elijah we discover a familiar theme. The three conclusions are first, that Elijah and the servant of Isaiah 49:5–6 are the same person. Second, that Elijah will turn the heart of God (Father) back to Israel (son). The implication is that this would happen as Israel repents at the preaching of Elijah which is referenced with Malachi 3:23 (LXX): καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. Then third, the tribes of Jacob will be restored. The familiar theme is that Israel needed to return to God so that God would return to them (Mal 3:7) and restore them as a nation.[15] Sirach's grandson seems to have believed that Elijah would be the agent through whom this would come about. This is a significant interpretation of Malachi's claims about Elijah. One of the great themes of Second Isaiah is the return of Israel from exile. But this is preceded by and interwoven with God's return to his people.[16] This thematic link perhaps helps explain why Sirach interpreted Malachi 3:23–24 along with Isaiah 49:5–6.

The Hebrew version in manuscript B of the final clause of Sirach 48:11 is badly damaged and while it is evident that there was something there, it is difficult to know what it said.[17] The

---

Wrong: A Critical Review of N. T. Wright's Jesus and the Victory of God, *JSNT* 69 (1998), 99–100. Alternatively, the view of some of Wright's other critics who suggest that Wright's view of history is too tidy and that in reality, there were many experiences of returning from exile as well as being sent afresh into exile. See Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration*, 12–20. Michael E. Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-gathering and the Fate of Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke-Acts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 10. The point we can say with confidence is that Sirach believed that Elijah would either help bring about the return from exile or complete the return from exile.

[14] Within Sirach, πατήρ is used thirty-two times not including 48:10. It is used in proverbial wisdom-like phrases encouraging the respect of fathers twenty-five times. It is used as a reference to the ancestors six times in 8:9; 44:1, 19, 22; 47:23 and 48:22. It is also used as a reference for God three times in 23:1, 4 and 51:10. Within Sirach, υἱός is used thirty-seven times excluding 48:10. Up until 45:9, υἱός is used in proverbial wisdom type statements. From 45:9 υἱός is used to reference historical people as sons. It is not surprising that Sirach 48:10's use of υἱός and πατήρ is different from how it is used elsewhere in the book because Sirach is referencing Scripture and not citing proverbial wisdom or speaking of historical characters.

[15] Deut 30:1-10; Lev 26:14–16, 40–46; Isaiah 55:7; 2 Chr 7:14; 30:8-9; Bar 2:27-35; 1 En. 90:6–7.

[16] Isa 40:3, 5, 9–10; 41:10; 42:13–16; 44:3; 52:8, 12.

[17] Beentjes, *The Book Of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 86; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 96.

Greek version has a reading that links the return of Elijah with the resurrection. This reading is frequently rejected by commentators who are interested in the "original" version of Sirach because, they argue, Sirach does not believe in the afterlife, let alone the resurrection.[18] Thus, they conclude, the final clause of the Greek text was not original but was probably added by Sirach's grandson in the late second century BCE when resurrection ideas were gaining momentum.[19] This is an important development in the return of Elijah tradition because for the first time, there is a link between Elijah's return and the resurrection.[20]

There are five additional conclusions to make here regarding Sirach's belief in the return of Elijah. First, there is no mention of a Messiah in Sirach 48:10–11 (other than the servant/Elijah).[21] Second in both the Greek and Hebrew of Sirach, Elijah was to calm the wrath of God before the day of God's judgment. Thus, Elijah was to come immediately before God comes in judgment. Third, there is no hint of a possible third character as is possible in 4Q Minor Prophets[a] and the MT's version of Malachi 3:1. Fourth, Sirach believed that a central part of Elijah's task would be completing the return from exile. Finally, Sirach's grandson was likely to have been familiar with a text of Malachi similar to what we have in the LXX because he uses the singular of father and son unlike the MT.

This brings us to the next pre-Christian text that mentions Elijah's return and already briefly discussed above in section 1.2 – the manuscript known as 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521).

---

[18] Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira,* 531-532; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 96.

[19] Skehan and Lella suggest the Greek of Sirach 48:11b is part of the Manuscript tradition they call GI. GI represents the Sirach's grandson's translation and they date it too late in the second century B.C.E. Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 8, 530.

[20] Similarly see Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration*, 93–94; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 95–96.

[21] Similarly see Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus,* 240.

3.3 Dead Sea Scrolls: 4Q521

Frag. 2 Col. II	Frag. 2 Col. II
1 [כי הש]מים יהארץ ישמעו למשיחו	1 [for the heav]ens and the earth will listen to his anointed one,
2 [וכל א]שר בם לוא יסוג ממצות קדושים	2 [and all th]at is in them will not turn away from the precepts of the holy ones.
3 התאמצו מבקשי אדני בעבד	3 Strengthen yourselves, you who are seeking the Lord, in his service! *Blank*
4 הלוא בזאת תמצאו את אדני כל המיחלים בלבם	4 Will you not in this encounter the Lord, all those who hope in their heart?
5 כי אדני חסידים יבבקר וצדיקים בשם יקרא	5 For the Lord will consider the pious, and call the righteous by name,
6 ועל ענוים רוחו תרחף ואמונים יחליף בכחו	6 and his spirit will hover upon the poor, and he will renew the faithful with his strength.
7 כי יכבד את חסידים על כסא מלכות עד	7 For he will honour the pious upon the throne of an eternal kingdom,
8 מתיר אסורים פוקח עורים זוקף כ[פופים ...]	8 freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twis[ted.]
9 ול[ע]לם אדבק [במי]חלים ובחסדו [...].	9 And for[e]ver shall I cling [to those who h]ope, and in his mercy […]
10 ופר[י ...]יש לוא ותאחר	10 and the fru[it of …] … not be delayed.
11 ונכ[ב]דות שלוא היו יעשה אדני כאשר ד[בר]	11 And the Lord will perform marvellous acts such as have not existed, just as he sa[id,]
12 [כי] ירפא חללים ומתים יחיה ענוים יבשר	12 [for] he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live, he will proclaim good news to the poor
13 ו[...]...ש[...]ושים ינהל ורעבים יעשר	13 and […] … […] he will lead the […] … and enrich the hungry.
14 [...].וכלם כ.{...}[22]	14 […] and all … […][23]

[22] Florentino Garcia Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition,* Vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 1044.

[23]Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition,* 1045.

The extent to which 4Q521 refers to the return of Elijah has been debated. On one end of the spectrum is John Collins who argues that 4Q521 is a "messianic apocalypse" speaking of Elijah, or an Elijah-like prophet, as the eschatological prophet.[24] Collins argues that while God is the ultimate agent behind the actions in 4Q521 2, II, God accomplishes them through an agent. Collins argues this for three main reasons. First, the messiah of line 1 could still be in view in lines 11–13 and be the agent working the miracles on God's behalf. Second, Isaiah 61 speaks of an anointed prophet who does similar actions on God's behalf. Finally, the action of proclaiming good news to the poor is an action more naturally done by a mediating figure than by God himself.[25]

Collins argues that the Messiah of line 1 is a reference to Elijah or an Elijah-like prophet for the following reasons. First, because referring to prophets as "anointed ones" is common in the Dead Sea scrolls (CD II:12; VI:1; 1QM XI:7).[26] Second, because there is no evidence that anyone expected a royal messiah to raise the dead. However, Elijah was credited as being a human agent through whom God raised the dead (1 Kings 17; Sir 48:5) in his historical career. Third, the Greek of Sirach 48:11 reads "μακάριοι οἱ ἰδόντες σε καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀγαπήσει κεκοιμημένοι, καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ζωῇ ζησόμεθα." The Greek of Sirach 48:11 predates 4Q521 and associates Elijah's return with the resurrection of the dead.[27] Fourth, there is a clear reference to the return of Elijah in the context since in the next column of the same fragment the author quotes part of Malachi 3:24.[28] Finally, Elijah is the prophet who had become famous for demanding the obedience of the heavens (Sir 48:3) as required by the anointed one of this "messianic apocalypse."[29]

Kvalbein argues the contrary by attempting to read 4Q521 2, II against its pre-Christian Jewish background.[30] He asserts that the passages upon which 4Q521 2, II depends in Isaiah and Psalm 146 use their descriptions of the sufferers metaphorically to refer to Israel's experience of

---

[24] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star,* 116–17.

[25] Ibid, 98–112. Also see Wold's summary of Collins view in Benjamin Wold, "Agency and Raising the Dead in 4QPseudo-Ezekiel and 4Q521 2 ii*" in *ZNW* 103 (2012): 4.

[26] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star,* 118.

[27] Collins makes particular reference to Puech's attempt to reconstruct the Hebrew of Sir 48:11 which attempts to push the Elijah-resurrection connection back into the original Hebrew of Sirach. See Emile Puech, "Ben Sira 48:11 et la Resurrection" in *Of Scribes and Scrolls* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 81–90. However, Collins also notes that it is improbable that Sirach would speak of the resurrection of the dead as he denies the afterlife in other places throughout his work (see Sir 38:21; 41:4). Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 119–20. Puech proposes a date for 4Q521 between 100–80 B.C.E. See Emile Puech, "Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 480, 518.

[28] The quotation in 4Q521 is introduced with the word נכון ("it is sure, certain or destined"). Sirach also uses נכון to introduce his eschatological reference to Elijah in Sir 48:10. Perhaps the author of 4Q521 knew Sir 48:10 as neither Mal 3:24 in the MT or 4Q76 use נכון.

[29] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star,* 117–20.

[30] Hans Kvalbein, "The Wonders of the End-Time Metaphoric Language in 4Q521 and the Interpretation of Matthew 11.5 PAR.*" *JSP* 18 (1998), 93.

exile.[31] Kvalbein then asserts that the author of 4Q521 2, II must also be using the same descriptions of the sufferers metaphorically to speak of Israel's exile, as this is how the words are used in the source texts.[32] Consequently, Kvalbein argues that in 4Q521 2, II, there is one group of people (Israel) who are the recipients of the blessings of God rather than groups of poor, badly wounded, blind, and so on. He suggests that the various ways of describing the blessings of God are metaphorical ways of speaking about the restoration of Israel.

However, I am not convinced about Kvalbein's assertion that the author of 4Q521 2, II must also use the source text's descriptions of the sufferers to speak metaphorically of Israel's experience of exile. My doubt is fuelled by the fact that 4Q521 2, II describes the recipients of God's blessing as **מבשי אדני** or "seekers of the Lord" (line 3), **חסידים** and **צדיכעמ** or "pious and righteous" (line 5), **אמונים** or "faithful" (line 6) and **חסידים** or "pious" (line 7). It would seem to me to be a contradiction to then call these recipients metaphorically **עורים** "blind" or **כפופים** "twisted" (line 8) or **ענוים** "poor" (6 and 12).[33] It makes much more sense to suggest that the seekers of the Lord, pious, righteous and faithful are literally poor because of gentile occupation and oppression and that this will be reversed when God acts. It makes more sense that this group of oppressed people have literal "blind," "twisted," "mortally wounded" and "martyrs" (in need of resurrection) among them, all of whom will be restored when God acts. As such, the context of 4Q521 2, II favours Collins' view that there are groups of poor, blind, twisted, mortally wounded and martyrs in view who will soon be vindicated by God.

---

[31] Ibid, 94–98. Although, Dimant argues that 4QPseudo Ezekiel (4Q385 2 8-9; 4Q385 12) interprets Isaiah 26:19 as a resurrection proof text in the second century BCE and not as metaphorical language for the return from exile. See Devorah Dimant, "Pseudo Ezekiel" in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, vol. 2, eds. Louis H Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 1521. This calls into question Kvalbein's assumption that an author will use the language of his source text in the same way.

[32] Kvalbein, "The Wonders of the End-Time Metaphoric Language in 4Q521," 87–110. Justnes follows Kvalbein with this argument. He asserts that 4Q521's language is closer to the Hebrew bible than to sectarian language. Therefore, he argues that 4Q521 should be read against the context of the Hebrew bible and not the context of Qumran. Årstein Justnes, *The Time of Salvation: An Analysis of 4Q Apocryphon of Daniel ar (4Q246), 4Q Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521 2), and 4Q Time of Righteousness (4Q215a)* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2009), 188–271. However, as I argue in the body of my thesis, first, we have no reason to assume that a first century reader would read metaphorical language metaphorically. To assume this is to assume that the author of 4Q521 would follow modern exegetical rules. Then second, the first context we need to consider when reading 4Q521 is not the Hebrew Bible or a sectarian context but the context of 4Q521. Within 4Q521 the metaphorical reading does not make sense, which means we must look for another way of reading 4Q521. Then finally, 4Q521 was found in the Qumran library. While the Qumranites may have read 4Q521 in ways differently to what the original author intended, the context of the original author is lost to us. We do, however, have some access to the Qumranite context and can therefore read 4Q521 from a Qumranite point of view, which is presumably how at least some Jews were reading 4Q521.

[33] This does not discount the possibility that the pious, righteous and faithful could also be metaphorically poor in the sense that they do not yet have all that they hope for spiritually (faithful Israel are often called spiritually poor in this sense e.g. Ps 34:6; 40:17; 70:5; 74:19, 21; 86:1). However, the focus seems to me to be on their literal state of poverty as their poverty is paired with terms like blind and twisted. It makes no sense to call pious, righteous, and faithful people spiritually or metaphorically twisted or blind.

Further, Kvalbein's assumption that ancient authors would necessarily use the language of their source texts in the same way as those source texts is demonstrably incorrect. Centuries of history had passed between the times of the authors of Isaiah and Psalm 146 and the author of 4Q521. The author of 4Q521 may, but does not have to, read the original metaphoric language as metaphor. The author is more likely to read those passages against his own context than apply modern exegetical rules relating to the use of ancient texts in fresh contexts. If the author of 4Q521 was writing between 100 and 80 BCE,[34] then he is separated from the authors of Isaiah and Psalm 146 by the tumultuous events of the Maccabean revolt and what followed. Indeed, his context is the ongoing struggle between the various Jewish sects and Hellenistic Jews/ gentile empire along with the internal turmoil of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.[35] All of this, along with the development of ideas like resurrection since the time of the authors of Isaiah and Psalm 146, could surely have coloured his reading. This line of reasoning finds support in some of Wold's observations concerning 4Q Pseudo-Ezekiel.

Wold brings 4QPseudo-Ezekiel into conversation with the agency and metaphorical language versus literal language debate surrounding 4Q521. His insights helpfully undermine Kvalbein's assumption that the author of a text will respect how language is used in his source texts. Further, 4QPseudo-Ezekiel is a text that is earlier than 4Q521 and clearly has an agent involved in eschatological resurrection. Wold helpfully notes that the oldest manuscript belonging to 4QPseudo-Ezekiel dates to the middle of the second century, which places it before 4Q521.[36] He also notes that there is no reason to assume it originated from the Qumran community.[37] 4QPseudo-Ezekiel is an example of the literary genre of rewritten Bible and has an eschatological focus.[38] Wold argues that the new version of rewritten Ezekiel is historicised, and related to the contemporary concern of future reward for the righteous.[39] It thereby gives us an

---

[34] Puech, "Une Apocalypse messianique (4Q521)," 477.

[35] John H. Hayes and Sara R. Mandell, *The Jewish People in Classical Antiquity* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 96–99.

[36] Benjamin Wold, "Agency and Raising the Dead in 4QPseudo-Ezekiel and 4Q521 2 ii*," *ZNW* 103 (2012): 7. Dimant notes that the oldest copy of 4QPseudo Ezekiel we possess (4Q391), dates from the last quarter of the second century. See Devorah Dimant, "Pseudo Ezekiel", 1520.

[37] Dimant writes that while "Pseudo-Ezekiel shows no overt connection to the sectarian literature of Qumran, its literary profile displays important links with non-Qumran works. Such links are especially present in relation to three Jewish writings: Biblical Antiquities, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. Significantly, the three are interrelated in various ways, and are considered to have stemmed from a similar milieu." See Devorah Dimant, "Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts" in *Qumran Cave 4 :XXI*, ed. Emanuel Tov, *DJD 30* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 13. Collins writes on the provenance of Pseudo-Ezekiel that "It is uncertain whether this document was composed at Qumran ... or was merely part of the library, like the book of Daniel itself." See John J. Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel,* Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 397.

[38] Wold suggests that 4QPseudo-Ezekiel is given an apocalyptic context. Wold, "Agency and Raising the Dead," 8. By apocalyptic I think Wold means that it has as eschatological context. Wold seems to be referring to the way 4QPseudo-Ezekiel interprets the vision of the dry bones from Ezekiel 37, as a divine answer to the prophet's query about a future reward for the righteous. See Dimant, "Pseudo-Ezekiel" in *Outside the Bible*, 1520-1521.

[39] Wold, "Agency and Raising the Dead," 8.

example of a Qumran text where the author did not respect the meaning or use of language in his source text when appropriating it to his contemporary context.

Wold goes on to make the following relevant observations concerning 4QPseudo-Ezekiel. First, that while God is said to be the agent of resurrection in the text (see 4Q385 2 4), Ezekiel is clearly the agent through whom God's works are mediated (4Q385 2 5-7).[40] Wold follows Dimant's summary of the four modifications made to the text of Ezekiel 37 that make 4QPseudo-Ezekiel refer to a literal resurrection. These are, first, that the event in the vision occurs in the eschaton as evidenced by the question "when will these things happen?" Second, the vision applies only to the righteous in Israel (4Q385 2 2). Third, it is a reward for the righteous (4Q385 2 3). Then finally, the benediction given after the revival makes the resurrection concrete (4Q385 12).[41]

Wold's observations on 4QPseudo-Ezekiel undermine Kvalbein's assumption that the author of 4Q521 would likely use the language of his source text in the same metaphorical way. Wold's example of 4QPseudo-Ezekiel is of a text older than 4Q521 that does not use its source text's language in the same way as its source text. 4QPseudo-Ezekiel also shares Isaiah 26:19 with 4Q521 2, II as a source text. Therefore, 4QPseudo-Ezekiel demonstrates that one of 4Q521 2, II's source texts (Isa 26:19) was no longer being read metaphorically by some Jews at the time 4Q521 2, II was written or copied.[42] 4QPseudo-Ezekiel is also an example of a text where God uses a mediator for his own eschatological actions.[43] As a result, Kvalbein's criticisms of Collins' suggestion are not convincing.

---

[40] 4Q Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385) 2 is translated by Martínez and Tigchelaar as follows.
"1 [that I am YHWH,] who rescued my people, giving them the covenant. Blank
2 [And I said: "YHWH,] I have seen many in Israel who love your name and walk
3 on the paths of [justice.] When will [the]se things happen? And how will they be rewarded for their loyalty?" And YHWH said
4 to me: "I will make the children of Israel see and they will know that I am YHWH." Blank
5 [Cf. Ezek 37 And he said:] "Son of man, prophesy over the bones and say: May a bone [connect] with its bone and a joint
6 [with its joint." And] s[o it happe]ned. And he said a second time: "Prophesy, and sinews will grow on them and they will be covered with skin
7 [all over." And so it happened.] And again he s[a]id: "Prophesy over the four winds of the sky and the wind[s]
8 [of the sky] will blow [upon them and they will live and] a large crowd of men will r[i]se and bless YHWH Sebaoth wh[o]
9 [caused them to live." Blank? And] I said: "O, YHWH, when will these things happen?" And YHWH said to [me …]
10 […] … [and] a tree will bend over and straighten up […] See Martínez & Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 769. Wold, "Agency and Raising the Dead," 8.

[41] Ibid, 9. Dimant, "Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts," 34.

[42] Dimant, "Pseudo Ezekiel", 1521, 1524.

[43] Wold points to 4Q385 2:4 where God is described as the one who is about to act and yet, in what follows, Ezekiel mediates God's action. Wold, "Agency and Raising the Dead," 8.

Collins' reasons (above) for taking the messiah of 4Q521 2, II 1 as an agent acting on behalf of YHWH to complete the tasks in 4Q521 2 II's list remain convincing. I follow Collins in suggesting that the agent is likely to be Elijah. I do so, first, because of the probable agency in raising the dead (4Q521 2 II 12). The historic Elijah was credited with raising the dead (1 Kings 17; Sir 48:5) and Elijah's return was already being associated with resurrection in the Greek of Sirach 48:11. This makes Elijah an obvious candidate for being the agent of 4Q521 2 II and the messiah of 4Q521 2 II 1. Second, because the Malachi quotation in 4Q521 2 III 2 projects Elijah's return into the context and thereby suggests that Elijah's return was in the author's mind. Then finally, because Elijah is credited with having control over the heavens (Sir 48:3) as is required of the messiah of 4Q521 2 II 1.

However, I do not agree with Collins' suggestion that the agent of 4Q521 2.2:1 was understood as having a prophetic anointing at Qumran. I disagree with Collins at this point largely because I find his arguments problematic and because there are good reasons to believe that the Qumran community did not regard the eschatological prophet as being an anointed one. The main reason for asserting that the Qumran community did not regard the eschatological prophet as being an anointed one is that the central text in Qumranite beliefs on the messiah (1QS IX 11) explicitly rules out this possibility. In 1QS IX 11 it reads **עד בוא נביא ומשיחי אהרון וישראל** (until the prophet comes and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel). This passage has become famous as the central text in demonstrating the Qumranite belief in the eschatological coming of two anointed ones and a prophet.[44] This passage also clearly claims that the eschatological prophet is not an anointed one but is in addition to the two anointed ones.[45] As such, a member of the Qumran community would be unlikely to interpret the anointed one of 4Q521 2, ii 1 as the eschatological prophet and much more likely to interpret him as the eschatological priest.[46]

Concerning 4Q521, I have argued following Collins that the anointed one in 4Q521 2 II 1 is the agent through whom God works in 4Q521 2 II 8-13 and is likely to be identified with the eschatological Elijah. However, unlike Collins, I do not find the use of **משח** in the scrolls or in the Hebrew Bible to favour a prophetic identity of the anointed one of 4Q521 2 II 1. I suggest that a priestly identity better fits the evidence or perhaps a prophetic priest (like Ezekiel) and I argue for this position in appendix 2.. In any case, 4Q521 provides a pre-Christian witness to the belief in the return of Elijah and that upon his return he would act as God's agent and perform many wondrous deeds including raising the dead. It is an intriguing context for potentially

[44] If the Qumranites believed in an eschatological anointed prophet then this text would have stated **עד בוא משיחי אהרון וישראל ונביא**.

[45] Similarly see Puech, "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q251 and Qumran Messianism," 557.

[46] However, the implications for my argument that 4Q521 2 II 1 potentially refers to a priestly Elijah has little impact on my thesis, which focuses on Matthew's Elijah who is not identified as a priest. For further interaction with Collins' argument for a prophetic Elijah in 4Q521 2 II 1 and further arguments for a priestly Elijah in 4Q521 2 II 1, see Appendix 2.

understanding why many of Jesus' contemporaries thought Jesus was Elijah (Mark 6:15; 8:28) and why Jesus' disciples believed that Elijah needed to return before the resurrection (see section 4.4.2, below).

3.4 4Qpap paraKings et al. or 4Q382

4Q382 is another non-biblical manuscript from Qumran that mentions Elijah by name (4Q382 2:3; 5:1; 47:1 and possibly fragment 9:6). Saul Olyan worked on the manuscript for the critical edition of 4Q382 that appeared in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* in 1994. There he claimed that it was doubtful that all the fragments were a part of the same work due to the different genres included among the fragments. Olyan suggested that 4Q382 probably contained at least two works, one that retold the stories of Elijah and Elisha and another that may be related to psalm material.[47] Olyan's conclusion was then challenged by Davis in his 2002 Master's thesis, "4Q382, Elijah and the Dead Sea Scrolls." Davis concluded that Olyan's conclusion was premature. He points to the fact that there is no palaeographic or orthographic deviation between the fragments of the text, and that there is no variation in the appearance of the scraps of papyrus, upon which the text was inscribed.[48] Davis' position was then tentatively supported by Feldman in 2015 who points out that other rewritten scriptural works also contain a variety of genres.[49] As such, the Davis, Feldman position that 4Q382 is one work of rewritten scripture containing multiple genres seems the best position.[50]

The fragment of 4Q382 that is of particular significance for my thesis is fragment 9 lines 2-6. Unfortunately, every reconstruction of these lines by scholars has been different and I have collected all the various reconstructions along with the PAM images in appendix 3. Olyan reconstructed the text as follows

2]תהם ..יץ המחקק ל[

3]ב. ומתניה המש[ר]תימ [

4]ים ועובדים לצבא השמים

5 היד]עתה כי היום ‥ לוקח א[ת

[47] Saul Olyan, "4Qpap paraKings et al. (PLS. XXXVIII-XLI)" in *Qumran Cave 4 · VIII: Parabiblical Texts Part 1*, eds. Harold Attridge, Torleif Elgvin, Jozef Milik, Saul Olyan, John Strugnell, Emanuel Tov, James Vanderkam and Sidnie WhiteDJD XIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 363.

[48] Christopher J. Patrick Davis, "4Q382, Elijah and the Dead Sea Scrolls" (Master's Thesis, Trinity Western University, 2002), 7-8, 170.

[49] Feldman notes that 4Q522, which rewrites the book of Joshua, also features multiple genres, providing evidence that different genres do not necessarily indicate that the fragments of 4Q382 are not the from the same work. See Ariel Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*, BZAW 469 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 145.

[50] Feldman excludes fragments 93, 98 and 102 from being part pf 4Q382 because the handwriting is different. See Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary,* 149-150.

6 ויואמר אליה]אל אלישע שיבנה פה[

2)] the ruler [

3)] and the loins of the ser[v]ants (?) [

4)] And those who serve the host of heaven[

5 [Do] you [kno]w that today YHWH is taking [

6 Elijah said] to Elisha, 'stay here.' [

Of particular interest for my thesis is the mention of מחקק in 4Q382 9 2 who is a prominent character within the Dead Sea corpus that ought to be translated as "lawgiver" and is identified as the "interpreter of the law" in CD 6 7.[51] However, Feldman, also notes that, in this context המחקק is more appropriately read as a piel participle than as a pual participle, giving the rendering "what is decreed."[52] The context he seems to be referring to is his own unique reconstruction of the previous word as ומימן. Further, all the cited reproductions of 4Q382 9 2 are different. I have examined the plates myself (PAM 43.288, 43.464, 42.500) and looked at the

[51] Elwolde argues that מחוקק at Qumran was never understood as "staff," arguing that it is actually a denominative of חק and best translated as "lawgiver." Elwolde cites multiple reasons for his position including, first, that the author of CD does not have the final word of the MT's version of Num 21:18 (משענת) in its citation in CD 6:3-4. This would suggest that משענת is a later gloss designed to bolster the "staff" interpretation. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that the LXX interprets the last two words of the MT as verbal nouns ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ κυριεῦσαι αὐτῶν. There is nothing about "staffs" in the LXX version of Num 21:18. Secondly, Elwolde points to Sir 10:5 where מחוקק is also best taken as a person. Finally, Elwolde suggests that in CD 6:9 לכרות is "to make a covenant" (כרת) rather than "to dig" (כרה). This highly plausible suggestion indicates that the "lawgiver" interpretation works better contextually. See John Elwolde, "Distinguishing the Linguistic and the Exegetical: The Biblical Book of Numbers in the Damascus Document" *DSD* 7 (2000): 3–8. Eyal Regev also suggests that מחוקק should be translated as "the legislator" but provides no argumentation. See Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 59 note 89. Similarly see Kelli S. O'Brien, "Runner Staff, And Star: Interpreting the Teacher of Righteousness through Scripture" in *A Teacher for all Generations: Essays in Honour of James C. Vanderkam* vol.1, eds. Eric F. Mason, Samuel I. Thomas, Alison Schofield and Eugene Ulrich (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 437–439. I make two further arguments in favour of "lawgiver" for מחוקק. First, I suggest, that because the מחוקק is said to be "the interpreter of the law" in CD 6:7 מחוקק appears to be a person rather than an object – thus the "lawgiver". Secondly, when Josephus discusses the Essenes in *J.W*. 2.145 he mentions a very significant member of their community, who he claims that the Essenes honour second only to God. Josephus claims that they refer to him as the νομοθέτης (lawgiver). In *J.W*. 2.145 νομοθέτης is in the genitive case and I suggest should be read as a possessive genitive. Wallace suggests that if one can substitute "of" with "belonging" then the genitive is likely a possessive genitive. See Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 81. This would mean that the lawgiver being spoken of by Josephus belongs specifically to the Essenes and not to Jews in general (like Moses). As such, this looks like a source outside of the scrolls claiming that the most significant Essene (assuming the Dead Sea scroll community were Essenes) was referred to as the "lawgiver." Similarly see David Lenz Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker,* SBLDS 1 (Missoula, Montana: University of Montana Press, 1973), 194. The notion of capital punishment being the reward for anyone who blasphemes the name of the "lawgiver" in *J.W*. 2:145 is similar to the sentiment expressed in the scrolls for those who blaspheme the name of the "Teacher of Righteousness" (1QpHab 2:1-10), elsewhere referred to as the "interpreter of the law" and the "lawgiver" (CD 6:7).

[52] Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*, 66.

manuscript on the Leon Levy Digital Library of the Dead Sea Scrolls online in order to check the different scholars reconstructions of the text.[53] After doing so I reproduce 4Q382 9 2 as follows.

]...תה מאמ.[ק] המחקק ל[

Feldman claims that PAM 42.500 shows the left and right strokes of an *ayin* at the start of the first word. However, I could not make out any clear markings at the start of the first word and so have left the reading as תה... I do however think Feldman's suggestion that the first letter is an *ayin,* giving the word עתה "now," is probable.[54] Feldman and Davis also suggest that there is a *waw* before the *mem* in the following word but there are no markings indicating the presence of a *waw*.[55] As such, the second visible word begins with a *mem*. In PAM 43.288 and 43.464 the *mem* has a square shape indicating that it could be a final *mem* similar to Olyan's reading, while on the other hand, PAM 42.500 and the images from the Leon Levy Library of the Dead Sea Scrolls clearly show a triangle shaped *mem* which it must be because it clearly has letters coming after it.[56] The letters following the first *mem* of the second word are only visible in PAM 42.500. Feldman claims that the second letter is a *yod* shaped like an inverted v which is strange because the author's *yods* in other places do not look like this.[57] While the letter directly following the first mem is partially smudged, it clearly has an x shaped structure only consistent with an *aleph* (see lines 4 and 8).[58] The third letter of the second word is also only visible in PAM 42.500 and is clearly another *mem*.[59] After the third letter, there are faint markings indicating that another letter followed before the final letter that looks to have been a *qof*. The final letter has a downward stroke, consistent with the *qof* downward strokes in the next word, as well as the bottom part of the circular part of the *qof* on the right hand side.[60] It is visible in all of the PAM images as well as the images on the Leon Levy Digital Library of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[61] The only other plausible

---

[53] See The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. "Plate 351, Frag 18, B-474848," https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-474848; Robert H. Eisenman and James M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Prepared with an Introduction and Index*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991), plate 890 or PAM 42.500. Robert H. Eisenman and James M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Prepared with an Introduction and Index*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991), plate 1324 or 43.288 and plate 1414 or PAM 43.464.

[54] Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*, 64.

[55] See Ibid, 64. Davis, "4Q382, Elijah and the Dead Sea Scrolls*,"* 25. It is possible that Feldman and Davis could be referring the horizontal stroke of the *he* in the first word תה...

[56] Eisenman and Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2, plate 1324 or 43.288 and plate 1414 or PAM 43.464. Although Olyan does not have a space between the *he* and the final *mem*. See Olyan, "4Qpap paraKings et al. (PLS. XXXVIII-XLI)," 368. See The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, "Plate 351, Frag 18, B-474848." Eisenman and Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1, plate 890 or PAM 42.500.

[57] Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*, 64. See 4Q382 9: 3, 4, 5.

[58] All four corners of the x shape are visible in PAM 42.500 which, makes one puzzle over Feldman's suggestion that it looks like an inverted v. Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings*, 64.

[59] See Ibid, 64. Davis, "4Q382, Elijah and the Dead Sea Scrolls*,"* 25.

[60] Similarly see Ibid, 25.

[61] SeeThe Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, "Plate 351, Frag 18, B-474848." Eisenman and Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1, plate 890 or PAM 42.500. Eisenman and Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2, plate 1324 or 43.288 and plate 1414 or PAM 43.464.

suggestion is that it could be a final *tsade* as Olyan suggests.[62] Consequently, I leave the *qof* in square brackets as it is uncertain. The next word and the first letter of the final word are undisputedly represented as המחקק ל.

This being the case, Feldman's reading of the second word as **ומימן** is highly dubious. I suggest my reconstruction of it as **מאמ**.[ק] is much more likely.[63] As a result, the context of **מ**חקק is unclear and cannot be used to determine whether a piel or pual reading is more appropriate. However, the piel participle is much more common than the pual participle and as such, must be considered to have the stronger claim in 4Q382 9 2.[64]

If one then accepts that **מ**חקק in 3Q382 9 2 is likely a piel participle meaning "lawgiver" or "ruler" and is also a sobriquet used in other places within the scrolls, then what is the relationship between Elijah/Elijah's ascent and the lawgiver? Further, what is the relationship between 4Q382's lawgiver and the lawgiver in CD 6:7 or the lawgiver in 4QCommentary on Genesis A (4QcommGen A, 4Q252) V 2? Does 4Q382 develop the character referred to as the lawgiver in these other places or vice versa? Do they even have the same historical or literary referent? Do they have a historical referent at all? All such questions have been raised by Matthew Collins' recent work on the Sobriquets in the scrolls and highlight the difficulty in knowing much at all about the referents of the Sobriquets.[65] These questions remain difficult to

---

[62] Olyan, "4Qpap paraKings et al. (PLS. XXXVIII-XLI)," 368.

[63] The . in **מאמ**.[ק] indicates that one letter is missing.

[64] The piel participle is used in several significant passages including Gen 49:10; Num 21:18; Deut 33:21; Jdg 5:14; Isa 33:22; Ps 60:7 and Sir 10:5. See David J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2011), 303–4.

[65] Matthew A. Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls,* LSTS 67 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 16–28. Collins' work highlights the development of the Sobriquets over time within the sect. Of interest to my discussion here is his discussion of CD 6:2–11, which he considers to be part of the formative sectarian literature and early parts of the completed document we call the Damascus Document. In his discussion, Collins suggests that lying behind **יורה הצדק** is the final phrase of Hos 10:12 **וירה צדק**, frequently translated as "rain righteousness." See Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls*, 42–44. Hosea 10:12 speaks of God's future coming to "rain righteousness" or as Collins suggests "teach righteousness." Collins also suggests that the **יורה הצדק** was likely initially considered to be a singular messiah of Aaron and Israel whose coming would be related to **באחרית הימים**. He compares CD 6:10–11 with another passage that he considers to be part of the formative sectarian literature in CD 12:23–13:1. Collins goes on to mention the three main possibilities suggested by scholars for the relationship between the **יורה הצדק** of CD 6 11 and the character known elsewhere within the scrolls by the sobriquet **מורה הצדק**. First, that the potential reference to the **מורה הצדק** death (**האסף**) in CD 19:35 means that CD 6:10–11 anticipates his return in the last days. Second, that the **יורה הצדק** from CD 6:10-11 is distinct from the historical **מורה הצדק**. Then finally, that the figure who appears in later texts as the **מורה הצדק** was believed to be the one anticipated by CD 6:10–11. Collins adopts and argues for this later position as it fits his chronological layering of the texts. He rejects the first option arguing that "it has little in the way of corroborative evidence from the texts" that supports it. See Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls*, 44-45. My interest in Collins' claims here regarding CD 6:10–11 is in the similar pattern of expectations that I have argued for regarding the Elijah forerunner concept. I have argued that Elijah was to come and prepare the way before the day of YHWH (Mal 3:23). Collins suggests, first, that the text behind the expression **יורה הצדק** in CD 6:10-11 is Hos 10:12, a passage that speaks of God's future coming to rain (teach) righteousness. Second, he argues that the early Qurmanite sect likely believed in a singular messiah whom they referred to as **יורה הצדק** whose coming would usher in the last days. The similarities between this understanding of CD 6:2–11 and the Elijah forerunner concept are obvious (one messiah being Elijah before the "day of YHWH" or "the last days"). As I argued in chapter one,

answer with much confidence and therefore the use of other scrolls that mention מחקק to help identify the referent of מחקק in 4Q382 9 2 remains problematic. So, while it is intriguing to find Elijah mentioned in the same context as a lawgiver in 4Q382 9 2, it remains impossible, for the moment, to further specify their relationship.

3.4.1 Conclusions on the above Qumran Texts that Clearly Speak about Elijah

As argued above, 4Q558, 4Q521 and 4Q382 all mention Elijah in an eschatological context.[66] The closest any of them come to explicitly stating that Elijah comes before the day of YHWH is likely to be 4Q558 1 II 4 where it says "to you I will send Eliyah, befo[re …]" While it is speculation, it is likely that following "before" in this line is a reference to the day of YHWH. This is likely because the phrase "to you I will send Eliyah, befo[re …]" closely resembles the first part of Malachi 3:23's claim "I will send you the prophet Elijah before the great and terrible day of the LORD comes."[67] However, because this can only be said to be likely, the only way 4Q558, 4Q521 and 4Q382 link Elijah's return with YHWH's return is through their shared eschatological framework.

Elijah's task in 4Q521 is to be the agent used to restore Israel and undo many of the injustices Israel had suffered. Further, in 4Q521, Elijah's task includes the miraculous, and he is the agent of resurrection (line 12). 4Q521 2 III 2 contains the same optimism regarding the success of Elijah's mission that Sirach contains with the word נכון ("it is sure, certain, destined"). Further, 4Q521 likely identifies Elijah as a messiah and a priest.

---

the "day of YHWH" is not necessarily synonymous with "the last days" but it can be understood as a closely related notion to a future event, that may, or may not, be related to "the last days." If the parallels I am suggesting here are correct, then for the author of CD 6:10–11 "the day of YHWH" and "the last days" are possibly closely related notions in his eschatological scheme. This use of "the last days" instead of "the day of YHWH" could be understood as a development in the Elijah forerunner tradition that I have observed in the Malachi textual traditions and other Second Temple texts. My suggestion here that Collins' understanding of CD 6:10–11 looks very similar to the Elijah forerunner concept could potentially shine light on the use of מחקק in the context of Elijah's ascent in 4Q382 9:2 given that מחקק is also used in CD 6:7. However, as Collins warns earlier in his book, it is historically naïve to assume that similarities between ideas mean that there is a causal relationship. See Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls*, 16. As such, I note the similarities here between the Elijah forerunner concept and Collins' understanding of CD 6:10-11 not because I believe the similarities prove anything, but because there are possibilities with this suggestion that could prove insightful for the use of מחקק in 4Q382 9 2 and the understanding(s) of the Elijah forerunner concept at Qumran in particular.

[66] Some fragments of 4Q382 look to be retelling the story of Elijah and Elisha, albeit with some significant new material (e.g. 4Q382 9), while other fragments are clearly eschatological (4Q382 31). Similarly see Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings*, 147.

[67]

4Q558 frag. 1col. 2, line 4	Malachi 3:23
לכן אשלח לאליה קד[ם	שלח לכם את אליה

It is interesting to note that 4Q558 begins with לכן, which is how 4Q76 Malachi 3:1 begins. This could be evidence that 4Q558 was combining Malachi 3:1 from 4Q76 and Malachi 3:23 in its citation and substituting לאליה for Malachi 3:1's מלאך.

3.5 Pseudo-Philo (LAB) and Elijah's priestly identity

Pseudo Philo is an example of rewritten scripture and the date of the Hebrew original is disputed.[68] As Fisk points out, neither Jacobson's or Harrington's arguments (footnote 69) are conclusive.[69] However, I find the evidence for a pre-70 CE date to be marginally stronger, because of the lack of mourning over the destruction of the temple characteristic of works such as 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra, both written shortly after the temple's destruction.[70] As such, I tentatively will treat LAB 48:1 as a final text that represents some Jews' beliefs regarding Elijah's return in the first century CE, before the destruction of the temple.

In LAB 48:1 Elijah is spoken of in terms of the priestly Phineas returning to humankind after his departure, stating in part that he will,

> shut up the heaven then, and by your mouth it will be opened up. And afterward you will be lifted up into the place where those who were before you were lifted up, and you will be there until I remember the world. Then I will make you all come, and you will taste what is death.

---

[68] Jacobson argues for a date between 70 CE–150 CE citing the reference to 17 Tammuz in LAB 19:7. Howard Jacobson, "Pseudo-Philo, Book of Biblical Antiquities" in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, vol. 1, eds. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Philadelphia: JPS, 2013), 470. In LAB 19:7, the author is recording words that God spoke to Moses before Moses' death indicating that Israel will break the covenant and will be encircled by their enemies who will achieve a victory over them on 17 Tammuz, supposedly the day that Moses smashed the tablets of the covenant (Ibid, 514–15). Josephus also mentions a key event in the downfall of Jerusalem occurring on 17 Tammuz in *J.W.* 6.93-94 and thus Jacobson suggests that the author of LAB must also have known of this event. The Rabbis also claim that a key date in the destruction of the second Temple was 17 Tammuz in m. Ta'an 4:6 and t. Ta'an 4:6 (see Ibid, 470, 514–15, 611, note 64). Other arguments that have been put forward for a post-70 CE dating of LAB include, first, the assumption that the sacred stones of the priestly breastplate are gone. This argument suggests that the author of LAB would not suggest that God would take up the sacred stones from the priestly breastplate at the destruction of the first temple and keep them until the end of the age, as in LAB 26:13, if they were still being stored in the Second Temple. See Bruce Norman Fisk, *Do You Not Remember? Scripture, Story and Exegesis in the Rewritten Bible of Pseudo-Philo,* JSP 37 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 39. Secondly, there is a possible anti-Christian polemic in LAB 32:3, where it is said that there will be no other sacrificial victim like Isaac. See Jacobson, "Pseudo-Philo, Book of Biblical Antiquities," 550. Fisk, *Do You Not Remember?*, 39. Although Kugel's reconstruction of Pseudo-Jubilees 2:3-4 (4Q225 2 II:3–4) has a very similar sentiment "God has said that you are to be the lamb that is His." James L. Kugel, "Pseudo Jubilees," pages 466–69 in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, vol. 1, eds. Louis H. Fieldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Philadelphia: JPS, 2013), 468. As such, this notion of Isaac being a sacrificial lamb is possibly pre-Christian along with the notion of him being the only human sacrifice. On the other hand, Harrington argues for a pre-70 CE date suggesting that the mention of 17 Tammuz in LAB could be a reference to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes or Pompey. D. J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo: A New Translation and Introduction" in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom, and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, vol. 2 (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1985), 299. He also points out that Pseudo-Philo lacks the themes that are prominent in works written just after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. Harrington refers to the themes of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra that have as major themes the "mourning over the destroyed Temple, heightened eschatological consciousness, the four-empire scheme of history, the Messiah, etc." Harrington then argues for a pre-70 CE date based on the attitude toward temple sacrifices expressed in LAB 32:3, because the expression "unto this day" in LAB 22:8 assumes the temple is still standing and functioning, the negative attitude toward Jewish rulers who were not chosen by God (possibly Herodians) and the free attitude toward the biblical text. Ibid, 299.

[69] Fisk, *Do You Not Remember?* 34–39.

[70] Ibid, 34.

In the biblical story, Elijah shut up the heavens and then opened them again by his mouth (1 Kings 17:1). It was also Elijah who was lifted up to the place where those who were before you were lifted up (2 Kings 2:11). It was also Elijah who was expected to return when God "remembers the world" – a phrase referring to the eschaton (Mal 3:23–24). Thus, it would seem that Pseudo-Philo believed that Elijah was the priestly Phineas and that he would return in the eschaton and die like regular people at that point.[71] This is clear evidence that at least some non-Qumranite' Jews in the Second Temple period regarded Elijah as a priest. Elijah's priestly status finds a parallel, as argued above, in 4Q521's anointed one who was likely Elijah. The belief in Elijah's priestly status is also widespread in later Rabbinic Judaism.[72] Zeron also suggests that the author of Pseudo-Philo was likely to have been reading the messenger of Malachi 3:1 as both Phineas from Malachi 2:7 and Elijah from Malachi 3:23-24.[73] This probable suggestion provides early precedent for a Jewish reading of Malachi 3:23-24 whereby Elijah was understood as being a priest.

Pseudo-Philo's contribution to the picture of pre-Christian Jewish beliefs regarding the return of Elijah is different from what we have seen before. Indeed, the only two points in common that it shares with the other evidence surveyed above is that Elijah returns in the eschaton and that he is a priest (4Q521). Otherwise, Pseudo-Philo contributes original ideas like Elijah's death upon his eschatological return.

---

[71] A possible reason why Phineas and Elijah were identified as the same person is that both were involved in Israel's story after their death/departure. This surely relates to the promise of an everlasting priesthood given to Phineas and his descendants in Num 25:13 (see also Sir 45:24). In Jdg 20:28, Phineas appears as the priest in service before the ark at the end of the time of the Judges. While we are not told of Phineas' death, Jdg 20:28 occurs centuries after Phineas' ministry in Numbers and Joshua. Butler cites this as evidence of the lack of chronological order in the book of Judges. He points out that Phineas was a member of Joshua's generation and certainly did not survive the centuries of history covered by the book of Judges. Trent Butler, *Judges,* WBC 8(Nashville, TN: Thomas Neilson, 2009), 447. In any case, it would appear that at least the author of Pseudo-Philo read Jdg 20:28 as claiming that Phineas had lived throughout the time of the Judges (see LAB 48:2–5). Similarly see Alexander Zeron, "The Martrydom of Phineas-Elijah," *JBL,* 98 (1978): 99. Similarly, Elijah is said to have written a letter that reached king Jehoram, whom Dillard points was Jehoshaphat's son and, according to a straightforward reading of 2 Kings 2-3, Elijah was said to ascend during the reign of Jehoshaphat. Dillard also notes that alternatively, it is possible to interpret the data to suggest that Elijah was alive during the first few years of king Jehoram's reign. Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles,* WBC 15 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987), 167–68. Similarly see Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles,* AYB 13*:* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 121–22. As such, in a straightforward reading of 2 Kings 2–3, Elijah would not have been on earth during the reign of king Jehoram in order to send him the letter. Elijah, like Phineas, was involved in affairs on earth after the time he was supposed to have departed. This is possibly part of the reason the two are identified as the same person in Pseudo-Philo.

[72] See Appendix 1.

[73] Zeron, "The Martyrdom of Phineas-Elijah," 99. Phineas is possibly referred to in Malachi 2:4–7 through the reference to the "covenant with Levi" and because Malachi is contrasting the priesthood of his day with an ancient ideal priesthood. Phineas can then be plausibly connected with Elijah of Malachi 3:23-24 via Malachi 3:1 as the ancient ideal priest is referred to as the angel of YHWH in Mal 2:7 as is Elijah via Mal 3:1. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, 244–251; Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 317; Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 353-355. Whether this is the best way to interpret Malachi is of course highly debatable but this interpretation of Malachi does seem to be the best explanation as to why the author of LAB identified Phineas and Elijah as the same person.

Chapter 4 Elijah's Return in Mark's Gospel

Mark is the final pre-Matthean, late Second Temple piece of literature, that mentions the return of Elijah that I will discuss. In this chapter I will discuss Mark 1:2-8 and Mark 9:9-13 and deal with issues that Mark and Matthew have in common such as the combining of Malachi 3:1 and Exodus 23:20 and the identification of Elijah with John the Baptist. I will conclude by succinctly stating the conclusions of the entire study thus far as the platform from which I will build into Matthew's Gospel.[1]

4.1 The Composite Citation: Mark 1:2–3

Mark's composite quotation of Isaiah 40:3, Exodus 23:20 and Malachi 3:1 from the mouth of the prophet Isaiah provides another example of Second Isaiah's servant and the messenger of Malachi being interpreted as the same individual.[2] As noted above, in both the Hebrew and Greek of Sirach 48:10, the agent in Second Isaiah had been interpreted in the light of the return of Elijah passages from Malachi 3. In that case, Isaiah 49:6 is being interpreted alongside Malachi 3:24. In this case, Isaiah 40:3 is interpreted with Malachi 3:1.

In Mark's composite quotation, Mark quotes seven words in a row directly from Exodus 23:20a as found in the LXX.[3] The final five words of Mark 1:2 come from a version of Malachi 3:1 that is slightly different from the three versions we have (LXX, MT and 4Q76), but is closest grammatically to both the MT and 4Q76, and thematically to 4Q76.[4] In Mark 1:3, Isaiah 40:3 is

---

[1] Mark's use of the Elijah forerunner concept is essential background to Matthew's use of the Elijah forerunner concept because Mark is a key source for Matthew's Gospel (Evans, *Matthew*, 7–8; Luz, Matthew 1–7, 41; Davies and Allison, Matthew vol. 1, 97-127; Francis Watson, Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013), 121–155.

[2] It is best to understand Mark's conflation of Scriptures in Mark 1:3 as being a combination of Exod 23:20 in the LXX, a version of Mal 3:1 closer to the MT than to the LXX and the LXX of Isa 40:3. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 63–64. William L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark,* NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974), 47–48. France notes the Isaianic sandwich in which the Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1 conflation sits between τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ and the citation from Isa 40:3. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 63, footnote 26. He also notes the two contextual differences that Mark has with the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke. First, that both Matthew and Luke quote Isa 40:3 at a different place in their narrative to Mal 3:1 and Exod 23:20. Secondly, Mark's reason for conflating Mal 3:1, Exod 23:20 and Isai 40:3 is not present in Matt 11:10. Mark combines these passages because Exod 23:20 refers to a messenger who was with Israel in the wilderness. By combining Exod 23:20 with Mal 3:1 Mark is able to refer to that messenger as an Elijah-like figure. By further combining Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1 with Isa 40:3, Mark has another reference to a messenger of sorts who is called φωνή, which links with Mal 3:1 and is in the ἔρημος that links with Exod 23:20. The reason for all these links becomes apparent when John is introduced as someone proclaiming an Elijah-like message in the ἔρημος. Thus, the conflation of all these passages for Mark fits what he is wanting to say about John and the implications that he has for Jesus. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 56-58, 63-67. Similarly see Robert A. Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26,* WBC 34A (Dallas, TX: Word, 1989), 11. Matthew makes the same points differently but when he cites Mal 3:1, the ἔρημος is not in the next verse but a few verses beforehand in Matt 11:7.

[3] Mark omits ἐγώ from his citation of Exod 23:20a, which may reflect either a difference between his version and ours, or his desire to shorten the citation.

[4] Unless Mark is paraphrasing Mal 3:1 to fit the other passages he cites and his own theological agenda. R. H. Stein, *Mark,* BECNT 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 42.

the crowning part of the composite quotation. Within this composite citation, Mark has made his opening statements about John the Baptist and Jesus as well as the event that was happening through them. But there is little agreement among commentators as to how the composite citation should be read. That Mark equates the ἄγγελος from Malachi 3:1 and "the voice crying in the wilderness" from Isaiah 40:3 with John the Baptist is clear from the narrative that follows (Mark 1:4–8),[5] leading most commentators to translate ἄγγελος with "messenger" rather than "angel."

This translation choice implies that the translator believes John the Baptist to be human rather than angelic or some combination of the two, but it raises several issues. First, Mark later implies that the ἄγγελος of Malachi 3:1 is both John the Baptist and Elijah (Mark 9:13).[6] If one understands this to mean that John the Baptist is, somehow, literally Elijah, then the implication is that John the Baptist is over 800 years old and has been somewhere with God for most of that time. If John the Baptist was literally Elijah, then it follows that he was not simply a human like us, and that the ἄγγελος of Mark 1:2 should potentially be translated as "angel."

If one understands Mark to be claiming that John the Baptist fulfilled the prophecy from Malachi of Elijah's return but that he was not literally Elijah, but just a type of Elijah, then one has created a new set of problems. These include the protest of Malachi 3:23-24 in the Hebrew that specifies that it is "Elijah the prophet" who is to return. The phrase "the prophet" was understood as a phrase indicating that it was the historical Elijah and not some other type of Elijah by the LXX translators who translated this phrase with even more specificity as Ηλιαν τὸν Θεσβίτην ("Elijah the Tishbite", Mal 3:22; c.f. 1 Kings 17:1). For the LXX translators, it was an important theological point that it was not going to be some other prophet, or type, but

---

[5] Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 27. Stein, *Mark*, 42–44. France, *The Gospel of Mark,* 63–64. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 45–46. Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 11. Adela Yarbo Collins, *Mark,* Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2007), 136. Camille Focant, *The Gospel according to Mark: A Commentary* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012), 29.

[6] John the Baptist is best understood as Elijah for the following reasons. First, his clothes are described as being clothes that prophets were known for wearing and that Elijah was particularly remembered for wearing (2 Kings 1:8; Zech 13:4), see Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 32; Stein, *Mark*, 47–48; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 69; Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 51. Secondly, both parts of John's message correspond well with what we know some Second Temple Jews were expecting of the eschatological Elijah's ministry. Parallels to John's message in Mark 1:4 of the need for Israel's repentance for forgiveness of sin can be found in Mal 3:24 and the Greek and Hebrew of Sir 48:10. It was Elijah's role to prepare Israel for the return of YHWH and for God's judgement in these passages. Calling Israel to repentance fits that expectation, see Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 30–31; Stein, *Mark*, 45. Thirdly, John's message expressed in Mark 1:7–8 uniquely fits what we know about the return of Elijah. In the Old Testament it is YHWH alone who is able to baptise people with the Holy Spirit (Ezek 36:26–27; 39:29; Joel 2:28-32), see Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 33; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 71–72. Further, it was Elijah who was expected to prepare the way for "the more powerful one who is able to Baptise with the Spirit of God" – namely YHWH himself. Thus, John the Baptist's message in Mark 1:7–8 fits what we know was foundational to the belief in Elijah's return – that Elijah would prepare the way for YHWH's return. Finally, Jesus claims that Elijah has already come in Mark 9:13 and says, "they did to him whatever they pleased." The obvious referent in Mark's Gospel to Elijah is John the Baptist who had been executed in Mark 6:27-29, see France, *The Gospel of Mark,* 358; Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark,* 275; Stein, *Mark*, 426.

the actual Tishbite who returned before the day of YHWH. This is also the case with both the Greek and Hebrew versions of Sirach, both of which assume it would be the same Elijah who ascended who would return at the appointed time.[7] The reason Malachi, his copyists and readers believed that it would be the historical Tishbite who would return is because they believed that the historical Tishbite had never actually died, but had ascended (2 Kings 2; Sir 48:9; 1 En. 89:52;[8] 93:8). None of the Second Temple evidence surveyed gives any reason to doubt that this was the belief of many Jews.[9] As such, to a Second Temple Jew, the claim that John the Baptist was just a type of Elijah would seem to indicate that Malachi 3:1 has not been fulfilled with John the Baptist's coming, and that the real Elijah is still elsewhere ready to return before the day of YHWH. To claim that John the Baptist fulfilled the prophecies regarding Elijah's return by being a type of Elijah would seem to be an anachronistic way of reading Mark 1:2-3 that is totally out of step with Second Temple expectations. Such a claim would seem to be fuelled by modern doubt regarding Elijah's ascent as a historical event.[10]

---

[7] See Sir 48:9–10.

[8] In the animal apocalypse (1 En. 89:52) Elijah did not die (like the other prophets) but ascended to where Enoch was in the high tower above the earth (1 En 87:3).

[9] Some have argued that Josephus is perhaps the closest evidence that we have of a Jew who doubts that Elijah ascended to heaven. He states, "Now about that time Elijah disappeared (ἠφανίσθη) from among men and to this day no one knows his end" (*Ant*. 9.2.2. §28). Tabor argues that Josephus is being purposefully ambiguous with how he tells the story of Elijah's ascension, suggesting that the language of Elijah's ascension is ambiguous because Josephus does not want to imply that Elijah is greater than Moses – who, Tabor argues, according to Josephus, died. As such, Josephus says that Elijah disappeared, which allows a reader familiar with the story to assume Elijah's ascension and the non-Jew to assume he retired from office. See James D. Tabor, "'Returning to the Divinity': Josephus's Portrayal of the disappearances of Enoch, Elijah and Moses," *JBL* 108 (1989), 228–29. However, Begg points out that ἠφανίσθη was a common way for pagans to speak about heroes and mighty men being raptured to the realm of the gods. See Christopher Begg, "'Josephus's Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah and Moses' Some observations," *JBL* 109 (1990), 691–93. He highlights a study by Lohfink who lists numerous places where ἠφανίσθη is used to speak of pagan heroes' rapture see G. Lohfink, *Die Himmelfahrt Jesu,* SANT 26 (Munich: Kosel, 1971), 41 note 58. Tiede points out the similarities between the mode of Moses' disappearance and the apotheosis of Aeneas and Romulus in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (see Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 235, note 233). Begg also points out that this is clearly the best way to take ἠφανίσθη as Josephus goes on to state about Elijah's ascent that it was the same as Enoch's ascent (which Tabor fails to mention). As such, Begg suggests that any pagan reader of Josephus's work would assume that Elijah returned to the divinity in the same way that Enoch did. See Begg, "'Josephus's Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah and Moses': Some observations," 691–93. Josephus claims that Enoch went to be with God in *Ant*. 1.3.4 §85 and if Elijah's disappearance was the same as Enoch's, then it makes sense that Elijah also went to be with God. This lends its weight to the view that Elijah was believed to ascend to heaven not to the ends of the earth. Concerning Moses' end, Josephus states that a cloud came upon him and that he disappeared (ἀφανίζω) but also that he wrote in Scripture concerning himself that he died lest people suggest he went to God in *Ant*. 4.8.48 §326. The implication is that Moses also ascended to heaven but that he wrote that he died beforehand so that the people would not stray into idolatry and because of his great modesty. Similarly see Begg, "'Josephus's Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah and Moses': Some observations," 692.

[10] Marcus provides a good example of this modern assumption, which was not shared by Second Temple Jews, in his book on the historical John the Baptist. He makes two unfounded assumptions in the following quotation. First, that Elijah was believed to prepare the way for the messiah and second that the Synoptic Gospels portray John as Elijah returned from the dead. Of particular relevance here is the second assumption that the Gospel writers believed that the historic Elijah had died. This is a modern assumption and not one shared by Second Temple Judaism. Marcus writes "since Elijah was supposed to come before the messiah (cf. Mal. 4:5 [=3:23 MT]// Mark 9:11) and the portrait of John as Elijah returned from the dead could therefore have been a Christian

A second problem with the translation of ἄγγελος as messenger, rather than angel, in Mark 1:2 is that throughout Mark, ἄγγελος always refers to a suprahuman being/s.[11] This leads into the final problem that seven of the words in the citation in Mark 1:2 come from Exodus 23:20 and five of them from a version of Malachi 3:1. The ἄγγελος in Exodus 23:20 is a reference to the "angel of YHWH" who goes before Moses and Israel on their way to Canaan.[12] This lends weight to translating ἄγγελος in Mark 1:2 with "angel" rather than "messenger."

Commentators' explanations as to why Mark combined Exodus 23:20 and Malachi 3:1 range from vague comments regarding Mark's high estimation of John the Baptist,[13] to the position of the majority of commentators who attempt to explain it as simply the way that Malachi 3:1 was remembered. The latter possibility provides the much later liturgical reading of Torah and the Prophets in Rabbinic Judaism as evidence as to how Malachi 3:1 was remembered in the Second Temple period.[14] However, in the first century, the development of a universal, cyclical, liturgical reading of Malachi 3:1 along with Exodus 23:20 was still centuries away.[15] This

---

invention to confirm the messianic status of Jesus" (Joel Marcus, *John the Baptist in History and Theology,* SPNT (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2018), 5). However, in chapter 3 Marcus goes on to argue that the historical John the Baptist did likely identify himself as Elijah (Marcus, *John the Baptist in History and Theology*, 46-61).

[11] See Mark 1:2, 13; 8:38; 12:25; 13:27 and 32. Joynes, "The returned Elijah? John the Baptist's Angelic Identity in the Gospel of Mark," 464. If we leave the Mal 3:1 citations to one side, then the New Testament uses the word ἄγγελος 172 times. Of these times, only Luke 7:24; 9:52 and James 2:25 are instances where ἄγγελος is best translated as "messenger." This means that in the New Testament it is rarely the case where it is better to translate ἄγγελος with "messenger" rather than "angel."

[12] Just as the author of 4Q521 could have understood his source texts in ways different to the author of his source texts, so the author of Mark's Gospel could use Exodus 23:20 differently to how the author/s of Exodus 23:20 intended it to be understood. The key to determining whether an author is using an ancient text in the same way as the author of the ancient text is to listen to the context in which that the author places the ancient text into. In this case, as I will argue in the body of my thesis, Exodus 23:20 is being used typologically in Mark 1:2–3.

[13] See Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 27. Stein makes no comment on the issue at all but instead focuses on the way that Jesus is substituted for YHWH in Mark's citation. See Stein, *Mark*, 42–44.

[14] Commentators who argue along these lines frequently make reference to Mann's work that shows how Exodus 23:20a was eventually read alongside Malachi 3:1-8, 23-24 in the synagogues of the Rabbinic period as a part of their cyclical and liturgical readings. See Jacob Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, vol. 1 (New York: Ktav, 1971), 479. For some Markan examples see France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 63–64; Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 45–46; Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 11;. Collins, *Mark*, 136; Focant, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 29. For some Matthean examples see France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 243; Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 138. Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew: And its use of the Old Testament* (Ramsey, NJ: Sigler, 1990), 50.

[15] While there is some evidence that the law and the prophets were read together in the late Second Temple synagogues, there is no evidence to suggest a universally agreed upon reading from the prophets for each Torah reading in the second temple period. See similarly Steven R. Notley, "Jesus' Jewish Hermeneutical Method in the Nazareth Synagogue," pages 46-59 *in Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, vol.2, LNTS 392, eds. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 49-50. Elbogen points to multiple places (t. Meg. 4:18; b. Meg. 29b) that demonstrate that a universal cyclical reading of the Torah and the Prophets developed centuries after the rise of Christianity. See Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History,* translated by Raymond P. Scheindlin (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1993), 132–34, 144. Thus, the more likely pre-70CE situation was that while there were Torah readings in the synagogue, and potentially readings from the prophets, there was no universal cycle of reading a specific Torah passage with a specific passage from the prophets in the pre-70CE synagogues. The situation is, as Ben Zion Wacholder says in the prolegomenon to the 1971 edition to Mann's work, when speaking of Scripture reading in the synagogue pre-70CE: "There is no evidence of a cycle of scriptural readings linked with the calendar." Ben Zion Wacholder, "Prolegomenon" in *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old*

does not mean that there were not local synagogue conventions that combined Malachi 3:1 with Exodus 23:20. But because these could have only existed as local conventions, they would not have determined the universal memory of Malachi 3:1 in popular culture. The suggestion that Exodus 23:20 and Malachi 3:1 were combined in the popular memory of Malachi 3:1 looks like an attempt to nullify the impact that Exodus 23:20 is allowed to have on Malachi 3:1 in Mark 1:2 and thereby bolster the "messenger" translation of ἄγγελος in Mark 1:2. It also diverts attention away from the question of the value that Mark saw in citing Exodus 23:20 with Malachi 3:1.

A better explanation, which I will argue below, is that Mark, and perhaps some other Jews, combined Exodus 23:20 and Malachi 3:1, because they believed Elijah had been transformed in his ascent to heaven. As such, he now, somewhat mysteriously, had taken on an angelomorphic identity. Further, as Sirach 48:10, in both its Hebrew (Manuscript B) and Greek versions had made plain (see above), Elijah's mission was going to involve restoring the exiles of Israel. By the first century, there was a well-established tradition of speaking of Israel's eschatological hope for the completion of the return from exile with Exodus language.[16] As such, I will argue below that Mark, and perhaps some of his contemporaries, can be understood to be speaking of the literal Elijah's return as an angelomorphic human to bring about a new Exodus before the day of YHWH using the Exodus language of Exodus 23:20.[17]

This being the case, with the Exodus 23:20 citation, we do encounter a typological use of Scripture. Mark is claiming that John the Baptist is a type of angel of YHWH who has come to prepare the way before the new leader of the new exodus – Jesus and that the new exodus is about to take place.[18] This is best understood typologically first, because Exodus 23:20 is not predictive in its original context;[19] second, because Exodus typology was often used by later

---

Synagogue, vol.1 by Jacob Mann (New York: Ktav, 1971), XVII. Similarly see K. D. Litwak, "Synagogue and Sanhedrin," pages 264-271 in *The World of the New Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts,* edited J. B. Green & L. M. McDonald (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013), 266–267.

[16] Isaiah 11:15–16; 42:16; 43:2, 16–21; 49:9-12; 63:7–64:12; Ezek 20:33-38; Neh 9:36; Bar 4:21–22, 32; 5:9; 2 Macc 1:27–29.

[17] For the phrase angelomorphic human see Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology,* WUNT 94 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 30–31. An interesting note is that some Jews around the time of the first century seem to have regarded honey as being the food of angels as is made clear in Jos. As. 16:8–16. Similarly see Marcus, *John the Baptist in History and Theology*, 58. If, as I will argue, John the Baptist was believed by Mark to be the angelomorphic Elijah, perhaps John's fondness for honey (Mark 1:6) as a staple part of his diet was intended to supplement the other suggestions of John the Baptist's angelomorphic identity.

[18] In Exod 23:20 the "you" whom the angel is going before could refer to either Moses, Israel or both. However, in Mark 1:2 the "you" refers to the new leader of the new exodus as demonstrated by the Isaiah 40:3 citation and Mark 1:4–11.

[19] France defines typology as "the recognition of a correspondence between New and Old Testament events, based on a conviction of the unchanging character of the principles of God's working." See R. T. France, *The Gospel According to Matthew,* TNTC(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 40. As such, New Testament typology is the observation of a type of reoccurrence of an Old Testament event or character in a New Testament event or character. The Old Testament event or character informs and shapes the New Testament event or character. France distinguishes between typological, predictive and allegorical methods of interpretation. France argues that "a

writers to make reference to a future time of salvation;[20] and finally, because the components of Exodus 23:20 cannot be interpreted literally in Mark 1:2 because Mark does not develop Exodus 23:20 literally in his Gospel. Thus, John is a type of "angel of YHWH" who has come to prepare the way before a type of Moses in a type of Exodus. As such, Mark is not claiming that John the Baptist is the angel of YHWH or that Jesus is Moses. At this point, Mark's typological use of Exodus 23:20 is only suggestive of John the Baptist's angelomorphic identity. That Mark combined the ἄγγελος of Exodus 23:20 with the ἄγγελος of Malachi 3:1 proposes that in Malachi 3:1 ἄγγελος is a type of "angel of YHWH" from Exodus 23:20. Thus, the "angelic" translation of ἄγγελος in Mark 1:2 is to be preferred over the "messenger" translation, by virtue of the combination and use of Exodus 23:20 with Malachi 3:1.

However, a typological interpretation of Malachi 3:1 and Isaiah 40:3 is less likely. This is because both Malachi 3:1 and Isaiah 40:3 can be read in a predictive manner. The case for their predictive interpretation in Mark becomes stronger because there are examples outside of Mark of their literal (predictive) interpretation in other Second Temple literature,[21] but no examples of their typological interpretation. Accordingly, the predictive interpretation is more likely because from the outset it is best to assume that Mark would be interpreting Malachi 3:1 and Isaiah 40:3 in ways consistent with his contemporaries. Second, in Mark itself a predictive interpretation would seem best for both Malachi 3:1 and Isaiah 40:3. Concerning Malachi 3:1, Mark identifies John the Baptist with both the angel of Malachi 3:1 (Mark 1:2-8) and Elijah (Mark 9:13) from Malachi 3:23-24.[22] Mark also identifies Jesus with the divine who comes after Elijah (as I will argue below on Isaiah 40:3). As shown above, it is grammatically best in the MT and the LXX to read Malachi 3:1-5 and 23–24 together, and this is likely the way that other Second Temple Jews

---

prediction looks forward to, and demands, an event which is to be its fulfilment; typology, however, consists essentially of looking back and discerning previous examples of a pattern now reaching its culmination." He also argues that typology does not lose sight of the historical character of the events with which it is concerned. Allegory, on the other hand, is not concerned with the historical events and characters of the Old Testament passage but invests these events and characters with "significance drawn more from the allegorist's own ideas than from the intended sense of the Old Testament." See France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 40. Joynes also argues that with typology it is possible for there to be more than one fulfilment of a type. Joynes provides the following definition of typology. "Typology is the juxtaposition of types (people, institutions or events). The relationship between type and antitype is suggested by the accumulation of points of correspondence between the two narratives. The type and antitype are not identical and cannot be one and the same person, institution or event since, by definition, typology is describing one thing in terms of another. The correspondence can be of difference and of similarity, and establishing a typological relationship does not involve evaluation of the historicity of a text." See Joynes, "The returned Elijah? 459.

[20] See Snodgrass's comment about the use of exodus typology in Isa 11:16. K. Snodgrass, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in *Interpreting the New Testament: Essays on Methods and Issues*, ed. D. A. Black and D. S. Dockery (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2001), 215. Also see Ezek 20:33–38.

[21] For literal interpretations of Malachi 3:1 see above discussion on Malachi 3:22 in LXX and Sirach 48-9-10. For an example of a literal interpretation of Isaiah 40:3 see the Rule of the Community or 1QS 8:14.

[22] Mark 9:13 infers that John the Baptist is Elijah. Mark's Jesus is not as explicit about this as Mathew's Jesus. However, Öhler notes that the text of Mark 1:6a concerning John's girdle comes from the LXX version of 2 Kings 1:8 and therefore clearly identifies John the Baptist with Elijah. He also highlights how Malachi's Elijah calls for one last repentance by Israel before God comes in judgment. This he argues is exactly the heart of John the Baptist's message. See Öhler, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God," 470–71.

were reading Malachi.[23] Further, as argued above, a popular expectation among Second Temple Jews was that the actual Elijah the Tishbite (LXX of Mal 3:22) would return in preparation for the day of YHWH, and not someone like him.[24] Mark is claiming that John the Baptist is the angel from Malachi 3:1 who, like the angel of Exodus 23:20 and as the voice of Isaiah 40:3, will prepare the way for YHWH and the new exodus.[25]

The citation of Isaiah 40:3 confirms the identification of Jesus with YHWH from the Malachi 3:1 citation as well as the new exodus motif. Isaiah 40:3 has the voice of one, that is John the Baptist, preparing the way for the κύριος, a translation of יהוה in Isaiah 40:3, whom Mark identifies as Jesus in the following narrative (Mark 1:4-11). The predictive use of Isaiah 40:3 in Mark makes more sense than a typological use, as Mark is arguing that John the Baptist is the literal voice in the wilderness (Mark 1:4).[26] This understanding of Elijah's return fits comfortably within the world of Second Temple Judaism. As argued above, Elijah's task was to prepare the way for YHWH (Mal 3:1–5, 23–24 in the MT, the LXX and in 4Q76), and in some cases Elijah's task was also associated with the completion of the return from exile or the new exodus motif (Sir 48:10 in both the Hebrew of Manuscript B and the Greek).

Because Mark has begun his citation with Exodus 23:20, which has three characters (God, the angel of YHWH and Moses), he has modified his Malachi 3:1 text so that there are three characters. He has done this by changing the first person singular suffix (as reflected in the MT) at the end of לפני to the second person singular σοῦ.[27] As a result, he has ended up with three characters in his Malachi 3:1 citation before going back to two characters in his Isaiah 40:3 citation. As argued above, it is possible to interpret the MT of Malachi 3:1 so that there are three characters (God, a divine messenger and Elijah). This way of interpreting Malachi 3:1 is certainly the best way to read Malachi 3:1 in 4Q76. Perhaps Mark was familiar with this interpretation or a version of Malachi 3:1 similar to 4Q76 and thus the three characters of Exodus 23:20, for Mark

[23] As Zeron suggested above, Pseudo-Philo was likely interpreting the angel from Mal 2:7 and 3:1 as Elijah from Mal 3:23–24. See Zeron, "The Martyrdom of Phineas-Elijah," 99. The probable priestly Elijah in 4Q521 may also suggest that 4Q521's author read Mal 2:7; 3:1 and 23–24 together as well and as a result identified Elijah as a priest.

[24] This is why the LXX translator of Malachi changed the likely original Hebrew הנביא to τὸν Θεσβίτην. The change reflects the translator's likely correct assumption that הנביא was likely used to specify which Elijah it was, that God was going to send before YHWH's day. The translator felt the need to be even more specific about which Elijah it was who was going to return – Elijah the Theshbite. The use of the specifiers הנביא and τὸν Θεσβίτην indicate that the authors of the Hebrew Text of Malachi and the LXX did not expect a typological return of Elijah but an actual return of the historic Elijah. Similarly see Joynes, "The returned Elijah?" 456. Markus Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament: Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des alttestamentlichen Propheten im frühen Christentum,* BZnW 88 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 108.

[25] As stated above, Elijah's task in both the Hebrew and Greek was related to completing the return from exile as they interpreted Elijah as Isaiah's servant from Isa 49:6.

[26] There is no precedent in Mark for taking John the Baptist as a type of voice like that spoken of in Isa 40:3, as if the predicted literal voice in the wilderness is still coming in the future.

[27] This of course assumes that whatever version of Malachi Mark was using had a first-person singular suffix like the MT. However, it is possible that 4Q76's version had a second person singular suffix (like Mark's version) since 4Q76's version of Malachi 3:1, like Mark's version, has three characters.

meshed easily with the three characters of his version of Malachi 3:1 (which was potentially similar to 4Q76). If this is the case, then, from the outset, Mark may be signalling that he identifies theologically with the group that Sommer describes as having a fluid understanding of the one God's identity, where the one God is able to be present in multiple bodies in different places at the same time.[28] This would explain why Mark is able to move from a predictive interpretation of a text that has two divine characters and an ἄγγελος (Malachi 3:1) to a predictive interpretation of a text that mentions the divine and a voice in the wilderness (Isa 40:3), and claim that they both refer to the same event. For Mark, the angel of Malachi 3:1 prepares the way for the divine, and there are two divine characters in Malachi 3:1 in 4Q76 that share the one God's identity (the speaker and האדון). Thus, the voice of Isaiah 40:3 is preparing the way before YHWH even though YHWH may be active in multiple bodies and different places in Malachi 3:1 and throughout Mark's Gospel.[29] Sommer has demonstrated that this was one of the very Jewish ways of speaking about Israel's one God.[30]

4.2 Other possible examples and further questions

There is one other place in Mark's Gospel where Elijah (along with Moses) could be said to have an angelic identity. The passage in question is Mark 8:38–9:4. Many scholars interpret Mark 8:38 as suggesting that the coming of the apocalyptic Son of Man (see section 4.4.1) parallels the statement of Mark 9:1 about the kingdom of God coming with power, and is fulfilled in Mark 9:2–4 with Jesus' transfiguration and the appearance of Elijah and Moses on the mountain.[31] The use of καί to link these verses together suggests that they belong together grammatically (beginning of Mark 9:1 and 2) and should therefore be read together.[32] Most commentators point out that the kingdom of God's coming with power is fulfilled for some

---

[28] Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel,* 38–44. See chapter two, footnote 19.

[29] A Christianised version of Sommer's observation of the Jewish belief that the one God can be present in multiple bodies is present in the baptism scene in Mark 1:10–11. Edwards argues that the Spirit's descent into Jesus "like a dove" is a simile where the visual shape of the Spirit was like a dove. Mark's early interpreter Luke was therefore totally consistent with Mark's comment regarding the Spirit in making it more concrete in his statement "in bodily form like a dove" (Luke 3:22). See Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 36–37; Stein, *Mark*, 58; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 78. As such, the divine is depicted in multiple places and bodies in the Baptism scene in Mark's Gospel. There is the voice from heaven, the Spirit in the shape of a dove and Jesus who according to the composite citation in Mark 1:2–3 is divine. This is totally consistent with Mark's use of Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1 in Mark 1:2.

[30] Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel,* 38-44.

[31] Ben Witherington III, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 259–65. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Mark,* TNTC (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2017), 206–7. Stein, *Mark,* 410–11. France argues that Mark 8:38–9:4 are to be read together but does not think Mark 8:38 refers to the Parousia. He also thinks that the subject matter of Mark 8:38 is closely related to Mark 9:1. See France, *The Gospel of Mark,* 343–45. Other scholars suggest that the transfiguration is a preview of the resurrection and downplay the connection between Mark 8:38 and Mark 9:1. See Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 260.

[32] Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 71–81. Although many also comment on how the beginning of Mark 9:1, Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, makes Mark 9:1 look like an unrelated tradition that Mark has placed here. However, my interest is in why Mark has placed it here and as such, in the final redacted version of Mark's Gospel. There are two key themes that also link Mark 8:34–38 and Mark 9:1. First, the possibility of death for some of the disciples, and, second, a glorious eschatology expressed in the statements regarding the coming of the Son of Man and the coming of the kingdom of God. See France, *The Gospel of Mark,* 343.

(Peter, James and John) in the transfiguration pericope. This, they argue, is a preview of the Son of Man's Parousia in Mark 8:38. However, few make the inference that if this interpretation is correct, then the οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἅγιοι who accompany the Son of Man in Mark 8:38 are to be identified with Moses and Elijah in Mark 8:38's preview in Mark 9:3-4.[33] That οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἅγιοι is best taken as a reference to angelic beings and not "holy messengers" is evident from the fact that it echoes the apocalyptic Son of Man texts in Daniel 7:13 and 1 Enoch 45–46 and that these messengers are described as "holy ones," which was a synonym for angels in the Second Temple period.[34] The appearance of Elijah as an angelic being in Mark 8:38–9:4 after the death of John the Baptist raises difficulties for some with interpreting John the Baptist as literally the returned Elijah and I will discuss this below. However, the conclusion of this argument is that a common interpretation of Mark 8:38–9:4 identifies both Moses and Elijah as angelic beings.

Further, Mark's Gospel provides two instances that are best understood to reflect the view of Jesus' contemporaries that Elijah would literally return rather than typologically return. The first instance occurs in Mark 6 where Herod Antipas is pondering the identity of Jesus. In Mark 6:15 we are told that some believed Jesus to be (εἰμί) Elijah. Then we are told that others thought Jesus could be a prophet like (ὡς) one of the other prophets. Why does Mark distinguish between the possibilities of Jesus being (εἰμί) Elijah or being like (ὡς) one of the other prophets of old? I suggest the answer that best fits the historical context is that Jesus could be Elijah because Elijah, unlike the other prophets, had not died and was expected to return. Consequently, some believed that Elijah had returned and was being called "Jesus." However, Jesus could not literally be any of the other prophets for they had not ascended to heaven but had died. If Jesus was to be identified with one of the prophets of old, then he was a prophet like (ὡς) one of the prophets of old rather than being (εἰμί) one of the prophets of old.

The second instance where the belief of Jesus' contemporaries that Elijah was to literally return is evident is at the crucifixion scene. In Mark 15:35–36 we read that someone misheard Jesus, and thought he was calling for Elijah.[35] Some of the spectators then said "let us see if Elijah comes to take him down." What were these spectators (however sarcastically) suggesting was a possibility? It hardly seems likely that they were expecting an ordinary human who believed himself to be a prophet like Elijah (rather than the actual Elijah) to come wandering up the road. Much more likely is the assumption that Elijah would come dramatically from heaven and perhaps call down fire upon the Roman soldiers before gently getting Jesus off the cross.[36] This

---

[33] I owe this insight to Witherington who also notes Moses and Elijah's angelic function in Rev 11:3–14. See Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 261.

[34] See Collins' lengthy excursus on the Hebrew קדושים in Collins, *Daniel*, 313–18. Similarly see Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 59.

[35] Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 476–77; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 653–54.

[36] Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 476–77; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 654.

assumption reflects the belief that the historic Elijah had ascended to heaven and was available to come again rather than the belief that the future Elijah–prophet would be merely a type of Elijah. Both of these instances are examples of the Jewish belief of the actual return of the historic prophet Elijah rather than a type.

To a modern Western ear, these arguments have three glaring problems. First, does it make any sense to speak of John the Baptist as literally Elijah if that means that John the Baptist had to have taken on some sort of angelomorphic identity? Second, why had Elijah taken on an angelomorphic identity and where exactly was he believed to have been between his first and second comings? Third, if John the Baptist was literally Elijah and died in Mark 6, then who appeared with Moses on the mount of Transfiguration? I will address these three questions now for our understanding of Mark's Gospel and as preparation for Matthew's Gospel, who, I will argue, has the same assumptions.

As stated above, if Mark believed that John the Baptist was literally Elijah, then it follows that John the Baptist was somehow over 800 years old and had been dwelling with God, somewhere, for most of that time. This prospect seems ridiculous to our modern sensitivities. However, as argued above, if we leave our modern sensitivities aside for a moment and focus purely on what Mark is saying and the Scripture he cites in Mark 1:2–3, then it seems that Mark is claiming that John the Baptist is angelic in some sense. This again, is uncomfortable for our modern sensibilities that feel the need to stress that angels and humans each have a distinct order of being.[37] It is this modern assumption that lies at the heart of our modern translation of ἄγγελος as "messenger"in Mark 1:2, because the Gospels portray John the Baptist as a human. However, the evidence suggests that this modern assumption was not shared by many Second Temple Jews for whom the distinction between human and angel could become rather fuzzy. I now turn to a discussion of evidence from multiple Second Temple Jewish sources, of angelomorphic human identities that demonstrate that many Second Temple Jews did not assume that it is was easy to distinguish between humans and angels.

4.2.1 The Fuzziness between Angels and Humans in the Second Temple Period

A key scholar who has written extensively on this subject is Crispin Fletcher-Louis. He argues that some Jews in the Second Temple period had a very high view of humanity, particularly in its pre-fall, Adamic condition.[38] He argues that many Jews saw Adam as God's

---

[37] Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 7 (2000): 292.

[38] Crispin Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests (Ben Sira, the Qumran Sabbath Songs and the Yom Kippur Avodah), in *Gottesdienst und Engel im antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, WUNT 2, eds. Jörg Frey und Michael R. Jost (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 159–61. Also see Herring who explores the broader context of image/idols in the ancient near east and the meaning this context brings to Gen 1:26–27; Exod 34:29—35 and Ezekiel 36–37. Herring argues that just as images/idols were understood in the ancient Near East to become extensions of the deity, after they were made alive in a cultic ceremony, so too was humanity understood in Gen

image/idol reflecting God's glory into God's creation.[39] It was in this original state that humanity was like the angels in glory and many believed that this was humanity's eschatological destiny (Mark 12:25).[40] Fletcher-Louis also argues that Israel was believed to be a corporate Adam and that within a liturgical framework some were able to embody this glorious Adamic humanity in the present once more.[41] In Fletcher-Louis' earlier work he speaks of this process with language like angelomorphic, which for Fletcher-Louis does not mean ceasing to be human or being transformed into an angel.[42] Rather, it means embodying Adam's pre-fall glorious humanity as the idol of God and manifestation of God's glory.[43] It is this pristine Adamic humanity that is comparable to the angels in glory and beauty and thus, angels become useful analogies for pre-fall, Adamic humanity. Below I survey some of the evidence for this high view of Adamic humanity and argue it is likely that Elijah was believed to be transformed into some sort of Adamic human in his ascent to heaven. As a transformed human he would be able to survive in the heavenly realm and can be usefully spoken of as a מלאך or ἄγγελος (Mal 3:1).

1:26–27. His findings support Fletcher-Louis's arguments that some ancient Jews had a very high (divine) view of humanity. See Stephen L. Herring, *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 87–208. Of course, how we understand this depends largely on what we mean by "divine" and what we think Jews from the Second Temple period meant. This is to enter into the debate surrounding exclusive and inclusive divinity. In my comments regarding Herring's views on a very high (divine) view of humanity I suggest that Herring is using the word "divine" in an inclusive sense. Thus, he is not suggesting that humanity is divine in the sense of becoming a part of/being the creator, but is rather suggesting, that original humanity shared some of the divine characteristics and, as they bear those characteristics, can appropriately be called divine. See Herring, *Divine Substitution,* 87–107. Also, see Robinson for this helpful way of summarising inclusive monotheism. Jonathan Robinson, "Markan Typology," unpublished PhD thesis, Otago University, 2020, §8.4.1. Sanders notes that Second Temple Jews were flexible in both belief and practice with regards to Monotheism. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63BCE-66CE*, 397–407. Horbury notes that some Second Temple Jews had more exclusive tendencies towards their monotheism while others had more of an inclusive approach to monotheism. See William Horbury, "Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age," in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, JSNT 263, eds. Loren T. Struckenbruck and Wendy North (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 31–43.

[39] Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 159.

[40] Fletcher-Louis goes so far as to say that because Adam was the living image-idol of God that he was divine in being and action. He promises to say more on what he means by divine in forthcoming books. Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 159.

[41] Ibid, 162.

[42] That Fletcher-Louis has always been claiming that Second Temple Jews had a high view of their original humanity is clear from the introduction and conclusion of *All the Glory of Adam*. In the introduction he states "*Jews believed the righteous live an angelic life and possessed an angelic identity or status, such that although their identity need not be reduced to that of an angel they are nevertheless, more loosely speaking angelomorphic*." He then concludes "(1) *in its original, true and redeemed state humanity is divine (and/or angelic)"* and "(2) the attainment now, for the redeemed, of the true humanity *was conceptually and experientially grounded in their "temple" worship in which ordinary space and time, and therefore human ontology, are transcended."* (italics his) see Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 4, 476–77. Such statements make it clear that Fletcher-Louis has been concerned not with arguing that some humans are able to be transformed into angels but rather that some humans are able to be transformed into their glorious original human state. This original human state is so glorious that it is suitably described with "angel" language. Fletcher-Louis claims in recent publications that he is now less attached to the word angelomorphic as he thinks he should have used the terminology of the scrolls. See Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 143, note 3.

[43] Crispin Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests (Ben Sira, the Qumran Sabbath Songs and the Yom Kippur Avodah), in *Gottesdienst und Engel im antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, edited by Jörg Frey und Michael R. Jost (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 159–162.

An essential notion for understanding what Fletcher-Louis argues regarding angelomorphic humanity is the understanding of the temple as a micro-cosmos.[44] For Fletcher-Louis, the temple is a mini-universe containing both the earthly and heavenly realms.[45] He argues that there is no clear precedent anywhere in Second Temple Judaism for a (platonic) heavenly temple and cult, of which the earthly temple is a second-rate imitation.[46] This, he argues, is a modern scholarly myth.[47] Rather, when one moves from the open air court into the inner rooms of the temple, one moves from the earthly realm into the heavenly realm.[48] This temple cosmology is important for the discussion below, as the few examples of angelomorphic humanity I cite below are all angelomorphised (transformed) within a liturgical temple setting. In each instance, the human makes a journey within a temple setting from the realm of earth into the realm of heaven, albeit with their feet firmly upon the ground. It is as they do so, and then return to the realm of earth that they manifest God's glory, function as God's idols and are what Adam was supposed to be to the world. It is as they are what Adam was supposed to be that they are described with angelomorphic language.[49]

Another key recent work on the relationship between angels and humans is Kevin P. Sullivan's *Wrestling with Angels*. Unlike other works on the subject, Sullivan is not interested in the implications of his study for Christology and maintains that this means his study is free from Christological bias from the outset.[50] Sullivan argues against the fluidity between angel and human identities that, he suggests, Fletcher-Louis argues for.[51] He argues that angels and humans did have their own distinct ontologies and that with few exceptions (Seth(el), Enoch and Jacob/Israel) these are maintained throughout Second Temple' literature.[52] He makes the useful observation that at times humans can be spoken of in angelomorphic language but this does not make them angels. He points to the way that God is often spoken of in anthropomorphic language but that this does not make God human.[53] Like most of Fletcher-Louis' critics, Sullivan understands Fletcher-Louis to be arguing that it was widely believed that humans often transform into angels.[54] The phrase "liturgical anthropology" seems to have been missed from

---

[44] Fletcher-Louis argues that what a thing is depends greatly upon where it is. See Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 151.

[45] Ibid, 153.

[46] Ibid, 152.

[47] Ibid, 154.

[48] Ibid, 153.

[49] As Fletcher-Louis succinctly states "cosmology determines identity" (ibid, 152). Note that this journey that the priest makes within the temple is the journey that Elijah was believed to make from earth, to heaven and back again.

[50] Kevin P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Literature and the New Testament,* AJEC 65 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 16.

[51] Sullivan argues that it is more helpful to think of the boundaries between human and angels as fixed but not absolute, ibid, 227–30.

[52] Sullivan points out however that these human to angel transformations were understood to have taken place in the heavenly sphere, ibid, 228.

[53] Ibid, 34.

[54] Ibid, 14–15

Fletcher-Louis' sub-title in *All the Glory of Adam*' subtitle. Fletcher-Louis later clarifies that when he speaks of a person as being angelomorphic he does not mean that they cease to be human.[55]

For the purpose of my study Sullivan significantly states that John the Baptist was possibly believed to be an angel by some Christians in the first century. As reasons for this he states that John the Baptist performed the function of an angel in delivering a divine message, is specifically called an angel (Mark 1:2) and at least one other ancient interpreter (Origen) argued that he was an angel.[56] However, against this conclusion he points out that John the Baptist ate human food, that there was nothing miraculous about his appearance, and he dies.[57]

In light of both Fletcher-Louis' and Sullivan's work I shall argue with Sullivan that it was believed that most humans do not (cannot) transform into angels. But I will also argue with Fletcher-Louis that there is plenty of evidence to suggest that it was believed that people could be transformed into a glorious Adamic humanity within a temple context. This Adamic humanity is comparable to angels and so is often described in angelomorphic ways but it remains human. Because of their close similarities, the distinction between angels and Adamic humans was blurred. I survey some of the evidence below before drawing out the implications for the ascended Elijah and what was likely expected he would be like upon his return.

4.2.2 Fuzziness between angels and humans in the Hebrew Bible, 1 Enoch, Sirach and Jubilees

The lack of a clear distinction between angels and humans in Jewish thought was widespread and has its origins in the Hebrew Bible where the king is often compared to the angel of God (1 Sam 29:9; 2 Sam 14:17, 20; Zech 12:8 and Ezek 28:11–16).[58] The idea of angelic humans is also evident in the animal apocalypse that speaks of a sheep (Moses) who is transformed into a man (angel) in 1 Enoch 89:36.[59] The Ethiopic version of the animal apocalypse also has Noah (who is identified as a snow white bovid) getting transformed into a

---

[55] Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 143, note 3.

[56] Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels,* 113–14.

[57] Ibid, 112.

[58]Fletcher-Louis, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 293. Meyers and Meyers suggest that Zech 12:8 finds precedent for speaking of the eschatological Davdic king as being "like God or the angel of YHWH" in 1 Sam 29:9 and 2 Sam 14:17, 20. See Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9-14,* AYB 25C(New York: Doubleday, 1993), 332–33.

[59] See Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse,* 296. Nickelsburg suggests it but remains uncommitted. See also George. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia vol. 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 381. Gore-Jones argues that angels throughout the animal apocalypse are portrayed as being people. She gives the examples of good angels in 1 En. 87:2 that are depicted as men and the seventy shepherds in 89:59, which are also likely to be angelic. It makes sense that because people are depicted as animals, angels are depicted as humans. Gore-Jones also argues that depicting angels as humans fits in with the theological notion of God creating humans in his own image as well as the fact that angels are often called "sons of God" in the Hebrew Bible (Gen 6:2, 4; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7). Finally, Gore-Jones points out that in other literature from the same time-period, angels are depicted as humans (Dan 8:15; 10:4–20; 12:5–7). See Gore-Jones, "Animals, Humans, Angels and God," 274–75. Similarly see James C. Vanderkam, *Enoch: A Man for all Generations,* SPOT (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 73.

person (angel) in 1 Enoch 89:1.[60] Noah is also described as being born with the appearance of an angel in 1 Enoch 106:1–18.[61] That Moses was believed to possess an angelomorphic identity is also attested in the Greek and Hebrew of Sirach 45:2. Hebrew manuscript B of Sirach 45:2 is damaged but describes Moses as being an אלהים.[62] Sirach's grandson translated אלהים with ἁγίων or "holy ones," a synonym of angel in the Second Temple period.[63] Clearly, both Sirach and his grandson understood Moses to have been given glory like the angels.[64] Further than this, both Hebrew manuscript B and the Greek translation go on to describe Aaron in similar terms. The Hebrew is initially a little more ambiguous than the Greek. In Sirach 45:6, manuscript B states that Aaron was raised up to a קדוש. Hebrew manuscript B has a synonym for מלאך, which is a little more ambiguous than his prior description of Moses as אלהים. However, that he was describing Aaron in angelomorphic language is made clear in verses 7 and 8, which read ... ויאזרהו בתועפות ראם ... וילבישהו כליל תפארת <תפארתו> [[ ]] ויפארהו בכ[ב]וד ועוז: ("... And he girded him with the majesty of a wild ox... And he adorned him with a crown of beauty <his beauty> [[ ]] and beautified him with [glo]ry and strength)." The description used here of Aaron as a wild ox is taken from Numbers 23:22 and 24:8 which describes YHWH as a divine warrior.[65] Further, the language describing Aaron's beauty and glory

[60] See Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse,* 259. Nickelsburg suggests it but remains uncommitted. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*,375.

[61] This account has Lamech, Noah's father, terrified because of the angelic appearance of his son Noah. Lamech is afraid that Noah is not his own son but a son of the watchers. As such, Lamech enquires of Enoch through Methuselah as to whether he is Noah's father. Enoch's response is to confirm that Lamech is Noah's father and that Noah's angelic appearance is not due to Noah being the offspring of the Watchers. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*,542–43. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108: A commentary on the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 626–29.

[62] Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 511. Morla reconstructs the line as "y lo equiparó en honor a Elohim" or "and equated with the honor of an Elohim." See Morla, *Los Manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 288. Tiede rightly notes that Exod 4:16 and 7:1 are behind the Ben Sira statement in Sir 45:2 but fails to recognise the angelomorphic significance that was apparent to Sirach's grandson. Sirach's grandson's translation of the Moses and Aaron sections of his grandfather's work demonstrates his angelomorphic understanding of his grandfather's work (see 4.2.2). Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 181–82. Similarly see Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord Early Christian Devotion and Jewish Monotheism*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Bloomsbury, 2015), 59.

[63]Psalm 89:6, 8; Job 5:1; 15:15; Zech 14:5. See chapter 4, footnote 32. An interesting thought, if Elijah is the anointed one of 4Q521 2 II: 1 then perhaps he is identified as one of the קדושים in line 2 via the parallelism?

[64] Fletcher-Louis, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 293.

[65] Fletcher-Louis, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 294. Skehan and Di Lella follow the Greek text for most of Sir 45:7 as they regard Manuscript B's text as corrupt in two places. The first corruption, they suggest, is in the way Manuscript B has Aaron as the subject of the phrase "and he ministered to Him in His glory." The second corruption, they suggest, in the text of Manuscript B is the phrase בתועפות ראם, which links Sir 45:7 with Num 23:22 and 24:8. At this point Skehan and Di Lella regard this as an "uncalled for harmonisation of Sirach 45:7 with Numbers 23:22 and 24:8" by a later scribe and thus they prefer the Greek text which reads "an aura of majesty." See Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 509. Hayward however defends Manuscript B's text, suggesting, with reference to the sentence "and he ministered to Him in His glory," that the Greek looks like a simplification of the Hebrew. As such, the Greek makes the more difficult Hebrew easier to understand by retaining the same subject (God) throughout and therefore the Greek is unlikely to be original. Hayward also defends the ראם reading based on its phonetic similarities with רם from Sir 45:6, which Hayward suggests, "could have been exploited by exegetes at any time." See C. T. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 65–67. Regarding the Hebrew phrase וישרתהו בכבודו, Morla suggests that the Greek text is strange and highlights that the Vulgate has "gloria", which supports

echoes Psalm 29:1 and 97:6 that also speak of YHWH.[66] Sirach's grandson demonstrates that this is exactly how he read his grandfather's work as he translated both אלהים (Sir 45:2) and קדוש (Sir 45:6) with ἅγιος and stresses that Aaron was the same as Moses with the phrase ὅμοιον αὐτῷ.

Skehan and Di Lella note the theophanic imagery used to describe Simon in Manuscript B of Sirach 50:7.[67] They note that היכל המלך or "the Temple of the king" of Sirach 50:7 is a reference to God and it is therefore to the light shining on God's temple to whom Simon is compared.[68] They also note that the rainbow to which Simon is compared in Sirach 50:7 comes from the theophanic glory of Ezekiel's vision in Ezekiel 1:28.[69] Did Sirach really think that Simon's glory and beauty was comparable to God's beauty and glory? Or, was he suggesting that Simon was sharing God's beauty and glory on earth as a צלם of God, who was not in competition with God, but totally surrendered to God's rule and reign and therefore able to display God's glory? Hayward suggests that the high priest is related to things of "great beauty above the terrestrial sphere."[70] He suggests that there is an aura of the supernatural attached to him.[71] It is difficult to understand what other meaning could be attached to Sirach's deliberate use of descriptions about God's glory in his description of Simon. The fact that this text is not alone in such a statement lends weight to the possibility that this is exactly what Sirach intended. Further, this also appears to be how Sirach's grandson understood the pericope, as Hayward notes, because he strengthens the perception that Simon embodies divine wisdom throughout the pericope.[72]

Manuscript B's כבוד rather than the Greek εὐκοσμίᾳ, and that the Greek text mistakenly understood manuscript B's וישרתהו as ויאשרהו. With regards to ראם or תואר Morla states "Smend 429 opina que ראם es corrección a partir de Nm 23, 22; 24, 8. Pero más bien se trata de lo contrario: prescindir de un tocado sacerdotal inusual en la época de Ben Sira." See Morla, *Los Manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 290. Whatever the original, at least one version of the Hebrew of Sirach suggests Aaron ministered to YHWH with YHWH's glory (presumably given to Aaron) and compares Aaron to YHWH with the language of Num 23:22 and 24:8. In doing so, it confirms Aaron's angelomorphic identity that was suggested in Manuscript B's version of Sir 45:6.

[66] Ibid, 294. This statement recalls Isa 42:8 where YHWH says that he does not give his glory to another in the context of speaking about idols. Sirach potentially understood this to mean that YHWH does not share his glory with man-made idols, that is, with objects that are in competition with God. But God does share his glory with the idols of his own making (Adamic humanity) because they are in his service and not in competition with him.

[67] Sirach 50:5-7 (Hebrew manuscript B) reads "How magnificent he was when he looked out from the tent [[ ]] and when he came out from the veiled Temple! Like a star shining bright among the clouds [[ ]] and like the full moon during the festal days; Like the sun shining on the king's palace וכשמש משרקת אל היכל המלך[[ ]] and like a rainbow appearing in a cloud וכקשת נראתה בענן."

[68] 1 Sam 12:12; Pss 44:4; 74:12; 98:6; 145:1; Isa 6:5; 41:21; 43:15; 44:6; Jer 46:18; 51:57.

[69] Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 552. Fletcher-Louis makes the same observation and suggests that it points to the remarkable anthropology of Simon where he is compared to the glory of God seated on God's chariot throne. See Fletcher-Louis, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 294.

[70] Hayward, *The Jewish Temple*, 49-50.

[71] Ibid, 36, 50.

[72] Hayward notes how the Greek text compares both Simon and Wisdom to Roses (50:8 and 24:14) and the Cypress (50:10 and 24:13). Simon is thus the embodiment of wisdom present in the Temple. See Hayward, *The Jewish Temple*, 78.

Vanderkam translates Jubilees 31:14 in his recent commentary as "May the Lord give you and your descendants greatness and honor; may he make you and your descendants (alone) out of all humanity approach him to serve in his temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones. The descendants of your sons will be like them in honor, greatness, and holiness. May he make them great throughout all the ages."[73] Vanderkam points out that, according to this passage, Levi's descendants were going to serve in the temple like the angels of the presence.[74] Further, Levi's descendants were going to be like the angels of the presence in honour, greatness and holiness.[75] That is, according to Jubilees, Levi's descendants were going to take on angelic qualities.[76]

4.2.3 Fuzziness between angels and humans in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The fuzziness between human and angelic identities is also evident in many of the texts that we have from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Vanderkam compares Jubilees 31:14 with 1QSb IV 24-26 that also speaks of the sons of Zadok being like the angels of the presence.[77] Fletcher-Louis has a detailed discussion of two fragments that, he argues, describe Moses with angelomorphic language. The first is Moses Apocryphon A or 4Q374 where he argues that the scene is Sinai and the subject of 4Q374 2 II 6-9 is Moses.[78] The text is damaged but the subject in line 6 is definitely Moses and Fletcher-Louis argues he is the subject throughout the fragment.[79]

[73] James C. Vanderkam, *Jubilees: a Commentary in Two Volumes*, (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2018), 843. Kugel notes that it is James Vanderkam's 1989 edition of Jubilees that "remains the most reliable basis for the text of Jubilees." See James L. Kugel, "Jubilees" in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writing Related to Scripture*, eds. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Philadelphia: JPS, 2013), 272–465, here 273.

[74]Vanderkam, *Jubilees*, 854. Vanderkam points out that according to Jubilees 2:2 angels of the presence were the highest ranking angel. Similarly see Kugel, "Jubilees," 401.

[75] Vanderkam, *Jubilees*, 855.

[76] Fletcher-Louis, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 295.

[77] Vanderkam, *Jubilees,* 854.

[78]

4Q374 2 II 6-9	4Q374 2 II 6-9
6 and he made him like a God over the powerful ones, and a cause of reel[ing] (?) for Pharaoh … […]	6 [...] ו]י תננו לאלוהים על אדירים ומחיג[ה]לפרעה עב
7 melted, and their hearts trembled, and [th]eir entrails dissolved. [But] he had pity with […]	7 [...].י]תמוגגו ויתנועעו לבם וימסו קרבי[ה]ם [ו]ירחם בכ
8 and when he let his face shine for them for healing, they strengthened [their] hearts again, and at the time […]	8 [...]ובהאירו פנו ֯ליהם למרפא ויגבירו לב[ם] עוד וכעת
9 and no-one knew you, and they melted and trembled, they staggered at the so[und …]	9 [... וכל לא ידעוך ויתמוגגו ויתנ[ו]עעו חגו לק[ול

Text and translation are from Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 740–41. Fletcher-Louis points out that Sinai is mentioned both in the previous column in 4Q374 2 I 7 and fragment 7 2-–3. See Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 136–37.

[79] A key question for Fletcher-Louis is who is the subject throughout 4Q374 2 II 6-9. The two main contenders are God and Moses. Fletcher-Louis argues that the phrase in line 9 regarding "no one had known you" would be strange if God were the subject. He also notes that LAB 12:1 claims that when Moses descended from Mount Sinai with his face shining, no one recognised him. Consequently. Fletcher-Louis argues that Moses is the subject throughout 4Q374 2 II 6-9 because Moses is certainly the subject in line 6 and there is a tradition of Moses

Fletcher-Louis argues that 4Q374 2 II 6-9 is a midrashic combination of Exodus 7:1 and 34:29–35.[80] He argues that line 8's statement about causing "his face to shine upon them for healing" is a deliberate allusion to the Aaronic blessing in Numbers 6:26. He suggests God's face is mirrored in Moses' face (Exod 34:29-35).[81] If he is right, then Moses is described in theophanic terms.[82]

The second text that Fletcher-Louis refers to is 4Q Apocryphon Pentateuch B (4Q377 1 II).[83] Fletcher-Louis suggests that part of the purpose of 4Q377 is to resolve a point of tension

being unrecognisable when his face was shining. This fits 4Q374 2 II 9's statement regarding the subject not being known. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 137–39. 4Q374 2 II 5, 6 and 8 all have an initial "he" who does something to a "him" or a "us." I suggest the initial "he" is God, the "him" is Moses and the "us" is Israel. As such, in line 5 "God plants Israel," in line 6 "God gives Moses as God" and in line 8 "God makes Moses face shine." This reading is consistent with its interpretation of the initial "he" character throughout the fragment and is consistent with Fletcher-Louis's argument. Newsom also wonders how the subject of 4Q374 2 II 9 relates to the subjects of line 7 and 8. She does not even consider Moses but rather considers the subject to be either God or Israel just before they enter into Canaan. Carol Newsom, "Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition (Pl. XIII)," in *Qumran Cave 4. XIV: Parabiblical Texts Part 2*, eds. Magen Broshi, Ester Eshel, Joseph Fitzmyer, Erik Larson, Carol Newsom, Lawrence Schiffman, Mark Smith, Michael Sotne, John Strugnell and Ada Yardeni, DJD XIX (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 104-105. While her suggestions are possible, I find Fletcher-Louis' suggestion more compelling. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the manuscript prevents a definite decision either way.

[80] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 139.

[81] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 140. Wise, Abegg and Cook point out how an amulet with Exod 7:1 and Num 6:24–26 inscribed upon it dating from the late 6th century B.C.E has been discovered in Jerusalem. This points to the ancient association of these texts. See M. O. Wise, M. G. Jr. Abegg and E. M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York: HarperOne, 2005), 424–25.

[82] Crispin Fletcher-Louis, "A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The deification of Moses and Early Christology," *DSD* 3 (1996): 236–52. Fletcher-Louis' arguments here are good but cannot be said to be certain due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscript. Makiello argues against Fletcher-Louis stating that, first, line 6 does not mention Moses' appearance. Secondly, that לאלוהים in line 6 implies an analogy with God not a deification. Thirdly, that the phrase that follows על אדירים ומחוג[ה] לפרעה restricts the scope of those to whom Moses is as God. Finally, that the use of the verbs that follow in lines 7-10 (וירחם[ו], ויתמוגגו and ויתנועעו) are generally used of God or the divine warrior, not Moses. See Phoebe Makiello, "Was Moses Considered to be an angel by those at Qumran?" in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions,* BZAW 372 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 118–20. These arguments against Fletcher-Louis' proposal fail to convince and seem to be rather consistent with Fletcher-Louis's argument. Makiello's first argument is an observation that fails to convince one way or the other. Moses' appearance is not mentioned in line 6 but it does appear to be mentioned in line 8 as "shining". Makiello's second argument would be heartily affirmed by Fletcher-Louis as line 6 makes a distinct analogy between Moses and אלוהים and Fletcher-Louis would argue that lines 7–9 go on to explain that analogous relationship in a way that implies Moses in angelomorphic ways. Makiello's third point regarding the end of line 6 as being restrictive to just that group is an assertion that lacks argument or evidence. Certainly, those mentioned at the end of line 6 (the powerful and Pharaoh) are included among those to whom Moses was made like God. But there is no reason to believe that they exhausted the list, especially if the account is a Midrash of Exodus 7:1 and 34:29–35 based around Moses' descent from Sinai. Fletcher-Louis would agree with Makiello's final point as well that the verbs of lines 7–9 are usually used of God or the divine warrior. This for Fletcher-Louis, makes their use here more peculiar and interesting as they seem to describe Moses or the effect that God has through Moses.

[83]

4Q377 1 II 6-9	4Q377 1 II 6-9

between Exodus and Deuteronomy.[84] In Exodus, it is Moses who speaks to God face to face and the people are kept at a distance (Exod 33:11). However, in Deuteronomy the people of Israel also speak with God face to face (Deut 5:4). Fletcher-Louis's argument is that 4Q377 resolves this by suggesting that Moses' identity is angelomorphic in this text and that God speaks and stands as Moses speaks and stands (Exod 34:30).[85] When the people of Israel speak to Moses face to face they speak to God, as Moses is to Israel what God is to Moses.[86] In other words, Moses is functioning as God's **צלם** and as such, Moses is the manifestation of the deity.[87] Fletcher-Louis argues that the author of 4Q377 1 II 6-9 is writing with Deuteronomy 5:4-7 as the conceptual structure shaping his work and with an eye on the Sinai events in Exodus 19–33 as he seeks to harmonise the Exodus and Deuteronomy Sinai accounts.[88] Fletcher-Louis argues that, first, the subject of the verb "to stand" (**עמד**) is the one teaching in line 8 that "there is no God apart from him..." and this might imply that the subject of the verb is someone other than God.[89] Because the teaching person in Deuteronomy 5:4–7 is Moses, Fletcher-Louis suggests that the same is likely true in 4Q377 1 II 6-9.[90] Secondly, that the standing theme is important for the text as it is used in two other places with regard to humans standing (lines 4 and 10a). As such, Fletcher-Louis argues that it is likely also a human subject for the verb "to stand" (**עמד**) in line 8 as well.[91]

---

6 us from the mountains of Sina[i.] Blank He has spoken wi[th] the assembly of Israel face to face, like a man speaks 7 to his neighbour. And like a man sees li[gh]t, he has appeared to us in a burning fire, from above, from heaven, 8 and on earth he stood on the mountain to teach us that there is no God apart from him, and no Rock like him. [And all] 9 the assembly {…}[…] … and trembling seized them before the glory of God and the wonderful thunders,	6 לנו מהרי סינ[י] [[ ]] וידבר ע[ם]קהל ישראל פנים עם אל פנים כאשר עדבר. 7 איש עם רעהו וכא[ש]ר יראה איש א[ו]ר הראנו באש בעורה ממעלה [מ]שמים 8 ועל הארץ עמד על ההר להודיע כיא אין אלוה מבלעדיו ואין צור כמוהו [וכול] 9 הקהל {...}[...].נו ורעדודיה אחזתם מלפני כבוד אלוהים ומקולות הפלא

Text and translation from Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 744–45.

[84] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 141–48. Fletcher-Louis, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 292–312.

[85] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 145–46.

[86] Ibid, 145–46.

[87] This is how **צלם** functioned in the ANE and in Israel. It is also how Moses functioned at Sinai in Exodus 32–34. See Herring, *Divine Substitution*, 13–86, 127–63.

[88] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 144–46. Vanderkam and Brady also note the consistent echoes of Deut 5:4–7 and Exod 19–33 but also note other passages that are in the background like 2 Sam 22:32 in line 8. See J. Vanderkam and M. Brady, "4QApocryphal Pentateuch B (Pls. L-LI)" in *Qumran Cave 4: XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2,* eds. Moshe Bernstein, Monica Brady, James Charlesworth, Peter Flint, Haggai Misgav, Stephen Pfann, Eileen Schuller, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and James Vanderkam, DJD XXVIII (Oxford, Clarendon, 2003), 215.

[89] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 143.

[90]Ibid, 144.

[91] Ibid, 144–45. Van Peursen rightly suggests that this argument is unfounded. Wido Van Peursen, "Who was Standing on the Mountain? The Portrait of Moses in 4Q377," in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions*, BZAW 372, eds. Alex Graupner and Michael Wolter (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 106.

Van Peursen has challenged Fletcher-Louis on these points and has been followed in his critique by Feldman.[92] With regards to Fletcher-Louis' first argument, Van Peursen points out that it only works if the clause governed by **כיא** in line 8 is considered direct speech. He argues that it is also possible to interpret the article **כיא** as introducing indirect speech and if one follows this line of interpretation, the reference to God in the third person is not irregular.[93] Van Peursen then goes on to argue that 4Q377 1 II 6-9 is not conceptually structured only around Deuteronomy 5:4–7 but has a number of other texts that shape it just as significantly.[94] He argues that it is not clear that the author of 4Q377 1 II 6 has got his notion of God speaking to Israel "face to face" from Deuteronomy 5:4 and points to Ezekiel 20:35-36 as an equally plausible referent for the "face to face" phrase in 4Q377 1 II 6. However, Deuteronomy 5:4 is much more likely to be the text framing 4Q377 1 II 6 than Ezekiel 20:35-36 because 4Q377 is narrating the historical Sinai event in a similar way to Deuteronomy 5:4. Ezekiel 20:35-36 is part of a pericope that looks forward to the future and suggests that God's actions in the past at Sinai will be the pattern for his actions in the future. As such, 4Q377 has a closer thematic relationship to Deuteronomy 5:4 than to Ezekiel 20:35-36.[95] As such, Fletcher-Louis's argument that Moses

---

[92] Wido Van Peursen, "Who was Standing on the Mountain? The Portrait of Moses in 4Q377" Pages 99-114 of *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions*, Edited by Alex Graupner and Michael Wolter (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 99-114. Ariel Feldman and Liora Goldman, *Scripture and Interpretation: Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible*, BZAW 449, ed. Devorah Dimant (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 208–18.

[93]Wido Van Peursen, "Who was Standing on the Mountain?", 105.

[94] Wido Van Peursen, "Who was Standing on the Mountain?", 106.

[95]Similarly see Vanderkam and Brady, "4QApocryphal Pentateuch B (Pls. L-LI)," 215. This has implications for how we should translate **כמוהו [מי מבש[ר** in 4Q377 2 II 11. Fletcher-Louis has suggested that it be translated as "who from flesh was like him." He argues that this translation ties up nicely with other texts that speak about angelomorphism like Sir 45:4 and Jub. 31:4. He suggests that this is why this clause is marked by **כיא** as it explains the prior clause where Moses "speaks as an angel." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 142. Vanderkam and Brady agree suggesting that the translation "who from flesh was like him" fits the context better. See Vanderkam and Brady, "4QApocryphal Pentateuch B (Pls. L-LI)," 216. Makiello, who disagrees with Fletcher-Louis, concedes that the context favours the "who from flesh was like him" translation. See Makiello, "Was Moses Considered to be an Angel by Those at Qumran?" 124. This clearly suits Fletcher-Louis's angelomorphic interpretation of 4Q377 2 II. However, some scholars translate **צמודהו [מי מבש[ר** as "who is a messenger like him" taking **מבשר** as a masculine singular Pi'el participle of **בשר**. See Ariel Feldman and Liora Goldman, *Scripture and Interpretation: Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible*, Edited by Devorah Dimant (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 217-18. Feldman argues that his reading fits the context better and points to the fact that there are no examples of the use of **מי מבשר** to speak of "to be of flesh" in the Hebrew Bible or the Qumran scrolls. However, Feldman's comment regarding it fitting the context better is highly disputable as most scholars, mentioned above, claim otherwise. But Feldman's second point about other examples of **מי מבשר** seems weightier. However, if one accepts Fletcher-Louis's claim that 4Q377 2 II 6-9 is using Deut 5:4–7 as its structural framework, then perhaps the author of 4Q377 was using the language of Deut 5:26, which in the MT reads **מי כל־בשר**. Perhaps the author of 4Q377 was aware of a Hebrew version like the LXX version (τίς γὰρ σάρξ), which lacks the Greek equivalent of the adverb **כל**, and could have read either **מי בשר** or **מי מבשר**. This possibility comes from within the context of 4Q377 2 II 6-9's framing text of Deut 5:4-7. Moreover, it is thematically more appropriate if angelomorphism is indeed in the text. As such, neither Feldman nor Van Peuresn's arguments seem more weighty that Fletcher-Louis's arguments.

is the subject of the verb "to stand" (**עמד**) in line 8 remains plausible and slightly more preferable than Van Peursen's suggestion that God is the subject.[96]

As pointed out above, Fletcher-Louis' arguments have failed to convince everyone that Moses has an angelomorphic identity in 4Q374 2 II 6–9 and 4Q377 1 II 6–9. I have attempted to defend his arguments against those who would seek to dismiss them as implausible. I have done so because I regard them as plausible possibilities that are at least on a par with the alternatives proposed by Van Peursen, Makiello and Feldman. On their own, I suggest that 4Q374 2 II 6–9 and 4Q377 1 II 6–9 are too fragmentary to bear the weight of either side's arguments and they remain suggestive at best. Fletcher-Louis's arguments do fit Herring's observations regarding Moses as the divine manifestation of YHWH throughout Exodus and especially at Sinai (Exod 34:29–35).[97] However, Fletcher-Louis's arguments need to be supported by further evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls such as Duke's arguments below concerning 4QVisions of Amram^{c} ar or 4Q545.

Duke provides further arguments that demonstrate that Moses was believed to have an angelomorphic identity at Qumran. Duke notes that in 4Q545, Amram asks Aaron to go and get his son Malachiyah from Pharaoh's household so that he can bless him before he dies. Duke reconstructs the text of 4Q545 1 I 9-10 as follows.

ואמר] לה קרי ל[ו] (ב)רי למלאכיה אח(וכה) מן

בית [פרעה — כבו]רתה לעלוהי [ו]ק(ר)א לה[98]

[and he said] to him, "Call to me, my son, Mal'akyah(u), your brother, from

the house of [Pharaoh"-his stren]gth to him, and he called to him[99]

Duke goes on to argue that Mal'akyah(u) is presented by the writer of 4Q545 as Moses' Hebrew name.[100] Duke argues that this name was prophetic for Moses because lines 15-19 were also addressed to Moses. If that be the case, then Mal'akyah(u) is told that he will be called "an

---

[96] Peursen, "Who was Standing on the Mountain?" 113. Brady and Vanderkam also think God is the subject of the verb and suggest that the passage is referring to Exod 19:20. See Vanderkam and Brady, "4QApocryphal Pentateuch B (Pls. L-LI)," 215.

[97] Herring notes how Exodus has been reworked by a priestly hand. He argues that structurally just as the solution to the threat of the pseudo-divinity of Pharaoh in Exod 6:2-7:7 was to elevate Moses to divine status (Exod 7:1), similarly, the solution to the threat of the golden calf as the manifestation of YHWH in Exodus 32 is to elevate Moses to divine status and to give Moses divine horns (Exod 34:29–35). Thus, it is Moses with his divine horns (קרן) and not the golden calf with its horns that is the proper idol of YHWH. See Herring, *Divine Substitution,* 127–63.

[98] Robert Duke, "Moses' Hebrew Name: The evidence from the vision of Amram," *DSD* 14 (2007): 37.

[99] Ibid, 37. Similarly see Blake Alan Jurgens, "Reassessing the Dream Vision of the Vision of Amram (4Q543-4Q547)," *JSP* 24 (2014): 16.

[100] Mal'akyah(u) is a name already known to the Qumranites from 4QCalendrical Doc B^{a} (4Q321) 1 I 6. See Duke, "Moses' Hebrew Name," 41 note 15.

angel of God" (line 17).[101] This, of course, is an interpretation of the name Mal'akyah(u) in a Jewish way where the actual name of God is deliberately not used. Mal'akyah(u) is the proper noun of the phrase "angel of YHWH."

There are also texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls where some argue that the sect's priests are potentially able to transcend time within a liturgical framework, and, within an understanding of the temple as a micro-cosmos, to be the idols of God,[102] the true humanity. In doing so, they are transformed into the idol of God and embody God's glory in ways analogous to angels.[103] Fletcher-Louis argues that 4QShir^{b} (4QSongs of the Sage^{b}, 4Q511) 35 2-4 is a concrete example of a text that speaks of an angelomorphic human priesthood.[104] Martínez and Tigchelaar translate this as "… Among the holy ones, (3) God makes (some) hol[y] for himself like an everlasting sanctuary, and there will be purity amongst those purified. And they shall be (4) priests, his just people, his army and servants, the angels of his glory."[105] Fletcher-Louis understands "holy ones" (יקדיש) from the end of line 2 to be a reference to the community of the sect or the true Israel and the one's made holy from among them to be priests, who according to line 4 are also "angels of his glory."[106] On the other hand, Alexander understands "holy ones" (יקדיש) from the end of line 2 to be a reference to angels and therefore contends that this text speaks of God appointing a priestly order of angels.[107] In favour of Alexander's position is the fact that קדיש was a synonym for מלאך in the Second Temple period.[108] However, if Alexander is correct then this priestly order of angels is strangely referred to as human with the phrase עם צדקו in line 4.[109]

---

[101] See also LAB 9:16. Jurgens, "Reassessing the Dream Vision of the Vision of Amram," 18.

[102] I glean this phrase from both Fletcher-Louis and Herring. Fletcher-Louis states "humanity was created to be God's living image-idol (Gen 1:26–27)," Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 142. Herring has an in-depth discussion of the meaning of צלם and דמות in Gen 1:26–27. Herring concludes that דמות refers to form while צלם refers to a cultic statue/idol. He states, "in the cultic and ritual context of Genesis 1, humanity is introduced as a cultic image." See Herring, *Divine Substitution,* 121.

[103] Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 162.

[104] Fletcher-Louis, "A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition," 240–41.

[105] Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2, 1033. I avoid M. Baillet's translation of the Hebrew here as he strains the sense of משרתים in line 4 where he attempts to take it in the construct state and thus translates this crucial line as "prêtres, Son peuple juste, Son armée et ministres des anges Sa gloire." See Maurice Baillet, "(4Q482-4Q520)" in *Qumrân Grotte 4 III (4Q482-4Q520),* DJD VII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 237.

[106] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 162–76.

[107] Philip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts,* LSTS 61 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 69. Fletcher-Louis argues that while there is plenty of undisputed evidence that priests can be angels (Mal 2:7), there is no undisputed evidence that angels can be priests. Fletcher-Louis regards the notion that angels can be priests as a category mistake. He argues that the priesthood is a composite, multi-dimensional human office and therefore that angels are not natural candidates for the priesthood. See Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 164–66.

[108] See chapter 4, footnote 32.

[109] Although Angel argues that עם is used as a reference for angels in 4QShirShabb^{a} (4Q Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^{a}, 4Q400) 1 I:6 and 1QM (1QWar Scroll, 1Q33) 12:8 where עם קדושים and צבא מלאכים are in parallel. See Joseph L. Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511)," *DSD* 19 (2012): 20. However, I doubt that either of Angel's examples of עם being a reference to angelic beings is the best reading of the texts he cites. Regarding 1Q33 12:8, in lines 1-2 it claims that "the chosen of the holy nation" (עם קודש) have been established by God among the hosts of angels in heaven. As such, the עמ קודשם of lines 1-2 are distinguishable from the angels of line 1 and are best taken as human. This is the most

Further, the statement in line 3 regarding this priestly group's enduring purity would seem to be more suitable for a human referent rather than an angelic one.[110] While Fletcher-Louis acknowledges that קדישים is frequently used as a synonym for מלאכים in the Second Temple period, he also argues that in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Israel is often called the קודש and the priests קודש קודשים.[111] He argues that this is the case because the priests are thought to take on an angelomorphic identity within the sect's liturgical life as they embody God's temple in their community and thereby transcend time and space.[112] In any case, if Alexander is right, it would seem that this angelic group of priests have human qualities about them or if Fletcher-Louis is correct, this human group of "holy ones" are angelomorphic.[113]

However, both Alexander and Fletcher-Louis agree that the Self-Glorification Hymn found in 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn^{b} (4Q491^{c}); 4Q Self-Glorification Hymn^{a} (4Q471^{b}) and 4QH^{a} (4QHodayot^{a}, 4Q427) 7 i-9 is a text that depicts the transformation of a significant member of the Dead Sea sect into an angelic being/divine human within a realised eschatological framework or a liturgical micro-cosmic temple setting.[114] Alexander argues that this individual

---

plausible antecedent to the עם קודשים in line 8. So when line 8 has עם קודשים in parallel with צבא מלאכים it is probably best to assume that this is a case of composite parallelism where both the עם קודשים and the צבא מלאכים are two groups that are a part of the same army of God. I also cannot see why Angel thinks 4Q400 1 I 6 is more likely to be referring to angels with the phrase עם בינות rather than humans. Davila has argued that the phrase עם בינות is an echo of Isa 27:11's phrase לא עם בינות or "it is a people lacking understanding" which is often used to describe the sect's opponents (CD V:16; 1QH^{a} X:19). As such, he suggests that עם בינות is most likely a reference to the human community in 4Q400 1 I 6. He goes on to state that "there is no clear case of the word 'people' being applied to angels in Second Temple literature." See James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works,* ECDSS 6 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 102. This adds weight to Fletcher-Louis's suggestion above that the phrase עם צדקו in 4Q511 35 4 is a reference to humans within a list that designates the same humans with angelomorphic language as צבאו and מלאכי כבודו. See Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 164–65.

[110] Similarly, see Fletcher-Louis' critique of James Davila's view who also argues that the יקדוש in line 2 is a reference to angels. Fletcher-Louis argues that the idea of angels being sanctified so that they can serve as an eternal sanctuary, alongside exalted humans, is odd and without precedent. On the other hand, the notion of God's people serving as God's sanctuary is an idea found in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) 1 6 and in 4QInstruction^{d} (4Q418) 81 [4Q423 8+24?] 4. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 163–64.

[111] See 4Q511 2 I 6; 4QMMT^{c} (4QHalakhic Letter^{c}, 4Q396) IV 4-9 and 1QS 8:5-6. His point is that there is a distinction between the priests and the laity in the Dead Sea Scrolls and that this distinction is reflected in the choosing of a small group within the holy ones to function as his sanctuary in 4Q511 35 2-4. See Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 166-68. Similarly see Philip Church, *Hebrews and the Temple: Attitudes to the Temple in Second Temple Judaism and in Hebrews* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 125.

[112] מקדש אדם of 4Q174 1 I 6; 1QS V 6; 1QSa II 3-9; 1QM XII 1-17; 4QInstruction or 4Q418 81 3. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 61-68. Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 162. For a scholar, other than Fletcher-Louis, who discusses the "community as Temple" theme in the Dead Sea Scroll texts in detail see Church, *Hebrews and the Temple,* 97–110.

[113] Church argues for a position similar to Fletcher-Louis' position where there is a single group in view who are members of the sectarian community and described in angelomorphic or angelic terms. See Church, *Hebrews and the Temple,* 123–26.

[114] Both Alexander and Fletcher-Louis, along with what is now a firm consensus of scholars, argue against Baillet's suggestion that the boasting "I" of the text is the archangel Michael and that 4Q491 11 I should be included in the War Scroll. See Baillet, "(4Q482-4Q520)," 26-30. For discussions to why Baillet's position is rejected see Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 202–3; Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 85. Fletcher-Louis also argues that while it may be appropriate to use angelomorphic language to describe the boasting "I" of the Self-Glorification Hymn this does not mean that he has ceased to be human. See Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 161, note 56.

ascended to heaven, was transformed into an angelic being in the process and then returned to lead the congregation in worship in the angelic assembly.[115] Fletcher-Louis claims that these texts are an autobiography of one who is both human and yet divine.[116] This self-glorification hymn is the clearest example from the Dead Sea scrolls of a human who believed he had taken on a suprahuman identity.[117]

A final character I will mention from the Dead Sea Scrolls who is spoken of in exceedingly high angelomorphic terms is Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13) II 5-25. Throughout this text, Melchizedek is described as YHWH's viceroy who appears in the eschaton as a heavenly warrior and judge.[118] When this passage is taken together with 4Q Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice[b] (4Q401) 11, which likely claims that Melchizedek is the heavenly high priest,[119] it seems reasonable to assume that the Melchizedek of these texts shares an identity with the mysterious Melchizedek of Genesis 14.[120] How they could share an identity is not made clear. But the simplest explanation as to why the suprahuman individual of 11Q13 II and 4Q401 11 is named Melchizedek is because the author assumed some sort of continuity between the ancient priest of Salem and his angelic eschatological Melchizedek. One of the leading possibilities for how the ancient priest of Salem and the angelic being of 11Q13 II could be related is that the ancient Melchizedek ascended bodily into heaven where he was transformed into the high

---

[115] Alexander, *The Mystical Texts,* 89–91. Alexander makes an important argument in his discussion on heavenly ascents where he states that a bodily ascent would require transformation of the flesh and blood into a spiritual substance. He claims that this would be necessary for the person who ascends so that they can survive the topsy-turvy world of heaven, where the laws of our realm's physics do not apply (see the description of heaven in Enoch's visionary ascent in 1 En. 14). See Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 76–77. This claim supports my thesis regarding the necessity of Elijah's transformation if he did ascend bodily to heaven.

[116] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 201; Fletcher-Louis, "On Angels, Men and Priests," 161–62.

[117] Collins notes the various possibilities for the author's identity in the "self- exaltation" text and the various statements that explicitly demonstrate that the author considered himself angelic in some sense. See John J. Collins, "The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Other Worlds and their Relation to this World*, JSJSup 143, eds. Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik M. M. Eynikel and Florentino Garcia Martínez (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 111–14.

[118] Anders Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus: 11QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, eds. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila and Gladys S. Lewis (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 133.

[119] Ibid, 132. Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 22, 70.

[120] Kugel suggests that many interpreters at the start of the Common Era assumed that Melchizedek was mentioned in Genesis 14 because he was a character of significance. They puzzled over how he could have been a priest of God in Genesis 14 before the Temple was built or the priesthood established. He explains that many interpreters began to read Genesis 14 through the lens of Psalm 110. Psalm 110:4 in Hebrew is obscure and could also be interpreted as "you are a priest forever by my order, O Melchizedek." When understood this way, Melchizedek is being addressed by God throughout Psalm 110, which results in the opening line of Ps 110:1 reading "the Lord says to my lord," being understood as a conversation between YHWH and Melchizedek. This results in Melchizedek being appointed to the priesthood by God and corresponds nicely with Genesis 14's comment regarding Melchizedek being a priest of God. Thus, it explained why Melchizedek was mentioned in Genesis 14 and his priesthood by elevating him to a heavenly being. As such, the Melchizedek from Genesis 14 is the Melchizedek of Psalm 110 and of 11Q13 in some Jewish thought. See James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as it was at the start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press, 1998), 281. Also see Fletcher-Louis, "A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition," 241.

priestly angelic Melchizedek in order to exist in the heavenly realm.[121] If it was believed to be necessary for Melchizedek to be transformed into a divine human/angel upon his ascent to exist in heaven, then it surely could also be true of Elijah.

4.2.4 Fuzziness between angels and humans in Josephus

Finally, Josephus also, according to Fletcher-Louis and Tiede,[122] demonstrates, at the least, an awareness of other Jews who regarded Moses in somewhat angelic terms. Tiede, somewhat more cautiously than Fletcher-Louis, states that there are places (especially *Ant.* 3.180) where Moses approaches divine status.[123] Tiede gives two lines of reasoning as to why he makes this claim. First, because of Moses' close association with qualities or things belonging to God. Tiede highlights that in Josephus' *Antiquties*, God is the source and ultimate embodiment of virtue (ἀρετή, see *Ant.* 1.23).[124] Like God, Moses also embodies virtue (ἀρετή) in a way that exceeds what is possible for other humans and, as such, approaches divine status.[125] Secondly, Tiede argues that the way law is said to be the possession of both God and Moses in Josephus enhances Moses' claim to divine status.[126] When this is coupled with the overt statements of Moses' angelomorphic status or identity, Tiede and Fletcher-Louis' case becomes convincing. Such examples include Josephus' statement that Moses had a divine form (μορφῇ τε θεῖον) as a child in *Ant.* 2.232.[127] He also claims that the Egyptians believed him to be divine in *Ag. Ap.* 1:279.[128] Josephus calls Moses a θεῖος ἀνήρ in *Ant.* 3.180 and then later comments in *Ant.* 3.320 that some believed that Moses πεποίηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι or "ranked higher than his own (human) nature."[129]

---

[121] Alexander suggests that this is the most likely scenario while also noting that alternatives, like the Melchizedek of Genesis 14 being a temporary incarnation of an angel, cannot be ruled out. See Alexander, *The Mystical Texts,* 70.

[122] See Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker,* 207–40. Fletcher-Louis, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 295. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 123–27.

[123] Tiede states that "Josephus does accord Moses an elevated, perhaps even divine status." He goes on to state how Moses shares the quality that is characteristic of God's commands - ἀρετή. See Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 229.

[124] Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 229.

[125] Tiede argues that this is most evident in Moses' function as lawgiver and in the explicitly apologetic statements of *Ant* 3.180 where Josephus adopts the language of his opponents to demonstrate that Moses measures up to their definition of a "divine man." See Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 231–32.

[126] Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 231. This argument seems weaker to me as it is common for Jews to refer to the law as the law of God or the law of Moses.

[127] Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 220.

[128] Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 211.

[129] Fletcher-Louis argues that Josephus was among those who believed that Moses ranked higher than his own human nature. See Fletcher-Louis, "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 295. Feldman does not believe that Josephus thinks Moses ranked higher than his own human nature and emphasises that Josephus states that Moses is a man. But Feldman does suggest that Josephus is aware that some of his contemporaries believed Moses ranked higher than his own human nature. Louis H. Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Judean Antiquities 1-4* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 328.

On the other side of the debate are Feldman and Holladay who argue that in Josephus θεῖος ἀνήρ is best translated as "a man of God" and essentially shades into meaning ἱερός, ἅγιος or εὐσεβής.[130] Holladay lays out this argument most extensively and Feldman follows him and cites his arguments. Holladay's basic argument is that Josephus' *Antiquities* is essentially an apology for Judaism addressed to a pagan audience.[131] In Josephus' section on Moses he has two main themes, God and the law.[132] Josephus attempts to build common ground with his pagan audience by taking up two favourite pagan philosophical themes of providence (πρόνοια) and virtue (ἀρετή).[133] Josephus demonstrates the providence of God in his retelling of Israel's history, with the aim of demonstrating that the providential God of the Jews is also the God of the whole world.[134] He takes up the theme of virtue and claims that God is its source and ultimate embodiment (*Ant.* 1.23).[135] As such, if one really wants to live the life of virtue, one must seek God.[136] The way one best seeks God is through keeping God's law and thus living a life of virtue.

Josephus retells the stories of Israel's heroes (especially Moses) as those who lived the life of virtue.[137] As such, Josephus has redefined virtue as being devout (εὐσεβής) and Moses is the greatest example of a devout man.[138] Holladay then moves to make θεῖος ἀνήρ fit these observations by claiming that, on the basis of the themes he has observed, θεῖος ἀνήρ must mean something like ἱερός, ἅγιος or εὐσεβής.[139] As to reasons why Josephus does not use language like ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ, which more readily lends itself to the meanings of ἱερός, ἅγιος or εὐσεβής, Holladay argues that Josephus likely avoids such language because ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ was a favourite title of the Samaritans for Moses and Josephus did not like Samaritans.[140] Finally, Holladay suggests that the symbolic interpretation of the tabernacle in *Ant.* 3.181–187

---

[130] Feldman, *Flavius Josephus: Judean Antiquities 1-4*279. Carl H. Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism: A Critique of the use of this Category in New Testament Christology* (Missoula, MT: The Society of Biblical Literature, 1977), 89–102. Fletcher-Louis regards his translation as "infelicitous." See Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 126, note 108. Feldman seems concerned to preserve Josephus' distinction between the divine and human. I think Feldman is right to do so and that is why I suggest that it is best to take θεῖος ἀνήρ as a reference to Moses angelomorphic identity rather than a divine identity. Thereby the creator-creature distinction is maintained in Josephus and I do not believe it comes under threat by translating θεῖος ἀνήρ as "divine man." Feldman and Tiede both point out that Josephus does not refer to Exod 4:16 or 7:1 (Feldman, *Flavius Josephus,* 279, note 473; Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 229). I suggest this is the case because these texts could be understood by Josephus's pagan audience to speak of Moses as having a divine identity and Josephus did not believe that was appropriate. As such, Josephus does not refer to Exod 4:16 or 7:1 because they would require a detailed explanation that would be a detour from Josephus's main arguments and could potentially add confusion.

[131] Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism,* 89.

[132] Ibid, 90.

[133] Ibid, 91–95.

[134] Ibid, 90–94.

[135] Ibid, 94–95.

[136] Ibid, 94–95.

[137] Ibid, 95.

[138] Ibid, 100.

[139] Ibid, 101. Feldman, *Flavius Josephus,* 279, note 473.

[140] Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism,* 101, note 344.

fits Josephus' overall argument because of the Stoic notion of universal law. As such, if the Greeks were to observe the way the tabernacle symbolises the universe, they would understand the cosmic dimensions of the Torah and recognise Moses as the ultimate wise (σοφός) man.[141] Thus, the tabernacle context of the occurrence of θεῖος ἀνήρ in *Ant.* 3.180 only demands a meaning for θεῖος ἀνήρ of "a man of God."

Holladay and Feldman's point that the context of θεῖος ἀνήρ in *Ant.* 3.180 only requires the meaning of "a man of God" as it portrays Moses as the ultimate wise man is correct. However, this does not mean that Josephus is only claiming that Moses is the ultimate wise man. I suggest he says more with his statement that Moses is a θεῖος ἀνήρ. Holladay rightly notes some of the big picture themes and goals that Josephus is weaving throughout his work but then tries to force the semantics of the phrase θεῖος ἀνήρ to fit his observations. The reality is that translating θεῖος ἀνήρ as "divine man" fits the tabernacle context of *Ant.* 3.181–187 just as well as the "man of God" translation.[142] As such, context cannot be the sole decider of what Josephus meant by the phrase θεῖος ἀνήρ. It is beyond dispute that semantically "divine man" is a meaning more natural for the phrase θεῖος ἀνήρ and as such, I suggest, is the intended meaning. Further, Holladay's argument that Josephus did not want to use the more suitable phrase ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ, to speak of a "man of God," because of its association with the Samaritans is unconvincing.[143] Josephus is writing to Greeks who in all probability know nothing of Jewish/Samaritan relations and clarity would surely be more important for Josephus at this point than reflecting his anti-Samaritan sentiment. In short, if Josephus meant ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ then he would not have written θεῖος ἀνήρ.[144]

All of these examples, from multiple Second Temple Jewish sources, of angelomorphic human identities make it clear that many Second Temple Jews did not assume that it was easy to

---

[141] Ibid, 102.

[142] That Moses measures up to the pagan requirements of a "divine man" could equally be part of Josephus goal here especially as he concludes this section with a statement that explicitly identifies describing the merit of Moses (Ant. 3.187) as one of his goals in Antiquities 179-187. Moses is credited with creating the Tabernacle and the other vestments, all which accurately represent the universe. Similarly see Feldman, *Flavius Josephus,* 282, note 492. Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*, 231-233. Surely, accurate knowledge of the universe and its revelation to humans in the mirco-cosmos of the Tabernacle is something more appropriate for a "divine man" or angelomorphic man, rather than just a wise man.

[143] Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism,* 101, note 344.

[144] Georgi notes the widespread use of the divine man in pagan propaganda from the time of Alexander the Great to Constantine. He argues that this was not metaphor, but literally believed as the notion of humans reaching for the glory of the gods, and some actually obtaining it, was in the air of rapid growing religious movements like the Imperial cult. He also notes how the divine man concept developed among Jewish apologists to the Pagan world in the diaspora. He traces its origins from the wisdom writings of writers like Sirach who could speak of divine wisdom incorporating herself in the sage and taking up residence among people (Sirach 24). This notion was a welcome resource for Jewish apologists (like Josephus), who sought to make Judaism attractive to the surrounding pagan culture, as they were able to develop and turn the divinely possessed sage into a piece of common ground shared by Hellenistic Judaism and its surrounding pagan culture as the notion of the divine man. See Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians*, Edited by John Riches (Edinburgh: Fortress, 1986), 390–406.

distinguish between humans and angels. It demonstrates that it was possible for a human to have an angelomorphic identity and be referred to as an angel. As such, in principle, there is no difficulty in reading Mark 1:2-3 as claiming that the human John the Baptist shared an angelomorphic identity with the ancient prophet Elijah.

4.3 Elijah's whereabouts and need for angelic transformation

4.3.1 The whereabouts of Elijah

As to the reason why it was likely believed that Elijah had taken on an angelomorphic identity and where he had been between his first and second comings, it is necessary to understand a little about what Second Temple Jews believed about heaven, the afterlife and ascension. Edward Wright has argued that the beliefs of ancient Jews concerning the cosmos were very similar to those of other ANE cultures, and that the cosmos was essentially made of three parts. There was heaven above, which is the realm of God/the gods, earth in the middle, which is the realm of humans and Sheol beneath, which is the realm of the dead, God/the gods.[145] The afterlife consisted of dwelling in Sheol, which was a ghostly existence, "a gloomy mirror of the earthly world somewhere between life and non-existence, where humans would exist as shades (Job 7:7–10)."[146] The notion of a blissful afterlife only came about in the Hellenistic period among some Jews,[147] but this was still not bodily ascent to heaven. The belief seems to have been that heaven was the place of God and humans had no place there, except for potentially the two exceptions of Elijah and Enoch. In fact, the evidence seems to suggest that ascending to heaven was not an act of piety but of presumption, arrogance and wickedness (Gen 11:1–9; Isa 14:9–15).

Wright argues Elijah's 'ascent' in 2 Kings 2 was likely not intended to be an ascent story by the original author. He suggests that it is more likely that it was intended to depict the story of how Elijah would gain immortality and dwell at the mythical ends of the earth.[148] Wright argues

---

[145] See Gen 49:25; Exod 20:4; Ps 115:16–17; 139:8; Amos 9:2–3). J. Edward Wright, *The Early History of Heaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 53–54.

[146] Ibid, 85; Collins, "The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 95.

[147] See Pss 16:10–11; 73:24-26; Eccl 3:19–20 and Dan 12:1–3). Although Wright notes that it is possible that the seeds for this can be found earlier in passages like Num 23:20 and Ezekiel 37 (Wright, *The Early History of Heaven,* 86). For some of the ways that Jewish Cosmology developed see Bautch who argues that there are many other worlds in the Book of the Watchers, all of which are inaccessible to humans and include the heavenly temple, the prison for the seven stars and the paradise of righteousness or Truth (Eden). Kelley Coblentz Bautch, "Otherworldly Sites in the Book of the Watchers" in *Other Worlds and Their Relations to This World*, JSJSup 143, edited by Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden,, Erik M. M. Eynikel and Florentino García Martínez (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 37–54. Also see Nickelsburg who argues that in the Parables of Enoch there are four worlds that are "other." See George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Four Worlds that are "Other" in the Enochic Book of Parables" in *Other Worlds and Their Relations to This World*, JSJSup 143, eds. Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik M. M. Eynikel and Florentino García Martínez (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 55–78.

[148] J. Edward Wright, "Whither Elijah" The Ascension of Elijah in the Biblical and Extrabiblical Traditions," In *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone*, JSJSup 89, eds. Esther G. Chazon, David Satran and Ruth A. Clements (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 137–38.

that the phrase from 2 Kings 2:11 ויעל אליהו בסערה השמים is literally rendered "then Elijah went up in a whirlwind the sky" and is therefore ambiguous regarding Elijah's destination.[149] Wright cites evidence that demonstrates that the author did not necessarily assume that Elijah ascended to heaven. First, Wright mentions the "sons of the prophets" from 2 Kings 2:13-16 who assumed that it was possible that the wind (רוח) of YHWH may have tossed Elijah onto one of the mountains or into a ravine.[150] However, Elisha's response to "the sons of the prophets" in 2 Kings 2:16–18 might render this point moot.

The second piece of evidence that demonstrates that some Jews did not necessarily assume Elijah ascended to heaven in 2 Kings comes from the LXX version of 2 Kings 2:11 where it says καὶ ἀνελήμφθη Ηλιου ἐν συσσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν ("and Elijah was taken up in a whirlwind as into heaven"). The conjunction ὡς in this version of 2 Kings 2:11 would seem to indicate that there were some who believed that it only seemed as if Elijah ascended into heaven.[151] Wright argues that this is most likely what the original author of the original story intended due to his likely assumption that humans have no place in heaven and that Elijah was most likely thought to have gone to dwell at the mythical ends of the earth with the other immortals.[152]

The key point of Wright's article is that it is likely that two traditions existed among the ancient Israelites regarding the whereabouts of Elijah. First, some believed that he dwelt at the

---

[149] Wright highlights that it is unnecessarily ambiguous as the author could easily have inserted a preposition or a "locative *he*" to indicate that the heavens were Elijah's destination (Wright, "Whither Elijah," 125). Although he also notes other places where the Deuteronomistic historian uses השמים with the sense of השמימה (1 Sam 5:12; 1 Kings 8:22, 54) and other places where השמים is used without a directional preposition but clearly needs either אל or מן (1 Kings 8:32, 34, 36, 39, 43, 49,, p. 125, note 6). He unfortunately put this significant fact in a footnote and not in the body of his thesis. This habit of the Deuteronomistic historian regarding his use of השמים in 2 Kings 2:11 makes the "Elijah went up in a whirlwind *into* the sky" (my italics) reading highly likely and undermines Wright's point regarding the ambiguity of the Masoretic Text of 2 Kings 2:11. However, Wright's point regarding the LXX version of 2 Kings 2:11 remains. Cogan and Tadmor note that the סערה that carried Elijah away is elsewhere either associated with a theophany (Isa 29:6; Jer 23:19; 30:23; Ezek 1:4; Zech 9:14; Job 38:1; 40:6) or the action of God (Isaiah 41:16; Ezekiel 13:11, 13; Psalm 107:25, 29; 147:8). This lends weight to the notion that Elijah ascended into heaven within the storm/whirlwind in which God dwells. Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: The Anchor Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 33–34. Brueggemann argues that Elijah's ascent is without precedent or parallel and clearly intends to narrate Elijah's departure in the theophanic storm into the divine realm. Walter Brueggemann, *1&2 Kings,* Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys, 2000), 295–97. Hobbs finds the connection of the סערה with the theophanic storm unnecessary suggesting that it is more likely connected with God's actions of judgment. However, this begs the question regarding who/what is being judged in the pericope. Judgment is not a theme in the pericope and thus the connection to the theophanic storm is more appropriate. Hobbs also connects the רכב־אש וסוסי אש with the tradition of Holy War and as such the divine warrior. This connection makes good sense if the סערה is a reference to the theophanic storm. See T.R. Hobbs, *2 Kings,* WBC 13 (Waco, TX: Word, 1985), 21. Wray Beal notes that the סערה often conveys YHWH's presence. See Lissa M. Wray Beal, *1&2 Kings,* ApOTC (Nottingham: Apollos, 2014), 304. Fritz argues that Elijah was translated into heaven. Volkmar Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings,* A Continental Commentary (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 235. Similarly see Marvin A. Sweeney, *I & II Kings,* OTL (London: SCM, 2007), 274.

[150] Wright, "Whither Elijah," 125.

[151] Ibid, 125. Similarly see Alexander, *The Mystical Texts,* 76.

[152] Wright, "Whither Elijah," 137–38.

ends of the earth with the other immortals like Enoch.[153] Alexander rightly argues that the earliest Enochic piece of literature that explicitly states that Enoch ascended bodily to heaven is 2 Enoch 1:3–9; 3:1 and 22:8–10).[154] In early Enochic literature, Enoch's explorations of heaven happened via dreams with Enoch's feet firmly upon the ground (1 En. 14). Jubilees 4:23 also suggests Enoch dwelt in the Garden of Eden at the ends of the earth, which likely functioned as a temple (Jub. 4:23).[155] The animal apocalypse suggests that Enoch dwells in a high place where he can see the (heavenly) temple (1 En. 87:3) and was later joined there by Elijah (89:52).[156] This could be understood as another way of suggesting that Enoch dwells in the temple/ Garden of Eden at the ends of the earth or it could suggest that Enoch ascended to heaven where he can see the (heavenly) temple and dwells there with Elijah. Pseudo-Philo also suggests that Elijah dwells with others who went up (Pseudo-Philo 48:1), which is a likely reference to Enoch.[157]

---

[153] The early Enoch literature depicts Enoch dwelling at the ends of the earth (1 En. 65–66 and 1 En. 106:8). Wright cites LXX of 2 Kings 2:11 and the likely reality that iron-age Israelites did not believe ascending to heaven was possible. Wright, "Whither Elijah," 125. See also Nickelsburg, "Four Worlds that are Other," 69.

[154] Alexander, *The Mystical Texts,* 76–77. As such, it is likely that what was believed regarding Enoch's whereabouts was also believed regarding Elijah's whereabouts. The Enoch literature demonstrates a development in the traditions regarding Enoch's whereabouts. In the early Enoch literature it was believed that Enoch dwelt at the ends of the earth while in the later literature is was believed that he actually ascended to heaven.

[155] Kugel, "Jubilees," 296–97, 304. I do, however, wonder whether it is correct to suggest that the "ends of the world" is an accessible place in this world, or an inaccessible place in this world or is located on the outskirts of heaven and allows those who dwell there to possess immortality without the need for bodily transformation. Wright argues that it is part of this world but only accessible to very few (Wright, "Whither Elijah," 129–130). Bautch notes that 1 En. 77:4 there is also the mention of "the Parades of Righteousness of Truth." Bautch locates this garden in the third concentric circle that makes up the earth and distinguishes it from the Garden of Righteousness mentioned in the book of the Watchers in 1 Enoch 32 that she argues is otherworldly (Bautch, "Otherworldly Sites in the Book of the Watchers," 49). In any case, there is no mention of this garden being inhabited by immortal humans and it would appear to be far from the inhabited world. However, in the Epistle of Enoch Methuselah goes to visit Enoch at the ends of the world where he dwells with the angels (1 En. 106:7-8). Similarly, in the Parables of Enoch, Noah makes the same journey (1 En. 65:2). Nickelsburg argues that "the ends of the world" mentioned in 1 En. 106:7–8 refers to Enoch's final resting place. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the book of 1 Enoch chapters 37-82,* Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 544–45. In these texts, "the ends of the earth" certainly seems accessible to the inhabited world, which would suggest that it is distinguishable from the "Garden of life" in 1 En. 61:12. In the Parables of Enoch, the righteous dead are said to dwell in the "garden of life" in 1 En. 61:12. See Kelley Coblentz Bautch, "Otherworldly Sites in the Book of the Watchers" in *Other Worlds and Their Relations to This World*, Edited by Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden,, Erik M. M. Eynikel and Florentino García Martínez (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 50, and . Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 244. Yet in 1 En. 39:4–5 the righteous dead are said to dwell in heaven. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 111–12. Do we harmonise these two accounts in the Parables of Enoch? Or, should we argue they are two distinct traditions regarding the location of the righteous dead? If we choose to harmonise them then "the garden of life" is to be located in heaven. If we allow them to be two distinct traditions then perhaps these two options for the dwelling of the righteous dead in the Parables of Enoch parallels the two options for the whereabouts of Elijah and Enoch – either at the ends of the earth or in heaven.

[156] Nickelsburg suggests that the high place to which Enoch is taken is paradise (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1,* 374). He seems to suggest that he believes this high place is to be identified with the Garden of Eden at the edge of the world as he states that this paradise is probably where Enoch is in 1 En. 106:8 (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1,* 545). If it is true that Enoch and Elijah were believed to dwell in the Garden of Eden, I wonder whether it was believed that they lived as Adam originally had as "God's idols," manifesting God's glory. If so, then it is likely that it was believed that they had been transformed into pre-fall, glorious Adamic humanity.

[157] Similarly see Jacobson, "Pseudo-Philo, Book of Biblical Antiquities," 580–81.

Pseudo-Philo's ambiguous wording leaves open the possibility of the destination being the Garden of Eden at the ends of the earth or the heavenly temple.[158]

The second possibility for Elijah's destination is that Elijah actually ascended into heaven.[159] In the stories we have of ascensions to heaven by humans, the humans need to shed their flesh and blood and take on an angelic/divine substance to be able to exist in the heavenly realm. Unfortunately, because the belief in bodily ascent to heaven developed later than the belief that some heroes dwell as immortals at the edge of the world,[160] most of the detailed examples of bodily ascension come from after the rise of Christianity. But there is one clear example of a pre-Christian figure who claimed to ascend to heaven, be transformed into a god (אלים) and then descend again. This figure is the boasting "I" from the Self-Glorification Hymn mentioned above and found in 4Q491c; 4Q471b and 4Q427 7 i-9. This boasting figure makes the following claims. First, in 4Q491^{c} 1 6 "besides me no-one is exalted, nor comes to me, for I reside in […], in the heavens." Second, in 4Q491^{c} 1 7-8 "I am counted among the gods and my dwelling is in the holy congregation; [my] des[ire] is not according to the flesh, [but] all that is precious to me is in (the) glory (of) 8 […] the holy [dwel]ling." Finally, in 4Q491c 1 8 "Who, like the sailors, will come back and tell?" From these lines it becomes apparent that the boasting "I" of the Self-Glorification Hymn, first, claimed to have been exalted and dwelt in heaven; and secondly, that he was transformed into an angelic being or divine human and is greater than the other angels (אלים). This has resulted in him no longer having earthly desires (line 7). Finally, only he, in his ascension and return, is like a sailor who has gone away and come back again (line 8).[161] These three points are also apparent in later ascension stories.[162]

---

[158] Although perhaps LAB 48:1 favours the notion of Elijah ascending to heaven. Here God is speaking to Phineas (who is also Elijah) at the time of the judges. He commands him to go and "dwell in the desert on the mountain," which could be a reference to the mythical ends of the world, before returning as Elijah centuries later. After he returns as Elijah and completes Elijah's ministry, God tells him that he will be "raised up to the place where those who were before you were raised up." As such, Phineas-Elijah has two distinct "off stage" waiting places. He waits at the first in between his coming as Phineas and then as Elijah. Then he is raised up to the second place between his coming as Elijah and his eschatological coming. These two off-stage waiting places are distinct from each other in Pseudo-Philo and thus it is probably best to take the first as being the mythical ends of the earth and the second as heaven.

[159] 2 Kings 2:11 MT; 1 Macc 2:58; 1 Enoch 93:8; Ant. 9.2.2. §28.

[160] Wright, "Whither Elijah," 137–38. Although see Chapter 4, footnote 9 for an argument that Josephus believed Enoch, Elijah and Moses all ascended to heaven.

[161] For similar conclusions on the Self-Glorification Hymn see Alexander, *The Mystical Texts,* 85–90. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 199–204.

[162] In 2 Enoch, Enoch ascends bodily with the angels and tours the heavens with the angels (2 En. 1:3–9; 3:1). When he arrives in the presence of God he is transformed so that he can be there (2 En. 22:8–10). Then later, he returns to earth to instruct his sons and he claims to be human like them (2 En. 39:5). However, when his son Methuselah asks if he might prepare a meal for Enoch, Enoch says that he has not eaten since he was transformed nor does he have any desires of the flesh (2 En. 56:1–2). Similarly see Carla Sulzbach, "When going on a heavenly journey, travel light and dress appropriately," *JSP* 19 (2010): 187–88. This is an intriguing parallel case to John the Baptist, as Enoch claims to still be human after his transformation and yet also, somehow, angelic. Enoch's angelic identity in his descent is discernible from his lack of desire for earthly things. This is a pattern that is visible in the Self-Glorification Hymn. However, see F. I. Andersen who argues that as long as the date and provenance of 2

4.3.2 Elijah's need for transformation

Alexander argues that bodily ascent to the alien environment of heaven demands bodily transformation and has huge theological implications.[163] Earthly physical bodies cannot endure the topsy-turvy realm of heaven that is often described as consisting of impossible combinations of natural phenomena like fire and ice (e.g. 1 En. 14:13).[164] Alexander argues that in 1 Enoch 14, the cosmos is explicitly depicted not in a crude three storey way, but in a way where heaven is depicted as an alternative universe/realm that operates according to different physical laws than earth.[165] Alexander then traces this line of thought in either the depictions of heaven or the need for transformation to move from earth to heaven or heaven to earth from 1 Enoch 14 in the third century BC into the literature of 2 Enoch 22:5-10, 3 Enoch 15:1-2; 42 and the Heikhalot mystics (e.g. Heikhalot Rabbati 17-18).[166] Significantly for my point, Alexander also argues that the early Christians believed in a non-absolute cosmological dualism, which meant travel between realms is possible but difficult. Alexander finds evidence for this in the early Christian beliefs regarding Jesus' incarnation, ascension and the necessary transformation of our present bodies through resurrection, in order for them to be able to exist in God's future, when heaven and earth come together.[167] In incarnation the deity became flesh when he entered our world and moved from a realm governed by one set of physical laws to a realm governed by a different set of physical laws (John 1:14; 3:13; Phil 2:6). After Jesus' resurrection, Jesus' body while still being physical was also strange, sometimes making Jesus unrecognisable (Luke 24:15–16), allowing him to disappear (Luke 24:31) and walk through walls (John 20:19). His body had been transformed through resurrection into a body that seems to be able to exist in both heaven and earth as it was in this body that Jesus ascended to heaven (Luke 24:51). That Jesus' resurrected body was "spiritual" is something fundamental to Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians 15.[168] It is this spiritual body that according to Paul, serves as the prototype for the bodies of the faithful, and by

---

Enoch remain unknown, the book of 2 Enoch is of little use for historical purposes. See F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, edited by James H. Charlesworth (New York: Yale University Press, 1983), 94–97. Wright cites the following quote from the tenth century Karaite scholar Abu Yusuf Ya 'qub al-Qirqisani in Wright, "Whither Elijah," 126, note 9. "Having thus expressed our view that Enoch and Elijah ascended bodily to heaven, we must now explain how they did so. We say therefore that each one of them reached heaven in his (earthly) body, but once he arrived there, God stripped him of this body and clothed him with a more nobler body. For this former body was terrestrial and coarse, [liable to perish] in the heat of the celestial sphere; not so his latter noble body. Then after he reached the apogee of the heavenly sphere, God divested him of all corporeality, and he became purely spiritual substance." While this tenth century view of Abu Yusuf Ya 'qub al-Qirqisani is clearly more philosophically developed (in a Western way) than what is expressed in the Self Glorification Hymn, he still retains the assumption that bodily ascension requires bodily transformation.

[163] Alexander, *The Mystical Texts,* 77.

[164] Simlilarly see Sulzbach, "When going on a heavenly journey, travel light and dress appropriately," 163–93.

[165] Philip S. Alexander, "The Dualism of Heaven and Earth" in *Light Against Darkness*, edited by Armin Lange, Bernard M. Levinson and Vered Noam (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 170–74.

[166] Ibid, 174–81.

[167] Ibid, 181–82.

[168] Ibid, 182, notes 20 and 21.

extension, the earthly realm, when they too are transformed through resurrection and recreation.[169]

Accordingly, Alexander argues that the view that the realms of heaven and earth were fundamentally different at an ontological level was something widespread in Second Temple Judaism.[170] This cosmological assumption meant that transformation was required to travel from one realm to the other in either direction.[171] This being the case, it is reasonable to assume that Jews who believed that Elijah ascended bodily into heaven, also believed that his physical body was transformed into an angelomorphic body. This assumption fits with the reading that results from combining Malachi 3:1 and Malachi 3:23–24. The returning Elijah of Malachi 3:23–24 is the מלאך or ἄγγελος coming before YHWH in Malachi 3:1. Likewise, upon Elijah's return from heaven to earth, transformation was required into a body that could exist within the physical world of the earthly realm – thus the human John the Baptist.

4.3.3 Responding to some objections

The objection that John the Baptist must only be a type of Elijah because the real Elijah appears in the transfiguration pericope is problematic.[172] This objection makes several assumptions that are difficult to demonstrate. First, it assumes that Elijah physically appeared in the transfiguration as a human like us and that the experience was not a vision or something else.[173] The suggestion that Elijah physically appeared in the transfiguration pericope is among the better options for what Mark believed happened. But if this is what Mark believed happened, then it follows that the Elijah who appeared was not like us because he was over 800 years old and had spent most of that time somewhere else with God. As such, we cannot apply assumptions about what we are like to the Elijah of the transfiguration pericope and therefore cannot rule out the possibility of Elijah returning as John the Baptist, dying and then appearing with Moses in the transfiguration pericope.

A second assumption implicit in the objection that John the Baptist could not have shared the identity of the historic Elijah, because the historic Elijah appears in the transfiguration pericope with Moses, is that Elijah and Moses must be the same type of beings. I agree with this

---

[169] See N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God,* COQG 3 (London: SPCK, 2003), 209–398. Similarly see 2 Bar. 50:1-51:13 that also depicts transformation of the bodies of the faithful and of the earth as heaven and earth are brought together in God's eschatological act of recreation.

[170] Alexander, "The Dualism of Heaven and Earth," 184.

[171] Ibid, 178–83. Sullivan has argued that in the few instances where transformation of a human into an angel does occur the transformation happens in the heavenly realm. See Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels,* 228. This observation fits Alexander's arguments here and does not contradict Fletcher-Louis's arguments for human transformation, in a liturgical context, into a divine humanity.

[172] Keener suggests this as an objection to John the Baptist being the literal Elijah. See Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 118, 438.

[173] If Elijah and Moses appeared in a vision then while the experience of the disciples was real, Elijah did not physically appear. There would therefore be no problem with John the Baptist being Elijah and the disciples later receiving a vision of Elijah in the transfiguration pericope.

assumption as Mark does depict Moses and Elijah as being the same type of beings (Mark 8:38–-9:4). However, I do not think this points away from the possibility that John the Baptist shared the identity of the historic Elijah. I think it points towards that possibility. If we assume that Second Temple Jews believed that the historic Elijah did not die but ascended to heaven, then in order for Elijah and Moses to be the same type of being in the transfiguration pericope either Moses must also have not died and ascended to heaven, or, Elijah must have returned to earth and then died. Now some Jews did believe that Moses had ascended to heaven like Elijah and had therefore not really died (*Ant.* 4.8.48 §326). But this belief goes explicitly against scripture (Deut 34:5; Jude 9) and it remains to be demonstrated that the early Christians believed Moses ascended to heaven and did not die. As such, it would seem more likely to assume that the early Christians believed Moses did die and that the historic Elijah did not. If John the Baptist was a type of Elijah then Moses and Elijah were not the same type of beings, since Moses had died and Elijah has not. In this case, the depiction of Moses and Elijah in the transfiguration pericope as the same type of being is problematic. However, if Elijah has returned as John the Baptist and died in Mark 6:27 then both Moses and Elijah are historic individuals who have died and are presumably the same type of beings in the afterlife.[174] As such, the appearance of Elijah and Moses as the same type of being in the transfiguration pericope requires either the belief that both the historic Elijah and Moses had died or that both the historic Moses and Elijah had not died and had both ascended, or that Moses died and the historic Elijah initially ascended before returning as John the Baptist and being executed. I suggest that the latter option is the option that best fits the evidence of what Mark most likely believed.

However, what type of beings Moses and Elijah are in the transfiguration pericope is not the point of the transfiguration pericope and, the relevant details in the pericope are scarce.[175] This being the case, to press into discussions regarding what type of beings Moses and Elijah are, or what has happened to them on the other side of their historic life is to move into the realm of speculation. As such, the objection that John the Baptist cannot share the identity of the historic Elijah because Elijah appears in the transfiguration pericope is an objection based upon speculation regarding Moses' and Elijah's existence in the afterlife. Further, as I have attempted to argue above, it is an objection based upon speculation that does not even necessarily fit its conclusion.

That being said, we do have some resources that can help to explain how John the Baptist could be Elijah and yet allow for Elijah's appearance on the mount of transfiguration after John the Baptist's death. First, a close analogy of Mark's Elijah/John the Baptist character is Pseudo-Philo's Phineas/Elijah character. In analogous fashion, Mark's near contemporary (see

[174] A shade, spirit, soul, or perhaps an angel.

[175] The point of the transfiguration pericope is to reveal to Peter, James and John what type of messiah Jesus is (apocalyptic Son of Man), the close relationship he has with the Father as "my Son, the beloved" and to do so in a theophanic Sinai type event. Similarly see Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 261.

section 3.5), the author of Pseudo-Philo, portrays Elijah as also being the ancient priest Phineas (LAB 48:1). Harrington and Jacobson both argue that in Pseudo-Philo, it is not that Elijah is a type of Phineas (or vice versa) but rather that, somehow, Elijah is Phineas.[176] Significantly, according to LAB 48:1, Phineas/Elijah would return in the eschaton and upon his return he would die. Pseudo-Philo's Phineas/Elijah provides a contemporary and analogous character to Mark's John the Baptist/Elijah figure.

4.3.4 Summary of above

The argument for John the Baptist being the returned angelomorphic Elijah in Mark's Gospel can be summarised as follows. First, all the Second Temple evidence we have on the belief of Elijah's eschatological return suggests that the belief was for the return of the actual Tishbite. If we assume that Mark shared this Jewish view and believed that John the Baptist was the fulfilment of the prophecy in Malachi 3 of Elijah's return, then it follows that he believed John the Baptist was somehow hundreds of years old, had been dwelling elsewhere for hundreds of years and was therefore unlike us.

Second, the returning Elijah in Malachi 3:23–24 is best identified with the angel/messenger of Malachi 3:1 in both the MT and the LXX. This Malachi text is the first text that speaks of the eschatological hope for the return of Elijah and does so by identifying him as an angel/messenger. I have argued that the text assumes that the historical Elijah ascended to heaven or to the ends of the earth as a historical event and that he is therefore able to return. By the time Malachi was written, it had been several centuries since Elijah's ministry and therefore Malachi assumes that Elijah, unlike us, was already centuries old and had been dwelling elsewhere, for most of that time. That Malachi 3:23–24 is best read as an interpretation of Malachi 3:1 demonstrates that in the final version of Malachi, Elijah is regarded as a מלאך or ἄγγελος.[177] This lends weight to the assumption that for the compiler of the final version of Malachi, Elijah most likely ascended to heaven, where transformation into a מלאך or ἄγγελος would be essential, rather than to the ends of the earth. The above assumptions lend weight to the "angel" rather than "messenger" translation of מלאך or ἄγγελος in Malachi 3:1 and Mark 1:2 since it refers to Elijah.

Third, in Mark 1:2–3, when Mark decides to cite a text to support his belief that John the Baptist is the returned Elijah he does not cite Malachi 3:23–24, which does not have any angelic language and therefore would have been less explicit in ascribing to John the Baptist an angelic

[176] D. J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo: A New Translation and Introduction," 300. Howard Jacobson, "Pseudo-Philo, Book of Biblical Antiquities," 580.

[177] The final version of Malachi was probably important for the author of Pseudo-Philo's character Phineas/Elijah. Malachi 2:7's priest who is called an "angel of YHWH" is often identified with both Phineas, because of the covenant made with him, and contextually with the angel of Mal 3:1. Malachi 3:1's angel is identified as Elijah in Mal 3:23–24 and therefore also as Phineas. It was likely this identification that inspired the author of Pseudo-Philo to have one character who is both Phineas and Elijah.

identity. Mark cites Malachi 3:1 with its explicit angelic language and supports it with a typological use of Exodus 23:20 where John the Baptist is identified as a type of "angel of YHWH." This helps explain why Mark coupled Exodus 23:20 with Malachi 3:1. He did so first, to signal that the new exodus was beginning with John the Baptist as the returned Elijah and type of "angel of YHWH" preparing the way before the leader of the new exodus - Jesus. Mark's association of John the Baptist with the "angel of YHWH" from Exodus 23:20 suggests that he read Malachi 3:1 and 3:23–24 as implying that Elijah now had an angelomorphic identity. As such, Mark likely assumed, along with many of his fellow Jews, that the historical Elijah had been taken up into heaven, been transformed into an angel or divine human and now, Mark claimed, had returned as John the Baptist.

Finally, we have plenty of evidence that suggests that there was not a clear distinction between angels and Adamic humanity in Second Temple Judaism. Second Temple Jews had little problem with speaking of some humans as also being angels or like angels and as such, Mark's belief that the human John the Baptist could also be the angelomorphic Elijah would not have been heard as a contradiction. Indeed, Mark does not seem to be claiming that John the Baptist is just a human prophet or, on the other hand, that he is not human at all. Rather, Mark's claim, consistent with the blurred distinction between humans and angels, is that the human John the Baptist also shared the angelomorphic identity of the ancient prophet Elijah and therefore fulfilled the prophecy of Malachi 3:1, 23–24 and Sirach 48:9–10 for the return of the actual Tishbite.[178] How the human John the Baptist shared an identity with the angelic Elijah is not made clear. But that this is how Mark understood John the Baptist fits comfortably within Second Temple Judaism and is in my view the best way to read the composite citation of Mark 1:2–3.

Within Second Temple Judaism, the notion of Elijah ascending and being transformed into a divine human or angel (in some sense) before his return mitigates against the suggestion that it was believed that Elijah would prepare the way for the messiah. For if Elijah had ascended and been transformed, it is unlikely, upon his return, that he would prepare the way before a messiah who had not undergone such a transformation. The greater does not prepare the way

[178] Joynes states the following on pages 462 and 466 "the category of typology is by itself insufficient to explain all the Elijah traditions in the gospels. We have pointed to an emphasis in many gospel texts on the expectation of Elijah's return, an expectation for the fulfilment of Malachi's prophecy which anticipated the coming of the Tishbite himself…one possible way to interpret the reference to Elijah's return in Mark is in terms of angelic indwelling." In my view, Joynes main contribution to the debate around the return of Elijah is to highlight the importance of differentiating between typology and return and by demonstrating that both Elijah typology and the return of Elijah occur in the Gospels. See Joynes, "The returned Elijah? John the Baptist's Angelic Identity in the Gospel of Mark," 455–67. Also see Öhler who argues that the historic John the Baptist and the historic Jesus believed John the Baptist to be the literal return of Elijah. See Öhler, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God," 470–76.

for the lesser. No, a heavenly Elijah would not prepare the way for an earthly messiah.[179] A heavenly Elijah would be much more likely to prepare the way for the king of heaven – YHWH himself. As such, if Mark shared the belief that Elijah has actually ascended to heaven and was actually believed to return in the eschaton, then he would have believed that Elijah would prepare the way for God, as per the witness of all of the Second Temple evidence.[180] Consequently, I suggest the composite citation is best read in Mark 1:2-3 to support the central tenet of my thesis that Elijah was believed to prepare the way before God.

4.4 Mark 9:2–13: The Transfiguration

4.4.1 The Son of Man

Mark 9:9–13 are the final few verses of the transfiguration pericope where Jesus makes specific reference to Elijah's return as something that has already happened. The transfiguration pericope (Mark 9:2–13) is closely linked to Peter's confession (Mark 8:27–33) where Peter rightly identifies Jesus as the messiah but fails to understand what type of messiah Jesus is.[181] As a result, Jesus takes Peter, James and John up the mount of transfiguration to reveal more of his identity to them. On the mountain, Jesus is transfigured before his disciples, revealing his divine identity,[182] and is referred to as the Son of Man (Mark 8:38; 9:9, 12) and God's Son (Mark 9:7).

---

[179] Within scholarship on Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity it is possible to come up with the following options for the identities of Elijah and the one coming after him. First, the eschatological Elijah would be a prophetic type of Elijah coming before an earthly messiah. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1: 293 and Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2: 258–59. Second, the eschatological Elijah would be a prophetic type of Elijah coming before God. See Keener, *Matthew: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, 131; Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 118. See section 1.2 for further discussion on these first two options. Third, the eschatological Elijah would be a heavenly Elijah coming before an earthly messiah (a possibility that no one argues). Finally, the eschatological Elijah would be a heavenly figure coming before God. France possibly asserts this as he claims that John is the "returning Elijah" and a prophetic type of Elijah is not a returning Elijah. He also states, "in some remarkable sense when Jesus comes, God comes." See France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 106, 115. Similarly Joynes argues that the eschatological Elijah (John the Baptist) was a heavenly being but does not comment on Jesus' divine identity. See Joynes, "The returned Elijah? John the Baptist's Angelic Identity in the Gospel of Mark," 455–67. The first option is unlikely because there is no precedent that a Second Temple Jew would have regarded the prophecy of Malachi 3:1, 23–24 as having been fulfilled by a type of Elijah, nor is there any Second Temple evidence that suggests Elijah was to prepare the way before a messiah. The second option is unlikely because there is no precedent that a Second Temple Jew would have regarded the prophecy of Mal 3:1, 23-24 as having been fulfilled by a type of Elijah. The third option is unlikely because a heavenly Elijah would not prepare the way before an earthly messiah. This leaves the final option as the only option supported by the evidence and as a plausible historic belief of Second Temple Jews and the early Christians.

[180] If Elijah had been dwelling at the ends of the earth in the Garden of Eden between his first and second comings, then perhaps it was believed that he was able to live a long time because he had access to a tree of life while in the Garden of Eden.

[181] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 329–31, 338–39. Schnabel, *Mark,* 200. Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark,* 240. Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 261.

[182] France notes that Jesus' appearance is depicted in the same way as a heavenly being (Dan 7:9; 1 En., 14:20; Ps 104:1–2). See France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 351. Borg notes that Jesus is filled with glory, the radiant luminosity of God. See Marcus J. Borg, *Meeting Jesus in Mark* (London: SPCK, 2011), 81. Schnabel says that the "language describes God revealing the divine glory of Jesus." Schnabel, *Mark,* 209. Similarly see Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark,* 262–64; Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 263–64. Stein argues that the transfiguration is a future glimpse of the coming of the glorious (apocalyptic) Son of Man/Son of God (Stein, *Mark,* 416–17.

One of the ongoing debates in New Testament scholarship has been the meaning of "the Son of Man" in the Gospels. On the one hand, scholars like Larry Hurtado have argued that "the Son of Man" was simply a phrase that Jesus used to speak of himself.[183] Scholars on this side of the debate claim that "the Son of Man" had no titular force even though it appears to do so in the Gospels.[184] On the other hand, scholars like Crispin Fletcher-Louis have argued that "the Son of Man" does have titular force in the Gospels and was used by the Gospel writers (and possibly Jesus himself) to characterise himself as the apocalyptic Son of Man from Daniel 7:13 and the Parables of Enoch.[185] This debate is important for my thesis because potential "apocalyptic Son of Man" references occur within the context of a return of Elijah reference in Mark's transfiguration pericope. If "the Son of Man" characterises Jesus as the apocalyptic Son of Man in the transfiguration pericope, then Mark is using both "the Son of Man" tradition and the "return of Elijah" tradition to speak of Jesus' divine identity.[186] However, "the Son of Man" debate is extensive and detailed and I will limit myself to a few reasons why I think the apocalyptic Son of Man view is stronger and critique Hurtado's view.

The view that the authors of the Gospels put the phrase "the Son of Man" on the lips of Jesus primarily (or at least in places like Mark 13:26; 14:62 and parallels) to identify him as the apocalyptic Son of Man, seems to me to be the strongest.[187] This is the case, because of the consensus of the Enoch seminar that the Parables of Enoch date from around the turn of the era and therefore before the Gospels, and possibly before Jesus.[188] There is, then evidence that at

---

[183] Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 293. Hurtado argues that "the Son of Man" was Jesus' own distinctive way of referring to himself and that it has been used in the Gospels because it was a part of Jesus' own idiolect. See Larry W. Hurtado, "Summary and Concluding Observations" in *'Who is This Son of Man?': The Latest Scholarship on a Puzzling Expression of the Historical Jesus*, edited by Larry W. Hurtado and Paul L. Owen (New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 174–75.

[184] Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 297. As evidence for this, Hurtado cites places where one of the Synoptic Gospels uses the phrase "the Son of Man" (Matt 16:13) and its parallels in Mark 8:28 and Luke 9:18, where the first person singular pronoun is used. This demonstrates that the phrase "the Son of Man" on the lips of Jesus and the first person singular pronoun were interchangeable. Thus, for Hurtado, it is important that "the Son of Man" phrase is used to refer, not to characterise. See Hurtado, "Summary and Concluding Observations," 163–68.

[185] Crispin Fletcher-Louis, *Jesus Monotheism: Christological Origins: The emerging consensus and beyond*, vol. 1 (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2015), 101–28, 171–205. Similarly see France's comments on the use of "the Son of Man" in Mark 8:38 in France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 342–43.

[186] Significantly both the Parables of Enoch's Son of Man and the one who was believed to come after Elijah function as the eschatological divine judge.

[187] I would also suggest, along with Hurtado, that the expression "the Son of Man" was a part of the historical Jesus' idiolect. See Hurtado, "Summary and Concluding Observations," 416–17.

[188] Vanderkam, *Enoch: A Man for all Generations,* 132. Stone argues for a date around the turn of the millennium see Michael E. Stone, "Enoch's Date in Limbo; or, Some Considerations on David Suter's Analysis of the Book of Parables" in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2007), 444. Suter has a detailed summary of the scholarly debate around the date of the Similitudes of Enoch. He ends up concluding that while a post 70 C.E. date cannot be ruled out, his preference is around the time of the Gaius Caligula crisis. See David W. Suter, "Enoch in Sheol: Updating the Dating of the Book of Parables" in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 440-42. Walck argues for a date around the turn of the era. See Leslie W. Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew,* JCT 7 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 14–22. Similarly see Darrell D. Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch" in *'Who is the Son of Man?': The Latest Scholarship on a puzzling Expression of the Historical*

least some Jews just prior to Jesus were referring to a divine figure as "the righteous one" (1 En. 53:6), "the elect one" (1 En. 45:4; 51:3, 5; 52:6; 55:4; 62:1), "the messiah" (1 En. 48:10; 52:4) and "the Son of Man" (46:2, 3, 4: 48:2; 62:5, 7, 9, 14; 63:11; 69:26-27).[189] It matters little whether the various phrases in the Ethiopian translation of the Parables, which are all translated in English as "the Son of Man," were originally one or many slightly different variations of "the Son of Man" in the original language.[190] Nor does it matter whether "the Son of Man" has/had titular force in

---

Jesus, LNTS, eds. Larry W. Hurtado and Paul L. Owen (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 133–36. Of the many arguments put forward for the dating of Enoch's book of parables I find the following most compelling. First, I follow the consensus of modern Enoch scholarship in rejecting Milik's well-known hypothesis that the Similitudes of Enoch date from the third century C.E., is a Christian text and was originally written in Greek. Milik's hypothesis had as its fountainhead his observation that the Book of Similitudes is the only book of the 1 Enoch corpus that has not been identified at Qumran. But as Enoch scholars note, the Similitudes' absence from the identifiable fragments at Qumran is far from conclusive in determining the date of the Similitudes. See Suter, "Enoch in Sheol," 415–20. Stone, "Enoch's Date in Limbo," 444. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2,* 60. Also see Boccaccini's interesting argument that Enochic Judaism and the Qumran Essenes had a falling out prior to the book of Similitudes being written. This possibility helps explain why no fragments of the book of Similitudes were found at Qumran. See Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 119-162. Second, the mention of the "Parthians and the Medes" in 1 En,. 56:5 provides a sure *terminus post quem* of 164 B.C.E. as that is when the Medes were taken into the Parthian Empire. Third, I regard 70 C.E. as a reliable *terminus ante quem* because, following Nickelsburg, I find it strange for a Jewish author writing after 70 C.E., who mentions that the Parthians and Medes could not capture Jerusalem (1 En. 56:7), to not mention that the Romans devastated Jerusalem. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 60. The parallels that the book of Similitudes shares with 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch do not suggest that the book of Similitudes must be written at the end of the first century C.E., like 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. The later books of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch could be dependent on the book of Similitudes or they could all share common traditions, but this says nothing about a *terminus ante quem* for the book of Similitudes. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 61. Further, suggestions that 70 C.E. is not a reliable *terminus ante quem* because Jewish authors writing after 70 C.E. do not have to mention the fall of Jerusalem are unconvincing. See Stone, "Enoch's Date in Limbo," 446. While post 70 C.E. Jewish' authors do not have to mention the fall of Jerusalem, it is reasonable to expect a post 70 C.E. Jewish author who mentions that the Medes and Parthians could not capture Jerusalem, would mention that the Romans did, especially in a book that predicts much suffering. However, the *terminus ante quem* can be pushed earlier due to dependence on the Book of Similitudes interpretation of the Son of Man in Daniel 7 as a judicial figure in the New Testament (Matt 24:37–39, 43–44; Mark 13:32–37; Luke 12:39–40; 17:22–30; Rev 1:13; 14:14. Also see 1 Thess 5:2–4 that speaks of Jesus as an eschatological judge in a similar vein to the Book of Similitudes "Son of Man," but does not refer to Jesus as the Son of Man (probably because the phrase "Son of Man" would not mean much to Thessalonian Gentiles). This demands that there was either a common tradition of interpreting Daniel 7, on which the New Testament and the Book of Similitudes depended, or, that the New Testament writers drew on the interpretation of Daniel 7 in the book of Similitudes.

[189] Vanderkam highlights places where this figure is called by two of the above four titles within the same verse and where this figure is described with differing titles when performing the same function. For instance, both the "chosen one" and "the Son of Man" are said to be the eschatological judge in 1 En. 45:3 and 62:5. Vanderkam argues that all four titles refer to the same being. See Vanderkam, *Enoch: A Man for all Generations*, 139–40. Significantly, 1 Enoch 46–47's "Son of Man" is an interpretation of Daniel 7's "Son of Man" and as such, "the Son of Man" in 1 Enoch 46–47 is used of a specific "Son of Man" (from Daniel 7) and would therefore seem to have acquired titular force. See Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch," 142–43; Helge S. Kvanvig, "The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch" in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, edited by Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2007), 188.

[190] Hannah argues, contrary to Koch, that the three Ethiopian expressions usually translated as "the Son of Man" "are likely translation variants of the same Greek phrase, (ὁ) υἱὸς (τοῦ) ἀνθρώπου. See Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch," 141. Koch argues that each of the three Ethiopic phrases carry intended nuances of meaning. He suggests that first, *walda sab* means "son of humankind" and is an interpretation of Dan 7:13. Secondly, *walda be 'si* means "son of man" or "son of a male" and refers to a second Adam. Finally, *walda 'eg"āla 'emma-heyāw* means "son of the offspring of the mother of the living" who he suggests refers to Eve as the mother of all living and her offspring. K. Koch, "Questions regarding the So-Called Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch: A Response to Sabino Chialà and Helge Kvanvig" in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*,

the Parables of Enoch.[191] It is possible that Mark's Gospel was the first literary work where the phrase had titular force.[192] Nonetheless, the fact that a pre-Christian Jewish work referred to a divine figure as "the messiah" and variously as "the Son of Man" is of utmost significance for Jesus' use of these phrases for himself in the Gospels.[193] That the purpose of Jesus' transfiguration was to reveal to Peter, James and John the way in which Jesus was the messiah,[194] that either side of the climatic revelation concerning Jesus' messiahship in Mark 9:7, Jesus speaks of himself as "the Son of Man" (Mark 8:38; 9:9, 12) and is revealed to be divine (Mark 9:2-3),[195]

---

edited by Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2007), 234. Hannah argues against Koch's proposal because in the Ethiopic Bible *'egwāla 'emma-heyāw* regularly translates υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου and has the meaning "a human being." As such, *walda 'egwāla 'emma-heyāw* and *walda sab* are interchangeable in the Ethiopic Bible. Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch," 139–40.

[191] Nickelsburg argues that "Son of Man" is not a title in the parables of Enoch because it lacks the demonstrative. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 221–22. Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch," 143. Black argues that while "Son of Man" is not a formal title in the Parables of Enoch, it is on its way to becoming one because it is a fixed term. See Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch; a New English Translation with Commentary and Textual Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 207.

[192] Hurtado notes how rare the phrase ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is prior to the Gospels. See Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 291–92; Hurtado, "Summary and Concluding Observations," 160–62.

[193] In the Parables of Enoch the Son of Man/messiah/chosen one/righteous one is enthroned in heaven to execute judgement as the heavenly judge (in place of God himself in earlier Enochic works; 1 En. 1:3-9), is associated with or embodies divine wisdom (1 En. 48:1; 49:1–4; 51:3), is pre-existent before creation and has been hidden in God. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 44–45. Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch," 145–52. At the end of Walck's recent and extensive study, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew,* he concludes that it is precisely when Matthew uses "the Son of Man" within his own unique material (Matt 13:36–43 and 25:31–46), that it can be clearly demonstrated that Matthew shaped his "Son of Man" in the direction of the Son of Man from the Parables of Enoch. This makes it very likely that Matthew knew the Parables of Enoch but falls short of proof (Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew,* 249-50). Nickelsburg argues that the Parable's Son of Man is influential on the Gospels and Paul's presentation of Jesus. He states, "although the NT speaks in the language of Daniel 7, it construes Jesus' identity as Son of Man in terms of the interpretation of Daniel found in the Parables." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 75.

[194] Mark 9:2 specifically states that Jesus was "transfigured before them" meaning it was for their benefit. See Stein, *Mark*, 416; Edwards, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 263; France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 349. That the Parables of Enoch's Son of Man is hidden and is then revealed to the elect (1 En. 48:6-7; 62:7) has many parallels with the Transfiguration scene. See Walck for some comments on the Parables of Enoch's Son of Man's hiddenness in Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew,* 158–60. Some of these parallels include the fact that the central figure is both messianic and the Son of Man, that his identity is hidden, that his identity is as the divine Son of Man and that he will judge (implicit in Mark 8:38) and that his identity is revealed to the elect few.

[195] Mark 9:2–3 demonstrates Jesus' divine identity when "divine" is understood in an inclusive sense. See Robinson for a recent discussion on inclusive and exclusive monotheism. Robinson, "Markan Typology," §8.2–8.4. See the following commentaries for examples of those who understand Mark 9:2-3 as demonstrating Jesus' divine identity in some sense. Edwards argues that the use of μεταμορφόω signifies that Jesus' outward appearance is made to cohere with his nature. He states, "The diaphanous garments and brilliant face of Jesus signify total transformation and suffusion with the divine presence" (Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 264). See also Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 263. France points out that heavenly beings have shining white clothing (Dan. 7:9; 1 En. 14:20; 2 En. 22:8–9; 3 En. 12:1; T. Job 46:7-9) and that God wears light like a garment in Ps 104:1–2 (France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 351.) Schnabel points out that Jesus' clothes becoming whiter than anyone on earth can bleach them points to the otherworldly nature of the event and ultimately of Jesus (Schnabel, *Mark*, 209). Stein argues that the theological meaning of the transfiguration is that it is a glimpse of Jesus' future glory as the Son of Man/Son of God at the Parousia (Stein, *Mark,* 417). However, apart from the Son of God, Son of Man and return of Elijah traditions, Jesus' transfiguration, by itself, does not demonstrate that Jesus is identical with Israel's creator God, but it does leave that possibility open. The transfiguration pericope brings together the event of Jesus' transfiguration and interprets it through the above three different traditions, which are weaved together and used to characterise

indicate that Jesus is a divine type of messiah. The only precedent in pre-Christian Judaism for a similar divine messiah figure is in the Parables of Enoch.

Hurtado uses the analogy of a statement like "the professor is compassionate" to highlight that just as it is false to assume that compassion is an idea always associated with the expression "the professor," so it is false to assign the ideas connected to "the Son of Man" in Daniel 7 with every occurrence of "the Son of Man" in the Gospels.[196] The notion of compassion is assigned to the person who is also the professor in the statement "the professor is compassionate" not to the word "professor." In this situation, "the professor" is used to refer, not to characterise future uses of the word "professor" as always being a character of compassion. This is true enough. But Hurtado then goes on to argue that to treat "the Son of Man" as if, in itself, it means a figure of authority, etc would be a fallacious move.[197] But this would not be true if the statement "the professor is compassionate" occurred in a sacred text of a community. For in that community, it is possible that future references to "the professor" in their sacred texts are references to the same professor whom they remember from the earlier text, as compassionate. Indeed, for that community the mention of "the professor is compassionate" in a sacred text refers to a character who in their future texts may, or may not, be the referent of future uses of "the professor." As such, for that community, the word "the professor" has changed forever as its semantic range has increased to potentially include a character from their sacred texts. Future references to "the professor" could be simple references to another unrelated professor or they could be references to "the professor who is compassionate." The only way to know whether, or not, future references to "the professor" are,

---

Jesus. The tradition of Jesus' identity as the Son of God (Mark 9:7), at its most basic level, can be simply taken as a synonym for the Davidic messiah in the Second Temple period (Psalm 2; Pss. Sol. 17:23-24; 4Q174 1 I 11) and, as a title, does not usually imply divinity. However, in its use in Mark's Gospel it goes beyond Second Temple Jewish usage and identifies Jesus not only as God's messianic agent but as someone who has a unique relationship with God (Mark 1:11; 9:7), who shares God's power and who is setup in competition with the Roman Emperors as the true son of God (Mark 1:1; 15:39). See A. Winn, "Son of God," pages 886–894 in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown and Nicholas Perrin (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2013), 886–887, 890–891. Gathercole in his discussion of the title Son of God argues, as I do, that the Markan Jesus shares in the divine identity and that the transfiguration pericope defines Mark's Son of God as divine. But Gathercole does not demonstrate the title the "Son of God" has divinity as an integral part of its meaning. See Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son*, 273-276. Rather, Mark's Son of God, I argue, is said to have a divine identity because the Son of God is also the apocalyptic Son of Man and the one coming after Elijah. The tradition of Jesus as the apocalyptic Son of Man (Mark 8:38; 9:9, see 4.4.1), in its Daniel 7 form does suggest Jesus is divine (inclusive sense) but does not necessarily identify him with Israel's creator God. If it can be demonstrated that Mark understood the Son of Man in the same way that the Parables of Enoch understood the Son of Man then it would mean the Markan Jesus is the heavenly judge (in God's place), embodies divine wisdom, is pre-existent and had been eternally hidden in God. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 44-45; Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch," 145–152. If Mark understood the Son of Man in this sense, then Jesus is sharing the creator God's identity. However, it is the final tradition, which has been weaved into this pericope that confirms that Jesus' shares in the identity of Israel's creator God. That tradition is Jesus as the one coming after Elijah (Mark 9:12–13). I suggest that it is Jesus' identity as the one coming after Elijah that means, for Mark, that Jesus is to be included within Israel's creator God's identity.

[196] Hurtado, "Summary and Concluding Observations," 166.

[197] Ibid, 166.

in fact, references to "the professor who is compassionate" is to listen to the text that surrounds the future uses of "the professor."

I suggest that this is essentially what has happened with Daniel 7's "Son of Man" expression. Its first known use is in a religious text of a community (Dan 7:13). Later, that community used the "Son of Man" expression again and further developed the character to which it referred in Daniel 7 (1 Enoch 45–46; 48; 62). Finally, the Gospel writers used a variation of the phrase that has a particularising force "the Son of the Man" as a reference for Jesus. The particularising force of the expression as we find it in the Gospels is unusual.[198] As one reads the Gospels, one finds Jesus using the expression with its particularising force of himself. This surely would have puzzled the initial readers and, if it was a part of the historical Jesus idiolect, as Hurtado argues, Jesus' historical audience.[199] They would have wondered what Jesus meant by the expression (John 12:34). Did Jesus use it to speak of himself, with its particularising force, simply because he felt he had a particular calling and identity as a special human?[200] Or, did the evangelists consistently use it as a title (for the first time?) with its particularising force to refer to a particular "Son of Man" from the Jewish scriptural tradition (Dan 7 and 1 Enoch 45-46)? Both are possible. To work out the answer, one needs to listen to the stories within which "the Son of Man" sayings are embedded. When one does this, it becomes clear that the evangelists are using "the Son of Man" as a title to characterise Jesus as the apocalyptic Son of Man from Daniel 7 and the Parables of Enoch.[201]

4.4.2 The Transfiguration, Elijah's response and the Son of Man

In Mark 9:9–13 on coming down from the Mount of Transfiguration Jesus warns his disciples to say nothing about what they had seen until the Son of Man has risen from the dead (v. 9). This causes the disciples to wonder about what Jesus meant by "rising from the dead" in light of what they had been taught by the scribes (verse 10). Thus, they ask their question in verse 11, "Why do the scribes say that Elijah must come first?" That is, why do the scribes say that Elijah must come before the rising from the dead? That this is what the scribes taught according to Mark is fascinating. The only other places before this where Elijah is explicitly associated with the rising of the dead are Sirach 48:10 in Greek and possibly 4Q521. However,

---

[198] Ibid, 160–62.

[199] Ibid, 174–75. I agree with Hurtado that "the Son of Man" likely represents an equivalent, unusual, definite and distinctive Aramaic expression (**בר אנשא**). It was likely retained in the Gospels because the Gospel writers, or the traditions they used, remembered Jesus using it of himself as a part of his own speech-practice.

[200] Hurtado, "Summary and Concluding Observations," 167.

[201] Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew,* 249–50. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 70–75. Fletcher-Louis, *Jesus Monotheism,* 171–205.

Mark suggests that Elijah's association with the time of the resurrection was something broadly accepted in the late Second Temple period by "the scribes."[202]

Jesus' response to the disciples' question in Mark 9:12–13 reveals what the Markan Jesus expected of Elijah's return, as well as the Markan Jesus' interpretation of the success of Elijah's ministry.[203] First, the Markan Jesus reveals that he expected Elijah to come in order to "restore all things." As argued above, Elijah's restoration of all things in Malachi 3:24 and in Sirach 48:10, which associates Malachi 3's Elijah with the agent of Isaiah 49:6, is best taken as a reference to the restoration of Israel spiritually and as a nation.[204] However, more intriguing is how the pericope associates the restoration of all things contextually with resurrection. This makes sense in light of the observations above (see section 3.3) where resurrection language in the prophets, which had originally been metaphorical language for the restoration of Israel, was by this time being read as referring to a literal resurrection. Thus, talking about the restoration of Israel had become somewhat entangled with talk about resurrection in some circles.

Jesus' question at the end of verse 12 seems to be his attempt to bring together the conflicting ideas behind the disciples' question. The conflicting ideas are first, that the Son of Man was going to die and then be resurrected. Secondly, that Elijah was supposed to come before the resurrection according to the scribes and Jesus. Then finally, the disciples were unsure as to whether Elijah had come. If Elijah had come then why would the Son of Man need to die? If he had not yet come, which is what the disciples seem to assume, then why was Jesus speaking of resurrection?[205] Jesus' answer to all these conflicting points, interpretations and questions comes in the statement in Mark 9:13 "I tell you that Elijah has come, and they did to him whatever they pleased." The final phrase in Mark 9:13 "as it is written about him" claims that Scripture states that Israel might do to Elijah whatever they please and refers to John the Baptist's earlier martyrdom (Mark 6:14-29).[206] If this is the case, then Elijah would have failed in his task of restoration due to Israel's hardness of heart.

---

[202] Focant, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 361. Öhler argues that Mark's claim that Elijah was to come before the resurrection is thematically synonymous with claiming that Elijah is to come before God because the resurrection was to happen after God has come in judgement. See Öhler, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God." 464. That Jesus has just revealed himself to be the divine apocalyptic Son of Man and that he is the one who comes after Elijah, highlights the fact that for Mark, just like other Second Temple Jews, Elijah was to come before God.

[203] Similarly see France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 358. Some have framed Jesus' response as a question. See Schnabel, *Mark*, 212. But see Evans as to why it is best to take the first clause as a declarative statement and the second clause as interrogative. Craig A. Evans, *Mark 8:27-16.20,* WBC 34B (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 43.

[204] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 359; Öhler, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God," 465.

[205] See Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark,* 274; Stein, *Mark*, 425; Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 324; Focant, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 362–63.

[206] Schnabel, *Mark*, 212. Witherington notes the paradoxical nature of the notion that "the heavenly Elijah (who did not taste death) should be the captive murdered prophet – a dead Elijah." Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 265; Focant, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 362–63.

The passage that this assertion in Mark 9:13 is most likely referring to is the final phrase of Malachi 3:24 "so that I will not come and strike the land with a curse." This final phrase of Malachi 3:24 asserts that Elijah's restoration was to take place so that, when YHWH returned, he would not come and strike the land with a curse. As stated above (Section 2), it is possible that an individual or a community that believed Elijah had come but failed in his mission (as is the case here), could then believe that Malachi 3:24 taught that YHWH would now come and strike the land with a curse. This possibility is left open by the conjunction פֶּן that marks the final phrase of Malachi 3:24 in the MT and the use of the verb ἔρχομαι in the subjunctive in the LXX.[207] Thus, the Markan Jesus believed that Elijah had come to restore all things but was not successful as they "did to him whatever they pleased" (Mark 9:13) and so Israel had not returned to covenantal faithfulness.[208] As such, the one coming after Elijah is now coming in judgment, exactly the key function of the Parables of Enoch's "Son of Man" (1 En. 48:2; 62:3–6, 9–12; 63:1–11) who is also woven into the transfiguration context and identified as Jesus (Mark 8:38; 9:9, 12).[209] As such, Mark, and Matthew as we will see, has woven the tradition of the divine one coming after Elijah with the Parable of Enoch's interpretation of Daniel 7's Son of Man to characterise Jesus' identity and vocation.

So to return to the disciples' questions in Mark 9:10 and 11. There is no conflict between the scribe's chronology where Elijah had to come before the resurrection and the Markan Jesus' chronology because Elijah had come as John the Baptist. Therefore, resurrection could now also happen. The Son of Man could now suffer and die before being raised to life (Mark 9:9). Thus, the resurrection of the Son of Man was going to happen after Elijah's coming, as attested to by the scribes. The key difference between what the disciples expected regarding Elijah's return and Jesus' explanation was the success (or not) of Elijah's ministry.[210]

---

[207] See Glazier-McDonald who argues that the contingency of the clause expresses doubt as to whether Israel will heed Elijah when he comes. See Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger*, 267–68. Muraoka claims that the use of the verb ἔρχομαι in the subjunctive here fits the subjunctive category of "negatively worded subordinate purpose clause" in the LXX. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek,* 316. This is similar to Wallace's category of "a subjunctive with verbs of fearing" in places like Luke 21:8; 1 Cor 8:9; Heb 4:1; Acts 13:40: 23:10; 27:17, 29. See Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics,* 477.

[208] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 358. In LAB 48:1 Elijah is also identified as Phinehas and returns at the end to taste death. If this notion was common in the first century then at least some Jews would have been expecting Elijah to return to die. That is one small step short of martyrdom. See Harrington's reasons for dating Pseudo-Philo prior to 70 A.D. in Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo: A New Translation and Introduction," 299. Also see Jacobson who argues for a post 70AD date of composition Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum with Latin Text and English Translation*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 199–210.

[209] The Son of Man who comes in his Father's glory and with the holy angels in Mark 8:38 is in the immediate context of the transfiguration pericope and is also mentioned in Mark 9:9, 12. Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew*, 249–51; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 53; Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch," 145–48.

[210] Stein suggests that Elijah/John the Baptist was successful in his ministry of preparing the way of the Lord because all Jerusalem and Judea go out to him for baptism (Mark 1:4–5). But this suggestion goes against the narrative of the Gospels. John the Baptist/Elijah did not successfully prepare the way of the Lord by restoring Israel to covenantal faithfulness because Israel rejected John the Baptist and killed him and would soon reject and kill the

4.5 Concluding remarks on Elijah's Return in Mark's Gospel

Within the passages surveyed above in Mark's Gospel, Elijah is portrayed as returning in the person of John the Baptist to prepare the way for YHWH as a voice in the wilderness. Elijah/John the Baptist does not succeed in his eschatological task and is put to death.[211] Mark's belief that John the Baptist is Elijah has radical implications for Jesus' identity as the one coming after Elijah. Mark explicitly says that Elijah/John the Baptist was a voice in the wilderness, crying out before YHWH's coming (Mark 1:3). Similarly, Mark portrays Jesus as the apocalyptic Son of Man (see section 4.4.1) and weaves this Son of Man tradition regarding Jesus' identity together with the tradition of Jesus as the one coming after Elijah. This has implications for Jesus' vocation.

The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch is the heavenly judge of the universe. This is a development of the tradition of the Son of Man in Daniel 7. In Mark, Jesus as the one who comes after Elijah was also supposed to be the heavenly judge (Mal 3:5, 23) and because Israel did not heed the eschatological Elijah's call, the one coming after Elijah would strike the land with a curse of destruction (Mal 3:24). That is, the judgement that was believed to be for the unbelieving Gentiles is turned on the unbelieving Jews. Central to Jesus' vocation would be the task of in-acting this divine curse.

4.6 Conclusions thus far

So far, I have discussed the various scholarly points of view regarding the identity of the one who was expected to come after Elijah. I have also discussed in detail all the pre-Christian ideas and texts associated with the return of Elijah. Thirdly, I have demonstrated that all the evidence we have concerning Jewish beliefs regarding the return of Elijah unanimously point to the belief that Elijah was to prepare the way before YHWH, not the messiah. Fourthly, I have demonstrated that Mark and Matthew's interpretation of Malachi 3:1 (Mark 1:2–3; Matt 11:10), that God was sending Elijah before another divine character is a possible interpretation of Malachi 3:1. Fifthly, I have shown that a community who believed that Elijah did not succeed in his eschatological task would likely expect YHWH to come in judgment upon his return. Sixthly, I have shown that this is what the Markan Jesus likely believed (along with the Matthean Jesus). Seventhly, I have also dealt with peripheral, but related, issues like the composite citation and the identity of John the Baptist. Finally, I have shown that Mark has weaved his return of Elijah

---

coming Lord as well. See Stein, *Mark*, 426–27. Evans notes how John's ministry as Elijah could not be completed (See Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 44). Commentators highlight the disciples' objection to Jesus' suggestion that the Son of Man would rise from the dead. The objection is that if Elijah came first and restored Israel to covenantal faithfulness then why would the son of man need to die and then be raised? See Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 324–25; Evans, *Mark 8:27–16.20*, 42–43. What the disciples did not consider is whether Elijah could have come first but failed to restore Israel to covenantal faithfulness because of Israel's hardness of heart. What would be Elijah's end in that scenario?

[211] Some Jews expected Elijah to die upon his return (LAB 48:1).

tradition together with the apocalyptic Son of Man tradition and highlighted that, in both of these traditions, as they are being read in Mark, the one coming after Elijah or the apocalyptic Son of Man, will come in judgement on the land of Israel itself. Below I will show how these poignant themes are heightened in Matthew's Gospel.

Chapter 5 Matthew's Gospel

5.1 Exegesis of Matthew 11:2–24

5.1.1 Introduction

The Gospels are widely now regarded as being a part of the genre of ancient biography.[1] Matthew's Gospel is no exception as like the other Gospels, it has as its central aim to give a historical and theological account of Jesus. A further comparison that Luz makes when describing the genre of Matthew is to compare Matthew's Gospel with the genre of rewritten Bible that we find in Jubilees or Pseudo-Philo.[2] The suggestion is that Matthew does to Mark what Jubilees and Pseudo-Philo do to Old Testament texts. Matthew takes Mark as his primary source and rewrites it, expanding on many of Mark's themes (Son of Man, confrontation with Israel's leaders, John the Baptist as forerunner of Jesus, and so on) and adding meat to Mark's bones.[3]

---

[1] Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2017), 1-508; Osborne, *Matthew*, 30. Nolland points especially to the stories of David and Solomon (Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 19), although see Keener's careful note regarding the differences between the Gospels and the Old Testament narrative books particularly around the use of sources and because of their focus on events rather than persons (Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 20). It is widely recognised that ancient biographies focus on the character of their central figure rather than on the chronology of their central figure's life (Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 19). Matthew's Gospel is the most Jewish in flavour of the four canonical Gospels (Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1:33; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 44-47; Osborne, *Matthew*, 31; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 17). Most regard the Jewish flavour of Matthew's Gospel to be the result of the audience that Matthew is writing to and suggest that Matthew's church was largely Jewish in its makeup. Although see Bauckham's argument that the Gospels were written with the expectation that they would be circulated widely rather than for a small niche group of Christians. See Richard Bauckham, "For Whom Were the Gospels Written?" in *The Gospel for All Christians,* ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 9-48. Bauckham's argument counts against Matthew's assumed "Jewish" community as the explanation for Matthew's portrayal of Jesus' Jewishness and counts in favour of my suggestion that Matthew's Jesus has a more Jewish flavour because Matthew was intending to write an ancient biography of Jesus that more accurately portrayed Jesus' Jewish character than Mark's Gospel. Similarly see Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 1: 33, 58. Luz argues that the Jewish Christianity that gave rise to the Gospel of Matthew was a Jesus centric Judaism (Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 48; similarly see Osborne, *Matthew*, 31; Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* vol. 1, 17-57). This is probably correct. However, the likely possibility that Matthew's author was intending to write a biography, which would focus on Jesus' character, coupled with Matthew's extensive use of Mark would suggest that Matthew's Jewish flavour is not solely due to it being written for a Jewish audience. These factors would suggest that having read Mark's Gospel, the author of Matthew, decided to rewrite that same story of Jesus but to put more emphasis on the Jewish character of the historical Jesus. As such, the author of Matthew's Gospel recorded Jesus' stance on specific Jewish issues that we as historians would expect a Jewish Jesus to have a stance on (e.g. the lasting high value of Torah, Matt 5:18).

[2] Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 15.

[3] Discussions around the identity of Matthew's author, the date of its composition and the location from which Matthew was written have little impact on my thesis argument and as such will not be discussed here. Suffice for me to say that I tend to follow a mixture of the major commentators in their views on these subjects .There are three reasons why I maintain that apostle Matthew was the author. First, the fact that the early Christians universally assume Matthean authorship by the beginning of the second century (Ignatius, *Smyrn*. 1.1; *Phld*. 3.1, Polycarp, *Phil.* 2.3; 7.2 and Papias, frags. 3.14-16 from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.14-16). Secondly, because of Hengel's arguments that the manuscripts likely bore the inscription εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαθθαῖον by 100 CE. See Martin Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the one Gospel of Jesus Christ: an Investigation of the Collection and Origin of the Canonical Gospels* (Harrisburg, Pa: Trinity Press International, 2000), 28-51; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 59. This leaves little time for the early Christians to

5.1.2 Context of Matthew 11:2-24

Matthew 11:2-24 comes after Matthew's second substantial teaching block (Matt 10:5–11:1), which has as its themes the mission of the twelve and persecution. Prior to this second teaching block, Jesus' initial ministry had generally generated much enthusiasm (Matt 8:1, 5–10, 14–17; 9:8, 26, 31, 33, 35–38) with only a few notes of rejection or opposition (Matt 8:11–12, 34; 9:3, 11, 34). From Matthew 11:2 onwards the themes of opposition and coming judgment become much more dominant.[4] The narrative turns this corner as it begins to build towards the confrontation between Jesus and the temple hierarchy (Matt 21:1–26:68) that results in Jesus' crucifixion (Matt 27:27–56). Thus, Matthew 11:2–24 is where the narrative begins to emphasise the theme of opposition and it introduces this theme with a pericope containing the doubts of John the Baptist (Matt 11:3). This allows the Matthean Jesus to summarise what he has been doing in his ministry so far (Matt 11:5), reveal the Baptist's identity and therefore the times they are living in (Matt 11:10, 13–15), unveil his own identity (Matt 11:5, 10, 13–15, 19), express the rejection of the Baptist along with himself (Matt 11:16–19) and, as a result, speak of impending judgement (Matt 11:20–24).[5]

5.1.3 Focused Exegesis and Goals

In what follows I pay particular attention to those parts of the text I deem relevant to my thesis argument. My goal is to demonstrate that Matthew picks up the return of Elijah expectations found in Malachi 3:1, 23–24 in Matthew 11 and uses Malachi 3:23–24 to frame his writing of Matthew 11:2–24. As we shall see, a key function of Matthew 11:2–24 is the revelation of Jesus' identity. Brown argues that the gradual unveiling of a character's identity was a key part

---

universally assign what we call the Gospel of Matthew to Matthew if Matthew had not been the author. Then finally, because I find Bauckham's suggestion that the Gospel of Thomas refers to Thomas's Gospel as superior to the Gospels of Peter and Matthew, which implies that even the early Christians' theological opponents regarded Matthew as the author of a Gospel. See Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 236–37. I accept Markan priority and therefore agree with the majority that Mark's date of composition is the *terminus a quo*. The *terminus ad quem* for Matthew's Gospel based on the references to Matthew in other early Christian texts must be 100 C.E. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 1, 130-131. In order to narrow down the date even further, scholars refer to both internal evidence and external evidence. I generally regard the internal evidence and arguments as weak because they typically rely on assumptions regarding Matthew's community and context, which in my view fails to treat Matthew sufficiently as a *bios* of Jesus. As such, I generally give the external evidence more weight but conclude that it is difficult to have much confidence regarding the date beyond the above *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem*. I also regard arguments for the location of Matthew's composition based upon internal arguments to be weak as they have little evidence to go on beyond their own reconstructions of Matthew's community. Further, the question of the location of Matthew's composition seems increasingly irrelevant due to Bauckham's argument that the Gospels were written for all nations and not a specific community. See Bauckham, "For Whom Were the Gospels Written?" 9-48.

[4] Similarly see Joseph Comber, "The Composition and Literary Characteristics of Matthew 11:20-24," CBQ 39(1977): 503.

[5] Similarly see Mitch and Sri, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 150.

of ancient biography, which further indicates that we are on the right track in reading Matthew as ancient *bios*.[6]

In order to demonstrate, that Matthew 11:2–24 uses Malachi 3:23–24 as the framing narrative for Jesus and John the Baptist I will need to demonstrate the following plot points from Malachi 3:23–24. First, that Malachi 3:23–24 is prominent in Matthew 11:2—24. Second, that John the Baptist is identified as Elijah within this pericope. Third, that Jesus is described both as the one coming after Elijah and as having a divine identity within this pericope. Fourth, that John the Baptist fails in his eschatological task due to Israel's hardness of heart. Then finally, that Jesus acts as YHWH from Malachi 3:24 and pronounces judgment upon unbelieving Israel. Within my focussed exegesis below I will seek to demonstrate these points.

As I argued in section 1.1, I will use the Elijah forerunner concept consistently as a Jewish tradition in my exegesis. This will mean that I will not allow it to be subsumed within the other threads that Matthew has been weaving around Jesus. I will attempt to retain the vibrancy of the colour that this particular tradition that Matthew uses brings to his tapestry of Jesus. For this reason, I will depart from traditional readings of some passages in Matthew 11:2–24 that, in my opinion, have allowed the different threads of Matthew's tapestry to collapse together into a few dominant thread colours, which are easier for the modern mind to accept.[7] As I will demonstrate below, the exegetical grounds for the exegetical move of some of the traditional readings are weak and as I have demonstrated above, the historical reasons are non-existent.

5.2 ὁ ἐρχόμενος

5.2.1 The identity of ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matthew 11:2–3: Introduction

These introductory verses introduce the theme of the identity of Jesus. John has heard of the ἔργα of the Χριστός, which in context is a reference to Jesus' works. Up to this point Χριστός has only been used five times, four of which occur in the Matthean prologue by the narrator (Matt 1:1, 16, 17, 18) and once on the lips of Herod (Matt 2:4) when he enquires about the birth place of the βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (Matt 2:2). The phrase βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων can be synonymous in meaning, as it is above, with Χριστός.[8]

---

[6] Brown argues that ancient biographies were interested in gradually revealing their character's identity rather that developing their character's character throughout the narrative. See Jeannine K. Brown, "The Rhetoric of Hearing: The Use of the Isaianic Hearing Motif in Matthew 11:20–16:20," in *Built Upon the Rock*, eds. Daniel M. Gurtner and John Nolland (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2008), 251, footnote 13.

[7] Scholars have often allowed the Elijah forerunner concept, that speaks of Jesus' divine identity, to speak of Jesus' messiahship and by doing so they have lost the colour of the Elijah forerunner concept in the evangelist's tapestries of Jesus.

[8] See similarly David D. Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel: Divine Presence and God's people in the First Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 171. Other phrases which can be synonymous and overlap with Χριστός in general Jewish understandings include υἱοῦ Δαυίδ (Matt 1:1; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30, 31; 21:9, 15; 22:42, although this phrase also simply refers to a non-messianic descendant of David as in Matt 1:20) and all the

John's disciples' question in Matthew 11:3 regarding ὁ ἐρχόμενος has two antecedents. First, and foremost, it goes back to Matthew 3:11, which has as its antecedent Matthew 3:3.[9] However, in order to adequately address the issue of Matthew's version of John the Baptist's ὁ ἐρχόμενος I must begin further back at Matthew 1:21–23. This is the case because Matthew introduces Jesus in Matthew 1:21-23 in ways consistent with how John the Baptist understands ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matthew 3:1–11. Thus, if Matthew 3:1–11 is understood against the context of Matthew 1:21–23 then what I shall argue is the best interpretation of Matthew 3:1–11 becomes even more apparent.

5.2.2 Matthew 1:21–23 as background to ὁ ἐρχόμενος

Matthew 1:23 records that Jesus will be called by a second name Ἐμμανουήλ, which he translates as μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. Some suggest that the phrase μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός should be understood as "God is with us" rather than "God with us."[10] This alternative way of understanding the expression supplies a form of the verb εἰμί, which is implied. It also broadens the semantic possibilities of the phrase and some argue that all that is meant here is that God is with Israel again through Jesus in much the same way that God had been with Israel through any of the other prophets.[11] Therefore, they suggest that the phrase is not an example of a high Christology.

Nolland is an example of this, and I need to respond to his five comments.[12] Nolland argues first that "OT names given from heaven point to the actions and purposes of God rather

---

variations of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (3:17; 4:3, 6; 14:33; 16:16; 17:5; 26:63; 27:40, 43, 54). The phrase υἱοῦ Δαυίδ is not found often in pre-Christian Jewish writings but when it is as in the Pss. Sol. 17:21 it clearly refers to the Χριστός. Thus, Luz suggests that while υἱοῦ Δαυίδ should be understood messianically, it needs to be understood on Matthew's terms. Matthew uses this title for Jesus, and initially in the prologue it demonstrably refers to Jesus' descent from King David. However, this title's meaning is then developed throughout the narrative reaching its climax at Matthew 22:42–45 see Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 47-49. Luz points out that for Matthew, Jesus as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is expressed in Matthew primarily in terms of obedience, see Luz, *Matthew 1-7,* 144.

[9] Luz points this out and suggests that the character John the Baptist might have in mind is the ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου who could be understood as a human and as the eschatological judge see Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 133.

[10] Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 102 argues that Ἐμμανουήλ should be understood as the sentence "God is with us." Davies and Allison lay out the arguments for both sides and seem to slightly favour the "with us is God" line of interpretation (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1: 217. Commentators who argue that Ἐμμανουήλ should be understood as the name "God with us" include Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 87; Turner, *Matthew*, 69–73; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 57–58; Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 31. Osborne seems undecided affirming both the notion that Jesus is presented as omnipresent in Matthew's Gospel (Matt 1:23; 18:20 and 28:20), which is a quality of God, and also affirming the suggestion that in Matthew 1:23, Jesus is not God dwelling with his people but rather, that God is with his people through Jesus (Osborne, *Matthew*, 79). Similarly, Luz claims that Jesus' second name in Matthew 1:23 reveals that the author has a high Christology but then says that it does not mean to identify Jesus with God but simply that Jesus is the form in which God will be present with people. Luz's position is unclear (Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 96).

[11] As such, Matthew's use of Emmanuel could mean that God is with them again through Jesus in much the same way as God was with Israel during Moses' ministry. Or, it could mean, that God is with them in Jesus in an incarnational sense. I shall argue for the latter position based on the context.

[12] Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 102.

than of the named figure."[13] He then notes the exception of Abraham (Gen 17:5) and concludes that the context of Isaiah counts in favour of taking Emmanuel as pointing to the actions and purposes of God rather than Jesus.[14] This is a weak argument in my view because it could be counted in favour of either position. Either Jesus could be named Emmanuel because God was going to be with Israel again because he is with Jesus. Or, Jesus was named Emmanuel because God was going to be with Israel in the person of Jesus. The argument's point is moot.

Secondly, Nolland goes on to argue that "the word order μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός is less naturally rendered 'God with us' than ὁ θεὸς μεθ' ἡμῶν would be."[15] This point is weak because the word order functions here to put μεθ' ἡμῶν in focus rather than to change how the text might be rendered.[16] Further, Matthew is simply following the word order of the Hebrew phrase from Isaiah 7:14 עמנו אל where "with" comes first, then "us" and finally "God."[17]

Thirdly, Nolland suggests, "the transition between the two names (Jesus and Emmanuel) is eased if each points to what God will do (through or in the time of Jesus)."[18] I agree, although, this point does not support Nolland's argument. It seems best that the names should be taken as names by which the child will be called and as an indication of what will happen through and in the child.

Fourthly, Nolland argues that "'Jesus = God' is too powerful as a Christological statement to be carried in an account that is centrally focussed on the irregular incorporation of Jesus into the Davidic line."[19] It is certainly a powerful Christological statement but is still somewhat less powerful than "Jesus = God and God = Jesus," which would imply that Jesus is God without remainder. However, I doubt that it is too powerful a Christological statement. I would suggest that it is intrinsic to the Christological statement Matthew is seeking to make. The account is not only focussed on the irregular incorporation of Jesus into the Davidic line by adoption but also explains why God planned it to be irregular rather than have Jesus as the biological descendant of David. If Matthew's statement about μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός is not a high Christological statement, then one wonders why Matthew would include an account of the virgin birth.[20] It would not be necessary if Jesus was only the messiah and not μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. However, I would suggest that Matthew stresses Jesus' irregular incorporation into the line of

---

[13] Ibid, 102.

[14] Ibid, 102.

[15] Ibid, 102.

[16] Similarly see Steven E. Runge, *The Lexham Discourse Greek New Testament* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2014), Matt 1:23.

[17] Compare the word order of עמנו אל with μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός.

[18] Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 102.

[19] Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 102.

[20] I take Nolland's silence as to whether Matt 1:23 tells us something of a high Christology, alongside his other comments, to infer that, in his view, Matt 1:23 does not give us a high Christology, see Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 101–2.

David and the virgin birth because it allowed him to declare Jesus as the fulfilment of prophecies concerning a child who would be born of a virgin (Matthew's interpretation of Isa 7:14). Matthew believed that Mary's son would really be "God with us" (Isa 7:14; 8:8, 10) and the "Mighty God" (Isai 9:6).[21] Thus, the virgin birth and Jesus as "God with us" make the sense they do only if taken together.[22] In Matthew's narrative, they are the reasons why God planned to have Jesus adopted into the line of David, and not born as a natural descendant, in order to be the son of David. According to Matthew, τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου (This all happened to fulfil the word of the Lord through the prophet Matt 1:22).

Finally, Nolland argues, "'Jesus = God' in a context as Jewish as this and at such an early stage in the narrative is so overwhelming that it does not fit well with the way that Christological perspective is allowed, at least to some extent, to cumulate throughout the narrative and certainly to operate in a number of different dimensions."[23] This argument is weak because the Christian/Jewish audience receiving Matthew's Gospel will almost certainly be aware of the high

---

[21] Similarly see Lidija Novakovic, "Jesus as the Davidic Messiah in Matthew" *HBT* 19/2 (1997): 155. The LXX is different from the MT at Isaiah 9:6b (EVV). This is not surprising given the LXX's tendency to eliminate/heavily modify theophany passages in the Old Testament through the way it translates the text. See Larry Perkins, "The Greek Translator of Exodus Interpres (translator) and Expositor (interpreter) in His Treatment of Theophanies," *JSJ* 44 (2013): 16–56. The MT renders the phrase in Isa 9:6b (EVV) as ויקרא שמו פלא יועץ אל גבור while the LXX changes verse 6b to καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος. Lust rightly suggests "The translator may not have liked the name "mighty God" being applied to any human person, king or not." Johan Lust, *Messianism and the Septuagint* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), 167. An essential question for my argument to be sustained, then, is did Matthew give authority to a version of Isa 9:6 (EVV) that resembles the LXX form, MT form, or both? Blomberg argues based on Matt 4:15–16 where Matthew quotes Isa 9:1-2 (EVV) that Matthew loosely follows a version like the LXX in his translation but edits it and supplements it with a Hebrew version like that of the MT. He also leaves open the possibility that Matthew directly translates from the Hebrew into Greek. Craig Blomberg, "Matthew," pages 1-109 in *Commentary on the New Testament use of the Old Testament,* eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 19. Blomberg's suggestion would thus infer that Matthew gives more authority to a Hebrew version of Isaiah 9 like the MT but that he used a version like the LXX as his base text because he also was writing in Greek. However, I would want to flip Blomberg's assertion around and suggest that Matthew most likely translated from a text like the MT of Isa 8:23b–9:1 and supplemented it with a Greek text like the LXX where he felt it was important. I suggest this because Matthew's translation is closer to the MT than the LXX. If my suggestion is correct, then it would mean that Isaiah 9 would be one of the places that Matthew translates/uses a version like the MT rather than simply following a version like the LXX. In any case, it is clear that Matthew would have been aware of how a Hebrew version like the MT renders Isa 9:6b (EVV) and that he gives priority to a version like the MT in Isaiah 9 rather than the LXX.

[22] If God was only with Jesus in the sense that he was with the other prophets, then the virgin birth is unnecessary. Prophets do not need miraculous virgin births in order to have God with them. Likewise, if Jesus was born naturally and not miraculously then one wonders why we should suspect he is different from any other person? Bruner points out that Arians, Jehovah's Witnesses and many Muslims all believe in the virgin birth of Jesus but not in Jesus' divinity. See Bruner, *The Christbook Matthew 1–12*, 34. My question for these groups would be why is the virgin birth of Jesus important for their theology? In my opinion, the Christian answer (which I will argue is also Matthew's answer) is that the virgin birth explains how Matthew's divine, pre-existent, Son of Man became human (see section 4.4.1) and was included within the Davidic family. In my view, Jesus' pre-existence does not conflict with his birth.

[23] Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 102.

Christology of other Christian communities (1 Cor 8:6; Phil 2:6).[24] Further, it ignores the possibility that the Gospel could start with a high Christology and still have many things to say about Jesus, which Matthew's Gospel surely does.[25] It leaves one wondering whether Nolland also suspects that John's Gospel, with its high Christological beginning, could not develop its Christology and cause it to "cumulate throughout the narrative."[26]

There are four main reasons for suggesting that Ἐμμανουήλ in Matthew 1:23 is best understood as "God with us" in the sense of God being present in the child Jesus. First, the text has just stressed how the baby Jesus is unlike other godly figures of whom it might be said that "God is with them." Jesus, unlike anyone else, was conceived in his mother's womb not through sexual intercourse but by the Holy Spirit (Matt 1:18, 20).[27]

Secondly, the child is given the name Ἰησοῦς, something completely unremarkable if it had not been given by an angel with the explanation αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν (for he will save his people from their sins). The reason the child should be called "Jesus" is because he will save his people from their sins. The individual in the Old Testament who is most often noted for saving Israel from their sins is YHWH (see Ps 130:7-8; Jer 31:34; Ezek 36:25–27; also note the exception of Isa 53:4–12).[28] Further, the name Jesus in Hebrew means "YHWH is salvation" and this meaning is highlighted by the angel's explanation for the child's name. It is at this point that Matthew interrupts the narrative flow with his own explanation of this remarkable possibility. The phrase that introduces his citation phrase τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν makes is clear that the citation of Isaiah 7:14 is further discussion and development of the angel's words in Matthew 1:21.[29] Matthew's development is to cite Isaiah 7:14, which speaks of a virgin/young woman becoming pregnant (presumably in the normal way) and giving birth to a sign child who will be called Ἐμμανουήλ. Matthew then applies this to Mary and her child and translates the Hebrew name עמנו אל in the same way as the LXX, which transliterated עמנו אל as Ἐμμανουήλ and translated it as μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός

[24] Gordon D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians,* NICNT(Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 1995), 202–10; Richard Bauckham, "The Shema and 1 Corinthians 8:6 again," in *Essays in Honor of N. T. Wright: One God, One People, One Future* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2018), 86–111; Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians,* PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI:, Eerdmans , 2010), 382.

[25] Matthew develops his Emmanuel Christology with Daniel 7:13's son of man Christology (Matt 16:27; 19:28; 24:27, 30, 37,39, 44; 25:31; 26:64), Wisdom Christology (Matt 11:19, 27–30), coming one Christology (Matt 3:3, 11; 11:3), David's son who is also David's Lord Christology (Matt 22:41–45) and the one coming after Elijah Christology (Matt 11:10, 14; 17:11–12). See similarly Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, Kindle Edition, 138–73. Further, and most significantly, as the reader reaches the end of the book and Matt 28:20, one realises the inclusio that has been formed between Matt 1:23 and 28:20.

[26] I would suggest that John's Gospel certainly can and does develop its Christology.

[27] France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 49.

[28] France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 53; Bruner, *The Christbook Matthew 1–12*, 29–32; Mitch and Sri, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 45–46.

[29] τοῦτο has as its antecedent the entire angelic statement and δέ is a marker of development within the local narrative. See Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament,* 31-36.

in Isaiah 8:8.[30] This, in its context, naturally confirms the inference of the angelic explanation for the child's first name - Jesus. He is to be called Jesus because as "with us God" he will save his people from their sins.[31] As Kupp puts it "This masthead, *that Jesus' salvation of his people will be seen as God's presence with them*, now hangs over the whole Gospel."[32]

Thirdly, Matthew's later narratives make the high Christology option the best. Two prominent examples are Matthew 18:20 and 28:20 where Jesus speaks of his presence with his disciples in a way only appropriate for God.[33] I would also suggest that because Matthew's Jesus refers to himself as the Son of Man along the same lines as the parables of Enoch, Jesus' divine identity is a key Matthean theme.[34] I will also argue that another theme Matthew uses to attribute a divine identity to Jesus is that Jesus is the one to come after Elijah.

Finally, Matthew 1:23 quotes from the LXX version of Isaiah 7:14. This passage is part of a section in Isaiah that speaks of judgment on Judah's enemies by the hand of Assyria if King Ahaz would be faithful (Isa 7:9). But if Ahaz and Judah were not faithful then God's judgment, which was to fall upon Judah's enemies, would also fall upon them (Isa 7:13, 17-25). The child who was to be born was initially a sign child that guaranteed this coming judgment and Judah's safety only if they believed. However, the child oracle developed from being just a portent of judgment into being a portent of hope as well (Isa 7:10–16; 8:3–4, 8, 10; 9:6–7 and 11:1–5). Initially, the child was likely a reference to the son of Ahaz (Isaiah 7:10–16) or possibly Isaiah's son (Isaiah 8:3–4).[35] However, the tradition in this part of Isaiah developed so that by Isaiah 9:6–7 the child is given titles such as "mighty God" and "everlasting Father." The fact that none of the original possibilities completely fulfilled all that was promised about this child made space for the hopes of a child who would completely fulfil the promises.[36] Matthew claims that this child has come in Matthew 1:23. For only the child who is "YHWH's salvation" and "God with us"

---

[30] Without this translation, the significance of the name עמנו אל is lost for Greek readers. See Kupp, "Matthew's Emmanuel: Divine Presence and God's people in the First Gospel," 168. Hamilton argues that the fulfilment in Matt 1:23 of Isa 7:14 is one of typology and escalation. See James M. Hamilton Jr., "'The Virgin Will Conceive': Typological Fulfilment in Matthew 1:18-23," in *Built Upon a Rock*, eds. Daniel M. Gurtner and John Nolland (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2008), 228–47.

[31] Kupp, "Matthew's Emmanuel: Divine Presence and God's people in the First Gospel," 169. Similarly see Mitch and Sri, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 45-47; Hamilton, "'The Virgin Will Conceive': Typological Fulfilment in Matthew 1:18-23," 241.

[32] Kupp, "Matthew's Emmanuel: Divine Presence and God's people in the First Gospel," 175.

[33] Similarly see G. R. Osborne, *Matthew*, 79; Turner, *Matthew*, 73.

[34] See especially Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew,* 249–50. For more details see my section 4.4.1.

[35] Similarly see Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, 97–98. Tull, Isaiah 1–39, 165–66. Hamilton argues that the child initially referred to Isaiah's son. See Hamilton Jr. "'The Virgin Will Conceive": Typological Fulfilment in Matthew 1:18–23,' 238.

[36] Similarly see Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*" WBC 24, 13–38; Tull, *Isaiah 1–-39*, 198–200; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 101.

can rightly be called "Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace" (Isa 9:6b).[37]

Further, Watts argues, along with what he suggests is a growing group of scholars, that Matthew was aware of the context of the Scripture he cites.[38] In regards to Matthew's awareness of the context of Isaiah 7:14 he points to Matthew's other citations or allusions to passages in the context such as Isaiah 9:1-2 cited in Matthew 4:15-16 and Isaiah 8:14-15 cited in Matthew 21:44.[39] Watts argues that Matthew cites Isaiah 7:14 applying it to Jesus because Jesus' generation, like Isaiah's Immanuel's generation, were receiving the same sign of an Immanuel child. The meaning of the sign for those familiar with the context of Isaiah 7:14 was that they might have faith in God or experience the judgement reserved for God's enemies.[40] Watts points to the only other pre-Christian citation of a passage within the context of Isaiah 7:14 in the Damascus Document that cites Isaiah 7:17 (Damascus Document[a] or CD-A 7:9-21). This usage of Isaiah 7:17 demonstrates that the Isaiah 7 passage was understood to be referring to a division in Israel where the few righteous narrowly escape while the wicked in Israel are consumed in judgment.[41] Watts argues that this is programmatic for Matthew's Gospel.[42] This theme of the need for Israel to turn and put their faith in God or prepare for judgment resonates with what I shall argue is the key theme of Elijah's vocation in Matthew. For if Israel does not turn to God in repentance as a result of Elijah's preaching then when God comes, He will strike the land with a curse of destruction (Mal 3:24).

5.2.3 ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matthew 3:1–11

Having seen in Matthew 1:21–23 that Jesus has been revealed as "God with us" and yet the human son of Mary, we should not be surprised if Matthew continues to develop the theme of Jesus' divine identity later in his Gospel. I suggest that the next place that Matthew does this is in Matthew 3:1–11 where Jesus' identity is developed in tandem with John the Baptist's identity.

In Matthew 3:11 John speaks of someone coming after him who is mightier than him. This ὁ ἐρχόμενος is the first potential antecedent for ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matthew 11:3. There are four good reasons for us to assume that John is expecting God to be this "coming one" after

---

[37] See similarly Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 130–31; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 114–15. Also, see Ulrich Luz who seems to want to be able to hold onto both views (Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 96).

[38] Rikki E. Watts, "Immanuel: Virgin Birth or programmatic Warning of Things to Come (Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23)?" in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. Craig A. Evans (Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2004), 92–93. Similarly see Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 87; Turner, *Matthew*, 72; Osborne, *Matthew*, 78; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 57. Hamilton argues that Matthew was aware of the context and respected it because he claims fulfilment through typology and escalation. See Hamilton, '"The Virgin Will Conceive": Typological Fulfilment in Matthew 1:18–23,' 239–42.

[39] Watts, "Immanuel: Virgin Birth or programmatic Warning of Things to Come (Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23)?" 106.

[40] Ibid, 93–94.

[41] Ibid, 107–8.

[42] Ibid, *113*.

him. First, because this agent will baptise with the Spirit of God and fire (Matt 3:11–12).[43] Secondly, because of John's Malachian Elijah-like ministry (Matt 3:4–9) and the fact that Malachi's eschatological Elijah was to come right before God.[44] Thirdly, because of the passage Matthew has John claiming for himself (Matt 3:3), which identifies part of John the Baptist's identity and his task. John was the voice in the wilderness preparing the way for God.[45] Jesus has already been introduced in Matthew as "God with us" (Matt 1:23) and Matthew infers that John had no problem with ascribing his lofty understanding of the one coming after him to the person Jesus (Matt 3:13–17).[46] Finally, he claims not to be worthy to carry the coming one's sandals (Matt 3:11).[47] As such, in Matthew 3:1-11, ὁ ἐρχόμενος is God.[48]

---

[43] God is the one who pours out or baptises in the Spirit of God (Isa 42:1; 44:3; 61:1; Ezek 36: 27; 37:14; 39:29; Joel 2:28-29; Zech 12:10; 1 En. 91:1). God is also the one who baptises in fire and eternal judgment (Isa 26:11; 66:15-16, 24; 1 En. 103:8; Sib. Or. 4:40–45; 4 Macc 12:12, 18; Jub. 36:10). Similarly see Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 130. Some have claimed that passages like Isa 11:2 make it possible that the messiah will be the one who baptises with the Spirit, Osborne, *Matthew*, 115. But Isa 11:2 speaks of the Spirit being upon the messiah not of the messiah baptising in the Holy Spirit. John's baptism is contrasted with "the stronger one's" baptism, which will be a baptism of spirit and fire. The stronger one's baptism will be a purifying and refining baptism as is made clear by the hendiadys "Holy Spirit and fire," which are not references to two separate baptisms but to the same baptism. This is made clear in Matt 3:12 that goes on to explain the stronger one's baptism as one purifying baptism (Isa 4:4; Zech 13:9; Mal 3:2–4). Similarly see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:317; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 113.

[44] See Mal 3:1; 4:5–6; Sir 48:9–10; Mark 1:2–3; 8:38–9:13. John's ministry looks like the ministry of the eschatological Elijah from Mal 3:1 and 4:5–6. John did no miracles unlike the Elijah of 1 Kings and 2 Kings. Instead, John's ministry was about calling Israel back to repentance and preparing God's people for God's arrival (compare Matt 3:2, 4–9 with Mal 3:1 and 4:5–6). John the Baptist also dresses in the prophetic garb that Elijah was particularly remembered for wearing (2 Kings 1:8; Zech 13:4). The description of John the Baptist's dress in Matt 3:4 as ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ strongly resembles the description of Elijah's dress in the LXX version of 2 Kings 1:8 as ζώνην δερματίνην περιεζωσμένος τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ. Matthew was not telling us about John the Baptist's dress sense to give fashion advice. He was doing it because it identifies John the Baptist with Elijah. John the Baptist also chooses the wilderness around the Jordan as the place of his ministry, which was also near the place that Elijah was believed to have ascended to heaven in 2 Kings 2:1–11. Finally to make the connection between John the Baptist and Elijah certain, John is explicitly called Elijah from Mal 3:1 and 4:5–6 in Matt 11:10, 14; 17:13. Similarly see Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 135; Allison and Davies, *Matthew*,1: 295–96. Further, the similarities between the metaphorical language used in Matt 3:11b–12 and Mal 3:2–3 and especially 19 would seem to suggest that John believed the one coming after him would have the task described in Mal 3:2–3; 19. It seems likely that the Matthean John's ὁ ἐρχόμενος is identified with the Lord who has the roles described in Mal 3:2–3; 19 (see section 2.4). After that YHWH would come in judgment (Mal 3:5).

[45] See Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 131; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 105; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 138; Turner, *Matthew*, 108–9; Morris, *The Gospel According to Matthew*, 54. Contrary to Osborne, who limits Matthew's use of this passage as a reference to the preparation of the way for the Messiah, See Osborne, *Matthew*, 111.

[46] ὀπίσω μου is a phrase that is used in other places to indicate a disciple (Matt 4:19; 10:38; 16:24). This is also possibly what it means here. In which case, Matthew's Ἐμμανουήλ was a disciple, and his ministry will exceed that of his master, John the Baptist, as he is the one John spoke of who is coming after him.

[47] The task of handling sandals was that of the lowest of slaves, It was normal for prophets to call themselves God's servants (e.g. 2 Kings 9:7, 36; Jer 7:25; Dan 9:6, 10; Amos 3:7). That John thinks himself unworthy to carry the coming one's sandals infers that he believes that the "coming one" will be the highest of beings. The phrase is not meant to signify John's low self-esteem but rather to magnify the greatness of the "coming one". Everything we have heard about the one coming after John the Baptist in Matthew 3:1–11 (except for the phrase "who follows me") leads us to expect the coming one will be God. As such, it may have been somewhat surprising that the coming one is the human Jesus. Although, many Second Temple Jews were familiar with theophany stories where God appears as a human (see below) they were most likely not expecting God's return after Elijah to be in human form. But God's return as the human Jesus in Matt 3:1–11 is no surprise for Matthew's readers as they are aware that when Jesus comes, God comes because Jesus is "God with us." See similarly Keener,

5.2.4 The identity of ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matthew 11:2–3

A second possible antecedent for ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matthew 11:3 that Davies and Allison, Mitch and Sri, and Bruner argue for is Χριστός in verse 2.[49] They take Matthew's use of ὁ ἐρχόμενος as being synonymous with Χριστός.[50] Bruner, and Mitch and Sri identify Psalm 118:26 as the biblical basis for taking John's ὁ ἐρχόμενος as a messianic title.[51] Mitch and Sri cite

---

The Gospel of Matthew, 130–31; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 114–15. Some have argued that the fact that the coming one wears sandals means that the coming one cannot be God but rather must be human (Evans, *Matthew*, 73; Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1: 313). However, YHWH is depicted in the Old Testament as appearing as a human (or three humans) and getting his/their feet washed, which implies the removal of sandals, in Gen 18:4. Another more chronologically close theophany, where God wears clothing, can be found in 2 Macc 3:22–30 where God appears as a mighty warrior on a horse wearing armour. It is implied throughout the theophany that it is a manifestation of YHWH and then made explicit in 2 Macc 3:30, which says, "now that the almighty Lord had appeared." While God's presence in Jesus in Matthew is different from the theophanies of Genesis 18 and 2 Macc 3:22–30 the suggestion that God may wear sandals is one that can be inferred from such texts. As such, the objection to the coming one being God because he wears sandals cannot be said to be true in a Jewish context. Luz argues that ὁ ἐρχόμενος is the Son of Man partly because the Son of Man is an individual who is often described with a variation of the verb ἔρχομαι (Matt 10:23; 11:19; 16:27, 28; 20:28; 24:30, 39, 44; 25:31; 26:64), see Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, 138. Luz takes a reader–centred approach in his understanding of the Son of Man in Matthew. He assumes that the readers of Matthew were aware of the traditions of Jesus as the Son of Man. As such, whenever the phrase "the Son of the Man" (or in this case ὁ ἐρχόμενος) is used, Luz suggests Matthew's readers understand it as a reference to Jesus as the one who has no home on earth, is despised, has authority, who was transfigured, who is handed over to be killed, who rose from the dead, is exalted and who will come as the judge of the world. As such, for Luz, ὁ ἐρχόμενος and the Son of Man refer to someone who is the messiah but also so much more. For Luz, ὁ ἐρχόμενος and the Son of Man refer to everything that the early Christians believed about Jesus (Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 388–91). I find Luz's reader–centred approach problematic for two reasons. First, because it puts too much weight on how Matthew's church may have understood Matthew's words which, in my view, fails to treat Matthew sufficiently as a *bios* of Jesus. If Matthew was writing a *bios* of Jesus, then surely the first place we should look for meaning is in the ministry of the historical Jesus and then only after that in the life of Matthew's church. Finally, Luz's reader–centred approach does not allow Matthew's narrative to progressively unveil what Matthew means by titles like "the Son of Man" or expressions like ὁ ἐρχόμενος. It simply provides a completed understanding of such phrases to every instance of their use and by doing so does not allow for a development in understanding and often imports notions into a text that are foreign to that text. A good example of Luz's approach importing foreign elements into a text is in Matthew 3:1–11 where he imports "the Son of Man" into the text to explain ὁ ἐρχόμενος. The title "the Son of Man" is not in the context of Matt 3:1–11 and Matthew does not use it to explain what he means by ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Matthew uses Isa 40:3 and the return of Elijah tradition to explain what he means by ὁ ἐρχόμενος. In my view, Luz has engaged in a sophisticated piece of eisegesis.

[48] Similarly see Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 130–31. France argues that ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matthew 3:11–12 is best taken as a reference to God, but Matt 3:13–17 reveals that it is in fact the messiah. He concludes with the statement "when Jesus comes, God comes" (France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 114–15). France has put his finger on what I suggest is a Christian innovation and use of Jewish traditions in Matthew's Gospel. Matthew speaks of Jesus with Jewish traditions that speak of Jesus' divine identity. In Matt 3:1-11 these include especially Jesus as the one coming after Elijah and John the Baptist's use of Isa 40:3 with its implications for Jesus' identity. Immediately following this pericope is Jesus' baptism scene where Jesus is declared to be "God's Son" (Matt 3:17), a human messianic title (Psalm 2). Thus, Matthew weaves Jewish traditions that speak of a divine character and a human messiah around his character of Jesus, which is a Christian innovation and use of Jewish traditions. Thus, from the outset, Matthew weaves the themes of God's return and the coming of the human messiah into his portrait of Jesus. More precisely within the Matthean context of Matthew 3:1–11 ὁ ἐρχόμενος is "God with us."

[49] Davies and Allison, *Matthew, 2*": 241; Mitch and Sri, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 151; Bruner, *The Christbook Matthew 1–12*, 505.

[50] Davies and Allison think ὁ ἐρχόμενος only refers to the Messiah because they suggest that is all that is intended in Matt 3:1-12 (Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 2: 241). Mitch and Sri argue that ὁ ἐρχόμενος is a messianic title that has its basis in Ps 118:26.

[51] Mitch and Sri, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 151; Bruner, *The Christbook Matthew 1-12*, 505.

Matthew 21:9 where the crowds shout Psalm 118:26 (LXX 117:26) to Jesus as he enters Jerusalem as evidence that ὁ ἐρχόμενος was used as a messianic title. Thus, they infer that this is what Matthew's John the Baptist and Jesus meant by the vague phrase ὁ ἐρχόμενος.[52] However, Luz notes that there is scant evidence that Psalm 118:26 was used messianically in the first century.[53] Keener argues that the evidence that Psalm 118:26 was used messianically was much later, and that Psalm 118:26 was used to welcome pilgrims to Jerusalem (and the temple).[54] Thus, while it is probably too much to suggest that ὁ ἐρχόμενος is a messianic title in the first century, the use of son of David by the crowd was messianic. As such, using Psalm 118:26 (LXX 117:26) to welcome someone the crowd believed was a son of David is to use Psalm 118:26 messianically.[55] But as Luz, Keener and France note this does not make ὁ ἐρχόμενος a messianic title.[56] Further, it is important to allow Matthew's narrative to inform us about what Matthew meant by the titles he applies to Jesus.[57]

Turner and potentially Nolland suggest that it is the narrator in Matthew 11:2 who calls Jesus' works "the works of the messiah."[58] The suggestion is that at this point, John the Baptist only regarded them as the works of Jesus and not the works of the messiah. The reason given is that Jesus' works thus far are not the works that John expected of the messiah he calls ὁ ἐρχόμενος.[59] Thus, the narrator has muddied the waters by imposing his view of Jesus' works onto John the Baptist by calling them "the works of the messiah." This is the case because John, having heard of the works of Jesus, doubted that Jesus was ὁ ἐρχόμενος.[60] As such, if John the

---

[52] Mitch and Sri, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 151. If one finds Bruner's and Mitch and Sri's position convincing then I would further add that throughout Matthew there are several other times where the crowds have misidentified Jesus (Matt 16:14). In Matt 21:9 the crowds rightly identify Jesus as the messianic son of David but fail to realise that he is so much more than that. As such, this partially correct identification of Jesus as the son of David in Matt 21:9 by the crowd is comparable to the other times where we are told what the crowds think of Jesus' identity.

[53] Luz, *Matthew 21–28*, 10.

[54] Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 490.

[55] France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 781.

[56] Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 10; Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 490; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 132, 781.

[57] Similarly see Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 132.

[58] Turner, *Matthew*, 291, note 4. Nolland states "In the first instance the deeds are 'deeds of the Christ' to Matthew and his readers, not to John." Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 450. Davies and Allison imply that it is the narrator who describes Jesus' works as the works of the messiah rather than John the Baptist. Their suggestion throughout Matt 11:2–5 is that John doubted that Jesus was the messianic ὁ ἐρχόμενος because Jesus' works were healings rather than judgment. Jesus attempted to reassure John the Baptist that he was ὁ ἐρχόμενος by pointing him to Isaiah's description of the eschaton in Matt 11:5. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2: 240–43. Their assertion that John doubted that Jesus was the messianic ὁ ἐρχόμενος implies that John the Baptist would not have called Jesus' works up to this point the works of the messiah. This in turn implies that someone else must have called Jesus' works the works of the messiah in Matt 11:2 and the only other person available is the narrator. The problem with Davies and Allison's assertion that Matthew's Jesus' reference to the plethora of Isaiah passages in Matt 11:5 would demonstrate that Jesus is the messiah is that in all of the Isaiah passages, except Isa 61:1, God is the agent not a messianic figure.

[59] Turner, *Matthew*, 290–91, note 4.

[60] Evans suggests that perhaps John the Baptist's doubt was fuelled by his assumption that his "coming one" would fulfil the words of Isa 61:1 and release prisoners (like John the Baptist) whilst bringing the judgment of

Baptist believed his ὁ ἐρχόμενος was to be the messiah then he did not regard Jesus' works as the works of the messiah and would not have referred to them as such. Thus, Turner suggests that it is the narrator's view in Matthew 11:2 that the works of Jesus are the works of the messiah.[61]

Consequently, there are two positions one can take as to why Matthew 11:2 refers to Jesus' works as the works of the messiah. First, one can infer that Matthew has not clearly conveyed his meaning in Matthew 11:2 and it would have been better if he had referred to "Jesus' works" as Jesus' works and not the "messiah's works." This would have made the connection between John the Baptist hearing of Jesus' works and doubting that Jesus is ὁ ἐρχόμενος clearer. After all, if it was hearing about messiah's works that caused John the Baptist to doubt that Jesus was his ὁ ἐρχόμενος then it follows that John did not believe the messiah was going to be one and the same as ὁ ἐρχόμενος. This brings us to the second possibility, where one assumes that John the Baptist's ὁ ἐρχόμενος was not believed by Matthew's John to be synonymous with the messiah. Therefore, when John the Baptist heard of Jesus' works, he believed them to be the works of the messiah (as in Matt 11:2) and thus began to doubt that Jesus could be ὁ ἐρχόμενος. I regard the first possibility's inference that Matthew has not clearly stated what he intended and that it would be helpful to edit "works of the messiah" to "works of Jesus" in Matthew 11:2 to be overly presumptuous regarding what Matthew may or may not have meant. In my view, this is another critical weakness to the position that John the Baptist thought ὁ ἐρχόμενος was to be one and the same as the Χριστός. I also think there are very good reasons, if we allow Matthew's narrative to inform the content of the Matthean title ὁ ἐρχόμενος, for believing that the second option, where the messiah is not synonymous with ὁ ἐρχόμενος, is best.[62] As argued in section 5.2.3, Matthew's narrative identifies ὁ ἐρχόμενος with God and not the messiah and as such Χριστός in Matthew 11:2 is not an antecedent for ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

This being the case, I suggest that it is better to take the Matthean titles of ὁ ἐρχόμενος and Χριστός as different ways of describing Jesus' identity. I suggest that Matthew has developed John's ὁ ἐρχόμενος throughout his Gospel as a reference to God (Matt 3:1–12), while Χριστός remains a messianic title for a human (Matt 2:2–4). In Matthew 11:2 John hears about Jesus' works and regards those works as more appropriate for the messiah than ὁ

Isa 61:2 (Evans, *Matthew*, 233). However, we do not need to come up with reasons as to what fuelled John the Baptist's doubt. The text tells us explicitly what causes the doubt. John the Baptist's doubt was caused by John the Baptist "hearing in prison the works of the messiah" ἀκούσας ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. The works of the messiah that John the Baptist has heard about are the miracles, healings and teaching of Jesus throughout Matt 4:12–11:1. Similarly see Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 450.

[61] Turner, *Matthew*, 290–91, note 4.

[62] See Luz's comment on the importance of allowing Matthew's narrative to inform the content of the titles Χριστός and τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ. Luz*, Matthew 8–20*, 132. I suggest that what is true for these titles is also true for John the Baptist's ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

ἐρχόμενος. Thus, John begins to doubt that Jesus is ὁ ἐρχόμενος. John then sends his disciples to Jesus to ask him if he is ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Jesus' response to John the Baptist will assure John the Baptist that Jesus is in fact ὁ ἐρχόμενος despite his messianic works.[63]

5.3 Matthew 11:4–5

Jesus answers John the Baptist's question by pointing to what has been happening throughout his ministry.[64] In doing so, he makes reference to several passages from Isaiah that refer to both the time when God was to return in salvation and judgment as well as the time of the Messiah (Isa 26:19; 29:18; 35:5–6; 42:18; 61:1).[65] Some scholars pick out a few of the passages as especially significant.[66] However, I suggest it is more likely that Matthew's Jesus is following the broader list of passages from Isaiah rather than just one or two of them.[67] This is because none of the Isaiah passages are comprehensive of Jesus' list and the passages generally use analogy and metaphor to help paint a picture of Israel's restoration, while Jesus interprets these metaphors literally as speaking of what is happening through himself.[68]

Since the publication of 4Q521 in 1992 (see section 3.3), there has been much discussion on its relationship with Matthew 11:5. The comparisons between the texts are striking and much controversy has been generated from the discussion. My discussion will focus particularly on the question generated by Jesus' use of a similar list in Matthew 11:5. Namely, how does the list of works cited in Matthew 11:5 answer the question of John's disciples given its similarity to the lists in 4Q521 2 II? This question raises the prior question that must be discussed first, namely

---

[63] It seems clear that Jesus' response in Matthew 11:4–5 does assure John the Baptist that Jesus is ὁ ἐρχόμενος (see section 5.3.1-5.3.3). However, because I have attempted to be consistent with how I understand the traditions Matthew uses to speak of Jesus' identity I differ from the bulk of scholarship in arguing that ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matt 11:3 is a reference to God. I argue this primarily because that is the way Matthew has used ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Matt 3:1–11, which is the only pericope up to this point where the phrase has been used by John the Baptist. Keener argues in connection with Matthew 3:1–11 that ὁ ἐρχόμενος is a reference to God and yet in Matt 11:3 he assumes that it is a reference to the messiah. See Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 130-131, 335. Similarly France who in connection with Matt 3:1–11 noted that ὁ ἐρχόμενος was best taken as a reference to Jesus' divine identity and that in the following pericope, Jesus is described as the human messiah with the phrase ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, has now allowed these different traditions that speak of different aspects of Jesus' identity and function (as God and human messiah), to collapse into each other. This has had the unfortunate consequence that on Matt 11:3 France speaks of ὁ ἐρχόμενος on the lips of John as referring to the messiah rather than the divine judge of Matt 3:1–11. See France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 114–15, 421–22.

[64] "Blind cured, 9:27–31; lame walking, 9:2–8; lepers cleansed, 8:1–4; deaf hearing, 9:32–33; dead raised, 9:18–26. For the good news to the poor see not only 4:17, 23 but also Matthew 5–7 , and especially the Beatitudes which begin with the promise of the kingdom of heaven to the "poor in spirit," see France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 424; Turner*, Matthew*, 291; Osborne, *Matthew*, 415; Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 335–36; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 451; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 134; Davies and Allison, *Matthew,* 2: 242.

[65] Significantly, God is the agent in all these passages except Isa 61:1. See Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 134. The combination of them only fits one who is both the messiah and "God with us."

[66] France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 424. Similarly see Keener who only mentions Isaiah 35:5-6 and Isaiah 61:1. See Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 336.

[67] Similarly see Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 134.

[68] Tull, *Isaiah 1–39*, 398, 405–6 note 13, 447–48.

how similar is 4Q521 to Matthew 11:5 and what is their relationship? It is with this question that I shall proceed.

5.3.1 The relationship between Matthew 11:5 and 4Q521 2 II

The similarities between 4Q521 and Matthew 11 are as follows. First, both refer to an anointed, followed by lists of deeds (4Q521 2 II 1 and Matt 11:2). Second, both contain a similar order of miraculous events as per the following table.

4Q521 2 ii	Matthew 11:5
Freeing Prisoners	
Blind see	Blind see
Straightening out the twisted	
Lame walk	Lame walk
Heal the badly wounded	
	Lepers cleansed
	Deaf hear
Dead raised	Dead raised
Poor hear good news	Poor hear good news

Thirdly, only these two texts refer to the poor hearing good news in Isaiah 61:1, having immediately preceded that event with the dead being raised. Fourthly, following each of the lists, both refer to the coming of Elijah from Malachi 4:5-6 (4Q521 2 III 2 and Matt 11:10, 14). Finally, if one allows the conclusion, based on the above similarities, that the texts are somehow related, then the conclusion is inescapable that Matthew's list existed in a form prior to its use in Matthew 11:5 (presumably oral or maybe written). If this is the case, then a further similarity is that the prior list used by Jesus in Matthew 11:5 as well as 4Q521 2 II did not mention a human agent. Of course, Matthew makes it clear that Jesus is the agent (Matt 11:2) but this is how Matthew has chosen to use the list because of what he wants to say about Jesus. It is not likely to be how the list existed before Matthew used it.[69]

Joseph notes three possible models for explaining the relationship between Matthew 11:5 (for him Q 7:22) and 4Q521. The first possibility is direct literary dependence, secondly, common tradition and, thirdly, non-literary/exegetical influence.[70] He rejects option one as

[69] Further, I would suggest that Matt 11:2 does not eliminate the possibility that Jesus is acting on behalf of God as his agent (see Matt 9:8; 12:28).

[70] Simon J. Joseph, *Jesus, Q, and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* WUNT 333 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 182-–83.

unsustainable citing differences between the two texts.[71] He rejects the second option because it requires "an additional undocumented Jewish community and textual tradition."[72] Such reasoning is ironic, given that his book is on Q, arguably another undocumented textual tradition used to explain similarities between texts.[73] I find this model to be equally satisfying as Joseph's preference for his third option because the similarities between the texts seem strong enough to require more than non-literary/exegetical influence yet not strong enough to postulate direct literary dependence.[74]

However, Joseph argues for option three suggesting that the best explanation for the similarities is that the exegetical practice of combining certain passages from Isaiah, when speaking of the eschaton, was already established in the Jewish milieu. That is, the common tradition is not a written one, or popular oral one but rather an exegetical method of associating certain texts.[75] This argument is also plausible. Hence, it would seem likely to me that 4Q521 and Matthew 11:5 are related through either a common tradition (either written or oral), or non-literary exegetical influence.[76]

Due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts of 4Q521, there is much dispute about the identity of the agent who performs the works on the lists and even whether or not the author intended the works to be understood literally (see section 3.3).[77] However, such questions do not

---

[71] The differences Joseph gives are language (one being composed in Hebrew the other in Greek) and second, that they use Isaiah differently. These reasons are not overly strong nor are they fatal to the possibility, but I do agree that it is the least likely of the options for reasons explained below.

[72] Joseph, *Jesus, Q, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 183.

[73] I do not intend this to be an argument against the Q hypothesis. I simply point out that just as the only textual witness to Q is contained within Matthew and Luke, so the only textual witness to proto 4Q521 is found in 4Q521, Matt 11:5 and Luke 7:22. Hence the irony.

[74] See similarly Lidija Novakovic, "4Q521: The Works of the Messiah or the Signs of the Messianic Time?," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. M.T. Davis and B.A. Strawn (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2007), 208–31. James Tabor and Michael Wise, "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study," *JSP* 10 (1992): 161. Wold, "Agency and Raising the Dead in 4QPseudo-Ezekiel and 4Q521 2ii*": 1–19.

[75] Joseph, *Jesus, Q, and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 183.

[76] The suggestion of many Qumran specialists that John the Baptist had been related to the Qumran community provides a potential further relationship between 4Q521 and Matt 11:5. Many suggest that John had at one time been going through the initiation process to become a member of the Qumran community but left before this was completed. Indeed, Charlesworth suggests that the agreement among scholars is reaching the point of a consensus. See James H. Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: the scrolls and Christian Origins,* ed. James H. Charlesworth (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2006), 1–35; James C. Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 170; Daniel R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity,* WUNT 60 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 3; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins,* SDSS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 18-21; Stevan L. Davies, "John the Baptist and the Essene Kashruth," *NTS* 29 (1983): 569–71. This could mean that the common tradition between the two texts could be as insignificant as being a minor aspect of John the Baptist's teaching. This suggestion simply diffuses any problem some might have with there not being other examples of the Isaiah texts associated in this way with reference to the eschaton. If this is the case, Jesus' use of the tradition in Matt 11:5 would have been understood by John and answered his question. But with this theory I enter the realm of speculation.

[77] Fitzmyer puts it this way "Because the text is fragmentary it is not possible to interpret with certainty the role of 'the Lord' and the role of 'His Messiah,' and or be certain about who are called… 'holy ones' (line 2, {14})."

need to be definitively answered for my thesis. What does impact my thesis is whether there is a consensus about whether 4Q521 was a reflection of Qumran eschatology? The answer to that question seems to be an overwhelming yes with many labelling the manuscript an eschatological Psalm.[78] Thus, even if the actions were originally intended to be understood as what God himself would do metaphorically for Israel, as Hans Kvalbein argues, it is still a reflection of Qumran eschatology.[79] So when Matthew picks up these ideas in a more literal sense in Matthew 11:5 as describing what is happening in and around Jesus the point is clear. The time of the eschaton had arrived in and through Jesus' ministry.[80]

5.3.2 How Jesus' answer in Matthew 11:5 satisfied John the Baptist

Having argued that the ideas of 4Q521 2 II and Matthew 11:5 are probably related through either non-literary exegetical influence or a common tradition, I now turn to the main question. How does the list of works cited in Matthew 11:5 answer the question of John's disciples, given its similarity to the lists in 4Q521 2 II? An interesting initial observation is a difference in focus between John the Baptist's disciples' question and Jesus' answer. The question has a personal focus on Jesus' identity, while Jesus' answer has a temporal focus on what was happening around Jesus. The problem of John the Baptist being aware of Jesus' works (Matt 11:2), asking about Jesus' identity (Matt 11:4), receiving an answer that details Jesus' works (Matt 11:5), which somehow satisfies the question, is perplexing. John the Baptist received no new information in Jesus' answer, only a change in focus from the person to the time.[81] This pattern is also detectable in the other places where Jesus' identity is questioned (Matt 12:38–42; 16:1–4).[82] The question raised for the reader is why does Jesus insist on a change of focus to the temporal in order to answer their questions regarding his identity? Then further, how can this dodging of the question satisfy the questioner – John the Baptist?

The answer, I suggest, lies in the extremely diverse expectations around eschatological figures and their eschatological tasks within first century Jewish beliefs.[83] If Jesus came out

---

Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins,* 37. For further examples see Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 131-141. Kvalbein, "The Wonders of the End-time: Metaphorical Language in 4Q521 and the Interpretation of Matthew 11:5 Par": 89-101.

[78] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star,* 131; Kvalbein, "The Wonders of the End-time: Metaphorical Language in 4Q521 and the Interpretation of Matthew 11:5 Par": 89; Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 37; Joseph, *Jesus, Q, and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 169.

[79] Kvalbein, "The Wonders of the End-time: Metaphorical Language in 4Q521 and the Interpretation of Matthew 11:5 Par": 1–19.

[80] Similarly see Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 335–36; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 451; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 242–43.

[81] Novakovic, "4Q521: The Works of the Messiah or the Signs of the Messianic Time?" 228–29. Similarly see Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 134,

[82] In both Matthew 12:38–42 and 16:1–4 the scribes and Pharisees wanted to see a sign that would confirm for them Jesus' identity.

[83] Some examples of the variation of messianic belief in the Second Temple period include, first, the Qumran community, who believed in two messiahs and an eschatological prophet (1QS IX 11). Secondly, 1 Enoch 46–47 reveals that some strands of Enochic Judaism just prior to Christianity believed in a divine Son of

openly and identified himself as the Messiah, or any of the other expected eschatological figures, then he would be met with a range of responses (Matt 16:14). Some may want to inquire further about which messiah he thought he was, while others may gather a weapon expecting a military uprising. All such responses would be unsatisfactory for Jesus, for as far as he was concerned they would misunderstand both his identity and his task. Thus, for John's disciples, Jesus points to the things happening around himself that point to the eschatological activity of God in and through Jesus' ministry. Jesus may not yet be fulfilling exactly what John expected the ὁ ἐρχόμενος' task to be but the signs Jesus points to ought to leave John in no doubt that he need not look for another.[84] The time of ὁ ἐρχόμενος has arrived, only his task was broader than what John the Baptist expected.

I have argued above that first, in Matthew, John's ὁ ἐρχόμενος was expected to be God. Second, that Matthew believes Jesus to be both John's ὁ ἐρχόμενος and the human messiah (a Christian use of Jewish traditions). Third, that Jesus answers John's question regarding Jesus' identity by changing John's focus from Jesus' identity to the times they were living in. Jesus points to his works and the Isaiah passages they echo, which all speak of what God would do in the eschaton (except Isa 61:1). This line of interpretation means that in Matthew 11:6, Jesus' beatitude is Jesus pronouncing as "blessed" those who can accept Jesus' divine identity as ὁ ἐρχόμενος and not just his identity as the messiah (Matt 11:2). This interpretation differs from the common interpretation of Matt 11:6, which suggests Jesus is pronouncing as "blessed" those who do not stumble at the fact that Jesus' messiahship is different from their expectations.[85] In my view this understanding of ὁ ἐρχόμενος as speaking of Jesus' divine identity fits the discussion in Matthew 11:7–15 better, because it suggests that it was Jesus' divine identity that was the cause for stumbling and the claim that Jesus has a divine identity surely requires biblical justification, which the discussion of Matthew 11:7–15 provides. Further, I suggest that this line

---

Man/messiah (see section 4.4.1). Thirdly, the Psalms of Solomon 17-18 reveal belief in a Davidic Messiah who will have a political task and who is called "king, Messiah," and "son of David" but mention no other eschatological characters. Finally, the Sadducees are known for their lack of eschatological expectation and belief in the messiah. See Lidija Novakovic, "Jews and Samaritans," in *The World of the New Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts*, eds. J. B. Green and L. M. McDonald (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013), 223. All of this makes the somewhat diverse picture of eschatological expectation we can glean from the Gospels seem highly plausible (John 1:20–24; Matt 16:14).

[84] Commentators note the difference between what Jesus had been doing in Matthew 5–9 and what John expected the ὁ ἐρχόμενος to do in Matt 3:1–11. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 240–43. They tend to suggest that Jesus was not fulfilling John's expectations of the messiah, rather than that Jesus was not fulfilling John's expectations of what God was going to do upon his return. As argued in the body of the text, if the former is correct then one must reconcile why John doubts that Jesus is ὁ ἐρχόμενος and yet understands Jesus' works to be the works of the messiah. As I have argued, the suggestion that it is the narrator who calls Jesus' works the works of the messiah in Matt 11:2 does not work. However, if the latter option is correct, then when Jesus' works fail to meet John's expectations for God's works, John enquires of Jesus as to whether he is his divine ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Jesus' works clearly mark Jesus out for John as a significant character of the eschaton and so it is comprehensible that John might assume that Jesus is the messiah rather than ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Jesus' answer in Matt 11:5 is to point to passages in Isaiah that speak of God's works (except Isa 61:1) and apply them to himself. The clear implication for Jesus' identity is that I am the expected divine ὁ ἐρχόμενος but my task is broader than what you expected.

[85] France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 425; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 452; Osborne, *Matthew*, 415–16.

of interpretation best fits the notion of Jesus' identity and vocation being a σκάνδαλον (Matt 11:6) best. While it is possible, as the majority of commentators suggest, that a healing messiah may have been a surprise for many, on account of Jesus' works, many would have marked him out as unique and perhaps some type of messiah.[86] But to suggest that Jesus' healings and identity as messiah would have caused people (John the Baptist) to take offence (σκανδαλίζω), while possible, seems far-fetched.[87] However, if Jesus is claiming a divine identity, then that certainly provides a reason to take offence (but for John a reason to stand firm).[88]

---

[86] Most commentators arrive at this conclusion for two main reasons. First, the prevailing view of Matthean Christology that suggests it starts off high (Matt 1:23), then goes low (speaking of Jesus mainly in terms of being a human messiah) and then moves back to a high Christology at the end (Matt 28:19–20). Then secondly, because of numerous little exegetical decisions that have been made along the way in the light of what have been mistaken conclusions regarding the traditions that Matthew has used to speak of Jesus' divine identity. In my view, one prominent example of a tradition that Matthew uses to speak of Jesus' divine identity that has been a hotbed of debate and until recently, (mis)understood by many to be a reference to Jesus' humanity is Matthew's use of the Son of Man title (see section 4.4.1). In a similar vein, I have argued throughout this thesis that many scholars have mistakenly understood the Elijah forerunner concept in Matthew as speaking of Jesus as the messiah. This is a mistake in my view because in all the pre-Christian uses of the Elijah forerunner concept, Elijah always comes before YHWH. The use of these two traditions throughout Matthew, I suggest can no longer be interpreted as references to Jesus' humanity. Contextually, they must be allowed to refer to Jesus' divine identity and when this is allowed, the old Matthean Christological framework that suggests that Matthew's Christology starts high, goes low and then returns to a high Christology begins to collapse. What remains is a Matthew that uses both traditions that speak of a divine figure and traditions that speak of a human messiah, to speak of Jesus. This is a remarkable Christian innovation and use of Jewish traditions. When one takes the line of interpretation I have argued for throughout this thesis, where the Elijah forerunner concept speaks of Jesus' divine identity, then Matthew's John the Baptist's ὁ ἐρχόμενος is divine and thus the discussion in Matt 11:2–6 is not between John's expectations of the messiah and Jesus' expectations of the messiah as most commentators suggest. See France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 425; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 452; Osborne, *Matthew*, 415–16. It is between John's expectations of the divine figure coming after him and the works of Jesus that suggest to John that Jesus is just the human messiah. When this line of interpretation is followed, the σκάνδαλον in Matt 11:6 is not about Jesus' way of being the messiah but Jesus' claim to a divine identity.

[87] The crowd that travelled with Jesus to Jerusalem had no problem calling this healing/wonder working figure by the title "the son of David" – a messianic title (Matt 21:9). For them, Jesus' identity as the messiah and works of healing were something to celebrate not to stumble over. The verb σκανδαλίζω in Matthew, according to Turner, refers to "a serious loss of faith, spiritual defeat, or apostasy." See Turner, *Matthew*, 292. Similarly see Stählin who argues that the use of σκανδαλίζω in Matt 11:6 has eschatological and therefore judgmental consequences. As such, to stumble at Jesus' works and identity is catastrophic. See G. Stählin, "σκάνδαλον, σκανδαλίζω," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* eds. G. Kittel, G. W. Bromiley, & G. Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964-), 7: 350. However, France attempts to argue that the verb σκανδαλίζω in Matthew does not have to be taken in the sense of a catastrophe for a person's faith (13:57; 15:12; 17:27; 26:31–33) but that it certainly can have this catastrophic sense (Matt 13:21; 18:6–9; 24:10). See France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 425. Although from the examples France cites to demonstrate that σκανδαλίζω in Matthew does not have to be taken in the sense of a catastrophe for a person's faith only Matt 17:27 supports his claim. Consequently, σκανδαλίζω in Matt 11:6 is best taken in a catastrophic sense. If John's doubt leads him to conclude that Jesus is just merely the messiah and not the ὁ ἐρχόμενος then that would be catastrophic for John's faith.

[88] Matthew 11:6 does have John the Baptist's doubts about Jesus in mind. John had hoped that Jesus would possess a divine identity as ὁ ἐρχόμενος. But because Jesus' works of healing had not been what John expected of ὁ ἐρχόμενος, he started to doubt that Jesus was ὁ ἐρχόμενος and began to wonder if Jesus was simply the messiah. Jesus reassures John the Baptist and declares anyone blessed who accepts his claims about himself and does not stumble.

5.4 Matthew 11:7-9

After John's disciples leave, Jesus begins to address the crowd that was present and was perhaps puzzling over the dialogue they had just heard. He began by asking them a question about John, followed by two follow up questions. His initial question sought to obtain their opinion of John the Baptist and the follow-up questions focus on John the Baptist's identity. The first follow up question κάλαμον ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον; gives a vivid metaphor and has four common interpretations. First, it could refer to someone who is easily swayed by public opinion.[89] Second, it could refer simply to the scenery around the Jordan as if to suggest mockingly that the crowds may have ventured into the wilderness for some sight-seeing or some everyday task.[90] Third, it could be a cryptic reference to Herod Antipas who took the κάλαμος as his symbol and minted it onto coins.[91] Finally, it could refer to the crowd's hope for a sign of the new exodus and be a reference to the sea of reeds that God split in two before Moses and Israel on their way out of Egypt.[92] Most seem to find the first two options the most plausible and few find the fourth option plausible. Whatever the case, John was none of the options above and that is the point Jesus is making.

The second question regarding ἄνθρωπον ἐν μαλακοῖς ἠμφιεσμένον; concentrates on a characteristic of John and many of the other prophets. He was not a king, nor a court prophet whispering nice things into the ruler's ears. No, he was a prophet calling for repentance from the margins of society and challenging those in authority (Matt 3:2, 7–12; 14:3–4). As such, he wore the garb characteristic of such prophets (especially Elijah 2 Kings 1:8) and it is to John's clothing, and therefore identity (Matt 3:4, see section 5.2.3), that the question points. Jesus then follows the direction his rhetorical questions were leading and answers his own question stating that John was a prophet. The narrator has used Jesus' rhetorical questions to bring the narrative to this point so that he is able to first, reveal John the Baptist's identity. Then second, fill out Jesus' identity and vocation for the reader in a different but overlapping way with John the Baptist's ὁ ἐρχόμενος from the previous conversation (Matt 11:2–6).

Jesus calls John the Baptist περισσότερον προφήτου and has marked the phrase with the meta-comment phrase λέγω ὑμῖν and adverbial καί in order to identify it as the most important part of the clause, heaping up emphatic markers for the vague phrase περισσότερον προφήτου.[93] This final vague, yet exalted, statement causes his readers to ponder what Jesus

---

[89] The image was often used this way by Rabbis. See also 1 Kings 14:15; 2 Kings 18:21; 3 Macc 2:22. See Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 336; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 426.

[90] See Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 138; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 426.

[91] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 138.

[92] See Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew,* 2: 247.

[93] A meta-comment phrase is when a speaker interrupts his/her flow of speech to comment on what they are about to say with phrases like "I want you to know that," or "don't you know that" in order to accomplish certain functions. In this case, the meta-comment λέγω ὑμῖν is semantically redundant but serves the function of bringing attention to what immediately follows περισσότερον προφήτου. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek*

could mean. Jesus then gives them more information in Matthew 11:10 to help them make sense of his prior exalted statement about John the Baptist by quoting Exodus 23:20a and Malachi 3:1.[94]

5.5 Matthew 11:10

Most commentators suggest that Matthew follows Exodus 23:20a in the LXX for the first part of his quote and Malachi 3:1 in Hebrew for the second part of his quote.[95] The reason for this suggestion is because the first nine words of Matthew's sixteen-word quote follow Exodus 23:20a from the LXX exactly. As argued above, the argument which suggests that Exodus 23:20a and Malachi 3:1 were universally and liturgically read together in the synagogue of the first century and that Matthew 11:10 is the result of how they became combined in people's thinking is unlikely (see section 4.1.1).[96] Matthew's sixteen word citation follows the thirteen word citation of Mark 1:2 exactly in word order and is closely related thematically.[97] Further, we know that Matthew was using Mark as a source for his Gospel. As such, I suggest that Matthew uses Mark 1:2 as his source, adds three more words to the citation and that he is making the same point as Mark 1:2-3 - only more explicitly.

Matthew is using the citation of Exodus 23:20 and Malachi 3:1 in largely the same way as Mark uses them (section 4.1.1).[98] He employs Exodus 23:20 typologically to point to the new

---

New Testament, 107–08,117–22. Titrud suggests that "as a conjunction linking clauses, καί only occurs as the first word of a clause, never postpositionally… When καί does occur postpositionally, it is an adverb." Kermit Titrud, "The Function of καί in the Greek New Testament and an application to 2 Peter," in *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation: essays on discourse analysis*, eds. D. A. Black, K. G. L. Barnwell and S. H. Levinsohn (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1992), 245. See similarly Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 100.

[94] Similarly see Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 138.

[95] Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 138; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 249; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 428; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 455–56.

[96] See R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 243; Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 138; Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew: And its use of the Old Testament* (Ramsey, NJ: Sigler, 1990), 50. Notley suggests that Matthew's Jesus is practicing Hillel's interpretive technique of *gezerah shavah* see Notley "The Kingdom of Heaven Forcefully Advances," 292–93. However, this does not work because *gezerah shavah* is the linking of "two given Torah statements," Gunter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 18. Matthew 11:10 links a Torah passage with a passage from the prophets.

[97]

Matthew 11:10	Mark 1:2
ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου ἔμπροσθέν σου.	ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου

Matthew has made two alterations to Mark 1:2. First, Matthew's second word ἐγώ is an addition and can be explained by Matthew wanting to make his first two words ἰδοὺ ἐγώ a better reflection of Exod 23:20. Secondly, Matthew adds ἔμπροσθέν σου to the end of the Markan citation which can be explained by Matthew translating a little more of Mal 3:1 in order to finish the translation of the Hebrew clause. Thus, Matthew's ἔμπροσθέν σου is a translation of the Hebrew לפני from Mal 3:1, which has retained the Markan and Matthean interpretive decision to change the first person singular pronouns to second person singular pronouns. Davies and Allison argue that Matthew is not using the LXX of Mal 3:1 for his citation. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2, 249.

[98] One key difference between how Matthew and Mark use the citation of Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1 is that Mark cites them along with Isa 40:3 while Matthew does not. Matthew keeps the citation separate from the citation

Exodus that has been launched and the new aeon that has broken in upon the present age (Matt 11:5, 11–13).[99] But he uses Malachi 3:1 predictively because he believes that John the Baptist is the returned Elijah (Matt 11:14) and that Malachi 3:1 and 23–24 are being fulfilled in the present. This answers the question of the reader as to what Jesus meant by the vague phrase in Matthew 11:9 περισσότερον προφήτου.

Mark 1:2 and Matthew 11:10 show signs of influence from Malachi 3:1 in a version like the MT or 4Q76 rather than from a version like the LXX. This is observable in two places within Matthew 11:10. First, Mark and Matthew's κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν is a better translation of the Hebrew phrase ופנה־דרך than the Septuagint's καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται ὁδόν.[100] Then secondly, Matthew's final phrase ἔμπροσθέν σου, like the Hebrew לפני, has no mention of "face" unlike the Septuagint's πρὸ προσώπου μου.[101] As such, there are these two places within the Malachi 3:1 citation in Matthew 11:10 where Matthew has followed a version like the MT or 4Q76 rather than a version like the LXX. Because Matthew has clearly followed a version like the MT or 4Q76, we can assume he was not reading a version of Malachi 3:1 like that of the LXX.[102]

In Matthew 11:10 there are three characters. First, God sends, secondly the messenger/angel is sent, and finally there is Jesus before whom the messenger/angel goes. As argued above, it is possible to interpret Malachi 3:1 in the MT in such a way that there are three characters. However, this remains one possible way of interpreting this most ambiguous version of Malachi 3:1 (see section 2.1). However, unlike the MT of Malachi 3:1, it is clearly best to interpret Malachi 3:1 in 4Q76 as having three characters, God who sends, the messenger/angel who is sent and a divine messenger who was potentially understood as a hypostasis of YHWH

---

of Isa 40:3, which in Matthew, the narrator uses to describe John the Baptist (Matt 3:3). However, in Matthew, Jesus describes John the Baptist with Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1, not the narrator (like Mark), and thus John the Baptist as Elijah is an emphatically Matthean Jesus' theme. The two threads of John the Baptist as the voice in the wilderness (Isa 40:3) and as Elijah (Mal 3:1) are two threads that both Matthew and Mark use to speak of Jesus' divine identity (see chapter 4). However, Matthew and Mark differ in how they tell the story with these two threads. Mark combines them at the beginning of his Gospel (Mark 1:2-3) while Matthew keeps them from completely collapsing into each other and attempts to use them as two separate but entangled biblical witnesses that speak of Jesus' divine identity. Evans, and Davies and Allison point out that the tradition contained in Matthew 11:10 comes from the Q source and highlight how this makes the fact that their citation of Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1 is so similar to the citation in Mark 1:2 interesting. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 249; Evans, *Matthew*, 238.

[99] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 249.

[100] Similarly see James B. DeYoung, "The Function of Malachi 3:1 in Matthew 11:10: Kingdom Reality as the Hermeneutic of Jesus," in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel,* LNTS 104, eds. C. A. Evans and W. R. Stegner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 70; France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 242.

[101] Matthew's phrase πρὸ προσώπου σου in Matthew 11:10 comes from a version like the LXX of Exod 23:20 rather than a version like the LXX of Mal 3:1. Matthew seems to be using both Mark and a version of Malachi 3:1. The evidence that Matthew used Mark has led to the near consensus among scholars that Mark was one of Matthew's key sources and does not need to be restated here. The evidence that Matthew was using Malachi as well is discernible in what Matthew adds to Mark's citation, as Matthew translates more of the Malachi 3:1 clause than Mark does. Matthew, unlike Mark, translates לפני as ἔμπροσθέν σου at the end of his Malachi 3:1 citation in Matthew 11:10.

[102] Similarly, the following suggest that the citation from Mal 3:1 is not like the LXX version of Mal 3:1: Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 249; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 428; France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 242–43.

(see section 2.3). As such, the interpretation of Malachi 3:1 in 4Q76 is closest to what we have in Matthew in that both clearly refer to three characters. Because 4Q76's version of Malachi 3:1 is the closest thematically to Matthew 11:10 and because it is the only pre-Christian version of Malachi 3:1 that we possess, I suggest that Matthew used a version more like 4Q76 than the MT in Matthew 11:10.[103]

As I have demonstrated throughout my examination of the return of Elijah beliefs in Second Temple literature, Elijah comes before YHWH's return.[104] Matthew's citation of a version of Malachi 3:1 like that of 4Q76 supplements this understanding of YHWH's coming after Elijah by explaining how YHWH can come in Jesus and yet remain transcendent. It offers biblical support for this notion. Following 4Q76's version of Malachi 3:1, Jesus in Matthew 11:10 is identified with הָאָדוֹן from Malachi 3:1, a hypostasis of YHWH and yet in Matthew the human son of Mary (Matt 1:25).[105] This explanation as to how Jesus can be thought of as having a divine identity within a Jewish monotheistic framework has parallels with the Son of Man's divine identity (see section 4.4.1) within the parables of Enoch. Both are attempts to explore and describe how there is a plurality within the one God of Israel. Up to this point, Matthew has kept these two distinct, biblical ways of speaking of a plurality within Jewish monotheism separate from each other in his speaking of Jesus. But he will soon bring them together (Matt 11:19; 17:9–13) because for Matthew, both of the themes of Jesus as the one who comes after Elijah and as the Son of Man end up describing Jesus as the divine judge. Jesus sharing in the identity of the God who comes after Elijah becomes the divine judge of Israel because Israel rejected and killed Elijah upon Elijah's return (Mal 3:24). Consequently, YHWH will strike the land of Israel with a curse. This parallels Jesus as the apocalyptic Son of Man because according to Walck, Nickelsburg and Fletcher-Louis, Matthew's Son of Man is developed in the direction of the Enochic book of parables' Son of Man who also functions as the divine judge.[106]

---

[103] Here I follow Evans who suggests that what may at first appear to be a misquotation or a paraphrase of an Old Testament text may actually be the use of a version of the text that is now lost. Craig A. Evans, *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2004), 4–5. This is significant here because Matthew's citation in Matthew 11:10 is not identical to 4Q76's version of Malachi 3:1. It is just closer to it than to our other versions of Malachi 3:1.

[104] See also DeYoung who also argues that in Mal 3:1, Elijah was to come before YHWH would come and set up his kingdom. In Matt 11:10 De Young argues that the Matthean Jesus has identified the messiah as YHWH with his use of Mal 3:1 and Exod 23:20. See DeYoung, "The Function of Malachi 3:1 in Matthew 11:10: Kingdom Reality as the Hermeneutic of Jesus," 69, 71.

[105] See similarly France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 428; Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 338; Evans, *Matthew*, 238; Osborne, *Matthew*, 420. Morris claims that the Mal 3:10 passage has Jesus as the "manifestation of YHWH." But he then goes on to speak of John preparing the way for the messiah even though the messiah is not referred to at all. See Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 279–80.

[106] Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew,* 249–50; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 75; Fletcher-Louis, *Jesus Monotheism*,1: 189–91. This is possibly because the Book of Parables' interpretation of Dan 7:13 in 1 Enoch 46–47 was a popular way of interpreting Daniel 7:13 in the first century.

5.6 Matthew 11:11–15

In Matthew 11:11, Jesus contrasts the era up to John the Baptist and the new era of the kingdom of heaven.[107] The contrast between the two eras in Matthew 11:11 is not an example of Jesus insulting John the Baptist. It is a statement emphasising the significance of the era of the kingdom of heaven and the good fortune of those who are able to enter into it.[108] John the Baptist's significance (Matt 11:11a) is not as great as the smallest who lives in the era of the kingdom of heaven and enters into it. It is not a salvation issue being discussed but an era issue.[109] The new era that all the law and the prophets pointed to (Matt 11:13) is being fulfilled in and through Jesus' kingdom of heaven movement. Thus, anyone who has entered into the new era is greater than anyone from the old era. John proclaimed the kingdom of heaven and prepared the way for the one who would usher the kingdom into the world.[110] Because Malachi's angel/messenger has come, the times in which they are living are the times of God's coming.[111] In Matthew 11:11–13, Jesus' intention seems to be to make Malachi's angel/messenger's arrival speak not mainly to Jesus' identity but to the times in which they are living. He develops this notion with comments about how John the Baptist is the greatest man ever born to date, yet the least in the kingdom of heaven is superior to him.[112] The meaning of this statement is explained further in Matthew 11:12–13 with Jesus' comments about how John the Baptist represents a turning point in history.[113] John's ministry marks the end of the time of preparation while Jesus' ministry marks the beginning of the time of the kingdom of heaven. This temporal focus that we also saw earlier in Jesus' answer to John's disciples' question is significant for a holistic understanding of Jesus' identity and task. As above, Jesus is the fulfilment of many of their

---

[107] France calls the eras the era of preparation and the era of fulfilment. See France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 428.

[108] Keener states "Jesus' contemporaries and successors developed hyperbolic and superlative praise still further: rabbis called Johanan ben Zakkai 'the least' of Hillel's eighty disciples not to demean Johanan but to praise Hillel as a teacher (ARN 28, §57B)." Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 339. See also, France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 428; Evans, *Matthew*, 238; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 251; Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 280.

[109] France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 428; Evans, *Matthew*, 238; Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 280.

[110] Davies and Allison suggest that the two strongest interpretations of John's relationship to the era of the kingdom of heaven are, first, that just as Moses led Israel up to the promised land but was not able to enter into it, so John the Baptist led people to the kingdom of heaven and was unable to enter into it. This option excludes John the Baptist from the kingdom of heaven. The second option suggested by Davies and Allison is that Jesus is contrasting the present state of the greatest of men [humans?] (John the Baptist) with the future state of the least in the kingdom of heaven. This view does not exclude John the Baptist from the kingdom of heaven and emphasises the not yet aspect of the kingdom of heaven. Davies and Allison slightly favour the later position. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 251–52. I however find the first position, which is the majority position, more persuasive because it fits the inaugurated eschatology of Matthew's Gospel better. See Osborne, *Matthew*, 421; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 428; Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 280.

[111] France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 428; Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 338; Evans, *Matthew*, 238; Osborne, *Matthew*, 420.

[112] Morris suggests that the greatness of those in the kingdom of heaven refers to their privilege rather than their character or achievement. See Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 280.

[113] Luz argues that Matthew is not fundamentally wanting to exclude John from the Kingdom of heaven and that v. 11 needs be read with vv. 12–13. See Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 142. Similarly see Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew,* 282.

expectations of the figures of the eschaton. This is why the crowds fail to squeeze Jesus into any one set of expectations regarding those eschatological figures (Matt 11:16–19). Since the crowds will not be able to get Jesus' identity entirely correct, Jesus consistently points them to the times in which they live so that they might believe that, whoever Jesus is, God is once again at work.

This raises the question as to which era John the Baptist belongs to, because Matthew 11:11 makes it sound like he is part of the old era, while vv. 12–13 make it sound like he is part of the new era. I suggest that this is deliberate as John the Baptist's ministry is the hinge upon which the old era and the new era turn.[114] John pointed forward to Jesus (Matt 3:2–3, 11–12) and John's ministry overlapped that of Jesus when the new era was being ushered in. This suggestion finds its textual support from the inclusive use of the temporal ἀπό at the start of Matthew 11:12.[115] Thus, it is from (and including) the days of John the Baptist that the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence. I would suggest (as per my argument below) that John the Baptist is one of those who the Βιασταί kept from experiencing the era of the kingdom of heaven.

In Matthew 11:12 Matthew begins to weave into his discussion of John the Baptist his important theme of the rejection of John the Baptist and the kingdom of heaven. The first clause of Matthew 11:12 has three parts, a point of departure, a subject and a new theme, which is placed in a position of prominence within the clause.[116] The second clause of Matthew 11:12 then comments on the new information that was marked in the first clause as especially significant for the discussion. The first clause can be broken up as follows into its different parts.

Point of Departure	ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ ἕως ἄρτι
Subject	ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν
New emphasised theme	βιάζεται

The verb βιάζω is in a position of prominence and has had much discussion about its meaning.[117] However, there is a slight majority of scholars suggesting that the verb is best

---

[114] Luz describes John the Baptist as the "connecting link between Israel and the kingdom of God." See Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 142. Osborne rightly points out that the debate as to whether John is inside or outside the kingdom is pointless as John is the turning point between the ages. See Osborne, *Matthew*, 422.

[115] One would expect a reference to a point in time rather than a span of time as we have here if the ἀπό was meant to be exclusive. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2: 253–54; Carson, "Matthew," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, Kindle Edition, Matt 11:12.

[116] Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 34–36.

[117] Other options include taking βιάζω as a middle intransitive so that it is the Kingdom of Heaven that is breaking into this world "violently" and the followers of Jesus (the violent) seize it eagerly. For an example see Keener who suggests that βιάζω is a middle intransitive verb and that the second clause can be understood either positively as "Jesus' followers as spiritual warriors laying hold of the kingdom," or negatively, "as outsiders attempting to seize the kingdom for themselves without God's consent," See Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 339–40.

understood in Matthew as being a passive-negative.[118] This interpretation is the best for several reasons. First, it is the only interpretation that fits the broader context of opposition to John the Baptist and Jesus.[119] Secondly, "It corresponds to most of the linguistic parallels."[120] Then finally, it corresponds best to the meaning of the second clause where ἁρπάζω is best understood as in Matthew 12:29 and 13:19 as "snatched away," or "taken away" and not "seized onto" as in the passive-positive and the non-antithetical middle intransitive interpretations. Thus, the second clause is understood as violent people snatch the Kingdom of Heaven away from those who would enter into it (see Matt 23:13).[121]

In Matthew 11:14 it becomes clear that Matthew's Jesus still very much has Malachi 3:1 in mind as he now refers to Malachi 3:23–24 with his reference to Elijah.[122] It is explicit here that

---

I, however, agree with Luz who points out "this interpretation of v. 12b can be made to agree with the meaning of ἁρπάζω only with difficulty, with βιαστής scarcely, and with the combination of the two not at all." See Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 140. A second option is that βιάζω is taken as a middle intransitive, and that the second clause of the verse is understood to relate to the first clause antithetically. Thus, the kingdom of heaven is breaking in irresistibly but there are violent people who try to rob it. Carson adopts this view, suggesting that Jesus' miracles are examples of the kingdom's powerful advancement against the powers of evil. See Carson, "Matthew," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, Kindle Edition, Matt 11:12. However, καί, which introduces the second clause, does not make the first clause antithetical to the second clause. The καί only signals that the clauses need to be processed closely together and if the clauses were to be related as antithetical ideas the antithesis would be clearly contained in the clauses themselves not in the καί. See Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament,* 23–26. If Matthew intended the second clause to be understood antithetically or as a correction to the first clause, he surely would have used ἀλλά and not καί to relate the clauses which have no obvious antithesis about them. Nolland also argues for this position suggesting that the second clause is redundant and rather anticlimactic if one takes it otherwise. See Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 457–58. However, this is patently not the case as the grammar of the clauses and their content make clear. The first clause emphatically introduces the idea of suffering violence while the second clause describes the violence that it is suffering. A final option is that the verb βιάζω is understood as a passive-positive. Thus, the kingdom of Heaven suffers violence from Jesus' followers who claim it for themselves. However, as Schrenk points out "βιάζεσθαι … is not used for laudable striving, but for hostile acts of force." See G. Schrenk, "βιάζομαι, βιαστής," pages 609–14 in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, eds G. Kittel, G. W. Bromiley and G. Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 1: 610.

[118] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 141; Schrenk, "βιάζομαι, βιαστής," 611–12. R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 429–30; Osborne, *Matthew*, 422; Turner, *Matthew*, 294–95; Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 281–82. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 255–56. Peter Scott Cameron also suggests that the verb βιάζω is best taken as a passive negative at the end of his extensive survey of the interpretive history of Matt 11:12. He also suggests that it is John the Baptist's suffering that Jesus is referring to as the violence the Kingdom of heaven is suffering. In the light of the many opposing theories that this passage has been used to support throughout its interpretive history, I do take his caution regarding the use of the passage seriously: "At least no solution should be used to support any theory about the Kingdom of God or as a basis for further speculation, unless it is grounded in a respectable method and accompanied by the acknowledgment of all the difficulties and of the plausibility of the alternatives." Peter Scott Cameron, *Violence and the Kingdom: The Interpretation of Matthew 11:12,* ANTJ 5 (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 158–60.

[119] This discussion is followed by a parable about how this generation has rejected John the Baptist and Jesus (Matt 11:16–19). That parable is then followed by Jesus pronouncing judgment upon all those places that had rejected him (Matt 11:20–24). Evans takes the people of Israel as those who suffer violence from the Romans since the days of John the Baptist (Evans, *Matthew*, 238). This is unlikely due to Jesus' following parable that portrays Israel as rejecting Jesus and John the Baptist (see section 5.7).

[120] Schrenk, "βιάζομαι, βιαστής," 611.

[121] Schrenk, "βιάζομαι, βιαστής," 611–12.

[122] Luz says Matthew 11:14's statement about John the Baptist's identity is the goal to which the argument of Matthew 11:11–14 is heading. See Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 142.

Jesus understands Elijah of Malachi 3:23–24 to be the angel/messenger from Malachi 3:1 and that both these passages speak of John the Baptist.[123] Matthew's Jesus weaves Elijah from Malachi 3:23–24 into his discussion of the hinging of the two eras of history and of the violence the new era of the kingdom of heaven is suffering. Morris points out that the start of Matthew 11:14 (εἰ θέλετε δέξασθαι) points to one's attitude as to whether one can accept what Jesus is claiming.[124] It reiterates the point from Matthew 11:6 regarding whether one would allow one's expectations of Jesus' works to cause one to stumble in regards to Jesus. Just as I have argued that Matthew 11:6 pointed to Jesus' divine identity as a potential cause for people to stumble depending on how they received that statement and the works that suggest it, so one's attitude

---

[123] Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 459; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 432; Morris, *The Gospel According to Matthew*, 283; Osborne, *Matthew*, 422; Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 338; Turner, *Matthew*, 295; Blomberg, *Matthew,* 39; Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, 287–88, 340. Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 340–42. Merrill, *An Exegetical Commentary – Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 389; DeYoung, "The Function of Malachi 3:1 in Matthew 11:10: Kingdom Reality as the Hermeneutic of Jesus," 71. Luz claims that John the Baptist "is nothing less than the returned Elijah," which would seem to imply that John the Baptist is somehow to be identified with the ancient prophet Elijah (see sections 4.1–4.3.4). Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 142. DeYoung argues that in Matt 11:14 Jesus seems to be going beyond a typological identification between Elijah and John the Baptist. He argues that if it was just a typological identification then the major connection point between the Testaments that is the return of Elijah is unhistorical and reduced to merely structural similarity. See DeYoung, "The Function of Malachi 3:1 in Matthew 11:10: Kingdom Reality as the Hermeneutic of Jesus," 79–80. On the other hand, Evans and Osborne argue John the Baptist cannot be taken as Elijah *redivivus,* but that John the Baptist is a type of Elijah because in John 1:21, John the Baptist denies being Elijah. See Evans, *Matthew*, 239; Osborne, *Matthew*, 422. There are two suggestions in Evans' statement that need to be commented on – Elijah *redivivus* and John 1:21. First, the suggestion that John the Baptist might be Elijah *redivivus,* if by *redivivus* it is meant come back to life again, is a highly questionable statement on historical grounds. As argued in sections 4.1–4.3.4, we have little to no evidence that pre-Christian Jews believed that Elijah died. If Elijah was not believed to have died, then how could anyone believe that Elijah would be revived/come back to life in order to return? Further, to try and relate Elijah's return to Nero *redivivus* is inappropriate. Belief in Elijah's return existed prior to Nero and if John the Baptist was identified with Elijah by the early Christians before Nero's death in 68 C. E., which is likely, then Nero *redivivus* had no impact on the early Christian understanding of John the Baptist's identity as Elijah. Additionally, there are significant differences between beliefs about Elijah and beliefs about Nero. Elijah ascended alive into heaven while Nero either fled alive to the east (Suetonius, *Nero* 40.2; Sib. Or. 4.119–124, 137–139) or, according to some interpretations of Revelation, died and returned *redivivus* as the Emperor Domitian. See Hans-Josef Klauk, "Do they Never come back? Nero *redivivus* and the Apocalypse of John," *CBQ* 63 (2001): 690–98. As such, the only two plausible ways for understanding John the Baptist's identity as Elijah is a typological identity or that John the Baptist was somehow the returned historical Elijah (not *redivivus* as that implies coming back to life). See Klauck, "Do they Never come back?" 695). I have argued that the latter is more plausible in section 4.1–4.3.4. However, as in Evans and Osborne above, a push back against this view is how one can then reconcile Matthew's explicit view that John the Baptist is Elijah with John's explicit view that John is not Elijah? A proper answer to this question requires an extensive discussion on the authorship, genre, purposes of the John the Baptist traditions in the Gospels and the historical reliability of both Matthew's and John's John the Baptist traditions. This intriguing discussion lies beyond the scope of my thesis. I would however emphasise that any discussion regarding John the Baptist's identity in Matthew and John needs to be conducted within the context of the different ways Matthew and John use the John the Baptist and return of Elijah traditions. Matthew tends to highlight John the Baptist's significance (Matt 11:10, 11, 14, etc.) because of what it infers about Jesus, while on the other hand, John tends to downplay John the Baptist's significance (John 1:6–9, 20–21; 3:30) because he wants to avoid John the Baptist from becoming a distraction from, or perhaps rival too, Jesus. Similarly see Köstenberger, *John*, 138. Michaels argues that in John 1:20–21, John's Gospel reflects the view that Elijah was supposed to come before YHWH as a messiah in his own right. Because John the Baptist denies being the messiah in John 1:20, John cannot have John the Baptist admitting to being Elijah – another messianic figure – in John 1:21 as this would set John the Baptist up in competition with Jesus. See J. R. Michaels, *The Gospel of John,* NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2010), 97–98.

[124] Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 283. Similarly see Osborne, *Matthew*, 422.

will determine whether one receives the information that John the Baptist is the coming Elijah from Malachi 3:23–24 and all that it implies about Jesus.

This invites us to listen carefully (as we are prompted to do in Matt 11:15) to the story of Malachi 3:23–24 along with what Matthew's Jesus is telling us. In Malachi 3:23–24 the success of Elijah in restoring Israel to covenantal faithfulness meant God would come in blessing for Israel and presumably judgment on Gentiles (Mal 3:5, 19–21). But if Elijah could not restore Israel to covenantal faithfulness then YHWH אבוא והכיתי את־הארץ חרם (will come and strike the land with a curse of destruction).[125] Matthew has told us that John the Baptist has been thrown into prison (Matt 4:12) and that from the time of John the Baptist (inclusive) the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence (Matt 11:12).[126] Thus, it sounds like Matthew's Jesus is suggesting that part of the violence the kingdom of heaven has suffered is the throwing of John the Baptist, who is Malachi's Elijah, into prison. If this is the case, then Israel's leaders have rejected Elijah and should expect YHWH to come and strike the land with a curse of destruction. Thus far, this suggestion can only be heard by the reader who is willing to follow Jesus' instructions in Matthew 11:15 and listen carefully to what he has said. If this is what Jesus meant we could expect him to make it clearer for the reader by making it plain that this generation (and not just Herod) has rejected John the Baptist (Malachi's Elijah) and the one who comes after him. Further, we could expect a pronouncement of judgment upon those who have rejected John the Baptist by the one who comes after him. That is exactly what Matthew's Jesus goes on to do in Matthew 11:16–24.

5.7 Matthew 11:16-19

In Matthew 11:16, Matthew's Jesus makes his first reference to τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην, a phrase that is mainly used to speak disapprovingly of Jesus' contemporaries in Matthew.[127] The phrase finds its background in Old Testament passages regarding other wicked generations.[128] Here the attitude of τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην toward Jesus and John the Baptist is the subject of the parable.[129] Jesus' generation were unable to squeeze either John the Baptist or Jesus into the categories of their eschatological characters.

---

[125] Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, 341–42; Merrill, *An Exegetical Commentary – Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi,* 390; Taylor and Clendenen, *Haggai and Malachi,* 462; Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi,* 386.

[126] Osborne argues this point and adds to it the opposition faced by the disciples in their mission in Matthew 10. John the Baptist will soon be executed and opposition to Jesus' kingdom of heaven ministry is ever increasing (Osborne, *Matthew*, 422).

[127] See Matt 12:39, 41, 42, 45; 16:4; 17:17; 23:36, and 24:34, which is an exception. France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 432–-433. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2: 260.

[128] In particular the unbelieving generation in the wilderness wanderings (Deut 1:35; 32:5, 20) and Noah's generation. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, : 260.

[129] This is an important link to the opening words of Matt 11:14 (εἰ θέλετε δέξασθαι) that highlighted one's attitude towards Jesus as essential for whether one has ears to hear. See Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 283; Osborne, *Matthew*, 422. That Jesus goes on to tell the parable of Matt 11:17 about this generation indicates that

There are two ways to take the parable of Matthew 11:16–17. Either, John the Baptist and Jesus are "the children" who sit, play the music and call out and "this generation" are those who fail to respond to the music that is being played appropriately.[130] Or, more likely in my view, "the children" who sit, play the music and call out are "this generation."[131] In this view, Jesus and John the Baptist are those who do not respond to the music the children are playing as the children would like them to. In either case, the point is made clear in Matthew 11:16-19 that "this generation' had rejected John the Baptist and Jesus.[132]

Matthew 11:19 has two potential instances where it picks up traditions, other than Jesus as the one to return after Elijah, and uses them to speak to Jesus' identity and vocation. The first potential reference to Jesus' divine identity comes in Matthew's phrase καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς. Some have claimed the ἔργα of σοφία forms an inclusio with the ἔργα of the Χριστός from Matthew 11:2 and as such, the σοφία and the Χριστός are identified as being one and the same.[133] Jesus is divine wisdom. This is an attractive Christological statement that fits Matthew's weaving together of the divine and the messiah and the Christological statements of Matthew 11:5 and 10. Further, it anticipates the statement of divine wisdom that follows Jesus' pronouncement of divine judgment (Matt 11:28-30).[134] But there are good reasons for doubting that Matthew is identifying Jesus and divine wisdom. Most commentators argue that John's works are just as much in focus in the context of Matthew 11:16–19 so that this statement about wisdom being vindicated by her works must include John's works as well.[135] As such, the messiah's works from Matthew 11:2 forms an inclusion with wisdom's works in Matthew 11:19, which refer to both Jesus and John's works. Hence, it is unlikely the works of wisdom in Matthew 11:19 refers to Jesus' divine identity.

Jesus' generation would not accept what Jesus was saying about John, and more significantly, what that meant about Jesus' identity.

[130] France, *The Gospel of Matthew,* 433–34; Evans, *Matthew*, 240; Osborne, *Matthew*, 426; Turner, *Matthew*, 296. Nolland proposes an interesting variation of this hypothesis where Jesus and John sit in the marketplace and call out in a mock judgment scene, see Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 463.

[131] I think this view is more likely because first, Matt 11:16 likens "this generation" to "children" rather than Jesus and John the Baptist. Secondly, because the first clause of v. 17 seems to be in parallel with v. 18 and the second clause of v. 17 seems to be in parallel with v. 19. In both cases, the children are better taken as "this generation." Similarly see Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 341; Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 2: 262.

[132] See Osborne, *Matthew*, 426; Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 341; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 433; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 464; Turner*, Matthew*, 296; Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 285; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 262.

[133] Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 2: 264· M. Jack Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1970), 1–144.

[134] Similarly see Evans who notes numerous parallels between Matt 11:28–30 and divine wisdom (Prov 9:5; Wis 2:6; Sir 24:19; 51:23–27). See Evans, *Matthew*, 247; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 447–48; Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 349.

[135] Evans, *Matthew*, 241. See also Osborne, *Matthew*, 427; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 434–35; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 464; Turner, *Matthew*, 296. Luz attempts to take a middle road arguing that Matthew presupposes Jesus' identity as divine wisdom but does not explicitly state this. See Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 149.

The second tradition in Matthew 11:19 that Matthew potentially uses to speak of Jesus' divine identity is Jesus as the Son of Man.[136] Most commentators give this reference to the Son of Man little attention as they assume that this is an example of the Son of Man being used in an idiomatic fashion as a self-reference.[137] However, I think Jesus' divine identity as the Son of Man is in view here. First, up to this point, Jesus' divine identity has been spoken of throughout Matthew 11 as the one coming after Elijah and as John the Baptist's ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Second, the Son of Man was used by pre-Christian Jews to speak of a divine Son of Man in 1 Enoch 46–47 (see section 4.4.1). Third, two of the three prior uses of the Son of Man in Matthew characterise Jesus as Daniel 7:13's Son of Man.[138] Fourth, both the Enochic and Matthean Son of Man and the one to return after Elijah (especially if Elijah had been rejected) are coming in judgment.[139] Then finally, the following pericope, which details Jesus pronouncing judgment (like the Enochic Son of Man from 1 Enoch 46-47), suggests that there is plenty in the context that favours an apocalyptic reading of the Son of Man in Matthew 11:19. Once again, as a result of the reasons above that insist that this is one of the sections of Matthew that speak of Jesus in divine terms, I

---

[136] For further discussion on the Son of Man see section 4.4.1. Before Matt 11:19 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου has appeared three times (Matt 8:20; 9:6; 10:23). As I argued above, the key to determining what Matthew may be meaning by the obscure phrase is to listen to the narrative in which it is embedded. In Matt 8:20 there is nothing in the immediate context to suggest that Matthew is using the phrase to characterise Jesus in terms of Dan 7:13–14. Similarly see France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 326. Up to this point Matthew has used other traditions to speak of Jesus' divine identity such as "God with us" (Matt 1:21–23) and Jesus as the one coming after Elijah (Matt 3:1–11). However, in Matt 9:26, Jesus forgives the paralytic's sin and is accused of blasphemy. Jesus then refers to himself as the Son of Man and heals the paralytic so that the crowd will know that he has authority to forgive sins. Within the context of this second use of the Son of Man there are three indications that Matthew's Jesus is using it not simply as a self-reference, but as characterising Jesus as Dan 7:13's Son of Man. The first is that, in Matthew's Gospel, Jesus is "God with us" and has a divine identity from the outset. By characterising Jesus as the Son of Man, Matthew is explaining how this very human Jesus can also be divine by referring to the Jewish Scriptures. This is important for the pericope that contains Matt 9:6, as the Pharisees are complaining as to how this very human Jesus can claim to do what only God can do and forgive sins. By referring to himself as the Son of Man, Jesus explains how he can be human and yet divine. The second indication that Jesus' use of the Son of Man in Matt 9:6 is characterising himself according to Dan 7:13 is that Jesus is doing something that only God is supposed to be able to do – forgive sins. He is rightly called out on it and charged with blasphemy by the teachers of the law. But Jesus demonstrates that it is not blasphemy because he is the Son of Man and heals the paralytic. The final indication that Jesus is being characterised as the Son of Man in Matt 9:6 is the reference to his authority (ἐξουσία), which is one of the key words used to describe the Son of Man in Dan 7:13–14. See Evans, *Matthew*, 200; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 93-94; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 347; Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 290–91. This should naturally impact how we understand every reference to the Son of Man from here on in Matthew's Gospel. I would suggest that because Matthew has used the Son of Man to characterise Jesus in Matt 9:6, we should assume that is what he is doing in every later reference to Jesus as the Son of Man. In Matt 10:23, Jesus speaks of the Son of Man coming, with the verb ἔρχομαι, that comes straight out of Dan 7:13. Leaving aside the extensive eschatological debates surrounding this verse, the fact that Matthew's Jesus uses verb ἔρχομαι, coupled with the context of Jesus as "God with us" and the prior use of the Son of Man to characterise Jesus in Matt 9:6, there is enough evidence to indicate that Jesus is once again speaking of the Son of Man in terms of Dan 7:13. See Evans, *Matthew*, 224; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 263–64; Keener speaks of the Son of Man's return and as such indicates that he thinks Matt 10:23 has an eschatological focus. Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 324.

[137] See Osborne, *Matthew*, 427. Allison and Davies, *Matthew*, 2: 263–64.

[138] See chapter 5, footnote 138.

[139] Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew,* 249–50. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 75: Fletcher-Louis, *Jesus Monotheism*,1: 189–91. This is possibly because the book of parables interpretation of Dan 7:13 in 1 Enoch 46-47 was a popular way of interpreting Dan 7:13 in the first century.

differ from the majority of commentators in entertaining the possibility that Matthew's use of the Son of Man in Matthew 11:19 is another reference to Jesus' divine identity.

Luz makes the intriguing observation of the twofold use of ἄνθρωπος in Matthew 11:19, once in the Son of Man phrase, and the second at the start of the accusation phrase.[140] Luz notes how most seem to take the second occurrence of ἄνθρωπος as a redundant use and do not translate it.[141] Luz then goes on to suggest that this misses the point of what the Matthean Jesus is getting at. The crowds have understood Jesus' use of the phrase the Son of Man as a self-reference and as such, have misunderstood the claim Jesus has been making of himself. Jesus has been claiming to have a divine identity (Matt 11:5, 10, 14) and one way he chooses to do this is by referring to himself as the Son of Man. However, the crowd has (mis)understood Jesus' use of the Son of Man to be a way Jesus refers to himself as a human. Thus, the crowd says of Jesus "behold a man, a glutton, etc."[142] The crowds stumbled at Jesus' works, failing to understand what they indicated about Jesus' identity (Matt 11:5-6). The crowds were not willing to accept Jesus' claims about John the Baptist's identity as Elijah (with its implications for Jesus' identity) (Matt 11:14). The crowds did not have ears to hear what Jesus was saying (Matt 11:15) and have misunderstood Jesus' claim to be the Son of Man as an idiomatic self-reference.[143] In fact, as I have argued, it is a claim to Jesus' divine identity.

5.8 Matthew 11: 20-24

In Matthew 11:20–24 the Matthean Jesus acts in a way consistent with the Lord who was to come after the Malachian Elijah, if the Malachian Elijah had been rejected. Jesus begins to pronounce judgement on the cities/towns in which most of his mighty works had been done (v.20) because they had not repented (v.20, 21).[144] Up to this point, the theme of Jesus' powerful

---

[140] Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 149.

[141] Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 149. Neither the NIV, the ESV or the NRSV translate the second occurrence of ἄνθρωπος.

[142] That the crowds made the statements of Matt 11:19 of Jesus, demonstrates a serious note of rejection and opposition. The phrase φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης comes from Deut 21:18–21 where an unruly son would be brought by his parents to the gate of a city, be accused of being a glutton and a drunk and then be stoned by the community. See Evans, *Matthew*, 241; Nolland, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 464; Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 342. The second part of the accusation (τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν) seems to follow the logic of Psalm 1 regarding how the righteous should not keep company with the wicked. See similarly Osborne, *Matthew*, 427.

[143] Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 149. Brown has highlighted how important the Isaianic theme of hearing is for Matthew's Gospel (especially in Matthew 11). She concludes that the way Matthew uses the theme of hearing invites the reader to consider "what kind of hearer will I be?" Brown, "The Rhetoric of Hearing: The Use of the Isaianic Hearing Motif in Matthew 11:2–16:20," 266–68. Will I hear in the same way as Jesus' generation and conclude regarding Jesus Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος (Matt 11:19)? Or, will I have heard in Jesus claims to be John the Baptist's ὁ ἐρχόμενος, the one returning after Elijah and the Son of Man a claim that leads me to respond in the same way as the disciples and worship him (Matt 28:17)?

[144] This is the first time in the narrative that Χοραζίν and Βηθσαϊδά have been mentioned. Some have suggested that it is not true to suggest that mighty works have been done among them. However, if we have correctly identified these two towns as both being situated nearby Capernaum, along the northern area of the lake, then they must certainly be included in statements throughout Matthew related to Jesus' whereabouts and works around Galilee (Matt 4:23, 25; 9:26, 35; 11:1). Thus, it does not matter that they have not been specifically named,

works (δύναμις) has been significant throughout chapter 11. In Matthew 11:2 it was those works that John had heard about, which caused him to doubt whether Jesus was the ὁ ἐρχόμενος.[145] It was a list of Jesus' powerful works that Jesus used to confront the Baptist's doubts and change the focus from Jesus' identity to the time in which they were living (v.5).[146] If one accepts the non-traditional interpretation of the parable in v. 17, which I take above, where "this generation" are the children who call out to John and Jesus to take on certain roles in their game, then, it was the works of John (v. 18) and Jesus (v. 19) that were not what the children wanted which led to the rejection of both John and Jesus.[147] Further, in v. 19, it is by the works of σοφία that she will be justified. The point throughout seems to be that "this generation" had missed the wood for the specific trees they were looking for. They had been unsuccessfully trying to force both Jesus and John into one of the moulds of their eschatological characters. Because Jesus and John did not precisely fit their expectations, they rejected them, despite the powerful works done among them that indicated that the Kingdom of Heaven was arriving. As such, Jesus fulfils his role as YHWH who comes after Elijah (Malachi 3:23–24) and pronounces judgment upon them.[148]

5.9 Conclusion

I have argued that Matthew has intentionally used the expectation of Elijah's return as a significant theme in his Gospel to speak to Jesus' identity and his vocation of judgment. Within Matthew 11:2–24, I have argued that this theme is drawn out in detail and I suggest in a cameo form for the way the Elijah theme is used within the rest of Matthew. In Matthew 3:1–11 the coming one after John has a divine identity and is Jesus. In Matthew 11, Matthew uses John's doubt as to whether Jesus is the coming one to highlight that, for Matthew, Jesus is indeed the coming one. He does this in two ways. First, he points to Jesus' works and the –Scripture they fulfil that points to the eschatological time of God's actions in the world (Matt 11:5). Then secondly, and more explicitly, the narrative begins to focus on John the Baptist's identity as Elijah because of the implications that this has for Jesus' identity. For Matthew, John the Baptist is Elijah, which means the coming one after him is YHWH (Matt 11:14). At this point in the

---

for the inhabitants of those towns have been included in the events of Jesus' ministry up to this point, as the above references demonstrate. Similarly see France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 437–38. Therefore, Jesus is justified in naming them specifically as places that had seen his powerful works and yet rejected him.

[145] Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 10; Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 490; France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 132, 781.

[146] Novakovic, "4Q521: The Works of the Messiah or the Signs of the Messianic Time?" 228-29. Similarly see Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 134.

[147] Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 341- Davies and Allison, *Matthew*,2: 262.

[148] The Matthean Jesus compares Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum with pagan cities that are mentioned as the subjects of pending doom in the prophets (Isa 23:1–17; Ezekiel 26–28 and Gen 19:23–29). This would have been a shocking comparison for the reader. Twice the Matthean Jesus refers to ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως in these verses (Matt 11:22; 24). The phrase is used in two other places within Matthew, once in 10:15 and the other in 12:36. Both of these instances also have an eschatological finality about them. Similarly see Luz, *Matthew 8–20*, 153. Comber argues that from this point on in Matthew, Jesus enters a new relationship with Israel. See Comber, "The Composition and Literary Characteristics of Matthew 11:20–24," 503.

Malachian drama that Matthew has rewritten in terms of John the Baptist and Jesus, both Elijah and YHWH are on stage.

However, Matthew's Elijah was in prison (Matt 11:2) and the people of Israel had, generally speaking, rejected both Matthew's Elijah and Matthew's YHWH (Matt 11:16–19). This has had the effect that Matthew's Elijah has not been able to complete his task of restoring Israel to covenantal faithfulness ready for YHWH's coming. As noted in section 2, a Jewish community that believed that Elijah had come but had been unable to complete his task would then likely believe that YHWH would come and strike the land with a curse of destruction. We began to see this unfold in Matthew 11:20–24.[149]

[149] Luz argues that the theme of judgement on unrepentant Israel is a theme that is heightened and continued throughout Matthew. Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 152-153. For reasons of space I cannot comment further on Matthew's theme of judgement here but see the comments in the conclusion.

Chapter 6 Conclusions

In my thesis, I have entered into the debate around whether pre-Christian Jews believed Elijah would return before YHWH or before the messiah. I reviewed all the evidence in detail and reached the conclusion that all the pre-Christian evidence suggests that Elijah was to return before YHWH. I then proceeded to argue that both Mark and Matthew picked up this tradition, and that it plays a significant role in their Gospels in providing part of the biblical framework for their beliefs about Jesus' identity and vocation. I focussed on Matthew's Gospel where the return of Elijah themes are treated with the most force and reviewed the Matthean context up to Matthew 11 that is relevant to John's beliefs regarding the one coming after him. I eventually argued that the plot line of Malachi 3:23–24 has been followed by Matthew's plotline in Matthew 11:2–24. First, Elijah comes before YHWH. Second, the major plot twist, which Malachi 3:23–24 was prepared for, where Israel rejects Elijah and thereby the one who sent him (YHWH). Then finally, YHWH comes as Jesus and begins to pronounce judgment on unbelieving Israel.

I regard this thesis as merely opening a door to much new terrain for future research. I have argued that Matthew 11:2–24 plays out the Malachian drama in cameo. However, this Malachian theme, to my mind, plays out throughout Matthew's Gospel and comes to its climax in Jesus' action in the temple. Scholars have rightly pointed out that Jesus' action in the temple is related to other actions by other would-be messiah figures who were attempting to demonstrate their authority over the temple.[1] There are certainly similarities. However, within Matthew's narrative and the way that Matthew has employed the return of Elijah concept, Jesus' enacted sign of judgment looks like an enacted curse upon the central symbol of the Jewish hierarchy that had rejected John the Baptist and Jesus. Jesus' action in the temple looks like an act of striking the temple with a curse of destruction. It looks exactly like what a community would expect YHWH to do if they believed that Israel had rejected Elijah upon his return. A thorough exploration of the possibility of Jesus' action in the temple as the climax of the Elijah forerunner concept could offer rewards and fresh insights into Matthew's understanding of Jesus' action in the temple.

Other fruitful fields that need fresh attention in the light of my arguments regarding the Elijah forerunner concept are Matthew's theme of judgment, Matthew's use of the Son of Man title to characterise Jesus, and the eschatological discourse. Matthew's theme of judgment has often been noted to be more severe and potent when compared to the other Gospels.[2] Further,

---

[1] Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 490–93. See also Ben F. Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus,* PTMS (San Jose, CA: Pickwick, 2002), 179–80. Sanders argues that the common Jewish people believed that the Davidic King would purge Jerusalem and this belief is reflected in Pss. Sol. 17:30. See Sanders, *Judaism, Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE*, 478. To purge Jerusalem is to exercise authority over Jerusalem and thereby the Temple.

[2] Compare for instance the summary of John the Baptist's preaching in Matthew 3:7–12 with Luke and Mark's summaries of John the Baptist's preaching (Mark 1:7–8; Luke 3:7–14). Mark's summary focuses on John's

Matthew characterises his Jesus in the direction of the Enochic Son of Man who is the divine judge more so than the other Gospels.[3] Then finally, as I have argued above, Matthew spends more time and uses the return of Elijah theme more explicitly in his Gospel than the other Gospels do. This surely is no coincidence and a study exploring the interaction of all of these themes and their significance for Matthew's Gospel and Matthew's Jesus would surely yield rewards.

My study above has argued that the return of Elijah concept speaks to Jesus' divine identity and it notes that this theme is especially significant in Matthew 3:1–11 and 11:2–-24. Beyond these chapters the Elijah forerunner concept is significant for Matthew's transfiguration pericope where the narrator once again explicitly points out that John the Baptist is Elijah (Matt 17:13). All of this has significant implications for Matthew's Christology. When Matthew's Elijah forerunner concept is coupled with the observations of other scholars who have argued for the Matthean Jesus' divine identity through Matthew's use of the Son of Man, Jesus "I have come" sayings, Matthew's use of Psalm 110 as well as those unique Matthean passages that have long been recognised to be speaking of Jesus' divine identity (Matt 1:23; 11:25–27; 18:20 and 28:20), the old paradigm that suggests that Matthew's Christology is low (except for the beginning and the end) becomes untenable.[4] It is my hope that my study can contribute to adding another nail in the coffin of that old paradigm as it is time to realise that Matthew uses multiple threads in his tapestry of Jesus that portrays Jesus as Israel's human messiah and yet Israel's deity returning to his people.

Another interesting field that needs to be explored in the light of my study relates to the historical Jesus. Markus Öhler has already argued that the historical John the Baptist likely believed that he was preparing the way for YHWH's return.[5] Further, Joel Marcus has argued that the historical John the Baptist likely had an Elijah self-consciousness.[6] John the Baptist's question regarding Jesus' identity in Matthew 11:3 along with Jesus' action in the temple are widely regarded to be historical.[7] As such, an intriguing question would be, did the historical

---

proclamation of the coming, more powerful one and Luke contains the non-judgmental and hopeful statements of Luke 3:10–14. Mathew's summary on the other hand is fire and brimstone from start to finish. Also see Matthew 23. France notes the substantial amount of material in Matthew relating to the condemnation of the Jewish people who had largely rejected Jesus. He also notes how Matthew picks up this theme from Mark and strongly reinforces it. See R. T. France, "Matthew and Jerusalem," in *Built Upon a Rock* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 108, 126.

[3] See especially Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew,* 249–50. Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch," 145–52.

[4] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 44–45. Hannah, "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch," 145–52. Gathercole, *The Pre-existent Son*, 83–189. Richard Bauckham, *God Crucified* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 29–34. Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans , 2009), 173–81.

[5] Markus Öhler, "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God," 461–76.

[6] Marcus, *John the Baptist in History and Theology*, 46–61.

[7] W. R. I. Herzog, "Temple Cleansing," in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. J. B. Green and S. McKnight (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1992), 817. J. Adna, "Temple Act," in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown and Nicholas Perrin (Downers Grove IL: Intervarsity Press, 2012), 947-951.

Jesus regard John the Baptist to be Elijah? If so, what does this suggest regarding Jesus' aims in his action in the temple? Could it suggest that Jesus believed that he was doing what YHWH was supposed to do, if Israel rejected Elijah, by striking the land with a curse of destruction in his action in the temple?

Another field of potential fruitful study relates to my arguments that Elijah was regarded in pre-Christian Judaism as a priest. In chapter 3 I argued that both 4Q521 and Pseudo-Philo portray Elijah as a priest. I have included a more in-depth argument for this position in 4Q521 in Appendix 2 along with English translations of several places in Rabbinic literature where Elijah is said to be a priest in Appendix 1. This has interesting implications for the presentation of John the Baptist in Luke's Gospel. Luke's Gospel is the only Gospel that tells us that John the Baptist was from a priestly family (Luke 1:5). I wonder if one reason Luke tells us about John the Baptist's priestly lineage is because Luke also presents John the Baptist as Elijah (Luke 1:17). Luke's use of the Elijah forerunner concept is interesting as he also characterises Jesus as a type of Elijah (Luke 7:11–17) and has an interesting phrase to describe John the Baptist's relationship to the historic Elijah in Luke 1:17: "he will go before him in the spirit and power of Elijah."[8] Are both Jesus and John the Baptist merely types of Elijah in Luke's Gospel? Or does Luke's suggestion in Luke 1:16–17 that John would go before God in the spirit and power of Elijah point to a deeper connection between John the Baptist and Elijah than mere typology? The answer to these questions within Luke's Gospel will inevitably lead to more questions and eventually back to questions regarding the relationship between the Matthean John the Baptist and the Lukan John the Baptist. I suggest that my arguments in this thesis for John the Baptist's identity as Elijah calls for a fresh evaluation of the relationships between the Synoptics' presentations of John the Baptist.

A final field of future study that may prove beneficial is the understanding(s) of the Elijah forerunner concept in the Qumran literature and the ways it may have developed throughout the sect's life and the literature's development. As I noted in chapter 3 the Dead Sea corpus does reveal belief in the hope for Elijah's return (4Q521; 4Q558 and 4Q382), which included a unique version of Malachi 3:1-5 in 4Q76. Significantly, the distinctiveness of Malachi 3:1–5 in 4Q76, that there are two individuals other than YHWH, may or may not relate to the distinctiveness of Qumran messianic belief in two messiahs (1QS IX 10). Further, as discussions regarding what we can and cannot know regarding the characters who are referred to throughout the scrolls by various Sobriquets continues to develop, the use of the Sobriquet מחקק in the

[8] Bock notes on the Jesus-Elijah typology in Luke 7:11-17 that while Jesus is portrayed as a type of Elijah through the LXX citation of 1 Kings 17:23, he is also portrayed as greater than Elijah as he invokes his own authority to raise the boy to life and does not need to repeat actions like Elijah. Bock, *Luke 1:1–9:50*, 652.

context of Elijah's ascent in 4Q382 9 2 may yet prove to be insightful for understanding the Qumran sect's beliefs regarding the Elijah forerunner concept.[9]

[9] See section 3.4.4.

Appendix 1: Watt's list of the Rabbis on Elijah's return

Watts provided a list of the Rabbis' comments on Elijah's return in his background commentary to Mark 1:2-3 and they can be broken into the following three groups.[10]

Group One

Group one has Elijah doing something of significance in the final events before God intervenes in history. This group of texts includes passages from Pesikta Rabbati and the Mishnah.

Pesiqta Rabbati was likely compiled in the ninth century C. E. and mentions Elijah's actions in the age of redemption with no mention of another messiah. In Pesiq. Rab. 4:2 it says

> two prophets rose up for Israel out of the Tribe of Levi; one the first of all the Prophets and the other the last of all the Prophets: Moses first and Elijah last, and both with a commission from God to redeem Israel: Moses, with his commission, redeemed them from Egypt, as is said Come now, therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh (Exod. 3:10). And in the time-to-come, Elijah with his commission, will redeem them, as is said Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet (Mal. 3:23). As with Moses, who in the beginning redeemed them out of Egypt, they did not return to slavery again in Egypt; so with Elijah, after he will have redeemed them out of the fourth exile, out of Edom, they will not return and again be enslaved – theirs will be an eternal deliverance.[11]

Then, in Pesiq. Rab. 33:8, in a discussion around the potential difference in meaning (where God uses different 1cs pronouns, **אני** and **אנכי**) it states "With 'nky I will bring the redeemer: Behold, I ('nky) will send you Elijah the prophet (Mal. 3:23)."[12]

Pirqe R. El. 43:12 says that Israel will not repent until Elijah comes. It does not mention a messiah. Pirqe R. El. 43:12 states

> Rabbi Jehudah said: If Israel will not repent they will not be redeemed. Israel only repents because of distress, and because of oppression, and owing to exile, and because they have no sustenance. Israel does not repent quite sincerely until Elijah comes, as it is said, "Behold, I will send you Elijah, the prophet, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers" (Mal. iv. 5, 6).

The Mishnah, the earliest of the compiled Rabbinic writings (early third century), contains a passage where the eschatological Elijah separates the clean from the unclean. In m. Eduyyot 8:7 it states,

> Rabbi Joshua said: I have received a tradition from Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, who heard it from his teacher, and his teacher [heard it] from his teacher, as a halakhah [given] to Moses

---

[10] Watts, "Mark," 118–19.

[11] Leon Nemoy, *Pesikta Rabbati*, vol. 1, trans. by William G. Braude (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1968), 2–3, 84.

[12] Leon Nemoy, *Pesikta Rabbati*, vol. 2, trans. by William G. Braude (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1968), 645.

> from Sinai, that Elijah will not come to pronounce unclean or to pronounce clean, to put away or to bring near, but to put away those brought near by force and to bring near those put away by force. The family of Beth Tzriphah was on the other side of the Jordan and Ben Zion put it away by force; and yet another family was there, and Ben Zion brought it near by force. It is such as these that Elijah will come to pronounce unclean or to pronounce clean, to put away or to bring near. Rabbi Judah says: to bring near, but not to put away. Rabbi Shimon says: to conciliate disputes. And the Sages say: neither to put away nor to bring near, but to make peace in the world, for it is said, "Behold I send to you Elijah the prophet", etc., "and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to their fathers" (Malachi 3:23-4).

Group Two

Group two has Elijah relating to the messiah directly before God intervenes in history but Elijah is not said to prepare the way for the messiah. This group includes texts from Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, the midrash on the Psalms, Talmudic literature, Rabbah Deuteronomy and a midrash on Proverbs.

Tg. Ps.-J on Deuteronomy 30:4 claims that Elijah the priest and the messiah king will help bring about the end of exile. It states,

> Though you may be dispersed unto the ends of the heavens, from thence will the Word of the Lord gather you together by the hand of Elijah the great priest, and from thence will He bring you by the hand of the King Meshiha (Tg. Ps.-J Deut 30:4).

Note that it says nothing about Elijah preparing the way for the messiah king.

A midrash on Psalm 3:7and 42/43:5, probably compiled in the ninth century, also mentions Elijah and the messiah together but says nothing about one preparing the way for the other. Midrash Ps 3:7 states,

> Another comment on I laid me down and I slept. The congregation of Israel said: I laid me down, away from prophecy; and I slept, apart from the Holy Spirit; I awake, through Elijah, as is said "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet" (Mal. 3:23); for the Lord sustaineth me, through the lord Messiah.

Midrash Ps. 42/43:5 states,

> Didst Thou not send redemption at the hand of two redeemers to that generation, as is said He sent Moses His servant, and Aaron whom He had chosen (Ps. 105:26)? Send two redeemers like them to this generation. O send out thy light and thy truth; let them lead me (Ps. 43:3), Thy light being the prophet Elijah of the house of Aaron, of which it is written "the seven lamps shall give light in front of the candle stick" (Num. 8:2); and Thy truth being the Messiah, son of David, as is written "The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David; He will not turn from it: of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne" (Ps.132:11). Likewise scripture says, Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet (Mal. 3:23) who is one redeemer, and speaks of the second redeemer in the verse Behold My servant whom I uphold (Isa. 42:1). Hence O send out Thy light and Thy truth.[13]

[13] Leon Nemoy, *The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 1, trans. William G. Braude (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1959), xi, 59, 445.

Sukkah 52b is a Talmudic piece that mentions Elijah and the messiah but does not have one preparing the way for the other. In t. Sukkah 52b it states

> Apropos the end of days, the Gemara cites another verse and interprets it homiletically. It is stated: "The Lord then showed me four craftsmen" (Zechariah 2:3). Who are these four craftsmen? Rav Ḥana bar Bizna said that Rabbi Shimon Ḥasida said: They are Messiah ben David, Messiah ben Yosef, Elijah, and the righteous High Priest, who will serve in the Messianic era. Rav Sheshet raised an objection: If so, if that is the identity of the four craftsmen, then that which is written in the previous verse: "And he said to me: These are the horns that scattered Judea" (Zechariah 2:4), is difficult; these four in the first verse are coming for their enemies, and are not redeemers." "The Gemara continues homiletically interpreting verses that relate to the end of days. It is stated: "And this shall be peace: When the Assyrian shall come into our land, and when he shall tread in our palaces, then shall we raise against him seven shepherds, and eight princes among men" (Micah 5:4). The Gemara asks: Who are these seven shepherds? The Gemara explains: David is in the middle; Adam, Seth, and Methuselah are to his right; Abraham, Jacob, and Moses are to his left. And who are the eight princes among men? They are Yishai, Saul, Samuel, Amos, Zephania, Zedekiah, Messiah, and Elijah.

Rabbah Deuteronomy 4:11 is a text that links Malachi passages that speak of Elijah and Zechariah 9:9 that speaks of Israel's king. However, the relationship between Elijah and the king is not specified and God also features as an active character in the narrative.

Rabbah Deuteronomy 4:11 states,

> "Another explanation: WHEN THE LORD SHALL ENLARGE. The Rabbis say: this refers to Jerusalem. Only when God will enlarge it will the [full] prosperity of Jerusalem become known. R. Samuel b. Nahman said: This can be compared to a country, etc… Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in ancient years (Mal. Iii, 4). Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers: lest I come and smite the land with utter destruction (ib. III, 23 f). Behold I send My messenger and he shall clear the way before Me; and the Lord, whom you seek, will suddenly come to His temple; and the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in, behold, he cometh, saith the Lord of Hosts (ib. iii, I). Therefore, thus saith the Lord: I return to Jerusalem with compassions; My house shall be built in it, saith the Lord of hosts, and a line shall be stretched forth over Jerusalem. Again, proclaim, saying: Thus saith the Lord of hosts: My cities shall again overflow with prosperity; and the Lord shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem (Zech. I, 16 f). Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy king cometh unto thee, He is triumphant and victorious, lovely, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass (ib. IX, 9).[14]

Midrash Proverbs 19 is a text that identifies Elijah with the messiah. It states,

> ... R' Huna said: the Messiah is called by seven names, and they are – magnified, Our Righteousness, Shoot, Consoler, David, Shiloh, and Eliyahu. Magnified from where? As it says, "May his name be forever; before the sun, his name will be magnified…" (Tehillim 72:17) Our Righteousness from where? As it says, "…and this is his name that he shall be called, The Lord is our righteousness." (Yirmiyahu 23:6) Shoot from where? As it says, "…Behold a man whose name is the Shoot…" (Zechariah 6:12) Consoler from where? As it says, "For the Lord shall console Zion…" (Yeshayahu 51:3) David from where? As it says,

[14] See H. Freedman and Maurice Simon, *The Midrash VII: Deuteronomy and Lamentations*, trans. by J. Rabbinowitz (London: Soncino, 1951), 100–1.

> "…and He performs kindness to His anointed; to David and to his seed forever." (Tehillim 18:51) Shiloh from where? As it says, "…until Shiloh comes, and to him will be a gathering of peoples." (Bereshit 49:10) Eliyahu from where? As it says, "Lo, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and awesome day of the Lord…" (Malachi 3:23)."

Group Three

Group three has Elijah coming before the messiah but preparing the way for YHWH.

Pesikta Rabbati 35:4 dates around 450-550 CE and claims that Elijah will come three days before the messiah, stand upon the mountains and do certain things each day. At the end of the third day when you would expect the messiah to come, God comes as is made clear by the choice of language, "the Holy One, blessed be He" and the citation from Micah 2:13. It is as if the messiah comes when God comes but the messiah's actions are of so little consequence compared to God's actions and presence that he did not get a mention in that part of the story. Pesikta Rabbati 35:4 states,

> When will this behest be fulfilled? When the Holy One, blessed be He, redeems Israel. Three days before the Messiah comes, Elijah will come and stand upon the mountains of Israel, and weep and lament upon them, but then they will say: Behold, O Land of Israel, how short a time before you cease to be a waste land, dry and desolate! Elijah's voice will be heard from the world's end to world's end. And then he will say to the children of Israel: Peace has come to the world, as is said Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that announceth peace (Nahum 2:1). When the wicked hear this, they will rejoice, everyone of them saying one to another, "Peace has come to us." On the second day Elijah will come and stand upon the mountains of Israel, and say: Good has come to the world, as is said That announceth salvation (ibid.). But when he understands the wicked to be saying that peace, good, and salvation are for them as well, he will add Unto Zion, thy God reigneth (ibid.) – that is, salvation is come to Zion and to her children, but not to the wicked. In that hour the Holy One, blessed be He, will show His glory and His kingship to all the inhabitants of the world: He will redeem Israel, and He will appear at the head of them, as is said The breaker is gone up before them; they have broken forth and passed on, by the gate, and are gone our thereat; and their king is passed on before them, and the Lord at the head of them (Micah 2:13).[15]

This leads to the conclusion that the belief that Elijah would prepare the way before the messiah was not popular within Rabbinic Judaism.

[15] See Leon Nemoy, *Pesikta Rabbati*, vol. 2, 674-675.

Appendix 2: The Messiah of 4Q421 2 II 1: Prophet or Priest?

Collins argues that the messiah of 4Q521 2 II 1 is a prophet on the following grounds. First, he suggests that the "anointed ones" in CD II 12; VI 1; 1QM XI 7-8 are obvious references to prophets.[16] Secondly, he suggests that prophetic anointing, while rare, is not unheard of in the Old Testament (1 Kings 19:16; Ps 105:15). Finally, Collins argues that the fact that the prophetic speaker in Isaiah 61 is told to announce good news (**בשר**) suggests a connection with other passages in Isaiah 40–66 (Isa 40:9; 52:7) which also speak of announcing good news. Because Collins believes that the speaker of Isaiah 61 was understood at Qumran to be a prophet, he asserts that his perceived agent in 4Q521 2 II 12 is also likely to be a prophet.[17]

There are problems with each part of Collins' argument. First, it is not obvious that "the anointed ones" in CD II 12; VI 1 or 11QM XI 7 are references to prophets. In fact, Poirier has argued that because the anointed ones of CD VI 1 "issue precepts" they must therefore be priests and not prophets.[18] Further, Collins assumption that the **משיחה** and **חוזי** in **משיחו**

---

[16] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 118.

[17] Collins claims that we should assume the speaker of Isaiah 61 is a prophet unless there is compelling evidence to the contrary. See John J. Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," DSD 1 (1994): 100, note 7.

[18] Poirier, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," 231, note 37. Nevertheless, the opinion that "anointed ones" in CD II:12 and VI:1 refers to prophets is the most common view among scholars. Most seem to assume it without argument. See Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the Damascus Document* (Sheffield: *JSOT*, 1983): 74–75. However, Wacholder does argue that the anointed ones in CD II:12 and VI:1 are references to prophets. Wacholder argues that the phrase in 1QS I:3 **מושה וביד כול עבדיו הנביאים** is similar to the phrase in CD VI:1. Thus, he argues that "anointed ones" in CD VI:1 is synonymous with "prophets" in 1QS I:3. See Ben Zion Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash of the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*, STDJ 56, ed. Florentino Garcia Martínez (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 214. However, while it cannot be ruled out, there is no reason to assume that "anointed ones" is synonymous with "prophets." It is equally possible that the author of CD VI:1 used "anointed ones" and not "prophets" because he meant "anointed ones" and not "prophets." It is also possible that the author of 1QS used "prophets" and not "anointed ones" because he meant "prophets" and not "anointed ones." This seems likely when one reads the context of the two documents. The introduction to the Community Rule in 1QS I:1–2 explains that the Community Rule is to aid the instructor in interpreting Moses and the prophets which are clearly references to written sacred writings. In CD V:21– VI:1 it is possible that Moses and "anointed ones" are references to written sacred writings as Wacholder argues. However, it would seem more likely that "Moses" is being used as a synonym for Torah and "anointed ones" as a reference to those who sit in Moses seat for the community and interpret the precepts given through the hand of Moses for the community. Within the immediate context of the Damascus Document it has already been stated in CD IV:3–8 that it is the priests (Davies), or the sons of Zadok (Wacholder), who make judgements and provide those wishing to enter the community with an exact interpretation of the Torah. Davies identifies the priests of CD IV:2 as the original members of the covenant community along with the **הראשונים** of CD IV:6. In his view it is these priests who made judgments for those who entered the covenant after them and gave the exact interpretation of the law. See Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 94–100. Alternatively, Wacholder, with his futuristic interpretation of the Damascus Document, identifies the sons of Zadok as the ones who make judgments and provide the exact interpretation of the law in CD IV: 3–8, (Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document,* 184). In either case, it is the priests or the priestly sons of Zadok in the immediate context, and not prophets, who instruct the community in the precepts given through Moses. Further, it is the sons of Zadok in CD IV:1 who remained faithful when Israel went astray. As such, it would make sense in CD V:20–VI:1, if it is faithful priests (sons of Zadok) who teach the precepts given by Moses who are rejected in the age of devastation. This being the case, priests are to be the preferred referent for the "anointed ones" of CD VI:1 who issue precepts. Taking the

משיחי) רוח קדשו וחוזי אמת) from CD II 12–13 are either in parallelism or apposition needs to be demonstrated.[19] I note that the text does not contain the symmetry of Hebrew parallelism,[20] and that Qumran exegesis is also notoriously atomistic,[21] which means that Qumranites would naturally have different referents for the "anointed ones" and the "seers of truth." As such, Poirer's suggestion that the חוזי אמת are in addition to the משיחי is more compelling, and this reading distinguishes between the "anointed ones" and the "seers of truth."[22] Finally, the mention of משיחיכה, ("anointed ones") in parallel with חוזי תעודות, or "the seers of decrees," in 1QM XI 7–8 is a possible reference to "anointed ones" being prophets in the scrolls. But it is not conclusive and could be a reference to priests functioning as prophets (see discussion on priestly magnetism below).[23] In any case, 1QM XI 7–8 is the only reference in the scrolls where the "anointed ones" are referred to as seers. As such, the evidence for "anointed ones" being a reference to prophets in the scrolls is scarce at best.

Secondly, there are very few references to prophets being anointed in the Hebrew Bible (1 Kings 19:16; Ps 105:15 and 1 Chr 16:22) and many references to priests being anointed ones.[24] Consequently, it is far more common, and therefore more likely, for priests to be referred to as anointed ones rather than prophets. Further, the three citations that Collins suggests demonstrate that the Hebrew Bible refers to prophets as anointed ones do not clearly demonstrate this practice. 1 Kings 19:16 contains God's command to Elijah to anoint Elisha as

---

"anointed ones" as priests is certainly a more natural reading of "anointed ones" when one considers the identity of "anointed ones' in the Hebrew Bible.

[19] Collins asserts that the משיחי רוח קדשו are identified with the וחוזי אמת in CD II:12–13 at several different places but never makes an argument for the assertion. See John J. Collins, "A Herald of Good Tidings: Isaiah 61:1–3 and its Actualisation in the Dead Sea Scrolls" in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, BINS 28, ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 230; and Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," 101. Presumably, he assumes that משיחי רוח קדשו and וחוזי אמת are parallel to each other. But there is no reason in the text to take them as references to the same groups of people.

[20] See Tsumura who describes Hebrew parallelism as "the device of expressing one sentence through two lines" and is characterised by" a syntactic relation between two parallel lines." See David Toshio Tsumura, "Vertical Grammar of Parallelism in Hebrew Poetry," *JBL* 128 (2009): 169.

[21] W. M. Schniedewind, "Structural Aspects of Qumran Messianism in the Damascus Document," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, STDJ 30, eds. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 534;William W. Klein, Craig L. Blomberg and Robert L. Hubbard, Jr., *Introduction To Biblical Interpretation* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 181; John J. Collins, "A Herald of Good Tidings," 230.

[22] Poirer, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," 231, note 37.

[23] Poirer argues that Hecataeus of Abdera is a generally reliable Greek perspective on Judaism. He argues that the phrase חוזי תעודות is an apt description of the high priest as referred to by Hecataeus of Abdera. He claims that while חוזי is a synonym for prophet, the phrase חוזי תעודות could be a description of a priest. The passage from Hecataeus of Abdera that Poirer cites is "For this reason the Jews never have a king, and authority over the people is regularly vested in whichever priest is regarded as superior to his colleagues in wisdom and virtue. They call this man the high priest, and believe that he acts as a messenger to them of God's commandments. It is he, we are told, who in their assemblies and other gatherings announces what is ordained, and the Jews are so docile in such matters that straightway they fall to the ground and do reverence to the high priest when he expounds the commandments to them." Poirer, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," 231.

[24] Exod 28:41; 29:7; 30:30; 40:13, 15; Lev 4:3, 5, 16; 6:13, 15; 7:36; 8:12; 16:32; Num 3:3; 35:25.

prophet in his place.[25] But Elijah is never actually said to have done so. Further, there is no reason for taking the parallelism of Psalm 105:15 and 1 Chronicles 16:22 as examples of synonymous parallelism. It would seem more appropriate to take the parallelism as an example of composite parallelism referring to the patriarchs as both priests and prophets and highlighting the completeness of the Patriarch's offices.[26]

Finally, it would seem more likely that the prophetic speaker of Isaiah 61 was understood as a priest at Qumran rather than a prophet. Puech points out that the speaker of Isaiah 61 claims to have the Spirit upon him because of his anointing. He argues that the Spirit's presence results from his anointing, and that this is a distinctive feature of the priesthood or of the king. On the other hand, the Spirit's presence upon a prophet is not because of an anointing but because of the prophetic office. As such, because in Isaiah 61:1 the Spirit's presence is contingent upon the anointing, the speaker of Isaiah 61 is either a priest or a king.[27] Collins also provides a reason for taking the speaker of Isaiah 61 as a priest at Qumran. Collins suggests the speaker of 1QH 23 is plausibly the "teacher of righteousness."[28] Collins cites 1QH 23 as saying "You have opened a spring in the mouth of your servant… whom you have supported with your power, to [be], according to your truth… herald of your goodness, to proclaim to the poor the abundance of your mercies."[29] In this passage, the speaker seems to assume the role of the herald of Isaiah 61.[30] The teacher of righteousness was a priest (4Q171 III 13; 1QpHab II 7–8). Therefore, if the author of 1QH 23 was the priest known as the teacher of righteousness and assumes the role of the speaker of Isaiah 61 as Collins suggests, then we have evidence that the speaker of Isaiah 61 was thought of as a priest at Qumran. Collins' point is that the Teacher of

---

[25] Poirer argues that because Elijah is instructed to anoint kings and Elisha, something that is a priestly duty (1 Sam 16:13; 1 Kings 1:39; 2 Kings 11:12; 2 Chr 23:11, except 2 Kings 9:1–3), Elijah must also be a priest. See Poirer, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," 228. Puech argues that Elisha is said to be anointed in 1 Kings 19:16 so that Elisha's anointing can sit parallel to Jehu's anointing. As such, Elisha's anointing is improper. See Émile Puech, "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q251 and Qumran Messianism" in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, & Reformulated Issues*, STDJ 30, eds. Donald W. Parry & Eugene Ulrich (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 556.

[26] Poirer, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," 229, note 30. This is how Goldingay interprets Ps 15:15. He argues that the Patriarchs functioned as prophets, priests and kings and so are spoken of here as metaphorically being anointed. Significantly, Goldingay does not take the anointing as referring to the Patriarchs role as prophets. See John Goldingay, *Psalms 90-150,* BCOTWP, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 3: 209. deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson and Tanner also point to times where the patriarchs functioned as prophets, priests and kings and suggest that this is the reason that the entire patriarchal group are referred to as prophets and anointed ones. Again, anointed ones is a description of the patriarchs' function as kings and priests and not as their function as prophets. See Nancy deClaissé-Walford, Rolf A. Jacobson and Beth LaNeel Tanner, *The Book of Psalms,* NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 789–90.

[27] Puech suggests that some confuse the gift of the Spirit of prophecy with a physical anointing that is proper of the priesthood and kings. Puech, "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q251 and Qumran Messianism," 556–57.

[28] Collins, "Isaiah 61:1–3 and its Actualisation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 231.

[29] Ibid, 231. The new edition of what Collins calls 1QH is 1QH^a and the text he cites comes from 1QH^a XXIII, 11-16 in Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH^a* EJL 36, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 71.

[30] Ibid, 231.

Righteousness had similarities with both the eschatological prophet and the priest but cautions against the hasty identification of the teacher with either. However, 1QH 23's likely identification of the historic, priestly, Teacher of Righteousness with the speaker of Isaiah 61 demonstrates that the Qumranites had interpreted the speaker of Isaiah 61 as a priest and should caution us against assuming that the speaker of Isaiah 61 was just a prophet.

There are also two further reasons why we should reject Collins' claim that the anointed one of 4Q521 2, ii 1 was understood as the eschatological prophet. First, as I noted in the body of my thesis, 1QS IX 11 explicitly denies that the eschatological prophet was thought of as a messiah as he is said to be in addition to the two messiahs. As such, the Qumran community would be unlikely to assume the anointed one of 4Q521 2 II 1 to be the eschatological prophet.

Secondly, there is also evidence within 4Q521 for taking the "anointed one" of 4Q521 2, II 1 as a priest. In 4Q521 8 9 Puech has restored a reading that he regards as very likely as כהנ]ה וכל משיחיה or "the priesthood and all its anointed."[31] If Puech is correct, then there is precedent within 4Q521 for taking the anointed of 4Q521 2 II 1 as a priest.

This calls Collins' identification of the "anointed ones" as "obviously" prophets in the scrolls into question (CD II 12; VI 1; 1QM XI 7–8). It is possible that they are prophets, but it is at least equally possible that they are priests or priests who also function as prophets. Thus, the positive reasons that Collins gives for identifying the anointed one of 4Q521 2 II 1 and Isaiah 61:1 as a prophet fail to convince. On the other hand, there seem to be numerous reasons (mentioned above) that favour a priestly identification of the "anointed ones", the speaker of Isaiah 61 and the anointed one of 4Q521 2 II 1. However, perhaps the best explanation as to why the "anointed ones" are sometimes not obviously priests or prophets can be explained by Angel's category of "priestly magnetism."

---

[31] Puech states "A restaurer sans doute כהנ]ה וכל משיחיה, 'la prêtri]se et tous ses oints'. He suggests that the context of the temple aided in restoring the word כהנ in the plural with a singular feminine suffix. See Émile Puech, "Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)" in *Qumrân Grotte 4 ·XVIII,* ed. Emanuel Tov and James VanderKam, DJD XXV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 29–30. Collins mentions 4Q521 VIII 9 but because of the fragmentary nature of the scroll he suggests, first, that the reference to "anointed ones" is probably another reference to prophets (he cites CD II:12; VI:1 and 1QM XI:7 as other examples of "anointed ones" being prophets). Then secondly, that the text may contain a reference to Zion presumably spelt with a locative ה on the end as in Jer 4:6. This would mean that 4Q521 VIII 9 would then read "toward Zion and her anointed." See Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," 102. However, as I have argued above the anointed ones in CD II:12 and VI:1 are likely to be priests and not prophets while the reference in 1QM XI:7–8 is only a possible reference to prophets. Further, the only place that Zion is spelled with a locative ה is in Jer 4:6 and, this is very rare. Puech's suggestion that the partially missing word in 4Q521 VIII 9 is כהנה remains much more likely especially given the context. The fragmentary nature of the text means we cannot be sure how the line read but given the temple context, a priestly reference for the "anointed ones" remains much more likely than Collins' suggestion of a prophet reference for "anointed ones." As such, Puech's suggestion that the text reads "the priesthood and all its anointed" is more compelling. See Puech, "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q251 and Qumran Messianism," 557, note 37.

This category could help explain the fuzziness in differentiating prophets from priests in the Second Temple period.[32] Angel has argued that with the disappearance of the monarchy in the Second Temple period, priests eventually functioned as both kings and sages.[33] Further, when the Torah became the law of the land under the Persians (Ezra 7:25–26) a new authority arose – that of the scribe – who was trained to interpret Torah.[34] Priests, according to Angel, were ideal candidates for the scribal office because with the backing of foreign imperialistic powers, they had the resources and the time to gain a good education.[35] Thus, the priests of the Second Temple period gained unprecedented power in all areas of Judean life.[36]

It is important to note that both Aaron and Moses functioned as priests but are also described as prophets (Exod 7:1; Deut 18:15; Num 12:1–6). Thus, by the time of the Qumranite communities, there was both scriptural and historical warrant for the blurring of what had been separate offices in the time of the monarchy – the offices of priest and prophet. Collins notes the blurring of the priestly and prophetic offices when speaking of the teacher of righteousness: "There is no doubt that the teacher anticipated some of the functions of the eschatological prophet, and probably also of the eschatological priest…"[37] As such, it is easy to see how a group of anti-establishment priests (such as the Qumranites) could regard themselves as prophets bringing God's critique against the establishment as the prophets of Israel had done before them. Thus, perhaps the priests at Qumran regarded themselves as prophetic priests and thus seers. This would explain why the language of "seer" could be used in the scrolls to refer to priests who function as prophets (1QM XI 7–8).

---

[32] Joseph L. Angel, "The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism at Qumran" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60,* eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref (Boston: Brill, 2010), 32–33. See also Vanderkam who notes that by the time of Alexander the Great the high priest was fulfilling the role of king, priest, general and, as the mouthpiece of God, prophet. See James C. Vanderkam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004), 83.

[33] Angel, "The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism at Qumran," 30–33. Vanderkam notes that in the Persian period Judah had governors, of whom only Zerubbabel was of Davidic descent, as evidenced by Neh 5:15 and coins from the period. However, after Alexander's conquest, the coins lack the title Governor and the high priests functioned as governor and were likely initially even minting their own coins. Indeed, the high priest Jaddua, at the time of Alexander's conquest, is pictured as chief of the Jewish military, supreme in both Jewish civil and religious matters and as the mouthpiece of God (prophet). Finally, as is well known, the Hasmonean high priests functioned as both kings and generals. See Vanderkam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 82–83, 99–111, 122–24.

[34] Angel, "The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism at Qumran," 31.

[35] Ibid, 31–32.

[36]Ibid, 30–33.

[37] Collins, "Isaiah 61:1-3 And its Actualisation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 232.

Appendix 3: 4Q382 PAM images

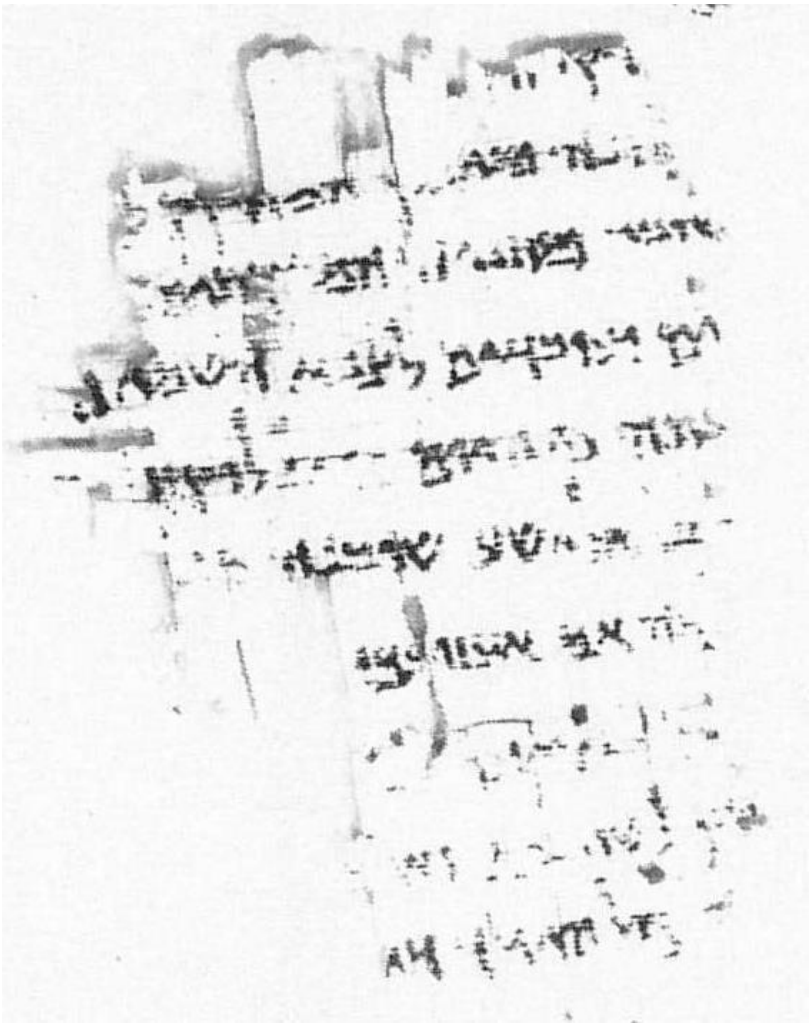

Plate 890 – PAM 42.500

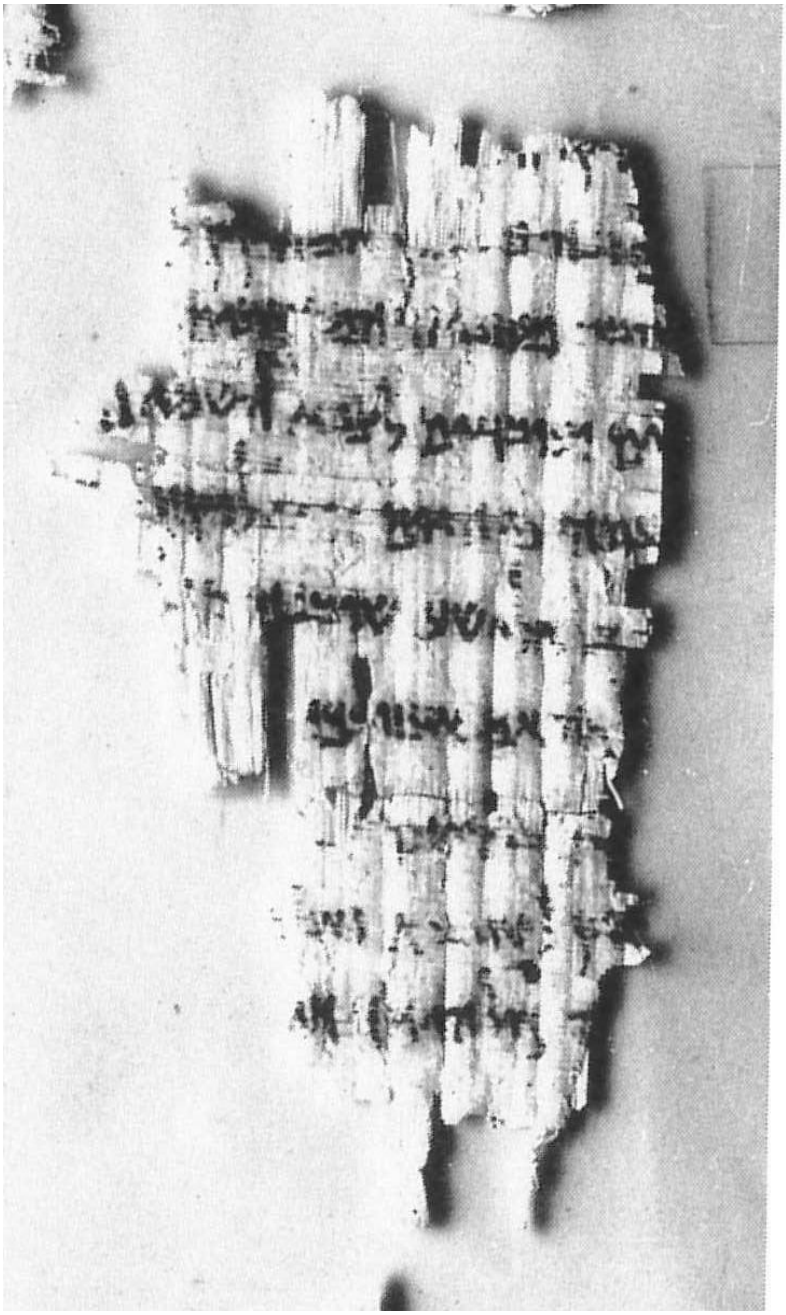

Plate 1414 – PAM 43.464

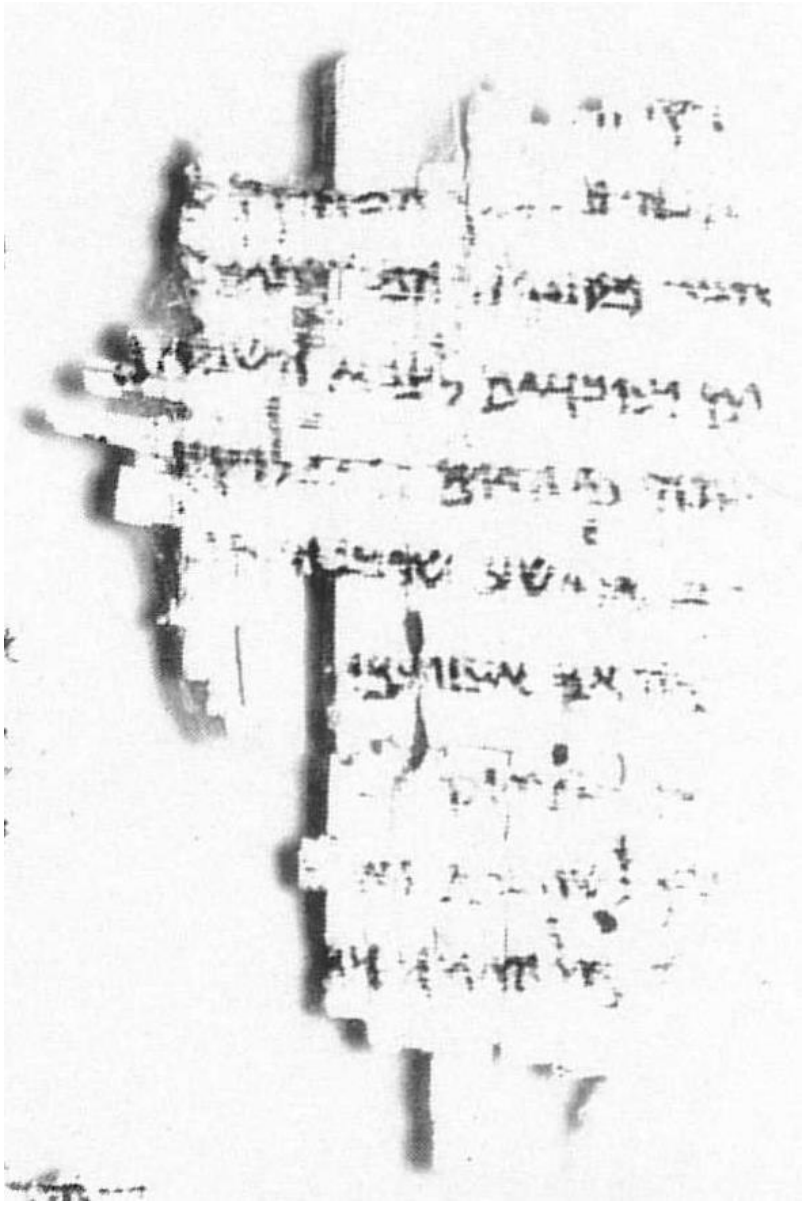

Plate 1324 – PAM 43.288

Other Scholarly Reconstructions of 4Q382 9 2-6

Martínez and Tigchelaar reproduce the text of 4Q382 9 2–6 as follows.

2 […]… המחקק ל[…]

3 […]… ומתניה המשרתים […]

4 […]ים ועובדים לצבא השמים[…]

5 [… היד]עתה בי היום **** לוקח [א]ת[…]

6 [… ויואמר אלי]ה אל אלישע שיבנה פה[כי א]לוהים שלחני עד[יריחו …]

2 […] … the sceptre for […]

3 […] … and Mathaniah, the servants […]

4 […] … and those who serve the host of heaven […]

5 […] you [kno]w that **** is going to take today […]

6 […] and Elija]h [said] to Elisha: «Stay here [for G]od has sent me to [Jericho …][38]

Davis reproduced this text as follows.

2]..נה ומי.מק המחקק ל[

3].ב. ומתניה המשרתהם

4 נשבע]ים ועובדים לצבא השמים[

5 ויאמרו אליו היד]עתה כי היום .... לוקה א[ת אדוניכה מעל רואשצה

6 ויאמר אלי]ה אל אלישע שבנה בנ[י

2]the lawgiver [

3]and Mathaniah, the attendants [

4 those who swe]ar and do according to the host of the heavens[

5 and they said to him: "it is kno]wn to you that today YHWH will take [your master from over your head

[38] Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea scrolls,* 764-764.

6 and Elij]ah [said] to Elisha: "Return my so[n."[39]

Qimron reproduces the text of 4Q382 9 2-6 as follows.

1)]..נה [וְבְחֻלְכָן] המחֻקק ל[
2)]עֻובדֻ וְמְתַנְיָה המשֻרתים [לבעל
3) המזבח]ים ועובדים לצבא השמים[ויצאו בני הנביאים אשר בבית אל אל
4) [אלישע ויאמרו אליו היד] עתה כי היום //// לוקח אֹ[ת אדוניכה מעל רואשכה ויאמר]
5) [גם אני ידעתי ויאמר אלי]הָ אֹלֻ אלישע שוב נה בְנִי[פה כי א]לֻוֹהים שלחני עדֻ.[40]

Feldman reproduces the text of 4Q382 9 2-6 as follows.

2)]עתה ומימן המחקק ל[

3) וחבב ומתניה המשרתים [

4)משתחוים ועובדים לצבא השמים[

5 [ויאומרו אליו היד]עתה כי היום //// לוקח א[ת אדניכה מעל ראושכה ויאומר גם אני ידעתי

6 [החשו ויאומר אלי]ה אל אלישע שיבנה בנ[י פה כי //// שלחני יריחו ויאומר אלישע]

2[ ]now and trustworthy is what has been decreed for/by[]

3[ ]and Hobab and Mattahniah serving[ ]

4[prostrating and worshiping the host of heaven[ ]

5[and said to him, "Do you k]now that //// will take [your master from your head today?" He replied, "I know it too;]

6 [be silent." And Eli]jah [said] to Elisha, "stay [here], my son,[for //// has sent me on to Jericho." And Elisha said,][41]

---

[39] Davis, "4Q382, Elijah and the Dead Sea Scrolls*,"* 25.

[40] Elisha Qimron, *Megilot Midbar Yehudah : ha-hiburim ha-hriyim*, (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010), 3: 145. Qimron is writing in Hebrew and so does not provide a translation into English nor does he suggest whether he thinks מחקק should be read as a Piel participle or a Pual participle.

[41] Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary,* 64–6.

Bibliography

Abegg Jr., M., P. Flint & E. Ulrich. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English*. New York, NY: HarperOne, 1999.

Adna, J. "Temple Act." Pages 947-952 in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels,* 2nd ed. Edited by Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown and Nicholas Perrin. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2012.

Alexander, Philip. *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts.* LSTS 61. London: T&T Clark, 2006.

Alexander, Philip S. "The Dualism of Heaven and Earth." Pages 169-185 in *Light Against Darkness*. Edited by Armin Lange, Bernard M. Levinson and Vered Noam. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.

Allison Jr., Dale C. "Elijah must come first." *JBL* 103 (1984): 256–58.

Andersen, F. I. "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch." Pages 91-221 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. New York, NY: Yale University Press, 1983.

Angel, Joseph L. "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511)." *DSD* 19 (2012): 1-27.

Angel, Joseph L., "The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism at Qumran." Pages 27-54 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60.* Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref. Boston, MA: Brill, 2010.

Aschim, Anders. "Melchizedek and Jesus: 11QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews." Pages 129–47 of *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus.* Edited by Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila and Gladys S. Lewis. Leiden: Brill,1999.

Assis, Elie. "Moses, Elijah, and the Messianic Hope: A New Reading of Malachi 3:22–24." *ZAW* 123 (2011): 207–20.

Baillet, Maurice. "(4Q482-4Q520)." *Qumrân Grotte 4 III,* DJD VII. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.

Barker, J. D. "Day of the Lord." Pages 132–43 in *Dictionary of the Old Testament Prophets*. Edited by M. J. Boda and G. J. McConville. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012.

Bauckham, Richard. "For Whom Were the Gospels Written?" Pages 9–48 in *The Gospel for All Christians.* Edited by Richard Bauckham. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998.

Bauckham, Richard. *God Crucified.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998.

Bauckham, Richard. *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses.* Grand Rapids, MI: Company, 2017.

Bauckham, Richard. *Jesus and the God of Israel.* Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2009.

Bauckham, Richard. "The Shema and 1 Corinthians 8:6 again." Pages 86–111 in *Essays in Honor of N. T. Wright: One God, One People, One Future.* Edited by John Anthony Dunne and Eric Lewellen. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2018.

Bautch, Kelley Coblentz. "Otherworldly Sites in the Book of the Watchers." Pages 37–54 in *Other Worlds and Their Relations to This World*. JSJSup 143. Edited by Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik M. M. Eynikel and Florentino García Martínez. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Beal, Lissa M. Wray. *1&2 Kings*. ApOTC. Nottingham: Apollos, 2014.

Beentjes, Pancratius C. *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

Begg, Christopher. "Josephus's Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah and Moses": Some observations." *JBL* 109 (1990): 691–93.

Bird, Michael F. "Did Jesus Think He Was God?" Pages 45–70 in *How God Became Jesus: The Real Origins of Belief in Jesus' Divine Nature – A Response to Bart Ehrman* Edited by Michael F. Bird. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2014.

Black, Matthew. *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch; a New English Translation with Commentary and Textual Notes*. Leiden: Brill, 1985.

Blomberg, Craig. "Matthew." Pages 1–109 in *Commentary on the New Testament use of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007.

Boccaccini, Gabriele. *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998.

Bock, Darrell L. *Luke 1:1–9:50:* BECNT, vol. 1. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1994.

Borg, Marcus J. *Meeting Jesus in Mark*. London: SPCK, 2011.

Brown, Jeannine K. and Kyle Roberts. *Matthew: The Two Horizons New Testament Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2018.

Brown, Jeannine K. "The Rhetoric of Hearing: The Use of the Isaianic Hearing Motif in Matthew 11:2–16:20." Pages 248–69 in *Built Upon the Rock*. Edited by Daniel M. Gurtner and John Nolland. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2008.

Brueggemann, Walter. *1&2 Kings*. SHBC. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2000.

Bruner, Frederick Dale. *Matthew 1–12: The Christbook*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004.

Bryan, Steven M. *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration*. SNTSMS 117. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Buchanan, George Wesley. "Eschatology and the 'End of Days.'" *JNES* 20 (1961): 188–93.

Butler, Trent. *Judges*. WBC 8. Nashville, TN: Thomas Neilson, 2009.

Cameron, Peter Scott, *Violence and the Kingdom: The Interpretation of Matthew 11:12*. ANTJ 5. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 1988.

Carson, D. A. "Matthew." In *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2010. Kindle Edition.

Casey, Maurice. "Where Wright is Wrong: A Critical Review of N. T. Wright's Jesus and the Victory of God." *JSNT* 69 (1998): 95–103.

Chamblin, Knox. *Matthew: A Mentor Commentary*. Ross-Shire: Mentor, 2010.

Charlesworth, James H. "John the Baptizer and the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 1–37 in vol. 3 of *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: the scrolls and Christian Origins*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006.

Chilton, B. "Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament." Pages 413–23 in *The World of the New Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts*. Edited by J. B. Green & L. M. McDonald. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013.

Church, Philip. *Hebrews and the Temple: Attitudes to the Temple in Second Temple Judaism and in Hebrews*. NovTSup 171. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Ciampa, Roy E. and Brian S. Rosner. *The First Letter to the Corinthians*. PNTC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010.

Clines, David J. A. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2011. 8 vols.

Cogan, Mordechai and Hayim Tadmor. *II Kings*. AYB 11. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1988.

Collins, Adela Yarbo. *Mark*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2007.

Collins, John J. *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993.

Collins, John J., "A Herald of Good Tidings: Isaiah 61:1–3 and its Actualisation in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 225–240 in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*. BINS 28. Edited by C. A. Evans and S. Talmon. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Collins, John J. *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*. OTL. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997.

Collins, John J. Review of *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine: Reassessing the Lives of the Prophets* by David Satran. *JNES* 57 (1998): 65–67.

Collins, John J. *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 3rd edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016.

Collins, John J. "The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 74–90 in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. SDSS. Edited by Craig Evans and Peter Flint. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997.

Collins, John J. "The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 95–116 in *Other Worlds and their Relation to this World*. JSJSup 143. Edited by Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik M. M. Eynikel and Florentino Garcia Martínez. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Collins, John J. "Sectarian Communities in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 151–172 in *The Oxford Handbook on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by John J. Collins and Timothy H. Lim. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Collins, John J. *The Scepter and the Star*. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1995.

Collins, John J. "The Sibylline Oracles." Pages 317–472 in vol. 1 of *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. New York, NY: Yale University Press, 1983.

Collins, John J. "The Works of the Messiah," *DSD* 1 (1994): 98–112.

Collins, Matthew A. *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls*. LSTS 67. London: T&T Clark, 2009.

Comber, Joseph. "The Composition and Literary Characteristics of Matthew 11:20–24." *CBQ* 39 (1977): 497–504.

Davies, Philip R. *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the Damascus Document*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983.

Davies, Stevan L. "John the Baptist and the Essene Kashruth." *NTS* 29 (1983): 569–571.

Davies, W. D. and Dale C. Allison. *A Critical Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Matthew*, Three volumes. Edinburgh, T. & T Clark, 1988-97.

Davila, James R. *Liturgical Works*. ECDSS 6. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000.

Davis, Christopher J. Patrick. "4Q382, Elijah and the Dead Sea Scrolls." Master's Thesis, Trinity Western University, 2002.

Davis, Graham. "Comparative Aspects of Israelite History." *ZNW* 125 (2013): 177–97.

Davis, Stacy. *Haggai–Malachi: Wisdom Commentary*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015.

Dearman, J. A., *The Book of Hosea*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010.

deClaissé–Walford, Nancy, Rolf A. Jacobson and Beth LaNeel Tanner. *The Book of Psalms*. NICOT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014.

DeSilva, David A. *An Introduction to the New Testament: Contexts, Methods and Ministry Formation*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2004.

DeYoung, James B. "The Function of Malachi 3:1 in Matthew 11:10: Kingdom Reality as the Hermeneutic of Jesus." Pages 66–91 in *The Gospels and the Scriptures of Israel*. LNTS 104. Edited by C. A. Evans and W. R. Stegner. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.

Dillard, Raymond B. *2 Chronicles*. WBC 15. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987.

Dimant, Devorah. "Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo–Prophetic Texts." *Qumran Cave 4. XXI*, ed. Emanuel Tov, DJD XXX. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.

Dimant, Devorah. "Pseudo Ezekiel." Pages 1520–1528 of *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, vol. 2. Edited by Louis H Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman. Philadelphia, PA: JPS, 2013.

Duke, Robert. "Moses' Hebrew Name: The evidence from the vision of Amram." *DSD* 14 (2007): 34–48.

Dunn, James D. G. "God and the Christology of the New Testament." Pages 72–85 in *Essays in Honor of N. T. Wright: One God, One People, One Future*. Edited by John Anthony Dunne and Eric Lewellen. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2018.

Eddinger, Terry W. *Malachi: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text.* BHHB Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012.

Edwards, J. R. *The Gospel according to Mark*. PNTC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002.

Eisenman, Robert H. and James M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Prepared with an Introduction and Index*, two volumes. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991.

Elbogen, Ismar, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History,* translated by Raymond P. Scheindlin. New York, NY: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1993.

Elwolde, John. "Distinguishing the Linguistic and the Exegetical: The Biblical Book of Numbers in the Damascus Document." *DSD* 7 (2000): 1–25.

Epstein, Isidore. *English–Hebrew Edition of the Babylonian Talmud*, vol. 4. London: Soncino, 1965.

Evans, Craig A. "Early Rabbinic Sources and Jesus Research." Pages 27–58 in *Jesus in Context: Temple, Purity, & Restoration*. Edited by Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Evans, Craig A. *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004.

Evans, Craig A. *Mark 8:27–16.20*. WBC 34B Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2001.

Evans, C. A. "Messianism," Pages 698–707 in *Dictionary of New Testament Background: A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship*. Edited by C. A. Evans and S. Porter. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2000.

Evans, Craig A. *Matthew*. NCBC. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Everson, A. Joseph. "The days of Yahweh." *JBL* 93 (1974): 329–37.

Ezra, Daniel Stökl Ben. "Messianic Figures in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran." Pages 515–544 in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*. STDJ 94. Edited by Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Faierstein, Morris M. "Why do the Scribes say that Elijah must come first?" *JBL* 100 (1981): 75–86.

Fee, Gordon D. *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*. NICNT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995.

Feldman, Ariel and Liora Goldman. *Scripture and Interpretation: Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible*. BZAW 449. Edited by Devorah Dimant. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014.

Feldman, Ariel. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*. BZAW 469. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015.

Feldman, Louis H. *Flavius Josephus: Judean Antiquities 1–4*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Ferguson, Anthony. "The Elijah Forerunner Concept as an Authentic Jewish Expectation." *JBL*137 (2018): 127–45.

Fisk, Bruce Norman. *Do You Not Remember? Scripture, Story and Exegesis in the Rewritten Bible of Pseudo-Philo*. JSP 37. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. "More about Elijah coming first." *JBL* 104 (1985):295–96.

Fitzmyer, Joseph. "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text from Qumran cave IV." *CBQ* 27 (1965): 348–72.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins*. SDSS. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin. "A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The deification of Moses and Early Christology." *DSD* 3 (1996): 236–52.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 42. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin. *Jesus Monotheism: Christological Origins: The emerging consensus and beyond*, Vol. 1. Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2015.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. *Luke–Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*. WUNT 94. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin. "On Angels, Men and Priests (Ben Sira, the Qumran Sabbath Songs and the Yom Kippur Avodah). Pages 141–66 of *Gottesdienst und Engel im antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*. WUNT 2. Edited by Jörg Frey und Michael R. Jost. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. "Some Reflections on Angelomorphic Humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls." *DSD* 7/3 (2000): 292–312.

Focant, Camille. *The Gospel according to Mark: A Commentary*. Eugene, OR: Publications, 2012.

France, R. T. "Matthew and Jerusalem." Pages 108–27 in *Built Upon a Rock*. Edited by Daniel M. Gurtner & John Nolland. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008.

France, R. T. *Jesus and the Old Testament.* Vancouver, BC: Regent College Publishing, 1998.

France, R. T. *The Gospel of Mark.* NIGTC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002.

France, R. T. *The Gospel of Matthew.* NICNT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007.

France, R. T. *The Gospel According to Matthew.* TNTC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985.

Freedman, H. and Maurice Simon. *The Midrash VII: Deuteronomy and Lamentations.* Translated by J. Rabbinowitz. London: Soncino, 1951.

Fritz, Volkmar. *1 & 2 Kings.* CC. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1989.

Fuller, Michael E. *The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-gathering and the Fate of Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke–Acts.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006.

Fuller, Russell E. "The Twelve: 76. 4QII[a] (pls. XL–XLII)." Pages 221–32 in *Qumran Cave 4 ·X: The Prophets.* Edited by Eugene Ulrich, Frank Moore Corss, Russell E. Fuller, Judith E. Sanderson, Patrick W. Skehan and Emanuel Tov. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.

Galambush, Julie. *Reading Genesis: A Literary and Theological Commentary.* Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2018.

Gathercole, Simon J. *The Preexistent Son: Recovering the Christologies of Matthew, Mark and Luke.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006.

Georgi, Dieter. *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986.

Glazier-McDonald, Beth. *Malachi: The Divine Messenger.* Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987.

Ginzberg, Louis. *An Unknown Jewish Sect.* New York, NY: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1970.

Gore-Jones, Lydia. "Animals, Humans, Angels and God: Animal Symbolism in the Historiography of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch." *JSP* 24 (2015): 268–87.

Goldingay, John. *Psalms 90–150.* BCOTWP. Vol. 3. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008.

Goldingay, J. "Servant of Yahweh." Pages 700–7 in *Dictionary of the Old Testament Prophets.* Edited by Mark J. Boda and J. Gordon McConville. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012.

Guelich, Robert A. *Mark 1–8:26.* WBC 34A. Dallas, TX: Word, 1989.

Hagner, Donald A. *Matthew 1–13.* WBC 33A. Dallas, TX: Word, 1993.

Hamilton Jr., James M. "'The Virgin Will Conceive': Typological Fulfilment in Matthew 1:18–23.' Pages 228–47 in *Built Upon a Rock.* Edited by Daniel M. Gurtner and John Nolland. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008.

Hamilton, Victor P. *The Book of Genesis chapters 18–50.* NICOT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995.

Hannah, Darrell D. "The Elect Son of Man of the Parables of Enoch." Pages 130–58 in *'Who is the Son of Man?': The Latest Scholarship on a puzzling Expression of the Historical Jesus*. LNTS. Edited by Larry W. Hurtado and Paul L. Owen. London: T&T Clark, 2011.

Harrington, Daniel J. "Pseudo-Philo: A New Translation and Introduction." Pages 297–377 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2. Edited By James H. Charlesworth. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1985.

Harrington, Daniel J. *The Gospel of Matthew*. Sacra Pagina. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991.

Hauerwas, Stanley. *Matthew*. Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible. Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos, 2006.

Hayes, John H. and Sara R. Mandell. *The Jewish People in Classical Antiquity*. Louisville, KN: Westminster John Knox, 1998.

Hays, Richard. *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016. Kindle Edition.

Hayward, C. T. R. *The Jewish Temple: A Non–Biblical Sourcebook*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1996.

Hengel, Martin. *The Four Gospels and the one Gospel of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Collection and Origin of the Canonical Gospels*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000.

Herring, Stephen L. *Divine Substitution: Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

Herzog, W. R. I. "Temple Cleansing." Pages 817–20 in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*. Edited by J. B. Green and S. McKnight. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1992.

Higgins, A. J. B. "Jewish Messianic Belief in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho." *NovT* 9 (1967): 298–305.

Hill, Andrew E. *Malachi*. AYB 25C. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1998.

Hill, Andrew E. *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*. TOTC. Downers Grove, Il: IVP Academic, 2012.

Hobbs, T.R. *2 Kings*. WBC 13. Waco, TX: Word, 1985.

Holladay, Carl H. *Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism: A Critique of the use of this Category in New Testament Christology*. Missoula, MN: Society of Biblical Literature, 1977.

Hoffmann, Yair. "The day of the Lord as a concept and a term in the Prophetic Literature." *ZAW* 93 (1981): 37–50.

Horbury, William. "Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age." Pages 16–44 in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*. JSNT 263. Edited by Loren T. Struckenbruck and Wendy North. London: T&T Clark, 2004.

Horner, Timothy J. *Listening to Trypho*. Leuven: Peeters, 2001.

Hurtado, Larry W. *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003.

Hurtado, Larry W. *One God, One Lord Early Christian Devotion and Jewish Monotheism*. 3rd edition. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Hurtado, Larry W. "Pre-70 CE Jewish Opposition to Christ–Devotion." *JTS* 50 (1999): 35–58.

Hurtado, Larry W. "Summary and Concluding Observations." Pages 159–77 in *'Who is This Son of Man?': The Latest Scholarship on a Puzzling Expression of the Historical Jesus*. Edited by Larry W. Hurtado and Paul L. Owen. New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2011.

Isaac E. "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch." Pages 13– 89 in vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.* Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. New York, NY: Yale University Press, 1983.

Ishai–Rosenboim, Daniella. "Is יוֹם ה׳ (the Day of the Lord) a Term in Biblical Language?" *Biblica* 87 (2006): 395–401.

Janowski, Bernd and Peter Stuhlmacher. *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004.

Jacobson, Howard. "Pseudo-Philo, Book of Biblical Antiquities." Pages 470–613 in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, vol. 1. Edited by Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013.

Jacobson, Howard. *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum with Latin Text and English Translation*, vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Jeremias, A., C. L. Beaumont, and C. H. W. Johns. *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East: Manual of Biblical Archaeology*. 2 vols. TTL 28-29. London: Williams & Norgate, 1911.

Joseph, Simon J. *Jesus, Q, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.* WUNT 333. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.

Joynes, Christine E. "The returned Elijah? John the Baptist's Angelic Identity in the Gospel of Mark." *SJT* 58 (2005): 455–67.

Jurgens, Blake Alan. "Reassessing the Dream Vision of the Vision of Amram (4Q543–4Q547)." *JSP* 24 (2014): 3–42.

Justnes, Årstein. *The Time of Salvation: An Analysis of 4Q Apocryphon of Daniel ar (4Q246), 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521 2), and 4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a).* EHS 893. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2009.

Keener, Craig S. *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999.

Keener, C. S. *The Gospel of Matthew: A Socio–Rhetorical Commentary.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009.

Klauk, Hans–Josef. "Do they Never come back? Nero redivivus and the Apocalypse of John." *CBQ* 63 (2001): 683–98.

Klausner, Joseph. *The Messianic Idea in Israel: From Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, trans. W. F. Stinespring. New York, NY: Macmillan, 1955.

Klein, William W., Craig L. Blomberg and Robert L. Hubbard, Jr. *Introduction to Biblical Interpretation.* Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2004.

Knibb, Michael A. "Apocalypticism and Messianism." Pages 403–32 in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Koch, K. "Questions regarding the So–Called Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch: A Response to Sabino Chialà and Helge Kvanvig." Pages 228–37 in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans , 2007.

Köstenberger, A. J. *John.* BECNT. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004.

Kugel, James L. "Jubilees." Pages 272–65 of *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writing Related to Scripture,* vol. 1. Edited by Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013.

Kugel, James L. "Pseudo Jubilees." Pages 466–69 in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, volume 1. Edited by Louis H. Fieldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013.

Kugel, James L. *The God of Old: Inside the Lost World of the Bible.* New York, NY: Free Press, 2003.

Kugel, James L. *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as it was at the start of the Common Era.* Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Kupp, David D. *Matthew's Emmanuel: Divine Presence and God's people in the First Gospel.* SNTS 90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Kvalbein, Hans. "The Wonders of the End-Time Metaphoric Language in 4Q521 and the Interpretation of Matthew 11.5 PAR.*" *JSP* 18 (1998): 87–110.

Kvanvig, Helge S. "The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch." Pages 179–215 in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007.

Laato, Antti. "Rewriting Israel's History in the Apocalyptic Context: Animal Apocalypse in First Enoch." *SEÁ* 82 (2017): 28–51.

Lane, William L. *The Gospel of Mark.* NICNT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974.

Levinsohn, Stephen H. *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek.* Dallas, TX: SIL International, 2000.

Lexham Press, *4Q76 Minor Prophets a. (4QMinor Prophets[a], 4QXII[a]).* Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2010.

Litwak, K. D. "Synagogue and Sanhedrin." Pages 264–71 in *The World of the New Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts.* Edited by J. B. Green & L. M. McDonald. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013.

Lohfink, G. *Die Himmelfahrt Jesu.* SANT 26; Munich: Kosel, 1971.

Lust, Johan. *Messianism and the Septuagint.* Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004.

Luz, Ulrich. *Matthew 1–7.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001.

Luz, Ulrich. *Matthew 8–20.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001.

Luz, Ulrich. *Matthew 21–28.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005.

Makiello, Phoebe. "Was Moses Considered to be an angel by those at Qumran?" Pages 115–28 of *Moses in Biblical and Extra–Biblical Traditions.* BZAW 372. Edited by Axel Graupner and Michael Wolter. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

Mann, Jacob. *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, vol. 1. New York, NY: Ktav , 1971.

Martínez, Florentino García and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition,* Vol. 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997.

Matthews, V. H., M. W. Chavalas & J. H. Walton. *The IVP Bible Background Commentary: Old Testament.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000.

Mach, Michael. *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1992.

Marcus, Joel. *John the Baptist in History and Theology.* SPNT. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2018.

McKnight, Scott. "Gospel of Matthew." Pages 526–41 in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels.* Edited by J. B. Green and S. McKnight. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1992.

Merrill, E. H. *An Exegetical Commentary – Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.* Richardson, TX: Biblical Studies Press, 2003.

Meyer, Ben F. *The Aims of Jesus.* PTMS. San Jose, CA: Pickwick, 2002.

Meyers, Carol L. and Eric M. Meyers. *Zechariah 9–14.* AYB 25C. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1993.

Michaels, J. R. *The Gospel of John.* NICNT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010.

Miller, David. "The Messenger, the Lord and the Coming Judgment in the reception history of Malachi 3:1." *NTS* 53 (2007): 1–16.

Mitch, Curtis and Edward Sri. *The Gospel of Matthew.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010.

Morla, Víctor, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira: Traducción y notas.* Estella, España: NovaPrinter, 2012.

Morris, L. *The Gospel according to Matthew.* Grand Rapids, MI; Eerdmans, 1992.

Muraoka, T. *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek.* Leuven: Peeters, 2016.

Myers, Jacob M. *II Chronicles.* AYB 13. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965.

Nemoy, Leon. *Pesikta Rabbati*, two volumes. Translated by William G. Braude. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968.

Nemoy, Leon. *The Midrash on Psalms*, volume 1. Translated by William G. Braude. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959.

Newsom, Carol. "Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition (Pl. XIII)." Pages 99–110 in *Qumran Cave 4. XIV: Parabiblical Texts Part 2*. Edited by Magen Broshi, Ester Eshel, Joseph Fitzmyer, Erik Larson, Carol Newsom, Lawrence Schiffman, Mark Smith, Michael Sotne, John Strugnell and Ada Yardeni., DJD XIX. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Nickelsburg, George. W. E. *1 Enoch 1.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. *1 Enoch 2.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. "Four Worlds that are 'Other' in the Enochic Book of Parables." Pages 55–78 in *Other Worlds and Their Relations to This World*. JSJSup 143. Edited by Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden, Erik M. M. Eynikel and Florentino García Martínez. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah.* Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1981.

Nolland, John. *Luke 1:1–9:20.* WBC 35A. Dallas, TX: Word, 1989.

Nolland, J. *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary of the Greek text.* NIGNTC Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005.

Notley, Steven R. "Jesus' Jewish Hermeneutical Method in the Nazareth Synagogue." Pages 46–59 in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, vol.2. LNTS 392. Edited by Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias. London: T&T Clark, 2009.

Notley, Steven R. "The Kingdom of Heaven Forcefully Advances." Pages 279–311 in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity*. JSP 33. Edited by Craig A. Evans. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

Novakovic, Lidija. "4Q521: The Works of the Messiah or the Signs of the Messianic Time?" Pages 208–31 in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions.* Edited by M.T. Davis and B.A. Strawn. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2007.

Novakovic, Lidija. "Jesus as the Davidic Messiah in Matthew." HBT 19 (1997): 148–91.

Novakovic, Lidija. "Jews and Samaritans." Pages 207–17 in *The World of the New Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts.* Edited by J. B. Green and L. M. McDonald. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013.

O'Brien, Kelli S. "Runner Staff, And Star: Interpreting the Teacher of Righteousness through Scripture." Pages 429–48 in *A Teacher for all Generations: Essays in Honour of James C. Vanderkam*, vol.1. Edited by Eric F. Mason, Samuel I. Thomas, Alison Schofield and Eugene Ulrich. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Öhler, Markus. *Elia im Neuen Testament: Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des alttestamentlichen Propheten im frühen Christentum.* BZnW 88. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter, 1997.

Öhler, Markus. "The Expectation of Elijah and the Presence of the Kingdom of God." *JBL* 118 (1999): 461–76.

Olson, Daniel C. *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch.* SVTP 24. Leiden, Brill: 2013.

Olyan, Saul. "4Qpap paraKings et al. (PLS. XXXVIII–XLI)." Pages 363–416 in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts Part 1*. Edited by Harold Attridge, Torleif Elgvin, Jozef Milik, Saul Olyan, John Strugnell, Emanuel Tov, James Vanderkam and Sidnie White. DJD XIII. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.

Osborne, G. R. *Matthew.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2010.

Oesterley, W. O. E. *Ecclesiasticus.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912.

Paul, Shalom M. *Isaiah: 40–66.* ECC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012.

Perkins, Larry. "The Greek Translator of Exodus Interpres (translator) and Expositor (interpretor) in His Treatment of Theophanies." *JSJ* 44 (2013): 16–56.

Petersen, David L., *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi.* OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1995).

Petterson, Anthony R. *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.* AOTC Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2015.

Peursen, Wido Van. "Who was Standing on the Mountain? The Portrait of Moses in 4Q377." Pages 99–114 of *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions*. BZAW 372. Edited by Alex Graupner and Michael Wolter. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

Poirer, John C. "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran." *DSD* 10 (2003): 221–42.

Pratico, Gary D. and Miles V. Van Pelt. *Basics of Biblical Hebrew.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007.

Puech, Emile. "Ben Sira 48:11 et la Résurrection." Pages 81–90 in *Of Scribes and Scrolls.* Edited by Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins and Thomas H. Tobin. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990.

Puech, Émile. "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q251 and Qumran Messianism" in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, & Reformulated Issues*. STDJ 30. Edited by Donald W. Parry & Eugene Ulrich. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Puech, Émile. "Textes Araméens Deuxième Partie." Pages 179–258 in *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXVII*. Edited by Emanuel Tov. DJD XXXVII. Oxford: Clarendon, 2009.

Puech, Émile. "Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)." Pages 1–38 in *Qumrân Grotte 4. ˙XVIII*. Edited by Emanuel Tov and James VanderKam. DJD XXV. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.

Puech, Emile. "Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)." *RevQ* 15 (1992): *475–519*.

Qimron, Elisha. *Megilot Midbar Yehudah : ha–hiburim ha–lvriyim*, vol 3. Jerusalem: Yad Ben–Zvi, 2010.

Reeder, Caryn A. "Malachi 3:24 and the Eschatological Restoration of the Family." *CBQ* 69 (2007): 695–709.

Regev, Eyal. *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross–cultural Perspective.* Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2007.

Regev, Eyal. "The Ram and Qumran: The Eschatological Character of the Ram in the Animal Apocalypse (1 EN. 90:10–13)." Pages 181–95 in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism: Engaging with John Collins' The Apocalyptic Imagination*. JSJSup 182. Edited by Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Reventlow, Henning Graf. "Basic Issues in the Interpretation of Isaiah 53." Pages 23–38 in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant.* Edited by William H. Bellinger Jr. and William R. Farmer. Harrisburg, PN: Trinity Press International, 1998.

Robinson, Jonathan. "Markan Typology." Unpublished PhD thesis, Otago University, 2020.

Runge, Steven E. *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical introduction for teaching and exegesis.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010.

Runge, Steven E. *The Lexham Discourse Greek New Testament*. Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2014.

Runge, Steven E. *The Lexham Discourse Greek New Testament: Introduction.* Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2008.

Sanders, E. P. *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63BCE–66CE.* Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2016.

Satran, David. *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine Reassessing the Lives of the Prophets.* SVTP 11. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Schnabel, Eckhard J. *Mark.* TNTC. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2017.

Schniedewind, W. M. "Structural Aspects of Qumran Messianism in the Damascus Document," Pages 523-536 in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological*

Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues. STDJ 30. Edited by D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Schrenk, G. "βιάζομαι, βιαστής." Pages 609–14 in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 1. Edited by G. Kittel, G. W. Bromiley and G. Friedrich. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964.

Schuller, Eileen M. and Carol A. Newsom. *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH^a*. EJL 36. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012.

Schwartz, Daniel R. *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity*. WUNT 60. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.

Skehan, Patrick W. and Alexander A. Di Lella. *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*. AYB 39. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1987.

Smith, Gary V. *Isaiah 1–39*. NAC. Nashville, TN: B & H, 2007.

Smith, R. L. *Micah–Malachi*. WBC 32. Dallas, TX: Word, 1998.

Snaith, John G. "Biblical Quotations in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus." *JTS* 28 (1967) 1–12.

Snodgrass, K. "The Use of the Old Testament in the New." Pages 209–29 in *Interpreting the New Testament: Essays on Methods and Issues*. Edited D. A. Black and D. S. Dockery. Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 2001.

Snyman, S. D. (Fanie). *Malachi: Historical Commentary on the Old Testament*. Leuven: Peeters, 2015.

Sommer, Benjamin. *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Stählin, G. "σκάνδαλον, σκανδαλίζω." Pages 339–58 in vol. 7 of *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by G. Kittel, G. W. Bromiley, & G. Friedrich. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964.

Starcky, Jean. "Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumran." *RB* 70 (1963): 481–505.

Stein, R. H. *Mark*. BECNT Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008.

Stendahl, Krister. *The School of St. Matthew: And its use of the Old Testament*. Ramsey, NJ: Sigler, 1990.

Stemberger, Gunter. *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996.

Steudel, A. "**אחרית הימים** in the Texts from Qumran." *RevQ* 16 (1993): 225–46.

Stone, Michael E. "Enoch's Date in Limbo; or, Some Considerations on David Suter's Analysis of the Book of Parables." Pages 444–49 in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007.

Struckenbruck, Loren T. *1 Enoch 91–108*. CEJL. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007.

Stuart, D., *Hosea–Jonah*. WBC 31. Dallas, TX: Word, 1987.

Suggs, M. Jack. *Wisdom, Christology and Law in Matthew's Gospel*. Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Sullivan, Kevin P. *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Literature and the New Testament*. AJEC 65. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Sulzbach, Carla. "When Going on a Heavenly Journey, Travel Light and Dress Appropriately." JSP 19 (2010): 163–93.

Suter, David W. "Enoch in Sheol: Updating the Dating of the Book of Parables." Pages 415–43 in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007.

Sweeney, Marvin A. *I & II Kings*. OTL. London: SCM, 2007.

Tabor, James and Michael Wise. "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study." *JSP* 10 (1992): 149–62.

Tabor, James D. "'Returning to the Divinity': Josephus's Portrayal of the disappearances of Enoch, Elijah and Moses." *JBL* 108/2 (1989): 225–238.

Taylor, Richard A. and E. Ray Clendenen. *Haggai and Malachi*. NAC. Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 2004.

The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. "Plate 351, Frag 18, B–474848." https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore–the–archive/image/B–474848.

The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scroll Digital Library. "Minor Prophets 4Q76–4QXIIa." https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore–the–archive/manuscript/4Q76–1, B–295752, B–368344 and B–288426.

Tiede, David Lenz. *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker*. SBLDS 1. Missoula, MN: University of Montana Press, 1973.

Tiller, Patrick A. *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*. EJL 4. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993.

Titrud, Kermit. "The Function of καί in the Greek New Testament and an Application to 2 Peter." Pages 239–70 in *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Discourse Analysis*. Edited by D. A. Black, K. G. L. Barnwell and S. H. Levinsohn. Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1992.

Tsumura, David Toshio. "Vertical Grammar of Parallelism in Hebrew Poetry." *JBL* 128 (2009): 167–181.

Turner, D. L. *Matthew*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008.

Tuell, Steven. *Reading Nahum–Malachi*. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2016.

Tull, Patricia K. *Isaiah 1–39*. SHBC. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2010.

Vanderkam J. and M. Brady, "4QApocryphal Pentateuch B (Pls. L–LI)." Pages 205–18 in *Qumran Cave 4. XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2*. Edited by Moshe Bernstein, Monica Brady, James Charlesworth, Peter Flint, Haggai Misgav, Stephen Pfann, Eileen Schuller, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and James Vanderkam. DJD XXVIII. Oxford, Clarendon, 2003.

Vanderkam, James C. *Jubilees: a Commentary in two volumes*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2018.

Vanderkam, James C. *Enoch: A Man for all Generations*. SPOT. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.

Vanderkam, James C. *From Joshua to Caiaphas*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004.

Vanderkam, James C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.

Verhoef, P. A. *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*. ECBC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987.

Von Rad, G. "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of the Lord." *JSS* 4 (1959): 97–108.

Von Rad, Gerhard. "ἡμέρα: Day in the OT." Pages 943–47 in vol. 2 of *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by G. Kittel, G. W. Bromiley & G. Friedrich. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964.

Wacholder, Ben Zion. *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash of the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*. STDJ 56. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Walck, Leslie W. *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew*. JCT 7. London: T&T Clark, 2011.

Wallace, D. B. *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996.

Waltke, B. K. and M. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

Walton, John. *Genesis*. NIVAC. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2001.

Watson, Francis. *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013.

Watts, Rick E. "Immanuel: Virgin Birth or Programmatic Warning of Things to Come (Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23)?" Pages 92–113 in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*. Edited by Craig A. Evans. Peabody, MS: Hendrickson, 2004.

Watts, Rikki. E. "Mark." Pages 111–249 in *Commentary on the New Testament use of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007.

Watts, John D. W. *Isaiah 1–33*. WBC 24. Waco, TX: Word, 1985.

Webb, Robert L. *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio–Historical Study*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991.

Weiss, Meir. "The Origin of the Day of the Lord – Reconsidered," *HUCA* 37 (1966): 29–71.

Wenham, Gordon. *Genesis 16–50.* WBC 2. Dallas TX, Word Books, 1994.

Winn, A. "Son of God." Pages 886–894 in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels,* 2nd ed. Edited by Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown and Nicholas Perrin. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 2013.

Wildberger, Hans. *Isaiah 1–12.* CC. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1991.

Wise, M. O., M. G. Jr. Abegg and E. M. Cook. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation.* New York, NY: HarperOne, 2005.

Witherington III, Ben. *Matthew.* SHBC. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys , 2006.

Witherington III, Ben. *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary.* Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001.

Wold, Benjamin. "Agency and Raising the Dead in 4QPseudo–Ezekiel and 4Q521 2 ii*." *ZNW* 103 (2012): 1–19.

Wright III, Benjamin G. "Wisdom of Ben Sira." Pages 2208–2352 in vol. 3 of *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*. Edited by Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013.

Wright, J. Edward. *The Early History of Heaven.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Wright, J. Edward. "'Whither Elijah:' The Ascension of Elijah in the Biblical and Extrabiblical Traditions." Pages 123–38 of *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone*. JSJSup 89. Edited by Esther G. Chazon, David Satran and Ruth A. Clements. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Wright, N. T. *Jesus and the Victory of God.* COQG 2. London: SPCK, 1996.

Wright, N. T. *The New Testament and the People of God.* COQG 1. London: SPCK, 1992.

Wright, N. T. *The Resurrection of the Son of God.* COQG 3. London: SPCK, 2003.

Zeron, Alexander. "The Martrydom of Phineas–Elijah." *JBL* 98 (1978): 99–100.