

PINO DI LUCCIO *

SON OF MAN, SONS OF THE WOMAN, AND TEACHERS OF THE LAW

Eschatological Features of the Gospel Beatitudes, With a Selected Bibliography on the «Son of Man»

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ABSTRACT: The expression «Son of Man» found in the canonical Gospels have received in biblical exegesis different interpretations. The present study defends the hypothesis that «Son of Man» in Lk 6,22c refers to Dan 7,13, and focus the investigation on the possible reasons for the absence of the expression in Mt 5,11. To foster this hypothesis, different Christian and Jewish texts are taken into account and put in relation: the Gospel Beatitudes, 11QMelch, 1QH, and the Palestinian targums on Gen 3,15.

KEY WORDS: «Son of Man», Gospels, Targum, Qumran, Beatitudes, Daniel.

*Hijo del hombre, hijos de la mujer y maestros de la ley.
Rasgos escatológicos de las Bienaventuranzas del Evangelio,
con una bibliografía selecta sobre el «Hijo del Hombre»*

RESUMEN: La expresión «Hijo de Hombre» que se halla en los evangelios canónicos ha recibido interpretaciones diferentes en la exégesis bíblica. El presente trabajo defien-

* Profesor del Pontificio Instituto Bíblico de Roma, del Pontificio Instituto Bíblico de Jerusalén y de la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén; pdl157@hotmail.com

de la hipótesis de que «Hijo de Hombre» en Lc 6,22c hace referencia a Dn 7,13, e investiga las posibles razones de su ausencia en Mt 5,11. Para llevar adelante la hipótesis, diversos textos cristianos y judíos son estudiados y relacionados: las Bienaventuranzas bíblicas, 11QMelch, 1QH, y los targumim palestinos sobre Gn 3,15.

PALABRAS CLAVE: «Hijo de Hombre», Evangelios, Targum, Qumran, Bienaventuranzas, Daniel.

New Testament (NT) scholars who have studied the occurrence of «Son of Man» in the canonical Gospels have reached different conclusions about the meaning that Jesus and his disciples gave to this expression. The positions of the authors vary even in those cases in which they refer the «Son of Man» of the canonical Gospels to Dan 7,13¹. According to J. D. G. Dunn, «there are no good reasons for the hypothesis that Daniel, or his readers, would have understood the human figure of his vision as a particular individual». Jesus himself, or the communities of his disciples, were the first who connected «the vindication» after death to Dan 7,13². For J. Jeremias, the «Son of Man» of the canonical Gospels refers to Dan 7,13 and in some instances, Jesus applied the expression to himself. When he speaks of the «Son of Man» in the third person, Jesus does not make a distinction between two figures but between his own present condition and his future state of exaltation³. R. Bauckham has suggested that Jesus used the expression with the meaning of «a man», «someone» — with an «oblique or ambiguous self-reference». When he used the expression referring to Dan 7,13 (cf. Mk 14,62), it was a literal echo of the biblical text but not a title or an unambiguous self-reference⁴. For I. H. Marshall, in the sayings of Jesus there may be a reference to the figure

¹ In a previous article, I presented a number of opinions on this subject, discussing the case of the occurrence of «Son of Man» in Lk 6,22c. Cf. P. DI LUCCIO, «The 'Son of Man' and the Eschatology of the Q Beatitudes: The Case of Lk 6,22c», *Est Eccl* 82 (2007) 553-570 and p. 568, note 39. A number of errors have occurred in editing the final proof for the printing. On p. 554, eleventh line from the top of the text of the article, the phrase «in the Aramaic targums» is to be deleted, as is «es» at the end of the same line.

² Cf. J. D. G. DUNN, *Christology in the Making. An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London 1980), 74, 87.

³ Cf. J. JEREMIAS, *New Testament Theology*, vol. I (London 1971), 276.

⁴ Cf. R. BAUCKHAM, «The Son of Man: 'A Man in my Position' or 'Someone'?», *JSNT* 23 (1985) 28-30 and pp. 23-33.

of Dan 7,13 even when there is no straightforward mention of the biblical text⁵.

With the present study I would like to clinch the hypothesis that «Son of Man» in Lk 6,22c refers to Dan 7,13, focusing the investigation on the possible reasons for the absence of the expression in Mt 5,11. I will first point out the significance of some literary locutions and theological utterances of the Gospel Beatitudes, 11QMelch, and 1QH, underlining similarities and differences that emerge in the use that these texts make of common phrases and imageries to express eschatological ideas. Then I will present possible meanings of the aggadic tradition of the Palestinian targums on Gen 3,15, where the expression «the woman's sons» is found. I will parallel this last idiom with features of the study and teaching of the Law, common to all the texts mentioned above. With the data collected, I will advance a proposal for the understanding of some differences in the eschatology of the Gospel Beatitudes, particularly regarding the expression «Son of Man» in Lk 6,22c and its absence in Matthew's Gospel (Mt 5,11).

11QMelch and the Gospel Beatitudes

The text of 11QMelch (= 11Q13) quotes Isa 52,7 and explains it with reference to Dan 9,25 and Isa 61,1ff⁶, mentioning «that day» (הַיּוֹם)

⁵ Cf. I. H. MARSHALL, «The Synoptic 'Son of Man' Sayings in the Light of Linguistic Study», in T. E. SCHMIDT - M. SILVA (eds.), *To Tell the Mystery. Essays on New Testament Eschatology in Honor of R. H. Gundry* (Sheffield 1994), 93.

⁶ 11QMelch has been dated to the first half of the first century CE by A. S. van der WOUDE, «Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midrashim aus Qumran Höhle XI», *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 14 (1965) 354-373, who first published the document. J. T. MILIK, «Milikî-sedeq et Milikî-reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens», *JJS* 23 (1972) 95-144, and É. PUECH, «Notes sur le manuscrit de XIQMelkîsédeq», *RevQ* 12/4 (1987) 483-513 date it to the middle of the first century BCE. For other studies on 11QMelch, cf. M. DE JONGE - A. S. VAN DER WOUDE, «11QMelchizedek and the New Testament», *NTS* 12 (1965-1966) 301-326; J. A. FITZMYER, «Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11», *JBL* 86 (1967) 25-41; J. CARMIGNAC, «Le document de Qumran sur Melkîsédeq», *RevQ* 7 (1970) 343-378; D. FLUSSER, «Melchizedek and the Son of Man», in *Id.*, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem 1988), 186-192; F. MANZI, «La figura di Melchisedek: Saggio di bibliografia aggiornata», *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 109 (1995) 331-349; G. G. XERAVITIS, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (Leiden 2003), 197-

ביום, 2,13; cf. 2,15 and Joel 3,18; Zech 14,1; Mal 3,2), and the «end of days» (אחרית הימים, 2,4), when the afflicted will be liberated from the snares of Belial.

(13) ומלכי צדק יקום נקם משפטי א[ל] וביום ההואה יצי[ל]מה מיד[ל] בליעל ומיד כול ר[וחי גורלו] (14) ובעזרו כול אלי [הצדק וה]ואה א[שר...] כול בני אל והפ[...].] החזאת (15) הואה יום ה[שלום א]שר אמר [...] ביד ישע[יה הנביא אשר אמר [מה]נאו (16) על הרים רגל[י] מבש[ר] מ[שמיע שלום מב]שר טוב משמיע ישוע[ה] [א]ומר לציון [מלך] אלוהיך (17) פשרו ההרים [המה] הנביאי[ם] [המה] א[...].] לכול [...] [...] א[...].] (18) והמבשר ה[ואה] [חישמ הרו]ח[ה] כאשר אמר דנ[יאל] עליו עד משיח נגיד שבועים שבעה ומבשר] (19) טוב משמינ[ע ישועה] [הואה] הכתוב עליו אשר [...] (20) לנח[ם] [ה]אבלים פשרו [ל]ה[שכילמה] בכול קצי הע[ו]לם[...].] (11QMelch 2,13-20)⁷.

In the Gospel Beatitudes (cf. Mt 5,3ff and Lk 6,20bff), the consolation announced to the afflicted and the deliverance of those people whose lives are characterized by situations of suffering and distress have eschatological significance and seem also to refer to Isa 61 (cf. לנח[ם] [ה]אבלים in 11QMelch 20 with Isa 61,2c; οἱ κλαίοντες in Lk 6,21b and οἱ πενθοῦντες in Mt 5,4). In the Gospel of Luke, the theme of the «end» is expressed by the proclamation of the imminent reversal of the condition in which those who are hungry and those who weep are found (cf. Lk 6,21). In Matthew, the announcement of the «end» coincides with the promises to the blessed, presented as a consequence of their specific earthly characteristics (cf.

199. For the relationship of 11QMelch with the Epistle to the Hebrews and other NT traditions cf. Y. YADIN, «The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews», *ScriptHierosol* 14 (1957) 36-55; FLUSSER, «Melchizedek and the Son of Man», 186-192; PUECH, «Notes sur le manuscrit de XIQMelch», 512-513.

⁷ (13) But, Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of Go[d's] judgments, [and on that day he will fr]e[e them from the hand of] Belial and from the hand of all the sp[irits of his lot.] (14) To his aid (shall come) all «the gods of [justice»; and h]e is the one w[ho...] all the sons of God, and...[...] (15) This [...] is the day of [peace about whi]ch he said [...] through Is[ai]ah the prophet, who said: [Isa 52,7 «How] beautiful (16) upon the mountains are the feet [of] the messen[ger who] announces peace, the mess[enger of good who announces salvati]on, [sa]ying to Zion: your God [reigns].] (17) Its interpretation: The mountains [are] the prophet[s...] [...] for all...[...] (18) And the messenger i[s] the anointed of the spir[it] as [Dan[iel] said [about him: Dan 9,25 «Until an anointed, a prince, it is seven weeks». And the messenger of] (19) good who announ[ces salvation] is the one about whom it is written that [...] (20) «To comfo[rt] the [afflicted], its interpretation:] to instruct them in all the ages of the wo[rld...]. [Text and translation, from F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ - E. J. C. TIGCHELAAR (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Study Edition, vol. II (Leiden 1998), 1206-1208].

Mt 5,3ff)⁸. Since the blessed of the Gospel are the object of hate and persecution (Mt 5,11-12; Lk 6,22-23), they may have been presented in the Beatitudes as engaged in some kind of «battle», similar to the fight described in 11QMelch. But, contrary to 11QMelch, in the Gospel Beatitudes there is no trace of vengeance in the eschatological peace and in the rewarding of the persecuted⁹, nor is there found any allusion to a «military» conflict (ש [ה] בליעל באש, 11QMelch 3,7; cf. 2,25 and 1QM 2,8-10; CD-B 20,14), or to one league supported by the intervention of another one — as is the case with 11QMelch 3,14 where the «gods of justice» (ובעזרו כול אלי [ה] הצדק) and all the «sons of God» (כול בני אל) are expected to come to aid Melchizedek¹⁰. In Matthew's list, «sons of God» (υἱοὶ θεοῦ) and «justice» (δικαιοσύνη) are expressions used to portray the eschatological reward promised to the peacemaker and to those who hunger and thirst (Mt 5,6,9; cf. Lk 6,21 and Lk 13,28-29; Mt 8,11-12; Lk 22,28-30; Mt 19,28).

Further similarities and differences between the Gospel Beatitudes and 11QMelch are noticeable when paralleling the role of Melchizedek to that of the «Son of Man» in Lk 6,22c¹¹. In 11QMelch 2,16-18, Melchizedek is identified with the messenger (מבשר) of Isa 52,7 and the

⁸ In both Gospels a theme related to the «end» is also found where a reward *in heaven* is promised to the blessed — after the persecutions (caused by an unnamed agent) that they suffer because of Jesus (Mt 5,11: ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ) and because of the «Son of Man» (Lk 6,22: ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). In 11QMelch the end of days (cf. 2,4) depends exclusively on the initiative of the Lord, through his agent Melchizedek, and does not seem to take place either in heaven or in a given space, but rather at a given time: the first week of the jubilee following the nine jubilees and Yom Kippur (cf. 11QMelch 2,7; 3,14 and Lev 25,8-13; Deut 15,2).

⁹ ומלכי צדק יקום נקם משפטי א]ל, 11QMelch 2,13. Cf. Lk 6,22-23; Mt 5,11-12 with Test Jud 24. At the expiation day, at the end of the tenth Jubilee (cf. Lev 25 and Deut 15), Melchizedek will bring salvation to those who belong to his lot, while the sons of Belial will go to eternal perdition (11QMelch 3,6-7; cf. 1QM 14; 4Q491 frags. 8-10 col. ii ll. 9-10; 4Q286 frag. 7 col. ii ll. 1ff; 4Q548 frag. 1,13-14).

¹⁰ In other texts from Qumran, such as 1QSb 5,20-29; 4Q161; 4Q285, the eschatological battle is led by the Davidic Messiah.

¹¹ Cf. FLUSSER, «Melchizedek and the Son of Man»; É. PUECH, *La croyance des esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?* Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien, vol. II (Paris 1993), 556-558. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, eschatological figures are identified or have similar roles. Melchizedek is identified with Michael. Cf. A. S. VAN DER WOUDE, «Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt», 369-372; PUECH, *La croyance des esséniens*, 548-550.

«anointed of the spirit» (משהיה רוןח) of Dan 9,25 who seems to be the Son of Man of Dan 7,13 (בר אנש) whose dominion and kingship are everlasting (שלטנה שלטן עלם די־לא יעדה ומלכותה די־לא תתחבל) Dan 7,14b)¹². To this figure Lk 6,22c may also refer¹³. Contrary to 11QMelch, however, the «Son of Man» of the Lucan text is only the cause (ἐνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) of the persecution (and of the reward). He does not intervene directly in changing the destitute situation of the blessed, and he is the reason for but not «directly» the agent of the reward (Lk 6,22-23; cf. Mt 5,11-12). The role of Melchizedek in 11QMelch, and that of the «Son of Man» in Lk 6,22c, are not identical. Nevertheless, the priest Melchizedek of 11QMelch and the «Son of Man» of Lk 6,22c exhibit common features with the figure of Dan 7,13.

Sons of the Woman

In the literature of the Second Temple period, among extensive similar connotations and broad semantic parallels to the plain meaning of the expression *Son of Man* may be included the ילד אשה («the one born from a woman») of 1QH (cf. 21,1.8-9; 23,12-13), a designation for the «Instructor» (1QH 20,4.11) who has received the knowledge of the mysteries of God's wisdom (1QH 20,13; cf. 20,33), and calls himself a «servant» (עבדכה, 1QH 23,10) and a «herald» (מבשר, 1QH 23,14). In his prayer he asks to be able to hold fast to the covenant (1QH 21,9ff; 23,9) in order to accomplish a task similar to the one of Melchizedek (cf. 1QH

¹² «During the Last Judgment, therefore, Melchizedek will separate the righteous, who are his lot and heritage, from the wicked, among them Belial and the spirits of his lot, [...] on whom he will wreak vengeance for transgressing God's judgment. Melchizedek thus appears here as very similar to the Son of Man of the Book of Enoch and of the Gospels (Mt 21,31-46)». FLUSSER, «Melchizedek and the Son of Man», 188.

¹³ Cf. DI LUCCIO, «The 'Son of Man' and the Eschatology of the Q Beatitudes», 566ff. In 11QMelch 2,8ff, Melchizedek is presented as an eschatological judge and as a heavenly figure (like the «Son of Man» in Mt 25,31). Cf. 11QMelch 2,9-15.22-25 with Ps 2,8; LXX and Syr Ps 110,3; 2 En 71-72, and MILIK, «Milikî-sedeq et Milikî-reša'», 125; FLUSSER, «Melchizedek and the Son of Man», 192, additional note. For the heavenly characteristics of Melchizedek, cf. É. PUECH, *La croyance des esséniens*, 553-554. If not a divine figure, Melchizedek is at least a superhuman being. Cf. DE JONGE - VAN DER WOUDE, «11QMelchizedek», 305; P. SACCHI, «Esquisse du Développement du Messianisme Juif à la Lumière du Texte Qumranien 11QMelch», *ZAW* 100 Supp (1988) 202-214.

17,26; 18,14; 11QMelch 2,13-20 and Isa 57,18ff) according to the prophecy of Isa 61,1¹⁴. The ילוד אשה of 1QH has received the gift of teaching (מק[ור ...] פתחתה בפי עבדכה ובלשונו 1QH 23,10), and he is called to be herald of good news for the «broken of spirit» (דכ[אי רוח...], 1QH 23,14) and the «mourning» (אבלים, 1QH 23,15) — parallel terms to πτωχοί and κλαίοντες in Lk 6,20b.21b (cf. πτωχοὶ ᾗς πνεύματα and πενθοῦντες in Mt 5,3.4. Cf. also Isa 66,2.10 and Lk 4,18; Mt 11,5)¹⁵. Contrary to Melchizedek, the «servant» of 1QH admits repeatedly that his origins are from dust and from clay (ואני מעפר לקח[תי ומחרר רון]רצתי, 1QH 20,24; cf. 22,11; 23,12; 23 bottom l. 4, and 4 Ezra 8,44). Notwithstanding this relevant difference, themes and terminology common to 11QMelch are found in 1QH: «sons of gods» (1QH 23 bottom ll. 1ff), a «judgment» (1QH 22 bottom ll. 9-11), the «enemies», and a kind of «battle» ([... מפרישי ר]שת [...], 1QH 21,4.8ff; 22 bottom ll. 6ff) which may envisage an eschatological context¹⁶.

¹⁴ FLUSSER (*Judaism*, 102-114, and 115-125), who noticed the parallels between Mt 5,3-5 and 1QH 23,9-16 (= DST 18,14-15), maintained that the source of Mt 5,3-5 — which he considered to be more ancient than the Luke's parallel — originated in the Dead Sea Sect or a milieu close to it. The term נכאי רוח (and עניי רוח) of DST 18,15 (= 1QH 23,15) parallel to Mt 5,3.5 would describe, according to D. FLUSSER, the people of the sect (cf. DSW = 1QM 11,10; and DST 14,3; DSW 14,7; cf. also 1QS 10,26-11,2; DST 1,35-37; 2,8-9; 5,21-22). The Qumran document 1QH 23,13-16 has been reconstructed and paralleled to Matthew's Beatitudes also by É. PUECH, «The Collection of Beatitudes in Hebrew and in Greek (4Q525 1-4 and Mt 5,3-12)», in F. MANNS - E. ALLIATA (eds.), *Early Christianity in Context*. Monuments and Documents (Jerusalem 1993), 354-368, especially pp. 362-363; ÍD., «Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les béatitudes: 1QH V 12-VI 18 (= col. XIII-XIV 7) et 4QBeat.», *RevQ* 13 (1988) 60-88, specially pp. 83ff. For the text and the translation of 1QH 23,9-16, cf. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ - TIGCHELAAR, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. I, 196-199.

¹⁵ The eschatological context of 1QH is signaled by the expression שמחת עולם (1QH 23,15). This expression points out that the function performed by the servant's words in 1QH 23 is not limited to the present, and may not have exclusively the wisdom character which is inferred, for example, by the mention of the «deeds» in l. 13 top (כמעשיו).

¹⁶ כיא (12) [...] נתת באוזן עפר ונהיות עולם חקותה בלב (13) [האבן ...] השבתה להביא בברית עמכה ולעמוד (14) [לפניכה ...] במכון עולם לאור אורתום עד נצח ואין חושך [...] (15) [1QH 21,13-15]. For (12) [...] you have [gi]ven to the ear of dust, and you have inscribed for ever what is to happen in the heart of (13) [stone...] you have made stop, to bring into the covenant with you and so that he will stand (14) [in your presence...] in the everlasting residence, in the light of perfect light for ever, without darkness (15) [...] witho]ut end, and eras of peace without li[mits...]. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ - TIGCHELAAR, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. I, 194-195.

One expression which resembles semantically the ילוד אשה of 1QH and that could be listed among the wide semantic parallels of the simple and literal sense of *Son of Man*, is found in the messianic interpretation of the Palestinian targums (PT) on Gen 3,15¹⁷. Where the Massoretic text speaks of the enmity and the struggle between the serpent and the «woman» (ואיבה אשית בניך ובין האשה ובין זרעך ובין זרעה הוא ישופך ראש) (ואתה תשופנו עקב), the «shared aggadic targumic tradition» (N, Nmg, TJI, TJII)¹⁸ states that the battle is won by the offspring of the «woman's sons» (בניא דאינתתא) when they study the Torah (TJII, Nmg) and observe its commandment (N, TJI, TJII; cf. also N and TJII on Gen 27,40; N on Deut 33,29; Rev 3,17):

ואיבה: ובעיל(!) דבבו אישוי בין חייוא ובין אינתתא ובין זרעיית בניך ובין זריות בנה ויהא כד יהוון בנהא דאיתתא לעיין באוריתא ונטרין פיקודיא יהוון מתכוונין ומחייין יתך ברישך וקטלנין יתך וכד ימנעון גרמיהו <ג> בניה דאיתתא דלא לעיין באוריתא ודלא למטור פיקודיא תהוי מתכוין ונכית יתהוון בעוקביהוון מעבד וממרע יתהוון ברם לבניא דאינתתא יהוי אסו ולך לא יהוי אסו ברם עתידין אינון איליין <לאיליין> מעבד שופייתא בסוף עקב יומיא ביומיו דמלכא משיחא (TJII, [pm] on Gen 3,15)¹⁹.

¹⁷ The expression «offspring of the mother of the living», which in 1 En 62,7.9.14; 63,11; 69,26.27; 70,1 corresponds to *Son of Man*, (cf. E. ISAAC, «1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch. A New Translation and Introduction», in J. H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. I (Garden City-New York 1983), 43, note j), according to P. BILLERBECK - L. STRACK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*, vol. I (Munich 1926), 485-487, would derive from the interpretation of Dn 7,13 in light of Gen 3,15. «Offenbar verknüpft er [the late editor of En 46,1; 48,2; 69,26] Dn 7,13 mit Gn 3,15: ihm heißt der Messias 'Menschensohn', weil er derjenige Sproß der Nachkommenschaft der Mutter der Lebendigen (d.h. Evas) ist, den das Protevangelium weissagend in Aussicht gestellt hat». *Ibid.* 485.

¹⁸ N = Neofiti; Nmg = Neofiti marginal gloss; TJI = Targum Pseudo Jonathan; TJII = Fragment Targum. The expression «shared aggadic targumic tradition» has been coined by A. SHINAN, *The Embroidered Targum*. The Aggadah in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch (Jerusalem 1992), 24-34.

¹⁹ And enmity: And I will put enmity (an enemy) between the serpent and the woman, and between the offspring of your children and the offspring of her children; and it will come to be that when the woman's children toil in the Torah and keep the commandments they will take aim and strike you on your head and kill you; and when the woman's children refrain from toiling in the Torah and from keeping the commandments you will take aim and bite them on their heels and afflict them; however, there will be a remedy for the children of the woman, whereas for you there will not be any remedy; for indeed they shall appease one <another> in the final end of days, in the days of the King Messiah. [Text and translation of the Fragment targum

S. H. Levey has seen the reason for the messianic interpretation of the targums on Gen 3,15 in the following words of the Massoretic text: עקב, read with the meaning of «ultimate end»; and תשופנו, understood as a play on the Aramaic word שפויִתא («peace», «tranquility»)²⁰. The reason for the messianic expansion of the targums may also be found in one word that occurs in the first half of the verse (Gen 3,15a): the «enmity» (אִיבָה), a term that could have expressed eschatological themes connected to the final battle and that is presupposed in 11QMelch, 1QH 23, and the Gospel Beatitudes, as well as in the book of Daniel (cf. for example 10,13-11,1)²¹.

The expansion of the targums may have been coined, in my opinion, in reference to the role and the literary context of the «Son of Man» in Lk 6,22, in order to state the wishful features of those distressed people involved in a struggle that, according to the targums, may be won only by studying the Torah and observing its commandments. Whereas in Lk 6,22-23 the «final» beatitude of the hated and abused (χάριτε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, Lk 6,23a) is grounded «on account of the Son of Man» (ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, Lk 6,22c), according to the targums, the final remedy for «the woman's sons» will be found «in the very end of days, in the days of the King Messiah». Explaining the eschatological implications of terms contained in Gen 3,15, and probably as an answer to Lk 6,22-23, the sages may have encouraged the «woman's sons» not to refrain from keeping the commandments (cf. Mt 5,17ff) and studying

(Paris manuscript), from M. L. KLEIN (ed.), *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to their Extant Sources*, 2 vols., AnBib 76 (Rome 1980). The version of the Vatican manuscript does not present significant variants. For variants among the versions of N and other manuscripts of TJII, cf. M. MCNAMARA (ed.), *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, The Aramaic Bible 1A (Collegeville 1992), 61].

²⁰ Cf. S. H. LEVEY, *The Messiah: An Aramaic Interpretation*. The Messianic Exegesis of the Targum (Cincinnati 1974), 2-3. Cf. also M. MAHER (ed.), *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, TAB 1B (Collegeville 1992), 28, note 28. For M. Maher, the idea of toiling in the Torah was introduced in this verse because the verb שׁוֹף in שׁוֹפֵךְ רֵאשׁׁ was understood by the translators to mean «gasp, pant», from שָׁאָה, «which they took to refer to the striving and the effort required in the observance of the Torah». *Ibid.*, 27, note 27. On the expansion of the targums on Gen 3,15, cf. also, M. MCNAMARA, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, AnBib 27A (Rome 1978), 217-226, for whom «This PT paraphrase is [...] very probably a very old one and, considered in itself, has every chance of being pre-Christian» (p. 221).

²¹ «Enmity» characterizes the eschatological imagery of all these texts. Cf. Lk 6,22-23; Mt 5,11-12; 11QMelch 2,13-14; 1QH 21 bottom ll. 4.8ff; 1QH 22 bottom ll. 6ff.

the Torah, while awaiting the peace (שׁוֹפְיִיתָא) of the King Messiah (cf. Mt 5,9)²².

The End, the Teachers of the Law, and the Blessed

The targumic expansion on Gen 3,15 — like 11QMelch, 1QH and the Gospel Beatitudes — connects messianic themes to the study and the knowledge of the Torah. Awaiting the coming of the days of the Messiah, the «woman's sons» of the targums on Gen 3,15 are encouraged to study the Law²³. In 11QMelch the priest Melchizedek of Gen 14,18 (cf. Ps 110,4 and Heb 7,3; 2 En 71,29; 4Q544 2,11-16; 3,1-3; 4Q401 frag. 11,1-3) is the Instructor of the end of days (cf. 4Q521 frag. 2 cols. ii-iii; cf. 4Q174 and Isa 49,1-2.5; Mal 3,22.24; Sir 48,1.10) who gives the consolation of the anointed one of Dan 9,25 and a teaching addressed to the afflicted (11QMelch 2,17ff)²⁴. The teaching of the «son of woman» in 1QH seems to have an eschatological context (cf. 1QH 23,15 top; bottom l. 11)²⁵

²² The «descent of the woman» (הַרְעָה) in Gen 3,15a may also have occasioned the expansion of the targums. The «problematic» matter of the descent of the eschatological figure was renowned in the case of Melchizedek (cf. Heb 7,1-3), and of Jesus (cf. Mt 1,18; Lk 1,34 and Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1,28).

²³ For the interpretation of Gen 3,15 as implying the study of the Torah, cf. Tanch Gen 10. In some rabbinical texts, a new Torah is expected at the end of days (Yalqut on Isa 26; Midrash Qo 2,1; 12,1; Jon Targ on Isa 12,3). In others, changes in the Torah are expected (cf. Lev R 9,7; Yalqut on Prov 9,2; Midrash on Ps 146,7); or a new (cf. Gen R 98), or better (cf. Num R 29,6) explanation of the Torah; or even the abrogation of the Torah (cf. b Sanh 97; Avodah Zarah 9b) and of the commandments (cf. b Niddah 61b). Cf. W. D. DAVIES, *Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come*, JBL Mon Series VII (Philadelphia 1952) 54-83.

²⁴ The Interpreter of the Law occurs also in CD 7,19 in the context of a quotation from Num 24,17. Cf. J. J. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York-London 1995), 63-64. According to J. J. Collins there is a «reference to the Interpreter of the Law, who is to arise with the Branch of David at the 'end of days'», also in 4Q252 frag. 1 col. 5 interpreting Gen 49,10. Cf. *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁵ By the end of the Second Temple period, studying and teaching the Law was seen as an eschatological commitment. Cf. COLLINS, *The Scepter and the Star*, 122-123. Members of the Essene communities, and a singular figure among them, are engaged in the study and interpretation of the Law (cf. 1QS 6,6; 1QS 8,11-12). The study and interpretation of the Law is also a characteristic of the Messiah (4Q174 frag. 1 col. i l. 11; cf. N on Num 24,17; Test Jud 24,1-5; Ps Sol 17; 18,8), already found in Biblical texts (cf. Deut 18,15; Isa 2,1-5; 42,1-4; Jer 31,31-34; Ezra 2,63), in deuterocanonical

like the teaching activity of Melchizedek in 11QMelch 23,20 ([ם]לנה [ל[ה]שכילמה בכול קצי הע[ולם]...) and the study of the «woman's sons» in PT on Gen 3,15 (cf. 1QH 23,10; 1QH 5,1ff-6,1ff)²⁶. The teaching and explanation of the Law is also a characteristic feature of the redaction of Q's Beatitudes in Matthew's Gospel (Mt 5,1-2; cf. Mt 5,17ff and Lk 6,17ff). Here, the words of Jesus are found at the opening of a long teaching (καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων; Mt 5,2) delivered on the Mount (cf. Mt 5,1). They are given eschatological connotations by the prophetic announcement of God's promises to the blessed, and seem to actualize the expectations of 11QMelch where instruction is one important function of the eschatological figure expected at the end of days (cf. 4Q521). Both texts, 11QMelch and Mt 5,3ff, are characterized not only by the *study* of the Law — as it is the case with the targums — but also by the presence of an *eschatological teacher* (cf. CD 6,2ff). Moreover, in Mt 5,1ff Jesus seems to be presented in a role similar to that of the «priestly Messiah» expected by the Essenes²⁷ — whereas his

literature (1 Macc 4,46; 14,41), in the Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha (cf. 1 En 48,1; 49,1ff; 51,3; Ps Sol 17,29ff.34.41-42.48). Cf. DAVIES, *Torah*, 13-49. Cf. also, G. F. MOORE, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim*, vol. I (Cambridge 1954) 271-274.

²⁶ Cf. also 1QS 10,22-11,6ff where the Instructor (משכיל) accomplishes a task similar to the one of the servant of 1QH 23,9-15. Lies shall not be found on his lips, but on his tongue will be the fruit of holiness (י ופרי קוד בלשוני) (וכזבים לוא ימצאו בשפתי ופרי קוד בלשוני). He shall share out the regulation with the cord of the ages, and justice and compassionate love with the oppressed, and strengthen the hands of the dismayed ([אחלקה חוק בקו עתים] וצדק אהבת חסד לנוכנעים וחזוק ידים לנמהר[ים]). 1QS 10,22.25-26. Cf. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ - TIGCHELAAR, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. I, 96-97.

²⁷ For the priestly characteristics of Melchizedek, cf. 11QMelch 2,7-8, and PUECH, *La croyance des esséniens*, 551-553. For the messianic role of the High Priest in 1QSa 2,12.19; 1QS 9,11; CD 1,7-8; 6,2-3; 10,4-6, and for his identification with the eschatological Interpreter of the Law in CD 6,7-11; 7,13-8,1, cf. L. MONTI, *Una comunità alla fine della storia. Messia e messianismo a Qumran* (Brescia 2006) 98-106. Cf. also 11QPs 27,2-11 where the Davidic Messiah is characterized by the knowledge of Scriptures, as the priestly Messiah. In some documents of Qumran, such as 1Qsb 5,20-29 and 4Q161 frag. 8-10 col. iii vv. 1-25 (4Q369 and 4Q458), the Davidic Messiah seems to be the unique eschatological figure, and also has the characteristics of the teacher and the instructor, which usually belong to the priestly Messiah. In other texts the kingly Messiah is subjugated to the priestly one (cf. 1QS 9,10-11; 1QSa 2,11-22). For S. RUZER the exegesis of 4Q161 (4QIsaiah Peshet) and 4Q174 (4QFlorilegium), attested also elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls, propagates the superiority of the Priestly Messiah over the kingly one. Cf. S. RUZER, «Who Is Unhappy with the Davidic Messiah? Notes on Biblical exegesis in

disciples are presented as an «eschatological» community shaped by his teaching and explanation of the Torah (cf. CD 6,7-11 and Mt 5,17ff)²⁸.

On the basis of the data collected while analyzing similar and different aspects between the texts chosen for this study, I propose that the one who composed Mt 5,3ff has *omitted* the expression «Son of Man» in the Beatitudes in order to present the time and space of the «end» anticipated and actualized into the time and space of his community²⁹, according to themes, representations, and categories with which the Essenes had expressed their eschatological expectations³⁰. Matthew's omission of the «Son of Man» from the Q source (cf. Mt 5,11 with Lk 6,22), may have been particularly suitable to the Essenes because in the documents of the community the expression is never found³¹. The omission may have

4Q161, 4Q174, and the Book of Acts», *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 24 (2003) 232, and cf. pp. 229-255.

²⁸ The similarities between Mt 5,3ff and the theology of 11QMelch are stressed by the occurrence of the theme of «peace» — which is a characteristic of the blessed (Mt 5,9) and an eschatological reward in 11QMelch 2,15 — and that of «justice» (cf. Mt 5,6.10) — a characteristic of (the name of) Melchizedek.

²⁹ The distinction between the messianic age and the age to come (cf. b Shabb 63b) may go back to the time of Jesus. Cf. J. BONSIRVEN, *Le judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ*, vol. I (Paris 1935), 312; DAVIES, *Torah*, 81-82. In Matthew's Beatitudes the Messianic age may have been presented as the time of Jesus' preaching the Beatitudes, and the age to come as the space of the community of his disciples.

³⁰ The *insertion* of the «Son of Man» in the list of Beatitudes of Luke's Gospel, on the other hand, may have added chronological features — displayed with the expression of Dan 7,13 in Lk 6,22c (cf. 4Q521) — to the place of the «end» (cf. Lk 6,23), differentiating the eschatology of Q from the hopes of the Essenes and the theologies of the Synagogue. The word Gehenna, as retribution of the wicked, is used in the synoptic Gospels and in ancient Jewish texts to express these two ideas of eschatology: one after death (cf. Mek Ex Beshallah, Shirah 2; m Eduyyot 2,10; b Qid 31b; b Sanh 91ab; b Ber 28b; PRK 10; Lev R 4,5; Qo R 3,21; Midrash Psalms 31,3), and one at the day of the judgment (cf. 1 En 27,1-2; 90,26; 4 Ezra 7,26-36; Syb Or 4,176-191). Cf. Mt 10,28 with Lk 12,5 and Ch. MILIKOWSKY, «Which Gehenna? Retribution and Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels and in Early Jewish Texts», *NTS* 34 (1988) 238-249.

³¹ The expression *Son of Man* is not found in the Qumran text, nor is it explicitly quoted by any other documents of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Nevertheless, a role similar to the one played by the Son of Man of Dan 7,13 (cf. also Dan 7,21; 10,13; Ps 20,3) is discernable — in addition to 11QMelch — in a number of texts from Qumran, such as 4Q521; 4Q246 2,7-8; 1QM 17,6ff, as well as in other texts of the Second Temple period (cf. Ps Sol 18,6-8; 4 Ezra 11-12; 2 Bar 40; 72). Parallels of the expression *Son of Man* in intertestamental literature are found, for example, in 1 En 46,6; 48,2; 62,7; 71,14. Cf. also 1 En 55,4 with Lk 12,8; Mt 22,44; 25,31-46; 26,64.

also allowed the composer of the Matthean Beatitudes to avoid the identification of the «Son of Man» with the semantically similar figure of the Instructor («the one born from a woman») of 1QH, and to avoid possible approximation to and misunderstanding with the expression «the sons of the woman» of the targumic tradition on Gen 3,15³². Assuming that the core of this targumic tradition goes back to the time of the formation of Q's Beatitudes and the composition of Mt 5,3ff, the omission of the expression «Son of Man» in the Matthean list may have been, *inter alia*, the result of a theological and interpretational debate focused on the theme of the «end», and (partially) witnessed by the texts mentioned above³³. Whereas the targums call «the woman's sons», and possibly the members of the Q communities, to await «the days of the King Messiah» by *studying* the Tora — in the Matthean list, the spatiality and temporality of the «end» seem to be resumed by the characteristics of the blessed in such a way that the expectations of the Essenes could have been seen as realized³⁴.

³² PT on Gen 5,3, where Cain is the son of Eve but not of Adam, may furnish another indication for the identification of Cain with Jesus in PT on Gen 4,14, a text probably connected with the formation of Q's Beatitudes. Cf. DI LUCCIO, «The 'Son of Man' and the Eschatology of the Q Beatitudes», 568-570 and note 41; ÍD., *The Quelle and the Targums* (Rome 2009), 57ff. On the interpretation of PT on Gen 5,3, cf. J. RAMÓN DÍAZ, «Palestinian Targum and the New Testament», *NovT* 6 (1963) 79. For J. MARCUS, «Son of Man as Son of Adam», *RB* 110 (2003) 38-61 and pp. 370-386, «Son of Man» is equivalent to «Son of Adam», given the coherence between the expression *Son of Man* in the Gospels and the stories of the eschatological Adam in Jewish and Christian early literature. J. Marcus lists a number of traditions that assign to Adam a priestly office (*Ibid.*, 374 and note 14).

³³ The study of the Gospel Beatitudes is not sufficient to draw definitive conclusions about the meaning Jesus gave to the expression «Son of Man». As regards the use of the idiom in the specific case of Lk 6,22c, it would seem that for the community of Q, as probably for the community of the composer of the first Gospel's Beatitudes, «Son of Man» had the «heavenly» features of the biblical figure mentioned in Dan 7,13.

³⁴ Matthew has omitted from his source also ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (Lk 6,23a), a formula expressing a temporal reference to the end. In the list of Matthew, moreover, the recompense is anticipated in the condition and the way of life of the blessed. The reward will be fully achieved in heaven, but then the condition of the blessed will not change. The blessed of Matthew 5,3ff do not seem anymore to be a group with specific social features, as in the list of Q (Lk 6,20ff). They appear rather as a group shaped by the apprenticeship of the Law — as is shown by the many references to Ps 37 (cf. for example v. 31 and DI LUCCIO, *The Quelle and the Targums*, 80-81), according to the ideal community of the last days found in eschatological texts from the Dead Sea. Cf. the

Summary

After analyzing similarities and differences between themes and phrases of the Gospel Beatitudes, 11QMelch, 1QH, and the shared aggadic targumic tradition on Gen 3,15, I have suggested that the composition of Matthew's Beatitudes may be understood in light of eschatological ideas and representations common to Jewish groups during the first century CE. A hermeneutical debate focused on biblical texts, such as Gen 3,15, Isa 61, and Dan 9,25, may have taken place between members of the early Christian communities and the sages at the time of the formation and composition of Q's Beatitudes, Mt 5,3ff and the «shared aggadic targumic tradition» on Gen 3,15. The debate may have involved some members of the Essene communities, and may also have been internal to the early Christian communities, as is shown by the different stages of the formation of Q's Beatitudes and the composition of Matthew's list. When the sages — possibly as a response to Q's Beatitudes — had formed the core of those traditions that encourage the «sons of the woman» to wait for the days of the Messiah while studying the Law, the composer of Mt 5,3ff may have portrayed his eschatology by presenting the spatial and the temporal categories of the «end» as actualized in the teaching of Jesus and in the life of his community, stressing the role of Jesus as teacher of the Law, and describing the blessed as a corporative group formed by his teaching. By transferring to the «space» of his community those features of the messianic age that underline the teaching of the Law, the composer of

phrase התאמצו מבקשי אדני בעבודתו (Strengthen yourselves, you who are seeking the Lord, in his service) in 4Q521 frag. 2 col. ii l. 3 (cf. also Isa 51,1; Ps 40,17; 70,5; 105,3 and Mal 3,14ff; N and TJI on Gen 2,15; Test Levi gr 16; 4 Ezra 7,88ff), and the quotation of Mal 3,22-24 in 4Q521 frag. 2 col. iii ll. 1ff. 4Q525, frag. 2 col. ii ll. 1-2 proclaims blessed the faithful who adhere to the precepts of Wisdom and to the laws of the Torah, mentioning a singular person together with the general plural category of blessed. If there is a consequent connection between fragments 1 and 2, this singular figure may be David, or his son Solomon, or the master of Righteousness, or some other prominent figure in the communities of the sectarians. Fragment 1 is reconstructed in the following way by J. H. CHARLESWORTH, «The Qumran Beatitudes (4Q525) and the New Testament (Mt 5:3-11, Lk 6:20-26)», *RHPPhR* 80 (2000) 17: (1) [... in the] wisdom th[at] Go[d] ga[ve] to him [...] (2) [... knowl]edge, wisdom, and disci[pline] to instruct [...]. Cf. also p. 19 and pp. 13-35, and É PUECH, «4Q525 et les péricopes des béatitudes en Ben Sira et Matthieu» *RB* 98 (1991) 106 and pp. 80-106.

Mt 5,3ff may have shaped an eschatology particularly suitable to members of the Essene communities — as it is expressed, for example, in 11QMelch. Furthermore, the composer of Mt 5,3ff may have stressed the role of Jesus as Instructor and Teacher of the last days, offering an actualization to the chronological expectations of the Essenes' eschatology that had been expressed with the biblical imageries of Isa 52,7ff; 61,1ff; Dan 7,13; 9,25.

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