

CHAPTER FORTY-FOUR

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE IDENTITY AND ROLE OF JESUS

—♦—
Catrin H. Williams

It is something of a commonplace in studies of New Testament interpretations of Jesus ('New Testament christology') to draw attention to a question that, according to Gospel traditions, Jesus posed to his disciples: 'Who do people say that I am?' (Mark 8:27; cf. Matt. 16:13; Luke 9:18). They report that people view him as John the Baptist, Elijah or as one of the prophets, while the disciples' own evaluation of Jesus is expressed by Peter: 'You are the Christ' (Mark 8:29). It is the variety rather than the content of the responses offered in this scene that merits attention at this point, because it serves as an illustration of the diverse ways in which the New Testament writers sought to express their understanding of the identity and role of Jesus. Before examining the christological beliefs attested in individual New Testament texts, some attempts at delineating the origins and early development of christology will be considered.

MAPPING OUT EARLY CHRISTOLOGY

The study of New Testament christology during the early decades of the twentieth century was dominated by scholars belonging to 'the history-of-religions school', who argued that many early Christian beliefs and practices were drawn from ideas current in the cultural environment of the Graeco-Roman world. In an influential study entitled *Kyrios Christos* (1913) Wilhelm Bousset offered a historical sketch of the development of early christology, giving particular attention to the period between Jesus and Paul. The beliefs of the Palestinian community in the earliest post-Easter period centred on the confession of Jesus as the 'Son of Man' whose imminent return (*parousia*) as heavenly Messiah was eagerly awaited. A decisive turning point occurred when Christianity entered the Gentile communities of Antioch, Tarsus and Damascus. The eschatological hope characteristic of the congregations in Judaea was now replaced by the cultic veneration of Jesus as the exalted Lord present with the community in worship and sacrament. The title 'Lord' (*kyrios*) was first applied to Jesus by Gentile believers, and arose as a result of its use to address pagan deities in Syria and Egypt, as well as Roman emperors in the ruler-cult – a development viewed by Bousset as inconceivable within the monotheistic environment of the Jewish-Christian communities. Paul was deeply influenced by these Gentile

churches, and he also developed their beliefs by depicting Christ as a living presence with whom believers enjoyed a mystical relationship.

The impact of Bousset's study on subsequent scholarship cannot be overestimated. It was particularly well received by later proponents of the history-of-religions school, and Rudolf Bultmann commented in the foreword to the fifth edition of *Kyrios Christos* that he viewed it as an indispensable work. Bultmann also developed his own hypotheses with regard to the origins of christology, and argued that the historical Jesus did not claim any titles for himself; nor did he possess what could be termed a messianic self-consciousness (1952, 1: 26–32). Thus the legacy of Bousset and his successors was their assessment of New Testament christology as the product of distinct early Christian communities that did not stand in any real continuity with the self-understanding of Jesus.

Others have argued that the foundations of christology were already laid down in the activity and proclamation of Jesus of Nazareth. Oscar Cullmann, for example, rejected the notion that New Testament christology developed simply by conforming to a conceptual scheme provided by ancient Judaism or Hellenism, since Jesus' self-understanding and the impact of his person and ministry must also be considered (1963: 5). C. F. D. Moule has argued, moreover, that early christological conceptions should not be viewed as the result of an evolutionary process, which implies an ever-increasing distance from Jesus and the introduction of alien factors in response to different cultural environments, but rather as an organic development, in that 'successive descriptions and evaluations of Jesus constituted only new insights into what was there from the beginning' (1977: 22).

Attempts at determining the relationship between the claims of the historical Jesus and the early Christian beliefs about him can be outlined according to the categories of explicit, implicit and evoked christology (Theissen and Metz 1998: 520–553). It is difficult to ascertain whether Jesus embraced an explicit christology by laying claim to one or more titles (a consensus is emerging among scholars that he used the obscure expression 'Son of Man' as a self-designation, though not necessarily as a title). An implicit christology may, nevertheless, be detected in Jesus' consciousness of eschatological authority (his statements introduced by 'Amen', but I say to you' or 'I have come'), as well as special intimacy with God in his use of the Aramaic address 'Abba' (Mark 14:36). Jesus' claims relating to the forgiveness of sins (Mark 2:5–11) and his healings and exorcisms also point to a consciousness of his role as one whose words and activity signify the coming of the kingdom of God. In addition, an evoked christology denotes expectations that Jesus aroused among people during his lifetime. According to several Gospel traditions, titles drawn from traditional Jewish categories (such as 'Messiah' and 'Son of David') were attached to Jesus by his disciples and followers (Mark 8:29; 10:47–8) and are reflected in the charge that led to his execution as a messianic pretender (Mark 15:2, 26, 32). Such factors imply that the issue of Jesus' messianic identity was already raised during his ministry, while his own response is described as one of reticence rather than outright rejection (Mark 8:30; Matt. 26:64). Even without explicitly claiming the title 'Messiah', the ministry and self-understanding of Jesus could be termed 'messianic' in view of the eschatological character of his proclamation of the kingdom of God, which in turn led to further reflection among his followers after Easter.

What was the nature of christological reflection during the decisive period between Jesus' death (about 30 CE) and the emergence of the earliest New Testament writing, probably Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians (50 CE)? Because Bousset's outline of two largely unconnected stages of development makes no allowances for probable lines of communication between Jewish-Palestinian-Christian and Gentile-Christian communities, his scheme has been refined to accommodate an intervening stage or pattern described as Hellenistic-Jewish Christianity (Hahn 1969; Fuller 1965). Within the context of a Greek-speaking Hellenistic-Jewish church deeply influenced by the Greek Bible (LXX) and Hellenistic ideas, the eschatological expectation of Jesus' return as 'Son of Man' gave way for the first time to reflection on the heavenly exaltation and divine lordship of the risen Christ. The titles 'Lord' and 'Son of God' were then transformed by Hellenistic-Gentile Christians into expressions of Jesus' status as a pre-existent divine being who became incarnate. Hahn and Fuller stress that this three-stage classification should not be linked too rigidly to specific chronological periods or geographical locations, although the three types of community do correspond, in broad terms, to a movement from Palestine to the Jewish Diaspora to the Gentile world, and from a 'lower' to a 'higher' christology.

The notion of christological development in three stages can certainly allow for some degree of overlap between, and fluidity within, the early Christian communities, but it raises fundamental questions about the nature of the early Church during the obscure years between Jesus and Paul. The nature of the available New Testament evidence means that attempts at reconstructing distinct developments in early christology is dependent on identifying key traditions in texts that evidently belong to a later period. It has also been asked whether the rapid development of christology during the years up to the time of Paul's earliest known letter can really accommodate three different stages, and whether one can speak of a purely Gentile form of Christianity in the period before Paul's mission (Hengel 1983). It is probable that virtually all the missionaries who founded communities in cities like Antioch and Damascus were Jewish Christians, and their preaching would have included Jewish-Christian concepts as well as (Gentile) elements familiar to their new audiences. There are problems also with the proposed distinction between Palestinian-Jewish Christianity and Hellenistic-Jewish Christianity in terms of their geographical and chronological origin, for it has been conclusively demonstrated that Jewish Palestine had for a long time been subjected to Hellenistic influence in a variety of ways (Hengel 1989).

Attention is also paid to what many view as a historically reliable tradition in Acts 6:1 about the presence of 'Hebrews' and 'Hellenists' in the Jerusalem church (Hengel 1983; Marshall 1990). The term 'Hellenists' is interpreted as denoting Greek-speaking Jewish Christians from the Diaspora who now resided in Jerusalem and, from an early date, had formed a community alongside the Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians ('Hebrews'). Hengel proposes that these Greek-speaking Jewish Christians played a decisive role in the shaping of beliefs about Jesus, and that their missionary activities led to the formation of Christian communities in such important places as Caesarea, Antioch and Damascus (1983: 40-7). They believed that Jesus, the crucified Messiah, would soon return, but they also interpreted his present status in terms of the exaltation of the Son of Man. In this respect the

interpretation of Scripture played a significant role in early Jewish-Christian reflection on the titles and functions of the risen Christ, including his Sonship (2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7), his exaltation as Son of Man (Ps. 8) and his enthronement as Lord at the right hand of God (Ps. 110:1).

Christological reflection on Psalm 110:1, whose Greek version in the LXX includes two occurrences of the designation *kyrios* ("The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand . . .'"), also suggests that the use of the title *kyrios* for Jesus is not necessarily to be derived from the influence of pagan cults, but can be traced back to Greek-speaking Jewish Christians. The likelihood that this title was applied to Jesus at an early stage, among members of the Palestinian community, is further strengthened by examples of the title '[the] Lord' as a divine designation in first-century Jewish Palestine. In addition to the use of *kyrios* as a title for God among Greek-speaking Jews (Josephus, *Antiquities* 13:68; 20:90), evidence for its Aramaic counter-part *marē* has been uncovered in some Qumran texts (Fitzmyer 1979: 124–5). It is thus conceivable that Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians in the Jerusalem church applied the title *marē* to Jesus in its role as a divine designation, which was then translated as *kyrios* for or by the Greek-speaking Jewish Christians. The use of *marē*, though not in its absolute form, also accounts for the distinctive liturgical formula *maranatha* cited by Paul in 1 Corinthians 16:22. Indeed, the fact that this untranslated Aramaic phrase is preserved in a text written in Greek suggests that it originated among members of the Palestinian community, where it served as an eschatological petition for the return of Jesus ('Our Lord, come'), probably within the liturgical context of the eucharistic meal (cf. 1 Cor. 11:26). Both the *maranatha* invocation and the christological appropriation of Psalm 110:1 therefore offer glimpses of significant developments already established by Aramaic- and Greek-speaking Jewish Christians, for to call Jesus 'Lord' was to confer upon him a title with clear divine connotations.

The distinctive use of *maranatha* in 1 Corinthians 16:22 clearly raises important questions about the relationship between the development of christology and the liturgical practices of the early Christians (Hurtado 1998). Devotional practices viewed as indicative of what is described as Christ-devotion (Hurtado) or a cult of Christ (Horbury 1998) also include the singing of hymns in honour and celebration of Christ (1 Cor. 14:26), baptizing in his name or 'into Christ Jesus' (Rom. 6:3; Acts 2:38) and confessing that 'Jesus is Lord' (Rom. 10:9–13; 1 Cor. 12:3; Phil. 2:11). Because these elements are attested in the earliest New Testament writings, the letters of Paul, it has been proposed that a number of devotional practices (as in the case of *maranatha*) could have originated at an earlier stage among Jewish Christians. Not only is it widely agreed that Paul cites already existing formulae in his letters (for example, Rom. 1:3–4; 1 Cor. 15:3–5), but it is also noted that there are no indications in Paul's letters that his views about Christ were unique to him or indeed conflicted with those of other Jewish Christians; his disagreements with the Jerusalem church centred on his mission to the Gentiles (Hengel 1983: 44; Hurtado 1999: 52–4). The liturgical practices reflected in Paul's letters, including the acclamation of Jesus as 'Lord', have therefore been cited as evidence that the exalted Christ became an object of cultic devotion alongside God in early Christian communities. What is noted as striking, in this respect, is that the Jewish Christians

did not regard their Christ-devotion as a threat to the uniqueness of God, but as an affirmation of his glory and sovereignty (cf. Phil. 2:11). The accommodation of the exalted Christ into the worship of the one God attests 'the use of monotheistic language as a christological category' (Rainbow 1991: 84), finding its clearest expression in 1 Corinthians 8:6: 'Yet for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist.' In other words, Jewish Christians like Paul viewed themselves as loyal to the Jewish monotheistic faith in their worship of 'one God', but their conviction that the crucified Jesus had been exalted to heavenly glory led to the veneration of Christ as 'one Lord'.

The central chapters of Hurtado's important study examine the ways in which ancient Judaism provided a conceptual framework, broadly labelled as 'divine agency', which enabled Jewish Christians to explain the exaltation of Jesus to God's right hand without compromising their commitment to the one God. A number of Jewish texts, from Palestine and the Diaspora, depict God as appointing a particular figure to act as his chief agent (Hurtado 1998: 17–92; also Davis 1994). The category of divine agency manifests itself in various forms, since a chief agent can be a divine attribute (Wisdom or the Logos), an exalted patriarch (Moses or Enoch) or a principal angel like Michael (Dan. 10:13–21), Yahoel (*Apocalypse of Abraham* 10–11) or Melchizedek (in a fragmentary Qumran text known as 11QMelchizedek). The nature of the role exercised by God's principal agent also varies, for Wisdom is depicted as participating in creation (Wisdom 7:22), Melchizedek as active in eschatological redemption, while Michael and Yahoel exercise power in their role as the grand vizier of God. The chief agent is therefore portrayed in these Jewish texts as having a highly exalted and unique status, second only to God in terms of authority and significance. In some cases, the chief agent possesses special divine attributes and powers, as in the depiction of Yahoel as one who bears the Divine Name (cf. Exod. 23:21) and whose appearance is described in language reminiscent of theophanies (*Apocalypse of Abraham* 10:3, 8; 11:2–3).

None of these chief agent traditions, according to Hurtado, compromises Jewish monotheism. Wisdom and the Logos are metaphorical descriptions of God's active involvement in the world rather than semi-independent beings or hypostases (1998: 36–7, 46–8; also Dunn 1989: 163–76, 213–30), whereas depictions of the exalted status of patriarchs like Moses are intended to validate Jewish religious tradition and foreshadow the reward of the elect ones. Even principal angels remain distinct from, and subordinate to, God, since their authority and status are derived from the one whose majesty they serve to magnify. Above all, Hurtado emphasizes that, although the honour accorded to these figures may have included such phenomena as the application of venerative language to angels (Stuckenbruck 1995), there is no convincing evidence that any of them became the object of formal corporate worship in a Jewish cultic context.

Since 'in the exclusive monotheism of the Jewish religious tradition . . . it was worship which was the real test of monotheistic faith in religious practice' (Bauckham 1993b: 118), Hurtado claims that the inclusion of the risen Christ with God as the recipient of cultic veneration produced an innovation or 'mutation' of Jewish monotheism, unparalleled in Jewish traditions of God's chief agent. In other words,

monotheistic piety was redefined in order to accommodate a binitarian devotion to Jesus alongside God. This modification is viewed by Hurtado as resulting primarily from the post-Easter religious experiences of the early Christians (1998: 117–22), especially their visionary experiences of the risen Christ as exalted and participating fully in the glory and power of God (cf. Acts 7:55–6; 2 Cor. 3:16–18). Two quite different assessments of the material examined by Hurtado can be noted. First, his view that Christ-devotion marked a significant development in relation to Jewish monotheism is shared by others (Dunn 1989; Casey 1991), although they contend that truly binitarian patterns of belief in the divinity or incarnation of Jesus only occurred during the last decades of the first century CE (particularly in John's Gospel). Secondly, others argue that there are Jewish precedents for the binitarian elements in early christology, in that several of the traditions about principal angels demonstrate that ancient Jewish monotheism could accommodate a second divine being alongside God (Rowland 1982; Fossum 1985). Rowland argues that there is evidence in certain Jewish texts of a separation of divinity involving God and his personified glory, with the latter acting as a quasi-angelic mediator (Ezek. 1:26–8; Dan. 10:5–9), as also attested and further developed in the description of Yahoei in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (1982: 94–113). The depiction of Yahoei in this text as one who bears the Divine Name (10:3, 8) is interpreted by Fossum as indicating that a principal angel could be regarded as the personification of the Name, thus sharing God's nature of mode of being (1985: 318–20), whereas according to Hurtado the Name is rather the medium of his power. What becomes apparent from these different assessments of principal angel traditions is that there is clear disagreement as to whether the exalted status attributed to such figures as Yahoei should be understood in functional terms alone or points to a belief in their divine nature.

Hurtado's proposal that the visionary experiences of the early Christians were the major impetus for their cultic veneration of Jesus requires a degree of caution due to the nature of the New Testament evidence. It is a particularly difficult task to determine the relationship between subsequent reflections on such experiences, as in Paul's claim to have seen the risen Lord (1 Cor. 9:1; 15:8; cf. Gal. 1:15–16), and the actual content and nature of those experiences. Moreover, it is debated whether one can speak of visionary experiences of the risen Christ as actually generating christological convictions (for example, Christ as a heavenly divine figure) or should view these experiences as having been shaped by already existing categories provided, in particular, by Jewish traditions and patterns of belief. William Horbury has recently proposed that the worship of Christ in fact finds its origins in Jewish messianism (1998: 127–40); it was the recognition and praise of Jesus as messianic king, beginning during his ministry and developed in the early Christian communities, that led to the acclamations, hymns and titles offered to Christ and are preserved in the writings of the New Testament.

The debate among scholars on the origins of New Testament christology continues to be vigorous and illuminating. The publication of important sources, particularly the Dead Sea Scrolls, has led to a much clearer understanding of the diversity in ancient Judaism and to a greater appreciation of the importance of intermediary figures in Jewish traditions. And although it is difficult to offer a detailed picture

of the development of christology during this early period, recent scholarship has made a decisive contribution to our understanding of the earliest Christian beliefs about Jesus as well as the factors that helped to shape them. Strong arguments have been offered in several studies for viewing the devotion to Christ as a divine figure alongside God as a characteristic of the devotional practices of early Jewish Christians rather than as a later innovation attributable to Gentile believers. This was, moreover, a period marked by deep christological reflection on the Scriptures, thus enabling early Christians to express their conviction that the crucified and risen Christ had been exalted as Lord to a heavenly position at the right hand of God. These were the foundations upon which the authors of the individual writings in the New Testament developed their own interpretations of the identity and role of Jesus.

INTERPRETATIONS OF JESUS IN NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS

Until recently the study of New Testament christology has largely been approached through an analysis of individual titles applied to Jesus, giving particular attention to their conceptual background and usage. The limitations of this procedure are now widely recognized (see Keck 1986: 368–70). This approach not only tends to isolate the christological titles from their context, particularly their narrative contexts in the case of the Gospels, but it can overlook other, equally significant, christological passages. This is not to deny that the New Testament authors sought to interpret Jesus in the light of already existing titles or expressions, but this is only one of many forms of christological expression adopted in the writings. A selection of New Testament texts exhibiting various emphases and a wide range of interpretations of Jesus will therefore now be examined.

The letters of Paul

Paul expresses his understanding of Jesus Christ in seven letters generally acknowledged to have been written by him between 50 and about 60 CE (1 Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans and Philemon). Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians and the Pastoral letters are certainly post-Pauline compositions, but the stronger case for the Pauline authorship of Colossians justifies its inclusion for consideration with the seven undisputed letters. Nearly every passage in Paul's writings discloses one aspect or other of his views about Christ, but his letters were not written for the purpose of offering a systematized discussion of christology. In each case Paul is responding to specific situations arising in individual communities, and his presentation of christological themes can take forms and include emphases relevant to the circumstances of those whom he addresses. For example, Paul's extended discussion of his conviction that the risen Christ will return (1 Thess. 4:13–5:11) arises from the concern voiced by members of the community at Thessalonica about the fate of those who had already died before the *parousia*. But while due regard must be given to the context and concerns reflected in each letter, there is also an underlying consistency in Paul's expressions of his christological convictions.

What may appear remarkable is that Paul offers very few indications in his letters of the extent of his knowledge about Jesus of Nazareth. Limited references to the earthly life of Jesus include declarations about his birth of a woman under the Jewish law (Gal. 4:4) and his descent from the line of David (Rom. 1:3). The paucity of such statements should not, however, be interpreted as implying that Paul displays no interest in the events of Jesus' life and ministry. The citation of formulaic traditions (cf. Rom. 1:3-4), together with several subtle allusions to the teaching of Jesus (cf. Rom. 12:14; 13:7-10; 1 Cor. 7:10-11; 11:23-5), suggest that Paul takes for granted that the recipients of his letters are already familiar with traditions about Jesus due to the earlier preaching activity carried out in their midst by Paul or other early Christian missionaries.

The central events for Paul are the passion, death and resurrection of Christ, as demonstrated when he appeals to the tradition he has received and handed on to the Corinthians: 'that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures' (1 Cor. 15:3-4). The salvific death and resurrection of Jesus are presented here as the core of the Christian message, as Paul himself had experienced when the risen Christ 'last of all . . . appeared also to me' (15:8). Thus, on the few occasions that Paul does make explicit reference to his own call or conversion, he emphasizes that this was due to a revelation of the risen Lord (Gal. 1:12, 15-16). This christophany experience resulted in a decisive shift in Paul's understanding of the significance of Jesus; it was an event that led him to accept the claim of the first believers that the crucified Christ had been raised from the dead, and it was an experience that, according to several scholars, brought about many key aspects of Paul's christology (Kim 1984; Longenecker 1997).

The centrality of Jesus' death and resurrection in the gospel preached by Paul also means that his reflections on christology and on the salvific effects of the Christ-event are closely intertwined in his letters. This is particularly apparent in two passages where Paul sets up an explicit contrast between Christ and Adam, understood as representative figures of humankind from creation to death (Adam) and of eschatological humankind from death to life (Christ) (see Dunn 1998: 241). In Romans 5:12-21 the disobedience of Adam, which resulted in death and condemnation for all, is contrasted with the obedience of Christ, resulting in grace and the gift of righteousness (5:17-18). In an earlier letter (1 Cor. 15:20-2, 45-9) Paul's interest in the Adam/Christ motif centres on the resurrection of Jesus as the beginning (15:20: 'the first fruits') of those who have died. All who are 'in Adam' die, but those who are 'in Christ' shall be made alive (15:21-2). This line of argumentation is resumed in 15:45-9, and Christ is now described as 'the last Adam' who has become a life-giving spirit; he is the beginning of a new humanity and his image will be borne by those who belong to him.

It is true that a study of the titles used by an author like Paul cannot provide a comprehensive picture of his views about Jesus, but the importance he attaches to Jesus' identity as 'Messiah' (Christ), 'Son of God' and 'Lord' certainly calls for comment. It is interesting that Paul uses the designation 'Christ' more as a second name for Jesus ('Jesus Christ' or 'Christ Jesus') than as a title. This apparent lack of attention to the fulfillment of messianic hopes in Jesus results from the fact that

christos as a title would have little meaning for Gentile readers, because to them it was a word that simply meant 'anointed or smeared with oil'. The titular use of *christos* to describe Jesus as the promised Messiah does occur in a few passages, especially Romans 9:3–5 where Paul describes the privileges received by the Jews from whom the Messiah comes.

Particularly significant are those rarer occasions where Paul speaks of Jesus as 'Son of God' (Rom. 1:4; 2 Cor. 1:19; Gal. 2:20) or 'Son' (Rom. 8:3, 29; 1 Cor. 1:9; Gal. 4:4), even describing Jesus' divine sonship as the content of the gospel (cf. Gal. 1:15–16). These declarations are more likely to have been influenced by ancient Jewish traditions than pagan religious concepts, particularly as sonship terminology occurs frequently in the Scriptures to denote Israel (Exod. 4:22; Hos. 11:1), the Davidic king (2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7) and, in some Qumran texts, the Davidic Messiah (4QFlorilegium 1:10–13). Assessing the Pauline evidence against a Jewish background therefore leads Hurtado to propose, 'Paul did not employ the language of divine sonship primarily to claim that Jesus was divine. Essentially Paul's references to Jesus as God's "Son" communicate Jesus' unique status and intimate relationship to God. But the contexts of these references supply several additional and more particular nuances to the term' (Hurtado 1993: 900). The actual context of the Pauline sonship language is important in such cases as the kerygmatic formula cited by Paul in Romans 1:3–4, a formula with which his readers were probably already acquainted: 'the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh, and was appointed (NRSV: declared) to be Son of God in power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord'. In this two-part declaration Jesus' earthly status as 'Son of David' is juxtaposed with his installation as 'Son of God' in power by virtue of his resurrection. Scholars have long pondered whether the second part declares that divine sonship was first conferred upon Jesus at his resurrection, leading some to propose that Paul added the words 'in power' in order to tone down its 'adoptionist' ring (Barrett 1962: 20). The role of this formulaic tradition as a twofold affirmation of Jesus' divine sonship, with probable echoes of Davidic traditions (2 Sam. 7:12–14; see Hengel 1976: 62), is confirmed by the way Paul prefaces the whole citation with the clause 'the gospel concerning his Son'. Another declaration in the same letter stresses that Jesus' sonship expresses his unique relationship with God, for Jesus' salvific death is described in terms of God not withholding his own Son 'but gave him up for all of us' (8:32; cf. 5:10; Gal. 2:20; 4:4–5).

It is the title 'Lord' that receives most prominence in the Pauline writings. To speak of the risen Christ in terms of lordship is to define his relationship with all believers, and so Paul stresses that the central confession of their faith is that 'Jesus is Lord' (Rom. 10:9; 1 Cor. 12:3). Paul displays awareness of the use of *kyrios* as a designation for the 'many lords' honoured in pagan cults (1 Cor. 8:5), but he probably inherited this title from Jewish Christians, as indicated above. Paul uses the title *kyrios* for God in several scriptural citations (for example, Rom. 4:8; 1 Cor. 3:20), but in other places he applies *kyrios*-texts to Christ himself. One of the most striking examples occurs in Romans 10:9–13, for the confession of Jesus as Lord leads to the declaration, 'The same Lord is Lord of all and is generous to all who call on him. For, "Everyone who calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved"'

(Joel 2:32). Similarly in the second part of Philippians 2:6-11, one of the best-known New Testament christological passages, the exaltation of Jesus is described in the loftiest of terms: God has greatly exalted him and bestowed upon him the name above every name, so that every knee should bow and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. The universal acclamation that 'Jesus is Lord' means that the exalted Christ is proclaimed worthy of the honour usually reserved for God, whereas the name given to him is probably God's own name (*kyrios*-YHWH) since the scriptural passage cited in 2:10 refers to God in its original context (Isa. 45:23; cf. Rom. 14:11).

This distinctive appropriation to Jesus of a text like Isaiah 45:23, which contains one of the most unequivocal declarations of monotheism in the Hebrew Scriptures, signifies that Paul directly, and quite boldly, associates Christ with God. Depicting Jesus in such exalted terms does not, however, conflict with the emphasis in Philippians 2:9-11 on the sovereignty of God, for the bestowal of the Name indicates a unique status conferred upon the exalted Christ by God himself (2:9), while those who confess Jesus as 'Lord' do so to the glory of the Father. The inclusion of Christ in expressions of commitment to the one God is graphically attested in 1 Corinthians 8:6, viewed by many commentators as an adaptation of the *Shema*, the traditional monotheistic formula recited daily by the Jews (Deut. 6:4: 'Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord'). Emphasis on 'one God, the Father' is combined with a confession of the uniqueness of Christ's lordship, for there is 'one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist' (1 Cor. 8:6). Once again, to describe Jesus as 'one Lord' is not viewed by Paul as impinging on his belief in the one true God. 'All things are from, that is originating in, deriving out of, the Father, but *through* the Son, that is by his agency' (Ziesler 1990: 35).

If Paul can speak of Christ in such exalted terms, even as the mediator of creation, does he envisage that Christ also existed before his earthly manifestation? There is vigorous debate over this issue, particularly as statements about God having sent his Son (Gal. 4:4; Rom. 8:3) could imply a sending from another mode of existence or, alternatively, a commissioning reminiscent of the sending of the prophets. Scholars are primarily interested in a cluster of passages where epithets and functions traditionally associated with divine Wisdom are now applied to Christ. His depiction as 'the image of the invisible God' (Col. 1:15) echoes the description of Wisdom as 'the image of his goodness' (Wisdom 7:26), whereas declarations attributing to Christ a role in creation (1 Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:16) also possess analogies in ancient Jewish reflection on Wisdom as instrumental with God in the work of creation (cf. Prov. 8:30; Wisdom 7:22). What are the christological implications of such associations? Dunn argues that they point to a Pauline conception of Christ's pre-existence in ideal rather than personal terms, particularly as Jewish Wisdom traditions seek, with the aid of metaphorical language, to bridge the gap between the transcendent God and his immanent activity in the world. When Paul drew upon these traditions, his claim was that pre-existent Wisdom - God's creative plan and power - is now revealed and realized in Jesus (1998: 267-77). But even if Jewish traditions do present Wisdom as a personification of God's activity rather than as a personal figure, it does not necessarily follow that Paul's attribution of the functions and epithets of Wisdom to Christ amounts to an unmodified transference of a fixed

or readymade model (see Schüssler Fiorenza 1975). Indeed, it is made clear in the relevant Pauline passages that their subject is not a divine attribute or function, but the concrete historical figure whose personal relationship with God is highlighted by his naming as 'Lord, Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. 8:6) and 'Son' (Col. 1:13).

Even more decisive is the opening line of the poetic passage in Philippians 2:6–11, where Christ Jesus is depicted as existing 'in the form of God'. The opinion of most scholars is that this declaration expresses Christ's divine and sovereign status before his earthly existence; he did not count his equality with God as something he could use to his own advantage (*harpagmos*), but rather, by becoming human and assuming the status of a slave, he humbled himself and was obedient unto death (2:6–8). Again, Dunn seeks to demonstrate that this passage does not attribute pre-existence to Christ, but establishes an implied contrast between Adam and Jesus (1989: 114–21; 1998: 281–8). During his earthly life Christ, like Adam, bore the image of God (Gen. 1:27), but, different from Adam, he was obedient and did not seek to snatch equality with God (Gen. 3:5; with a different interpretation of *harpagmos*). The earthly Adam failed in his quest to be like God, but Christ embraced the fate of humankind by accepting death (the consequence of Adam's disobedience) and was consequently exalted (cf. Ps. 8:6). Those who favour the traditionally accepted interpretation contend, however, that the language of the first half of this passage is most naturally read as one of movement from Christ's pre-incarnate state to his human existence and death (2:6–8), and not of Jesus' earthly life and death as a two-stage contrast with Adam's state before and after his choice in the garden. Possibly more problematic for Dunn's interpretation is the lack of clear Adamic allusions in Philippians 2:6–11, and his view that 'form' (*morphē* in 2:6) is interchangeable with 'image' (*eikōn* – Gen. 1:27: LXX) does not adequately account for the repetition of the word in 2:7 where it cannot refer to image ('taking the form of a servant').

What must be acknowledged when attempting to determine whether Paul believed in the heavenly pre-existence of Christ is that he never seeks to explain or discuss at any length the nature of this pre-existent state. Indeed, to enquire about the precise nature of Christ's role as the one 'through whom are all things' (1 Cor. 8:6) or his ontological status 'in the form of God' (Phil. 2:6) and as 'Son' (Gal. 4:4) is to seek answers from Paul to questions that characterized the christological controversies of later centuries.

The Gospel of Mark

The Gospel of Mark, the earliest of the four canonical Gospels, was written during the turbulent years leading up to, or possibly shortly after, the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. At least fifteen years therefore separate the later undisputed letters of Paul from the first Gospel account of Jesus' ministry, death and resurrection. The importance of Mark's role as a compiler or editor of existing traditions about Jesus is indisputable, but the distinctive character of his christology becomes evident in the way he shapes and structures his material. Recurrent themes and motifs can certainly be detected, and declarations or episodes of particular christological import are strategically placed at key points in the narrative. The significance of the introductory declaration about 'the gospel of Jesus Christ (or the Messiah), the Son of

God' (1:1) is in fact disclosed in events located at the beginning, middle and end of the Gospel (1:11; 8:29; 9:7; 14:61-2; 15:39, although it should be noted that some important textual witnesses do not include the title 'Son of God' in 1:1). The unfolding of Jesus' identity through the flow of the narrative, especially in Jesus' responses to the way others view him, leads to the description of Mark's christology as a 'narrative christology' (Tannehill 1979; Materna 1999: 5-26).

The first major section of Mark's Gospel describes Jesus' public ministry in Galilee (1:16-8:26). His declaration that 'the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand' (1:15) finds confirmation in his activity as authoritative teacher (cf. 1:21; 6:2), powerful healer (5:25-43; 7:31-7) and exorcist (1:23-7; 5:1-20). People marvel at Jesus' authority and power, but they only gain a partial understanding of his identity and mission. Even the disciples, to whom has been revealed the mystery of the kingdom of God (4:11), fail to grasp his true significance. Their response, after Jesus stills the storm, is to ask, 'Who then is this, that even the wind and the sea obey him?' (4:41), and, despite the feeding of the multitude and the epiphanic character of Jesus' act of walking on the sea, the disciples are rebuked for their lack of faith (8:17-21; cf. 6:52). Jesus' unique status is, nevertheless, recognized by the demons, whose acclamation that he is the 'Son of God' (3:11; cf. 1:24; 5:7) echoes the baptism scene where Jesus alone hears the divine voice declare, 'You are my Son, the Beloved; with you I am well pleased' (1:11, with words drawn from Ps. 2:7 and Isa. 42:1). But the demons' open acknowledgement of Jesus' divine sonship is followed by his command for them to be silent, a command that forms a key component of the Markan secrecy motif, known as the 'messianic secret' (see Tuckett 1983).

A command to silence features prominently in the account of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi, a scene that marks an important turning point in Mark's Gospel (8:27-30). When Jesus asks his disciples, 'Who do you say that I am?' Peter acts as their representative and, in the light of Jesus' miracles and teaching ministry, responds, 'You are the Messiah (or: the Christ).' This declaration of Jesus' messianic status, the first time for it to be mentioned since the introduction (1:1), is curiously followed by Jesus' command for them 'not to tell anyone about him' (8:30). This response does not amount to a rejection of Peter's confession, although Jesus immediately qualifies it by openly predicting that he, the 'Son of Man', must suffer, be rejected by the authorities, killed and then rise again (8:31; cf. 9:31; 10:32-4). In other words, Jesus emphasizes that the true meaning of his messianic identity cannot be understood in isolation from his suffering, death and resurrection. Peter is clearly unable to reconcile his own concept of messianic identity (presumably based on certain traditional Jewish expectations) with the theme of suffering (8:32-3), while Jesus will later stress that the significance of his messianic identity cannot be restricted to such categories as 'Son of David' (12:35-7; Marcus 1993: 130-52). On the occasion of the transfiguration, after the divine voice declares, 'This is my Son, the Beloved' (9:7), the disciples are again commanded to say nothing of this revelation of Jesus' glory until after the resurrection (9:9). Only in the light of Jesus' death can his divine sonship be openly acknowledged by others.

Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem brings about the fulfilment of his earlier predictions. Since the shadow of his death clearly looms over the narrative, the Markan secrecy motif now gives way to openness and disclosure. When the high priest questions

Jesus about his identity during his trial before the Sanhedrin, he brings together the two titles which have hitherto been kept separate (apart from 1:1): 'Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed one?' (14:61, 'the Blessed one' is a circumlocution for 'God'). Jesus, for the first and only time in Mark's Gospel, unequivocally affirms his identity ('I am'), and continues by speaking of his future vindication as the Son of Man enthroned at God's right hand and who will return in glory (14:62; cf. Ps. 110:1; Dan. 7:13). It is at this point in the narrative, with Jesus' fate now sealed as he is charged with blasphemy (14:64), that he can publicly declare his true identity. Jesus' divine sonship is consequently acclaimed at the moment of his death on the cross, not by a supernatural being or one of the disciples, but by a Roman centurion: 'Truly this man was God's Son' (15:39). This marks the climax of Mark's narrative christology.

The Gospel of Matthew

Mark's Gospel was employed by Matthew and Luke, who, independently of each other, also made use of another source consisting of Jesus' sayings (known as Q, from the German word *Quelle* = source) as well as their own special material. Both Matthew and Luke, whose Gospels were composed sometime during the final quarter of the first century CE, essentially follow the general outline of the Markan narrative after their infancy narratives. Identifying the distinctive christological features of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke certainly involves studying how they have modified and interpreted their sources, but it is the interweaving of christological themes in their narratives that discloses the true depth of the Matthean and Lukan presentations of Jesus.

Several of the key christological motifs in Matthew's Gospel are already set out in the four opening chapters (the infancy, baptism and temptation narratives). The first theme highlighted by Matthew in his infancy narrative is Jesus' status as the Messiah who is the fulfilment of Israel's hopes. His messianic identity as 'Son of David' is explicated in an account of his genealogy (1:1-17), while Jesus' Davidic descent is legitimized in a narrative stressing his adoption and naming by Joseph (1:18-25). His role as the long-awaited Messiah of Israel is confirmed by the various scriptural prophecies fulfilled in the events of his birth to a virgin (1:23) in Bethlehem (2:6), his return from Egypt (2:15) and Herod's slaughter (2:18). Jesus' public ministry in Galilee is described, moreover, in terms of his mission to the lost sheep of Israel (9:36; 15:24), and, after he is presented as the supreme interpreter of the Torah through his Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5-7), the narratives about his healings are said to offer further confirmation that he is the one in whom scriptural prophecies find their fulfilment: 'He took our infirmities and bore our diseases' (8:17; citing Isa. 53:4). However, the growing hostility of the Jewish religious leaders towards Jesus leads him to end the parable of the wicked husbandmen with the words, 'The kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a people that produces the fruits of the kingdom' (21:43). The disciples form the nucleus of this 'new people' (Stanton 1992: 10-12), while the inclusion of Gentiles is described as the fulfilment of Scripture (4:15-16; 12:18-21) and as the core of the commission received by the disciples after Jesus' resurrection (28:19-20). This unmistakable

focus on mission to the Gentiles, brought about by Israel's rejection of Jesus as the Messiah, is integral to what has been described as Matthew's 'inclusive story' (Luz 1995: 9), for it mirrors the situation of the first recipients of this Gospel, who probably no longer remained within the synagogue and for whom the Gentile mission was a major concern.

A study of Matthean christology cannot overlook the centrality of Jesus' divine sonship in this Gospel. The Markan secrecy motif in relation to the 'Son of God' title is not sustained by Matthew, and his redactional activity includes the modification of the disciples' response at the end of the sea-walking narrative (Matt. 14:33: 'Truly you are the Son of God'; cf. Mark 6:52), thus preparing for Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi: 'You are the Messiah (or the Christ), the Son of the living God' (16:16). The divine origin of Jesus' sonship is of course established by Matthew in his infancy narrative, since the virgin birth prophesied in Isaiah 7:14 (LXX) occurs through the power of the Holy Spirit. How, then, does Matthew envisage and elaborate upon the significance of Jesus as the 'Son of God'? Jesus' sonship certainly expresses his unique relationship with God, both in terms of his sovereign authority (14:33) and their mutual knowledge (11:27). But Matthew places particular emphasis on the obedience of Jesus as Son. By means of his baptism he 'fulfils all righteousness' (3:15), as confirmed by God (3:17: 'This is my Son, the Beloved'), and during his testing by Satan (4:3, 6: 'If you are the Son of God . . .') Jesus refuses to use his power for any purpose other than to accomplish God's will. His path of obedience is also a path of suffering that leads to the pouring out of his blood for the forgiveness of sins (26:28), thereby echoing the earlier interpretative explanation of the name 'Jesus' (1:21: 'he will save his people from their sins'). Jesus remains obedient unto death and refuses to succumb to testing by the crowds and chief priests, who mockingly challenge him to descend from the cross (27:38–44).

Matthew, like so many New Testament writers, emphasizes that God ultimately vindicates his Son by raising him from the dead. The first words of the risen Jesus to his disciples as he appears to them on the mountain is that all authority in heaven and on earth has been given to him (28:18), reminiscent of his earlier predictions of future judgement and glorious return as the Son of Man. What is even more striking is that the Gospel ends on a christological note already encountered in the first chapter, since the prophecy of Isaiah 7:14 is fulfilled both in the virgin conception of Jesus and in his naming as 'Emmanuel', meaning 'God is with us' (1:23). Matthew accordingly stresses from the outset that Jesus is in fact God's presence with his people (cf. 18:20), a theme that resonates in the final declaration of the risen Jesus to his disciples: 'I am with you always, to the end of the age' (28:20).

The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles

The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles form a two-volume composition by an author who emphasizes the continuation between the life and teaching of Jesus and the mission of his followers. Indeed, an important theological theme for an understanding of Lukan christology is the sustained focus in Luke–Acts on Jesus' life and ministry and the establishment of the church as the realization of the salvific purpose of God (Squires 1993; Green 1995). This theme is expressed in a variety of

ways, including the use of vocabulary relating to God's plan or design (*boulē*; cf. Luke 7:30; Acts 2:23; 20:27) and the Lukan emphasis on the necessity of events (cf. Luke 9:22; 24:7; Acts 3:21; 17:3) as predetermined by God (Luke 22:22; Acts 10:42). Central to the divine plan is the fulfilment in Jesus of God's ancient promises, a theme firmly established in the Lukan birth and infancy narratives. The story begins in the Temple, where the message that salvation comes through the Lord's Messiah (2:26) is received by those like Simeon and Anna who long for Israel's consolation and redemption (cf. 2:25, 30–2, 38). Thus Zechariah blesses the God of Israel who has raised 'the horn of salvation' within the house of David (1:69), and the angel of the Lord announces the birth of a saviour in the city of David 'who is the Messiah, the Lord' (2:11). It is the language of royal messianic hopes that also characterizes Gabriel's announcement of Jesus' birth to Mary: 'he will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David' (1:32). The acclamation 'Son of the Most High' draws from traditions about the Davidic king (Ps. 2:7; 2 Sam. 7:12–16) and the Davidic descent of Joseph is noted (1:27; 2:4; 3:31), but there is no doubt that Luke, like Matthew, is eager to stress that Jesus' divine sonship is unique by virtue of his conception by the Holy Spirit (1:35).

The theme of Jesus' unique relationship with the Father is also adopted by Luke from his sources, and the emphasis on the Son's obedience serves to reinforce the Lukan interest in the saving plan of God. The activity of the Holy Spirit, again indicative of divine purpose and guidance, features prominently in the prelude to Jesus' Galilean ministry (3:22; 4:1, 14) and in the opening scene of that ministry set in Nazareth. Jesus here announces to his synagogue audience that the passage from Isaiah (Isa. 61:1–2, conflated with 58:6) is fulfilled in their presence (4:21). Hence Luke presents this Isaianic text ('The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor . . .') as an expression of the purpose and significance of Jesus' ministry. He has been anointed with the Holy Spirit to carry out a ministry of proclamation to the poor (cf. 6:20; 18:22), a message of release to the oppressed, including lepers (5:12–16), women (13:10–17) and tax collectors (5:27–32; 19:1–10). And although Jesus himself has little contact with Gentiles during his earthly ministry (cf. 7:1–10), his mission of removing those barriers that divide people prepares the way for the Gentile mission of the apostles (24:47), described by Luke in his second volume (Green 1995: 47–8, 126).

Luke also stresses, to a far greater extent than the other Gospels, that Jesus engages in a prophetic ministry. His rejection by the people of Nazareth leads him to draw a parallel between his own situation and the activity of the prophets Elijah and Elisha (4:24–7), while, on a more positive note, the people of Nain glorify God after Jesus has raised the widow's son and declare, 'A great prophet has risen among us' (7:16; cf. 24:19; Acts 2:22). Towards the end of the Galilean ministry, after Peter's confession that Jesus is 'the Messiah of God' (9:20) and Jesus predicts his suffering and rejection (9:22), the Lukan transfiguration scene includes an unparalleled reference to Moses and Elijah speaking of the 'departure' (*exodos*) that Jesus was about to accomplish in Jerusalem (9:31). The term *exodos* not only implies an understanding of Jesus as the Prophet like Moses (Deut. 18:15–18; cf. Acts 3:22–3; 7:37), but it may point to his departure through death and resurrection as a 'new exodus' (Tuckett 1996: 84).

A distinctive aspect of Luke's Gospel is the extended narrative of Jesus' journey towards Jerusalem (9:51 — 19:44), whose importance is indicated by its introduction: 'When the days drew near for him to be taken up, he set his face to go to Jerusalem.' This statement expresses Jesus' resolve to reach the city where his mission and destiny will be fulfilled through his passion, death, resurrection and ascension (his 'taking up'; cf. Acts 1:2, 11, 22). During this journey Jesus declares that he must (*dei*) be on his way, 'because it is impossible for a prophet to be killed away from Jerusalem' (13:33). After the resurrection Jesus tells the two disciples on the road to Emmaus that it was necessary (*dei*) for the Messiah to suffer such things in order to enter into his glory, as written in Moses and the prophets (24:26-7). And when he appears to the eleven disciples in Jerusalem, he again draws attention to the fulfilment of what Moses, the prophets and the psalms had written about him, namely 'that the Messiah is to suffer and to rise from the dead on the third day' (24:44-6). In the same way as the infancy narrative announces that Israel's long-awaited salvation is realized in Jesus, the final chapter highlights the theme that Jesus, the Messiah who suffered and is vindicated through resurrection, is indeed the fulfilment of God's promises. Before his ascension Jesus commissions the disciples to act as his witnesses that 'repentance and forgiveness of sins is to be proclaimed in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem' (24:47-8). This commission prepares for the disciples' mission after their empowerment by the Holy Spirit, a mission narrated in the Acts of the Apostles.

Luke's favoured vehicle for his christological message in the first half of Acts is a series of speeches, delivered by Peter on such occasions as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost (2:14-39), after the healing of the lame man in Solomon's Porch (3:12-26), in the presence of the Sanhedrin (4:8-12) and Jewish leaders (5:29-32), and his missionary speech to Cornelius and his household in Caesarea (10:34-43). To these one may add the address delivered by Paul to Jews and Godfearers in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch (13:16-41). The elements that feature prominently in the speeches are kerygmatic summaries of the events of Jesus' life, death, resurrection and exaltation, a demonstration that these events fulfil Scripture, and an appeal for repentance (see Baukham 1996). Consistency of language and style, as well as variations in actual content and sequence, are evident in these speeches, prompting much debate among interpreters as to whether Luke has made use of earlier sources or that the speeches should be viewed as purely Lukan compositions.

While interest in Jesus' earthly life is displayed in some of the kerygmatic summaries (Acts 2:22; 10:37-9), it is his death, resurrection and exaltation that are of central concern. The suffering and death of Jesus the Messiah are depicted as events that accord with 'the definite plan and foreknowledge of God' (2:23; cf. 4:28) or as foretold in Scripture (3:18; cf. 17:2-3; 26:22-3), recalling Jesus' words after his resurrection. A recurring motif in these speeches is the contrast between the conduct of those responsible for Jesus' death and the way God reverses their actions through his powerful act of raising him from the dead. This motif appears in its most concise form in Peter's speech before the Sanhedrin, where he tells the Jews that the healing of the lame man was 'by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead' (4:10), before describing this act of reversal in terms

of the rejected stone that becomes the cornerstone (4:11, citing Ps. 118:22). Some of the speeches delivered by Peter and Paul therefore demonstrate the centrality of Jesus' resurrection in the saving purpose of God by appealing to the Scriptures now fulfilled (2:25–32 [Ps. 16:8–11]; 13:32–7 [Pss 2:7; 16:10]) and confirmed by the apostles in their role as witnesses to the risen Christ (2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:41; 13:31).

As a result of his resurrection and ascension, Jesus has been exalted to the right hand of God (2:34–5, citing Ps. 110:1) who 'has made him both Lord and Messiah' (2:36). This declaration could imply that the titles *kyrios* and *christos* were first conferred upon Jesus by virtue of his resurrection, although the Lukan emphasis is possibly on divine confirmation rather than installation. Several other christological titles or designations, some unparalleled, occur in Acts, especially in Peter's speech after the healing of the lame man: Jesus is the Servant glorified by God (3:13, 26), the Holy and Righteous One (3:14; cf. 7:52; 22:14), the Founder of Life (3:15; 5:31), the Prophet like Moses (3:22–5). The Jews of Jerusalem would presumably be able to appreciate the theological force of these titles, but they find no place in Peter's speech at Caesarea where the emphasis lies on the universal significance of Jesus as 'Lord of all' (10:36). He is the one whose resurrection and ascension serve as a guarantee for his future role as 'judge of the living and the dead' (10:42).

The repeated call for repentance in the speeches of Peter and Paul highlights the Lukan presentation of Jesus as the divine agent of salvation (2:38–9; 3:19; 5:31; 13:38–9). The final words of Joel 3:1–5, the scriptural passage with which Paul opens his Pentecost speech, announces that 'everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved'. These words are clearly appropriated to Jesus as 'Lord', for Peter declares to the Sanhedrin that there is salvation in no one else, since there is no other name 'by which we must be saved' (4:12). The invocation of Jesus' name signifies his continuing power to effect salvation, and it is for this reason that the proclamation of the Christ-event in the speeches is accompanied by a call for repentance. The forgiveness of sins proclaimed by the earthly Jesus (Luke 5:20, 32; 7:47–50) is once more offered by the apostles to those who repent and turn to him as their Saviour (Acts 5:31).

The letter to the Hebrews

The letter to the Hebrews offers one of the most distinctive interpretations of Jesus in the New Testament, although the identity of its author, as well as the circumstances and location of its recipients, are shrouded in mystery. What does become clear is that this letter's christology is integrally linked to the author's pastoral concerns, for he exhorts his readers to hold on to their faith during a time of crisis for the community. Appeal is therefore made in the prologue (1:1–4) to the confession of faith shared by the author and his readers (Isaacs 1992: 186–8), beginning with the definitive character of God's revelation in Jesus, his Son, as compared with the 'many and various ways' God spoke through the prophets. Jesus' divine sonship, a major christological theme in this letter, is presented in all-embracing and cosmic terms: the one whom God has appointed heir of all things (cf. Ps. 2:8) is the one 'through whom he also created the worlds' (1:2). Echoes of Jewish traditions relating to the role of divine Wisdom can be detected in this description of the Son as active

in creation (cf. 1 Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:16; John 1:3), and especially in the claim that 'he is the reflection of God's glory' (1:3; cf. Wisdom 7:26). But it is upon two further aspects of the Son's activity as outlined in the prologue that the letter will focus, namely that Christ in his atoning death has made purification for sins and has accordingly been exalted to the right hand of God (1:3). The allusion to Psalm 110:1 prepares the way for an intricately developed christology steeped in citations of and allusions to Scripture, while the universal sovereignty granted to the Son by means of his exaltation affirms his superiority to the angels (1:4).

The author proceeds to establish the Son's unique status over against the angels with the aid of seven proof-texts (1:5–14). Among the passages cited are two royal Davidic traditions (Ps. 2:7; 2 Sam. 7:14) whose influence on the shaping of early christological reflection is attested in many of the New Testament writings already considered. Due to the Son's incomparable status and his eternal rule as one designated *theos* (1:8, citing Ps. 45:6) and *kyrios* (1:10, citing Ps. 102:25), the angels are to worship him (1:6) and act as ministering servants (1:14). The Son alone is enthroned at the right hand of God, as confirmed by a seventh scriptural citation to which the prologue has already alluded (1:13, citing Ps. 110:1). The highlighting of Jesus' supremacy over the angels continues in 2:5–9, this time to emphasize that God intends to subject all things to humankind. An exposition based on Psalm 8:4–6 leads the author to explain that Jesus was for a little while made lower than the angels, but he is now crowned with glory and honour because of the suffering and death he endured for all (cf. 1:3; 10:12). Christ is also the 'pioneer of their salvation' (2:10; cf. 9:9), for people will be brought to glory as a result of his death and exaltation. It was necessary for him to be made perfect through sufferings (2:10; cf. 5:8) and live in solidarity with the rest of humankind, because only one who is fully human can be a 'merciful and faithful high priest' making a sacrifice of atonement for the sins of the people (2:14–18).

Having announced that Jesus is high priest (2:17), this christological theme is taken up again in the description of the Son of God as a 'great high priest who has passed through the heavens' (4:14), a theme explored in detail in subsequent chapters (5:1–10; 7:1–10:18). Christ qualifies for the high priestly role because of his genuine capacity to sympathize with human weaknesses, yet himself without sin (4:15; cf. 7:26–7). The divine appointment of Jesus to the office of high priest is confirmed by Scripture (5:5–6), with the author appealing for the second time to Psalm 2:7, and to another royal psalm repeatedly cited by him in connection with Jesus' exaltation, this time in relation to his priesthood: 'You are a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchizedek' (110:4). The implications of this high priestly designation for Jesus, unparalleled in other New Testament writings, are explained in an exposition of the only other passage in Scripture to mention the king-priest Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18–20). It is argued that this high priestly order is eternal since the Genesis passage fails to mention the father, mother or genealogy of Melchizedek (7:3), and, because he received riches from Abraham and blessed him, who came from Abraham (7:4–10). Thus the high priesthood of Jesus 'in the order of Melchizedek' is superior to the Levitical priesthood and is permanently effective (7:23–5); Christ, due to his resurrection and ascension rather than physical descent,

is eternally high priest by 'the power of an indestructible life' (7:16), interceding on behalf of those who draw near to God through him (7:25).

Unlike the repeated offerings presented by the Levitical priests, Jesus did this 'once for all' when he offered himself as the atoning sacrifice (7:26–7; cf. 9:14, 24–6). This is followed by a detailed demonstration of the effectiveness of the sacrifice made by the eternal high priest who now ministers in the heavenly sanctuary. Jesus has become the mediator of a new and better covenant (8:6; 9:15; 12:24). The high priest of the old order entered the Holy of Holies once a year to make a sacrifice of atonement for sins (9:7), but Jesus, by means of his sacrificial death, has entered once for all into 'the Holy Place', the very presence of God (9:12; cf. 10:12). The message communicated by the author of Hebrews is that Jesus has made the heavenly sanctuary accessible to all, for his death has opened up the way to enable those who accompany him to enter heaven itself (10:19–21). For this reason, those presently in danger of losing hope are urged by the author to stand firm in their faith and to approach the throne of grace with confidence (4:16). In Jesus they find not only their forerunner (6:20), but the pioneer and perfecter of their faith (12:1–4), for his supreme example of endurance and faithfulness offers encouragement to believers in their present trials (12:5–13).

The book of Revelation

Those addressed as 'the seven churches in Asia' (1:4) are the recipients of a letter introduced by the author as 'the revelation (*apokalypsis*) of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show his servants what must soon take place' (1:1). This New Testament writing is therefore presented as a record of the divine revelation given to Jesus Christ, the one whose decisive role in the unfolding of 'what is and what is to take place' (1:19) is demonstrated in a series of heavenly visions. John, nevertheless, experiences his first vision on the island of Patmos (1:9–20), where he encounters 'one like a son of man' who commands him to write down messages for the seven churches. This christophany depicts Jesus as a glorious heavenly being (1:12–16), one whose angelic and divine attributes are described in language drawn from biblical angelophanies and theophanies (cf. Dan. 7:9–14; 10:5–6; Ezek. 1:24; 9:2). This exalted portrayal of Jesus continues when he identifies himself to the seer: 'I am the first and the last, and the living one. I was dead, and see, I am alive for ever and ever' (1:17–18). The second part of this declaration confirms that the heavenly figure is the crucified and risen Christ, whereas the initial self-designation (cf. 2:8; 22:13) resembles God's own self-declaration (1:8; 21:6) and especially his claim to sovereignty in Deutero-Isaiah (44:6; 48:12; cf. 41:4). For the author of Revelation to describe Christ as 'the first and the last', and as 'the origin of God's creation' (3:14; cf. Col. 1:15), is to associate him with God in the closest possible terms (see Bauckham 1993a: 54–8).

It is in the vision of the heavenly throne-room (Rev. 4–5) that the close connection between God and Christ is made most apparent. It describes the worship offered by the heavenly host to God, 'the one seated on the throne' (4:8–11), in whose hand is a scroll with seven seals (5:1). John is told that the only one worthy to open the scroll is 'the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David' (5:5), a figure described with the aid of Jewish messianic designations (cf. Gen. 49:9; Isa. 11:1, 10). But

what John actually sees is a Lamb standing as though it had been slain (5:6). The appearance of the Lamb marks the introduction of a central christological image in Revelation, for the Lamb-Messiah is the crucified Christ who has conquered by means of his redemptive death. In celebration of his victory, the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders sing a new song, declaring that the Lamb is worthy to open the scroll because he has by his blood ransomed people for God from all the nations, and 'made them to be a kingdom and priests serving our God' (5:9-10; cf. 1:5-6). A second hymn of praise to the Lamb sung by myriads of angels (5:11-12) closely resembles the honouring of God the Creator as worthy to receive glory and honour and power (4:11). In fact the third hymn sung by the whole creation is addressed to them both: 'To the one seated on the throne and to the Lamb be blessing and honour and glory and might for ever and ever', and the elders fall down and worship (5:13-14). This scene signifies that the Lamb, having taken the scroll, becomes the object of heavenly worship alongside God, while Christ elsewhere states that he has 'sat down with my Father on his throne' (3:21; cf. 7:17; 22:1, 3). This is all the more significant in view of the references to an angel refusing obeisance from John, declaring, 'Worship God' (19:10; 22:8-9). There are indications, however, that the inclusion of Christ as the object of worship is not viewed by the author of Revelation as a compromise of monotheistic belief (cf. 15:3-4). It has, for example, recently been noted that formulaic expressions such as 'before the throne and before the Lamb' (7:9; cf. 6:16) and 'the kingdom of our Lord and of his Messiah' (11:15; cf. 12:10; 20:6) certainly express the close relationship between God and the Lamb, yet at the same time they retain the distinction between them (Stuckenbruck 1995: 261-2). Following the scene of heavenly worship, the Lamb begins to open the seals in order to reveal the contents of the scroll, thereby initiating the plan that will lead to the establishment of God's kingdom on earth. The involvement of the Lamb in this plan of judgement and salvation, in the struggle between good and evil, means that he brings wrath upon the wicked (cf. 6:16) but leads his people to springs of living water (7:17); he stands on Mount Zion in triumph with those who have been redeemed from the earth (14:1-5). Revelation repeatedly emphasizes the nearness of the end, and Christ himself declares, 'I am coming soon' (3:11; 22:7, 12, 20). And while the Lamb has already conquered by his sacrificial death (3:21; 5:5; cf. 12:11), he will conquer again at the *parousia*. And so John receives a vision of Christ appearing as a rider on a white horse with the armies of heaven (19:11-16). He is called 'Faithful and True' (19:11), 'the Word of God' (19:13), 'King of kings and Lord of lords' (19:16; cf. 17:14), and with a sharp sword coming from his mouth he strikes the nations (cf. Isa. 11:4). The final victory over the powers of evil will result in the new creation, and John sees a holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from heaven (21:1-2). The appearance of heaven on earth thus signifies the fulfilment of God's plan to establish his universal kingdom, for his presence fills the new Jerusalem whose temple is 'the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb' (21:22).

The Gospel of John and the letters of John

The Gospel of John offers the following summary statement in its originally intended conclusion: 'But these [the signs] are written so that you may believe that Jesus is

the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing you may have life in his name' (20:31). The two titles selected as expressions of the christological belief that will lead to life figure prominently in the other Gospels, and certainly provide the key to the Markan portrayal of Jesus. Behind this Johannine statement, however, there lies a distinctive christology that not only introduces new dimensions of meaning and significance to the titles 'Messiah' and particularly 'Son of God', but offers a presentation of Jesus that cannot be contained in the two titles. Christological claims are the focus of John's Gospel from beginning to end; its narratives and discourses are explicitly concerned with Jesus' true identity and, in a manner unparalleled in the Synoptic Gospels, with his revelatory and salvific role. The Johannine Jesus speaks openly about his origin and identity, discusses his relationship with the Father and offers the gift of eternal life to all who believe in him. A particular characteristic of the Fourth Gospel is that Jesus is often depicted as defending his christological assertions in confrontation with 'the Jews', a designation used primarily for the Jewish religious authorities who even accuse Jesus of making himself equal to God (5:18–19; 10:33). As it is now widely accepted that John's Gospel presents a two-level drama centred on the historical Jesus and the situation of the evangelist and his community (Martyn 1979), christology was at the heart of the controversies that led to the synagogue expulsion of those who confessed Jesus to be the Messiah (cf. 9:22; 12:42; 16:2). Exalted claims about Jesus were either the cause (Brown 1979) or the result (Martyn 1979) of the separation of believers forming 'the Johannine community', while the Gospel itself developed over a period of time before reaching its present form around 85–95 CE.

John's christological assertions begin in the prologue (1:1–18), where Jesus is identified with the Word (*logos*) of God. To state that the Word was 'in the beginning' before creation (1:1) amounts to a declaration of timeless existence, one to which Jesus lays claim during his earthly ministry (cf. 8:58; 17:5), whereas to describe the Word as the agent of creation (1:3) echoes those Wisdom traditions appropriated by other writers (cf. Col. 1:16; Heb. 1:2). The opening verse clearly seeks to express the relationship between the Word and God ('the Word was with God'), followed by the affirmation that 'the Word was God'. The precise meaning of the latter declaration continues to be the subject of considerable debate, with many scholars noting the subtleties of the Greek text; the definite article is included before 'God' in the declaration 'the Word was with God' (*ho theos*), but not in the clause 'the Word was God' (*theos*). This variation is then interpreted to mean that, while the prologue identifies the Word as God (*theos*), 'it avoids any suggestion of personal identification of the Word with the Father' (Brown 1966, 1: 24). Even if the verse does preserve a distinction between the Word and God without separating them, it is significant that Jesus is also called *theos* in 1:18 (if one accepts the reading 'God, the only Son') and in the confession of Thomas (20:28: 'My Lord and my God'). This is not a title claimed by the earthly Jesus, but its attribution to Christ at key points in the Gospel expresses the conviction that he is the authentic and definitive revelation of God. As the vehicle of God's self-revelation in the world, the Word becomes flesh and reveals his glory (1:14). And since 'no one has ever seen God' (1:18; cf. Exod. 33:20), the revelation communicated by the Son is superior to that received in the past, for he alone is in direct communion with the Father.

It is through the Son, the Word incarnate, that humankind receives the perfect revelation of life (1:4), light (1:4-5), grace and truth (1:14) and God (1:18).

Scholars who attempt to identify different christological strands in the Fourth Gospel usually attribute the prologue to a later stage of development, although there is no doubt that this Logos christology determines the overall Johannine presentation of Jesus in the Gospel in its present form. The Logos title does not appear again, but the Father-Son language (1:14-18) is sustained throughout and serves as a key concept to express the significance of Jesus as the one who reveals God. To express his intimate relationship with God, Jesus is described as the 'only Son' (1:14; 3:16, 18) who is loved by the Father (cf. 5:20; 10:17) and to whom he has 'placed all things in his hands' (3:35). The one sent into the world (3:17; 10:36) also expresses consciousness of his eternal status as Son, for when Jesus states, 'I declare what I have seen in the Father's presence' (8:38), he is testifying to what he, and he alone, has seen and heard in heaven before he was sent into the world. Even the words and works of the Son are not his own, but those of the Father (cf. 5:36; 8:28; 12:49-50; 14:10).

During his earthly life the Son speaks and acts in perfect unity with the Father (10:30: 'The Father and I are one'); to see him is to see the Father (12:45; 14:9), and whoever knows him knows the Father (8:19; 14:7). Because belief in Jesus leads to eternal life, the Son can declare that he, like the Father, has the power to give life (5:21). But he has also been given authority to execute judgement (5:27), for all who encounter Jesus are obliged to respond to him; those who believe enter the light and gain life, but those who reject him remain in darkness and face death. The coming of Jesus therefore amounts to the judgement of this world (12:31), even though the purpose of his mission was in order that 'the world might be saved through him' (3:17). From the early days of his ministry Jesus commits himself to the will of the Father: 'My food is to do the will of him who sent me and to complete his work' (4:34). It is in obedience to the Father's plan that he follows the path of the cross, but as one who is in full control (cf. 13:27; 18:4-8; 19:30), for 'no one takes my life from me, but I lay it down of my own accord' (10:18). Jesus' death is therefore depicted in John's Gospel as the fulfilment of his mission to reveal the Father and as the completion of his salvific work: 'It is finished' (19:30). It is the fulfilment of Jesus' prediction that he must be lifted up on the cross so that whoever believes in him may receive eternal life (3:14-15). The 'lifting up' of Jesus, linked specifically to his identity as the Son of Man, points to this salvific death as exaltation, for the evangelist takes advantage of the double meaning of a Greek verb (*hypsōō*) that can connote both the lifting up of Jesus on the cross as well as his exaltation (3:14; 8:28; 12:32-4). Moreover, it signifies the arrival of Jesus' hour of glorification (12:23; 13:31), for his passion is the supreme revelation of divine glory, as well as the means whereby the Son returns to the Father and ascends to the glory which was his before creation (17:5).

The significance of Jesus as the revelatory and salvific presence of God also finds expression in the Johannine 'I am' declarations. On seven occasions Jesus' use of 'I am' (*egō eimi*) is combined with an image drawn primarily from scriptural promises of divine salvation. When Jesus declares that he is the bread of life (6:35), the light of the world (8:12) or the true vine (15:1), such evocative images serve to demonstrate

that he is the source and giver of eternal life. However, certain pronouncements are attributed to Jesus in which *egō eimi* possesses no predicate or antecedent. He declares to his opponents, 'You will die in your sins unless you believe that I am (he)' (8:24; cf. 8:28, 58), and, when Jesus predicts his imminent betrayal, he informs the disciples, 'I tell you this now, before it occurs, so that when it does occur, you may believe that I am (he)' (13:19). To these may be added the occurrences of *egō eimi* where a predicate is implied (4:26; 18:5, 8; cf. 6:20), although its use by Jesus as he walks on the sea (6:20) and the dramatic response of the arresting party in the garden (18:6) suggest that it serves here as more than a form of self-identification, especially in view of the fourth evangelist's fondness for words or expressions with double meanings. The key that appears to unlock the christological significance of these 'absolute' statements is the distinctive use of *egō eimi* in the Greek versions of Isaiah (41:4; 43:10; 46:4; 52:6) and the Song of Moses (Deut. 32:39) to render Yahweh's claim to unique sovereignty (Hebrew: *anî hû*). Indeed the presentation and function of *egō eimi* as uttered by Jesus in the Fourth Gospel bears striking resemblance to its setting and purpose in these biblical traditions. Jesus, like Yahweh, pronounces *egō eimi* to convey his role as revealer and saviour; he exists from eternity (8:58), is able to foretell and control events (13:19; 18:5), offers salvation to those who believe in him (6:20; 8:28; 18:8), while those who reject him face condemnation (8:24). The Johannine Jesus can declare *egō eimi* in this manner because he is the eternal Word incarnate, the Son who speaks and acts in unity with the Father, the unique revelation of God.

However, one factor that led to the composition of the Johannine letters, particularly the first and second, was a crisis caused by those who, as a result of their christological views, had recently left the community. The root of this controversy seems to be that certain believers deviated from the teaching of the Johannine community by embracing a kind of 'docetic' christology that cast doubt on the reality of Jesus' humanity and sufferings; his divine glory was emphasized to such an extent that the significance of his earthly life and the salvific effects of his death were disputed. The response expressed in the first two letters of John is to reaffirm the confession that 'Jesus Christ has come in the flesh' (1 John 4:2-3; 2 John 7) and that he 'came by water and blood' (1 John 5:6). Believers are also exhorted to walk in the light, for Jesus' blood cleanses from all sin (1:7; cf. 2:1-2; 3:5; 4:10). Other pronouncements certainly resemble the christology of John's Gospel, a writing known in its present or earlier form to the author(s) of the Johannine letters. For to state that Jesus was the Son sent by God 'so that we might live through him' (1 John 4:9) firmly echoes the Gospel's pivotal declaration that 'God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish but may have eternal life' (3:16). In this respect both the Gospel and letters of John attest the central christological conviction expressed in all the writings of the New Testament, namely that Jesus, the Christ and unique Son of God, is the key to divine salvation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barrett, C. K., *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, BNTC, London: A & C Black, 1962.
- Bauckham, R., *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993a.
- 'The Worship of Jesus', *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993b, 118–49.
- 'Kerygmatic Summaries in the Speeches of Acts', *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. B. Witherington III, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 185–217.
- Bousset, W., *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, ET Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.
- Brown, R. E., *The Gospel according to John*, The Anchor Bible Commentary, 2 vols, New York: Doubleday, 1966; London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971.
- *The Community of the Beloved Disciple: The Life, Loves, and Hates of an Individual Church in New Testament Times*, New York: Paulist Press, 1979.
- Bultmann, R., *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols, ET London: SCM, 1952, 1955.
- Casey, P. M., *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985–6 and Cambridge: James Clarke; Louisville: Westminster, John Knox Press, 1991.
- Cullmann, O., *The Christology of the New Testament*, ET London: SCM, 1963.
- Davis, P. G., 'Divine Agents, Mediators and New Testament Christology', *JTS* 45, 1994, 479–503.
- De Jonge, M., *Christology in Context: The Earliest Christian Responses to Jesus*, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988.
- Dunn, J. D. G., *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, London: SCM, 1989.
- *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998.
- Fitzmyer, J. A., 'The Semitic Background of the New Testament Kyrios-Title', *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979, 115–42.
- Fossum, J., *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origins of Gnosticism*, WUNT 1:36, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1985.
- Fuller, R. H., *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*, London: Lutterworth, 1965.
- Green, J. B., *The Theology of Luke*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Hahn, F., *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity*, ET London: Lutterworth, 1969.
- Hengel, M., *The Son of God*, London: SCM, 1976.
- 'Christology and New Testament Chronology: A Problem in the History of Earliest Christianity', *Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the Earliest History of Christianity*, ET London: SCM, 1983, 30–47.
- *The 'Hellenization' of Judaism in the First Century after Christ*, London: SCM, 1989.
- *Studies in Early Christianity*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995.
- Horbury, W., *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ*, London: SCM, 1998.
- Hurtado, L. W., 'Son of God', *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, eds G. F. Hawthorne and R. P. Martin, Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1993, 900–6.
- *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monolatry*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998.
- 'Pre-70 CE Jewish Opposition to Christ-Devotion', *JTS* 50, 1999, 35–58.
- Isaacs, M. E., *Sacred Space: An Approach to the Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Sheffield: JSOT, 1992.
- Keck, L. E., 'Toward the Renewal of New Testament Christology', *NTS* 32, 1986, 362–77.

- Kim, S., *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, WUNT 2:4, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1984².
- Longenecker, R. N., 'A Realized Hope, a New Commitment, and a Developed Proclamation: Paul and Jesus', *The Road from Damascus: The Impact of Paul's Conversion on his Life, Thought, and Ministry*, ed. R. N. Longenecker, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997, 18–42.
- Luz, U., *The Theology of the Gospel of Matthew*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Marcus, J., *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993.
- Marshall, I. H., *The Origins of New Testament Christology*, Leicester: Apollos, 1990².
- Martyn, J. L., *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1979².
- Matera, F. J., *New Testament Christology*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999.
- Moule, C. F. D., *The Origin of Christology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Rainbow, P. A., 'Jewish Monotheism as the Matrix for New Testament Christology: A Review Article', *NovT* 33, 1991, 78–91.
- Rowland, C., *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity*, London: SPCK, 1982.
- Schüssler Fiorenza, E., 'Wisdom Mythology and the Christological Hymns of the New Testament', *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. R. L. Wilken, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975, 17–41.
- Squires, J. T., *The Plan of God in Luke-Acts*, SNTSMS 76, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Stanton, G. N., *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew*, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992.
- Stuckenbruck, L. T., *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, WUNT 2:70, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995.
- Tannehill, R. C., 'The Gospel of Mark as Narrative Christology', *Semeia* 16, 1979, 57–95.
- Theissen, G. and Merz, A., *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide*, ET London: SCM, 1998.
- Tuckett, C. M., *Luke*, NTG, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Tuckett, C. M. (ed.), *The Messianic Secret*, London: SPCK, 1983.
- Ziesler, J., *Pauline Christianity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990².