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.

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-
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 7,13. 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 7,13. 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 exaltation. 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-reference. For I. H. Marshall, in the sayings of Jesus there may be a reference to the figure

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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.


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

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 61,1ff, mentioning «that day» (הԣתואנ).
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. 11QMelch 20 with Isa 61,2c; cf. 11QMelch 20 with Isa 61,2c; cf. ... 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. ... in Mt 5,4).
Mt 5,3ff). 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 persecuted, nor is there found any allusion to a «military» conflict (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» (והצדק, cd תדנויי) and all the «sons of God» (כול בניאל) are expected to come to aid Melchizedek. In Matthew's list, «sons of God» (dikaiosÊnh) and «justice» (דיקאואסוי) 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 6,22c. In 11QMelch 2,16-18, Melchizedek is identified with the messenger (רמבש) of Isa 52,7 and the

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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: יִהְיֶהוּ יִמּוֹ) and because of the «Son of Man» (Lk 6,22: יִהְיֶהוּ תֻּנֵו יִשָּׂע תֻּנֵו אָבֵרֶךְ). 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 In other texts from Qumran, such as 1QSb 5,20-29; 4Q161; 4Q285, the eschatological battle is led by the Davidic Messiah.

10 In other texts from Qumran, such as 1QSb 5,20-29; 4Q161; 4Q285, the eschatological battle is led by the Davidic Messiah.
«anointed of the spirit» (משיח רוח) 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 שלט, Dan 7,14b). To this figure Lk 6,22c may also refer. Contrary to 11QMelch, however, the «Son of Man» of the Lucan text is only the cause (יןך נוֹתע נוֹתא易于ִנְדַר בּוֹ נוֹתא.) 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 ילוד אישה («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» (עבדה, 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...
17, 26; 18, 14; 11QMelch 2, 13-20 and Isa 57, 18ff) according to the prophecy of Isa 61, 114. The הילוד אשה of 1QH has received the gift of teaching (wealth of teaching, 1QH 23, 10), and he is called to be herald of good news for the «broken of spirit» (1QH 23, 14) and the «mourning» (1QH 23, 15) — parallel terms to πτωχοι and κλασικα in Lk 6, 20b, 21b (cf. πτωχοι τω πνευματι and πενθοντες 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 (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» ([...], 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 נכאירוח (and עניירוח) 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; Id., «Un hymne esséniens en partie retrouvé et les beatitudes: 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. Garcia Martínez - Tigchelaar, The Dead Sea Scrolls, vol. I, 196-199.

15 The eschatological context of 1QH is signaled by the expressionשמחתעולם (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 כי (כנתה יבוחי עפר וניהו עולם ספים כבלי) לחריצים וביתות שערם (12) [14] (11) (15) (1QH 21, 13-15). For (12) [...] you have [given] 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) [... without end, and eras of peace without limits...]. Garcia 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 3,15. Where the Massoretic text speaks of the enmity and the struggle between the serpent and the "woman" (אeyaש אשה), the "shared aggadic targumic tradition" (N, Nmg, TJI, TJII) states that the battle is won by the offspring of the "woman’s sons" (בניא א นาย) 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):

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]

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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: עֲקַב, read with the meaning of «ultimate end»; and תְּשׁוּפָנו, understood as a play on the Aramaic word שליפותא («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 (χάριτην ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, Lk 6,23a) is grounded «on account of the Son of Man» (ἐνεκα τοῦ ισχοῦ 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...
the Torah, while awaiting the peace (שלום) 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 Law 23. 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» (זרעה) 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 ([נָחַל] 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 (και ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐξήθεσακεν αὐτοῦς 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 Essenes 27 — whereas his
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
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 3,15. 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 above. 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 realized.
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
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.

A Selected Bibliography on the «Son of Man»

P. DI LUCCIO, SON OF MAN, SONS OF THE WOMAN, AND TEACHERS...
